

Whether true or not this is how the Palestinians now view the U.S.

The Intifada from a historical perspective

Miami, Florida -- To understand the motivating forces and the goals of the irreversible Palestinian Intifada, or popular uprising, which began in December 1987, one needs to carefully examine the record of the Zionist colonization of Palestine. The killing of hundreds of Palestinians from all walks of life; the wounding of tens of thousands of unarmed civilians; the arbitrary arrest and inhuman incarceration of thousands more, in defiance of all international norms, without due process of law or fair trial; the indiscriminate attacks on Palestinian hospitals; the closure of grade schools, high schools, colleges and universities in occupied Palestine by the Israeli military authorities; and the essence of the brutal Israeli occupation itself cannot be viewed in isolation from earlier Zionist colonial plans to deny the mere physical existence of the Palestinians as a people.

A landmark in the history of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is the year 1917. On Nov. 2 of that year, the British government issued the notorious Balfour Declaration promising "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." The indigenous people of Palestine had not been consulted, nor had their rights been taken into consideration.

Later, in 1919, the Paris Peace Conference dispatched the American King-Crane Commission to investigate the situation in Palestine and in other provinces of the former Otto-

As the Intifada approaches its third anniversary and the 43rd year since the U.N. decision to partition Palestine comes to an end, the impact of these two events on Palestinian history has become the subject of much discourse among Palestinian and other intellectuals. The following is one such discourse by Hisham H. Ahmad, a Palestinian professor of political science at Florida International University in Miami, Florida. This article included numerous footnotes, but because of space limitations and other considerations, Al-Fajr publishes the article without footnotes.

man Empire. The commission reported, *inter alia*, that the establishment of a Jewish national home on Palestinian soil would represent a flagrant violation of the principle of self-determination, enunciated by President Woodrow Wilson in his Fourteen Points address on Jan. 8, 1918, as well as in his later Four Points address of Feb. 11 of the same year. The implementation of the Zionist program, the commission asserted, would necessitate uprooting the indigenous people of Palestine from their homeland.

Because its findings conflicted with Zionist goals, the report of the King-Crane Commission was suppressed and kept secret by the United States until July 1922, when Wilson granted permission for its publication to his biographer, Ray Stannard Baker. Ironically, in the same year, the United States gave its unequivocal consent to the colonization of Palestine by the Zionists in the form of Joint Resolution No. 322 of the 67th Congress, adopted on Sept. 11, 1922. In the Anglo-American Convention of Dec. 3, 1924, the

United States gave its official approval to the subjugation of Palestine by the British under the mandate system. The Wilsonian notion of self-determination was thus denied in the case of the people of Palestine.

At the time of the Balfour Declaration, the population of Palestine was in the neighborhood of 700,000, of whom 574,000 were Muslims, 70,000 were Christians and 56,000 were Jews. The Balfour Declaration and the ensuing policies of Britain and the United States never mentioned the Muslim and Christian majority of Palestine by name, but reference was always made to the "non-Jewish communities." By promising the establishment of a national home for a predominantly immigrant minority, while ignoring the political rights of the indigenous majority, a fundamental democratic principle was being violated. Henry Cattan observed that "whatever may have been the meaning and intention of the Balfour Declaration -- the people of Palestine, who were the party most directly concerned as the owners of the country, were not consult-

ed about the British promise to the Jews. They never gave their consent to the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine and never accepted the British declaration."

The Palestinian people did not accept the Balfour Declaration because they felt that their rights in their own country would be denied if they were to be ruled by an alien minority. Worse, that violation was legitimized by the United States, the power constantly claiming its readiness to stand firmly in defense of liberty and freedom.

Palestinian resistance against British policies and Zionist plans mounted throughout the 1920s and thereafter. Popular resistance against the British and in opposition to the ongoing colonial immigration into Palestine did not abate. In fact, from 1919 to 1939, many uprisings took place, climaxing in the 1936 Palestinian civil disobedience and six-month strike against British policies. Until the Intifada, it was the longest-known protest strike in modern history.

Britain, in turn, became more determined to suppress Palestinians' liberties and their right to independence. Between 1936 and 1939 the British deployed 200,000 troops in Palestine to serve this objective. Since the suppression of Palestinian resistance by force proved to be unsuccessful, however, London followed its tradition and, in 1936, sent the Peel Commission to investigate the situation as World War II ap-



Palestinian refugees at Balata refugee camp in Nablus./ENRWA photo.

proached.

These developments gave rise to new diplomatic ventures by the British. Britain's tactic was to make it appear as if it had made compromises with the Palestinians. The real goal, however, was to consolidate the idea of Jewish statehood in Palestine by containing Palestinian resistance.

From this briefly-sketched historical outline, particularly as it relates to Britain's handling of the Palestinian refusal to surrender, one can denote a pattern which reappears when one analyzes the means and tactics employed by Israeli policy-makers and their backers in Washington in their attempt to suppress the ongoing Intifada. We will return to this point later.

In the period during and after World War II, repression of Palestinian rights continued and the corresponding Palestinian struggle for self-determination intensified.

The political and military developments of 1947-48 were illustrative of the precarious situation in which the Palestinians found themselves. On Nov. 29, 1947, the United Nations, under ominous pressure from the United States, and without consulting the indigenous people, passed resolution 181 (II), partitioning Palestine into two states: one Jewish and the other Arab. As in 1917, the Jews were not a demographic majority. They owned less than 10 percent of the land and they constituted approximately one-third of the population. Yet, in violation of the rights and wishes of the Palestinian people, the United Nations allotted 56 percent of the territory of Palestine for that Jewish minority to establish a state. The Palestinian majority was left with only 44 percent of its homeland.

Partitioning Palestine and confining its people to only a fraction of their traditional homeland constituted a violation of democratic rules and humanitarian considerations. Critically assessing the role played by the United States in the adoption of resolution 181 and the implications of that resolution on Palestinian rights, Thomas A. Bryson, a Middle East scholar, wrote:

When the United Nations General Assembly passed resolution 181 on Nov. 29, 1947, providing for the partition of Palestine and the eventual creation of Israel, United States influence was a deciding factor in the passage of this measure -- a measure that cast the principle of self-determination to the winds insofar as the Palestinian Arabs were concerned. The Jews, a minority of less than one-third and owning less than 7 percent of the total land area of Palestine, were allotted 56 percent of that area.

Analyzing the severity of the injustice committed against the Palestinian people as a result of the adoption of the partition resolution, British journalist and author David Hirst wrote:

The Arabs were to retain 4,300 square miles while the Jews, who represented one-third of the population and owned some 6 percent of the land, were allotted 5,700 square miles. The Jews also got the better land; they were to have the fertile coastal belt while the



A Palestinian refugee camp in the Gaza Strip. / UNRWA photo.

Arabs were to make do, for the most part, with the hills. Yet it was not the size of the area allotted to the Jews which pleased them -- indeed, they regarded it as the 'irreducible minimum' which they could accept -- it was rather the fact of statehood itself. Conversely, it was not merely the size of the area they were to lose, it was the loss of land, sovereignty and an antique heritage that angered the Arabs.

The problem was compounded, however, by Israel's expansionist policies. In May 1948, Israel militarily occupied four-fifths of Palestine. The remainder came under Jordanian and Egyptian rule in fulfillment of earlier secret agreements, particularly between King Abdallah of Jordan and Golda Meir. (This remaining portion of Palestine came under Israeli occupation in June 1967.)

In considering the Palestinian problem, a great fallacy is often put forward and perpetuated, namely, that the Palestinians voluntarily left their homeland. However, as many scholars, including Jewish historians, have discovered the historical record proves the inaccuracy of such a portrayal. Numerous official Israeli sources have given details of various methods by which the Zionist movement not only worked untiringly to uproot Palestinians from their homeland, but also to systematically exterminate them. Palestinian history is rife with examples.

In 1948, entire Palestinian villages were totally wiped out by Menachem (Begin) and Yitzhak Shamir (the heads of the Irgun and the Stern Gang, respectively) and they have publicly admitted it. In April 1948, Begin and Shamir led a Zionist terrorist group to massacre 254 Palestinian men, women and children in the village of Deir Yassin, but the massacre at Deir Yassin is only one example.

When Israel was established in May 1948, approximately 800,000 Palestinians were forcibly expelled

from their homeland, after which they became stateless and homeless. It is not logical to assume that these people gave up their homes and property voluntarily. The thousands of Palestinians who were massacred in cold blood, in 1976 at Tel al-Za'atar, and in 1982 at Sabra and Shatila [refugee] camps are not abstractions in the human memory or isolated incidents of history. They are the perpetuation of the Palestinian tragedy caused by the establishment of Israel and very generously paid for by the United States, the leader of the free world! The rationalization that U.S. foreign policy is intended to "counter Palestinian terrorism" is misleading since no form of terrorism is more devastating than the occupation of a country and the total denial of the rights of its people.

Out of this ongoing suffering grew the Palestinian resistance. One overriding concern for the Palestinians was that the international community grant recognition of their existence as a people and the legitimacy of their exercise of their inalienable national rights in their homeland. Because this request was initially ignored, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was founded in 1964, and Palestinian armed struggle was launched in 1965 from among those Palestinians whose family members had been killed, and from among those who themselves had been made refugees. The respected Palestinian scholar Faysel Sayegh wrote back in 1965: "...the Palestinian people -- after 16 years of dispersion and exile, during which it had reposed its faith in its return to its country in world conscience and international public opinion, in the United Nations, and/or in the Arab states -- chose at last to seize the initiative. In 1964, it reasserted its corporate personality by creating the Palestine Liberation Organization."

Originally, before it accepted the idea of a two-state solution in Palestine, the PLO set as its goal the liberation of the entire Palestinian

homeland and the establishment of a democratic, secular state for all who live there, irrespective of race and religion. Since its establishment, the PLO has gradually gained international recognition from the majority of nation-states in the international community. The Palestinian problem which was neglected for a long time, and if remembered at all, was treated as a problem of scattered refugees, began to be viewed as a struggle for the retrieval of legitimate national rights. In October 1974, the Arab summit held in Rabat declared that the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people is the PLO. On Nov. 22 of that same year, the United Nations General Assembly adopted resolution 3236 in which it reaffirmed "the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in Palestine, including: (a) the right to self-determination without external interference; (b) the right to national independence and sovereignty," and further recognized "that the Palestinian people is a principal party in the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East."

On the domestic Palestinian level, the PLO has gained consensus as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, both in occupied Palestine and in exile. Both inside and outside the occupied territories, the embracing by the Palestinians of their sole legitimate representative has been demonstrated by uninterrupted steadfastness (sumud) in the face of Israeli military bombardments and American policies in the area. In the occupied territories, several academic surveys have confirmed that the vast majority of Palestinians consider the PLO to be their sole legitimate representative body.

Meanwhile, there have been serious ongoing attempts by the United States and Israel to find alternative representatives for the Palestinian people other than the PLO, from the establishment of the "village leagues" in the early 1980s to the trumpeting

less known by the West

90-95?

an extremely cruel attack - Read "O Jerusalem"

ISRAELI SCENE

Palestinian discovers that life is not so great after all

Between the peoples,
between the knives
by Tom Segev/HaAretz
Nov. 23, 1990

Whenever Imad Abu Sneineh leaves his house in the Muslim Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem, he looks over his shoulder, as though he were Jewish: Who knows who might want to stick a knife in his back? he thinks. But they have no reason to attack him, he told me this week. Despite what they think, he isn't a traitor to his people. But what can you do? That's what the neighbors say: collaborator. Maybe they've taken out a contract on him, he thinks.

Nevertheless, they do have a reasonable basis for suspecting him because a Jew is living in his family's house. And even though the Jew doesn't dare use the house often, when he does come, they close the whole street in his honor: His name is Ariel Sharon.

Actually, Imad Abu Sneineh doesn't know exactly how this happened. Once, he tried to ask his father: "I grabbed him by the shirt and said to him, explain. I asked him how he let him get in. And then dad started crying. I had never seen him cry. And then I also cried. And we both cried and started to talk about life. Because life wasn't so good. And in the end, he didn't tell me how Sharon managed to get into the house, and to this very day, I don't know anything."

Maybe this is true, maybe it's not. One way or the other, it isn't easy for them, the members of the Abu Sneineh family. At school, his brother's children, who live in the same house, are tormented and called traitors. They come home crying and have to be comforted and told that they aren't traitors, despite the neighbor who lives in their house.

Dad was a big man around town, Abu Sneineh said. He had a grocery store. He often would get involved as an arbiter in all sorts of conflicts. He helped a lot of people, but also bought himself a lot of enemies. Meanwhile, he's gone to his reward, and there are those who are conspiring against his sons. Abu Sneineh told me what it was like: "It's like a calf that falls, and there are 20 people waiting, and they all stick knives in it. That's how we feel."

From this standpoint, it was convenient for him to work for a Jew. Someone he knows who used to hang around the Bukharan neighborhood [in West Jerusalem] told him that in Mordechai Mizrahi's butcher shop they were looking for a worker. Mizrahi gave him the job. He worked there from 6:00 a.m. until 9:00 p.m. and was paid NIS1,000 [U.S. \$500] a month, and he also got permission to take home a bit of meat. A year passed. Abu Sneineh didn't complain. With time, he learned something about the Jewish dietary laws: You have to soak and puncture, he explained to me.

There was actually a certain problem. One of the customers, Chaim Peled, 26, used to tell him that the Arabs should all be slaugh-

tered, and sometimes he would take a knife from the shop counter and wave it under Abu Sneineh's nose because that's what should be done to all of them, they should be slaughtered. Abu Sneineh restrained himself, after all the guy was a customer and he was just a worker.

Last week, the guy tried to slaughter him. It happened suddenly, toward evening. He called to Abu Sneineh to come out, drew a knife and stabbed him in the neck. Then he sliced him, along his entire body, with a powerful motion, from top to bottom. Abu Sneineh re-enacted the motion for me very professionally. I thought that I perceived here the skill of a butcher's apprentice, but Abu Sneineh corrected me: He also had stabbed someone once. Almost killed him. To be exact he did it three times. Each time he was arrested, brought to trial and sentenced to prison. Altogether, he was locked up for 13 years.

other patients in the room. One of them, a Holocaust survivor, immigrated to Israel on the "Exodus." For a moment, I was listening to them both at the same time, right ear on one story, left ear on the other.

Meanwhile, the Sabbath ended. "Have a good week," Imad said to his neighbor in the room. And then a guest came to visit, the personal driver of Rabbi Ovadia Yosef. The rabbi is an old customer of the butcher shop, and Imad Abu Sneineh is well-known to the members of his household — he would deliver their meat. The rabbi wishes him a speedy recovery, the driver said.

I asked him what he meant when he said that life wasn't so good. Abu Sneineh said that they never lacked for anything from a financial standpoint, but there was a lot of tension in the family. There were eight brothers and eight sisters. Early in the morning, before classes, his father insisted that he help him in the

now 31 and still at the start of his life. Six months before he was released, the Intifada broke out, and then this business with Ariel Sharon started. He is still waiting for the Intifada command to send someone to liquidate him — and now this Jew tries to slaughter him. If he's called to testify at Peled's trial, he'll ask the judge to be merciful, Abu Sneineh said. He knows what it's like to sit in prison. It would be a shame for the guy's children.

In the newspapers, they said that the owner of the butcher shop, Mordechai Mizrahi, tried to defend him and also was wounded. Mizrahi is hospitalized one floor above him. Abu Sneineh went to visit him and saw that they had sent him flowers. They came from that woman who talks about peace, Abu Sneineh said. Knesset member Shulamit Aloni wrote to Mizrahi that he had behaved like a man of decency, when he saved Abu Sneineh. Imad said he doesn't exactly remember who saved who because everything happened so fast. Meanwhile, threatening leaflets have been distributed in the Bukharan neighborhood against the employment of Arabs, and Abu Sneineh has been left without a job. This really makes him mad. There's no telling what he might do, if he doesn't find work, he said.

A spokesman for the Social Security office told me that the incident would almost certainly be considered as an occupational accident, and Abu Sneineh would be entitled to an allocation and payment of his hospital fees. He has a wife and two sons: Nidal is 20-months-old, and Nizar was born just last week, a day or two after Abu Sneineh was attacked and hospitalized in Hadassah. At the time of our conversation, he hadn't yet seen the newborn. His wife said he was nice.

Whenever Imad Abu Sneineh leaves his home, he has to look over his shoulder.

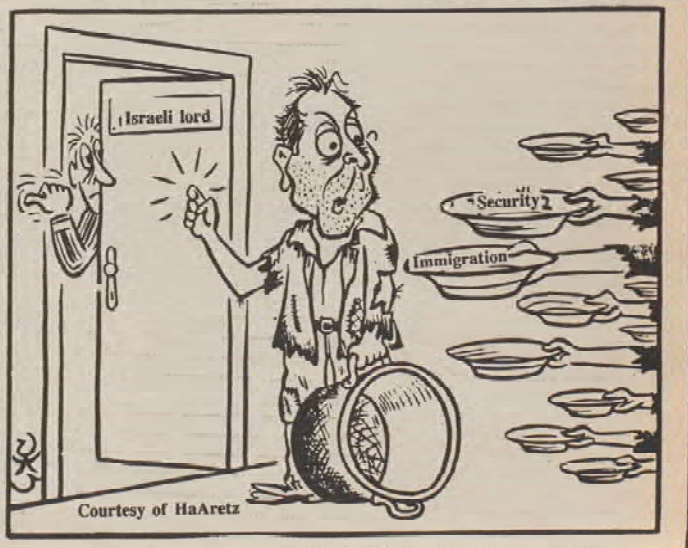
I met him by coincidence in Hadassah Hospital when I went to visit a friend. The hospital security officer sends his men to Abu Sneineh's room often, and this irritates him. They also sent a psychiatrist. They were worried about revenge. Abu Sneineh is indeed excitable. He wanted to be transferred to an Arab hospital, but his doctors ordered him to stay. There were four

store, and it was the same when he got back from school. He didn't have time to do his homework. In the end, they kicked him out of school, and then, he said, he learned only what one learns on the street: "The big fish eats the little fish." Imad Abu Sneineh wanted to be a big fish and ended up in prison.

We calculated that most of his adult life was spent in prison. He is

Tax increase in Israel

Minister of Finance Yitzhak Moda'i said the new budget for 1991 will include increased income and value-added taxes. The income tax will go up by 5 percent to cover costs for absorbing the almost 1 million Soviet Jewish immigrants expected in Israel during the coming five years. Already 160,000 immigrants have arrived in Israel this year. The value-added tax, or sales tax, will increase by 2 percent to reach 18 percent. Moda'i said this tax hike is necessary as the various ministries refuse to cut their budgets. The new fiscal-year budget is U.S. \$30 billion.



CULTURE

Two American artists share Palestinian experience

by Basem Tawfeeq

Two artists from the United States spent three weeks in Palestine last month to gather photographs, literature, and firsthand stories about Palestinians' lives. They plan an art and music show for university audiences to try to illustrate the dramatic contrasts that exist in Palestine/Israel.

"It's ironic to have eight to 10 soldiers at each station of the cross," noted songwriter Cliff Feldman about the military presence at religious sites. He saw more than 1,000 soldiers and police at the Western Wall each Friday. "It looked like a fort. I had the biggest firing squad in the world behind me. If that doesn't make you pray, what will?"

Feldman's partner, Norman Roth, an artist, teacher and illustrator, offered a title for their show: "Journey through the unholy land."

Born and raised in New York City where they were active in protests against the U.S. war in Southeast Asia, they now live in the Syracuse area, in central New York state. They met three years ago at an organizational meeting to oppose a nuclear waste dump in the Lake Ontario basin. They have since teamed up to act graphically and musically on environmental issues. Their successful campaigning has taken them to Canada and throughout the northeastern United States.

Feldman writes and sings songs about violations of human rights and the environment. "The tie is that both are endangering your life and your rights," comments Roth.

"I tell stories in my songs," said Feldman. "We've found that people really get involved. It's an enjoyable way to be told information through music and art. The media picked up on us very quickly because reporters are artists too."

Roth and Feldman first were introduced to the Palestinian question last spring, when they presented a series of lectures at New York State University at Oswego about the Vietnam War and the ways music and art influence the media and politics.

"Recently, the Vietnam War has been glorified, promoting the Rambo mentality," Roth said. During that lecture series, "we predicted this Middle East conflict [the Gulf crisis], that they were preparing the youth for another war."

During one of the lectures, a Palestinian student approached Roth and invited him to attend a conference to learn about the Palestinian issue. Roth told the student that the only information he gets about the issue is the distorted information from the U.S. press.

"I consider myself fairly well-read, an intelligent human being. So if I didn't know about the issue, then the average man in the street must not know much either."

Roth and Feldman then attended another conference about the question of Palestine. "I saw a lot of films. I realized that this can't be all propaganda," Feldman said. As a result, "I had to come here and take a look and bring back the story and try to do something about it."

By way of introduction, Roth says: "Having served in Vietnam, I had the perfect opportunity to experience the impact of the hypocrisy

and lies of the U.S. government. Frankly, I'm sick and tired of always having to feel ashamed of being an American. And after Vietnam, I swore that I would never be a silent partner in their crimes. I feel that by the United States giving annual gifts in the billions of dollars to help promote apartheid in Israel, that we are partners in crime. You know, a few months ago in the United States, there was a lot of flak about people desecrating the flag; I feel there's no greater desecration of the American ideal than present government policies. If they wanted to make flag desecration a crime, then George Bush should be the first to go to jail. The government no longer speaks for me or represents me. I'll speak and represent myself."

Roth concluded: "I've come here now and personally witnessed complete and total human rights violations, and I refuse to be silent."

Feldman's past experience was a lengthy visit to Israel as a teenager 22 years ago. "I came to party."

Feldman says he went through a long process of denial about the Palestinian issue. "I didn't think people I knew could do the things I was hearing about. I had a romantic feeling about Israel, [although] I wouldn't say I'm a Zionist."

Roth and Feldman's trip started poorly. Their travel took 48 hours and their luggage did not arrive for nine days. During their trip, however, they "made a tremendous number of friends in all parts of the country," Feldman said. "We've had no experience even bordering on the negative."

Roth and Feldman spent much time with musicians, artists and theater people. Among other places, they went to Gaza's "Beach [Shati refugee] camp. I'd appreciate it if you'd call it Beach concentration camp, because they're not really

camps," said Feldman.

In Nablus, they were subject to massive and unprovoked tear gassing in the center of town in midday. In Jenin, where they spent several hours with a martyr's family, they were tear gassed and shot at. When Feldman and Roth told the family they would portray their son's life and death in song and art, all in the family home began to cry.

In Bethlehem, Feldman sang a song for Palestine at a Nov. 15 celebration of the declaration of independence. The song, which Feldman wrote last September, is intended for U.S. citizens to see the situation of Palestinians through others' eyes.

"In every city, we went to the hospital," noted Feldman, who called attention to the severity of injuries, which are often perceived, from news accounts, as minor wounds. "To each injury is a major drama -- paralysis, loss of limbs. We've met many people who've lost functions of their sexual organs." Furthermore, he added, in addition to the people injured, "the lives of many people are affected" as a result of that injury.

In East Jerusalem, Feldman and Roth visited the site of the al-Aqsa Mosque massacre in which 17 Palestinians were shot dead last Oct. 8 and at least 337 injured. "The U.S. press forgot to tell that the wall between Palestinians and the Western Wall is 20 feet tall," they remarked.

Feldman said he spoke with many Israelis during the trip. "It's not only the Palestinians' human rights that are being abused," Feldman observed. Noting an upswing in the amount of censorship, he added, "A fascist state is a fascist state...It's only a matter of time until the Israelis have no rights either."

"One thing I found is that the Israeli government, through their media, has scared the average Israeli citizen into being so fearful of the

Palestinians, that they're scared to enter or even be near the territories, because they have the feeling that every Palestinian is going to stab them and kill them. I could see that the Israeli government went to a lot of trouble to put this in their heads."

He wished that a truce could be called so Israelis could meet Palestinians and see "that the fear is just created by the media."

Roth added a reminder to Israelis: "Barbed wire makes prisoners on both sides."

Feldman, who is Jewish, said, "I was raised asking how come Germans didn't say anything to the Nazis...Basically, that's what I'm seeing here: The citizens are basically going about their lives and letting the government abuse people -- brutally."

They plan an art and music show for university audiences to try to illustrate the dramatic contrasts that exist in Palestine/Israel.

"For myself personally," said Feldman, "I think there's a vast Jewish population that doesn't agree with the American Zionist population. Basically, they've been brainwashed and asleep about the issue. More than anybody, I want to reach that Jewish population. It's up to that Jewish population -- the ones who aren't Zionists, the ones who don't believe in beating and killing -- to get the message back to the Israeli government that, 'You're not supported by the Jewish community; you're supported by a minority of the Jewish community.'"

Feldman stressed: "One thing that's sad is that you hear the Palestinians refer to the Israelis as the Jews." When he told Palestinians he was Jewish, they often replied, "But you're not like them." Feldman says, "I want to see that [synonym] separated, and I hope a Jewish outcry will do that."

"I've found the Palestinian people I've met," related Roth, "to be the most sensitive and kind people that I've ever met, a people struggling for their freedom."

Feldman concluded: "I think everybody we met for being so kind to us. If we didn't have to go back home to work, we'd like to stay."

Lyrics of the song Cliff Feldman sang Nov. 15 in Bethlehem

"Dance With The Devil"

What would you feel if they took your child away?
Took your child away -- would you smile?
What would you say with tears upon your eyes?
Tears upon your eyes -- could you think of something wise?

Chorus: Now we go forward and do what we can.
With peace in our hearts and right in our hands,
To meet with new friends with hearts in our hands,
We'll dance with the devil until they turn into lambs.

What would you do if they took your home away?
Took your home away -- would you pray?
What would you do if the books you read were burned?
Books you read were burned -- freedom's quest, would it be earned?

What would you see with barbed wire as your plight?
Barbed wire as your plight -- would it spurn you on to fight?
What would you say if you knew that this was true?
Knew that this was true -- could oppression conquer you?

WEEKLY REVIEW

November 22

HOUSE, FARM AND STORE DESTROYED

The Israeli military demolished Hassan Ahmad's Nawasreh's house, in Fahmeh village, near Jenin, on the pretext that it was built without a license. A store and a farm in Fahmeh belonging to Fawzi Raja Nawasreh were demolished on the same pretext.

AL-QUDS

ARAB STUDENTS THREATENED

The Israeli daily newspaper *Ma'ariv* reported that a letter threatening Arab students at Hebrew University was sent to Arab students in their dormitories. The letter said, "Death to Arabs, death to PLO collaborators in the university. Kach members are all over the country and here you will be killed. We need the university empty of Arab scum." The letter was signed "The storm is coming. Kahane's sons in the university."

AL-QUDS

HOUSES CLOSED

The Israeli military closed three houses in Nablus belonging to families of Iyad Younis Mousa, Amjad Taher Zaid and Azzam Atta Marmash because the three have been arrested on alleged political grounds. A fourth house belonging to Ahmad Mousa Harfoush, of Kharbathat al-Misbah village, near Ramallah, was sealed on the pretext that his 24-year-old son, Hamdi, was also arrested for alleged political activities.

