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## العدد ٤٠٣ من جريدة الفجر، ٧ شباط ١٩٨٨

شباط ١٩٨٨، وهي العدد ٤٠٣ من جريدة الفجر الأسبوعية، صادر بتاريخ ٧  
في الأراضي المحتلة الجريدة الوحيدة التي كانت تصدر باللغة الإنجليزية  
أهمها انتهاكات الاحتلال منذ نيسان ١٩٨٠، حيث تناول العدد مجموعة من الأخبار  
الأولى.الإسرائيلي في الأراضي المحتلة خلال الانتفاضة

# THE DAWN AL-FAJR

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## Four More Killed, Many Injured In Popular Uprising

Four Palestinians were shot dead and a number of people injured by Israeli soldiers last week. The uprising, which first broke out December 9, escalated during the week, contrary to Israeli expectations that things were gradually cooling off.

The commercial strike continued in the West Bank and Gaza Strip despite feverish attempts by the authorities to break it. Schools and various universities and institutes in the West Bank including East Jerusalem, were ordered closed by the authorities until further notice.

The Israeli policy of breaking bones also continued, and settlers started to take an active role against Palestinians.

January 31: At least 42 Palestinians were shot and injured by soldiers in Nablus. For two days the city was the scene of violent clashes between demonstrators and large numbers of Israeli soldiers and the old city area was described by Israeli journalists as being completely under the control of Palestinian youths, who prevented soldiers from entering. Palestinian flags were raised everywhere and the army was stoned and attacked with petrol bombs. A curfew was imposed on the city, its suburbs and refugee camps.

A curfew was also imposed on Jalazoun refugee camp near Ramallah, Ein Beit al-Ma, and the new and old Askar camps in the Nablus region.

Violent clashes occurred in Ramallah, al-Bireh, and al-Am'ari refugee camp. Demonstrations broke out in Ramallah following Sunday services and tear gas and rubberbullets were used to disperse demonstrators.

A similar demonstration was also conducted in the town of Beit Sahour, east of Bethlehem, after Sunday services and demonstrators set fire to a police station.

Another demonstration which took place after Sunday services at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the Old City of Jerusalem, was quelled by police. Several people were arrested and tear gas canisters were fired in the vicinity. The families of those arrested demonstrated in front of the police station in the Old City and were attacked by police.

During the evening, police cars roved the Wadi al-Joz area of Jerusalem using loudspeakers to warn people not to allow their children to throw stones.

Demonstrations and the stoning of soldiers were also reported from Hebron. Petrol bombs were thrown at Israeli military vehicles in several areas. In Qalqilya, the windshield of a settler's car was shattered. In al-Bireh, a settler's car was completely burned and the driver sustained serious injuries when a petrol bomb was thrown at his vehicle. Two petrol bombs were also thrown at Israeli vehicles in Shu'fat, north of Jerusalem.

In the Gaza Strip, a curfew was clamped on Deir al-Balah refugee camp following demonstrations.

The commercial strike continued in East Jerusalem and throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

FEBRUARY 1: Two Palestinians were shot dead by Israeli soldiers in the town of Anabla near Tulkarm. Several others were injured in other parts of the occupied territories. Killed were Mu'aid Muhammad al-Sha'ar, 21, and Murad Basem



## Israel Closes All Palestinian Academic Institutions

by Reem Nuseibeh

In an attempt to prevent student gatherings, the Israeli authorities ordered all schools in the occupied areas closed indefinitely February 4. This decision came only days after many schools resumed normal studies February 1 after a prolonged mid-term holiday that lasted for over a month.

A number of Palestinian higher education institutions were also ordered closed indefinitely.

The Israeli "civil administration" in the West Bank ordered all government, private and UNRWA schools in the West Bank to remain closed until further notice from February 4.

This decision affects more than 800 schools in which over

quarter of a million Palestinians study.

In the Gaza Strip, only elementary level school children are attending school. Other school children have had their schools closed under Israeli military orders.

The Israeli authorities decided to close government schools in Jerusalem for one week from February 5. Head of Jerusalem municipality, Teddy Kollek, attributed the decision to the Israeli authorities' desire to "restore tranquility."

In the higher education sector, Bethlehem University, which reopened February 1 after a three-month military-ordered closure, was ordered to close February 2 until further notice. Similar orders were made the same day against Hebron University, Hebron Polytechnic and

Abu Deis College of Science and Technology. Bir Zeit University has been closed since January 10 following a one-month closure order. The Islamic University and al-Azhar Institute in Gaza were also closed one month ago until further notice.

The Israeli officer in charge of education, Assad Arayde, said the decision was taken because of the "disturbances" that affected academic life at schools.

"This decision is unjust. It is a collective punishment that affects the future of a huge number of students," protested the mother of an 11-year-old student at Khawla Bint al-Arwar girls' school in Ramallah. "but it also means the Israelis fear students."

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## OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

## Four Killed

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Rafiq Al-Hamda, 17. At least three others were also injured in Anabta when soldiers opened fire at demonstrators and stone-throwers.

Similar demonstrations and other acts of protest were observed in Balata and Ein Beit al-Ma refugee camps in Nablus, in Jalazoun refugee camp near Ramallah, in Tulikarm, Jenin, Bethlehem, Hebron and many small towns and villages in the West Bank. According to Israeli sources, five soldiers were injured by stone-throwers. The commercial strike continued in most areas of the West Bank and the Strip including East Jerusalem. A curfew remained in Nablus and three nearby refugee camps: Balata, and new and old Askar. Dheishah refugee camp in Bethlehem, Tulikarm refugee camp and al-Am'ari refugee camp in Ramallah.

In the refugee camp of Jenin, at least three Palestinians were injured by Israeli army gunfire and in the village of Bani Na'im in the Hebron region at least two Palestinians were shot by soldiers. The village has been the scene of violent resistance for nearly two weeks and was placed under curfew.

One soldier was injured in the Fara's refugee camp, another in Tubas and a third in Halhoul.

In East Jerusalem, a demonstration was dispersed in Salah al-Din Street. A woman's demonstration in front of the American consulate in East Jerusalem was also dispersed. The window of an Israeli bus was shattered when the bus was stoned in East Jerusalem.

In the Gaza Strip, a curfew was imposed on Bnei refugee camp following incidents in which Israeli soldiers were attacked with stones. According to Israeli sources the curfew was lifted from Beit al-Balah refugee camp. Two Israeli buses were set ablaze.

Many people were arrested during the night when Israeli forces broke into several refugee camps and towns. According to the Israeli press, at least 20 people were arrested when soldiers combed the old city of Nablus and vandalized property.

Schools in the West Bank, which were supposed to reopen, were closed again and students sent home. Bethlehem University, the Polytechnic Institute in Hebron, and Hebron University were ordered closed until further notice. Bethlehem University was due to reopen after a military closure of three months following disturbances in which one student was shot dead by soldiers. The authorities also issued an order suspending studies in schools in the Nablus area until further notice. The order includes all government, UNRWA and private schools.

In Halhoul students took to the streets when they found

that the doors of their school had been welded shut by soldiers. Students stoned soldiers, who responded with rubber bullets, injuring four people. Demonstrations also broke out in Beit Umar village in the Hebron region, in Hebron and in Jenin refugee camp, where three demonstrations were injured, one seriously, by gunfire. Demonstrations also occurred in Bethlehem and Bir Zeit and roadblocks were erected.

In Dheishah refugee camp a group of settlers tried to kidnap a number of children, threatening them with guns. Following the incident, demonstrations broke out and residents were attacked with tear gas and clubs. Several were injured.

Al-Itihad reported from Gaza that many cities, towns and refugee camps in the Strip were the scene of violent clashes between soldiers and demonstrators, including women and children.

In the Shajia'ya quarter at least 15 people were injured by soldiers. In al-Shati' refugee camp at least one person, identified as Kamiliya Ali was injured in the hand by a bullet. In Jahalya refugee camp, clashes erupted when soldiers attacked two youths and their two sisters in front of their house; five people were injured in the incident. In the UNRWA Center in Rafah refugee camp, soldiers attacked 100 residents, injuring at least 20. Demonstrations broke out in the camp shortly thereafter. In Jahalya refugee camp the wife of Muhammad Abu al-Nasr had a nervous breakdown after soldiers clubbed her on the head and attacked her 14-month-old baby. The woman was trying to defend her husband, an expatriate, whom soldiers were beating. The baby was bruised. The number of people injured, according to the paper, in the Gaza Strip during the past two days is estimated to be more than 60.

February 2: The commercial strike continued in the occupied territories, as well as acts of protest and violent clashes. Israeli cars were stoned near Dheishah refugee camp, the village of Biddo near Ramallah, and in Halhoul in the Hebron district. At least three Israelis were injured in these incidents. Roadblocks were erected on main and secondary roads of the West Bank. Curfews remained in force in Nablus, Anabta, the refugee camps of new and old Askar, Ein Beit al-Ma, Tulikarm and Jalazoun, the village of Bani Na'im in the Hebron region, and the village of Habla near Qalqilya. All schools in the Nablus region were ordered closed by the authorities until further notice. The curfew on the city was lifted for one hour to allow people to stock up on food.

In Gaza, the commercial strike continued and a curfew remained in force on al-Brej refugee camp. Jahalya refugee camp was still a prohibited area for journalists. Several shops were welded shut by soldiers in an attempt to break the commercial

strike.

According to Israeli sources, about 750 settlers in 20 vehicles attacked the northern West Bank town of Anabta during the night of February 2 while the town was under curfew. Windows and cars were smashed.

A report published in the Haifa-based Al-Itihad daily said that residents of Beit Fajjar village were taken by surprise in the afternoon of January 29 when Israeli forces broke into homes and attacked residents. Many houses were raided and residents beaten. Ahmad Hamdan Tagaziqa's house was raided while he was entertaining guests. The soldiers ordered him and his guests to stand with their faces to the wall and beat the young men present with clubs and the butts of their guns. Some of the youths sustained serious injuries and had to be taken to hospital.

In another case, Hajeh Aweleh Tagaziqa, 80, was beaten and the furniture of her house destroyed. Soldiers, said the paper, told her she was beaten because she gave refuge to youths who had fled from soldiers.

Two persons were injured by soldiers who fired at demonstrators in Tulikarm: Omar Jayyosi, 16, and Said Yassin, 21. FEBRUARY 3: One Palestinian was shot dead and a number of others wounded by Israeli soldiers during incidents. Amina Ibrahim Sabula, 24, injured by gunfire February 1 in Anabta was also declared dead.

The commercial strike continued in East Jerusalem and almost all of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and curfews remained in force in the Nablus region, Anabta, Tulikarm, and Aida and Al-Azzeh camps, both in Bethlehem.

In Tulikarm, a 26-year-old man was shot dead by soldiers. Israeli reports alleged the man tried to attack an officer during a demonstration. A curfew was imposed after hundreds of people took to the streets in response to reports that settlers had attacked the city.

In Aida refugee camp, tires were burned, roadblocks erected in the streets and soldiers stoned. Soldiers used tear gas and rubber bullets to disperse the demonstrators. An Israeli bus on its way to Gush Etzion settlement south of Bethlehem had its windshield shattered by stones. One settler was reported injured. During the night, settlers attacked Aida camp in Bethlehem, the clashes between settlers and refugees lasting until late in the night.

In Hebron a commercial strike was observed, a demonstration broke out in the streets and tires were burned. In the village of Beitir, west of Bethlehem, an Israeli train which passes through the outskirts of the village was stoned and its windows shattered.

At least four people were injured in the village of Dara in the Hebron region when soldiers opened fire at demonstrators who set the door of the municipal building ablaze.

In Biddo village north of Jerusalem, an Israeli bus was

stoned. A number of houses in a settlement in the Jabal al-Mukhabara area of Jerusalem were also stoned. Another Israeli bus was stoned in Shu'fat north of Jerusalem and one Israeli was reported injured.

All schools in the West Bank were ordered closed until further notice. The order includes government, private and UNRWA schools.

In Anabta, residents violated the curfew imposed on the town and conducted a funeral for Amina Sabula.

In the Gaza Strip attempts continued to break the commercial strike and several shops were opened with crowsbars by soldiers. Groups of blacksmiths stood by to repair locks and shutters as soon as soldiers were out of sight. Soldiers were stoned, tires burned and roadblocks erected in al-Shati' camp, Khan Yunis, Rafah and the Shajia'ya quarter of Gaza where men between the ages of 13 and 40 were ordered into the street and beaten.

FEBRUARY 4: The commercial strike continued in the occupied territories. Curfews were still in force in Nablus, new and old Askar camps, Ein Beit al-Ma camp, Tulikarm, Anabta, Bani Na'im, and Balata, Jalazoun, and Aida refugee camps. The curfew was lifted for a short time in Nablus but was reimposed. In Balata the curfew was also lifted for a short time but reimposed after demonstrations erupted again.

Two petrol bombs were thrown at an Israeli patrol in the Nablus region but Israeli radio, which reported the incident, did not state if there were any injuries.

Other acts of protest also took place in various parts of the occupied territories. In the village of Yatta in the Hebron region, youths intercepted an Israeli bus, forced the passengers off and set it ablaze. A petrol bomb was thrown at an Israeli bus in the Arroub refugee camp on the Bethlehem-Hebron road. In Halhoul, demonstrators were dispersed with tear gas and rubber bullets. In the village of Burqa two youths were injured when soldiers fired live ammunition at demonstrators.

In Shu'fat refugee camp Israeli vehicles were stoned and demonstrations took place. Israeli vehicles were also stoned in the Beit Hanina area north of Jerusalem.

