المتحف الفلسطيني
the palestinian museum
جمعية غير حكومية Non-Governmental Association

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العدد ٢٦٨ من جريدة الفجر، ٢١ حزيران ١٩٨٥

الفجر والصادر بتاريخ العدد ٢٦٨ من النسخة الإنجليزية الأسبوعية من جريدة تصدر باللغة الإنجليزية حزيران ١٩٨٥، وهي الجريدة الوحيدة التي كانت ٢١ العدد مجموعة من الأخبار في الأراضي المحتلة منذ نيسان ١٩٨٠، حيث تناول المحتلة.أهمها انتهاكات الاحتلال الإسرائيلي في الأراضي

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In War for Beirut Camps

Syrian Sponsored Ceasefire Sticks

Red Cross officials completed evacuating wounded Palestinians from Shatila and Burj al-Barajneh refugee camps June 20 as fighting around the two camps died down. The lull in the fighting followed the signing of an agreement in Damascus June 18 between the Palestinian National Salvation Front (PSF), the Amal Movement, and the Lebanese National Front (LNF), which aims at putting an end to the battle between Amal militias and Palestinian fighters which started May 19.

Foreign news agencies reported that Red Cross convoys evacuated more than 160 wounded Palestinians to hospitals in West Beirut and the Shouf mountains east of Beirut. The evacuation of the wounded took two days and ended on Thursday June 20.

Food and medical supplies are scheduled to be transferred to the beleaguered residents who remained in the two Palestinian refugee camps. According to UNRWA reports, nearly half the 14,500 refugees who lived in Shatila and Burj al-Barajneh have fled during the past month.

These steps fulfil the first provisions of the agreement mediated by Damascus between the PSF, Amal, and the LNF. The agreement, which was severely criticized by the PLO leadership in Amman and to a lesser extent by the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), called for a separation of forces, and a withdrawal of Amal militias from around the camps before a joint PSF-Amal-LNF committee starts collecting heavy weapons from the camps. The agreement stated that Palestinians inside the camp can keep their light weapons. The agreement also stipulates that all prisoners and captives held by both sides will be released, and that Palestinian refugees will be allowed to return to their camps and receive assistance to rebuild their homes. On the controversial issue of security inside the camps, the agreement says that security measures in the camps must be arranged in the context of security plans for all of West Beirut. The agreement states that the committee in charge of security in the camps, formed after the April meeting held in Damascus between various Lebanese left-wing and Muslim leaders, should coordinate security affairs with the NSF. At that meeting, it was decided that security in Beirut is the responsibility of internal Lebanese security forces, including the 6th Brigade of the Lebanese Army. The 6th Brigade, which is largely Shi'ite, became notorious for helping Amal militias during their month-long seige of the Palestinian camps.

The agreement came under strong criticism from Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad), member of the Fatah Central Committee and a close aid to PLO chairman Yasir Arafat. Speaking to the Agency France Presse, Abu Jihad describes the agreement as "a Syrian conspiracy to disarm the Palestinian camps." He particularly attacked the agreement because, as he said, it dealt with the PNSF as if is represents the Palestinian people, hence bypassing the PLO.

The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) also issued a statement in Beirut June 18, welcoming the ceasefire agreement, but expressing its opposition to "disarming the Palestinian camps." The DFLP, said that it was necessary to maintain the Cairo agreement of 1969, which gave the PLO the right to control the refugee camps and to launch military attacks against Israel from south Lebanon.

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UN relief trucks carrying food and medicine to the Burj al-Barajneh camp./AFP Photo.

Army Destroys 10 Jiftlik Homes

Israeli military authorities demolished 10 houses belonging to Palestinian farmers in the Jiftlik area in the Jordan Valley June 13 on the pretext that they were built without permits. The measure, which is the third demolition campaign in the same region within six months, was described by Palestinian farmers as an attempt to pressure them to abandon their land so Israeli settlements could be built.

According to Jiftlik residents, more than 40 soldiers and policemen accompanied by a bulldozer raided the Arab agricultural settlement on Thursday morning at 10:00 am and gave the 10 home owners only a few minutes to evacuate their belongings. Farmer Mohammed Taha, one of the home owners, told *Al Fajr* that as soon as they had emptied their homes, the bulldozer moved in one by one on each house and turned it into rubble. Meanwhile the farmers, who have just finished harvesting their winter vegetables, moved to other temporary shelters on their land.