AL-QUDS

PALESTINIAN WORKERS ARRESTED

Israeli police conducted a search campaign for workers from the occupied territories staying inside the "green line." The police arrested 15 Palestinians in the Wadi Ara area. The workers were charged with being in the area illegally.

AL-QUDS

SCHOOLS CLOSED

The Israeli army closed al-Fadiliyeh Secondary School for Boys, in Tulkarm, for two weeks on the pretext that students threw stones and raised Palestinian flags in the schoolyard. In Nablus, the army also shut down the Industrial Secondary School for Boys for one week, because students allegedly threw stones.

AL-QUDS

November 24

THREE SCHOOLS CLOSED

The Israeli army ordered the Tulkarm Secondary School and the Hebron al-Hussein Ibn Ali Secondary School closed until further notice. Students were accused of stoning military vehicles. Talal Secondary School in Nablus was closed for one week.

AL-QUDS

KACH MEMBERS ATTACK ARABS

Israeli television reported that a gang of members of the ultra-rightist Israeli Kach movement attacked several Palestinian residents in the Old City of Jerusalem.

AL-QUDS

CHILDREN FINED THOUSANDS

The Israeli Military Court fined a 9- and a 12-year-old from Balata, near Nablus. Amer Ahmad Nassar, 9, was fined NIS1,300 and Najj Abdel Latif Nassar, 12, was fined NIS1,200, both allegedly for stone-throwing.

AL-FAJR

RAMALLAH STORES CLOSED

Israeli soldiers forced Ramallah's shopowners to close down on the pretext that a Molotov cocktail was thrown at a military jeep.

AL-FAJR

RESIDENT IMPRISONED FOR DISTRIBUTING BALLOONS

The Ramallah Military

Court gave three months in prison or an NIS2,000 fine to Idna resident Hijazi Muhammad al-Timeizi. The 24-year-old from the Hebron-area village was accused of distributing balloons to children on Palestinian Independence Day.

AL-ITTIHAD

November 25

TWO HOUSES DEMOLISHED

Israeli soldiers bulldozed two houses in the Nablus-area villages Wadi al-Bathan and Huwara for allegedly being built without licenses. The homes belonged to Ahmad Ismail Dababsch and Mahmoud Ahmad Odch.

AL-QUDS

CHILDREN FINED

The Israeli military government imposed a fine of NIS500 each on two Jenin

children, allegedly for stoning army patrols. Nidal Hamoudch Abu Shaqrah is 11 and Ahmad al-Husis is 14. Jamal Sa'ad al-Din Masa'adeh, a 16-year-old resident of Za'atara village, near Bethlehem, was fined NIS1,000 for bringing his documents in to army administrators several days late.

AL-SHA'AB

HUNGER STRIKER HOSPITALIZED

Lawyer Jawad Bonlos said that his client, detainee Bassam Abdel Hamid al-Saych, has been moved to Hadassah Hospital. Saych, who was detained on Nov. 11, has been on a hunger strike.

AL-ITTIHAD

November 26

HOUSE DEMOLISHED

The Israeli army used bulldozers to demolish an al-Zawiych village home outside Nablus belonging to Nasser Hassan Shufer, on the pretext that the house was built without a license.

AL-QUDS

DEMOLITION APPEALED

Al-Bireh resident Omran Said al-Anati has appealed to the Israeli High Court to overturn the demolition order for his home, which he rents. The demolition was ordered, verbally, on the pretext that his son Muhanad is a "security" detainee.

AL-QUDS

POLITICAL PRISONER DENIED MEDICINE

The Israeli daily newspaper *HaAretz* said Nadia Mahameed, a prisoner in Telmond Prison, has been prevented by prison administrators from taking her prescription medicine. Though her lawyer gives the medication to the prison nurse, she never receives it. Mahameed is recovering from an operation.

AL-QUDS



A new anti-Intifada graffiti machine: An Israeli soldier spraying black paint on anti-occupation graffiti in a West Bank village.



A Syrian resident of Majdal Shams, in the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights, was killed Nov. 23 when an Israeli army patrol opened fire on him and a second Golanai as they were attempting to cross the border into Syria. Residents of Majdal Shams laid Fayeze Said Mahmoud to rest in a massive funeral the next day.

WEEKLY REVIEW

JOURNALIST ARRESTED

Israeli army officials arrested Nablus journalist Muhammad Abdallah Amireh. Amireh, the head of *Al-Sha'ab* Arabic daily's Nablus office, was administratively detained for six months.

AL-FAJR

RESIDENT FINED

Seventeen-year-old Rafah refugee camp resident Ayman Muhammad Oeshta was fined NIS3,000 and Hussein Mustafa al-Houli fined NIS7,000. Both Gaza Strip Palestinians were charged with throwing stones at army vehicles.

AL-FAJR

SCHOOL CLOSED

The Israeli military government closed al-Lubban village's secondary school for boys for one week, on the pretext that students stoned Israeli cars. The village lies on the main road to Nablus.

AN-NAHAR

LIFE SENTENCE

The Israeli Military Court in Nablus sentenced 21-year-old Maher Ahmad Abdel Khaleq to life imprisonment. The resident of Kufr Ra'i village, near Jenin, was accused of killing a collaborator in prison four years ago. The same court recently sentenced his 26-year-old brother Zaher to 17 years in prison. The army also demolished his father's house.

AL-SHA'AB

November 27

TWO HOMES AND FARM DESTROYED

The Israeli army bulldozed a farm in al-Zawiych village belonging to Fayez Marwan, allegedly because he did not have a building license.

The home of Abdel Karim, in the Nablus-area village of Bidya, was also destroyed for allegedly lacking a building license.

In Beit Jala, the military bulldozed part of the home of Ibrahim Jaber Masalmeh, alleging that the addition was built after his February 1987 building license, issued by the Beit Jala municipality, had expired.

AL-OUDES

ANABTA'S ONLY GAS STATION CLOSED

Israeli soldiers closed the only gas station in the town

of Anabta until further notice, claiming Israeli cars had been stoned in the area.

AL-FAJR

SOLDIERS' SENTENCES REDUCED

Two soldiers convicted of beating a Palestinian family in Beitin village, near Ramallah, four months ago had their sentences reduced. The Israeli Military Appeals Court reduced one soldier's sentence by two weeks, and the other's by a month, to equal their commander's sentence. Their commander was convicted for the same offense.

AL-FAJR

November 28

GAZAN SENTENCED TO LIFE

The Israeli Military Court in Gaza sentenced 22-year-old Gaza City resident Imad Abdel Banna to life plus two years in prison, on the grounds that he was found guilty of killing several people suspected of collaborating with the Israeli occupation government.

AL-FAJR

PALESTINIANS GIVEN GREEN IDENTITY CARDS

The Israeli military headquarters in Bethlehem issued 47 green identity cards to Palestinians from al-Azzah and Aida refugee camps, banning them from entering Israel and East Jerusalem for six months.

Three Palestinians in the Nablus and Tulkarm areas were also issued green identity cards.

AL-FAJR

BURQA RESIDENTS ORDERED TO PAINT OVER GRAFFITI

The Israeli military ordered residents of Burqa village, in the Tulkarm area, to paint over nationalist graffiti on walls throughout the village.

AL-FAJR

TWO HOMES DEMOLISHED

The Israeli military used bulldozers to demolish two Palestinian homes in the Ramallah-area villages of al-Mughayer and Zayyem, claiming their owners built them without obtaining proper authorization.

AN-NAHAR



Every Nov. 2, hundreds from two northern villages, Kufr Burum and Igrith, observe the anniversary of their forced departure from their villages, located near the Lebanese border. The residents want to return to their villages to rebuild them but the Israeli military continue to refuse their requests, claiming the lands are military zones.

*Peace for the oppressed
of Blood Brothers*



Scores of Israelis from the peace camp demonstrated Nov. 24 in front of a settlement in the occupied territories, demanding an end to the settlement policy which they consider an impediment to peace with the Palestinians.

Jordan

continued from page 4

fantasies turned overnight into reality.

In estimating the imminent danger to Jordan, we must bear in mind that the ruling powers in Israel now believe that greater Israel includes the East Bank of the Jordan River. They believe they are doing the Arabs a favor by not reclaiming it, and some clearly believe the Palestinians should be deported from the occupied territories, and perhaps then be allowed to establish an independent state on the East Bank of the Jordan.

And, if we bear in mind that the economic interests of the West would be well-served if the Israeli military moved closer to the borders of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait (to protect them from Saddam Hussein or "future Saddams"), then we can see the dangers to Jordan, especially today.

It should be said in conclusion that the only way out is for Jordan to consolidate its democratic institutions and strengthen both its domestic and inter-Arab relations. This will guarantee that an attack against Jordan will be met with fierce resistance, and will ultimately lead its attackers to failure. Any concessions made by the Jordanian people will only make defeating them easier.

WEST BANK PRESS



Al-Fajr, Nov. 25, 1990

Palestinian press says university closure hurts

Editorials this week in the local Palestinian press focused on the closure of Palestinian universities and the U.N. Security Council's vote approving the use of force against Iraq.

The Nov. 27 editorial in *Al-Quds* pointed out that with the exception of Bethlehem University and several colleges in East Jerusalem which were reopened two months ago, the major centers of learning -- an-Najah, Bir Zeit and Hebron universities in the West Bank, and Islamic University in Gaza -- are still closed, for the third consecutive year.

The continuing closure of the universities, the paper said, harms these educational institutions in the occupied territories and prevents thousands of students from pursuing their studies. And thousands more who finished high school in the last three years have not been able to enroll in university.

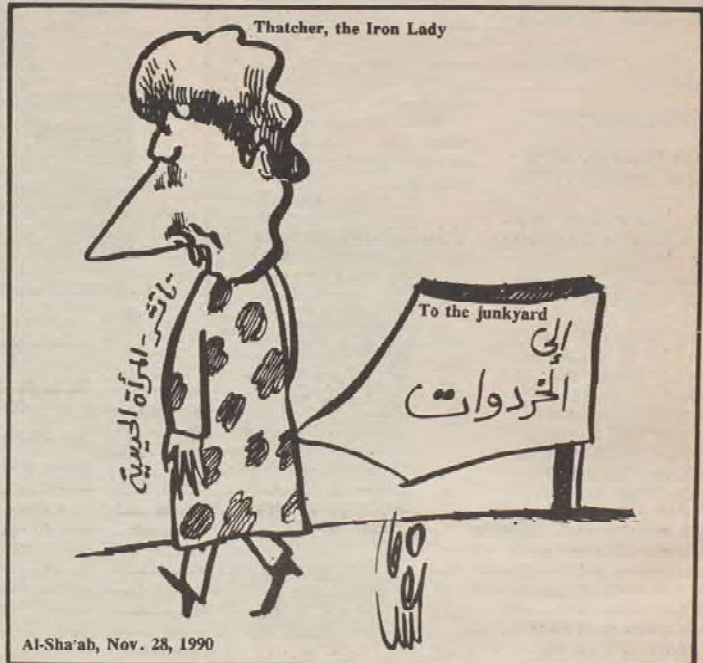
Al-Sha'ab's Nov. 27 editorial addressed the same crisis of higher education in the occupied territories.

If the military government does not retract its decision and reopen the universities, the editorial said, the closure policy will cause immeasurable harm to the entire educational system in the occupied territories. This can already be seen, it said.

The paper appealed to all humane international organizations, especially UNESCO, to fulfill its moral obligation and work for the reopening of all Palestinian educational institutions.

Al-Fajr said in its Nov. 27 editorial that the United States is doing its best to convince the U.N. Security Council to issue its 11th decision against Iraq, which would allow the use of force. This is in fact a declaration of war against Iraq, the editorial said, under the international umbrella and clothed in U.N. legitimacy.

The paper argued that in spite of this decision, a political solution still remains the only just path to reach a solution to the Gulf crisis.



Al-Sha'ab, Nov. 28, 1990

in Lebanon refugee Camps during 1982-1985

History

continued from page 9

of the "Jordanian option." All such attempts, however, have failed.

Of particular significance to our discussion here is to note that the Palestinian people have persistently paid a heavy price for asserting their right to independent representation of their own choosing. The Intifada is the product of many decades of oppression and suffering; it is a declaration that a new stage of Palestinian struggle has commenced, in which resistance to the occupation will be centered in the occupied territories. Furthermore, the Intifada represents a reassertion of the solidarity between Palestinians under occupation and those in exile, the former being subjected to daily harassments by the Israeli authorities, and the latter being marginalized in their places of residence, or worse, reduced to eating dogs, cats and rats in order to survive. The *Muntafidun* (uprisers) set out to challenge and eradicate the psychological message to the Arab regimes who, in their November 1987 summit held in Amman, had demoted the question of Palestine: Arab governments' acquiescence to Washington's policies in the area encouraged the Israeli authorities to intensify their oppressive practices. In asserting Palestinian national unity and in affirming their right to choose the PLO as their sole legitimate representative, the Palestinians proclaimed that their struggle cannot be conditioned upon Arab governments' support or upon dreamed-of fairness from the United States.

What is really happening now in occupied Palestine is a contest between the will of the indigenous people in asserting their rights and the lust of colonial power to affirm its capacity for control. Naturally, one would expect that the means the occupied people employs in the struggle will be adapted to correlate with the degree of injustice inflicted upon it. By the same token, one can predict that the occupier will utilize all the resources at its disposal to crush the challenges confronting it. With determination and a clear political vision, the will of the people, in the final analysis, will prevail.

However, it should be stressed that the pattern is unmistakable: Israeli policy-makers make no secret of their program to suppress the Palestinian Intifada, and Washington continues to forward blank checks. Perpetuating brutalities committed over the years, Israel has, since the beginning of the Intifada, killed hundreds of Palestinians and wounded tens of thousands more. In spite of this, the United States accords Israel "most-favored nation" status, both militarily and economically.

In response to the demand for recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people, the United States took a rejectionist stand. The Reagan administration, following in the footsteps of previous administrations, stated its public opposition to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. It expanded every effort to deny the Palestinian people the exercise of their right to self-determination. The 1987 closure of the Palestine Information Office in Washington, D.C., the repeated attempt to close the Palestine Liberation Organization Mission at the

United Nations, and the late 1988 denial of a travel visa to Yasser Arafat, chairman of the PLO, to attend and address the United Nations General Assembly's session on the question of Palestine, in violation of the 1947 Headquarters Agreement, are not indicative of a constructive attitude on the part of American foreign policy-makers.

The Reagan administration's talk about revitalization of the "peace process" in the Middle East, and the several visits by former Secretary of State George P. Shultz to the area, were in fact reiterations of previous American policies whose primary goal was and still is to suppress any positive change in the region, in the event that Palestinians succeed in switching the pieces on the chessboard. The essence of Shultz's political maneuvers in the region was to revive the subscription for Palestinian "self-rule" or "autonomy" repeatedly advocated by the Carter and Reagan administrations. The fact that the Reagan administration kept silent on Israel's brutal harassment of Palestinians, and, until late 1988, the rejectionist stand taken by that administration to meet with the recognized Palestinian representative body, the PLO, add credibility to the belief that the primary goal of the latest American "peace initiatives" in the Middle East is to diffuse the mounting pressure on Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories and to recognize the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people.

The United States' repeated opposition to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state under constant badgering from, as a concerned American scholar put it, "our senator from Israel, Alan Cranston," makes every utterance by American policy-makers about peace brokering in the Middle East devoid of substance. Furthermore, the United States' attempt to illegally block the membership of the state of Palestine in United Nations subsidiary agencies such as the World Health Organization (WHO) sheds additional light on its real stand toward the question of Palestine.

This exceptionally negative attitude toward Palestine nowadays is found only in the United States. On numerous United Nations resolutions, in the General Assembly and in the Security Council, the United States has stood in vehement opposition to the international consensus on the question of Palestine. The United States has voted against nearly every resolution and has blocked all efforts to settle the complex problems in the Middle East. Domestically, the ideological construction of American political thought has created an image of the Palestinian which is not only totally divorced from any human feeling, but which also systematically intoxicates the American public with misinformation. This total misperception of Palestinians in the United States led the Jewish historian and scholar Alfred Lilienthal to remark:

How many Americans have ever been given the chance to understand that the Palestine Liberation Organization is a legitimate organization, part of a general effort by the Palestinians to organize their people? The disrupted Palestinian nationalism has concealed the simple truth of the similarity of the Palestinians'

likeness to all peoples as well as the uniqueness of their circumstances.

When cornered occasionally by a knowledgeable liberal to explain their harsh treatment of the Palestinians, Israeli resort to the familiar mythology that these Palestinians hardly existed as a people or as a culture, that they were at best an inchoate and amorphous mass of peasants. Thus when the Israelis destroy houses and villages and seize lands, etc., it scarcely matters. As the myth goes, the Palestinians are barely human beings, let alone cultured human beings, and one need not waste any time thinking of them as a modern society or as a civilized people.

The reduction of a human problem to undignified semantics guarantees suppression of information and facts which are openly discussed in other countries, even among Israelis.

American foreign policy-makers should assume a position compatible with the international consensus on the question of Palestine. They should not acquiesce to Zionist/Israeli pressures. They are bound to recognize the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, independence in representation and statehood. The only place for these inalienable rights to be exercised is on Palestinian national soil. The Palestinian people are entitled to exercise the above-mentioned rights no less than the people of the United States, or any other people, for that matter. Unless these rights are seriously and comprehensively addressed by the United States, the Israeli occupation will most likely thrive. In response, this would mean the further intensification of the Palestinian struggle.

In no other political environment do the complexities of the question of Palestine need to be more thoroughly understood than in the United States, since it is Washington which contributes the most to inflicting all these tragedies on the people of Palestine. The American public is entitled to know that the Israeli occupation could not be sustained and so prolonged without being unconditionally backed by the United States at all levels: materially, ideologically, financially and spiritually. As the chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, Israel Shabak, reasoned, Israel's persistence in maintaining this Nazi-like phenomenon in the Middle East is

fundamentally dependent on U.S. support.

The preposterousness of the distorted view that Israel is the oasis of democracy in the Middle East should be examined and challenged assertively. How can democracy and the denial of a people's rights be compatible? Does the enhancement of democratic institutions entail the perpetuation of military occupation? These are serious, critical questions and thus require serious answers removed from rhetoric and propaganda. Zionist racism employs religious justifications to serve colonial purposes by claiming that Jews are God's chosen people on earth. This posture can be compared, ironically, to Hitler's claim that the Aryan race was superior. In the name of religious superiority, the people of Palestine were subjected to persecution at the time of establishing the Zionist entity. And, under the guise of spreading "democracy," they are now being treated immorally and illegally.

The United States understands that the main goal of the Intifada is to establish on the ground the independent Palestinian state. Mainly for this reason, the United States increased its military and economic aid to Israel, in perpetuation of its longstanding hostility toward the Palestinian people.

Examining the historico-political antecedents we have outlined above, one would conclude that the more oppression Israel and the United States inflict upon the Palestinian people, the more innovative and imaginative the forms of Palestinian struggle will become.

Unquestionably, in addition to its effects on the Palestinian people themselves, the Intifada has shaped the entire social, psychological, political and perhaps, military structure in the Middle East region as a whole. The element of fear has disappeared from Palestinian society, replaced by the unprecedented courageous struggle against a colonial phenomenon. Collaboration by a minute handful of Palestinians with the Israeli occupation has proved, more than ever, to be a costly pursuit. The role of Palestinian women in resisting the occupation has risen to unequalled prominence. Exercising independence is being institutionalized in all spheres of life -- economically, socially, politically and diplomatically. All of these manifestations of the Intifada, crowned by the willingness to sacrifice, will undoubtedly transcend the Palestinian society to become a concrete reality in the entire Middle East.

Kahanism

continued from page 5:

Ze'evi [MK, Moledet] way among secondary school students.

Kahane always accompanied his calls to deport the Palestinians with incitement against the left in particular and democracy in general. The cliché, "hostile press," was in fact taken from the bucket of Kahanist ideas. Therefore, after Kahane's supporters attacked Palestinians during his funeral, they continued their aggression against journalists and even the Israeli broadcasting building.

In past years, Kahane's racist ideas have seeped into circles which

do not belong to his movement. The leaders of the "transfer parties" like Moledet and Tehiya clearly express Kahanist ideology and copy Kahanist gangster methods. During Knesset debates one could see a number of Knesset members from the Likud attacking leftist MKs, in defense of Kahane and Kahanism.

Without indulging in an analysis of the way Kahanism functions, and will continue to function after the killing of Kahane, one urgent task which should be done is to forge cooperation among all the opposition parties. Only cooperation will enable a massive education and media campaign against racism, for a Jewish-Arab peace and for the defense of democratic freedoms.

Changes in Lebanon's refugee camps during 1982-1987

Naim Abu al-Hummus, secretary of Council of Higher Education:

International community not doing enough for universities

Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens ordered four Palestinian universities in the occupied territories closed for another three months. The universities have already been closed for three years. Al-Fajr's Khaled Abu Aker talked to Naim Abu al-Hummus, general-secretary of the Council for Higher Education in the occupied territories, concerning this matter.

Israeli decision to extend the university closures?

A: The Israeli authorities are continuing on their path of closing the four major universities and the Israeli mentality still considers these universities a threat to the security of Israel. I can't really tell anymore what does and does not serve as a threat to the security of Israel. Now the student and the book are threats.

The impact of the closures on the future of Palestinian students is very

serious and will eventually hurt Palestinian society. Denying a Palestinian the right to higher education is the same as denying him the right to develop and to exist in a civilized way.

Over 50,000 high school students have graduated since 1987. These students have no opportunity to study, neither at home nor outside. All the universities are now totally closed, like deserted homes.

Q: What do you think of the inter-

national stand regarding the closures?

A: I am really disappointed with the international position on this issue, which represents only a small fraction of the rights of the Palestinian people. The international silence, particularly as the closures enter their fourth year, indicates that the international community does not care about our rights and only cares for its interests, and oil.

Q: What will be the impact of the

A point of view by Steve Sozby

Not every outsider is alien to the Palestinian predicament

At a Palestinian hospital outside Jerusalem, a young social worker reads me the file of a 10-year-old boy from Khan Yunis. The boy, she says, lost both his legs and half of his right arm when a bomb was reportedly dropped from an Israeli airplane.

"Nizar was planting flowers with his sister and grandmother on Sept. 10, 1990 when a plane flew over close to the ground. He then looked down and said, 'Grandma, I'm on fire.'" She frowns and picks up another file. "Lulu Abu Dahi from Shaboura in the Gaza Strip. She is 9 years old and was shot in the head with a metal bullet on Feb. 25, 1989. She is paralyzed in all four limbs and needs speech therapy, a special wheelchair and physiotherapy to release spasticity in her limbs." The woman forces a polite smile and closes the file. I avoid her eyes.

"Would you like to hear an American talk about non-violence? He's speaking to the staff and some of the patients here, right now. I fear I'll be too angry to listen to him. I want to take him Lulu and Nizar and tell him to speak to Israelis about non-violence."

I enter the half-full cafeteria as a long-faced, clearly sincere middle-aged man lectures in American English. Sitting next to him is a fast-talking Palestinian man interpreting every other sentence. On the man's right hand is a Wild E. Coyote puppet and on his left hand is a yellow giraffe. I have missed the beginning of the lecture.

"...And the soldier (the coyote) is being aggressive with me (the giraffe). 'You have to leave the area now,' he says, pushing me." The man moves the coyote's mouth when he speaks like the soldier. "And the giraffe has to react. He is gentle and he wants the coyote to feel his suffering, to know his pain. He wants him to see his side of the violence."

I look around the room trying not to laugh. I've never seen puppets used here before, and certainly not by an outsider addressing Palestinians about their situation. Facing the speaker are the hospital's staff. All of them are young Palestinian adults, except for a nun, who is elderly and fair. To the side are the patients, including a few young men and boys paralyzed or disabled during the Intifada. Two foreign women sit behind me. Legless, handless 10-year-old Nizar sits in a wheelchair in the corner. He stares at the American in the same manner as everyone else: attentive but expressionless; his face revealing nothing except determination and intensity.

The speaker continued: "I was at a prison in Sweden and there was one man who had been waiting years to get out. The man said to me in anger how he burns for the day he is free so to get the man who put him there. He was someone who had done something bad to his family. And I said to the prisoner, 'I can explain to you why it would be more satisfying to have empathy with your enemy. I can tell you why it is better to make him feel the depth of your pain rather than to inflict injury on him.' And for the next few hours I explained to him why empathy, non-violence and the sharing of each other's pain is a more satisfying method of dealing with your enemy."

Just as he stops for questions, young Nizar wheels himself with great effort out of the hall. He is wearing the same polite smile that the social worker forced on her face for me moments earlier. It is obvious he can take no more of the coyotes and giraffes.

A young woman in the front row quickly raises her hand. "She is asking about her father," explains the interpreter. "If her father is killed, how can you make your enemy, a soldier, feel that pain?" The girl knows English and corrects him. "What about the dead? What do you do for them? Forget them?" Her voice breaks with emotion.

Undaunted, the speaker lays the puppets on his lap. "I would seek empathy within my own community first. I would let those near me feel my pain and seek understanding with them before I'd go outside my people for it." I was glad Nizar left. He has enough problems now without having to digest that one into his innocent mind.

A young man asks the next question. "He says that we have been the giraffes for so long. He wants to know how long the giraffe should wait for the coyote to change." The interpreter looks as if he wants to hear the response to this one. I squirm in my seat and find it impossible to concentrate on the response. It seems obvious now what he will say.

A young man in a wheelchair speaks up loudly in Arabic. He's not ask-

ing a question and the interpreter looks worried. A gentle English woman raises her hand. "Gandhi threw the British out of India with non-violence and a national agenda. He had a goal for his country behind his strategy of peaceful resistance."

The man hesitates and looks confused. "Is that a question?" It's obvious to everyone what she is implying. "I think she's talking about nationalism as a concept here for the Palestinians," I interject, so to keep the session rolling. "Can you talk about non-violence without including a realistic goal for statehood here? At what point do you tell them they have attained their goals?" The English woman doesn't correct my inclusion.

"I don't take political positions. I was asked to come and lend my expertise on this subject by some people here and that is what I'm doing," explains the American. "I know at least there are a half-dozen people in here that agree with me." He is becoming defensive. The interpreter stands up: "We are talking about non-violent communication within our society, not non-violent resistance to the occupation." I almost wonder aloud how a coyote symbolizing a soldier relates to inter-Palestinian communication. My pulse races and I raise my hand to ask a question. I want to let the Palestinians present know that not all outsiders are hostile and ignorant to their struggle, that there are some of us who do recognize and respect their suffering and the sacrifices for justice and peace that they have made. I want it known that I love Palestine too. I especially want to tell Nizar and the social worker, so their smiles won't be forced.

More comments loudly fly from the crippled section representing the Intifada. The interpreter stands up again. "Let me say that when Israel first occupied us, they established policies that were designed to internalize the conflict. An effective one was to use our social customs to divide us. Our men, the traditional symbol of authority in our culture, are always singled out at roadblocks and during house searches and beaten and humiliated in front of their wives and families. The Israelis know that when the men go home they will look for an excuse to regain their dignity or authority in the family, often by emotional or physical violence against the wife or children. So you see, we have to free ourselves socially first and in a non-violent manner." He has spoken eloquently, but only in English. "It is a way to resist the occupation and get our state." The speaker stares ahead.