In the Gaza Strip, a commercial strike was observed. Demonstrations broke out in Khan Yunis and Rafah and a petrol bomb was thrown at an Israeli patrol. At least 12 people were admitted to hospital suffering from beatings. Al-Brej and Jahalya camps were under curfew.

In the city of Gaza, the military authorities summoned a number of merchants and told them that two shops will be welded shut every day if the strike continues.

The villages of Dara and Sa'r in the Hebron region were put under curfew after demon-

strations. In Sa'r an Israeli bus was stoned and its windshield shattered. Shu'fat refugee camp was raided by 150 soldiers. Many residents were beaten and injured, including 14-year-old school girl Khatam Abed Joudah, and a 70-year-old crippled man, Saleh Suleiman.

FEBRUARY 5: At least eight Palestinians were injured in the West Bank and 21 others injured in Gaza Strip during clashes between demonstrators and Israeli soldiers. The commercial strike continued and curfews were imposed on more areas.

In Jerusalem a demonstration erupted after Friday prayers at al-Aqsa Mosque. The demonstration took place without interference from Israeli forces who merely stood by. Ten people were reportedly arrested following the demonstration. A demonstration took place and soldiers were stoned in the Sa'diyah quarter of the Old City.

Demonstrations and the stoning of Israeli forces also occurred north of Jerusalem in the village of Jdeira and in Shu'fat camp.

In Qalandia camp a curfew was imposed following a demonstration. During the night the camp was raided by the army.

A demonstration broke out in Ramallah and al-Bireh and al-Am'ari refugee camp. An Israeli helicopter was seen firing tear gas canisters at demonstrators.

In Silwad village in the Ramallah region at least two people were injured by soldiers during a demonstration.

In Bethlehem, the Omar Mosque was besieged by the army to prevent a demonstration from breaking out. A curfew remained on Aida camp and al-Azzeh camp was declared a closed military zone.

A curfew continued in the Nablus region. Tulikarm and its refugee camp and the village of Thilabbeh in addition to nine other areas of the West Bank, leaving 160,000 people under curfew.

In the Gaza Strip, demonstrations, roadblocks and burning tires were reported. At least 21 Palestinians were admitted to hospital for treatment of bruises and broken bones following beatings. Four areas of Jahalya camp were raided by the army. The civil court building was set ablaze by demonstrators.

FEBRUARY 6: The commercial strike continued in the occupied territories. Curfews were imposed on at least 13 cities, towns, and refugee camps in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Demonstrations and clashes between Palestinians and Israeli soldiers were reported from several areas, including Silwad near Jerusalem and Anata and Qalqilya refugee camps.

In al-Azzeh camp, tear gas and rubber bullets were used to disperse demonstrators. Ambulances were seen taking a number of injured people to hospitals. In Bani Na'im village one person was injured in the hand when soldiers opened fire at demonstrators.



## OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

## Settlers Retaliation Increases In Areas

Jewish settlers in the occupied territories last week started to take an active role in attacking Palestinians. Many refugee camps, towns and villages were raided by settlers, who shot and beat Palestinians and smashed windows of houses and cars.

In Ya'bad village near Jenin reports said that local residents were attacked by groups of settlers February 4. At least 23 people were injured and 30 Arab-owned cars had their windows shattered. An eyewitness told the Haifa based *Al-Itrid* daily that the settlers attacked the village at midnight, firing guns and smashing windows. The settlers set the village water pump alight and beat up local residents. Clashes between the settlers and villagers continued until the morning.

Settlers also attacked Anabta in the Tulkarm region the night of February 1. Reports said that more than 750 settlers in 20 buses entered the town vandalizing houses and parked

cars. The town was under curfew at the time following the killing of two youths by the army two days before.

The village of Aboud in the Ramallah area came under attack by settlers February 4. Women were taken out of their homes and ordered to remove stone roadblocks erected on village roads.

Settlers also raided al-Azbeh refugee camp in Bethlehem February 2. Reports said they attacked the camp in the late evening and clashed with the refugees, who defended themselves with anything at hand. The windows of many cars were smashed during the raid.

According to a *Jerusalem Post* report, settlers in the Hebron region decided to set up 24-hour patrols by seven vehicles on the Hebron-Bethlehem road. A spokesman for the settlers was quoted as saying that their response to stone-throwers could range from pursuit to shooting at the attackers. The patrols,

said the paper, are intended to create a sense of security, giving Jewish travelers the feeling that the road is part of their settlement.

An Agence France Presse report published in the local press said that Jewish settlers in the West Bank held a meeting at Kiryat Arba settlement February 3. Some of the settlers, said the report, supported the taking of "severe measures" against Arabs.

The settlers were reportedly concerned about the political repercussions of the recent incidents. Daniella Weiss, secretary of the ultra right-wing settlers movement Gush Emunim, was quoted as saying: "We have kept silent until now, but we are determined to raise our voices against the surrenderist trends in the national government." She added that Gush Emunim is preparing a series of demonstrations and other activities to show that this land cannot be taken from the settlers.

## Tenants Exempted From Paying Rent

by Heem Nuseibeh

In a show of solidarity with their fellow Palestinians, Palestinian landlords who own shops in various parts of the West Bank are refraining from collecting rents from tenants for a period ranging from two to three months.

For the past 55 days, shops and businesses throughout the occupied territories have been on strike to protest the Israeli occupation and Israeli practices in the areas.

Landlords in the village of al-Ram north of Jerusalem were the first to take the initiative. Most landlords there did not collect rent for January and February and some also exempted tenants from paying house rents.

Sixty-seven-year old Haj Naji Falah Ghazawneh, the owner of five shops which are the family's only source of income, explained: "I decided not to collect the rent for the last month and this month since merchants are not working and

have no income coming in. We landlords should be considerate and support our fellow Palestinians in this uprising."

"We feel sympathy for them, despite the fact that we also need the money to educate our two sons who are studying abroad," interrupted Ghazawneh's 60-year-old wife. "This is the Arab sense of honor and we are sure God will repay us."

A shop tenant said: "Of course we appreciate this gesture. Palestinians should support one another in the present difficult circumstances."

January 27 Haj Sa'ad Ramieh circulated leaflets exempting tenants of his nine shops in al-Ram from paying rent for January and February and calling upon all landlords to follow his step to assist merchants.

A number of landlords in Beit Hanina, Salfit, Jenin, Bethlehem and other towns have followed the example of al-Ram landlords and exempted tenants from paying rents for three months starting from January.

## Foreigners Protest US Policy

Approximately 50 members of the international community in the occupied territories held a vigil outside the American Consulate in East Jerusalem February 4. The group, comprised mainly of Americans with sprinkling of Europeans, gathered to protest the US veto of the UN Security Council resolution calling on Israel to adhere to the Fourth Geneva Convention.

A statement submitted to the consulate cited human rights abuses in the territories and US material support for the military occupation as particular concerns. The statement asked the US to enforce the Fourth Geneva Convention, cease providing arms in the territories, end funding of the occupation, and act immediately to end the shootings, beatings, and administrative

punishments.

Demonstrators carried placards saying "No US Aid to Occupiers," "American Veto-Continued Occupation" and "Billions of US Dollars for This." The protest was peaceful and took place without incident as have other recent demonstrations against US foreign policy held on the same spot.

## Merchants Outline Aim Of Commercial Strike

Palestinian merchants in Ramallah and al-Bireh said that over 200 shops in both cities have been damaged by Israeli soldiers since the commercial strike began on December 12, 1987.

In a press conference held at the National Palace Hotel in East Jerusalem February 2, a committee representing Palestinian merchants said that they are determined to carry on with the strike "until national demands are met," despite efforts by the Israeli army to force them to open.

The merchants read a statement outlining nine objectives of the commercial strike, including the release of all detainees arrested since the beginning of the uprising, the convening of an international peace conference with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization to solve the Palestinian problem, the cancellation of all taxes imposed on Palestinian merchants after 1967, especially the Value Added Tax, and a halt to attempts to break the commercial strike by force.

"Merchants in Ramallah and al-Bireh are being terrorized and harassed by the occupation soldiers in an effort to prevent them from joining their people's uprising," one of four merchants who spoke at the conference said.

The speakers explained that at least 70 shops had had their shutters broken more than three times. Soldiers also smashed display windows of a number of

shops and looted others.

Shopowners also charged that a number of businessmen were beaten, shot and injured by the army.

Abd al-Baset Abd al-Rahman Hamdan, the owner of a furniture store in Ramallah, told how he was beaten by soldiers inside his store January 17. He said he was clubbed for no reason.

Jamal Abu Shawish, owner of an insurance agency in al-Bireh, was shot in the abdomen January 24.

The merchants described other incidents of harassment, including the burning of a grocery shop in al-Am'ari camp after soldiers pushed a burning tire inside it, and the welding shut of a number of shops in both cities.

Responding to questions about their financial losses as a result of the strike, the shopowners acknowledged that they had lost money, but asserted that they are willing to sustain financial losses in order to win national independence. They added that shopowners are united and often help each other, especially those who are in severe financial difficulties.

The merchants denied that they had been coerced to strike, and stated that they had abided by the consensus in the two cities and made an arrangement to open their businesses for three hours every day from 8:00 am to 11:00 am, to help them cope with their financial obligations and to allow residents to purchase necessities.



Um Said (right), from Amari refugee camp in al-Bireh, told a press conference February 4 about the atrocities of Israeli soldiers in the camp. Um Said was one among others who told reporters about army brutality in the camps. The conference was called for by women committees in the occupied areas.



## Israeli Activists Plan To Join Returning Palestinian Deportees

by Sami Aboudi

Six Israeli peace activists were invited to join Palestinian deportees in their attempt to return to their country, members of the East for Peace Organization said February 4.

One hundred Palestinians from those, expelled from the West Bank and Gaza Strip since 1967, accompanied by 450 international journalists and peace activists, are planning to sail from Greece in an attempt to return to their country.

David Ish Shalom, a leading member of the Israeli peace group, East for Peace, said he and four other members of the group, including Mapam Party member Latif Dori received an invitation from the Palestine Liberation Organization to join the ship, scheduled to sail on Thursday, February 11.

In addition to the East for Peace members Knesset member Charlie Biton from the Democrat-

ic Front for Peace and Equality was also invited to join the ship.

Under pressure from Israeli business partners, the Afrososa lines which owns the Silver Paloma passenger liner originally scheduled to carry the Palestinian exiles, decided to cancel its charter. The Palestine Liberation Organization, however, said that another ship has been found to make the trip.

Ish Shalom, who joined other Israeli activists in Romania and met with PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat in 1987, said he and the three other members of East for Peace plan to raise both the Israeli and Palestinian flags when the ship approaches the Israeli coast.

"The raising of the two flags," Ish Shalom said, "symbolizes that the Palestinian people and Israeli peace forces have the will for peace and coexistence."

Ish Shalom said he had not received an agreement from the PLO to raise the Israeli flag but he expects a positive answer on

this.

He added that they will raise a placard reading "Equitable peace for both people" to show their support for the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel.

"We also intend to show the world that we support the Palestinian uprising against the Israeli occupation," he went on.

Ish Shalom said his organization condemns violence by both Israelis or Palestinians and singled out the attack by Palestinian commandos in northern Israel on February 3 as "unhelpful to peace groups in Israel."

Ish Shalom and his colleagues who are planning to travel to Cyprus on Wednesday, February 10, where they will board the ship when it reaches the island on Friday, said he does not expect the Israeli authorities to stop them at the airport. However, he did not rule out the possibility of being arrested upon their return. "This is a risk we are ready to take," he said.

## Leaders Castigate Occupation

In an unprecedented step, 50 Muslim, Christian, Druze and Jewish religious leaders met in Nazareth February 1 to protest Israeli practices against Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and to express solidarity with the current uprising.

The conference called for an immediate halt to Israeli measures and recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, "primarily the establishment of an independent Palestinian state next to Israel." This is the first time that Jewish religious leaders have joined Arab religious leaders in calling for an end to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The Israeli campaign of incitement against Palestinians inside Israel was condemned by the religious leaders, who plan visits of solidarity to Christian and Muslim holy sites attacked by the Israelis, such as al-Aqsa Mosque, St. George's Church and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

A decision was taken to devote three days, February 5-7, to prayers for peace in the Middle East throughout the country.

World religious leaders were also urged to join these prayers and to support the struggle for peace.

"These practices have mobilized our consciences, and we call on you, religious leaders, to do your duty to protest," said the opening speaker, Greek Orthodox Priest Nikola Khouri of Ramleh village in the Galilee. In an appeal to Israeli officials, he added: "These are not riots. It is an uprising by a people who reject occupation."

"Our two peoples are oppressed. What is happening in the occupied territories, oppression and humiliation, contradicts

religious rules," said Rabbi Yermi Milgrom, one of three rabbis who attended the conference. He called religious leaders in the country to form the biggest peace camp and said there are other Jewish religious leaders who share his view of the need to achieve a just peace with the Palestinian people.

Father Ibrahim Daoud, from al-Maker village in the Akks area, criticized those who remain silent and fail to raise their voices in protest. "Those who are satisfied with watching events from their homes and places of worship are not doing their duty in voicing their opposition to the oppression," he said, arguing that their silence contradicts "all the spiritual values in which they believe."

Other speakers at the conference included Sheikh Abdallah Darwish of Kufri Qasim, who until recently had been under town arrest, and Sheikh Farhood Farhood, a representative of the Arab Druze community from Ramleh village. Both men expressed their support for the struggle of the Palestinian people for independence and freedom.