Taha, who farms 300 dunums which he leases from landowners who reside in Nablus, said the Israelis picked 10 residents who had been previously served with demolition notices last December. Taha admitted that none of the 10 houses had been licensed. However, he asserted that when most of the houses were built two years ago, the owners didn't put on concrete roofs because they realised that the structures were unlicensed. Instead, they roofed them with metal sheets so they would be considered shacks which by law do not require permits. Taha said he also applied to the Israeli authorities for a permit last year, but never recieved an answer.

For years more than 1000 Jiftlik farmer families have been facing housing problems. The most serious problem is allocating plots of land for farmers to build

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Civil Administration Report:

Palestinian Taxes Now Pay for Occupation

Israeli officials in the Civil Administration for the West Bank and Gaza recently disclosed taxes levied on Palestinians in the occupied territories have dramatically increased to the point where administrating the West Bank and Gaza "hardly costs the Israelis anything."

The latest information was made public June 17 when the Civil Administration released its annual report and marked the departure of Freddy Zach, the fifth head of the three-year-old Civil Adminstration.

According to the report, the sum of 187.4 million in taxes was collected from the local population in 1984, an increase of 39 percent over the previous year in real terms. The report indicated that the taxes collected from Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza were enough to pay for the Israeli administration of the occupied territories (excepting military expenses) in addition to re-establishing the "development fund" which had been halted since 1980. The report covers the period between April 1, 1984 — March 31, 1985.

For the past few years, Palestinians have been protesting the high taxes imposed on them as well as the Value Added Tax (VAT) which has been collected on all merchandise since 1976 in violation of international law. Palestinian government teachers have also complained that their salaries have been reduced in real value to more than half of what they were two years ago. The Israelis have repeatedly rejected demands from government workers, particularly teachers, that their salaries be increased 100 percent. Teachers who participated in a two-hour strike last May have been severely reprimanded by Israeli officials. The civil administration's annual report also included new infor-

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IN THIS ISSUE

Freed passengers slide from the hijacked Boeing on a tobbogan at the Beirut International Airport./AFP Photo.

Each Waits for Other to Capitulate First

Israel, US Play Holding Game in TWA Hijack

While US officials were searching last week for a face-saving formula for the release of passengers and crew aboard the TWA plane hijacked by Lebanese Shi'ite gunmen June 15, the hijackers insisted their demands be met and Israel kept a low profile.

The hijackers took over the TWA 727 plane after it left Athens airport and flew it back and forth between Beirut and Algiers. They demanded that Israel release 700 Lebanese Shi'ite POWs held in Israeli jails. They also demanded that Greece release a Lebanese Shi'ite who had been seized at the airport after the hijacking and was apparently an accomplice, and that Spain release two Lebanese Shi'ites due to go on trial for attempting to kill a Libyan diplomat. The Greek government acceded to the hijackers demand early in the affair and most of the Greek passengers on the plan were released.

Israel hinted that it would be willing to release the Shi'ite prisoners but only if the US government submitted an explicit request for it to do so. The US has so far refused to strike a deal with the hijackers or to ask Israel to release the prisoners.

Early in the week, while the plane was parked in Beirut airport, the hijackers released about 20 of the passengers, many of them women and children. To demonstrate the seriousness of their threats, they also shot and killed a 23-year old American man whom they identified as a US marine and threw his body out of the plane. Later in Algiers, another 63 passengers were released after Algerian officials boarded the plane and negotiated with the hijackers.

The gunmen then ordered the pilot to fly the plane back to Beirut where, fearing an imminent Israeli attack, they took the remaining 40 passengers off the plane, leaving only the crew and the hijackers aboard, and took them to various undisclosed locations around Beirut. There were reports that passengers with "Jewish-sounding" names were segregated from the rest and held by Hizballah, the radical Islamic party. Amal leader Nabih Berri also stepped into the affair by sending several Amal militia units to the airport area to protect the hijackers in case of attack by American or Israeli forces and appointing himself mediator between the US and the Shi'ite gunmen. Other Amal units took positions along the Beirut coast and reportedly fired several rounds of ammunition at unidentified vessels that roamed the sea near the Beirut coast. The US Sixth Mediterranean fleet that includes the carrier Nimitz cancelled a scheduled stop at an Italian port and was seen heading towards the Lebanese coast.