I keep my hand up. I want to tell the outsider, who has remained seemingly oblivious to the debate he started, that he is actually harming the chances for peace here by acting politically neutral, by being only a "peace expert," who is not responsible for the effects of his ideas.

I want to explain to him in the same condescending and childlike fashion as he had done, not with hand puppets but with chalk and a board, that the Israeli occupation is like a house with a leaking roof causing mold and damage to the inner structure underneath. One can try to fix separate deteriorating locations in the house (like many good intentioned people here try to correct various aspects of Palestinian society under occupation, such as social inequalities, economic underdevelopment, etc.), only to watch as the roof further erodes the structure around them. Unless the roof is repaired, or in the case of the Israeli occupation completely removed and replaced with one that is supported by the people, any efforts at fixing anything underneath is worthless, for the whole structure will eventually collapse. Only after the occupation is ended can the social, economic and political problems in Palestine be realistically and effectively addressed. Otherwise what was fixed below will only again be damaged from above.

But before I can relieve my agony of being viewed by the staff and patients as another outsider with puppets and questionable advice, the speaker picks up an acoustic guitar and begins to sing. "He'll take questions on an individual basis after a song," the interpreter says. Many of the staff get up and leave, while the young men in the wheelchairs remain still, their eyes still fixed forward. And the man sings to the strumming of his guitar: "Look to life, like the leaves look to the sun, like the birds go to the grain..."

I go to the door. What I had to say was not meant for my fellow countryman, but for the patients and staff, and especially Nizar, and my anger is in my failure to make it known: Not every outsider is a coyote.

Steve Sozby is an American free-lance journalist.

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War breaks out in Gulf; Israel hit by Scud missiles

War broke out in the Gulf in the early hours of Jan. 17, less than 24 hours after the United Nations deadline for Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait had expired. The U.S. Air Force led the aerial bombardment of Iraqi positions and dropped over 18,000 tons of bombs that morning alone, according to U.S. military reports. Initially, the United States and its allies believed they had destroyed Iraq's military hardware. They

were in for a shock, however, when Iraq responded to the American-led attack by firing Scud missiles at Israel 24 hours later. A second missile attack on Israel took place the following night. The missiles fell on Tel Aviv and Haifa and injured 20 people. A few days into the war, Iraq was still holding up under the intense bombardment. Experts believe the war will drag on for a long time and that there will be many casualties.

Murder of Salah Khalaf and other Fatah leaders shock Palestinians

An assassin shot dead three top Palestinian leaders - Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), Hayel Abdel Hamid (Abu al-Houl) and Fakhri al-Umari (Abu Muhammad)

-- of the Fatah movement in Tunis late Jan. 14.

News of the triple murder spread like a shock wave among Palestinians everywhere. In the occupied territories, mass protests broke out in many areas. Israeli soldiers shot dead three people and wounded over 100 others. Israeli military placed the entire Gaza Strip and much of the West Bank under curfew to prevent further escalation in protests. (See Intifada Update for more details.)

The assassin, identified as Hamzeh Abu Zeid, served as a bodyguard to Abu al-Houl, who was in charge of the Fatah security appara-

tus. Abu Zeid opened fire on the three leaders while they were meeting at Abu al-Houl's home in Qurtaj neighborhood of Tunis, headquarters of the Fatah movement and the PLO.

After shooting the three, Abu Zeid took Abu al-Houl's wife and child hostage and asked for a plane to take him out of the country. He was later apprehended and his hostages released unharmed.

The motive for the murders is still unknown. However, the murderer was a member of the extremist Abu Nidal group which has

see Murder, page 7

Intifada Update

Six killed as areas placed under curfew

Israeli soldiers shot dead six Palestinians and injured scores of others in a very tense week which witnessed the murder of three top Fatah leaders in Tunis and the outbreak of war in the Gulf.

The army placed the entire Gaza Strip and much of the West Bank under curfew Jan. 15 following the news that three Fatah leaders were killed in Tunis. The curfew was intensified and expanded to include the entire West Bank and many parts of East Jerusalem when war broke out in the Gulf in the early hours of Jan. 17.

Following is a day-by-day breakdown of events in the occupied territories during the week.

JANUARY 12: A second ugee camp near Hebron, day curfew remained in Dheisheh refugee camp force on the city and refugee spent its ninth consecutive camp of Khan Yunis in the day under curfew, while Nur Gaza Strip and Fawwar ref-

see Intifada, page 7

About this issue

The war in the Gulf has directly affected life in the occupied territories. Movement of Palestinians has been greatly restricted, making it even more difficult to function normally. As a result, this edition has eight pages instead of the usual 16. We hope to be able to resume normal work soon.

The Dawn
AL-FAJR
Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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

AL FAJR Arabic newspaper was founded in 1972 by Yusef Nasr who edited the paper until his kidnapping in 1974. He has not been found since. The English weekly edition began in April 1980. Both the Arabic daily and English weeklies are published by Omar International, Inc., 16 Crowell St., Hempstead, N.Y. 11550. Telex 967701 OMAR HEM. For information contact the main office: P.O. Box 19315, 2 Hatem al-Ta'ee Street, East Jerusalem, via Israel. Tel. (02) 281035. Fax (02) 283336 - Telex 26467 Omar il. In the United States please contact: 2025 I Street, N.W., Suite 925, Washington D.C. 20006. Tel. (202) 466 3538. Fax (202) 659-2089. Reproduction of material published in the weekly Al-Fajr in part or total is permitted without prior permission. We only request that credit be given to Al-Fajr for any articles or paragraphs adapted from it.

Begins North-South war

The war in the Gulf is now a few days old. The aerial bombardment of Iraqi cities and installations is proceeding at an unprecedented rate. Yet, there is no sign that Iraq is going to surrender or that the war will come to a halt at any time in the near future. What this indicates, therefore, is that the Gulf is in for a long and disastrous war with the potential of involving other nations in the region. It could develop into a third world war.

We have already seen how Iraq fired a number of Scud missiles into Israel and how Israel threatened to hit back. If Israel gets involved, one can be assured that the area of the war will grow. Even without Israel's involvement, if the war drags on, it is highly likely that other nations in the region will get involved. Once this happens, there is no telling the end of this war.

The United States and its allies believe that Iraq will soon surrender under pressure of their aerial bombardment. They reached this conclusion too hastily after the first massive aerial bombardment the morning of Jan. 17. The perseverance of Iraq, however, disappointed them and proved how wrong their calculations could be. Does this critical miscalculation serve as a reflection of previous American miscalculations before the war started? Apparently yes.

The United States appears to really believe that as a superpower it can impose its will on smaller nations. It did this successfully in the past in Grenada and Panama,

and that seems to have inflated its ego. It talks about a new world order and a "family of nations." This new order will have to fit its definition; in other words, within this family of nations, the United States will act as parent, and anyone who steps out of line will be punished.

Washington's shortsightedness has been the cause of many conflicts. The United States never admits it is mistaken when it clearly is. In this new world order and the family of nations, the U.S. is the outcast and the

odd man out. Once the U.S. straightens itself up, we certainly will have a better and more prosperous world. The U.S. will have to admit that it made many mistakes in its recent history and will have to work toward correcting them.

As the United States continues efforts to impose its will and culture on the whole world, it is going to be faced with strong resistance and start many conflicts. Iraq is not the only country determined to fight U.S. hegemony intentions. The support Iraq is finding in many developing countries indicates that what is happening in the Gulf is a mini-war between developing and developed countries, between south and north. If the East-West Cold War is over with, the North-South hot war is just beginning.

Iraq will eventually win the war and pro-America Arabs will lose

by Asad Abu Farid

Just a few hours before the meeting of Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Geneva, Henry Kissinger spoke on American television. The former U.S. secretary of state warned Baker and the American government not to agree to an international conference for peace in the Middle East. Kissinger stressed that such an agreement would be viewed as a concession and a reward to Iraqi President Saddam Hussein.

A day before the Aziz-Baker meeting, Israeli Foreign Minister David Levy said that the United States should stop all efforts at achieving peace and should attack Iraq. He indicated that Israel believed that even if Iraq withdrew from Kuwait unconditionally and faced no military threat, this would constitute a victory for Saddam Hussein because his military would remain strong. On the same day, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir seconded what both Kissinger and Levy had said.

In a press conference after the Geneva meeting, Baker said the United States could not agree to a linkage of the Gulf crisis and the Arab-Israeli conflict because it might send the wrong signal to Saddam Hussein. His explanation was an echo of the statements of Kissinger, Levy and Shamir.

What exactly does it mean when most world leaders and nations yearn for a peaceful resolution to the Gulf crisis while Israel and company beat the war drums? The answer is that peaceful settlement in the Gulf would surely shed light on the Israeli occupation of Palestine and other Arab lands. Such a linkage is not illogical. Occupation of land by force and aggression is illegal by any respects. If the United States does not believe in the occupation of land by force, then why have they been supporting Israel and its occupation for the past decades? An international conference would surely put Israel in a dilemma. It would be based on all U.N. resolutions and would force Israel to end its occupation of the West Bank, Gaza, south Lebanon and the Golan Heights. If Israel did not comply it would face world community sanctions and force as Iraq does now.

The international community has been aware of Israeli practices in the occupied territories and against Palestinians. For 42 years, Israel has systematically ignored all U.N. resolutions and, since 1967, has annexed land, taken water resources, demolished homes, expelled Palestinians and, most importantly, built settlements to absorb Russian Jewish immigrants at the expense of the Palestinians and their land.

The Israeli leaders have rejected all peace initiatives supported by the United Nations and others. Their intransigence has been supported by unlimited American military, political and economic aid. The Zionist lobby knows how to deal with the American cowboy mentality, and to put it to use to further their goal of a Greater Israel.

For this reason, Israel pushed the United States into a war with Iraq while the rest of the world and its leaders were doing their best to find some peaceful means to end the conflict.

Is an all-out war worth it for the United States, just because it does not feel the time is right for an international conference, even though the rest of the world, including the European Community, the East, and the So-

cialist bloc countries believe otherwise? Just one sentence from Israel would save the world from catastrophe. All they have to say is: "We are ready to pull out of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and adhere to U.N. resolutions."

When Baker said in Geneva that the United States cannot reward Saddam Hussein for his aggression against Kuwait by agreeing to an international conference, he stressed that peace in the Middle East is in American hands, and Palestinian rights are for the United States to dole out as they wish. Baker has contradicted himself. Only a few months ago he told Congress on American television that Israel could call the White House "if and when they are serious about peace." Palestinian rights are not a football for the United States or anyone else to play with. It is now a clear fact that the suffering of the Palestinian people is more the responsibility of the American government than that of Israel.

American double standards will eventually cause the United States to lose its credibility internationally and especially in the Arab world where America has vital interests. The Palestinians are fully aware of the American policy against them and their rights. The Gulf crisis clearly showed the rest of the Arabs the true face of the American government.

Now the Arab people know exactly what is meant by the "special relationship" between Israel and the United States. It means complete support for Israel, even if it means the mass destruction of the Arab world and even at the expense of vital self-interests.

The United States rallied the world and the international community against Iraqi occupation with economic sanctions and force, putting the whole world on the verge of a third world war. But, for the past 23 years, the United States, much of the time alone, stood behind Israel's occupation of Palestine and other Arab lands.

It is very sad to see the West agree with the East on a new world order without any regard for the Arab nation. This decision was helped by the weakness of the current retroactive Arab regimes. The Gulf crisis uncovered these U.S. puppets when they were forced to take stands against the Arab people and their national interests. King Fahd of Saudi Arabia invited the United States into Hijaz, but was forced to pay heavily for the presence of American troops. Hosni Mubarak of Egypt not only sent the Egyptian army to join the American troops against Iraq, but also told the world that Israel has the right to attack Iraq in retaliation. Hafez al-Assad of Syria sent the Syrian army to help the Americans against Iraq even though the United States, not Iraq, continuously accuses him of international terrorism and supports Israel's occupation of the Syrian Golan Heights.

Though the Arab world now is burdened by leaders who abide by the interests of Americans rather than those of the Arab people, it will only be a matter of time before the Middle East, like Eastern Europe, wakes up to the reality of democracy and sovereignty and the need to govern the area in the interests of the Arab people, not those of the American government.

Asad Abu Farid is a Palestinian American from Cleveland, Ohio.

OPINION

Appeal for protection

Concern over the devastation a war in the Gulf will leave on the entire region prompted many to appeal for peace and protection for the Palestinian people under occupation. Following is a sample of such appeals.

An appeal from the people of Beit Jala

We, the people of Beit Jala gathering together to pray for peace, are confident that if all the peace-loving nations in the world gathered their efforts toward solving the Gulf crisis fairly, peace, good will and order will prevail in the world.

If the warmongers are let loose there will be devastating catastrophe not only in the Middle East but in the whole world.

We demand the international community provide our unarmed Palestinian people in the occupied territories with protection in accordance with the Geneva conventions.

Foreign nationals urge protection for Palestinians

We, foreign nationals working in the occupied Palestinian territories with Palestinian and other national organizations and institutions, share with our Palestinian colleagues and neighbors grave concern at the increasing possibility of a devastating war. We stress in particular our concern at the unprotected status of the Palestinian community here if such a war erupts, including the possibility of massive human rights violations in addition to the direct consequences of war.

We strongly object to the decision of some governments and international agencies to withdraw foreign personnel from the occupied territories at a time when international witnesses and assistance are vital for the protection and material aid to the population. We therefore affirm:

1. All United Nations bodies in the region -- who have a special mandate to protect the Palestinian population under occupation -- should immediately increase their personnel. The International Committee of the Red Cross, which currently fulfills the role of the protecting power under the Fourth Geneva Convention,

should immediately do likewise. All foreign consulates in Jerusalem have a particular responsibility to step up their monitoring and reporting of the situation in the occupied territories and urge the immediate intervention of their governments when necessary.

2. Foreign personnel should be stationed where the Palestinian population is most vulnerable, including prisons -- particularly Ketziof (Ansar 3) -- villages -- particularly those with nearby Israeli settlements -- and all refugee camps.

3. In addition, the Palestinian population is highly likely to be in need of increased material assistance. Food and medical shortages have already been reported, particularly in Gaza Strip refugee camps. All concerned organizations should work to ensure a steady supply of food and medicine to communities in need.

The danger to the Palestinian population in the occupied territories is real and imminent. The international community has a special responsibility and obligation to protect the Palestinian population under occupation. That responsibility must be exercised now.

The Gulf war: end of an era, beginning of a new one

by Steve Szoby

Something very fundamental is soon to change in the Middle East, something as basic as life and death. The reality of a massive armed conflict between the United States (with its "moderate" Arab allies) and Iraq has dominated for months the world's attention and the Palestinians under occupation did not escape the fever and chaos which led up to the war in the Gulf. But even more powerful than the many emotions circulating inside almost every conscious soul is the perception that Palestinian history is perched at a threshold; that an era is ending and a new one is about to begin. It is necessary then to look back at the road the Palestinians have traveled, lest the context of their condition during the first stages of this mad war be misconstrued yet again.

It has been said too often that the Palestinians and the Jews are a similar lot, and certainly both have always been well-aware of their history. Every Palestinian knows the year 1917, the name Balfour and the role of the British in beginning what is called their "situation." For them, it was only natural to oppose the establishment of a "Jewish National Home" in Palestine, for Jews made up no more than 9 percent of the population at that time.

Palestinians are equally well-aware of America's role in supporting the Israeli occupation, in ignoring their suffering and in using double standards in setting its policy in the Middle East. To Palestinians, the Americans are even more responsible than the British for all the misery that the words statelessness, refugee camps and occupation convey.

Perhaps more dominant than even 1917 or the years of "The Disasters," 1948 and 1967, are the massacres that the Palestinians have endured over the last few decades: Deir Yassin, Kufr Qassem, Ojbya, Nabalin, Tel al-Zaatar, Sabra and Shatila. And, of course, there are black periods: Black September (Jordan, 1970), Black Friday (Nablus, December 1988), Black Sunday (Rishon LeZion, May 1990), and Black Monday (al-Aqsa Mosque, October 1990). Will we be remembered as Black January?

To survive as a people -- both Christian and Muslim -- without a state is an achievement of no small proportions for the Palestinians. After all, they were forced out of Palestine, kicked out of Jordan, booted out of Syria and pushed out of Lebanon. And still they remain determined to get their rights. This determination has seen no greater exhibition than the Intifada.

The Palestinian uprising that began in December 1987 did not simply erupt out of the thin air. It took years of humiliation under occupation, decades of waiting for an imposed solution and a feeling of collective desperation -- that there is no future -- for the unarmed civil-

ians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip to take to the streets with stones, despite the Israeli military's firepower, in an effort to change their situation themselves. But now three years later, with so much sacrificed in human blood and political principles, with the killing of several popular PLO leaders, the basic goals of the Palestinians have never seemed so distant.

It seems clear that the recent history of the Palestinians is anything but positive. They have endured all of this misery and suffering just to exist as a nation on their own land. But now, as the Middle East has entered yet another war, everything is soon to change in an uncertain direction. Like June 1967, Jordan in 1970-71 and Lebanon in 1982, the Palestinians are prepared for another major setback. Unfortunately, backing Iraq was a risk they had to take. By doing so, the Palestinians were not endorsing aggression as much as they were signifying their hopelessness, that maybe Saddam could change what the world has refused to: the Palestinian "situation." And now again they are asked by the British and the Americans to be patient. Told that their question will be addressed at "an appropriate time." But how can they wait when the Russian Jews flow in by the thousands each month? The Americans and British must realize that there may be no Palestine left to liberate should they wait much longer.

No one is certain what lies ahead for the Palestinians, but it is certain that the Middle East will change as a result of a Gulf war. Perhaps Riad, a student at Bir Zeit and a son of Balata refugee camp, best summed up the collective mood in Palestine on the eve of war: "For us, war is better than the American scenario. Maybe by war the world will understand that there is something very wrong in the area. No one can expect what will happen if there will be a war, and maybe we will again be the victims of this war. But maybe the Arab situation will be corrected by this war. Either way, the Palestinians are not afraid of war because there is nothing for us to lose. We live under injustice and we believe that the conflict is between justice and injustice. Of course Iraq doesn't represent the absolute justice, but at least they are willing to accept justice equally in standards. We see that the Americans refuse and Israel refuses and it is not in the interests of Israel to accept justice because they understand that when we use international standards and legitimacy equally, they haven't the right to occupy the West Bank and Gaza. And if you want to speak about real peace you have to look to the basics of the conflicts in the area and no one can deny that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is the basic problem here. If it is solved any problem can be solved."

Steve Szoby is an American free-lance writer.

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Guido de Marco, president of the United Nations General Assembly:

I've come here to evaluate position of Palestinian refugees

Transcription of press conference held by Guido de Marco, president of the United Nations General Assembly and deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Malta, at the conclusion of his two-day trip to the occupied Palestinian territories. The press conference was held on Friday evening, January 4, 1991, at the American Colony Hotel, in East Jerusalem.

It gives me great pleasure to have the opportunity to meet you, ladies and gentlemen of the press, after my coming over to this country on the second of January. As you know, as I stated at the very beginning, I made it clear that I've come here to see, to listen, to understand and to evaluate the position, in particular with reference to the Palestinian refugees, whom you know number close to one million and who are in the camps in which UNRWA [the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East] is so much involved. I also thought it best that my presence here, the first president of the United Nations General Assembly to come over and examine the situation, with a primary view of looking into the human dimension of the problem. As all of you are aware, the term human dimension, also in the light of the Helsinki final act, has a connotation which goes into fundamental human rights, the rights of individuals to freedom of expression, to freedom to manifest their will, to freedom to determine their own future. It is precisely this human dimension which in the Helsinki final act was so determining in the freedom of many countries in eastern and central Europe.

Though as some who might have suggested to me, and indeed many who did suggest to me, why come in this area, in this particular tense moment which the area is living. Many had in mind the tense area insofar as the Gulf is concerned. Others may have thought about the tense area in the occupied territories are concerned. Insofar as the Gulf is concerned, I believe, and I've said it more than once, that the invasion of Kuwait was not carried out because of the situation in the occupied territories. That is why I've been saying, and within this context I've been saying, that there is no linkage between the invasion of the second of August of Kuwait and the occupied territories which have been with us for now for decades.

And the second reason is precisely because one event does not depend on the other. I wanted, through my presence here, in this difficult moment, to try and contribute towards a process which should lead to peace in conformity with the United Nations resolutions. Possibly, had I been just a diplomat, I would have perhaps acted in sort of a diplomatic approach. By being a politician, as a person who has been facing difficult situations throughout also my political life, I thought it the best way to

look at the situation in all its seriousness, in all its implications, and try through my presence here to be in a position to see the United Nations resolutions be resolutions which can have a positive effect in the life of the peoples here, in the better interests also of peace in the region.

Any questions?

Q: What will be the outcome exactly of your visit to the area? Are you coming back with recommendations to the General Assembly or will you be reporting about what you saw to the secretary-general?

A: I feel that there are several things which I hope I can be in a position to do after I terminate both my visit here and my visit in Jordan, which has the same parameters. I will obviously be examining the situation myself, and try and draw my own conclusions from this visit. I will also be consulting, *inter alia* the secretary-general of the United

national peace conference be the conference which -- in dialogue, in negotiations, in the absence of violence, can realize, one, the resolutions which the U.N. has been taking on this area for quite a number of years, since '67, 242 Resolution and others, and also because I believe that all countries concerned have an interest in maintaining peace.

At the conference which I had at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I heard that Israel is living with a timebomb. But that is what we all want to do. No one in this region wants to live with a timebomb next to it, nor living on a powderkeg. What we want is, through the efforts which are dictated by a sense of desire to live in peace in this region -- peace and freedom in this region -- I think that this can bring about the desired effect.

Israel has -- to my knowledge -- so far does not seem to be in favor of this international conference, but I'm sure that the leaders of this

issues. Infractions of human rights should not be covered up. Infractions of human rights should be brought to the knowledge of all concerned. Because we do believe in human rights. I was told that Israel is a democracy, and I believe it is. But if Israel is a democracy, obviously any democracy is founded on the observance of human rights, and I think no state should in any way fear that it should object when infractions of human rights are reported to the international community, of which Israel is a member.

Q: Do you think that the Palestinian problem will be shelved until the end of the crisis in the Gulf?

A: ...The United Nations Security Council even last night, through its president, made a declaration on the situation here showed that the United Nations is not putting off the problem till the Gulf crisis is settled. I think, and this explains why I am here, they are two separate, distinct issues which require the attention of the international community. And therefore, no issue should take precedence, one over the other. Both of them are two very serious situations. Both of them have to be looked into. I wouldn't subject one to the other. The moment I'll be doing that, I'll be creating a linkage, when I've been saying that the linkage does not exist. If by linkage, people think about two weights and two measures, that's not a question of linkage; that is not the question of linkage, that is the question of how the matter is being dealt with. When I say linkage, we mean that an event depends on the other, that an event has happened because of the other. In the sense, I've always been stating, there is no linkage. But on the other hand, if we try and say, yes, but we'll look into the question of the Palestinian people after we have settled the matter of the Gulf, I'm not in agreement that this should happen, because it will be creating a linkage between one event and the other, and even more so, I think both are very serious events which require international attention. And from what I was reading, the Security Council met yesterday, and there was a presidential statement on the matter. I think that therefore it shows that the international community doesn't intend, and I hope it will not intend, doing what you have suggested.

Q: The issue of international protection for the Palestinian civilians came up during your meeting with Palestinians. How can the United Nations play a role to provide such protection?

A: This is something which I can understand hurts so many people. I've been in hospitals, in clinics. I've heard doctors speaking. And therefore I'm fully aware of the point that you are making. I do hope that the international community will have effective means of persuasion and

'This is something which I understand hurts so many people. I've been in hospitals, in clinics. I've heard doctors speaking.'

Nations. I will certainly be preparing a document, which I hope may find itself circulated as a United Nations document. I'll be consulting also the committees, the relevant committees, constituted by the General Assembly and under the authority of the General Assembly, so that I believe there are many areas in which one can operate in the interest of peace in this region.

Q: Mr. de Marco, you have said that you think that there is a possibility or that it would be important to hold an international peace conference on the Israeli-Arab question. Israel has consistently opposed that kind of a move. Do you think there's any way you could convince them to go along with a conference?

A: You say then -- you made an observation -- that Israel has so far not accepted the principle of an international conference on the Middle East. I got the impression that one of the reasons why Israel wouldn't like to participate in such an international conference is because Israel might feel that it is placed at the bar as an accused. I believe that at an international conference of this nature, no country is an accused country. I believe that it's in the interest of Israel, as well as the interest of other states in the region, and of the Palestinian people, that this interna-

country, who also they have a great sense of responsibility towards their own people, will reflect on the issue, and also consider the United States, what a few weeks ago did not manifest its clear approval to this international conference on the Middle East, now just a few weeks ago, in the statement made by the then-president of the Security Council, agreed to the conference on the Middle East; the only difference is on the time when this is to be held, but the principle that this is to be held is now also accepted by the U.S. Therefore, I believe that in politics, which is based on the art of persuasion, I think we can all see that we want to find a future in which no country is placed at the bar, but all countries have a great responsibility in the area to try and find a solution to the problem which we all acknowledge to exist.

Q: Would you encourage UNRWA personnel to report to you Sir or to the secretary-general, beyond the formal mandate of this agency about human rights issues in the territories?

A: ...realize in terms of the mandate it receives. I think, and I'm sure that you are in agreement with me, and I think that also your government is in agreement with me, that infractions of human rights are very important

also of examination for these events not to take place in this country. You know about the four Geneva conventions, because that is indirectly what you're referring to, and you know about the Security Council stating certain measures. I'm certain that the state of Israel will not want to be branded as being a state which is afraid of the international community dealing on this matter. All states commit mistakes. All police officers do commit mistakes the world over. It's a question of dimension which then creates serious and great problems, and I do certainly hope that the government of Israel is conscious of this great awareness of international opinion on this very important subject which you have touched.

Q: Do you really think that the Israeli government can be persuaded to an international conference, when Prime Minister Shamir said that the resolutions of the Security Council are going to the archives of legislations?

A: I think that such attitudes are bound to change -- assuming that what you are saying is correct. Many

important politicians in life have changed their views -- for many reasons; there could be more reasons than one why politicians and statesmen do change their views. I believe that the Israeli people are a peace-loving people. They love their country a lot. They suffered so much through history, and they wouldn't like to see the same suffering inflicted on others. That is why I believe that if not today, tomorrow, the Israeli government will be foremost in believing that it is also in its interest to call an international conference on the Middle East be held.

Q: Yesterday, you were blocked in Gaza because there were some clashes in one of the camps, and a few hours ago, you were going to Dheisheh refugee camp, and some settlers blocked your convoy. What do you think? What is your evaluation of these acts?