Nazareth mayor Tawfiq Zayyad, a speaker at the conference, described it as "highly significant, not only for being the first of its kind but because of its content and the unity which it embodied."

Reverend Shehadeh Shihadeh, head of the Committee for the Defense of Land,

Reverend Shehadeh Shihadeh, head of the Committee for the Defense of Land, concluded the conference with a suggestion that a follow-up committee be formed to organize further joint activities.

## One Palestinian, Two Israelis Killed In Raid In The North

Two Israeli soldiers were killed and another wounded February 3 in an attack by three Palestinians at the Lebanese border. One of the three Palestinians was also killed. A second was captured and the third managed to escape back across the border following the operation. A Patah spokesman from Sidon claimed responsibility for the operation.

The attack, the fourth since November, was carried out before dawn and lasted several minutes. Two of the Palestinians had cut a hole in the security fence when they were spotted by an Israeli patrol, which operates 24 hours a day. The Palestinians immediately opened fire on the Israeli

soldiers with hand grenades and a rocket launcher. Two soldiers were killed immediately.

An Israeli officer in the patrol said that one of the grenades landed in the jeep near his legs. He immediately threw it outside, where it exploded within seconds, puncturing the tires of the vehicle.

During the operation, one of the Palestinians ran out of ammunition and surrendered. The body of a companion was found close to the fence.

The clash occurred just two kilometers from Kibbutz Yiftah. The Israeli army spokesman claimed that documents found with the Palestinians

showed they had planned to take hostages from the kibbutz and to demand the release of Palestinian prisoners and the return of the four Palestinians deported by Israel last month.

The attack has raised serious questions among Israelis about the future of the Lebanese security zone.

An article in Yedioth Ahronot entitled "How effective can the security zone be?" argued that the effectiveness of the security zone in south Lebanon must be questioned. "It is crossed with relative ease by the Palestinian organizations without the south Lebanon army and the IDF managing to prevent them."

## Israeli Academics Condemn Occupation

In a surprisingly large appeal by Israeli academicians 600 university professors and lecturers called on the Israeli government to end its occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The Israeli academics made their call in a signed petition which was sent to the government and published in the Israeli press.

The petitioners criticized the government for ignoring the "fundamental causes of the re-

cent violent unrest."

"There can be no solution to the problem in which Israel finds itself as long as rule by force is exercised by Israel over the Arab population of the occupied territories," the petition read. "To present the problem as merely a matter of the necessary use of force to restore order is an evasion of the core of the issue, as is the placing of responsibility for finding a solution

upon the shoulders of the army, diverted from its proper task of national defense in order to quell the disturbances."

The petitioners state that they cannot and feel they must not tolerate situations in which Israeli soldiers open fire at demonstrating civilians. "The refusal of the government of Israel to face up to the root causes is both immoral and futile."

## Settlers Believed Arsonists Of Car

Unidentified Israelis believed to be settlers burned a teacher's car in Abu Dis, a village near Jerusalem, January 23.

Sleeping in her bedroom overlooking the spot where she parks her 1983 Fiat, Ghada Shehadi said she woke up at 1:00 am to hear the sound of footsteps and noticed two people standing near the car and speaking Hebrew.

Shehadi said the two were

trying to open the car. "I thought they were thieves but then I saw a flame spread over the car. I shouted and the two men ran away. I called the fire department in Jerusalem but by the time they arrived the car was completely gutted."

According to Shehadi, soldiers were standing at the crossroads, only 10 meters from her home, but they did nothing to stop the arsonists or to extinguish

the fire. "I called them but they ignored my call. The firemen found two bullets in the car. One of them had been fired at the lock to open the car and the other apparently fell from the gun of one of the arsonists."

The insurance company refused to pay compensation for the car and Shehadi was told to seek compensation from the Israeli ministry of defense.



## Japanese Portest Israeli Measures In Territories

Japanese supporters of the Palestinian cause demonstrated in Tokyo February 5 against Israeli measures in the occupied areas. The demonstrators carried Palestinian flags and placards in both Japanese and English denouncing the occupation policy. The demonstration began following a rally in the Japanese capital under the banner "The Land and Freedom to the Palestinian People." The rally and demonstration were organized by the Japanese March For Peace group. A statement was issued at the meeting strongly condemning Israeli practices against the Palestinian people. The PLO representative in Tokyo, Bakr Abdel Munim, spoke at the rally.



The Dawn  
AL FAJR  
Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

Paul A. Ajlouny, Publisher  
Hanna Siniara, Editor

AL FAJR Arabic newspaper was founded in 1972 by Yusef Naar. Naar edited the paper until his kidnapping in 1974. He has not been found since. The English weekly edition began in April 1980. It is published by Omar International, Inc., 16 Crowell St., Hempstead, N.Y. 11550. Telex 967701 OMAR MEM. For information please contact the main office: P.O. Box 19315, 2 Hetem al-Ta'ie St., 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

## US Initiative Lacks Credibility, Substance

Amidst the hope for a settlement to which the ongoing Palestinian uprising has given reign, some governments have come out with statements, so-called peace initiatives and diplomatic activity, that aim to kill this hope.

One such example is found in the United States veto of the latest United Nations Security Council resolution on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict which calls on Israel to abide by the Fourth Geneva Convention regarding the protection of civilians under occupation and for the convening of the international Middle East peace conference.

Despite its veto and its clearly-stated policy of refusal to recognize the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to an independent state, the US still believes it can talk about a peace settlement and get the parties concerned to agree to its initiatives.

The United States has lost all credibility among Palestinians. In fact, it is believed to be more Israeli than Israel itself. This view is supported by US opposition to an international peace conference and to talks with the PLO which a growing number of Israelis, policy-makers and others, support.

Yet, the United States thinks that by shedding crocodile tears over Palestinians in the occupied areas and by occasionally criticizing Israel for its use of lethal weapons and inhumane practices, Palestinians will believe it has changed its ugly face and now wears the mask of a savior. Palestinians can't be fooled after having suffered from US opposition for so long.

Therefore, when the US comes up with a new so-called peace initiative to solve the Palestinian problem, it cannot be taken seriously. For Palestinians, a George Shultz initiative is nothing more than an attempt to abort the gains of their two-month uprising which has changed the world's understanding of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and won them recognition as the crux of the Middle East problem. Palestinians consider this initiative an attempt to rescue Israel from the corner in which stone-throwing youths have forced it and rendered it impotent.

Thus this initiative is no different from rearming Israel in the 1973 war or from making promises such as the US made in Lebanon in 1982 and which it subsequently proved unable to keep.

The Palestinians in the occupied territories have matured a great deal over the past two months. They have seen what they can do and therefore will demand more of the United States if it wants to gain credibility. However, no one believes the US will offer more or that the US position, which does not even recognize that there is a people called Palestinians, is going to change under any circumstances.

For this reason, Palestinians are waiting for one thing: the convening of an international peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations with the full and equal participation of all concerned parties, particularly the Palestine Liberation Organization. Anything short of the convening of such a conference is not going to be welcomed in the occupied areas and will prove to be nothing more than an attempt to sedate Palestinians until the next wave of protests erupt.

Why should the international community waste more time and precious lives when it knows that a just and lasting solution can only come from the United Nations, not the United States or any other individual state.

## Political Moves Do Not Meet Palestinian Expectations

by Khalil Touma

Despite the desperate need for a political peace process in the Middle East, current regional and international initiatives do not appear to Palestinians in the occupied territories to be serious or intended to lead to a real settlement of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip see that their uprising has forced many to jump out of their warm beds in order to silence the "naughty Palestinians" who dare to stone their doors and spoil their sweet dreams. Since the policy of force has failed over the last two months to return things to normal, chocolates and nice words have been introduced to try and do the job.

Now entering its third month, the uprising is considered by Palestinians as a real victory, on both internal and external fronts.

Internally, it confirmed the capabilities of the long-neglected 1.5 million Palestinians in pulling the Palestinian problem out of the present stalemate which has already lasted for 20 years, and placing the Palestinian issue at the top of the international agenda.

The uprising was also a test for the national movement in the occupied territories, whose factions were unable to recreate the national unity achieved at the Palestine National Council held in Algiers last year, and national institutions and popular organizations remained divided. The uprising, however, showed that these divisions could be overcome in the face of the new situation.

Internationally, the tremendous support for Palestinian national rights manifested by the overwhelming majority of the UN Security Council and General Assembly members and the condemnation voiced against Israeli policy and practices were all considered by Palestinians as a significant achievement.

These successes were attributed to the PLO, which Palestinians consider their sole legitimate representative. Israeli allegations that the uprising was spontaneous and that it was organized by Khomeinists were clear attempts to prevent the world from seeing the true facts and to incite public opinion against the uprising.

In addition to the severe blow dealt to Israel's image in the world, the uprising also disclosed the fragility and fraudulence of the Israeli-Jordanian development plans and undermined the Israeli-Jordanian power-sharing proposition. West Bank observers believe these plans no longer have any possibility of succeeding.

It was logical for the US and its allies in the region to believe that the uprising threatens their interests. In a speech delivered in front of Reagan during his recent visit to Washington, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak admitted that the uprising threatens American interests in the Middle East. It was therefore also logical to expect those allies to rush to extinguish the uprising in order to salvage whatever they could of their plans and policies in the region. Present moves and initiatives have been seen here as aiming to achieve this very goal despite verbal expressions of concern for a final settlement of the conflict.

Commentators in the occupied territories reminded us of the calls by the Arab reactionary regimes in 1936 for the Palestinian people to end their six-month strike in protest against the British mandate and its policies. At that time, the Arab rulers said they had confidence that their ally, the British government, would solve the problem and listen to the demands. The result was catastrophic for the Palestinians and the Zionist project continued to be implemented. Fifty-two years later, the Arab rulers are trying to repeat the same story, this time putting their trust in the US administration to bring about a settlement.

Nevertheless, it was very clear to the Arabs that even all the pleasanties voiced by Mubarak during his visit were unable to convince

the US to vote in favor of a Security Council resolution asserting the applicability of the Geneva Conventions to the occupied territories. The much criticized initiative Mubarak carried with him to Washington was also not welcomed by the Americans.

Mubarak's initiative was considered by many in the occupied territories as tantamount to surrender. His suggestion that Israelis and Palestinians stop acts of violence for six months angered Palestinians by putting Palestinian resistance to the occupation on a par with the suppressive practices of the Israelis. Such an initiative would only seem to serve Israeli ends. His other suggestion to the Israelis to suspend settlement in the occupied territories was also considered as mere window-dressing since the Israelis have already stated they have no settlement plans for that period. Other demands to guarantee essential Palestinian rights and security through an international force in order to reach a comprehensive settlement which recognizes the right of all states in the region to live in peace and allow the Palestinian people to practice self-determination were considered by Palestinians and Israelis as vague and were included only to make the first demand of stopping acts of violence more palatable.

Mubarak made his intentions quite clear when he said that the international conference which he advocates would be an opening for direct negotiations between the parties to the conflict. This is the option advocated by Peres and opposed by the Palestinians. The Arab community should also oppose it since they stated in the Amman summit that the conference should comprise all parties to the conflict, including the PLO, on an equal footing and the permanent members of the Security Council. The Israeli Labor Party has consistently refused to participate in any talks with the PLO but accepted the international conference on condition that it would only be an opening for direct bilateral negotiations.

In an attempt to demonstrate that it still has the upper hand in Middle East politics, and also to extinguish the uprising, US officials met with two figures from the occupied territories, Hanna Siniara and Fayez Abu Rahme. The meeting with Schultz was subject to vigorous criticism in the occupied territories on the grounds that these two people do not represent the Palestinian people and are not authorized to speak on their behalf. In addition, the timing of the meeting was considered incorrect since it came while the uprising is at its height and merely served as an attempt to get Washington and its Israeli ally out of the corner where they are condemned and besieged by the international community.

After meeting with Mubarak, Siniara and Abu Rahme, the US escalated efforts to quell the uprising, leaking news of an initiative to find an interim solution on the way to a final settlement. Those who are not well-informed were given the impression that the US is serious this time in searching for an effective solution.

Yet for the Palestinians, the information available on the much-publicized initiative revealed that it is almost a copy of the Camp David accords, which are supported by Israel and totally rejected by Palestinians. It once again reiterates the autonomy plan which the Palestinians have been struggling against.

A prominent West Bank observer described the initiative as a mere media play by the Americans, who know that autonomy has been rejected by the Palestinians in the past and will not be accepted now after the tremendous sacrifices made over the past weeks.

One thing is quite clear in the occupied territories: unless progress is made to respond seriously to Palestinian demands for self-determination and a UN-sponsored international conference for peace in the Middle East, the uprising will continue. The situation seems to have reached the point of no return.

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## OPINION

After Hanna Siniora's meeting in Washington with George Shultz January 27, Siniora announced to the world his faith in the US Secretary of State.

It only took Shultz 30 minutes to win Siniora's confidence. That is how long their meeting lasted. Siniora apparently has a very short memory. Only one week ago Shultz told the world community that the US will never vote for a resolution against Israel. Even King Hussein of Jordan was upset by this, as he made clear in an interview last week with the *Washington Post* and which prompted the US to send Philip Habib to Amman to appease the king.

If the firm stand of opposition by the US and Shultz against the Palestinians is not clear to Siniora he should visit the United Nations and listen to what the non-aligned states say on how Shultz fought their resolution which wanted Israel to accept an international conference and to abide by the Fourth Article of the 1949 Geneva Conventions.