Berri told reporters June 18 that the only way for the American captives to be released was for Israel to let go of the 700 Shi'ite POWs held in Israel. "The 700 Lebanese in Israeli jails are also innocent and should be released," he said. "If Israel does not release them then I, as mediator, will wash my hands of the case," Berri warned.

US President Ronald Reagan, in response to Berri's threat, warned that he held Berri responsible for the safety of the captives. He added that his government will not budge to the Shi'ites' demands, saying that "although we are concerned about the well-being of the hostages we cannot reward the terrorists by answering their demands."

Other statements coming from the US capital indicated that the US and Israel were in agreement on the eventual necessity of releasing the 700 captives, but that they were searching for a face-saving formula that would not make it look as if they gave in to terrorist demands. White House spokesperson Larry Speakes told reporters June 18 that the Israelis were prepared to release the Shi'ite prisoners but that "it is the hijackers who stand in the way of their release." He said Israel "had announced and was proceeding with a phased release of the Shi'ite prisoners and we firmly believe that the successful conclusion of the hijacking incident would result in the continuing release of the Shi'ite captives."

Israeli officials, on the other hand, made it clear that the US has made no offical request that Israel do anything about the ordeal. Israeli Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev declared on June 17 that "there is nothing for Israel to do. It is an American plane, with American hostages and American crew." " We are not going to go ahead of the Americans," another Israeli official declared.

Speaking on ABC's Nightline programme June 19, Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin told the American public: "Let's not play games, if there is a request on the part of the US...please come out and say it. It's not up to me to decide. If there is a demand, the Cabinet will have to make a decision. What do you expect Israel to do? You say, we are not going to give in to terrorist demands. But you expect us to do so, even if you don't ask us to do so."

The Washington Post reported that the US had asked Syrian President Hafez al-Assad to intervene. President Reagan was also due to meet Red Cross officials June 20. The Red Cross, however, has said it will not act as mediator in the affair.

The hijacking of the TWA plane which overshadowed the month long bloody siege by Amal militias of Palestinian camps around Beirut and the Middle East peace moves, was the third in two weeks in the Middle East. On June 12, Amal militiamen demanding the expulsion of all Palestinians from Lebanon seized and later blew up a Jordanian plane. The next day a lone man believed to be a Palestinian hijacked a Middle East Air plane. He abandoned it a few hours later when he heard the first hijacking had ended.

For "I Love Palestine" Shirt

Police Harass Boy, 11,

A scuffle between local Jerusalem residents and Israeli border police in East Jerusalem June 14 resulted in the hospitalisation of a 70-year-old man and the detention of two others, *Al Fajr* has learned.

Police also arrested 15 youths the same day on the pretext that they hurled stones at Israeli army vehicles. The arrests occurred during evening celebrations at Damascus Gate for the last Friday of Ramadan.

Seventy-year-old Hassan Amleh, an employee of the Islamic *Waqf*, spent a night in Maqassed Hospital in East Jerusalem suffering from concussion and several face and chest bruises. Hospital sources told *Al Fajr* that his injuries seemed to have been caused by "blows from blunt objects and fists."

According to an eyewitness, a border police patrol of seven soldiers near Herod's Gate in East Jerusalem intercepted an 11-year-old Jerusalem boy who was wearing a T-shirt with 'I love Palestine' written on it. Police reprimanded the child and wanted to know where he bought the shirt. The child burst into tears. Passersby who gathered to watch, voiced protest at the way police bullied the child.

The child's father, who was nearby, arrived and demanded that his son be left alone Amleh, a relative of the father, also arrived and demanded the same. According to the eyewitness, the border police called in a back-up unit of four security men. "They all jumped on the child's father, Amleh and others who had voiced their disgust at police behaviour and started beating them up." The police apparently used clubs, gun butts and fists against the crowd.

This confirms a report by Hassan's son, Ibrahim, also a *Waqf* employee, who said that four Israeli security men attacked his father and beat him with machine gun butts and their fists.