A: My evaluation of these acts is twofold. One is that the situation is very tense, and it is good for me to see the great tension that exists in this place, and that therefore the intervention of the international community and its influence on the Israeli government is even more important now than ever. Secondly, is that, as president of the United Nations General Assembly, being myself witness to these events gives me the reason to see even more the gravity of the situation and how much we all -- and I repeat, all of us -- have to try and do our best, lest this powderkeg on which we are all sitting will really explode.

Q: I think the problem is not with Security Council resolutions; there are many that have been taken about the Palestinian issue. But the problem: when these resolutions will be implemented. Let's say, for example, when will we see sanctions, international sanctions, against Israel for occupying the occupied territories -- the West Bank and Gaza; when will we see a deadline for a war if Israel will not withdraw from

the occupied territories? This is the basic question that Palestinians are asking you.

A: I can understand your question. And I can understand your feelings. But believe me when I say that though it may take longer in the art of persuasion, the solution such as the one which could be contemplated may bring so much havoc to the region, may bring so many deaths to the region, may bring so much disaster to this region, that I prefer to suffer a bit more and achieve what we all want to achieve, rather than through such a solution imperil even further a real peace process in this region. Israelis and Palestinians have to live side by side. You will continue to live side by side. Just as we don't choose our parents, we neither do choose, nor do states choose, their neighbors. And if we cannot choose our neighbors, we have to learn how to live together. This is a lesson which also Israel I am sure will be deeply concerned with, and I think also this applies to the Palestinians.

Q: You've mentioned several times international intervention. What kind of international intervention are you talking about here?

'When I'm using international intervention, I am using it in terms of the resolutions passed by the international community. We have a duty to see that these resolutions be effective.'

A: When I'm using international intervention, I am using it in terms of the resolutions passed by the international community. We have a duty to see that these resolutions be effective. We don't want to condemn our resolutions just to the paper basket. But there are ways and means how to implement international resolutions, and that is why, as I was saying to our colleague just a few minutes ago, the way in which you implement a resolution is also important, and this is what we are trying to achieve.

Q: Could you be more specific -- how they might be implemented?

A: The United Nations, as you know, in terms of the charter, has a certain stage-by-stage method. I don't like to reach the top of the stairs unless first I go up step by step. And I have great trust in the people in this region that we all want to avoid any situation which amounts to what perhaps you have in mind in putting to me this question.

Q: As we all know, there has been, since the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, many resolutions have been taken by the United Nations, whether by the General Assembly or the Security Council, for the protection of the Palestinian population in occupied Palestine, in particular for family reunification and the permission of women and children. Now you've witnessed in your short visit here.

Do you think you can do something about it -- implement some particular resolution? I would appreciate the information.

A: I think that what you said has a great direct... You're perfectly right in what you said. I witnessed a few very grave and serious events which have been taking place. I've spoken to people who have suffered. We have to continue in the road... new initiatives are given the policy that we are, that we have on the table. I think that a new United Nations has emerged, which has been called the second generation now of the United Nations. Jokingly I said last time in New York that the English have a saying, "Life starts at 40." For the United Nations, life is starting at 45. But a new United Nations has emerged. The fact that we are no longer divided between two superpowers, the fact that we are working with difficulties, but reaching consensus, means that the United Nations which has emerged, I hope, is a more effective one than the one which we have witnessed so far. We have to all work very hard. We have also, I think, to suffer a bit more. But I think that right will prevail. And it will.

situation and the political evaluation overnight. If there are more who want to go and stay in Israel, I think that is the business and the responsibility of the government of Israel. But if this means changing the demography of the occupied territories, if this means settling people in the occupied territories, and thus going against what has already been repeatedly stated also by the United Nations -- that there should be no demographical change -- then this is a matter of great concern, and I am sure that the international community will look into it. Therefore, this is the best approach to this situation: within the concept of the PNC declaration of Algiers, within the sense of responsibility and sovereignty of the state of Israel, within its own frontiers, within the fact that in the occupied territories no demographic changes should be effected.

Q: Do you think there is a need to change the UNRWA mandate to give them more authority perhaps for the international community to intervene?

A: I think that UNRWA has to continue acting within the mandates given to it by the organs of the United Nations. I think that UNRWA, through the execution of the mandates given to it by the organs of the United Nations is doing a work which is very much appreciated, both by the government of Israel and also by the Palestinians. The issue may arise; if, for example, UNRWA people look into, say, beatings up which may happen within the refugee camps, or if a refugee is beaten up even outside, or shot at, then obviously UNRWA has the responsibility to look into the matter. As I said before, if there are violations of human rights, I am confident that also the government of Israel should not feel afraid that these matters are being monitored, I was told, with great emphasis, about Israel being the only democracy in this region apart from Turkey. This is what democracies are all about, if we are going to give them a meaning -- that although sometimes violations of human rights do happen, the government should be the first not to be afraid that these violations be denounced.

Q: The demographic changes are not happening just now, even from 1967. Even now there are more Soviet Jews coming and living in great numbers in the West Bank and Gaza. What is the U.N. doing about it?

A: That is why I say that if this, and when this, happens, obviously this is something which the international community will have to intervene in the matter, because this is creating not only problems, but this will be creating problems for the future. And I think there is no wisdom, I mean there is no wisdom, in creating problems for the future. There are already too many problems at hand, why create more problems for the future by acting on the unfortunate situations in which persons have come from and perpetuate an unfortunate situation on them, also for tomorrow.

Q: The United Nations talks about the rights of Palestinian refugees. How does the United Nations see a solution, especially in this time, when many Jews are immigrating from the Soviet Union?

A: There are two issues involved. In addition to these two issues, also there is the background of the PNC declarations of Algiers of 1988, which I believe changed the political

ARAB AND DIASPORA NEWS

'Linkage' between Gulf and Palestine finds proponents

by Ghassan Bishara

Washington -- On Aug. 12 Iraq advanced a proposal for a possible solution to the Gulf crisis: its proposal called for a serious, final and comprehensive effort to resolve all outstanding issues in the Middle East. The United States rejected the move refusing, as they put it, to do anything which could be seen as rewarding Saddam Hussein for the invasion of Kuwait.

Since Iraq first proposed what has become known as "linkage," the United States has been forced to deal with the issue with extreme sensitivity. To most Arabs, including Saudis and even some Kuwaitis, the linkage between the Gulf crisis and the Palestinian issue is unquestionably clear. American willingness to muster international, political, economic and military forces against Iraq since Aug. 2 has become a matter of some embarrassment to many, including those in the Gulf.

Although they would like Iraq to leave Kuwait, said one Saudi, they find it hard to explain American readiness to go to war against Iraq, while continuing to strengthen Israel's stand versus the Arabs and Palestinians. "Jerusalem, under Israeli occupation for 23 years and its holy places threatened daily," he said, "is of much less consequence than Kuwait City's occupation by Iraqi troops?" The young Saudi said that Bush "must take us for stupid" in the Gulf. Arabs of the Gulf, he continued, know exactly what is happening and understand the reasons for the differences in U.S. treatment of the two situations, the one favors Israel and the other doesn't.

America's refusal to even consider the issue of linkage, considering the alternative consequences of a war, has puzzled many, especially Arab Americans. Muhammad Hallaj, director of the Palestine Research and Educational Center, says that the United States "knows how intransigent and inflexible" Israel is on the question of Palestine.

The United States, for domestic political reasons, simply does not want to pressure Israel, adding that "pressuring Israel is not part of U.S. policy." American officials have always argued that the U.S. government cannot force sovereign states

to do what they don't want to do. However, the massing of half a million troops in the Arabian desert shows that America's problem is not pressuring governments, but pressuring which governments and for what purpose. The crisis in the Gulf, said Hallaj, provided the United States with "a God-given opportunity to impose itself as the supreme superpower" in the world, and "to teach Iraq a lesson" so others in the future would not dare challenge it. A peaceful resolution to the Gulf crisis would deny the United States the opportunity to fulfill its hidden agenda, or "a massive military presence in the Gulf region," said Hallaj.

Commenting on the same subject, Anan Ameri, of the Palestine Aid Society, said that the United States has never had to pay a price for its challenge to Arab interests and for its support of Israel. Why should the United States accept linkage between the Gulf and the Arab-Israeli conflict, she asked. What the United States hears from Saudi Arabia and Syria -- two of the states with troops in the Gulf on America's side -- is "yes, these are two separate issues." "The United States cannot be more royal than the king," Ameri added.

Regarding the failure of diplomatic efforts, said Hallaj, "It borders on the absurd to consider a one-day exchange" between Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz and his American counterpart James Baker, as sufficient to handle such an issue with catastrophic implications. The United States has not shown any interest in diplomacy, and has maintained that what is needed in order to avoid war is not linkage or negotiations but Iraqi compliance with the U.N. terms, fully and unconditionally, or "diplomacy by ultimatums," added Hallaj. All the United States wanted was to relay to Iraq the consequences of not withdrawing, "and for that you don't need to negotiate," Hallaj added.

After the end of the Cold War era, and in expectation of a "new world order," the United States as the dominant power has sought to resolve issues in the Middle East in accordance with its own interests. "They want to force Iraq to surrender," and therefore the United States has refused any linkage, said Fouad

Moghrabi, a professor of political science. American officials believe that any solution in the Gulf has got to be achieved on American terms, "not on terms defined by others," he continued.

The United States simply wants victory, regardless of the price paid to achieve it, especially in light of the possible rewards, or control over the oil in that region, said Ameri. According to Moghrabi, who teaches at the University of Tennessee, Chattanooga, there is a "certain imperial arrogance, and imperial mindset" where people in Washington believe that they can manage and contain any and all eventualities.

In refusing the principle of linkage, U.S. President George Bush has argued that Iraq didn't invade Kuwait in order to liberate Palestine. While some agree with this, they do not question the eventual linkage between the two issues, particularly when considering international response. "This is nonsense," said Moghrabi, of the American argument. In order to answer this question thoroughly, one must look at the Gulf crisis not only since Aug. 2, but long before that, he added.

For a long time before Aug. 2, people had begun to observe negative press against Iraq in Israel, Europe and here in the United States. There were also threats and a "covert war," whereby scientists who worked for Iraq, such as weapons expert Gerald Bull, were assassinated. Customs agents in Europe and elsewhere began to stop shipments of goods to Iraq, and Iraq began to feel that it was "being set up for an attack by Israel and the United States or, at least, with the approval of the U.S.," Moghrabi said.

Furthermore, Kuwait was refusing to make any concessions to Iraq, which it had readily agreed to earlier, and it was instead "engaged in economic warfare" against Iraq, in an attempt to destabilize the country, he continued. If all of this is true, "how can one argue that the crisis in the Gulf is not linked to the Arab-Israeli conflict," Moghrabi asked. The Arab-Israeli conflict, he added, spawns all the "subsidiary conflicts in the region."

The linkage between the two conflicts, said Hallaj, is obvious, particularly as a consequence of reading

American logic. If the Gulf crisis results from Iraq's violation of international law, then similar emphasis should be placed on Israel's violations as well. If it is about Iraq's mistreatment of Kuwaitis, there is enough of that on a daily basis in the Israeli-occupied territories to fill volumes; and if it is about Iraqi development of weapons of mass destruction, then it should be emphasized that Israel not only developed chemical and biological but also nuclear weapons, which Iraq so far does not possess, Hallaj added.

Iraq, in fact, has suggested that an international conference should be held to rid the region of all such weapons; neither the United States nor Israel has agreed

to such a proposal. Furthermore, Iraq has signed the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and agreed to open its reactors to international inspection, while Israel has not.

All of this creates a linkage between the two issues. If the conflict is about "preventing an oppressor from continuing in his oppression," Hallaj said, "there are more reasons to give urgency to the Palestinian than to the Kuwaiti-Iraqi situation." Israel's hold on the West Bank, Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights has lasted for more than 23 years, while Iraq's is now only six months; both issues, most Arabs believe, should be handled together.

Arab Americans fear FBI targeting them

by Ghassan Bishara

Washington -- Since the deployment of American troops in the Gulf in early August of last year, Arab Americans have been threatened through hate mail and other forms of harassment by some civilian Americans.

Now, in addition to that, the Federal Bureau of Investigations has begun a campaign of "interviewing" Arab American leaders around the country. In a letter to FBI Director William Sessions on Jan. 8, American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee President Albert Mokhaiber expressed his organization's "shock and dismay" over these interviews. The purpose of such interviews appears to be for the gathering of information about potential domestic terrorism in light of the war with Iraq. The National Association of Arab Americans has also protested to the FBI, calling the singling out of one ethnic American community "racist by its very nature." Such activities, added Khalil Jahshan, NAAA's executive director, in a press release, are themselves a "violation of civil rights."

In an ADC press release, it was pointed out that the organization has cooperated in the past with the FBI's investigation of violence against Arab Americans, but shouldn't be asked to do so in an investigation directed against Arab Americans. "The only involvement with

terrorism that Arab Americans have had," Mokhaiber wrote to Sessions, "has been as victims" of it and of other such crimes which have been on the rise, especially since the beginning of the crisis in the Gulf. ADC's West Coast Director Alex Odeh was assassinated on Oct. 11, 1985 in California, and it is believed that those responsible for the killing are members of the Jewish Defense League and are now residing in Israel.

Rather than probe into the political views of Arab Americans, Mokhaiber wrote, the FBI should focus on the apprehension of those who committed the Odeh murder and other crimes against Americans of Arab descent. "ADC and other civil rights organizations strongly condemn excessive probes into the political views of Arab Americans," said the letter. Such probes constitute "fishing expeditions" into the lives of Arab Americans, the press release reads. These interviews, in addition, could provide others here with a justification to continue their harassment of Arab Americans, the release stated.

Asked to respond to Arab American accusations, Sessions said that those who are being interviewed and questioned "are not regarded as suspects or targets in any way." The purpose of the interviews, Sessions is quoted in *The Washington Post*

see FBI, page 8

Intifada

continued from front page

Shams refugee camp and the West Bank villages of Yatta, Za'atara, Azzoun and Arrabeh were under curfew for the fourth day.

Clashes were reported in the Thuri neighborhood of Jerusalem. Students stoned police and border police, before being dispersed by tear gas and live ammunition. In Ramallah, a fire bomb was thrown at a military patrol in the city, but no damage was reported.

In Gaza's Jabalya refugee camp, nine people were shot and injured. In Rafah, three Palestinians were shot by the military, and in Khan Yunis and Gaza City four were shot. In Bureij refugee camp, 50 citrus trees were uprooted by the Israeli military.

In Arrabeh, one youth was shot. In Bethlehem, scores of women staged a sit-in at the Red Cross office demanding the international community find peaceful solutions to regional crises.

JANUARY 13: In the village of Azmut in the Nablus region, 23-year-old Ahmad Alawneh was found dead in a cave neighboring the Israeli settlement of Elon Moreh. Israel Radio reported that an unknown assailant had led Alawneh to the cave where he was given a fatal blow to the head, apparently with a stone. His body was laid to rest in a massive funeral.

In the village of Beit Ibah, also in the Nablus region, an Israeli tanker truck ran into Izzat Suleiman Sama'neh, 31, seriously injuring him. He later died in hospital and was buried in a large funeral.

A third Palestinian, Fatmah Mousa al-Tayeh, 50, of Jalazoun refugee camp, died of a heart attack when the Israeli military arrested her son.

Fierce clashes were reported between the military and scores of youths. At least one Palestinian was shot. In al-Bireh, four Palestinians were shot and many others arrested when the military attacked anti-war demonstrators. Journalists were among those arrested.

At Damascus Gate in East Jerusalem, two Palestinians were shot when the Israeli military fired at random into a large crowd. The two shot are traders who sell their wares in the gate area. Israeli sources said that masked youths stoned the military and soldiers retaliated by firing at them and filling the area with tear

gas. In Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip, six Palestinians were shot by soldiers in fierce confrontations.

JANUARY 14: The Israeli military shot dead Issam Jaber Muhammad, 14, a resident of al-Bireh but originally from the village of Kobar in the Ramallah district. Curfew was imposed on the town following the incident.

Confrontations were reported in the village of al-Mazra'a al-Sharqiyyeh, where five people were shot. One person was shot in Jenin when the military attacked demonstrators in the city center. In Bethlehem, a Palestinian was shot. Curfew continued on Nur Shams refugee camp for the sixth day, on the village of Azzoun for the fifth day and on the village of Ain Yabroud for the seventh day.

Fierce confrontations took place in the Gaza Strip where at least seven Palestinians were shot. In Rafah, two youths were shot and seriously injured by soldiers. In Gaza City, hundreds of Palestinian women held a sit-in at the International Committee of the Red Cross office. They handed ICRC representatives a memorandum opposing war and calling for the release of prisoners and improvement in their living conditions.

In Nablus, more than 200 women held a similar sit-in at the municipality building calling for peace and the establishment of a Palestinian state.

JANUARY 15: Strikes and protests escalated in response to the assassination of three Palestinian leaders in Tunis the night before.

The Israeli military shot dead three Palestinians and injured dozens of others in a day of fierce clashes.

In Gaza City, the army killed Muhammad Khalil Sheikhhah, 19. Abdel Baset Muhammad Obeidi, 21, was shot and killed in confrontations with the military in the West Bank village of Silat al-Harithiyeh near Jenin. In Fara'a refugee camp near Nablus, 21-year-old Wadi' Ahmad Saleh died after being shot in the head.

In the city of Khan Yunis, 13 people were shot and injured in confrontations with the military. Curfews were imposed on the city and its refugee camp and on the refugee camps of Jabalya, al-Shate' and Nussirat, as well as the towns of Beit Lahia and Beit Hanoun and Sheikh Radwan neighborhood of Gaza City.

In the West Bank, curfews were imposed on the refugee camps of al-Am'ari,

Qaddoura, Jalazoun, Qalandia, Arroub, Aida, al-Azkeh, Dheishch, Nur Shams, Tulkarm, Askar, Balata and Ain Beit Elma', the villages of Bani Na'im, Azzoun and Qalqilya, and the cities of Jenin and Nablus. The Tulkarm area was declared a closed military zone.

Clashes were reported in Shu'fat refugee camp where tear gas and live ammunition were used to disperse protesters. In Gaza City, six Palestinians were shot by the military who said they were trying to disperse scores of masked youths who blocked roads with burning tires and large stones. In Gaza's Bureij refugee camp, 30 Palestinians were shot.

In Jerusalem's Thuri neighborhood, soldiers fired on protesters, injuring one of them.

Palestinian sources estimated that 198 people were shot and injured in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank in the day's clashes.

JANUARY 16: Muhammad Nu'man Abu Sneineh, 16, from Hebron died at Hadassah Ein Kerem Hospital in West Jerusalem of wounds sustained the day before. Abu Sneineh was shot in the head during confrontations with Israeli soldiers.

The entire Gaza Strip and much of the West Bank remained under curfew for the second day as the military government ordered all schools closed until Jan. 20. The curfew was imposed and schools closed in anticipation of massive protests against the murder of three Fatah leaders in Tunis the day before.

In Jerusalem, two Israeli border guards were injured during confrontations with youths in Silwan village. Confrontations and stone throwing at Israeli police and border guards' vehicles were reported in other sections of the city such as Ras al-Amoud and Issawiyeh. In Issawiyeh, a resident was injured when border guards attempted to disperse protesters. Fire gutted an Israeli car parked in the Old City of Jerusalem.

JANUARY 17: As a result of the outbreak of war in the Gulf, the Israeli military imposed an around-the-clock curfew on the entire West Bank and Gaza Strip. Much of the West Bank and the entire Gaza Strip had already been under curfew since Jan. 15 following the murder of three Fatah leaders in Tunis.

Protests broke out in several neighborhoods of East Jerusalem, which was not included in the total curfew. The police immediately

imposed curfews on the neighborhoods, including Silwan, Thuri and al-Tur, in addition to Shu'fat refugee camp.

All the streets in East Jerusalem were empty and shops were closed for the second day because of the war in the Gulf and in mourning for the three Fatah leaders.

JANUARY 18: The comprehensive curfew on the occupied territories, with the exception of some neighborhoods in East Jerusalem, continued leaving over 1.5 million people confined to their homes. The army threatened that it will not tolerate demonstrations in

any part of the occupied territories and said it will not allow any Palestinian to leave his or her home without permission.

JANUARY 19: Twenty-four-year-old Lubna Nasser al-Qaddah from Nablus was shot dead. Curfews continued for the fifth day on the entire Gaza Strip and for the third day on the entire West Bank and a number of Jerusalem neighborhoods. Curfews were lifted for a few hours in some areas of the West Bank to allow people to buy food and other necessary supplies. Reports from the West Bank said there is a severe shortage of food and other basic necessities.



Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad)

Murder

continued from front page

assassinated PLO leaders in the past. Abu Zeid left the Abu Nidal group a year ago and joined Fatah. He later became a bodyguard for Abu al-Houl, according to press reports.

The Fatah movement accused Israel of being behind the assassinations. Israel denied responsibility. Abu Zeid was undergoing interrogation in Tunis to find out his motive for the murders.

Abu Iyad was second in

command to PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat. They established the Fatah movement in 1959, together with Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad), who was killed in Tunis in April 1988. Abu al-Houl and a few other surviving Palestinian leaders, Fatah launched its first armed attack against Israel in 1965.

Abu Muhammad served as adviser to Abu Iyad.

The three Palestinian leaders were to be buried in Amman Jan. 17, but because of the outbreak of the Gulf war they were buried in Tunis. Arafat and other top leaders attended the funeral.

Read all about Palestine
in AL-FAJR

WEEKLY REVIEW

January 8

FAMILY THREATENED FOR SON

Army officials seeking Ahmad Thabct Suhail threatened his family with the demolition of their home in Deir Ghassaneh village near Ramallah. Suhail refuses to turn himself in.

AN-NAHAR

4,000 KNIVES STOLEN

The Israeli newspaper *Hadashot* reported the theft of 4,000 large knives from a Tel Aviv store. Police said they were afraid the knives would end up in the hands of Intifada activists and be used against Israelis.

AN-NAHAR

FAMILY ARRESTED

Israeli soldiers arrested the mother and brother of a Palestinian suspected of the stabbing attack in Jaffa in which three Israelis were killed. Israel Radio said the suspect, a Gaza Strip resident, is still at large.

AN-NAHAR

LAND CONFISCATED

The military confiscated 4,000 dunums of land from Deir Ballout village in the Nablus district and notified the village *mukhtar* (elder) of the decision. The owners of the land will file a formal objection to the decision.

AL-FAJR

- VEGETABLE MARKET CLOSED

Israeli military forced stores and the vegetable

market in the town of al-Birch to close after demonstrators stoned the Israeli tax department.

AL-FAJR

NO VACATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT HOSPITALS EMPLOYEES

Israeli officials canceled vacations for all employees of government hospitals in the West Bank. Those off from work were asked to return immediately. The action was taken in light of the current situation in the Gulf.

AN-NAHAR

January 9

GREEN CARD HOLDERS KEPT FROM VISITING PRISONERS

Israeli prison administrators at Dhahriyeh detention camp prevented Palestinians with green identity cards from visiting their relatives in the detention camp.

AL-FAJR

FINED FOR DEFYING CURFEW

A 20-year-old Qabatiya resident, Muhammad Ahmad Nazzal, was given a NIS2,500 fine or six months in prison, for allegedly defying a curfew imposed on the town.

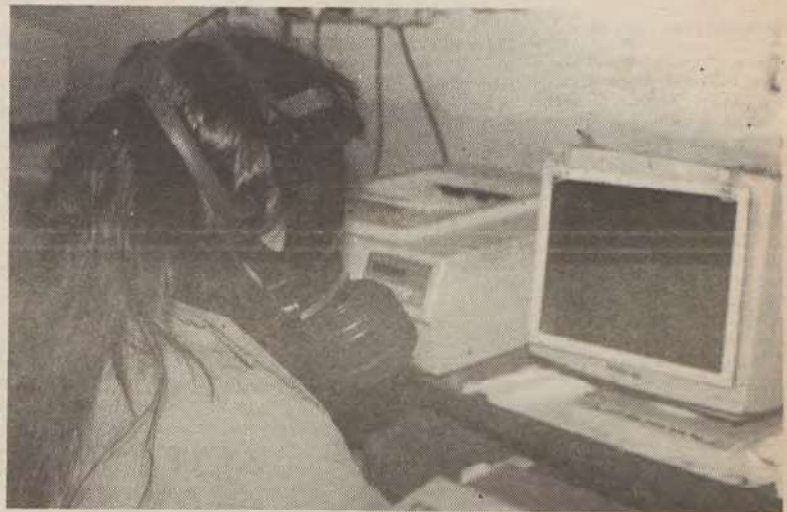
AN-NAHAR

8-YEAR-OLD FINED

Israeli officials fined a child of eight NIS1,300. Ahmad Nasser from Balata village in the Nablus district was accused of throwing stones at army jeeps.

AN-NAHAR

Because of the continuing crisis in the Middle East and due to any potential military conflict with Israel, Arab Americans become security suspects whenever the situation there heats up. A few years ago, the details of a master plan were made public, by which camps were to be set up in Louisiana to which Arab Americans would be sent in case of a major conflict in the Middle East. During World War II, Americans of Japanese descent were placed in internment camps as security suspects. Just recently, the U.S. Supreme Court settled a case brought forward by a remaining few who had been placed in these camps. The court awarded them financial compensation and an apology from the U.S. government.



Work continues at Al-Fajr Arabic newspaper, despite the war in the Gulf and the absence of about 80 percent of the staff due to military curfews. / Photo by Ishaq Qawasm

FBI

continued from page 6

Jan. 12 as saying, is to alert those interviewed of "a possible backlash against them" because of the war in the Gulf.

The other objective, Sessions said, is to gather any information these individual Arab Americans may have which could prevent acts of terrorism here in the United States. Arab Americans from the Detroit area, where resides the largest Arab American community, have termed the FBI activities as "discriminatory and offensive," according to the *Post*.



Israeli family waits for the all-clear siren to take off gas masks and leave their sealed room.

Please read P. 5
1967 war

Israel always claims it never started the wars but were attacked. The truth is they have mitigated situations where they "forced" an attack or used "pre-emptive strikes" as they did in 1967.

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December 10, 1990

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Intifada Update

Third anniversary marked with protests

Israeli police shot dead a 28-year-old mother of six and soldiers killed a 17-year-old West Bank youth. A 55-year-old man died of tear gas inhalation. The number of Palestinians killed during the Intifada is now put at 896.

The Palestinian popular uprising entered its fourth year Dec. 9. Protests increased throughout the occupied territories and the Israeli army intensified its presence. Widespread curfews were imposed on almost all of the Gaza Strip and much of the West Bank, confining more than 1 million Palestinians to their homes by the week's end.

Sixty Palestinians were shot, over half in the Gaza Strip and eight in Jenin and Jenin refugee camp. Some 90 people suffered complications following tear gas attacks.

All Gaza Strip schools were closed until Dec. 12, along with at least 15 in the West Bank.

In three separate incidents, buses carrying Israeli settlers were attacked with Molotov cocktails and gunfire.

The following incidents were reported during the week:

NOVEMBER 30: The Israeli military shot two Palestinian civilians in clashes in Jenin refugee camp. One is reportedly in serious condition. A curfew was imposed on the camp following the incident.

In Hebron, one Palestinian was shot in clashes after protesters torched and de-

stroyed a settler's car. Soldiers cordoned off and searched the area.