This week the secretary of state sounded as if the US is sincerely trying to solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He announced a new peace initiative and expressed his optimism publicly. But, again, he failed to address the essential issues. He is looking in all directions except the right one: the PLO

## Siniora Out On Limb

by As'ad Nasrallah

and the Palestinians. Shultz is trying primarily to relieve the pressure on Israel.

Siniora left the occupied territories in a state of turmoil and he personally witnessed the suffering of the Palestinians. It has been seven violent weeks in Gaza and the West Bank, and the Palestinians have sacrificed their lives, blood and bones. This cannot be forgotten over a drink with Shultz in less than 30 minutes.

Following his meeting with Shultz, Siniora stressed his support for Egyptian President Mubarak's initiative and called on both Israelis and Palestinians to show self-restraint! What exactly does Siniora mean when he equates the reactions of the Palestinians with those actions of the Israelis.

The facts remain: Israeli occupiers vs. Palestinians occupied. No Israeli casualties vs. over 40 Palestinians dead.

One injured Israeli vs. over 1500 injured Palestinians. On top of this, there are over 3000 Palestinians detained by Israel not to mention the damage done to Palestinian property.

Israel is using all its force: police, army, border guards and settlers, fully armed and using gas bombs and clubs, against Palestinian children and youths with nothing but stones with which to defend themselves.

President Mubarak's initiative is simply an American plan to undermine the Palestinian uprising. Mubarak, under economic pressure from the US, fell into their trap in 1981, as he has once again. Siniora fell into the Israeli trap when he announced his intention to enter the Jerusalem city council elections last year, and he is now caught up in American-Israeli maneuvers.

The US veto of the Security

Council resolution condemning Israeli policy in the territories was the sole vote of opposition: the other 14 members of the Security Council voted in favor.

Does this alone not convince Siniora of the US and Shultz stand against the Palestinians? Has Siniora forgotten the unlimited military, political and financial support that the US has been giving to Israel? Even when US officials make statements of support they do the opposite. When former US President Jimmy Carter declared that Israeli settlements in the occupied territories were illegal, the American government continued to finance their construction.

In 1975, when the Egyptian army forces crossed the Suez Canal and destroyed the Bar-Lev line, the US used all its power to save Israel. The US secretary of defense at the time declared that US military warehouses were emptied even more than during the Vietnam War.

Today the United States has lost its credibility in the world, especially in the Middle East and in the aftermath of "Innagate." So, Mr. Siniora, a Palestinian, it is imperative that you alter your way of thinking. The US has a special relationship with Israel which neither you nor anyone else can change.

## Mubarak Peddles Peace Plan In Washington

Commentary from Washington  
by Ghassan Bishara

Niceties were exchanged between Presidents Reagan and Mubarak during the Egyptian President's visit to the American capital but, because of Egypt's dependence on the US, very little could have been accomplished. President Mubarak's top priority here was to try to convince the administration to forego a US\$4.5 billion debt which Egypt owes the US.

On the issue of Middle East peace, only one of President Mubarak's long range plans for peace in the Middle East — the six month cooling-off period in the territories — was seriously considered by the administration, coupled with new reports of a revival of the 1978 Camp David self-rule plan.

During the arrival ceremonies for President Mubarak at the White House, President Reagan pointed to "the danger of allowing the Palestinian problem to fester," calling for urgent moves towards negotiations. These remarks were about the only ones made by Reagan regarding a peace process and the six week old Palestinian uprising for which the Palestinians have paid more than 40 lives.

The administration has treated Israel lightly considering the behavior of its army towards unarmed civilians and the official Rabin policy of "might, beating and force," which came on the heels of "shoot to kill" and then starving people into submission.

President Mubarak said that the consensus of Gulf area leaders was "that certain steps must be taken urgently and effectively in order to check the continuous deterioration" of the situation in their area. He called the situation in the occupied territories tragic, and "another source of alarm and concern." Continued occupation and oppression, he added, would end up damaging all parties "without exception, [and] would badly hurt American interests" there.

Before his arrival in the American capital, Mubarak had announced a new



Hosni Mubarak

proposal to promote peace in the region. The two major elements of this proposal were a call for a six month cooling-off period, and a similar Israeli gesture of ceasing all settlement activities in the area. While Palestinians from the territories were reported to be opposed to the cooling-off period, the American administration appears to have fully endorsed the idea. If implemented, political commentators believe, the cooling-off period would bring things back to the pre-uprising situation and leave the Palestinians without any benefit from their struggle and sacrifices.

Other ideas suggested by Mubarak include international guarantees for the fundamental rights of the Palestinians under Israeli occupation and a definite move towards the convening of an international conference. The American government's adoption of the six month cooling-off period, at the exclusion of all other ideas, Egyptian officials were quoted as saying, would discredit their leader in the eyes of the Arabs and most certainly to the Palestinians. Israeli government opposition to the international conference and the lack of clear US support for it have cooled previous official enthusiasm for the idea. Continuous Arab prodding of the US to become more involved has led to the introduction of some ideas, but more in line with what Israel wants. An official

told journalists that the Secretary of State's ideas are now geared more towards content rather than procedure.

The Secretary, the same official continued, would like to see progress on the substance of the issues, such as the future of the territories and the people living there. An international conference, he added, is beginning to be seen as an end in itself, not a means toward something lasting and final. The official, quoted the secretary as saying that the way to go is to look for a blend of the best, old and new.

One of the "good old ideas" being discussed, is the autonomy plan mentioned in the Camp David Accords, but never enacted, mainly because Palestinians read it, not only a continuation, but also a legitimization of Israel's control of the territories. The autonomy plan concluded by Sadat and Begin in 1979, is reportedly now being proposed as a replacement for the basic Palestinian demand for self-determination and statehood. Also, following the signing of the Camp David Accords, the Israeli government accelerated its settlement activities in the territories, a violation of the understanding of the accords.

The American media is reporting that the "new" American plan is the same self-rule plan concluded in the Camp David Accords of 1979. The plan, reportedly accepted by King Hussein and the Israelis, is to be finalized by next September, and then immediately followed by negotiations about the final status of the territories by December.

The Americans, it is reported here, have been able to sell the plan to King Hussein, who apparently said he "was promising aspects" in it, basically because it accelerates the whole process of getting there. New elections, which the Israelis are said to have accepted, will be allowed as soon as that is possible. Those newly-elected, the plan suggests, will be the only ones involved in the negotiations on the final status of the territories. Israel has refused to talk or in any way deal with the PLO and

sees the Palestine issue as involving only those Palestinians in the occupied territories. Both Israel and the US have made absolutely clear their rejection of the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza.

There are few in this capital who believe that the US would at this time exert any efforts to promote peace in the Middle East, especially considering the domestic scene both here and in Israel. President Reagan is awaiting his term to end next January, and usually no new initiatives are undertaken or accomplished in the last year of an outgoing American president. Further, both here and in Israel there are national elections in November of this year and thus little time is left for anything other than simple politics.

A Middle East expert, puzzled by the flurry of statements from the administration said he was amazed that some Arab governments will fall for these measures. The US, he added, only wants to create a semblance of activity to satisfy repeated Arab demands for greater American involvement, while hoping that the Palestinian uprising will die down. Even if the US does become involved, he said, it will only bring forward a new version of the rejected old ideas.

US involvement in peace efforts in the Middle East, has historically been, either to prevent an Arab-Israeli war or to stop one that has started. The Camp David Accords and the intense American role in it was a result of the so-called Sadat initiative.

Although hundreds of Palestinians have been killed, wounded, deported and imprisoned by the Israeli occupation forces, Middle East experts believe, this is not considered serious enough to warrant full-fledged American involvement. This price from the American government's perspective, said one has not been too high and is still acceptable. But another Arab-Israeli war, is out of the question, the question.



## ARAB AND DIASPORA NEWS

Siniora And Abu Rahmeh Present  
Palestinian Demands To Shultz

by Ghassan Bishara

Washington — Hanna Siniora and Fayez Abu Rahmeh met January 27 with US Secretary of State George Shultz and handed him a statement outlining 14 Palestinian demands geared to preparing the "atmosphere for the convening of the suggested international peace conference," as the means to achieve a just and lasting solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. The meeting, said Siniora in a press conference, was "cordial," and the secretary promised that the US will "work hard to bring peace to the region."

Siniora, editor of *Al-Fajr* newspaper in Jerusalem, and Abu Rahmeh, head of the Lawyers' Union in the Gaza Strip, arrived in Washington unexpectedly, as the Israeli authorities had initially barred them from leaving the country. Their arrival in the US, it was later rumored, was a result of American intervention on their behalf.

Siniora and Abu Rahmeh, both in their statement and in person, told Shultz that the Palestinian uprising in the territories is an expression of the Palestinian people's will to struggle until they achieve an independent state under the leadership of the PLO. Shultz, Siniora said, promised that he personally would become involved, without elaborating on how or when that would happen.

Abu Rahmeh and Siniora's statement to Shultz called the Israeli handling of the Palestinian uprising "uncivilized, oppressive and brutal," and stated the urgent need for protection by an international force. Such a force, they stated, would be a "first step toward the convening of an



Hanna Siniora, left, and Fayez Abu Rahmeh.

international peace conference," with the PLO representing the Palestinians. The list of 14 demands handed to Shultz included the following calls on Israel:

"To abide by the Fourth Geneva Convention and all other international agreements pertaining to the protection of civilians..." and to declare null and void the British Emergency Regulations of 1945 and the Israeli policy known as the "Iron Fist Policy";

Compliance with UN Security Council Resolution 605 and 807 which call "for the achievement of a just and lasting settlement" to the Middle East conflict; The release from prison and the rescinding of charges against all those who were arrested during the recent uprising, especially juveniles;

An end to the policy of expulsion, and allowing the return of those who were expelled

to Lebanon on January 13;

Conducting an inquiry into the behavior of Israeli soldiers and settlers towards Palestinians in the recent uprising;

An end to all settlement activities and the return of lands confiscated, especially from the Gaza area, and an end to provocative acts, such as that taken by Ariel Sharon when he moved into the Old City of Jerusalem;

The removal of all restrictions on political freedoms;

"Removing the restrictions on political contacts between inhabitants of the occupied territories and the PLO," so as to allow their participation in the Palestine National Council.

The meeting with Shultz lasted for about half an hour, Siniora said, and they told the secretary that they would like to see the US invite all the parties

see Siniora page 15

## News Briefs

## US VETOS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION

NEW YORK — The United States vetoed February 2 a United Nations Security Council resolution calling on Israel to abide by the Fourth Geneva Convention regarding the protection of civilians in times of war and calling for an international conference to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. The 14 other Security Council members voted in favor of the resolution, which was made following the UN Secretary-General's report on the situation in the occupied areas.

## HABIB DELIVERS MESSAGE TO HUSSEIN

AMMAN — Retired US special envoy Philip Habib delivered a message from President Ronald Reagan to King Hussein of Jordan January 30 dealing with the situation in the occupied areas. The US envoy, who masterminded the negotiations with the PLO in Lebanon in 1982 for the withdrawal from Beirut, was rushed to Amman in what appears to be a US effort to revive the stalled Middle East peace process. Habib left Amman two days later.

## PLO, JORDAN CONTINUE TALKS

AMMAN — A PLO delegation which arrived in Amman last week for talks on joint efforts for peace in the region said that the two parties failed to agree on cooperation. Members of the PLO delegation, Abdallah Hourani and Mahmood Abbas, both members of the PLO Executive Committee, said they discussed with the Jordanians working together towards a settlement but Jordan demanded that the PLO recognize UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 before going any further. The PLO rejects these two resolutions in their present form without an amendment to include the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

Slain French agent lying in a Beirut street.  
FRENCH SPY KILLED IN BEIRUT

BEIRUT — A French spy, identified as Jacques Miran, was gunned down in East Beirut February 2 by two men who escaped. The French Embassy said Miran was on a business trip to Lebanon. The French News Agency, AFP, quoted a source in Paris who confirmed that Miran was a government agent working for the French intelligence foreign security desk. Reports from Beirut said the two men came from West Beirut.

## New US Peace Committee Formed

Washington — A new committee known as the "US Interreligious Committee for Peace in the Middle East," was formed in Washington, DC, last week.

The committee's executive director, Ronald J. Young, announced in a press conference at the National Press Club January 27, that the committee was endorsed by more than 500 American Jewish, Christian and Muslim leaders. The purpose of the committee, a press release stated, is "to help mobilize an active broad-based moral climate of opinion [here] to encourage a more constructive US policy for peace" in the Middle East.

The committee, which met first in June 1987, adopted a statement, "A Time for Peace in the Middle East," calling on the US "to make peace a priority and to use diplomacy to achieve it, based on secure borders for Israel and self-determination for the Palestinian people, through the medium of an international conference." A secure Israel and

the achievement of the Palestinian people's right of self-determination, the committee believes, "are mutually and inextricably interdependent."

Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, a professor of religion at Dartmouth College and a participant in the press conference, blamed the Israeli occupation for the present situation in the territories. "This occupation," he said, "is now bankrupt politically and morally and has to end." He called on the US to become involved in bringing about peace, and on Israel "to allow for immediate elections in the West Bank and Gaza," which will bring forward leaders Israel can talk to.

Al-Hajj David Assad, president of the Council of Mosques in the US, related how he lost many members of his family in the brutal Deir Yassin massacre. Nevertheless, he said, his religion, Islam, dictates that he should respect other people of the Book. He believes that the solution to

the Middle East conflict is the establishment of an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel.

Other participants in the conference were the Hon. Imam W. Deen Mohammad of Chicago; Albert Vonnep, senior vice president of the Union of Hebrew Congregations; Fr. J. Bryan Hehir, of the US Catholic Conference; Cherif Sedky, a Washington attorney; and the Rev. Dr. Charles Kimball, director of the Middle East Office of the National Council of Churches (NCC).