Hassan fell unconscious and was rushed to Jerusalem's Maqassed hospital by a fellow Jerusalemite. Border police detained several other people and took them to the Russian Compound prison where they were held for several hours. All, except for two, were then released on bail. The remaining two detainees, a relative of the child and a visitor from Khan Yonis, were held in the prison for 48 hours. Hassan Amleh was released from hospital 24 hours later. Family sources told *Al Fajr* that it will take at least a week for Amleh to recover fully.

The Islamic *Waqf* issued a strong worded statement condemning the attack on Amleh.

Released Prisoner Re-Arrested

Israeli military authorities re-arrested ex-prisoner Ahmad Abu Tahhan, from Jabalya refugee camp June 17 on the pretext that he refused to show his ID card to Israeli border policemen.

Tahhan, 21, was released May 20 in the prisoner exchange agreement between the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC) and Israel in which 3 Israeli soldiers were swapped for 1150 Palestinian prisoners. He was serving a 20-year sentence.

According to Israel Radio which reported the arrest, an Israeli Border Police unit stopped Tahhan as he was walking near Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza strip and demanded to see his identification papers. The report said that Tahhan refused to show his papers and resisted their attempts to make him do so.

The police then resorted to force, and arrested Tahhan. He was charged with attacking the policemen, the radio report said.

If the charges prove untrue, Tahhan's arrest could constitute a clear violation of the prisoner exchange agreement, in which Israel promised that released prisoners would not be harassed or re-arrested unless they commit a crime.

The Border Police are notorious for harassing local residents in the occupied territories, often assulting and arresting innocent bystanders for no reason.

Two other ex-prisoners were re-arrested in Jerusalem for unclear reasons.

For May 7, 22 Strikes

Gov't Teachers Face Strict Disciplinary Measures

Israeli military authorities have taken more than 60 teachers from the Hebron district to disciplinary committees during the last two weeks because of the government teachers' strikes last May 7 and 22.

According to sources in the Hebron Regional Committee of Government School Teachers, a branch of the General Committee of Government School Teachers in the West Bank (GCGST), the Israeli officer in charge of education summoned 50 teachers to appear before a disciplinary committee at his office in Beit-El June 17. The Israeli officer, As'ad Araydi, reportedly reprimanded the teachers for their role in the strike and threatened to fire those who participate in any future strikes.

Earlier on June 9, an impromptu disciplinary committee decided to deduct seven days pay from the salaries of 11 women teachers in the Hebron district. Teachers said that they were summoned by the Hebron area education director, Mohammed Rashed al-Ja'abari, and immediately brought before the disciplinary board. The board consisted of Araydi, Bashir Khanfor, the liaison officer for all West Bank education department offices, and Ja'abari, the head of the Hebron area education department.

Araydi reportedly threatened the teachers and tried to pressure them into apologising for the strike. The teachers, however, pointed out that the strike was legal since the GCGST had given the Israeli authorities prior notice of their intention to go on strike. Araydi, however, maintained that he does not recognise the GCGST, only the head of the education department in the West Bank.

The Hebron-area Regional Committee of Government School Teachers held an emergency meeting in Hebron June 15 to discuss the Israeli measures. The committee decided to sponsor the legal proceedings which teachers have decided to initiate in order to stop the authorities from deducting one week's salary.

One committee member told *Al Fajr* that the manner in which the disciplinary committees were used contradicts standing regulations within the Jordanian Civil Service Law, which still officially applies in the West Bank. The teachers said that the way the disciplinary committee was set up violated the Civil Service laws. Furthermore, according to the law, the government must notify teachers in advance and allow them to respond in writing to the charges levied against them.

Sabastia Man Complains of Police Harassment

A Nablus-area man complained June 15 that his attempts to open a new restaurant have been continually thwarted by harassment from Israeli officials who are acting on behalf of his competitor.

Omar Hafez Kayed, 45, a resident of Sabastia village in the Nablus district, said that his rival, another Arab resident of Sabastia, has pressured Israeli authorities not to grant him a building permit and forced him to remove a tiny prefabricated room he had erected on his land. Kayed said his problems started shortly after 1967 when he and his partner split up. They had been jointly running a restaurant that served tourists who came to see archeological sites at Sabastia. Since then Kayed has succeeded in his business, but his partner has not.