Soldiers raided the Tul-karm suburb of Shuweikah after an army jeep was stoned. While the suburb was placed under curfew, army bulldozers uprooted a

see Intifada, page 2.

Green identity cards: Denying human rights

by Khalil Touma

Palestinian short story writer Jamal Bannourah has been robbed of his income. He recently was issued a green identity card, along with 120 other residents of Beit Sahour, which prohibits entry into Israel and East Jerusalem, his place of work. A retired teacher,

Bannourah is the full-time paid secretary of the Jerusalem-based Palestinian Writers Union. He is also an elected member of its board of directors.

Bannourah was placed under administrative detention for three months last year, but an appeals judge found his detention unjustified and ordered his release one month early. The writer was ordered to carry a green card, but had it withdrawn after a successful legal proceeding. But now, along with thousands of others, he has been issued a green identity card.

The Israeli military government's new campaign of issuing green identity cards is the talk of the town in Beit Sahour and most West
see Green, page 15

After three years of Intifada in Dheisheh camp Not only the children have grown older, the fence has grown higher

by Rana Ardaji

Passing by Dheisheh refugee camp in the summer of 1987, just a short while before the start of the Intifada, I remember seeing Israeli troops erecting a three-meter-high fence around the one-square-kilometer camp. Close behind, Dheisheh's 10,000 residents watched intently. They seemed to be waiting.

Three years later, it is not only that the children of the camp have grown older. The fence has grown higher, and the belief in liberation has grown stronger.

"We don't give a damn for anything they [the Israeli military] do," said Ahmad, a youth who lives in Dheisheh, considering the changes three years have brought. "If they set up a fence, that's OK. We made them put window shields on their cars. We are always ready to respond."

As we walked together through the camp days before the third anniversary of the Intifada, he pointed out the transformations the army has wrought in three years. "Look," he said, pointing. "This is one of the nine entrances to the camp the ar-

my closed off by barrels during the Intifada. They shot and killed nine people in our camp. And since the Intifada, we have lived under curfew an average of 50 days a year," he explained.

Since the uprising began, at any given time at least 300 of Dheisheh's residents can be found in Israel's prisons. The camp's UNRWA schools have been repeatedly closed, homes have been demolished and sealed. And a new army camp was constructed in Dheisheh.

"What has the Israeli government gained?" Ahmad asked. "They don't understand that whatever they do, it will not stop us. They realize this. But they find it easier to close their eyes."

Arriving at the home of Ahmad's cousins, we were warmly welcomed. I was introduced to Riyadh. He had come just 15 minutes before to have a quick lunch, and to have his beard shaved off.

"I can't stay long," he explained. "I've been wanted by the Israeli authorities since the beginning of the Intifada," Riyadh said.

I asked him how it was to live as a wanted person

for so long.

"You saw my friends standing outside?" he asked. "They're watching in case the army comes. I might have to leave with half my beard shaved. Every day I sleep in a different place. At friends' houses, in the fields. Sometimes I take the risk and sleep at home. When I took my *tawjili* class in 1988, my friends used to stand outside the school in case the army invaded the building."

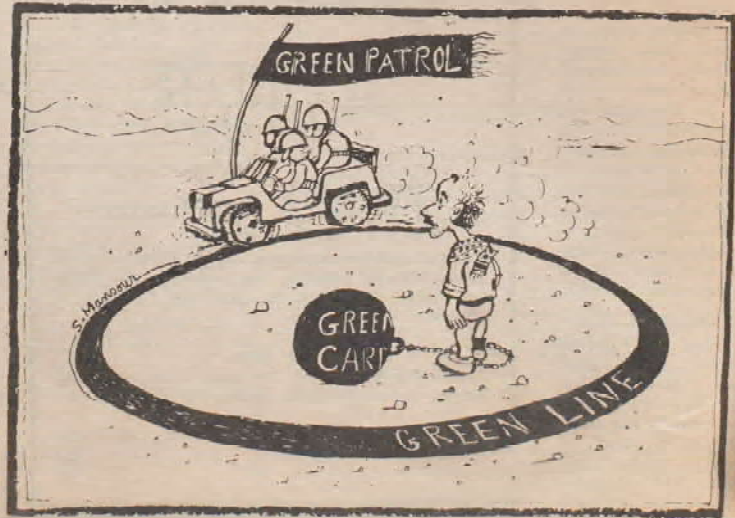
"Sometimes I don't see him for weeks," his mother said. "I'm always worried."

We drank some tea with mint and made our way out, leaving Riyadh with his family. Ahmad led me to the camp's only exit, a metal turnstile near the UNRWA office. UNRWA runs three schools in Dheisheh, and provides necessities like electricity and water.

Making my way out, I saw the army camp just across the courtyard. As I looked back to say goodbye, a voice came from behind the fence.

"Don't look back," the voice said. "Always look toward what will come. The future is for those who are capable of patience."

Donald Hoff - former TIME magazine reporter has written a trilogy on Israeli 1948-67 - 1973 was there are many books that reflect the Israeli-US mess of the war. Some written by Jewish writers



INSIDE NEWS
Expulsions possible page 3
Dialogue continues page 6
FEATURE
The Intifada wounded pages 8&9

Intifada

continued from front page

number of trees, because stones were allegedly thrown from the area.

A curfew continued in the Ain Beit Elma area of Nablus for the second day. Curfews also remained in force in Fara'a refugee camp near Jenin, in Dheishah refugee camp, in Jabalya refugee camp and the Beit Lahya project in Gaza, all for the second consecutive day.

DECEMBER 1: Fayzeh al-Farajeh, age 28, was shot dead by Israeli police on Nablus Road in East Jerusalem. Farajeh, from the Ramallah area village of Beit Liqya, was the mother of six young children, all under 11 years of age. Israeli police claim Farajeh approached three police officers around 11 a.m. and stabbed two, injuring one in the back and the other in the hand. The third shot her and she died shortly after.

Soldiers shot and wounded six Palestinians in confrontations in Nablus while residents commemorated the first anniversary of the killing of several members of the Black Panthers group.

Soldiers injured several Palestinians in clashes in Jenin and Yabad village.

In the Gaza Strip, 16 Palestinians were wounded with live ammunition and 37 others were debilitated by tear gas inhalation.

An Israeli car was set on fire in East Jerusalem and two Molotov cocktails were thrown at Israeli cars near the settlement of Gilo, outside Bethlehem.

DECEMBER 2: In Jenin, 55-year-old Ahmad Fayeq Hamdan died in the city market as a result of tear gas inhalation. Soldiers shot gas extensively into the crowded area.

Fierce clashes erupted in Jenin and Jenin refugee camp. Curfew was imposed, and soldiers raided several villages in the area and searched homes. Curfew was also imposed on Aida refugee camp in the evening.

Deir al-Balah, Shati and Nussirat refugee camps in the Gaza Strip erupted in fierce clashes. Several Palestinians were shot but no exact figures were available.

DECEMBER 3: Soldiers shot dead 17-year-old Muhammad Ahmad Taqatqah, a resident of Beit Fajjar village near Bethlehem. A second Palestinian was injured by gunfire in the same confrontation. Taqatqah's body was taken from the hospital by youths and laid to rest in the village cemetery in a massive funeral.

Curfew remained in force in the Nablus area Ain Beit Elma refugee camp, in Hebron's commercial center for the fifth day, in Aida refugee camp for the third day and in the city and refugee camp of Jenin for the second consecutive day. Night curfews were imposed and continue in several neighborhoods in Hebron.

A military spokesperson announced that a Bethlehem woman suspected of planning to stab a soldier at Bethlehem military headquarters had been arrested. A knife was reportedly found on her.

The army closed four schools. Dar al-Aytam school in Jerusalem's Old City was closed for one day and nearly 180 students were arrested and beaten. They were held one day and released. Two secondary schools in Nablus were closed for one week. An UNRWA preparatory school in the Wadi al-Joz neighborhood of East Jerusalem was closed for three days.

Clashes were reported in Hebron, Nablus, Tulkarm, Ramallah, Bethlehem and Halhoul.

The army continued its campaign of arrests and the issuing of green cards to Palestinians in the West Bank.

In Battir village near Bethlehem, children chanting nationalist slogans marched to martyrs' graves to lay flowers.

DECEMBER 4: Six Palestinians were shot in clashes with Israeli soldiers in Bureij refugee camp in the Gaza

Strip. Shati refugee camp was placed under curfew after a Molotov cocktail was thrown at an army patrol. No soldiers were injured according to Israeli reports.

Ten Palestinian women suffered miscarriages in the Gaza Strip due to tear gas inhalation.

Clashes in Nablus left two Palestinians injured by gunshot. The clash began when a Molotov cocktail was thrown at an army patrol and soldiers retaliated by opening fire on passers-by. The area was cordoned off and searched. Clashes and stonings were also reported in the Old City and other Nablus neighborhoods.

A Bir Zeit youth was shot in the leg by soldiers after allegedly trying to stone them.

The Bethlehem area town of Beit Fajjar remained under curfew, two days after a local youth was shot dead by soldiers. The Shuweikheh neighborhood of Tulkarm was also under curfew for the second day.

An Israeli settlers' restaurant was set on fire in Jabal al-Mukaber, near Jerusalem. Protesters also threw two Molotov cocktails at a settlers' bus near Kiryat Arba settlement, near Hebron.

In Shu'fat refugee camp, student protesters clashed with soldiers. The camp's preparatory school was closed for two days.

Bani Suheil village in the Gaza Strip was raided and a number of Palestinians were arrested.

Five Palestinian houses in Jerusalem were demolished, for allegedly lacking

UNRWA protests assaults on its staff by border police

Vienna - UNRWA Commissioner-General Giorgio Giacomelli made a demarche with the permanent representative of Israel to the United Nations in the Gaza Strip on Dec. 6 in which UNRWA staff members were physically abused by Israeli border police.

The incidents occurred after UNRWA refugee affairs officers inquired about the arrest and beating of a Palestinian youth. One international staff member was shot at with blank ammunition, another sustained a fractured thumb when hit by a rock and the third was struck in the chest with a rifle butt.

International witnesses confirmed that the rock was thrown by a border policeman contrary to the reports in the Israeli press that a Palestinian was responsible for the injury.

Khan Yunis refugee camp was the scene of an earlier assault on an UNRWA refugee affairs officer on Oct. 19 when plastic covered metal bullets were fired at short range at his car, wounding his assistant.

The UNRWA field office in Gaza has protested these incidents to the Israeli "civil administration."

construction permits.

DECEMBER 5: An Israeli soldier was shot in the head in the Sheikh Radwan neighborhood of Gaza City. Israeli media said he was in serious condition.

Several shots were fired at an Israeli bus carrying settlers near Jalazoun refugee camp, in the Ramallah area, in the evening. Israeli sources said three settlers were moderately wounded.

Nine Palestinians were wounded by soldiers shooting live ammunition in the Gaza Strip. Fifty young girls were overcome by tear gas inhalation.

A curfew was imposed on downtown Ramallah following large-scale demonstrations. A curfew continued in Shati refugee camp in the Gaza Strip.

Protesters damaged an Israeli bus in the Wadi al-Joz neighborhood of East Jerusalem with two Molotov cocktails.

A number of schools were closed in Tulkarm, Yabad, Bethlehem and the Jerusalem area. St. George's School in Jerusalem was raided and students were beaten and arrested, after an Israeli bus was allegedly stoned.

Many villages were raided and numerous Palestinians arrested in anticipation of protests on the anniversary of the start of the Intifada.

At least 100 olive trees in Yabad were chopped down by Jewish settlers.

DECEMBER 6: While a general strike called by the Islamic Jihad organization was observed throughout the occupied territories, the Israeli army intensified its presence before the third anniversary of the Intifada.

Soldiers attacked several marches in Nablus in which demonstrators raised flags and chanted, in support of a

Palestinian state. Soldiers used tear gas and live and rubber bullets against the marchers.

Two Palestinian women and one man were shot in clashes in Jenin. Soldiers closed all the city's shops. Confrontations also broke out in Yabad, Toubas, Rummaneh and Aqabah villages.

Curfews continued in a number of areas including Shati, Jabalya, Bulata and New and Old Askar refugee camps, sections of Gaza City, the villages of Ain Yabroud, Siwad, al-Mazra'a and central Ramallah.

In the Gaza Strip, six were shot when Jabalya refugee camp, Khan Yunis and sections of Gaza City erupted in clashes. Scores of youths were arrested.

DECEMBER 7: The army broadened curfews in the West Bank and Gaza Strip to include most villages, towns and refugee camps, confining at least 1 million Palestinians to their homes two days before the third anniversary of the Intifada. Curfews sealed off Nablus and its four refugee camps, Hebron, Jenin, Tulkarm, Gaza City, Khan Yunis and every refugee camp in the Gaza Strip.

Military presence was intensified on roads, city entrances and in the Old City of Jerusalem.

In Rafah, a hand grenade was thrown at a military post. Israeli sources said it caused no damage or injury.

Three Molotov cocktails were tossed at an Israeli police station in the Ras al-Amoud section of East Jerusalem. The area was temporarily closed and searched.

Another Molotov cocktail was aimed at an army patrol in Bureij refugee camp in the Gaza Strip. It exploded on the street causing no damage.



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Israeli government plans to reinstate expulsion policy

The Israeli government is once again studying the possibility of expelling Palestinians from the occupied territories, allegedly to end the 3-year-old popular Intifada. Although Israel never officially abolished the measure, it has not used it since August 1989 because of the local and international condemnation which accompanied expulsions in the past.

Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens, however, asked Attorney General Dorit Beinisch and his army legal adviser Amnon Strashnow last week to re-examine the policy on expulsion, according to Israeli press reports. Israeli security sources told *The Jerusalem Post* that the Israeli defense and legal establishments are carefully studying the implementation of more extensive use of expulsion against those whom they term "terrorists." According to the

news report, at least 10 Palestinians will be given expulsion orders in the next few days.

The Israeli source also added that the expulsion process may be made easier by denying those Palestinians slated for expulsion their right to appeal to an objections committee and the Israeli High Court. In an interview with Israel Television Dec. 4, Israeli Justice Minister Dan Meridor insisted that resorting to this tactic is inevitable in light of the recent escalation in hostilities. He supported adjusting the laws governing expulsion to expedite it.

But the adjustments may be unnecessary. In several earlier expulsion cases, Palestinians slated for expulsion refrained from appealing or withdrew their High Court appeals, believing it would be a futile exercise. Their sense of futility stemmed

from the secrecy of their charges. Normally, the security apparatus rejected lawyers' demands that the charges against their clients had to be made known to the court to enable them to respond. The charges remained secret allegedly because security officials were guarding the sources of their information.

Fifty-eight Palestinians have been expelled during the Intifada. Five Palestinians, already imprisoned more than a year, were the last to be expelled in August 1989. The military government alleged that the 58 were leading, planning and inciting popular protests, and that their expulsion would put an end to the Intifada. This claim proved to be totally untrue.

The expulsion of leading Palestinians drew wide condemnation from the international community, including

the United Nations and the European Community.

Commenting on the seeming rejuvenation of the expulsion policy, the local Palestinian press predicted that putting the measure back into practice would only fuel the fire in the occupied territories. Palestinian editorialists also believed Israel would be reminding the

international community of its responsibility for Palestinians in the occupied territories. Once again the world would be brought face to face with its duty to force Israel to cede to international law and U.N. resolutions, the newspapers wrote, since it had condemned Israel's expulsion policy in the past to no avail.

180 students arrested and beaten

Israeli police raid Jerusalem school

by Mousa Qous

Over 180 students from the *Dar al-Aytam* (Orphans' Home) School in the Old City of Jerusalem were arrested, beaten and held for one day on Dec. 1. Police accused the students of starting a small glue fire near the school.

A number of the youths were beaten during interrogations. Four students aged 10 to 18, accused of deflating police car tires, were remanded in custody for one week.

The large-scale action by Israeli border guards was described as unprecedented in the three years of the Intifada.

Dar al-Aytam principal Bader al-Sharabati said the students were awaiting the first bell of the school day when some 15 border guards besieged the schoolyard and surrounded the pupils. He said it was not unusual for police to raid the school after stoning incidents in the neighborhood.

Palestinian teachers tried to prevent the border guards from making any arrests, and asked that the students be questioned inside the school.

Instead, the students were lined up and marched

to the Western Wall Plaza. "The commander of the patrol ordered five students to stand beside each other, and another five behind them with their hands on the shoulders of the students in front, to form a long line," said 15-year-old Imad Abu Sheih, one of the detained students.

Abu Sheih says the line of students was met at the Western Wall by additional border guard reinforcements, and was then ordered to the police station at Jaffa Gate. Police there squeezed the students into a small area in the sun.

There the students' names and identity card numbers were recorded. All Palestinians over 16 years are required to carry identity cards.

Then, the youth said, he and the other students were moved to another area and beaten and kicked at random by the police.

When the police left them, several students retaliated by deflating the tires of parked police cars, and tearing the cars' upholstery.

When the damage was discovered, Abu Sheih explained, one of the police officers "responded by fiercely beating an 11-year-old student." A group of other police was summoned, and

they joined in and began cursing and beating other students.

Then students were beaten more severely. At 11:00 a.m., a police officer told the students they had "only two minutes to say who deflated the car tires." When none responded, he chose the smallest and youngest students and took them to interrogation rooms in the police station where they were beaten with rubber tubing and sticks all over their bodies. As a result of beatings, they gave police the names of students they thought were responsible.

At some point during the interrogations, the students learned they were accused of starting a small glue fire earlier that day near the school.

The students who were named were then taken inside for beatings. Two confessed and were later remanded in custody for seven and eight days. The remaining students were released in groups of three between 2:30 a.m. and 7:30 p.m.

Parents were shocked by the incident. "As a father, I am deeply concerned for the safety of my son who is threatened by soldiers raiding his school almost every day," said Abu al-Ra'ed, the father of one of the students.

UNRWA News

UNRWA staff detained

A record number of 15 UNRWA employees were detained by Israeli security forces while carrying their duties in four different areas of the occupied West Bank on Dec. 3. Six employees were detained while being transported from Askar refugee camp near Nablus, which was under curfew. The six were held because they did not have curfew passes. They were released later in the afternoon upon UNRWA's intervention.

Three agency teachers and the headmistress of UNRWA's school in Biddou village, in the Jerusalem area, were briefly detained after an incident in which soldiers entered the school. The headmistress was later released while three male teachers remained in detention at press time.

On the same day, an agency sanitation worker was picked up from Qalandia camp, near Jerusalem, and taken to a nearby military base. He was released later in the afternoon.

The fourth incident occurred in an UNRWA school in Jerusalem. The headmaster and two teachers were told to report to the Russian Compound police station, where they were held and accused of "incitement." The three were released later in the evening. On Nov. 27, an UNRWA refugee affairs assistant on duty in the Nablus area was pushed and kicked by Israeli border policemen and then taken to a military camp and detained.

Violations in Gaza

Eighteen cases of violations of UNRWA's privileges and immunities as an international humanitarian organization were reported in the Gaza Strip during the past two weeks. These included six incidents in which UNRWA employees were mistreated.

On Nov. 26, the cars of UNRWA refugee services and refugee affairs officers were deliberately hit by gravel hurled from an Israeli army "stone-throwing machine" in Beach camp. The army stopped firing only when the windshield of the refugee services officer's car was shattered.

Four UNRWA employees were detained in Gaza during the past two weeks, bringing the number of agency employees detained there to 46.

School closures in West Bank

The UNRWA school in Biddou village, in the West Bank, the Jerusalem Preparatory Boys School and the five agency schools in Tul'karm refugee camp, in the Nablus area, were ordered closed by the military government on Dec. 3. The first two were ordered closed for three days and the Tul'karm schools for two weeks.

The four UNRWA schools in Qalandia camp, in the West Bank, were closed on Nov. 24 and 25, and then on Nov. 27 were ordered closed for two weeks. The Aqbat Jabr school near Jericho was closed on Nov. 28 for a week and the Nablus Preparatory Boys School was ordered closed on Nov. 29, also for a week.

The order closing four West Bank and Gaza Strip universities was renewed for another three months on Dec. 1, despite widespread appeals from academics in the occupied territories, in Israel and abroad that Palestinian universities, closed for more than three years, should be allowed to reopen.

For a balanced view on the Middle East

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One goal on anniversary of Intifada: liberty

Three years have already passed since the outbreak of the popular Intifada in the occupied Palestinian territories. The way things look now, the Intifada will continue.

By now, it is clear to everyone that the Intifada was born in reaction to the seemingly unending Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Through the Intifada, Palestinians have continued down the path of resistance, with only one goal in mind: to bring the Israeli occupation to an end and to establish an independent Palestinian state. Of course, while working toward that ultimate goal, the population making the Intifada sought to consolidate a Palestinian identity, and an infrastructure independent of Israel.

This was not easy. During 20 years of occupation, Israel has worked to penetrate every single life structure of the over 1.5 million Palestinians living under its control. It has controlled education, health care, the economy, travel, speech and artistic expression and has even worked to wipe clean the state of Palestinian history, culture and heritage. After 20 years, Israel was well on its way to achieving much of its goal: the reduction of the Palestinian people to helpless subjects to be exploited and controlled without much difficulty.

Israel clearly miscalculated the Palestinian will to freedom and liberty. At the point when Israel seriously believed it had finally subjugated the Palestinians and reduced them to a heap of workers and consumers, the Intifada broke out, bringing a wholly different message to Israel and to the world: that the Palestinians will no longer endure Israeli abuse and turn the other cheek. They will fight for their freedom, regardless of the cost.

Nor was this easy. But the will to make it possible was there. After three years of the Intifada, Palestinians and the entire world, including the Israelis, are feeling its consequences and the changes it has wrought, and can anticipate its eventual outcome. The Intifada has brought a new reality into the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and a new life that is both undeniable and irreversible.

Many in Israel recognize this new reality and are calling on their government to deal with it positively. Instead of assuming the usual bullheaded, warmongering style, many Israelis are calling for dialogue with the Palestinians. They know that without this dialogue, matters will only get worse - and not only for the Palestinians.

Unfortunately, the Israeli government is ignoring these warning bells. It is determined to continue pursuing a worn-out, outdated and medieval strategy of force to gain its desires. Force may win land and buy security in the short run, but it will never subjugate a proud nation determined to be free. However strenuously Israel works to control the Palestinian territories, one day it will be forced to recognize Palestinians' aspirations and dreams, and accept their need for liberty.

The Palestinians, through their Intifada and the political program they accepted in Algiers in 1988, are telling Israel that their struggle is aimed at ending the occupation and creating a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip; a state where Palestinians can live in honor, free from intimidation, massacres, humiliation, deprivation and banishment. They are asking for this only and nothing more.

Gulf crisis takes heavy economic toll on Palestinian community

by George Abed

It is now universally accepted that the close association of Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat with the actions of the Iraqi regime in the Gulf has caused enormous, perhaps irreparable damage to the Palestinian cause.

What is less known, however, is the extent of the economic losses suffered by Palestinians as a consequence of Iraq's occupation of Kuwait and the wider ramifications of this in the region.

Of the nearly 6 million Palestinians in the region, approximately 2.4 million are in historic Palestine itself - Israel and the occupied territories. Two million more live in Jordan, while about 1.5 million live elsewhere, of whom about 700,000 live in the Gulf states and Saudi Arabia.

The economic strength of the vibrant Palestinian community in Kuwait, not to speak of its political future, has been abruptly and cruelly decimated.

Outside Jordan, where virtually all Palestinians had been granted full citizenship since 1950, the 400,000 Palestinians in Kuwait constituted by far the most coherent, successful and politically conscious Palestinian community in exile. Not permitted integration into the largely exclusivist Kuwaiti society, they preserved their sense of identity and were successful in the professions and in business. They constituted the effective core of the civil administration and private national movement and their support of the Palestinian community in the occupied territories has been singular.

The economic strength of this vibrant community, not to speak of its political future, has been abruptly and cruelly decimated. Most Palestinians in Kuwait have resided in the country for a generation and more, productive and hard-working. All has been lost and, given the ambivalent attitude of the Kuwaiti authorities in exile, may never be even partially compensated. In the absence of a satisfactory resolution of the crisis in the Gulf, the economic losses of this Palestinian community alone are conservatively estimated at 10 billion dollars.

Other Palestinian communities in the Gulf region and in Saudi Arabia have not to date suffered serious losses, although their visible, but precarious, presence has come under a cloud as a result of the muddle-headed position taken by the PLO. A small number of prominent Palestinians has been expelled from Qatar, and larger numbers have been denied visas or work permits in other Gulf states.

The Palestinian community in Jordan has been severely hit. Coming on the heels of a two-year economic decline, the Gulf crisis, with its embargo on trade with Iraq, deeply damaged the Jordanian economy. The crisis had a particularly destructive impact on Palestinians in that country, as they tended to dominate private activity in construction, industry and trade. The economic losses of the Palestinians in Jordan could reach 2.5 billion dollars during 1990 and 1991.

The greatest hardship, however, if not the largest loss, has befallen the Palestinian community of 1.8 million in the occupied territories. This community had already suffered 20 years of economic stagnation administered by an anti-development occupation policy, before being put through the wringer of two-and-a-half years of economic disruption and decline brought on by Israel's punitive measures against the Intifada. During the latter period, per capita income declined by nearly 35 percent.

The occupied areas are particularly vulnerable to external economic shocks, especially those affecting the Palestinian communities in neighboring Arab countries. These communities had kept living conditions in the West Bank and Gaza moderately tolerable through remittances and other income transfers. The neighboring Arab countries also constituted an important market for the exports, principally agricultural, of the occupied territories. Annual flows to the territories from all Arab sources are estimated at about 700 million dollars, slightly more than half of which will cease as a result of the crisis in the Gulf.

The uniqueness of the crisis in the Gulf is that, for the Palestinians, the political damage to their cause has been compounded by a virtual destruction of their hard-earned economic base.

Such a loss would reduce further the per capita income of the average Palestinian in the occupied territories by 15 to 20 percent, bringing it down to about 800 dollars a year, or about half of what it had been on the eve of the Intifada. In order to comprehend the extent of the hardship entailed by such a decline, one may note that at this level, per capita income of a typical Palestinian in the occupied territories is only one-tenth that of an Israeli, and both face essentially the same cost of living, as most markets, in goods if not entirely in services, are fully integrated.

Especially hard hit are the scores of health, educational and social welfare institutions in the occupied territories. The financial condition of most of these is desperate, and a concerted Palestinian, Arab and international effort is urgently needed to address their problems.

The uniqueness of the crisis in the Gulf is that, for the Palestinians, the political damage to their cause has been compounded by a virtual destruction of their hard-earned economic base.

A resourceful and highly politicized nation that remains dispossessed has proved irrepressible in the volatile region of the Middle East. One that has also been stripped of its means could prove explosive.

George Abed is founder and director general of the Palestine Welfare Association based in Geneva, Switzerland.

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OPINION

False analogies: 1967 versus 1990

by Uri Davis

Part one of a two-part article

It is often the case that one seeks political explanation and moral elucidation by way of analogy, both at the level of analysis as well as at the level of media representation. In the wake of the Gulf crisis, false analogies are frequently made by those seeking to rationalize the continued denial of Palestinian rights. Such false analogies also aim to further suppress the aspiration of the Arab world to greater unity and better voice in the determination of world affairs. The conscious perpetration of falsehood is an enemy weapon. I propose to attend in this article to two such false analogies.