"I express our enthusiastic support for this new initiative" for peace in the Middle East, Kimball said. The NCC has a total membership of about 45 million in the US and previously expressed support for peace plans based on a secure Israel and self-determination for the Palestinian people. "Now, more than ever, we believe that the US government must vigorously pursue diplomatic avenues to achieve peace," said Kimball.







## ISRAELI SCENE

## The Same Old Story

by Dani Rubenstein/Davar (January 27, 1988)

In the beginning there were casualties. About 40 — the number isn't exact because not everybody that was injured was treated by the Israeli army. The hospitals in the West Bank and Gaza reported that a few babies and two old persons had died of suffocation after inhaling an inordinate amount of tear gas. It's impossible to check such reports. Then came a wave of arrests. According to the minister of defense, there were about 2000 people arrested. But it didn't help matters. The disturbances continued and criticism in Israel and abroad grew. There were reports of atrocities from the prison camps and there was ridicule over the lightning trials in the military courts. Hundreds of detainees were released and there seemed to be a let up; but it didn't last. And then wholesale curfews began. The picture became confused. On one hand, there were complaints about the siege, the closure of shops and a lack of foodstuffs, and on the other hand, there were complaints about the forced opening of shops. In places where there was a curfew, shops weren't allowed to open, and in places where there were strikes (voluntary curfew), and the shops were closed, chains were attached to the doors and with the help of army vehicles, they were pulled off their hinges.

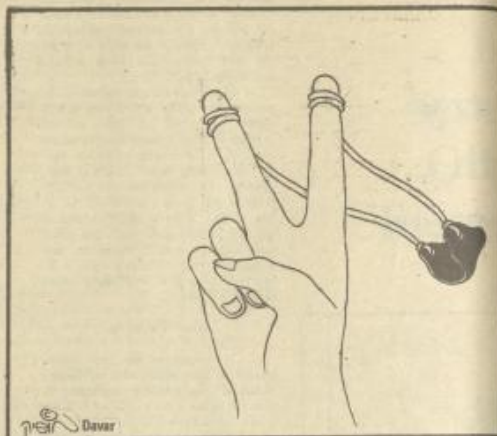
One day defense minister Yitzhak Rabin said that perhaps these disturbances would sprout a new leadership in the territories and the next day, a number of Arab leaders — who belong to that same leadership — and some journalists were arrested because they wanted to hold a press conference in East

Jerusalem. They had formulated a document with demands from Israel which stated that if Israel met the demands, an atmosphere and situation would be created which would be conducive to the convening of an international conference which could seek a political solution. Among the demands were: freedom of political activity in the territories, the cancellation of the deportation orders, an end to the arrests, a freeze on settlements, the granting of building permits to Arabs and family reunifications.

Practically nobody heard about the document and these demands. When it was about to read out in East Jerusalem, security men entered the hotel and arrested — in front of the international media — two of the conference organizers. An hour later they were released.

It's all become familiar: shootings, arrests, deportations, curfews, breaking open shops, trials, releases — and when all that doesn't help, there comes the next stage — beatings, breaking hands, legs, ribs and heads.

The campaign in the territories is also a campaign for international opinion (especially American public opinion) and since the policy in the territories is confused, it has allowed for infinite variations of brutality to be presented to both friend and foe. No sooner had the injured and dead been presented, no sooner had the arrests and trials been discussed and filmed, then — thanks to a gifted director — along came the broken bones and the plaster casts. It was as though someone said: Wait a second, you haven't seen everything yet. We have another performance to give.



But in fact, it's all the same play — one that's been running for years now and which will certainly go on if there aren't peace negotiations. The PLO leadership and Arafat are trying to exploit the disturbances. Did anyone expect otherwise? Even they were surprised by their outbreak. The Palestinians have never had a greater success in revealing the confusion and impotence of Israel. The disturbances have succeeded in unleashing a wave of anti-Israeli feeling throughout the world, even among the Jewish communities abroad. But all this is nothing compared to what all of us — the government, the army, and the police — are being forced to do. We are being pushed into senseless acts of brutality, to dropping tear gas on hospi-

tals from helicopters, attacking the Temple Mount, manufacturing thousands of clubs, and above all, to a flood of humiliating and violent responses. It's the same old story — the story of a binational society which is like a vicious circle. If it continues we'll certainly see the closure of Arab universities (at present they're only temporarily closed); the closure of the Arab newspapers; and emergency laws in East Jerusalem — and perhaps even in Nazareth and Wadi Asa. Perhaps we'll even see gallows for terrorists. And we'll certainly see more deportations, and who knows, maybe even small transfer. All this must come because it's in the nature of the struggle. We'll teach them a lesson that they'll refuse to learn.



Israelis demonstrating against the occupation.



Counter Israeli demonstration.

## Israelis Speak Out Against Occupation

Mental Health Workers Against The Occupation

We are a group of people involved in mental health. Usually we don't publicly express our political views. However, we have come to understand that if we remain silent at present, we would be lending a hand to the destructive impact of the continuing occupation.

For the past twenty years, the Arabs living under our rule have been without civil rights, and [subject] to fear and humiliation. Arabs are expelled from their homes, separated from their families, arrested en masse, tortured and lately shot to death with an alarming frequency. Among those killed are women and children. We have no doubts that this situation must stop.

This situation has a horrible influence on the Jewish population as well. It takes its toll of psychological victims among Jews. Many of our sons are involved every day in acts of repression. All of us have learned over the years to close our ears and become obtuse — as though these things weren't happening nearby, to us, and because of us. All of us are pulled into a life of fear, violence and racism. We are losing our sensitivity to human suffering. Our children are being raised on the values of discrimination and racism and IDF soldiers are being put in impossible moral situations.

We hope that more and more people will join the protest against the destructive occupation. THE OCCUPATION MUST STOP.



## CULTURE

Palestinian literature has proved a faithful mirror of the concerns of its people. So far, little of the current incidents in the occupied territories have been described in local literature, although it is still early days yet.

The first fruits, however, have appeared in the Haifa-based Al-Ikhtilaf Arabic daily last week. The author, **Muhammed Ali Taha** is a prominent Palestinian writer from the town of Kabul. He is also deputy head of the Arab Writers Association in Israel and has already published several collections of short stories on the daily sufferings of the Palestinian people.

The following are translations by Al-Fajr's **Khalil Touma** from "short stories from The Stone Age."

## Adnan

He felt that everyone in the street was looking at him and laughing at him, as if the people, trees, and houses were saying to him: "Leave this job to those responsible and go to your office son."

He was anxious trying to throw the stone. He sweated despite the cold December weather and the stone almost fell from his hand onto his foot. He thought to go home, to the warmth and his beautiful wife's face, but some unknown voice inside him said "It is shameful Adnan."

He was encouraged and threw the stone. It fell only a few meters away. He felt even more embarrassed. A cold sweat covered his body. Some inner voice said to him: "Throwing stones needs experience Adnan. Not anyone who can carry a stone can throw it or hit the target."

He looked left and right, thinking people were looking at him, laughing at him because his stone did not reach its target.

He found the others busy stoning the soldiers, chanting and attacking, then running. No one seemed to care about him, he was just like most of them.

He repeated his attempt once again, he pushed himself. The stone went further this time and landed at the target along with other stones. He shivered and felt very pleased. "Here you are Mr. Adnan. The lawyer has become one of the people and resisting the occupation is no longer restricted to children and rough hands."

He quickly picked up another stone and threw it. He almost shouted for joy when he saw his stone flying far and the soldier running away from it.

He wished that his friends, Subhi, Tawer, Sari, Akram, could see him. That evening he would tell them about his experience, and would urge them to leave their offices and clinics and take part in the uprising.

"Withdraw," the soldiers are besieging the streets," a demonstrator shouted. The soldiers brutally attacked the demonstrators with bullets and truncheons. A number of people were injured.

Adnan was arrested and roughly taken to a military car where a number of masked men were sitting. The soldier shouted at them, "Take off your *Kofiyas*. They are no good to you any more." When Adnan took off his *Kofiyas* he smiled, pleased to see Akram and Sari with him in the car. They exchanged looks.

"Don't worry Sir, the homeland is only protected by its men." Adnan gazed at the young boy standing near him. A few minutes passed then he recognized him. It was Sa'di the shoe-shine boy at Damascus Gate.

## Tales From The Stone Age

## Ayyesha

Ayyesha stood on the wall of Balata refugee camp (near Nablus) and threw a bottle at the soldiers standing at the entrance.

The soldiers shot at her. Ayyesha flew up in the air and the soldiers fell to the ground in fear. How could people fly?

When the soldiers arose from their astonishment they saw her landing in the Casba (old city of Nablus). The officer wired the military post there telling them that a glider had landed in their area. The officer put his soldiers on alert and requested help from military nearby. Ayyesha pelted the post with stones. The soldiers attacked her, and one of them vowed that he hit her.

Ayyesha flew again and landed in Askar refugee camp, (in Nablus) The Chief of Staff radioed the officer of the military post there and told him that a suspect had landed on the roof of the camp. The soldiers imposed a curfew on the camp and started a search. Suddenly Ayyesha threw nails at them. They shot at her but Ayyesha flew again and landed in the refugee camp of Ein Bet Elims. The war minister announced that the situation is difficult and the battle long.

## Ahmad al-Saleh

Today they will know who you are, Ahmad al-Saleh, and the strongest in the camp will bow to you, will shake hands with you and smile at you. Maybe Fatima will also come and caress your brow with her tender palms.

Today they will know who you are, the son of Saleh al-Sheikh Sahli and the sons of the Sheikh will be proud of you and say Ahmad is the son of our town. He is from the town of al-Sheikh, the town of Is al-Deen al-Qassem are from good land which grows trees and children.

Today they will know who you are, the son of al-Sheikh. Who is more courageous than you, boy? Who loves the town of al-Sheikh more than you do? Were it not for these two legs, you would have been at the head of the demonstration and you would not have been satisfied with stones, nails and burning tires.

Today they will know who you are. It is enough what you have lived with for three days, swallowing your dry saliva and during the night turning on a bed of thorns. In the morning of the first day you were on your way to the center of Jenin as usual, pushing your wheel chair, when you suddenly heard voices shouting "From Khan Yunis to Jenin, your people are alive Palestine." You stopped and looked behind you. The soldiers cars stood still near you. Bullets and stones flew. You were in your wheelchair watching them. Were it not for these legs... In the evening a curfew was imposed and the people talked about heroism, about Saad, Mahmoud, Salim, Fatima and the others.

The second day, you were pushing your wheelchair on the pavement when the incident suddenly broke out. A group of children stoned the soldiers and the soldiers responded with bullets and tear gas. You were on the pavement

near the soldiers... and you wished a stone would hit you on the head. Have you become one of the occupation's soldier Ahmad al-Saleh. You stand near them, listen to their curses and see them shooting at the sons of your refugee camp... were it not for these legs... and you push the wheelchair.

Today they will know who you are, Ahmad al-Saleh, son of Sheikh town. Here you are since the early morning stuck to your wheelchair at the entrance to the camp and praying for the situation to break out again.

It is seven o'clock. Nothing. Eight o'clock. Nothing. Ten o'clock and you curse the day. Suddenly your ears prick up, voices grow louder in the camp and the youths are approaching. The military vehicles park and stand near you and the soldiers come out of them. The youths stone the soldiers. Tear gas and bullets. Move boy, move Ahmad al-Saleh. This is your opportunity, and you extend your hand calmly, and draw a bottle which you light and throw rapidly.

A soldier sees you and fires at you. You jump out of the wheelchair and run and run. Your legs are sound after 19 years. How happy you are, and you run. A bullet hits you in the back.

Today the occupiers know who you are, Ahmad al-Saleh, the people and the whole world know who you are.

## Ammar

The officer shouted: "Forward!" and the soldiers jumped from the military vehicle like devils. They were armed with guns and truncheons. They fired tear gas canisters and live ammunition and shouted threats with ugly voices.

The children stoned the soldiers and ran away.

At the entrance to al-Am'ari refugee

camp, a child was caught by a soldier. The soldier slapped him on the face and kicked him in the back. The child fell to the ground.

The soldier ordered the little boy to stand up and raise his hands in the air. "Walk in front of me to the car," the soldier ordered and the child walked, quietly feeling proud.

"What is your name?" asked the soldier.

"Ammar."

"How old are you?"

The child faltered and said "seven." The fighter was lying for the first time. He was still six years old but felt shy to appear in front of the soldier as a kid, so he permitted himself to lie.

"Who incited you?" the soldier asked.

"Incited me?" said the boy.

"Yes, who incited you?" on of...

"I don't understand what you're saying."

"Who incited you?"

"Incited me?"

"Who sent you to stone us? Talk less I beat you."

The prisoner was perplexed.

The officer pulled the boy's ear.

"Don't pull my ear," said the boy.

"Who sent you to stone us?"

"My brother Mansour," said the boy.

"Come and show us the house," said the soldier.

The boy jumped into the car which immediately took off at high speed. When it reached a small house the boy nodded and the car stopped.

The officer ordered the soldiers to besiege the house and they spread in all directions quickly, their guns at the ready.

"Where is your brother?" asked the officer.

"In the house," the boy walked two steps and called with a tender voice: "Mansour come here." The door opened and Mansour came out quietly, a child of three years old, with his eyes shining and carrying a balloon in his hand.