Four years ago, Kayed applied for a permit to build a new restaurant on his own land on the outskirts of town, because buses don't reach the site where his present restaurant is located. His request was continually turned down, despite the fact that building permits were granted in all directions around Kayed's land. Attempts to solve the problem legally repeatedly failed. Even a promise from Shlomo Ammar, the Israeli official in charge of internal affairs in the West Bank military administration, did not come through.

Last year Kayed bought a prefabricated room in Nablus and placed it on his land. "The room is three-and-a-half by six metres. It had a bed and a desk for my sons to study," Kayed told *Al Fajr*. But the room only reaped increased harassment. Israeli officials started visiting Kayed and asking if he had a permit for the room. "I didn't dig or build anything; such a room doesn't need a licence," Kayed repeatedly told Israeli authorities. In fact, out of the 650 such rooms sold by the Nablus dealer, not one had required a licence. Kayed responded by contacting MKs Mohammed Watad (Mapam) and Abd al-Wahab Darawsheh (Labour). But the Arab MKs' efforts were in vain.

Last month the military administration's Zoning Committee in Beit-El, near Ramallah, summoned Kayed to ask him if he had obtained a licence for the single room. Last week on June 11, the Nablus military governor summoned Kayed and told him that the room would be blown up if it was not removed by June 13. When Kayed asked the governor where he was allowed to move the room, the governor said, " to military headquarters in Nablus." According to Kayed, the governor promised him the proceeds. As to the cost of moving the room (JD110), Kayed had to bear it himself.

Israeli policemen inspect the bus stop at the French Hill settlement where a home-made bomb exploded.

Rash of Bombings Scares Israelis

Military attacks against Israeli targets in the West Bank, Gaza and within the 'green line' increased more sharply last week than in previous weeks.

Most of the attacks involved explosives charges that were planted in various public places. By Israeli police accounts, there were at least four bomb explosions. Two other bombs were dismantled before they went off. The latest explosion occurred on June 19, when an explosives charge went off in Kiryat Gat, east of Asqalan. Israel Radio said the bomb was placed near the Iskur factory, but inflicted no casualties. Police rounded up a number of Arabs who happened to be in the vicinity.

One day earlier, two explosives charges exploded at bus stops in Ramot settlement and the French Hill suburb, both near Jerusalem, within five minutes of each other. One woman was wounded. Israeli police sources told journalists that the bombs were homemade and consisted of matchheads and gunpowder. Israeli police rounded up about 30 Arabs from the vicinity of the explosion, but later most were released.

In Tel Aviv, two explosive devices were discovered attached to gas cylinders in residential buildings. Both were dismantled before they went off. Israeli police closed off the area and rounded up more than 32 Arabs for questioning. Most were released later.

Earlier in the week, an explosives charge was found and safely detonated in the Tnuva dairy factory in Afula, near Nazareth. This was the third time that explosive charges were planted in Afula in less than three weeks.

In the Gaza strip, an Israeli military jeep came under small arms fire June 17 as it drove on the main road towards Khan Younis, near Wadi Gaza. Soldiers were summoned to the area to close down the roads and search the area. There were no reports of any arrests.

In another incident, a petrol bomb was thrown at an Israeli military patrol in al-Maghazi refugee camp in the Gaza Strip June 16. Israeli soldiers sealed off the area and rounded up a number of people for questioning. No injuries were reported in the attack.

Meanwhile, the police investigating the killing of an Israeli soldier in Gaza last week revealed that the soldier was killed and brought to Gaza in a car. Earlier, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) claimed responsibility for the killing. The PFLP said that its units, which operate underground in the occupied territories, kidnapped the soldier, killed him and dumped his body in Gaza.

Among other smaller incidents in the West Bank, two petrol bombs were hurled at Israeli patrols in al-Fawwar and Dheisheh refugee camps, near Hebron and Bethlehem respectively, on June 17. Israeli Radio said there were no casualties in either of the two incidents.

SAMI KILANI

Town Arrest Renewed for Najah Lecturer

Israeli military authorities have renewed the town arrest order on Najah University lecturer Sami Kilani for a period of six months effective June 12. Kilani, 33, a resident of Ya'abad town near Jenin, has had his movements restricted by town arrests since December 1982. According to the conditions of his town arrest, Kilani may not leave his town during the day or his house at night. He is also required to sign in at the local police station every day to "show presence."