False analogy number one

Goliath Egypt attacked David Israel in 1967 like Goliath Iraq attacked David Kuwait in 1990. Had Israel not been strong enough to repel the Egyptian-orchestrated attack, its fate would be like the fate of Kuwait following the Iraqi attack.

From this false analogy many false, often mind boggling implications follow. For instance, that those who are against the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the subsequent occupation of Kuwait by Iraq in 1990 must, by the token of false analogy, in one sense or another, be for the Israeli invasion and subsequent occupation of the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula in 1967, the Syrian Golan Heights and the Palestinian West Bank and Gaza Strip. A patent self-contradiction.

By way of correction, it is appropriate perhaps, to remind ourselves of the relevant facts of the 1967 case:

The military consideration

In the first months of 1967, Israel initiated repeated engagements with the Syrian army over rights of cultivation of parts of the demilitarized zone (no man's land) along the northern border.

During the preceding two years, Israeli and Syrian troops clashed in repeated military engagements over Israeli claims to the demilitarized zones inside Israel and over Israel's plans to divert the Jordan River's waters.

Israeli dispossession and abuse of Palestinian and Arab water resources have been well-documented over the past decade (see for instance Farid & Sirriyeh (Eds), *Israel and Arab Water*, Ithaca Press, London, 1985). Israel currently syphons away the majority (over 70 percent by conservative estimates) of occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip water for the irrigation of settlement agriculture as well as for almost exclusively Israeli industrial and domestic consumption. The Jordan water resources are critical to all the countries along its banks. Unilateral action, let alone il-

legal action, by any party can critically damage its neighbors.

In 1964, Israel unilaterally completed its National Water Carrier -- against detailed and considered Arab and international objections. The National Water Carrier was designed to divert waters initially from the Jordan River, and subsequently from Lake Tiberias in the north, to compensate for a shortage of irrigation, industrial and domestic water in the south. Following the Arab summit meeting of January 1964, Syria attempted to abort or contain Israeli designs with its own plans to effect the diversion of the Jordan at its source. Throughout 1964 to 1966, Israel attacked Syrian earthmoving equipment inside Syrian territory. The Syrian plans were effectively aborted.

Jordan's construction of the Maqarain Dam on the Yarmouk River has likewise been halted for many years by threats of Israeli military attacks. It is significant to note that, generally speaking, Arab plans for the development of river resources do not necessarily endanger Israel's internationally recognized rights. They may, however, endanger Israeli settler and colonial claims to water and land resources beyond the rights which have been conceded to her under international law. It is correct to say that Israel has gone to war not to defend its internationally recognized rights, but to defend or acquire gains of territory and water much above and beyond her allocation, as endorsed by the United Nations and by international law. By mid-1967, Israeli planes were flying sorties over Damascus and the threat of an all-out Israeli attack on Syria was judged to be imminent.

In order to limit Israeli capability in a war against its country, the Syrian government turned to Egypt. The threat of Israeli-initiated war against Syria was widely reported and evident for all to see, and Gamal Abdel Nasser agreed to come to Syrian aid.

In May 1967, Egypt moved into the Sinai Peninsula, declared a blockade on Israeli maritime passage through the Straits of Tiran, thereby threatening Israeli trade and passenger traffic at the port of Eilat, and ordered United Nations Emergency Forces stationed on Egyptian soil to leave.

Why the movement of troops, why the maritime blockade and why the removal of U.N. peacekeeping forces from Egyptian soil?

The answer was and remains straightforward: to apply pressure on Israel's southern front and reduce pressure on Syria at the northern front (hence the blockade and movement of troops) and to be able to claim an intention to attack Israeli troops in the south in the event that Israel initiated an attack on Syria in the north (hence the removal of U.N. peacekeeping forces from Egyptian soil).

We have ample evidence that the Egyptian formations in the south in 1967 in no manner whatsoever threatened the survival of the state of

Israel, nor were they capable of attack. General Yitzhak Rabin, Israel's chief-of-staff at the time, made the following observation in *Le Monde*: "I do not believe that Nasser wanted war. The two divisions he sent into the Sinai on May 14 would not have been enough to unleash an offensive against Israel. He knew it and we knew it."

The legal consideration

Regarding the movement of troops into the Sinai, it is important to underline that at no point did the Egyptian government violate international law or act illegally. The movement of troops to the Sinai in May 1967 was well within Egypt's sovereign prerogative, as was the denial of right of Israeli maritime passage through the Straits of Tiran and the removal of United Nations Emergency Forces from its territory.

Regarding the maritime blockade, Israel's demand for right of passage of its shipping through the Suez Canal and the Straits of Tiran (both under Egyptian sovereignty), outside a negotiated peace treaty with Egypt, were totally arbitrary. The Israeli claims to the effect that the Straits of Tiran constitute an international waterway are dubious. In any event, the international community has the required legal instruments, through the U.N. machinery and the International Court in The Hague, to settle such disputes through political and legal means without resort to war.

Regarding the removal of U.N. forces from Egyptian territory, Israeli outcry against the Egyptian move was totally hypocritical in that Israel has consistently refused to allow U.N. forces on the Israeli side of the border, claiming that the stationing of U.N. troops inside its borders constitutes an infringement of Israeli sovereignty.

General Mattiyahu Peled, mem-

ber of the Israeli senior command and at the time chief, quartermaster-general's branch, general staff, made the following statement in *Ha'aretz* (five) years after the war: "The thesis that in June 1967 the state of Israel faced the danger of annihilation and that the state of Israel fought for its physical existence is a bluff that was born and developed only after the war.... [In May 1967] the Egyptians concentrated 80,000 soldiers in the Sinai, whereas we mobilized against them hundreds of thousands.... The fact that there was no danger of annihilation caused debates in the government.... [A]ccording to one approach, only the danger of annihilation justifies war and it is prohibited... to initiate war for political considerations."

The political consideration

In addition to the military considerations of attenuating the Israeli pressure on Syria, the Egyptian government responded to a complex set of political considerations.

Some 10 years earlier in 1956, Israel, in a tripartite alliance with France and the United Kingdom, engineered a military attack on Egypt in an attempt to reverse the nationalization of the Suez Canal and cause the downfall of the Nasserite Egyptian government. Despite the military success of the attack, it resulted in a political debacle and soon failed. From a patriotic Arab point of view, however, the attack underlined the critical, negative role that Israel can play and has played in regional Middle East politics.

Furthermore, all Arab governments involved (Syria, Egypt and subsequently Jordan) were aware that if successful, the coordinated Arab challenge would weaken Israel.

see Analogies, page 15

Start talking reasonably

by Yehuda Ben Moshe

In Chapter 5 (13-14) of the Book of Amos in the Hebrew Bible, we read the following sentences: "Therefore the prudent shall keep silent in that time; for it is an evil time. Seek good and not evil, that ye may live, and so the Lord, the God of Moses, shall be with you, as ye have spoken."

It seems to me that also in our own lifetime, these words of the Prophet Amos again have the immense relevance of Amos' days. Except the practical advice to "the prudent," was probably intended for the Pharisee rulers of his time. As we can clearly recognize in these chapters of one of the early Jewish prophets (of the eighth century B.C.), Amos himself did not fulfill his own precautions, but is looked upon as one of the most outspoken and courageous spiritual leaders of early Jewish history.

Because if the men of reason and truth become silent, other people, like Saddam and Shamir, start disseminating their own dubious "truths," which can only lead to massive physical and spiritual disasters for their peoples. Not silence and cowardly seclusion are needed today by real political leaders and antagonists, but an attitude of reason, truth and readiness to compromise for peace.

Yehuda Ben-Moshe is the former mayor of Eilat. He currently lives in Jerusalem.

from jiddoua haa zhuo

Dr. Uri Davis is honorary research fellow at the Department of Politics, University of Exeter, U.K.

see Ronald Nef's trilogy on Israeli wars

1981 has been printed

Conference in Holland revives PLO-Israeli dialogue

by Radi Suudi

Amsterdam -- Public meetings between Israeli politicians and PLO officials were a regular phenomenon during the last few years but have become very rare since the Gulf crisis turned Israeli-Palestinian relations sour. Last week though, the Dutch capital of Amsterdam provided the scene for a public debate between Nabil Shaath, chairman of the political committee of the Palestine National Council and Ran Cohen of the Israeli Citizens Rights Movement, Ratz.

The debate, on the evening of Nov. 25, came at the end of a successful four-day conference, most of which took place behind closed doors. Palestinians from the occupied territories and the diaspora as well as an Israeli delegation attended.

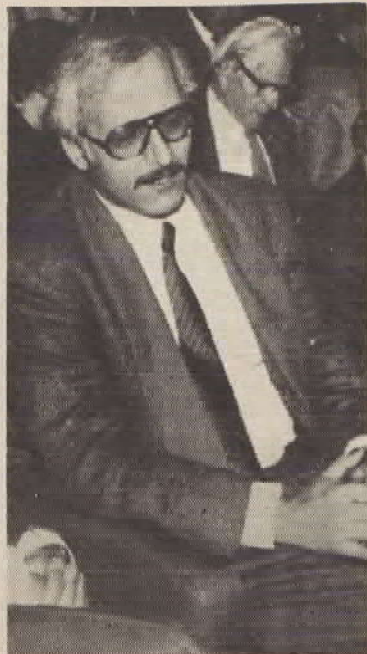
The conference, organized jointly by the Arab Thought Forum, the Tel Aviv-based International Center for Peace and several Dutch and Belgian universities, dealt with security dilemmas in the light of the Gulf crisis. It was no secret, however, that the PLO was somewhat disappointed by the relatively low level of politicians on the Israeli delegation. Former Justice Minister Tamir was supposed to attend the conference and debate with Dr. Shaath, but in the end failed to come to Amsterdam. Shaath attended the last day of the confer-

ence, Saturday, thereby making it clear, as Shaath put it, that the PLO is committed to continue the dialogue with Israeli peace forces.

Shaath explained to the well-attended public closing session in the evening that the failure of the peace process was not caused by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait but, as he put it, by the "immobilism of the Israeli government." The reaction of the Palestinian masses has been a spontaneous eruption of anger and disgust with the American position, which seemed to apply one set of legal standards toward Iraq as an occupying power and another set of legal standards toward Israel.

But, as Shaath stressed, this was not the case with the position of the PLO, which is trying to lead the Palestinian people "to their real self-interest." He went on to explain that the PLO position on the Gulf crisis could be summarized in five points: immediate withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait; immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from the region and their replacement by an Arab or U.N. peace force; an international peace conference dealing with the problems of the area; a conference aimed at removal of the weapons of mass destruction from the region; the implementation of a plan aimed at economic development of the region.

As Shaath stressed, the five points delineated a poli-



Nabil Shaath

cy toward the occupation of Kuwait which was based on the same principles adopted by the PLO regarding the occupation of the Palestinians' own homeland: international legality and political dialogue. The only concession made to the prevailing mood among the Palestinian rank and file, Shaath said, was "the abstention by the PLO of using foul language against Iraq, to be minimally

in line with our own Palestinian people."

"True," Dr. Shaath told the audience, "this is not a position that will make the PLO popular, neither with the United States nor Iraq nor Israel. But we do not want to succumb to easy popularity. We want to avoid a war in which hundreds of thousands of Palestinians in Kuwait, Iraq, Jor-

dan and Palestine will become easy targets." And in a remark directed at the PLO's critics, he said, "We do not just want to make statements. We want to implement a policy. A policy that gets rid of the destructive weapons in Israel, Syria, Libya and Iraq."

Israeli Knesset Member Ran Cohen stressed that the situation between Israelis and Palestinians remained the same, notwithstanding the new realities of the post-August 7 era. Cohen expressed his view that the occupation will destroy Israeli society as it will destroy the Palestinians, and therefore the dialogue between the Israeli peace camp and the PLO has to be revived. He stressed, "There is simply no alternative to dialogue but to wait for the next war."

Cohen concluded his speech by suggesting that the minimum the Israeli government should do to be in line with the international community is invite the PLO to negotiations, thereby separating the PLO from Iraq. This, he said, was in the interest of both the Palestinians and the Israelis.

The debate ended on an optimistic note because participants and audience realized, as one of the organizers of the debate remarked, the fact that the PLO-Israeli dialogue has been revived "at this moment, is as important a fact by itself as the dialogue's actual contents."

Opposition to war in Gulf increasing in United States

by Ghassan Bishara

Washington -- If it is true that history repeats itself, it is probably truer in the Middle East than anywhere else. On Nov. 29, 1947, both Cuba and Yemen rebuffed the mighty pressure America exerted upon them and refused to support the partition of Palestine. On Nov. 29, 1990, exactly 43 years later, the Cuban and Yemeni delegates to the U.N. Security Council once again stood firm. Cuba and Yemen resisted pressure from the United States and U.S.S.R. and voted against the Security Council resolution authorizing the use of force against Iraq to oust Saddam Hussein from Kuwait.

In 1990 as in 1947, the two countries withstood not only pressure but reportedly bribes as well. In an attempt to buy support for the partition of Palestine in 1947, the wife of Cuban Ambassador Diego was given a mink coat, which she

returned later when Cuba would not tow the partition line. Now, it is being reported, certain "carrots" were offered to Yemen.

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker visited Yemen in an attempt to drag it onto the anti-Iraq bandwagon, and reportedly promised U.S. \$70 million in exchange for the vote. When President Ali Abdallah Salch of Yemen refused to promise his country's support for the U.S. resolution, Secretary Baker reportedly told him, "that was the most expensive 'no' vote you ever cast."

Similarly, in spite of pressure from the U.S.S.R., and a meeting between Baker and the Cuban foreign minister -- the first in more than 10 years -- Cuba refused to change its stand. Cuba's U.N. ambassador, U.S. papers reported, called the diplomats who were charmed by Baker "The Fabulous Baker Boys," after the smash Hollywood movie. The vote by the

U.N. Security Council was 12 in favor and two against, with China abstaining.

U.N. vote creates backlash in United States

The almost unanimous support for the U.S.-instigated U.N. resolution deepened fears here that America was about to be plunged into a costly and unnecessary war. Speaker after speaker testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee argued that the sanctions against Iraq should be given a much longer time to take effect before the United States reverts to force.

Since the beginning of the Gulf crisis, the Bush administration has acted on a mistaken assumption: that Iraq and its president could be scared out of Kuwait. The strategy which followed aimed at doing those things and taking those steps likely to convince Saddam and his generals that the United States is serious about pushing them

out of Kuwait. The United States seems to believe that once the Iraqis are convinced of American resolve, they will simply oblige and leave. Only a belief in such a strategy could possibly explain the repeated threats against Iraq, the warnings and the protestations that the United States was "dead serious" about the use of force if Iraq didn't remove itself from Kuwait.

This strategy could also explain the steady increase in the number of American troops being dispatched to the Gulf, including the decision to double the U.S. troops from 230,000 to 430,000 by January 1991, and the commitment to use force by Jan. 15, 1991.

Al Ashtal, Yemen's U.N. ambassador, told Americans on a television program about the Gulf that the Iraqi people are unique among the Arab people. They are not easily scared off, he said. They are tough, resolute and disciplined. Every Arab child is taught

the story of al-Hajaj Ibn Yusef who was dispatched to Iraq from the caliph in Damascus to bring the people there under the caliph's rule. Ibn Yusef's speech to the Iraqis was required for most Arab children because of the unmistakably strict language he used to bring the Iraqis around.

It is obvious, according to many analysts here, that there has been no war in the Gulf only because of a clear American conviction that a war with Iraq would be too costly. Had American policy-makers thought that the United States could push Iraq out of Kuwait easily and with relatively few casualties, the United States would not have waited this long. The Iraqi army in general, it is agreed, will not be easy to break and will make an American attack quite expensive.

Worries about the toll in American lives and other serious repercussions from a war President Bush seems to

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ARAB AND DIASPORA NEWS

ABPA salutes Arab Americans' achievements

by M.C. Jaspersen

Washington (USIA) Nearly 800 Arab Americans gathered Nov. 28 at the Fifth Annual ABPA Awards Dinner to salute three who have contributed outstanding achievements or service to their community.

To Mary Rose Oakar, a U.S. congresswoman, went the ABPA (Arab American Business and Professional Association) "Professional Excellence Award"; to Hasib Sabbagh, philanthropist and builder, went the "Lifetime Achievement Award"; and the Mobil Corporation, a petroleum company, received the "Corporate Humanitarian Award."

The awards ceremony opened with the marching Armed Forces Color Guard and the singing of the national anthem. Then, celebrants heard a message of praise for their organization from President George Bush, in which he hailed the ABPA's goals and achieve-

ments, and called it "fitting that association members pause to celebrate the achievements of men and women who share their high goals and standards."

The U.S. president added, "This year's honorees have shown a strong commitment to the ideals of free enterprise and public service."

The Arab American Business and Professional Association is a nationally chartered, non-profit association which strives to promote the economic welfare of the Arab American business and professional community. It also seeks to foster trade and investment links between companies in the United States and those in Arab countries.

Congresswoman Mary Rose Oakar (Democrat of Ohio) was honored for her "high standard of performance as a member of the Congress and her involvement in a broad spectrum of organizations serving the community."

Oakar could not be at the dinner, because -- as she explained on a videotape -- Speaker of the House Tom Foley asked her to accompany a congressional delegation to Saudi Arabia. She said in her videotaped remarks that she would be reporting the results of the congressional fact-finding mission immediately upon her return to the United States.

Oakar said, "My parents used to say, 'He who denies his heritage, denies himself.'" That statement, she said, "exemplifies ... all the things we are proud of in our great and wonderful culture."

She noted that the ABPA reaches out to businesses and indeed the entire community internationally. She said she was praying for peace in the world, and that "I, myself, will do everything I can to bring about the harmony and friendship and fellowship of all of the peoples of the Middle East."

A. Robert Abboud, chairman and chief executive

officer of First City Bancorporation of Texas, presented the Lifetime Achievement Award to Hasib Sabbagh, the chairman of Consolidated Contractors International, a major U.S. construction firm.

Abboud said of the recipient, "His word is his honor... He is a man of principle; he is a man of conviction; he is a man of consistent integrity."

"[Hasib] says little, but he does a lot. He is an initiator, and a builder... a brilliant entrepreneur, and perfect executive. He builds hospitals, bridges, stadiums, universities, airports, highways. And most of all, he builds institutions and he builds people," Abboud added. "He is a believer in people."

The Mobil Corporation was selected to receive the Corporate Humanitarian Award for "its contribution to economic development in the Arab world and its continuing efforts to build bridges of understanding be-

tween Arab and American cultures."

Allen E. Murphy, Mobil's chairman and chief executive officer, accepted the award for his corporation, saying that the Arab world has done more for the Mobil Corporation than the company will ever be able to do in return.

Najeb E. Halaby, former chairman of the Federal Aviation Administration in President John F. Kennedy's administration and former chairman of Pan American Airlines, served as master of ceremonies.

Other prominent program participants included Helen Thomas of the *United Press International* news wire service; Abdul Rahman al-Zamil, deputy minister of commerce, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia; Congresswoman Helen Delich Bentley (Republican of Maryland); former U.S. chief of protocol Selwa Roosevelt; and Nemir A. Kidar, founder, president and chief executive officer of Investcorp International, Inc.

Opposition

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be dragging the country into, convinced Sen. Sam Nunn to hold hearings on the subject. Nunn, chairman of the Armed Services Committee and one of the most powerful U.S. legislators, invited a highly respected group of Americans to share their views on Bush's engagement in the Gulf.

Except for former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and former Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle, two of Israel's best friends who support a war policy, all the other experts called for sanctions instead of war. War opponents included James Schlesinger, former secretary of defense, two former chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), a former secretary of the Navy and a former director of the National Security Council. They all agreed that the sanctions imposed against Iraq will bring about an Iraqi withdrawal.

"It, in fact, the sanctions will work in 12 to 18 months instead of six months," said retired Adm. William Crowe Jr., chairman of the JCS from 1985 to 1989, "the trade off of avoiding war, with its attendant sacrifices and uncertainties, would in my estimation be worth it." Crowe called war "danger-

ous and unpredictable," and said that no chance should be missed to avoid it. Crowe assured the committee that patience will bear fruit against Iraq as it did in Eastern Europe.

Another former chair of the JCS from 1978-1982, retired Gen. David C. Jones, expressed the same reservations about the rush toward war. Jones said reports that Iraq is about to build a nuclear bomb are exaggerated. "I don't agree that is a justification today to attack Iraq," he said. Questioning Bush's intention to send another 200,000 troops to the Gulf, Jones said, "my main concern with the latest scheduled reinforcement isn't that we might choose to fight, but rather that the deployment might cause us to fight, perhaps prematurely and perhaps unnecessarily." Jones raised doubts about the wisdom of maintaining a large troop presence for a long period of time.

Support for sanctions and patience in the Gulf also came from Lt. Gen. William E. Odom, former director of Army Intelligence and of the National Security Council, who said sanctions just needed more time. James Schlesinger, a former secretary of defense made the same point. The sanctions, he testified, "appear to be working more rapidly" than expected, and "in three months' time, civilian production in Iraq is

estimated to have declined by some 40 percent."

Schlesinger admitted however, that sanctions' effectiveness decreases once Saddam Hussein becomes convinced that the United States aims to destroy Iraq's military capabilities. In that case, Schlesinger said, Hussein can be expected to fight rather than withdraw. Recently, U.S. officials have let slip the fact that even if Iraq pulls its troops out of Kuwait, the United States and its allies intend to diminish Iraq's military power, possibly through maintaining the embargo. For this reason, an Arab diplomat said, Saddam "has developed a 'Masada' complex." The Arab officials also told *The New York Times*, "you cannot push him. If he is cornered and feels he must die, he would welcome the opportunity to take a great many of us along with him."

James Webb, the former Navy secretary, blasted Bush's maneuvers in the Gulf. "If the president wishes to attack a million-man army," Webb said, "he cannot count on a two-day bombing campaign and be home by February." Webb, a decorated Marine officer during the Vietnam War, said that "proper planning for a ground offensive should include an immediate call for the draft."

It is estimated that the United States will have more than half of its combat

forces in the Gulf by January 1991, and will have difficulty calling up more troops in the event of war. "You simply don't have anyone else in the pipeline," Webb said to the committee. He predicted a "shortage of pretrained manpower to replace those killed, wounded and sick." Webb called on Bush to reduce the number of American troops in the Gulf and to consolidate those that remain "into a defensive posture."

Richard Perle disagreed with the other speakers. He said sanctions will not force Hussein out of Kuwait nor will they bring him "to his knees." Perle denounced Bush's critics who say the United States only wants "cheap gasoline" and accused such voices of "a dangerous trivialization of the Western interest in oil."

Perle said Hussein's control over oil could strangle the Western economies, posing "a direct threat to our vital interests. To reward aggression anywhere," he added, "is to encourage it everywhere." He suggested that the United States and its allies should teach Iraq "that the price of aggression is greater than merely returning the spoils." He insisted Iraq must pay "reparations, to mete out justice for the crimes of war. If that makes compromise more difficult," Perle concluded, "it is because compromise is not good enough."

Arguing for an immediate

ate strike and belittling sanctions against Iraq, Henry Kissinger told the Armed Services Committee that a prolonged American presence there would destabilize Saudi Arabia and the region. Instead, he argued, the United States should attack by early next year and then bring the bulk of its troops back home. From the first, of course, Kissinger has been the foremost proponent of an attack on Iraq. Now, not having things his way, Kissinger warned that when it becomes clear sanctions have not done the job, it may be too late for a military solution. The best sanctions could do, Kissinger said, would be to make negotiations possible. If, indeed, the hawkish Kissinger added, the United States even wants to negotiate.

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Remembering the 'forgotten people': Intifada injured need to be rehabilitated

Story and photos by Nehaya al-Helo

"After I finished high school I worked with my father in his carpentry shop. It was our only source of income and that made my work more important. I wanted, however, to continue higher education abroad and I tried to talk my father into accepting this idea because our local universities were all closed. My father was concerned about me because I was his only son. But in the end he agreed after he saw how persistent I was."

Twenty-two-year old Hassan Abdallah was narrating his story while lying on his back at his sister's home in the West Bank city of Ramallah. Tears filled his eyes as he continued. "Everything seemed promising for my future. I wrote to several universities in the United States and I was expecting a letter of acceptance at any time. I would go to the post office in Ramallah every day to check my mailbox for letters from America. One day I was on my way there when clashes broke out in the city between residents and Israeli soldiers. The clashes were intense as they came following the shooting death of a young man in Ramallah."

"The soldiers were shooting at people and one of these bullets hit me in the back. It was the explosive kind. I was carried to hospital. I was unconscious for three days and when I opened my eyes I wasn't able to move any part of my body except my eyes. I saw my father standing next to my hospital bed crying with a letter in his hand. He told me that



Mahdi Hawwash, a blacksmith, has lost his right hand.

I was accepted by a university in Chicago. It was ironic that a bullet made in the U.S.A. prevented me from traveling to America to study."

Today Abdallah suffers total paralysis as a result of his injury and is carried on a stretcher every time he wants to go somewhere. He cannot sit or move any part of his body. But he is still hopeful that through treatment he will be able to regain some of his normal bodily functions.

As the Intifada finished its third year Dec. 9, 1990, the number of wounded -- already over 60,000 -- continued to swell. A large percentage of these wounded suffer some kind of permanent injury, and in the eyes of their society, unaware of the abilities they still retain, they seem actually closer to death than life, unable to function normally in any way.

"Many times we hear on the news about dead people and wounded people. You know, if somebody dies, it makes us sad," says Dr. Wahib Dajani, "but we can't change it. With the wounded people we get just abstract figures -- 22 or 15 or 16. But if we analyze these 15 or 20 people we see that many of

them are severely injured."

Dr. Dajani, chief anesthesiologist and head of the intensive care unit at Makassed Hospital on the Mount of Olives in East Jerusalem, calls the wounded, particularly those who have become permanently disabled or paralyzed, the "forgotten people." Many of them have been bedridden for weeks or months. "That's why we have to take more seriously the number of wounded people," Dajani stressed in an interview with *Al-Fajr* (see sidebar).

The 19 hospitals in the West Bank and Gaza Strip have been receiving large numbers of wounded since the onset of the Intifada on Dec. 9, 1987. However, only a small number of these hospitals are equipped to treat complicated cases such as paralysis.

Recently, though, three major centers emerged in the occupied territories to deal with severe Intifada cases. These new centers -- the Friends of the Patient Society in Ramallah, the Arab Rehabilitation Center in Beit Jala and the Beit Sahour YMCA Rehabilitation Center -- in addition to giving physiotherapy and rehabilitative treatment to paralyzed patients, also educate families on how best to act and deal with newly handicapped members of their households.

"The percentage of handicapped Palestinians [in the West Bank and Gaza Strip] is among the highest in the world," says Dr. Ghazi Hanania, chairman of the board of the Friends of the Patient Society. "Many cases appeared after 1948, and reached their highest level with the Intifada. What compounded this problem, however, and particularly since 1987, is the high cost of treatment in government hospitals, which until that date was almost free. This created a serious problem for hundreds of thousands of West Bank and Gaza Strip residents who have no health insurance and who require expensive treatment in hospitals found only in Israel," he explains.