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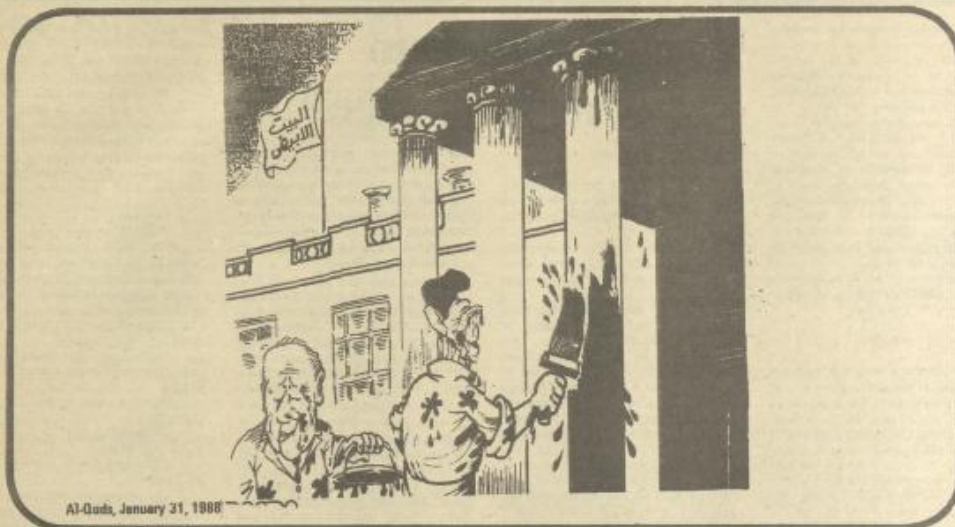
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# WEST BANK PRESS



February 1

## THE US AND THE VETO

Al-Quds commented on the Security Council's resumption of discussions concerning the incidents in the occupied territories. Earlier, it postponed voting on a resolution proposed by non-aligned countries for fear of an American veto.

US secretary of state Shultz responded to three resolutions calling for Israeli adherence to the Geneva Convention of 1949, saying the US will not support anti-Israel resolutions.

The proposed resolution in the Security Council calls for a fair and comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict under UN supervision.

The resolution, noted the paper, does not stipulate the parties to participate nor does it discuss the international conference or the recommendations in the report by Undersecretary Marrack Goulding.

It is obvious, concluded the paper, that fear of a US veto has already thwarted the resolution.

AL-QUDS

## THE EXPECTED SCRIPT

Al-Sha'ab looked at the "script" which Ha'aretz-claims both Tel Aviv and Washington are following to circumvent an international conference supported by world opinion. According to Ha'aretz, there are several proposals Philip Habib will carry to the region on his brief visit.

This script includes direct negotiations under the supervision of the two superpowers and with the participation of Israel, Jordan and "Palestinians." This plan would end with the implementation of autonomy within the framework of a so-called

new peace process that is in fact a replica of the Camp David agreement.

This American evasion of an international conference coincides with the Security Council vote on a resolution concerning the occupied territories, undermining the possibility of the issuing of any resolution condemning the Israeli occupation.

AL-SHA'AB

February 2

## BASIS FOR THE FUTURE

Al-Quds commented on statements to the effect that incidents in the occupied territories are the result of the absence of a peace settlement that would grant all peoples of the region their legitimate national and humanitarian rights, the rights of the Palestinian people included.

Arab parties to the conflict and many nations support the idea of an international conference as the most appropriate framework in which to achieve peace. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak has warned of the consequences of Shamir's insistence on bilateral negotiations outside the framework of an international conference. Mubarak's political advisor, Dr. Usama al-Baz, reiterated that an international conference constitutes a golden opportunity to propel the peace process forward. Dr. al-Baz said Israeli intransigence destroys any possibility for peace. The Israeli government's rejectionism and the vagueness of the US position on the international conference, noted the paper, weaken chances for holding the conference.

Those who desire peace, concluded the paper, should take into consideration the coming generation, a point of view which outweighs security considerations.

AL-QUDS

February 3

## US VETO

Al-Quds denounced the US veto of the Security Council resolution calling for the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian problem under UN supervision as well as the application of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. The resolution mentioned neither the international conference nor the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, but focused on the need to solve the Middle East conflict.

The paper wonders if US policy concerning the occupied territories rejects Israel's domination of these lands. The paper notes that the US will justify its stand, being reluctant to criticize Israel.

AL-QUDS

## THE AMERICAN VETO

Al-Fajr also denounced America's veto of the first new Middle East peace proposal put forward in the Security Council in 15 years, which other members approved. Once again the US has shown its disinterest in achieving peace in the Middle East, particularly under UN auspices.

The paper also denounced as absurd the excuses given by US deputy representative to the United Nations, Herbert O'Connor, who stated that Security Council efforts contradict efforts the US is carrying out.

Were the US serious about achieving real peace, said the paper, it would support Security Council resolutions and the international conference as the only means by which the conflict can be solved, namely by granting the Palestinian people their legitimate rights. Such US deception, the paper concluded, cannot be justified.

AL-FAJR

## US VETO: A NEW STRIKE AGAINST INTERNATIONAL PEACE EFFORTS

The US use of the veto against an international peace plan prepared by Secretary General De Cuellar, is described as a blow to peace efforts by Al-Sha'ab. This proposal was initiated in light of the report submitted by Marrack Goulding, who recently came on a fact-finding mission to the occupied territories.

AL-SHA'AB

February 4

## EMPTY CIRCLES

In testimony before the Congressional Foreign Affairs Committee, Secretary of State George Shultz stated that the US has launched "diplomatic efforts" aimed at improving conditions in the occupied territories and at giving Palestinians a sense of control over their political destiny.

Shultz mentioned sending assistant secretary for Near East affairs, Richard Murphy, to the area to discuss conditions in the territories with Israeli, Jordanian, and Egyptian officials.

Al-Fajr asserted that this American approach will not bring results. Many American envoys and delegations have visited the area over the past 20 years but their findings have been disregarded by each administration's reluctance to find a practical solution to the crisis in the region.

AL-FAJR

## SCATTERED SPLINTERS

Al-Quds commented on the statement by Shimon Peres in which he noted that Israel's de facto policy is in a shambles. He

was referring to the lack of agreement among Israeli leaders. Israeli and American decisions made always attempt to delay discussion of the Arab-Israeli dispute, said the paper. The international community, however, is convinced of the need to solve all aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Peres, who affirms the necessity of conducting talks with all Arab parties, the PLO excluded, lacks a clearly defined strategy for peace. Shamir proposes autonomy ideas based at Camp David. Abba Eban, head of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Committee, states that autonomy has vanished. It is thin air. Ezer Weizman echoes that assessment. In this dilemma, the complicated Palestinian problem remains in urgent need of a solution that grants all parties to the conflict their national and human rights. Without a political solution, things will remain, as Peres said, "scattered splinters."

AL-QUDS

February 5

## MURPHY'S TOUR

Al-Sha'ab focuses on Richard Murphy's trip to the Middle East in an attempt to contain the incidents in the occupied territories and to abort international efforts to hold an international conference that would grant the Palestinian people their legitimate rights.

It is obvious that Murphy's visit will uphold American policies that deny Arabs and Palestinians their rights, as evidenced by the latest US veto in the Security Council.

Official US tours of the region merely serve to consolidate US support for Israel and its universally condemned practices in the occupied territories.

AL-SHA'AB



## Arms

Continued from page 9

Since 1985, all US aid to Israel has been given as grants, not as repayable loans. FMS grants to Israel are paid on a "cash flow" basis, which means that, unlike all other recipients of US aid, Israel may commit its anticipated military grants before they are appropriated by Congress. This, in effect, obliges Congress to fulfill Israel's long-term contracts signed with American suppliers.

Grants to Israel are also paid in a lump sum at the beginning of each fiscal year rather than in the usual four quarterly disbursements. This provides Israel with a bonus of approximately US\$50 million in interests costs charged against the US deficit.

As another exception, Israel may use a portion of its FMS funds, not only to buy its own military products, but also to develop its own weapons systems. As a one-time-only exception, Israel was permitted in 1977 to use US\$107 million of its FMS funds, originally earmarked for the purchase of US M-60 tanks, to produce an Israeli-designed Merkava tank.

### Co-production

Co-production, licensed production and subcontracting agreements are particularly prized, not only to acquire technology but also for commercial reasons. In 1972, Israel signed a co-production agreement with the US that allowed it to manufacture spare parts for aircraft imported from the US. Israel reportedly earned US\$100 million over a three-year period.

In addition to demanding co-production of certain components as a condition for purchasing weapons systems from US firms, Israel has used political leverage to obtain authorization for such agreements from the US Government. In a secret addendum to the 1975 Sinai Agreement, US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger promised cooperation in a military co-production project. Two years later, for concessions in the Geneva negotiations scheduled for 1978,

Israel requested rights for the co-production of armored XM-1 tanks, torpedoes, Maverick and Hellfire ground-to-ground missiles, and sophisticated radar and electronics equipment.

Over the past few years, Israeli defense industry sales to the US armed forces included components produced under license for US-made systems also purchased by Israel. These components encompass: conformal fuel tanks for McDonnell Douglas F-15 fighters; some airframe and avionics components for McDonnell Douglas F-4, Grumman F-14 and General Dynamics F-16 aircraft; armor parts for General Dynamics M-60 tanks; small arms ammunition; AN/VRC-12 radios; and shoulder-launched multipurpose assault rocket weapons, produced under license by McDonnell Douglas for the US Marine Corps.

### US Military Equipment

The US has allowed Israel to buy the exclusive rights to produce US-designed military equipment, introduce modifications and sell it abroad. In 1967, for example, Israel bought the rights to an American jet subsequently called the Westwind executive jet. The Israeli version, however, is powered with a different engine, albeit one of US production. The Westwind has been marketed both as an executive jet and as a military reconnaissance plane. By September 1984, 300 of these jets had been sold. Three years before, IAI had begun working on an advanced generation of the jet, the Westwind Astra. The Astra, with a speed of Mach 0.8 and a range of 3,000 nautical miles, has been marketed since late 1984.

### Service and Maintenance

In October 1985, the US Navy signed a Master Repair Agreement (MRA) with Israel Shipyard, enabling the US Sixth Fleet to use Haifa for intermediate maintenance work. A month later, the biggest armada of the US Sixth Fleet ever to visit Israel docked in Haifa harbor for supplies, servicing and shore leave.

Over the years, IAI has also won several overhaul and maintenance service contracts for US Air Force F-15 and F-16 fighter jets stationed in Europe. The Israelis, continually voicing their concern that these service agreements were insufficient, were prepared to do much more. The Israelis have also complained regarding their limited ability to compete with NATO countries in bids for maintaining US military equipment.

### Purchasing and Leasing

The establishment and expansion of the Israeli arms industry was intended to satisfy domestic needs and to reduce reliance on foreign suppliers. Less than a decade after Israel's decision to develop a full-scale arms industry, the industry outgrew its domestic base, which was too limited to provide the economies of scale necessary for the viable and economical production of major weapons systems. In the early years, the IDF was virtually the sole client, but by the late 1970's and early 1980's, more than 60 percent of Israel's arms production was sold abroad.

During the last decade, Latin America, undisputedly Israel's largest market for arms, accounted for approximately 50 to 60 percent of its total military exports. Although Israel has, over the past few years, expanded its arms sales to Asia and Africa, the overall share of its arms exports to Third World countries, particularly those in Latin America, has been decreasing. The faltering economic situation in many developing countries has proven to be the major obstacle.

Pressured to export arms in order to maintain and expand its arms industry, Israel looked elsewhere for markets. Increasingly, the United States has emerged as the most promising and reliable market. Under the 1979 US-Israeli Memorandum of Agreement, renewed and expanded in 1984, Israel would bid for US military contracts along the lines of other NATO allies. The US also committed itself, under the terms of the Memorandum of Understanding on Strategic Cooperation, signed on November 30, 1981, to purchase Israeli military equipment worth

up to US\$200 million a year.

Within a short period of time, Israel succeeded in penetrating the US defense market. *Aviation Week & Space Technology* reported that Israel's defense product sales to the US doubled from 1984 and 1985.

In conclusion, Israel's ability to establish an arms industry of impressive dimensions that produces a diversity of technologically sophisticated weapons is beyond dispute. The stunning growth of its exports over the past 15 years — from US\$100 million in 1970 to between US\$1 to US\$2 billion in the 1980's — is a reflection not merely of the growth of the industry and the high performance of its products, but also of Israel's ability to seize opportunities offered by the vagaries of international politics.

All this would have been impossible without:

The funds for research and development and the complete technical data packages that were provided by the US.

The joint ventures and the subsidiary relationships established with leading US arms manufacturers;

The liberal and exceptional uses of US FMS funds that allowed Israel, among many other things, to buy its indigenously-produced arms with US funds and use offsets on contracts financed by US financial military assistance;

The permission granted to Israel to coproduce and produce under license US military products and to take on subcontracts for US arms manufacturers;

Allowing Israel to modify, sell, service and maintain US military equipment;

and, finally, leasing and purchasing from Israel hundreds of millions of dollars annually in Israeli arms products.

As to the future, there is little doubt that the progress and expansion of Israel's arms industry will continue to be heavily dependent on the US involvement. Very few indicators refute the assessment that the US will persist in providing Israel with the needed finances, advance technology and access to the lucrative US arms market. Such support cannot but guarantee a booming Israeli arms industry and the molding of a more militaristic Israel, compliments of the United States.