Kilani had requested that his town arrest be transferred to Nablus where he works but his request was denied. Kilani has nevertheless kept active writing poetry and articles for local newspapers and magazines.

Over 40 other residents of the occupied territories live under difficult forms of restrictions including town arrest. These include people who are not allowed to travel to Israel, to travel to their place of work, or to study at their universities.

Gush Emunim Demo Attests to Rise of Anti-Arab Sentiment

An estimated 50,000 Israelis attended a Gush Emunim demonstration June 16 calling for the death penalty for Arabs who commit crimes against Israelis, which attested to the fact that radical extremism is on the rise in Israel. In its report on the demonstration that night, Israel TV stressed that "what we are about to show are only the mildest excerpts from the speeches at the Gush Emunim demonstration. We do not broadcast the more extremist statements, because they contain ideas that violate Israeli law."

Spectators at the rally wildly cheered speakers from Gush Emunim, Kach, and other right-wing extremist groups when they demanded house demolitions, deportation and death penalty for Palestinians who attack Israeli targets. Speakers also demanded the expulsion of the Arab population, the closure of West Bank universities, and the re-arrest of all ex-prisoners released in the May 20 exchange.

Several Israeli Knesset members spoke at the rally, including MK Uzi Landau (Likud), who called for the immediate re-arrest of all the Palestinian prisoners released May 20 and allowed to stay in the country. MK Avner Shaki (National Religious Party) demanded demolition of 'terrorists' houses, deportation of their families, and the reinstatement of the death penalty. MK Michael Eitan (Likud), who was supposed to deliver a speech, declined to do so and left the rally when he heard the extremist statements that issued from the podium. "This is not the demonstration I expected," he said.

Supporters of Kach leader MK Meir Kahane dominated the demonstration and called on the Israeli government to "persuade all Arabs to emigrate to other countries." They called for the death penalty for any Arab who is convicted in Israeli courts of attacking Israelis or Israeli property. The death penalty was eliminated in the West Bank and Gaza in 1967.

These calls were reiterated by representatives of Gush Emunim who had originally planned the demonstration to call for the release of Jewish terrorists convicted of attacking Arabs. Daniella Weiss, secretary of the ultra right-wing settler group, demanded in her speech that the Israeli government abrogate its agreement with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC) which resulted in the release last month of 1150 Palestinian political prisoners. She said "It was not normal to release terrorists who threaten to kill or actually kill people." Weiss also called on the Israeli government to close down Bir Zeit, Hebron and Najah Universities.

Zamir's ruling won him virulent criticism from Levinger, who blasted Zamir for being "against Jews and in favour of Arabs," accused him of "distorting justice," and called on him to resign. Speaking at the Israel Bar Association two days after the demonstration, Zamir warned that the Israeli legal system is now in serious danger of being replaced by "the rule of the street."

The Association for Civil Rights in Israel has also warned, according to *The Jerusalem Post*, that "there is a tendency to call for discrimination in passing sentences." The Association has set fighting reinstatement of capital punishment as its number one priority for this year, an Israel Radio reporter said. According to Peace Now activist Amiram Goldblum, the right-wing groups have always demanded clamping down on Palestinians inside Israel and in the occupied territories to obtain certain objectives, like emptying the area of Arabs and having an all-Jewish state that includes the West Bank and Gaza. Goldblum played down the effect of the Jewish Emunim demonstration on Israeli society and government, saying that "the demonstration only serves to embarrass Israeli society in the world community." Peace Now had planned a counter-demonstration in Tel-Aviv the following weekend but decided to cancel it because the right-wing demonstration was "too unimportant to worry about," according to Goldblum.

UNRWA Announces New Cuts

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees (UNRWA) has decided to cut further services to Palestinian refugees in the Middle East because it lacks the necessary funds to implement those services, UNRWA announced June 19.

UNRWA, which had previously cut its 1985 budget of US$205 million by US$40 million, will implement several austerity measures aimed at saving a further US$2 million from this year's budget. If US$18 million are not received soon, UNRWA will have to cut services further, the agency announced.