The three new rehabilitation centers take in mainly Intifada victims and give them the treatment

they need at almost no charge. But they do not stop there. The victims are not their only targets -- rather, their families are educated as well.

Social ignorance leaves many handicapped treated, and feeling, like a burden to society and their families, says Dr. Hanania. The family either smothers the injured with excess affection and pity or neglects him or her altogether. The consequence is usually a negative impact on the patient, sometimes reaching the point of desperation, Dr. Hanania explained, sometimes resulting in a regression in the patient's health.

Family reaction to the new status of an injured child was reflected during a trip to Makassed Hospital. Upon entering the room of Abdel Majeed Sabatin, his father, sitting next to his son's bed, reacted strongly to our presence and ordered us to leave.

"What do you want from us?" he yelled. "You come here to look at us? My son has been dead for two years and what did you or anybody else do for him? Nothing. My son is going to die."

A bullet shot by soldiers penetrated the lower part of Sabatin's abdomen and exploded. It damaged his urinary tract, rectum and many of his internal organs and paralyzed his left leg. He has already undergone 16 operations. The 18-year-old, from Husan village near Bethlehem, lay in his hospital bed, watching his father cry.

Um Mustafa sat in the waiting room. Her 17-year-old son, Mustafa, was undergoing treatment for paralysis in the lower part of his body. He was hit by a bullet in the spine more than a year ago. Mustafa wanted to return to his school when he had partially recovered from his injury, Um Mustafa said. But she wouldn't let him.

"I was worried about him and I stopped him," she said. "When he asked me to explain to him why, I told him people will start making fun of him when they see him going to school in a wheelchair. Besides, I did not have the time to take him to



Four-year-old Salim Hamid al-Khatib from Beit Ummar was shot in jaw with a rubber bullet. He is now unable to speak.

school and bring him back home."

Staying home did not help Mustafa. He was always depressed and would not eat and he began taking tranquilizers. His health deteriorated until he needed to be taken back to the hospital. "The doctors told me that I and the rest of my family need to learn how to deal with handicapped members of the family so that we can deal with Mustafa's psychological state," Um Mustafa said. "I was told to stop crying and feeling sorry for him and deal with his present state because it is real."

"Our disabled are different from those in other countries," says Dr. Hanania. "In other societies the disabilities are caused by accidents. But in our society, our disabled are the heroes of yesterday who were active in the streets and were different from all the others." Their former

heroism, he explains, means "any change in the way people treat them or look at them will have an even greater effect."

Losing limbs made some of these young people's pain worse. But their rehabilitation will be easier than for those who are totally paralyzed.

"I am about to go crazy," said Mahdi Hawwash, 33. "I lost my hand and I am still suffering from this." Hawwash is married and has two young boys, six and four years old. He lives with his parents. As a blacksmith, the loss of his hand meant the loss of his main working tool. His entire arm was damaged when the bullet hit him in the hand. Doctors believe they may have to amputate his arm from the elbow.

"I wish I had lost my legs rather than my right hand," he said, sitting in his hospital bed. "How can I work and make a living now?"

These cases and many more make it imperative that people whose normal life was disrupted by an injury be rehabilitated and given a chance to live normally again. Because their disabilities leave them more dependent on those around them, their families need training as well. Otherwise, the heroes and activists of yesterday will be pushed into seclusion and oblivion.

Salah Wadi, 20, took advantage of rehabilitation centers and made progress. He spent four months in Makassed Hospital being treated for a bullet injury that left him partially paralyzed. Then he joined a rehabilitation center where he received physiotherapy and at the same time learned to do secretarial work.

"I was in great pain because I had to rely on my family to help me with my disability," Wadi said of his condition before he began treatment

at the rehabilitation center. "Now, I have great hope and ambitions that I will succeed and rely on myself. I realized that I am going to live with my disability for the rest of my life and therefore I need to learn to rely on myself and work for a living to help myself and my family."

Wadi wants to enroll at a local university and study. He wants to make something of himself. "As long as I have the brains and healthy hands, I can work and I won't need anyone," he said.

If Wadi can make it, then many others can. These intelligent and committed youths, often disabled because of personal acts of courage, must not be forgotten. Much can be done to help them achieve self-reliance so they can continue making positive contributions to their society.

Dr. Wahib Dajani, Makassed anesthesiologist and head of ICU:

'We have to take more seriously the number of wounded'

Dr. Wahib Dajani has worked at Makassed Hospital in East Jerusalem for 12 years and is the chief anesthesiologist and head of the intensive care unit. He spoke to Al-Fajr's Nehaya al-Helo about injuries and medical services during the Intifada.

Q: What is your assessment of the Intifada injuries so far?

A: I witnessed the Intifada from the very beginning. In this hospital we have seen about 5,000 cases as a result of the Intifada. From these 5,000, about 1,100 have been admitted and treated in this hospital. The rest, about 3,900, were treated in the outpatient department as a result of beatings, tear gas and superficial bullet wounds. The 1,100 cases were referred to us from all the hospitals throughout the occupied territories. The Palestinian people consider Makassed Hospital to be a referral hospital for their difficult cases, so many of our cases come from the north -- from Tulkarm, from Nablus -- and from the south -- from Gaza. The 1,100 cases that were admitted and treated in Makassed were of different ages -- about 25 percent were below the age of 16, and 60 percent were around the age of 20 -- they were 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, and the rest were older than the age of 25. The injuries of these people cover the whole body; they were injured in the brain, the chest, the abdomen and the extremities.

All different kinds of bullets were used against these young people. It started at the beginning of the Intifada with the high velocity bullet. They [Israeli soldiers] were using high velocity bullets exclusively until August 1988, then they introduced what they call the "plastic bullet." In reality the plastic bullet, according to their [Israeli] officials and leaders, and according to our own experience, is as devastating as the high velocity bullet. It fragments and can cause devastating effect on different parts of the body. We've seen the devastating effect on bones, on soft tissue,



Dr. Dajani points to the X-ray of a nine-year-old Tulkarm boy, who died after being shot in the head with a plastic bullet.

on the brain, on the lungs, everywhere. And we have seen a number of dead people as a result of the plastic bullet.

Q: Do you think Makassed Hospital, particularly its intensive care unit, is equipped to cope with the Intifada injured?

A: We are fortunate to have a decent, modest intensive care unit and with it we have managed a lot. This is the only good, reliable, well-equipped intensive care unit in the whole of the occupied territories. That is why most of the severely injured patients come to this intensive care unit. For example, people with brain or chest injuries. After these patients have operations, they need good intensive care. Because of our capabilities, many people who are treated in other hospitals in the acute stage, when they need blood or urgent surgery, come to us to finish their treatment. We have an intensive care unit, we have good equipment, we have a good labora-

tory, we have a good blood bank and these are really important for these cases.

As a developing hospital it wants always to increase, to get bigger. That's what we want actually, to increase the intensive care, the operating rooms. Now we sometimes operate in four rooms; we want more. We want a bigger intensive care unit, and we want to enlarge the capacity of the hospital. For instance, at the moment we have 205 beds, I would like it to be 400 beds. I'm sure that the services here are good and we would like to be able to offer them to all the Palestinian people from the occupied territories.

Q: You mentioned a blood bank; are people here receptive to calls to donate blood?

A: Before the Intifada people did not like to donate blood and many operations had to be canceled. But I can tell you with pleasure that since the Intifada, people have realized how important it is to give blood for

other people.

Now with many events, like Nahalin for instance (where Israeli border guards shot dead six Palestinians and wounded 30 others on April 13, 1989), people come on their own to donate blood. They realize that they can help other people and they want to offer something to their brethren Palestinians. The day of the al-Aqsa events (Oct. 8, 1990) donors came in their hundreds and they were really fighting to give blood because in one way or another they want to contribute to their fellow Palestinians.

A step forward is that people know their blood group now. They don't come haphazardly: Take my blood. Now they understand that there is blood O, blood A, blood B, and they sit outside in queues waiting their turn. We say "O blood" and people with blood type O come and give. I noticed this on the day of al-Aqsa. For me, as a doctor, this makes me cry. There are a lot of defects in our community and in the medical concepts of our people but they try to understand and we try to teach them. They realize now that giving blood is not a problem, on the contrary, you can help people.

On the al-Aqsa day, our people easily collected 250 units, which means they collected blood from 250 donors. This was not possible before the Intifada. From these 250 units we gave about 120 units to our patients. The problem when someone is shot is the bleeding. We had enough blood because the Palestinian people were aware how important it was to give blood to help. The next day we had enough blood. We took just 70 units from donors.

Q: There appear to be many patients with severe injuries, almost permanent, and many have been handicapped or paralyzed. How is the hospital dealing with these cases?

A: From the medical side, we are offering our people all kinds of medical...
see Dajani, page 15

ISRAELI SCENE

Talk to moderates now, or extremists later

Ideology of despair
by Akiva Elder/HaAretz
Nov. 29, 1990

Since the beginning of the Intifada, members of the defense establishment have been warning that the struggle of the residents of the [occupied] territories against the occupation could become a war of Muslims against Jews. In the last days of his tenure as defense minister, Yitzhak Rabin began to understand that he had to choose between talking with moderate, secular Palestinians or fighting a war against Palestinian religious extremists. The Labor Party was forced to leave the government after it became clear that Yitzhak Shamir was prepared to give up the prime ministership rather than begin a process that would end with a political compromise.

The public relations material that Binyamin Netanyahu issues to Israeli diplomats offers an abundance of statements from Yasser Arafat on his plan to destroy Israel in stages. The number of stages, Netanyahu claims, is the only difference between the secular leadership and the religious leadership, which calls for liquidating the Jews in one stroke. Paradoxically, the right appears to be more comfortable with an enemy who crowns the murderer of three citizens in Baqa'a as a "hero" and promises that "this is only the beginning" (a quotation from a Hamas leaflet). No compromise is possible with someone who declares that "the war against Zionism is nothing but a religious war between Islam and Judaism" (Hamas leaflet no. 66). It's easy to win public support and even to incite the public against the left, when you flash pictures of orphans in the background.

The death of five Givati soldiers in a battle against members of

George Habash's organization brought back into the already complicated picture the internal struggle among the PLO factions and the sharp conflict between Syria and Iraq. It's entirely possible that Habash's decision to intensify terrorist (*sic*) activity against Israel is an effort to meet the demands of the desperate Palestinian public. Evidence that Israeli policy is responsible for this despair, which is like mother's milk to the Islamic fanatics, can be found, in all places, in one of the Foreign Ministry's public relations documents, a document which is itself based on a military government position paper.

The document, which was released Nov. 18, says: "The political stalemate during the third year of the uprising, with no signs of a compromise in the foreseeable future, has weakened the power of PLO activists in the area because in the eyes of the public, the PLO's policy that the political path is the only way to a solution has not borne the hoped-for fruit. This stalemate, the continuing decline in uprising activities, and the absence of a solution in the foreseeable future, which have caused growing despair among the population of Judea and Samaria [the West Bank], have given an ideological advantage to the religious factions. While the secular PLO faction measures its achievements and the correctness of its path by political accomplishments, the Islamic faction doesn't promise its followers an immediate reward....It's clear that such an ideology suits situations of despair, low morale and serious economic problems...."

This official government document says that the increase in Hamas' power has received further impetus from an injection of money

from Saudi Arabia, which wants to take revenge on the PLO for its support of Saddam Hussein. Arafat's decision to invite representatives of Hamas and Islamic Jihad to a preparatory conference of the Palestinian National Council shows how the PLO is courting its religious competitors. A prominent PLO activist has confided to the military government that his colleagues in the secular, pragmatic leadership (as the document calls them) have lost the confidence of the public, which is in a state of frustration because of the dim prospects for a political process.

Those closest to the matter confirm that the alarm of moderates on both sides was not unjustified: He who was not willing to accept King Hussein got the PLO, and he who was not willing to accept the PLO has now gotten Hamas and the Islamic Jihad. Sources close to Rabin said at the time that Faisal Husseini was placed in detention in order to raise his standing as a Palestinian freedom fighter and to improve his position against his radical competitors. Someone going through intelligence reports on what is happening in the territories might tend to believe that the arrest of Radwan Abu Ayyash was intended for the same purpose.

Anyone who reads Israeli diplomatic reports from Washington on Shamir's upcoming visit knows that Shamir isn't going to be able to sell President Bush any used Hamas leaflets proving that there is no one to talk to. Sooner or later, Israel is going to have to choose between Palestinians who define themselves as secular and Palestinians who define themselves as religious. The timing depends, of course, on the big question: When and how will Bush get out of the Persian Gulf.

Corporation wants to buy Muslim Quarter

The Corporation for the Restoration of the Jewish Quarter will receive NIS7 million for settling the Muslim Quarter

by Avi Posen and Yossi Gold
Kol Ha'ir
Nov. 30, 1990

The Corporation for the Development and Restoration of the Jewish Quarter will receive next week about NIS7.5 million for refurbishing and preserving buildings in the Muslim Quarter. Members of the board of directors were notified of this at a meeting three weeks ago. At the same meeting, a decision was made to establish a subcommittee, made up solely of directors from the Likud, whose task will be to determine the exact targets of the money. Members of the board not included in the subcommittee are afraid that its secret nature is intended to hide the illegal purchase of buildings in the Muslim Quarter.

The money was allocated six months ago by the committee of ministers in charge of distributing the estates of citizens who die without heirs. Originally, the money was

supposed to go to Himanuta, a subsidiary of the Jewish National Fund that deals with problematical acquisitions. After further discussion, it was decided the money would be transferred to the Corporation for the Restoration of the Jewish Quarter. The money has already been transferred to the Housing Ministry and will be passed on to the corporation soon.

At a meeting that took place Nov. 4, participants were told that the money was intended for refurbishing buildings in the Muslim Quarter. Some of the board members objected, claiming that it would be illegal to use the money for this purpose because the corporation was founded to restore the Jewish Quarter. The corporation's legal counsel claimed that the matter had been examined, and the corporation had a mandate to carry out such work. She offered as evidence the acquisitions that the company had made in the Armenian Quarter, which were subsequently determined to be legal. This week, some members of the board claimed that the counsel's legal opinion lacked a sound basis.

Members of the board say the new subcommittee apparently is intended to camouflage problematical acquisitions in the Muslim Quarter. According to one director, Likud board members whispered among themselves at the meeting, which created the impression that the matter required discretion. The managing director of the corporation, Reuven Shalom, had nothing to say on the matter this week, except a declaration that the Housing Ministry hadn't transferred any such sum to the corporation. Housing Ministry spokesman Nimrod Granite made the same declaration and wouldn't agree to say anything more.

Worshippers at the synagogue of the Union of Fighters for Jerusalem on Hagia Street in the Muslim Quarter called *Kol Ha'ir* and said that a significant part of the allocation was intended for the security and preservation of their synagogue and the synagogue of Rabbi Nahman Kahane. They say the allocation is essential for the continued activity of the two institutions.

Israeli soldier takes real eye, Israeli physician fits fake

Dr. Vadek is fitting Muhammad with an eye
by Yael Gavritz
HaDushot, This Week
Nov. 30, 1990

Every Wednesday, if there isn't a curfew, the children who have lost eyes in the Intifada come to the eye clinic of optometrist George Vadek, 94 Ben Yehuda Street, in Tel Aviv. There, Vadek fits them with artificial eyes made of acrylic.

Muhammad, 14, lost his left eye from a rubber bullet, on April 24, 1990, in Khan Yunis refugee camp. His parents brought him to the hospital. Two days later, his father told him that he had lost his eye forever. Two weeks later, Muhammad returned home and stayed away from other children. He was afraid they would call him blind because he was left with only one eye. Since then, his parents almost never let him out of the house, even though he's no longer afraid. What more does he have to lose?

In Khan Yunis, Muhammad knows seven other children who have lost eyes from rubber bullets; two of them are his cousins, and two others live nearby. According to what he has heard, in the Gaza Strip alone, there are 54 such cases.

Dr. Vadek is considered an international expert on eye implants, and Muhammad hopes that eventually he will have an eye so perfect that no one will know it isn't real.

Dr. Vadek treats the children on his own initiative. A native of Austria, he is considered a pioneer in development of acrylic eye implants. He got in touch with eye surgeon Dr. Ahmad Matar, after he heard about a 2-year-old baby that had lost an eye. Vadek offered to implant an artificial eye for free. The baby didn't come to him, but a Christian organization that finances pediatric care began sending him injured children. Most of the children who come to him are between the ages of 12 and 17. There are no politics involved, he says, it's a matter of humanity and compassion for these children.

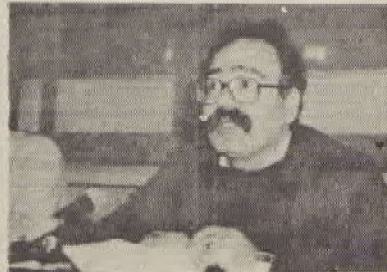
Acrylic eyes are not rejected by the body. A model is made from warm wax, and the acrylic is carved until it fits. Matching the color is Vadek's particular specialty. Once a day, the eyes have to be taken out and washed, and once a year, they have to be polished.

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CULTURE

Local Palestinian press must support theater movement

by Basem Tawfeeq



Ali al-Khalili

The local Palestinian press "are short-shrifting theater -- very much." That was the gist of a Dec. 4 lecture and lively discussion about the relationship between the two institutions of Palestinian society.

Many explanations and remedies were offered by the presenter, Ali al-Khalili, and by his listeners. The program was part of the three-week-long First Jerusalem Festival for Palestinian Theater, organized by the Palestinian Theater League.

Khalili, a poet and senior editor for the Arabic daily newspaper *Al-Fajr*, began by apologizing to his hosts for not attending the festival's opening ceremony. His confession illustrated one of the factors at play in the press's lack of coverage of local theater.

"I wanted to attend the festival's opening, but my job at the newspaper kept me in the office -- the newspaper must appear the next day," Khalili thus assigned an editor to cover the opening. The assigned editor, however, did not go to the opening, because he judged a political press conference taking place at the same time to be more important.

Khalili said that after he discovered the next morning that the festival opening went unreported in *Al-Fajr*, he organized a discussion in the newspaper and stressed that "we must follow up this big event."

Nevertheless, political news invariably takes precedence over arts news. "Our press is political," exclaimed Khalili. He related that local journalists are burdened full-time with covering events, crises and politicians' statements. "While I used to write a poem a month, now I write a

poem a year and 20 political articles a day."

From the beginning of Israel's 1967 occupation of Palestinian lands, "this political Palestinian press took up its position [as part of the nationalist struggle] under the occupation, without much attention to the arts," Khalili recounted.

He related that there have been pages in weeklies and dailies devoted to literature and art, but not to theater. Likewise, the average local magazine, devoting five of its 60 pages to culture, will take from those pages when it needs space for political news, "as if culture is exorbitant."

Moreover, the culture pages of

most dailies are filled with articles from popular Egyptian entertainment magazines, which is easier.

Khalili reminded, however, that "Palestine was created in art before it was created by politics. Palestine cannot be without art and theater."

Nevertheless, Khalili said there was a political decision made during Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon to continue the journal *Shu'oun Falastiniyah* (Palestinian Affairs) while the Palestinian journal *Al-Kattib* (The Writer) was stopped.

In addition, Khalili said, austere economic conditions have limited the production of local arts journals, such as *Al-Fajr al-Adabi*, *Al-Bayader*

al-Adabi and *Al-Jadid*, while the local *Al-Kattib* devotes approximately 30 percent to culture.

As for local newspapers, Khalili explained: "There wasn't a purposeful neglect of theater, but those in charge didn't integrate and absorb theater people" into the newspaper's product.

Khalili offered another explanation: "Sometimes we are ashamed of the word.... At a certain moment in time, we think that the fighter, or the stone, is more important than art, or painting, or theater." He urged those in the arts to convince the press of its importance, and through the press the society at large.

For example, Khalili related, Egyptian writer Tawfiq al-Hakim asked President Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1967 to save the people and requested a weapon with which to fight. Nasser replied: "You must save us, not I save you," Khalili added, "Nasser was more cultured than Hakim. Even in the moment of defeat, he realized the importance of culture."

During the discussion period, many in attendance complained of the lack of specialized journalists, noting that a vibrant theater movement requires an accompanying critical press. One person proposed a course in theater criticism.

Some described the poor quality and quantity of coverage as a cultural and political crisis wherein people do not, for economic, social and political reasons, write about the arts. Many felt that it was a duty of the press, as a cultural institution, to cover theater and support Palestinian culture.

Calendar of Middle East events in Washington, D.C.

December 10: Lecture -- "Lebanon After Aoun: Better Prospects For Peace?" is the topic of a lecture by Professor Marius Deeb of George Washington University, an authority on Arab politics and Lebanon. He will analyze the political situation in Lebanon and assess the prospects for peace. The lecture is sponsored by the Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C.

December 11: Dinner -- Helen Thomas, White House correspondent for *United Press International* and a Lebanese American, will be honored at the First Annual Dinner of the Foreign Correspondents Association of Washington, held at the National Press Club. Thomas will receive the FCA's first "Excellence in Service" award. Secretary of State James Baker has been invited to attend the dinner and address the FCA.

December 12: Lecture -- "Arab-American Cultural Relations In The 20th Century" is the topic of the Fifth Annual Phillips Lecture at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. The lecture will be given by Suhail Badi Bushrui, visiting professor and director of the Khalil Gibran Chair, University of Maryland. The lecture is sponsored by the Near East section of the Library of Congress and the Center for International Development and Crisis Management, University of Maryland.

Through December 15: Play -- "Children With Stones," is a new play about the Intifada appearing at the Source Theater in Washington, D.C. The play shows the audience the people behind the headlines in the Palestinian Israeli conflict. Writer and musician Roy Barber looks at the validity of each side's arguments and urges a peaceful resolution of what seems to be an unresolvable problem. Characters tell their stories through songs, most of them dark, melancholy melodies in the tradition of Jacques Brel. Characters include an American teacher, an Arab couple and an older Israeli. Barber, who lives in Washington, D.C., based his work on two years of research, two visits to Israel and the occupied territories and 60 hours of interviews with Jewish and Arab residents caught in the conflict.

December 17-23: Radio Program -- "Najeeb Halaby: Straight And Level" is a program of Radio Dialogue, heard in Washington, D.C. on WDCU, FM 90.1 and sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Center. This program will be an interview with Najeeb Halaby, a prominent Arab American and the chairman of the Wolf Trap Farm for Performing Arts.

December 24-30: Radio Program -- "The Persian Gulf: Beyond The Crisis" is a program of Radio Dialogue, heard in Washington D.C. on WDCU, FM 90.1 and sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Center. Shaul Bakhash, Robinson professor of history, George Mason University and a former fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center will discuss the Gulf crisis.

Through December 31: Exhibit -- "The Book In The Islamic World," is an exhibit on display at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. On display are Qurans, manuscripts, early and modern printed books and Islamic calligraphy.

Al Fajr - Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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WEEKLY REVIEW

November 29

GAZA RESIDENTS CONDEMN ATTACK ON SWEDISH NURSE

Scores of Gaza residents visited al-Ahli Arab Hospital in Gaza City and declared their condemnation of the knife attack on a Swedish nurse there. The visitors made it clear that the stabbing was carried out by a thoughtless attacker. They also expressed their support to the foreign volunteers, doctors and nurses in the city.

AL-QUDS

HIGH COURT BLOCKS DEMOLITION

Israeli High Court overturned army orders to demolish two Rafah refugee camp homes. The houses of Yasser Said Hamoudeh, 25, and Salah al-Din Hamoudeh Odwan, 17, were slated for demolition, because the youths are sought by the army, which accuses them of membership in the Black Panthers group.

AL-QUDS

HOME RAIDED

Israeli police raided the Jericho home of Ayman al-Asali to collect a traffic fine of NIS375. Asali had the choice of paying the fine or going to prison for 75 days.

AL-FAJR

GREEN CARDS ISSUED

Israeli military officials issued 45 Beit Sabour residents green identity cards, preventing them from entering Israel or East Jerusalem.

AL-FAJR

GARAGE DEMOLISHED

The Israeli army demolished a garage belonging to al-Ram resident Ahmad al-Sweiti on the pretext that it was built without a license. The demolition took place while Sweiti was absent.

AL-QUDS

November 30

AL-FAJR SCALES DOWN NEWSPAPER

Al-Fajr Arabic daily will reduce the paper's length from 12 to eight pages and will reduce the paper's price from NIS.80 to NIS.50. The management announced that it was forced to scale down the paper because of the severe economic

constraints the Palestinian people are suffering.

AL-FAJR

PALESTINIAN DETAINED FOR MOLOTOV

Israel Television reported that police detained a young Palestinian from an Arab village in the Triangle area inside the "green line," suspected of throwing a Molotov cocktail at a car on the Wadi Ara road.

AL-FAJR

HOSPITAL FEES RISE

Sources at Tulkarm Government Hospital said the fee for an overnight stay was rising from NIS383 to NIS432 for regular patients. Maternity fees will rise from NIS170 to NIS190 per night.

AL-FAJR

JOURNALISTS BANNED FROM FAXING

The Israeli police banned the East Jerusalem Palestine Press Service from distributing its daily newsletter by fax. The office is still permitted to transmit news by telephone.

AL-FAJR

FIVE HOMES DESTROYED

Israeli bulldozers demolished five houses in Beit Ula village in the Hebron district, for allegedly lacking licenses. The owners of the homes are Mahmoud, Kamal, Jamal and Muhammad al-Ajarma and Adnan al-Sarahin.

AL-FAJR

BETHLEHEM MARKET CLOSED

Israeli soldiers closed the entrance to Bethlehem's old vegetable market for one day, allegedly to prevent stone throwing on Nov. 29, the 43rd anniversary of the partition of Palestine.

AL-FAJR

TREES UPROOTED DURING CURFEW

Israeli military forces imposed a curfew on the al-Shuweikeh quarter of Tulkarm and uprooted 140 trees, alleging that stone throwers operated from the orchard. The orchard belongs to Hamad Ju'aroud, Mustafa Mer'i, Abdallah Abdel Latif Ghanem, Muhammad Hassan Fuouqa and Rashid Zabadi.

Soldiers uprooted an additional 10 olive trees in Anabta belonging to Jamileh Abu Shchadch, supposedly



Israeli soldier speaks to Palestinian woman in Tulkarm.

to prevent stone throwing.

AL-FAJR

VILLAGER FALSELY ACCUSED OF THEFT

An Israeli settler accused a young Palestinian woman, accusing her of stealing his horse. The young woman was harassed while driving her father's horse and cart near Qibla village in the Oatqilya area. A passing border police officer intervened and Israeli police seized the horse, but returned it to its Palestinian owner the following day after discovering the settler had lied about his ownership of the horse.

AL-FAJR

December 1

FIRING OF PALESTINIANS DENOUNCED BY UNIONS

Unionists condemned the firing of 10,000 Gaza workers in a statement issued by the Executive Committee of the Workers Unions in the Gaza Strip. The statement appealed to local and international institutions, including the United Nations, to pressure Israel to halt the firing of Palestinian workers from their jobs in Israel. It also asked for help in creating new job opportunities.