## Israeli Navy Acquire Small, Fast Missile Boats

by Abdel Karim Sharif

Ever since the Israeli destroyer "Eilat" was sunk by an Egyptian missile boat in October 1967, the Israeli navy, due to limited financial resources, decided to boost its strength by primarily acquiring small, fast missile boats rather than bulky destroyers and frigates. The Israeli navy currently possesses only three submarines.

But the Israeli Mediterranean coast is more than 300 kilometers long and it is doubtful if the Israeli navy, which relies almost totally on these small, fast missile boats and light gunboats, would be efficient and adequate enough to protect Israel.

Israel's current naval strength is composed of 25 missile boats of the "Rashet", "Alia", and "Se'ar II and III" types all of which are equipped with "Gabriel" and "Harpoon" anti-ship missiles, and some 40 light, patrol gunboats of the "Dvora", "Debur", and "Shapit" types.

Although these Israeli missile boats are equipped with sophisticated fire-control systems and electronic equipment to counter air and sea attacks by the enemy, they could hardly perform

the counter task of defending Israel's Mediterranean coast in time of deadly armed conflict with the Arabs. Almost all the major battles that were fought at sea in this century have unquestionably proved that the navy could well fall prey to any surprise air attack by combat aircraft equipped with anti-ship weapons (either missiles or conventional heavy bombs). Likewise, bulky frigates can outrange small missile boats and even modern naval helicopters could play a deadly role against them.

Consequently, the Israeli navy is currently confined to a defensive role and could not pose a serious threat to either Syria's or Libya's coastal areas for several major reasons:

1 — Should war break out between Israel and Syria in the future, it would then be expected that the airforces and the armored corps of both countries would be of primary importance due to their defensive and offensive roles and capabilities; air and land battles would take place first, but naval battles would be minor and less dangerous.

2 — In case of war, Libya would most likely stand by Syria militarily, thereby forcing Israel to divert some of its forces to counter any possible Libyan

air or naval attacks against Israeli targets.

3 — Both the Syrian and Libyan navies are equipped with more than fifty missile boats of Soviet manufacture of the types "Osa" and "Komar" and "Nanushka", all of which carry SS-N2 anti-ship missiles (codenamed "Styx" by NATO), besides the Italian and French-made missile boats of the Libyan navy of the "Assed" and "Combattante" types which are equipped with "Otomat" anti-ship missiles.

4 — The Syrian navy is equipped with the Soviet-made SS-C1 coastal-defense, anti-ship missiles (codenamed "Sepsal" by NATO) whose effective range is well over 400 kilometers. Such formidable coastal-defense missiles outrange the Israeli missile boats, to the point where Israel's navy could be lethally hit while still far away from the Syrian coast.

5 — In case of war, the Libyan airforce could play a decisive role in easing the pressure on the Syrian front by launching air attacks against Israel's missile and gunboats; the Libyan Mig-21 and Mig-23 fighter aircraft (codenamed "Fishbed" and "Flogger" respectively by NATO) could well destroy and sink the Israeli missile and gunboats by using

either the AS-7 anti-ship missile (codenamed "Kerry" by NATO) or conventional heavy bombs. Similarly, Libya's strategic Tupolev-2 bombers (codenamed "Blinder" by NATO) and its formidable Mig-25 fighters (codenamed "Foxbat" by NATO) will have a long range to fly, attack Israel's navy, and return safely to their bases.

6 — Finally, the Syrian airforce possesses almost a dozen Soviet-made "Kamov-25" helicopters (codenamed "Hormone" by NATO) which are designed and confined primarily to anti-navy roles; such helicopters can guide the Syrian-launched anti-ship missiles aimed at Israel's missile and gunboats.

Thus, the Israeli navy could not pose a serious threat to Syria's coastal areas due to the small number of its vessels which are confined mainly to defensive roles and anti-ship attacks. In case of war, Israel's small missile and gunboats could be easily destroyed by Arab air attacks or long-range coastal-defense missiles possessed by the Syrian navy. The Falklands' War of 1982 and the Iraqi air attack on the USS Stark last May are clear proof of their vulnerability no matter the sophisticated equipment installed in them.



# WEEKLY REVIEW

January 31

## CURFEWS IMPOSED ON REFUGEE CAMPS

Curfews were imposed on four refugee camps in the West Bank in response to demonstrations and protests: Jalazoun, Ein Beit al-Ma', new and old Askar. A curfew was also imposed on Nablus, which observed a total commercial strike. A petrol bomb was thrown at an Israeli car near Qalqilya. A curfew was imposed on Deir al-Balah camp in the Gaza Strip.

AL-FAJR

## FAISAL HUSSEINI TO APPEAR IN COURT TODAY

Faisal Hussein, head of the Arab Studies Center, is to appear in district court. The court will discuss the allegation that he possesses inciting material. Hussein is being held in administrative detention.

AL-FAJR

## AL-FAJR, AL-SHA'AB DAILIES ALLOWED IN PRISON

Jenin prison authorities have permitted 20 copies of al-Fajr and al-Sha'ab Arabic dailies into the prison.

AL-FAJR

## ITHNA VILLAGE DECLARED CLOSED AREA

The Israeli authorities have prevented anyone from entering or leaving the village of Ithna, near Hebron. For the last two weeks village residents have not been allowed to travel to Jordan.

AL-SHA'AB

## CLASSES RESUMED AT HEBRON UNIVERSITY

Studies resumed at Hebron University. The administration of the university asked all students to attend class.

AL-SHA'AB

## COURT DECISION POSTPONES

The Israeli central court postponed a decision to confirm the detention of journalist Salah Zubeika and Sam'an Khouri.

AL-SHA'AB

## DAR AL-TIFL CLOSED UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE

Dar al-Tifl has decided to close its schools and college until further notice.

AL-SHA'AB

## TRUCK NOT ALLOWED TO UNLOAD IN ASKAR CAMP

The Israeli authorities pre-

vented a truckload of flour from being delivered to Askar camp. The flour was ordered by a merchant in the camp.

AL-SHA'AB

February 1

## TWO KILLED, DOZENS INJURED

Two people were killed and three wounded in the northern West Bank town of Anabta, near Tulkarm. Those killed were identified as Mu'ayad Sha'ar, 21, and Mured Basam Wafiq al-Hamallah, 17. Soldiers later declared the area a closed military area. Curfews remained imposed in Nablus, Balata, and Askar camps. Two Israeli soldiers were injured in stonings. Demonstrations occurred in Balata, Ein Beit al-Ma', Tulkarm, and Nor Shama camps and Shwekah village, all near Nablus. Dozens of Nablus residents were arrested. Two protesters in Hail Na'im, a village near Hebron, were shot by soldiers who opened fire to disperse a demonstration. A curfew was imposed on the village. At Dheisheh camp near Bethlehem a petrol bomb was thrown at a military patrol. In Jerusalem a number of people were arrested following protests on Salah el-Din Street. In the Gaza Strip a curfew was imposed on Bnei camp, but lifted on Deir al-Balah camp.

AL-FAJR

## BETHLEHEM UNIVERSITY CLOSED

The Israeli authorities ordered Bethlehem University to remain closed until further notice. A three-month closure ended February 1.

AL-FAJR

## STUDIES POSTPONED AT SCHOOLS

The Israeli authorities postponed the reopening of schools in Nablus, Jenin, and Tulkarm until further notice.

AL-FAJR

## ISRAELI BUS STONED

Israel Radio said that an Egged bus was stoned near Abu Ghosh village, west of West Jerusalem. Police arrested a number of people.

AL-FAJR

## WOMEN DEMONSTRATE AT US CONSULATE

A women's demonstration was held in front of the American Consulate in East Jerusalem to protest Israeli policy in the West Bank.

AL-FAJR

## LAWYER FORBIDDEN VISIT

The Israeli authorities prevented lawyer Khaled al-Qedrah

from visiting his son in Hebron prison.

AL-FAJR

## 16 PEOPLE HOSPITALIZED IN GAZA

Sixteen people injured in beatings were taken to al-Shifa Hospital in the Gaza Strip. Most of the injured were from Jabalya camp, including five members of one family with broken arms.

AL-SHA'AB

## 14 PEOPLE ARRESTED

The Israeli authorities arrested 14 people from Jerusalem's Thouri quarter after breaking into their homes.

AL-SHA'AB

## JORDANIAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS NOT ALLOWED TO LEAVE

Israeli authorities at the Jordan River bridges have prohibited students at Jordanian universities from returning to their campuses after the holidays. Classes resumed at the universities January 30.

AL-QUDS

February 2

## PROTESTS INTENSIFY IN OCCUPIED AREAS

Reports from various areas in the occupied territories indicate the two-month-old uprising is continuing and intensifying in spite of the beatings and shoot-to-kill policy of Israel's defense ministry.

Demonstrations were reported throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip while a round-the-clock curfew was still in force in Nablus and other refugee camps as well as Anabta, the scene of shootings that left two Palestinian youths dead February 1.

AL-FAJR

## ISRAELI TRADERS RECLAIM PRODUCTS

Israeli wholesalers are reclaiming products sold through Palestinian shops. The Israelis are acting on the belief that the occupation is coming to an end and they must repossess their goods to avoid suffering losses.

AL-FAJR

## SETTLERS SMASH CARS IN ANABTA

Israeli settlers drove through Anabta, the town in the Tulkarm area which is under curfew, blowing their horns and smashing windows of cars belonging to Palestinians.

AL-FAJR



Israeli soldiers dragging a Palestinian arrested in Ramallah this week.

## PHARMACIST UNDER ADMINISTRATIVE DETENTION

The Israeli authorities placed Izz al-Din al-Aryyan, a pharmacist, under a three-month administrative detention order. Aryyan is owner of Balsam Pharmaceutical Company and secretary of the Red Crescent Society in the occupied areas.

AL-FAJR

## SETTLERS ATTACK CAMPS

Settlers attacked al-Ja and Aydash camps near Bethlehem last night. It was learned that settlers entered houses and beat residents, and vandalized cars.

AL-SHA'AB

## PETROL BOMB THROWN AT ISRAELI BUS

A petrol bomb was thrown at an Egged bus in Wadi al-Joz quarter of East Jerusalem.

AL-SHA'AB

## LANDLORDS NOT COLLECTING RENT

Landowners in the Khan Yunis area have told tenants that they will not collect rent from them for three months in an effort to relieve shopkeepers who have been on strike for two months.

AL-FAJR

## THREE PEOPLE ADMINISTRATIVELY DETAINED

The Israeli authorities have placed Darwish Abu Rajab, 25, and Muhammad Howaty, 25, in administrative detention for six months. Salem Howaty, 19, is being detained for three months. All three are from Balata refugee camp near Nablus.

AL-SHA'AB

## 100 DUNUMS OF ARTAS LAND EXPROPRIATED

The Israeli authorities informed a landowner in Artas in the Bethlehem area that 100 dunums of his land has been expropriated. The landowner, Nassef Muhammad Rabeia, believes the land will be used to build a settlement.

AL-FAJR

## POLYTECHNIC CLOSED UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE

The Israeli military authorities have notified the head of the Polytechnic Institute in Ramat that it is to remain closed until further notice.

AL-SHA'AB



February 3

**WOMEN DIES, SIX INJURED, PROTESTS CONTINUE**

Assma Ibrahim Sababa, 24, a resident of Anabta, died in Tel Shehmer Hospital February 2. Six residents were injured by Israeli army gunfire in Dura, a town near Hebron, and Silwad, near Ramallah. At the crossroads in Beit Jala dozens of residents who stoned Israeli cars were dispersed by tear gas. There were also protests in Hebron, which sparked a total commercial strike. A curfew was imposed on Ayda and al-Azab camps, both near Bethlehem. Soldiers used tear gas and rubber bullets to disperse demonstrators in al-Azab camp. A curfew was still imposed on Nabbus, Askar, Balata, and Jalazoun camps and Bani Na'im village. In the Gaza Strip stone-throwing was reported, and a vehicle belonging to the prison authority was damaged. Gaza City and Khan Yunis observed a total commercial strike.

AL-FAJR

**STORE SHUTTERS DESTROYED IN GAZA**

Israeli soldiers smashed the shutters of 20 shops in Gaza Strip.

AL-FAJR

**MOUSE THREATENS LIONS**

Hundreds of Gaza Strip residents received letters from MK MK Meir Kahane telling them to leave the Strip or be killed.

AL-FAJR

**YOUTH KILLED IN TULKARM**

Israel Radio said that a youth was shot and killed in Tulkarm after he attacked a soldier. A curfew was imposed on the town.

AL-SHA'AB

**JABARI INVESTIGATED**

Israeli police called in Dr. Nabil Jabari, head of Hebron University board of trustees, for investigation. Jabari has been refused permission to travel.

AL-SHA'AB

**CONCRETE WALL DESTROYED**

The Israeli authorities tore down a concrete wall in al-Maghaby Street in Gaza City, claiming that stone-throwers hid behind it.

AL-FAJR

**SCHOOLS IN WEST BANK CLOSED UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE**

The "civil administration" in the West Bank has closed all schools until further notice.

AL-QUDS

**GAZA PRODUCE TO BE EXPORTED TO HOLLAND**

Israel Radio reported that the Dutch government is about to send a delegation to the Gaza Strip to discuss the possibility of exporting Gaza agricultural produce directly to Holland.

AL-FAJR

**FOREIGN JOURNALISTS VISIT SHU'FAT CAMP**

A delegation of foreign journalists including journalists from Belgium, France, Britain and Spain visited Shu'fat camp.