Cuts planned in the agency's services which are provided for over 2 million Palestinian refugees in four Middle Eastern countries, including a halt to construction of three schools in Syria, a 15 percent reduction in staff for certain programmes, and cutbacks in overtime payments and certain staff allowances.

Furthermore, UNRWA will stop distributing school supplies to refugee children except for a limited number of pupils whose families qualify for welfare assistance. It will also stop providing boarding at its training centres except for students who live very far away.

These cuts, which are sure to inconvience many refugee families already living on subsistence level incomes, were taken "with much pain," according to an UNRWA press release. "After allowing for special contributions by several governments and for adjustment in exchange rates, we still need another US$18 million if further and more severe cuts in services are to be avoided," the release stated.

Army Destroys 7 Yatta Hamlets

Israeli military authorities demolished seven tiny Hebron-area villages, June 18 displacing nearly 200 families, in order to convert their land into a military training zone.

According to residents of the town of Yatta, the Israelis are now busy levelling off the seized land, which stretches about 100 square kilometres between the Dead Sea in the east and the 1967 border. The Israelis are reportedly preparing to build a military airport and other facilities in the area.

According to Yatta sources, the Israelis moved on the land on June 18, the first day of the *Id al-Fitr* Muslim feast, and began demolishing shelters, grain storages, and water wells in Janbeh, Bir al-Ghawanmeh, al-Markaz, al-Halaweh, al-Fkhayt, al-Tabban, and Makouret al-Tabban villages, all located east of Yatta. The villagers, some of whom have other houses in Yatta, were forced to take their sheep and move elsewhere.

One of Yatta's *mukhtars*, Mohammed Abu Iram, told *Al Fajr* that one day before the demolitions, Israeli military authorities summoned him and the other Yatta *mukhtars* to Hebron military headquarters and told them that villagers must leave their land soon.

The Israelis moved in on the villages of al-Markaz and Janbeh in the same area two weeks ago and destroyed 11 houses there. The villagers, however, reportedly remained on their land until they were forced to leave along with the others whose houses were demolished this week.

The land was declared a closed military area one-and-a-half months ago. The Israeli authorities then informed Yatta notables that the land was being seized for "military purposes."

Israeli Economy on Verge of Collapse

The Israeli economy degenerated further last week as strikes and labour unrest hit major cities and factories and paralysed services throughout the country. Partners in the economic "package deal" conducted last October reacted to the latest wave of strikes and the government's inability to get the economy under control and implement budget cuts by threatening to pull out of the deal July 5, one month ahead of schedule. Over 60 manufacturing plants throughout Israel gave their employees a compulsory three-day holiday June 19 to protest the Israeli Labour Federation (Histadrut)'s refusal to approve price increases which they claim the Israeli government had already approved. Plant representatives who met with government officials to discuss the issue June 20 argued that the failure to allow price increases to go into effect has forced them to produce at a great loss.

As a result of the strike, several food items were unavailable from supermarkets. Plant representatives warn that more strikes will ensure if their demands are not met.

Petrol stations and gas distributors also went on strike June 19 demanding a 50 percent increase on sales commissions. The strike, originally scheduled to last 24 hours, was extended until June 23 in retaliation for a government 'back-to-work' order to 150 of the 450 striking stations. In price increases last months, the government allowed gas distributors a 14 percent increase on commisions. Domestic gas distributors vowed at the beginning of their strike not to sell gas even in emergency cases unless demands for a 50 percent increase are met.

Garbage piled up on the sidewalks of all major Israeli cities after municipal workers went on strike June 16. They demand a wage increase. An injunction by the Israeli National Labour court, however, forced all municipal workers except those in Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv to go back to work June 18. Several cases of gastro-enteritis were reported in the two cities as a result of the uncollected garbage that became a breeding area for infected flies.

Furthermore, 30,000 workers belonging to Israeli public workers' unions have declared that they will announce a labour dispute on June 23. They demand a wage increase. Taxi drivers who have been on strike for over a week ended their strike June 17, after government officials promised to look into their demands for a 40 percent increase in fares.

Garbage piles up as municipal workers strike.

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Repercussions of the Lebanon War

As Israel completes the third stage of its announced pullback from Lebanon, the aftermath of the brutal invasion which led to the occupation of an Arab capital is being felt in Israel, Lebanon and around the world. The hijacking of the TWA airliner by Lebanese Shi'ite gunmen who are seeking the release of their relatives and comrades held in Israeli jails can be seen as just one of the repercussions of the ill-advised Israeli invasion.