AL-QUDS

GREEN CARD FOR TRAFFIC VIOLATION

A resident of Bir Nabala village, north of Jerusalem, was given a green identity card banning him from Israel and East Jerusalem after being charged with a traffic violation and receiving a ticket.

AL-SHA'AB

NIS2,000 FOR STONING

The Israeli military government imposed a NIS2,000 fine on Jenin resident Ziad Abd Abu Seef for allegedly throwing stones.

AL-QUDS

FOUR GRAFFITI PENALTIES

The army levied a NIS350 fine on Balata village residents Najih Hamad, Nayfeh al-Sheleh and Subhi Qaddoura, on the pretext that graffiti was written on their homes. A television was confiscated from the Kufi Malik village home of 45-year-old Hassan al-Qaq after he refused to pay a NIS350 fine for graffiti on his house.

AN-NAHAR, AL-SHA'AB

TWO SCHOOLS CLOSED

Soldiers closed two

Hebron area schools -- the Dura Secondary School for Boys and the Um al-Qari Preparatory School -- for two weeks each, on the pretext that students stoned Israeli cars.

AL-QUDS

December 2

YOUTH HELD BEYOND PRISON TERM

Seventeen-year-old political prisoner Muhammad Abdel Hafez, a resident of Qubych village near Ramallah, was not released from prison after finishing his four-month term. His family says he completed his sentence 10 days ago.

AL-FAJR

DEMOLITION PLANNED

The family of 20-year-old detainee Yasser Rizeq al-Soufi received a demolition order for their home in Rafah in the Gaza Strip. The army gave the family 48 hours to appeal. Soufi was arrested Oct. 22, accused of stabbing an Israeli soldier at the "civil administration" headquarters.

AL-FAJR

HOME SEALED

The Israeli military government claimed "security

WEEKLY REVIEW

reasons" and sealed the Bethlehem area al-Obeidiyeh village home of Ahmad Muhammad Imfadi. Imfadi's 23-year-old son Daoud is serving a one-year prison term for alleged political charges.

AL-SHA'AB

TREES UPROOTED

Israeli bulldozers uprooted eight trees from a tract of land in Anabta on the pretext that Israeli cars were stoned from the area. The land belongs to Jamila al-Thawabi.

AL-QUDS

MOSQUE FINED FOR GRAFFITI

A NIS1,000 fine was imposed on the imam of the Beit Ur al-Tahta village mosque in the Ramallah area on the pretext that graffiti was written on the mosque. The imam was forced to pay immediately. Abdel Hamid Abdel Mahdi, a 50-year-old resident of the village, received a NIS350 fine for graffiti on his home.

AL-FAJR

December 3

CHECKPOINTS AT TEL AVIV ENTRANCES

Israeli radio reported that Israeli police erected checkpoints on the roads into Tel Aviv to check the movement of Palestinian residents.

AL-SHA'AB

AMBULANCE AND FIRE SERVICES SHUT

The municipality of Bethlehem discontinued its ambulance and fire fighting services due to lack of funds.

AL-QUDS

HOMES DESTROYED

The Nablus area Azmout and Iraq al-Tayeh village homes of three Palestinian youths were sealed. The three were involved in knife attacks on four Israelis on a bus. The families of the youths -- 18-year-old Ja'far Omar Dweikat, 18-year-old Husni Faze' Sawalha and Muhammad Abdel Majed Sawalha -- received 48 hours to appeal the sealing orders.

Soldiers also demolished the home of Muhammad Abdel Salam Mubarak, in Hendaza village in the Bethlehem district, on the pretext that it was built without a license.

AL-SHA'AB, AL-QUDS

THREE SCHOOLS KEPT CLOSED

The military closures of the boys and girls secondary schools in Halhoul were extended until Dec. 12. Dura Secondary School for Girls was also closed for two weeks, because students allegedly stoned soldiers.

AL-QUDS

NIS5,000 STONING FINE

The father of two teenage daughters was fined NIS5,000 by the Israeli military government. Mahmoud al Bandar's daughters Iman, 17, and Aishah, 15, residents of Atil village near Tulkarm, were accused of stoning Israeli soldiers.

AL-QUDS

DOZENS OF TREES RAZED

Soldiers destroyed dozens of olive trees in the Shuweikoh quarter of Tulkarm as collective punishment after a Molotov cocktail was thrown at Israeli jeeps nearby. The olive groves are the property of Hamad Ja'roun, Ahmad Ja'roun, Rashed Abu Ziad and Mustafa Mar'i.

AL-QUDS

December 4

KACH ATTEMPTS TO RAID AL-AQSA

Kach movement members tried to enter al-Aqsa Mosque carrying placards denouncing Arabs. Mosque guards and Israeli police kept the mob from reaching the mosque area.

AL-SHA'AB

ARAB FRUITS SEIZED

Israeli Agricultural Ministry inspectors confiscated nine tons of citrus fruits and avocados from the Haifa vegetable market because the produce was from the occupied territories.

AL-QUDS

PALESTINIAN MOTORIST STONED

A car bearing blue (West Bank) license plates was stoned on an Israeli highway. According to Israeli radio, the windshield was smashed and one passenger was injured on the road between Petah Tikvah and Ben Gurion Airport.

AL-SHA'AB

SISTERS ARRESTED

Israeli police arrested two sisters from al-Maker village, located inside the "green line," on the pretext that they possessed "inciting" materials and Palestinian flags.

AL-QUDS

HIGH COURT POSTPONES PUNISHMENT

Family members of 22-year-old Palestinian prisoner Khaled Ahmad Hamed do not have to evacuate their home immediately, the Israeli High Court ruled. Hamed is held in Gaza Central Prison.

AL-QUDS

LIFE SENTENCE

Israeli military court in Nablus issued a life sentence to Nablus resident Sabi' Ali Ishah. A second Nablus man, Kamel Muhammad Kamhawi, received 25 years. Both Nablus residents were accused of political charges.

AL-FAJR

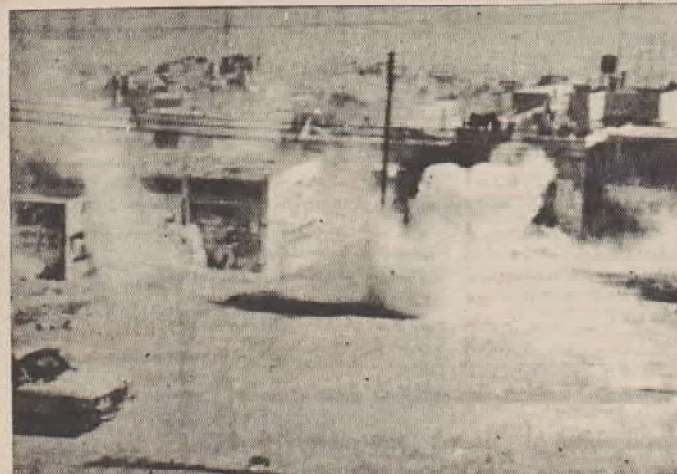
SENIOR CITIZEN FREED

Israeli prison authorities released 62-year-old Palestinian woman Shukriyeh Rajab Abu Ghosh. The Jerusalem resident was arrested and held for 48 hours.

AL-QUDS



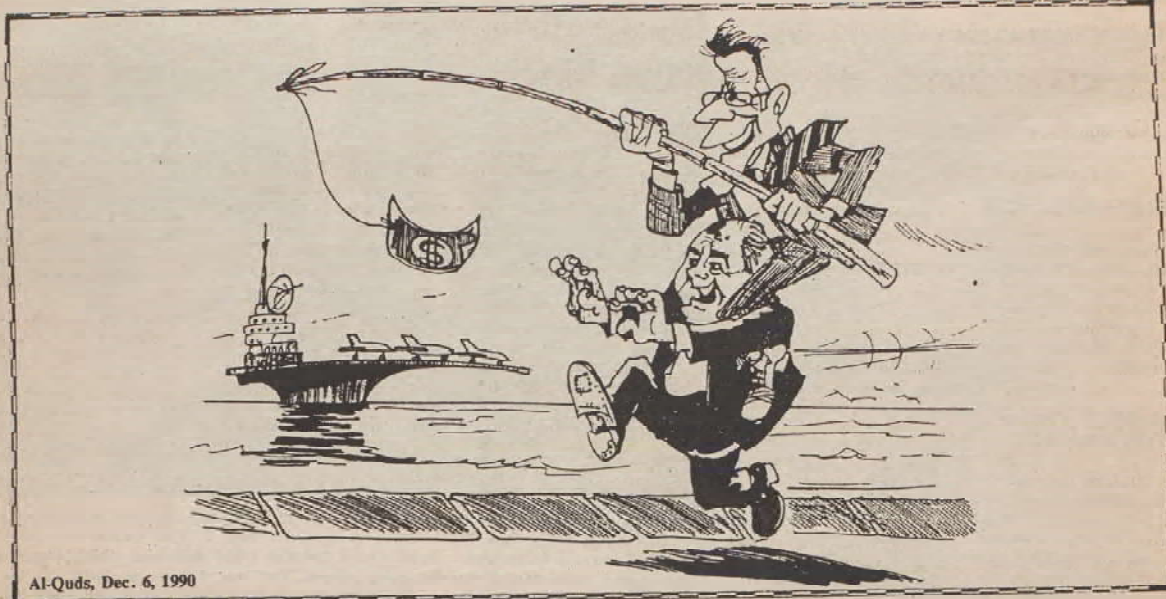
Israeli police take away one of three Palestinians who allegedly took part in a knife attack on a Israeli bus traveling from Petah Tikva to Tel Aviv Dec. 2. One Israeli was killed and three wounded and one Palestinian - Ja'far Omar Dweikat - was shot dead. Husni Faze' Sawalha and Muhammad Abdel Majed Sawalha were injured. One was shot in the hand and the other was beaten by Israelis. The youths are from the Nablus area villages of Azmout and Iraq al-Tayeh. Israeli soldiers sealed their families' homes Dec. 3.



Billowing clouds of tear gas in Shu'fat refugee camp near Jerusalem.

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WEST BANK PRESS



Al-Quds, Dec. 6, 1990

Bush's proposal cautiously received by local press

Editorials this week in the local Palestinian press focused on U.S. President George Bush's suggestion that a dialogue be opened with Iraq, and looked at the economic situation in the occupied territories.

Al-Quds' Dec. 5 editorial said Bush's suggestion to open talks left room for "other parties to be included, namely the Kuwaiti government and other allied Western countries.

Iraq responded by saying it wants to include other parties as well, in particular the PLO.

Washington's refusal to link the issues grows out of U.S. unwillingness to confront Israel and push it to honor U.N. Security Council Resolution 242. The United States seems to be accepting Israeli intransigence, recognizing that if the Gulf problem is connected to the Palestinian problem, and Israel simply refuses, neither will be resolved in the end.

This U.S. position is not new, *Al-Quds* wrote, but the question is why are some Arab countries supporting this position. Do these countries know that their support implies an agreement with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's claim to a greater land of Israel, from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea?

An-Nahar's Dec. 6 editorial warned the Arab nation to approach the new U.S. willingness to open di-

alogue with Iraq with caution, because our experience with the United States in the past has never yielded good results.

The paper said that while Bush suggested opening a dialogue with Iraq on the one hand, he also sent 300 war planes to the Gulf area. Washington may want to talk, but it insists on carrying a gun in its right hand, making it clear that it has not dropped the military option from its calculations.

In its Dec. 6 editorial, *Al-Fajr* said that recent news reports that the European Community commissioner had spoken about the difficult economic situation in the occupied territories was clear recognition of the critical situation, but was not the promise of any new European plan to help the Palestinians through these very trying times.

Though a number of countries have suffered from the Gulf problem since last August, *Al-Fajr* said, our people inside and outside have suffered the most. But the Palestinians are the only ones who were prevented — by direct pressure from the United States — from receiving any compensation, though aid was agreed to a few days ago by the countries calling themselves "the group of 24."

Al-Fajr demanded that EC countries raise the level of their help to the Palestinians, who are more desperate than at any time in the past.



Al-Sha'ab, Dec. 4, 1990



Al-Quds, Dec. 3, 1990

Russian immigrants to be used as political pawns

Sharon plans to divide Palestinians with settlements along 'green line'

by Khaled Abu Aker

Israeli Housing Minister Ariel Sharon revealed a settlement plan for Soviet immigrants designed to Judaize the predominantly Palestinian Galilee and Triangle areas of northern Israel. He openly asserted that the new Jewish population must be settled in accordance with political goals. Opposition figures called the plans racist and said Arabs want equality, not autonomy.

It has long been Israel's goal to change the demographic balance of the region. Sharon said on several occasions last week that Israel should use the great Russian immigration to Judaize the Galilee, making the Arabs there a minority and physically separating Palestinians inside Israel from their compatriots in the West Bank. He suggested a wall of settlement would prevent Galilee Arabs from seeking autonomy.

"It is important to direct the majority of the immigrants toward the north, in order to create a dividing wall along the 'green line,' to separate the Arabs in Israel from the Arabs in the territories," Sharon told the annual meeting of Israeli auditors Dec. 3.

The same day, the Hebrew daily newspaper *Yediot Ahront* said the ministerial team for absorption affairs, headed by Sharon, approved a plan named "The Seven Stars." The plan calls for 13 settlements for 100,000 immigrants or a total

of 28,000 housing units along the "green line" which separates Israel from the West Bank.

According to the paper, the three-staged plan will result in a new Jewish city, Modi'en, to the north of the Triangle area. Palestinian town of Taibeh, and along Wadi Ara, a valley. A super highway will also be built from the Upper Galilee in the north to Beer Sheba in the south.

Opposition to Sharon

The plan was described by Knesset member Muhammad Nafa' of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality as "racist." Nafa' expressed his unqualified opposition to the Judaization of the Galilee. "We will fight by all means this dangerous, racist plan. The Galilee and the Triangle are populated, and not empty land," he said.

Nafa' called for cooperation between all Arab forces in Israel to "escalate the struggle" against the plan.

Ibrahim Nimr Hussein, mayor of Shafa Amr in the Galilee and head of the Arab Local Councils, said Sharon's schemes are designed to attract new immigrants to outlying areas, instead of the big cities where they actually wish to live.

Mapam Party MK Haim Oron also voiced opposition in a Dec. 5 letter to Sharon. He asked the minister not to settle new immigrants in

Wadi Ara. "Building new Jewish settlements for the immigrants in the heart of a highly populated Arab area creates another source of friction and will lead to the harboring of hatred," he wrote. He said there were still empty areas in other parts of the state for settlement where Israel's Arab residents would not be affected. He added that any settlement in Wadi Ara should not encroach on the boundaries of Arab villages.

But the power of these opponents may be limited. Mayor Hussein of Shafa Amr said that if Sharon wanted "to confiscate more land, we would not keep silent. But if it is to be on state land, we can do nothing."

Sharon explained to a Dec. 4 meeting of engineers and architects in Tel Aviv that the new building plan will place 50 percent of all new settlements in the Galilee, the Triangle and the Naqab and the other 50 percent in East Jerusalem and the coastal plain between Haifa and Ashdod.

The minister said these plans should be completed before the residents of the Galilee ask Israel for autonomy.

But Hussein responded that the Palestinians in Israel have never suggested autonomy, and are calling only for equality. He said Sharon's suggestion "is only an attempt to persuade the Jewish public to accept his plans and ideas."

Green

continued from front page

Bank cities, towns, villages and refugee camps. It will cause severe suffering to workers with jobs in Israel, and will also hurt those who must work or travel to East Jerusalem, the commercial and communications hub of the Palestinian territories.

So far, an estimated 2,000 Palestinians have been served with the cards. In several cases, entire villages and refugee camps were placed under curfew and residents were arrested during green card distribution.

Fifty in Beit Sahour had green cards. Thirty more were issued in late November and 40 on Dec. 7 and the process is accelerating. Town officials believe the total number will climb to 400 in the near future. In interviews with *Al-Fajr*, residents said they believe the measure is an act of revenge for Palestinians' uncompromising position on the Palestinian national question.

Residents note that many of the recipients are physicians, engineers and university professors, many over 40 years of age. But the majority are workers who earn their living working in the Israeli labor market. The measure poses a grave danger to their livelihood as there are few employment opportunities in the occupied territories.

But short story writer Bannourah and three other victims of the new campaign decided last week to fight

back. Along with Bir Zeit University Professor Ghassan Andoni, retired teacher and peace activist Jalal Oumsiyeh and engineer Anwar Hilal, he is suing the Israeli government.

Andoni will be unable to reach Bir Zeit's temporary offices in Ramallah because he must pass through Jerusalem, now off limits. Hilal is a contractor who works mainly in Jerusalem. And Oumsiyeh, well-known for his active participation in the Committee for Israeli-Palestinian Dialogue, will be unable to meet his Israeli counterparts in the capital city.

Bannourah and his colleagues stressed to *Al-Fajr* that their right to enter Jerusalem is not negotiable. "If the Israeli authorities did not want us to enter Israel, we wouldn't care," he said. "But why should they prevent us from reaching East Jerusalem, or passing through it? This has been our right both before and after the 1967 occupation," he noted.

The four litigants also noted that Israel is showing a grievous indifference to Palestinians' rights to reach their holiest religious sites, whether Muslim or Christian, their best hospital for medical treatment and their need to travel to different areas of the West Bank.

Another fear of green card holders is assaults by soldiers. One green card holder said soldiers normally start beating Palestinians carrying the card before even talking to them.

The arbitrary manner of issuing the cards also disturbs Palestinians. Ten summoned in Beit Sahour were under detention in Anwar 3. Five already had green cards. Most others posed no "security threat" to Israel.

Analogies

continued from page 5

and cut it to size. If successful, the challenge could then force through political intervention, in particular U.N. intervention, and the imple-

mentation of such U.N. resolutions as have consistently been ignored by Israel. If successful, the challenge could trigger an international political process to force Israeli compliance with international law, in particular, U.N. resolutions on the question of Palestine.

Dajani

continued from page 9

ties. We are offering them intravenous feeding, which is very expensive -- costs hundreds of dollars. We are giving them the best antibiotics. We are giving them good treatment. I can assure you that our medical staff is of international standard. We are happy about our medical standard.

What hurts me personally are the wounded people. Many times we hear on the news about dead people and wounded people. You know if somebody dies it makes us sad but

we can't change it. With the wounded people we get just abstract figures -- 22 or 15 or 16. But if we analyze these 15 or 20 people we see that many of them are severely injured. For instance, some need amputation, many are paralyzed. They have to suffer from their wounds, for instance in the lung or abdomen, for the rest of their lives.

These people really are forgotten people. That's why we have to take more seriously the number of wounded people. To think: What are they suffering of? People should perceive that properly. Giving a number of 22 wounded people, just like that, it's just a figure; it doesn't tell about the sadness and the tragedy of these

This was recognized in Israel as well. Ezer Weizman, former general commander of the Israeli Air Force, and in 1967 chief-of-operations, department of the general staff, speaking to *HaAretz*, had this to say on the subject: "I am prepared to accept that there was no danger of annihilation to the existence of the state of Israel, yet from this it does not follow that we could have avoided attacking (literally: beating) the Egyptians, Jordanians and Syrians; unless we did that, the state of Israel would not continue to exist in the same framework, spirit and essence."

wounded people.

We have in our Palestinian community about 3,000 people suffering from long, demanding injuries and really they want help. We have at least 200 paralyzed people and if I tell you about the problems of the paralyzed people -- it's not just that they are in wheelchairs, they can't pass urine or stools on their own. If they want to pass urine they have to catheterize themselves, imagine. A few times a day because you have to get rid of urine.

Paralyzed people are dependent on other people for small things so they can't go here and they can't go there because they are chairbound. They need continuous rehabilitation.

These paralyzed people are part of the picture of wounded people of whom we have hundreds now. Up in the ward we have a man who as a result of the al-Aqsa events had his right hand amputated. This man is a blacksmith; what will he do now? Another man was shot in the neck and as a result his arm is paralyzed. What can we do for these people?

So these are our problem, these people who are incapacitated as a result of their wounds. In the Western countries these people are taken care of: they get a car, a house, a pension. But our people, they go back to their [refugee] camps and they are lost. This is the main problem which scares me and hurts me, as a doctor.

Faisal Husseini, Palestinian civic leader:

Fourth year of Intifada is for consolidating separation

The following are excerpts from an interview with prominent Palestinian activist Faisal Husseini. The interview was published in the Haifa Arabic newspaper Al-Itihad, on the occasion of the beginning of the fourth year of the Intifada.

Q: Last year, you said the third year of the Intifada would be dedicated to "invading" Israeli public opinion. What was the result?

A: In the first six months of the year we achieved some remarkable accomplishments. We have succeeded in making the Intifada the essential issue in the Israeli arena and the top priority. For the first time in the history of Israel, the Palestinian issue caused the toppling of Israel's government, the national coalition government. We hoped at that time to see some change take place.

Q: You mean the formation of a peace government?

A: Indeed, a peace government, or at least a government that would propose peace to Israeli society, or struggle for peace or would be more accepting of peace. But what happened was exactly the contrary.

Q: We would like to hear your opinion on the incidents in which Israeli civilians were stabbed.

A: The Israeli brutality, which was manifested during the massacre at al-Aqsa Mosque, reached a degree whereby the Israeli policeman was like a hunter in the jungle stalking Palestinian youths with his gun in order to kill them... This reality created a similar reaction in some angry Palestinian individuals. These were individual acts, committed by individuals in retaliation against the Israeli brutality at al-Aqsa. I believe no one can stop such acts unless the way toward a peaceful settlement is opened.

Q: What do you think are the goals of the fourth year of the Intifada?

A: Israel has taken several new measures. The "green line" was closed in order to segregate and besiege us. As we consider the "green line" the border between the state of Israel and the state of Palestine, we have to accept this challenge, respond to it and confront it. This is the mission of the fourth year of the Intifada.

Q: How?

A: One of the most important elements of success is to know how to use your enemy's weapon against him. Israel has decided to segregate us inside the "green line" as a punishment. We must transform this punishment to an advantage which can serve our goal of independence.

Therefore the fourth year will be the year of establishing the institutions and absorbing Palestinian workers in Palestine and building deeper, broader economic relations

Palestine and People

NAAA's Jawad George dies

*** The Arab American community, and particularly the Palestinian American community, has just lost one of its most dedicated, energetic and experienced U.S. activists. **Jawad F. George**, the executive director of the National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA), died of cardiac arrest at George Washington University Hospital on Nov. 21 at age 40.

As executive director of the NAAA since 1989, George was an

unrelenting fighter for justice and the Arab and Palestinian causes in the United States. He was also a true believer in a fair, acceptable and peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. In pursuit of these aims, George filled several positions, in Washington and elsewhere, where he left a lasting impression. Before becoming NAAA's executive director, George served on its board and was an active member for 15 years.

George also served as the president of the American Federation of Ramallah, Palestine, the largest Arab American organization of its kind in the United States. In addition, he served on the boards of numerous Arab American organizations and was head of the Jawad F. George and Associates law firm in Washington. He was the first executive director of the Palestine Congress of North America, a special counsel to the chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council and a member of the Adjunct Faculty of the Antioch School of Law, where he received his law degree. George was a member of the American Bar Association in the District of Columbia, Virginia and New Jersey, and had been a research associate to Supreme Court Justice Warren Burger. He also served as a personal assistant to Sen. Edward Kennedy, and a legislative aid to Edward J. Patten. George received bachelor's and master's degrees from Georgetown University.

George was born in Plainfield, New Jersey, where his parents still reside, but he often identified himself with the beautiful West Bank town of Ramallah. Having been so fully and totally immersed in his work, he only recently met Rebecca Nahas, his wife. They were married just one month ago. Both Rebecca and Jawad worked for the NAAA.

A point of view by Stuart Young

Brutalized because of skin color

I am writing about a particularly unpleasant experience I had in Jerusalem's Old City on Monday, Dec. 3. I was walking down Suq Khan al-Zeit, the Old City's main market, in the morning when I was grabbed by the arm and spun around by an Israeli border guard who then rammed his walkie-talkie into my genitals, at the same time demanding something of me in Hebrew or Arabic which I did not understand. I was naturally shocked at such a polite gesture and told him very clearly in English that I do not speak Hebrew. At this he became furious and struck me a stunning blow across my head. I was reeling with the impact and very frightened. I told him again, very slowly and carefully, "I do not speak Hebrew." He became even angrier and smashed me about my head a number of times. I did not try to avoid his blows because I could see this would only make him more determined to hurt me, and I tried again to tell him calmly that I do not speak Hebrew.

The street was, as usual full of people, mostly Palestinians who stood and watched, horrified but powerless to help me. My attacker's two uniformed companions were standing in between with their M-16 rifles at the ready. There was, however, a group of Christian pilgrims who had just stopped to pray at the Seventh Station of the Cross on the Via Dolorosa, where Jesus is said to have walked with the cross to his crucifixion. My assailant dragged me up a side street away from these possible witnesses and continued to beat me about the head, spit in my face and butt me on the forehead. I kept trying to tell him I did not speak Hebrew, but this only seemed to make him more angry and I was beginning to think he would not stop until I was very badly injured. Luckily, one of the English pilgrims came to my rescue. He managed to explain to my assailant's friends that I spoke English with an English accent, and was in fact English. The two guards told their companion and he stopped immediately, obviously very confused.

I understand now why he attacked me. One of my parents is from Jamaica, the other from England. Many Palestinians in Jericho and the Jordan Valley are of African ancestry, dating from a disbanded

Ottoman regiment who settled in the region a few hundred years ago. My attacker had obviously thought I was a cheeky Palestinian and so acted accordingly. My experience was only a taste of why Palestinians fear and revile the border guards, police and army.

When I went to lodge an official complaint at the notorious "Kishle" police station at Jaffa Gate, I spoke to an officer named Victor, of Indian-Jewish origin. Victor said he was sorry that it had happened and that "it should not have happened...even to an Arab." Sensing my reaction, he quickly added: "I mean there are some good Arabs and some bad Arabs."

Around a year ago the president of the British Black Lawyers Society, who is of Sri Lankan origin, was detained at a demonstration of peace activists. The Israeli police refused to believe he was not a Palestinian and had not stolen his British passport and subjected him to a deeply humiliating interrogation. I have spoken to other black visitors who also tell of aggressive, humiliating and degrading treatment at the hands of the Israeli government, when they are mistaken for Palestinians.

In my case I suffered a perforated eardrum and a very sore head. Had I reacted differently and tried to defend myself, I could easily have been shot and killed. As it was, complete non-violence did not save me from a savage beating. I find less than credible the argument that the border guards are under a lot of stress or indeed have to react strongly to maintain control over the Palestinian population. During my five months in the region I have seen the Israeli military routinely use extreme force to brutalize the Palestinian population into submission. One army officer described it as "beating them so hard they'll stop hating us."

I feel lucky. I had an advantage which saved my skin. All Palestinians do not. If Israel is serious about peace then this racist violence against a whole society must be stopped. I was lucky -- I have an embassy and a government to pursue my protest and help me get justice. Ordinary Palestinians are not so lucky.

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