AL-FAJR

February 4

**CURFEWS IMPOSED ON TEN AREAS, DEMONSTRATIONS CONTINUE**

Protests took place in various parts of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Youths stopped an egged bus carrying workers from Yatta, a village near Hebron, and asked workers and the driver to get off the bus which they then burned. A petrol bomb was thrown at an Israeli military vehicle in Hebron where dozens of demonstrators were dispersed by soldiers who used tear gas and rubber bullets. Hebron observed a total commercial strike.

Curfews were imposed on Tulkarm, Anabta, Bani Na'im, Askar, Ain Beit al-Ma', Balata, Jalazoun, Ayda and Nabbus.

AL-FAJR

**STUDENT RELEASED**

A military court in Ramallah sentenced Najwa Safadi, a student at Bethlehem University, to two-and-a-half months in prison and 24 months suspended. She was released February 3 after she completed her term at Nave Tertzia prison.

AL-FAJR

**FOUR RESIDENTS INJURED IN BALATA CAMP**

Four residents of Balata camp were injured after the curfew was lifted. One was shot by a border guard, the other three were injured by rubber bullets. A demonstration broke out and a curfew was reimposed.

AL-SHA'AB

**SETTLERS TRY TO RAID BEIT SAHOUR**

Residents of Beit Sahour, a town near Bethlehem, said that settlers tried to break into houses and that suspicious articles were found in front of a number of residences.

AL-SHA'AB

**DURA, HALHOUL DECLARED MILITARY AREAS**

The Israeli army broke into Dura and declared Halhoul a

closed military area.

AL-SHA'AB

**THREE PASSENGERS INJURED**

Israeli bus No. 25 which serves Neve Ya'akov settlement was stoned and three passengers were injured.

AL-SHA'AB

February 5

**PALESTINIAN FLAG, ARAFAT'S PICTURE RAISED AT AL-AQSA; CURFEWS STILL IMPOSED ON 11 AREAS; DEMONSTRATIONS CONTINUE**

A demonstration broke out at al-Aqsa Mosque after Friday noon prayers. Demonstrators raised the Palestinian flag and Yasser Arafat's picture. Israeli soldiers arrested three people. In Hebron and Halhoul there were also demonstrations after Friday prayers. In the Arroub camp near Hebron soldiers used tear gas and rubber bullets to disperse demonstrators. In the town of Salem town, near Nabbus, a resident was injured by Israeli bullets and in nearby Howara village a child was injured by settler gunfire. Curfews were still imposed on 11 areas in the West Bank including Nabbus and Tulkarm, affecting more than 160,000 residents.

AL-FAJR

**RAMALLAH MERCHANTS REJECT EREZ SUGGESTION**

Ramallah merchants meeting with the head of the "civil

administration," Shaike Erez, rejected his proposal to exempt them from paying VAT if they end their strike.

AL-FAJR

**AL-MANFALOUTY SCHOOL CLOSED**

The Israeli military authorities have closed Manfalouty school in Deir al-Balah until further notice.

AL-FAJR

**EAST JERUSALEM SCHOOLS CLOSED**

Israeli mayor Teddy Kollek has closed schools in East Jerusalem. He claimed that students

are not attending classes.

AL-FAJR

**CARS CONFISCATED**

Customs officials in Gaza confiscated cars which belong to the drivers-training school, claiming that the owners did not pay customs duties.

AL-FAJR

**21 INJURIES IN GAZA STRIP, 8 IN WEST BANK**

Hospital sources in the Gaza Strip said that 21 residents were admitted to hospital after being beaten by soldiers. In the West Bank sources said that eight people were admitted to hospital.

AL-QUDS

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**Siniora**

Continued from page 7

to the conflict to an international peace conference, including the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Secretary Shultz, Siniora added, told them that the PLO has an image problem, and that any US contact with the organization remains conditional upon its recognition of UN resolutions 242 and 338, and thus Israel's right to exist. The secretary, Siniora said, told them that he will be involved in the peace process and "we felt he was sincere."

It is now being reported that because of Arab insistence that the US get involved, Ambassador Philip Habib, the former Middle East special emissary of President Ronald Reagan, conducted talks with King Hussein about the ongoing events and peace in the region. The precise contents of these talks is not yet clear.

Ambassador Habib was the author of the September 1982 PLO departure agreement from Beirut, which assured remaining Palestinian civilians in the Lebanese camps of US protection upon the PLO's departure. A few days later, Bashir Jamayel was assassinated in East Beirut,

the Israeli army entered West Beirut and allowed Lebanese forces to enter the camps, which ended in the massacre of more than 2000 Palestinian civilians at Sabra and Shatila.

Political commentators and other experts believe that the US will not, at this point, attempt to start a new peace initiative in the Middle East. Sending Habib to Jordan at this point is viewed here as only an effort to show some steps are being taken especially in light of President Mubarak's appeals on behalf of the Arab Gulf states and Egypt that the US initiate some action in the region. While the Arabs have been pushing for an international conference to resolve the conflict, the Israeli government is on record as rejecting this option.

The position of the US government has vacillated between definite opposition to such a conference to lukewarm acceptance and now to opposition again. This is exactly what Israel wants: for the US to oppose an international conference, to continue to promote direct negotiations between the parties, the PLO not being included, and now to openly favor Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's Camp David autonomy plan and Shultz's plan to improve "the quality of life" for Palestinians

in the territories.

Although it is agreed here that the Palestinian uprising has created an altogether new environment for possible progress toward peace negotiations, the Reagan administration detects no need to utilize these new conditions. This administration, experts agree, has never exerted much energy on the Middle East, and does not recognize the need to do so now, especially when the national election campaign is already under way.

In Washington, Abu Rahmeb and Siniora, met with other State Department and administration officials and also spoke on many television and radio programs about the uprising in the territories and the Israeli reactions to it. Their presence has undoubtedly confirmed the already numerous news reports from the West Bank and Gaza, showing what even American editorial writers have described as the brutality, savagery, and cruelty of the Israeli army. News reels have shown scenes of soldiers beating people on the head, breaking bones, plain-clothed Israelis aiming and shooting live ammunition at children and humiliating Palestinians. While all this is happening, the US Congress has remained silent and the administration's position has not been very different.



Maher Abukhater

## Uprising Rooted In Nationalist Feeling, Not Fundamentalism

The Palestinians who took to the streets in the Gaza Strip December 9 to protest the Israeli occupation were not dressed in long robes with beards covering their faces and chanting Allah Akbar (God is Great). They were young men and women, dressed in blue jeans and tennis shoes and calling "Down with occupation" and "Palestine is Arab."

These young Palestinians, many of whom were born and grew up after the 1967 Israeli occupation, were motivated to take to the streets by their desire to become free, not by a divine order to establish a religious state in the Gaza Strip.

This does not negate the fact that Muslim fundamentalists did take part in the protests. After all, the uprising was popular and Palestinians from both genders, of all ages and political thinking, took part in it and suffered its dire consequences in bodily injuries and imprisonments.

There has been a recent emphasis, even by knowledgeable commentators and observers, that Muslim fundamentalists were behind the uprising. Whether this confusion is intentional or not is besides the point. What is important is that the uprising began after the Palestinians in the occupied areas became frustrated enough to see an unwanted occupation lingering on without an end

in sight.

An accumulated frustration over a 20-year period reached boiling point in December and erupted into violent protests which have not died down since, but which have increased in intensity and taken on an organized and well-planned form. These protests began and continued out of a general desire to be free. Not only fundamentalists feel this, but every Palestinian, regardless of their religious background or interests.

The Christian community in Palestine joined in a week of prayers for freedom. Christians came to the churches last Sunday to pray for justice and then marched in the streets in support of the general Palestinian call for independence. They received the same reception from the Israeli soldiers that protesters in all the occupied areas have been given. The marches were stopped and dispersed by force and many people were arrested. Christian clergy were beaten as they led the march.

The uprising is influenced by nationalist feelings, not simply by religious ones. The protesters were expressing national sentiments by demonstrating and closing their shops and businesses. The whole country has joined in calling for an end to occupation, not only fundamentalists.

## Yousef Nasr Remembered

Fourteen years ago, and on February 6 exactly, Yousef Nasr al-Nasr, founder and editor of the Jerusalem-based *Al-Fajr* Arabic daily, disappeared from his home in mysterious circumstances.

To date, Yousef's whereabouts are still unknown. Although it is believed that he was killed after being abducted from his home in Jerusalem, his body was never recovered.

Nasr's kidnapping was linked to the strong line he took against the Jordanian regime and against traditional figures in the West Bank, particularly the then mayor of Hebron, Sheikh Muhammad Ali al-Ja'bari, known for his close relations with Moshe Dayan, then Israeli defense minister, and the Jordanian regime.

After extensive police investigations, a number of suspects were arrested, including several people from the al-Ja'bari family, a close associate of Nasr and one of the editors at *Al-Fajr*, Jamil Hamad, and a Hebron bus driver named Yasser Karaki.

Nasr's abductors, except for Karaki, escaped justice in circumstances as mysterious as Nasr's disappearance. Karaki was the only one to be indicted, serving just a part of his six-year prison sentence. The rest of the suspects, including Hamad, were released, apparently after direct intervention from the Israeli defense ministry, as the Hebrew press reported at the time.

In fact Hamad, one of the prime suspects in the planning of the kidnapping, continues to live in the West Bank, where he is employed by *Time* magazine, and writes columns for the pro-Jordanian



Yousef Nasr

*Al-Nahar* newspaper.

Hamad, then an editor at *Al-Fajr* newspaper, was the first suspect to be arrested in connection with Nasr's kidnapping. Several other people arrested in connection with the case were released, but Hamad remained in custody for nearly three months as strong evidence pointed to his involvement. On April 9, 1974, and during a remand session at the Israeli magistrate's court in Jerusalem, the judge decided to remand Hamad in custody for 15 days, arguing that the evidence provided by the police meant he was no longer a suspect, but had been accused of planning to abduct Nasr with the intent to kill him.

In a confession to the police, Karaki said that he and several other members of the al-Ja'bari family from Hebron such as Shahdeh al-Ja'bari, Sammour al-Ja'bari and the driver of Sheikh Muhammad Ali al-Ja'bari, Fattouh al-Ja'bari, carried out the abduction of Nasr. Karaki also testified that

Saeb Erakat:

## There Is No American Initiative

The United States this week proposed an initiative to give a push to the peace process in the Middle East in light of the two-month-old uprising in the Israeli-occupied areas. This initiative calls on Israel to allow free elections in the occupied areas, with those elected to set up an autonomous body that will be the nucleus for a larger autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The initiative, presented by US Secretary of State George Shultz, says that after the elections, Israel and Jordan will sit down to discuss Jordanian administration of the autonomous Palestinian entity. An independent Palestinian state is not an intended outcome of this autonomy plan. The discussions on autonomy, based on a broader interpretation of the Camp David accords, would start following the Israeli and American national elections scheduled for November of this year.

*Al-Fajr's* Nehaya al-Hadid talked to al-Nahar University professor of political science Saeb Erakat about his views on the American initiative.

**Q: What do you think of the US initiative for peace in this region?**

**A:** I do not believe there is anything called an American initiative. There is an American attempt, similar to previous ones, to push forward its strategy for direct bilateral talks. American policy is based on the idea of rejecting the international peace conference which the Arabs and the international community are asking for.

The United States works on the principle that the parties concerned with the conflict should come up with new initiatives and agree on something before international intervention. This US policy is what obstructed the convening of the international conference which is the body to decide the future course of development in this region.

How is it possible to reconcile Yitzhak Shamir's "the land and peace principle," with, for example, the Arab demand of "land for peace"? The US administration ought to have approached the Soviet Union and the other permanent members of the UN Security Council to find an internationally acceptable solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

**Q: Certain individuals seem to have faith in the American initiative. What do you think they are hoping to accomplish by this?**

**A:** I do not understand the logic in going after mirages. There is no new American initiative. There are American efforts to push for bilateral and direct talks and the autonomy mentioned in the Camp David accords which is already

he was recruited to take part in the abduction by Jamil Hamad, who introduced him to the other men, and who promised him JD1,000 for his part in the plan. The money was to be collected from Shahdeh al-Ja'bari in Amman, Jordan.

In its verdict the court ruled that the testimony given by Karaki, and which incriminated him, also incriminated others such as Jamil Hamad and Shahdeh al-Ja'bari. The testimonies of



history and which our people has rejected many times.

**Q: There appear to be a number of Arab and international initiatives at this time calling for peace moves. Do you see these initiatives as attempts to abort the current uprising or are they leading to an appropriate political solution?**

**A:** I do not see any serious initiative offered other than the UN Secretary General's report and a letter by the Soviet Foreign Minister, Edward Shevardnadze, to the UN Secretary General.

The Arab world and the international community should realize that the road to peace can come only through an authoritative international conference with the participation of all concerned parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization. Anything other than this will not be worth the paper they are written on.

**Q: Do you think the uprising creates pressure on the Arab and international communities to move quickly for a settlement?**

**A:** The uprising reflects the dreams and ambitions of the Palestinian people for political independence. Three messages were sent with this uprising:

1 - to Israel and Israeli decision makers telling them that the status quo, the perpetuation of the occupation and subjugation of the Palestinian people cannot go on forever;

2 - to the international community telling them that the Palestinians have the right to live like the rest of the world community, which means the right to decide their political, economic and cultural future.

3 - to the Arab world telling them very clearly that the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to choose their representative is negotiable.

both men, which contradicted Karaki's indication that either Karaki was lying or that both men were lying. Since the evidence indicated that Karaki's story was true, Hamad and al-Ja'bari were lying, the court ruled.

The court, however, stated that since both Hamad and al-Ja'bari had not been charged [by the prosecution], they had no authority to say anything about their role in the kidnapping. The case stopped at this point.