Back in the 1970s, we Palestinians painfully learned the lesson that although hijacking planes attracts the world's attention to a particular situation, it also brings with it the world's wrath, condemnation and disgust.

The Israeli army's continued detention of over 700 Lebanese prisoners in Israeli jails must be equally condemned by world public opinion. Israel's transfer of prisoners of war from occupied areas to jails within its borders clearly violates international law. Furthermore, the continued detention of these Lebanese citizens even after Israel has declared that it has officially withdrawn from Lebanon similarly defies all accepted international norms. Claiming it intended to release the Lebanese prisoners anyway, the Israeli government is now balking on the issue, hoping to extract moral and possibly financial concessions from the Americans before releasing the illegally held prisoners, who have never been charged or brought before a court of law.

As details of the hijacking operation emerge, we feel it is necessary for us to set the record straight as far as our attitude as Palestinians to the manner in which it was carried out, particularly the discrimination aimed at certain passengers on the TWA flight.

The Shi'ites' separation of passengers with Jewish-sounding names must be condemned by all Palestinians for the racist connotations that it carries. We as Palestinians who have been discriminated against because of our national origin have always rejected any form of discrimination against individuals for their religious beliefs. We have always been careful to make a distinction between Jews and Zionists. We find discrimination against the TWA passengers because they have Jewish-sounding names as repulsive and morally repugnant as discrimination against Palestinians by any people or government in the world.

While American officials are searching for formulas to solve the current crisis, the only thing they have failed to do is to make a critical assessment of their attitudes towards Lebanese, Palestinians and all Arabs during the past few years. The encouragement that the US gave to Israel and its failure to put an early end to the war that started in 1982 will continue to bear negative fruits for Israel and the US for years to come. World history has taught us an important lesson: you can determine when to start a war, but you can never predict when it will end.

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A Palestinian View of the Lebanon War

by Sami al-Aboudi

Last week, the Israeli government announced the completion of the third and final stage of the withdrawal from Lebanon. The pullback signals the failure of Israeli efforts to achieve the political goals for which they initiated the war. It also reflects the heavy price they were paying for their stay in Lebanon. The official casualty toll now stands at 654 dead and nearly 3900 wounded, almost as many as Israel lost during the 1967 war, which was fought against the combined forces of Egypt, Syria and Jordan.

One of the main characteristics of the Lebanon War was that Israeli, American, and Arab interests overlapped. Whether it was a result of careful planning or sheer coincidence, Israel, the US and pro-Western Arab regimes all shared a common interest in the destruction of the PLO. All perceived the PLO as an obstacle to any Middle East settlement which must be eliminated — or at least weakened — before a political settlement could be reached.

From the moment Israel set foot in Lebanon it was obvious that the announced Israeli goal — to insure safety to the Galilee — was merely a flimsy pretext to direct a death blow to the PLO as a political power. Facts show that during the 11 months prior to the Israeli invasion, the PLO complied with a ceasefire agreement reached through US mediation and supervised by the UN, following heavy exchanges of fire across the border between Palestinian forces and Israeli troops. Israeli journalist Amnon Kapeliuk wrote that the Galilee was safer for the 11 months while the ceasefire held, during which period no Israeli was killed.

Thus the Israeli motive for the war was purely political. It is now self-evident that Israel wanted to crush the PLO in order to pave the way for its own terms for a political settlement in the region. The head of the Israeli civil administration in the West Bank and Gaza, which was established to facilitate the implementation of the autonomy scheme, repeatedly appeared on Israeli TV, or gave interviews to the Hebrew press, and told Israelis that the army was fighting the PLO in Lebanon in order to eliminate its influence on the population of the occupied territories. They wrongly assumed that once the PLO was destroyed, the Palestinian people in the occupied territories would loose hope in the establishment of an independent state and would accept autonomy. The Israelis, however, soon realised their calculations were erroneous when they were forced to combat thousands of Palestinians in the streets of the West Bank who demonstrated in support for the PLO. The Israeli plan suffered a further setback when the "Village Leagues" failed to attract any popular support. By then, however, the Israelis were so deeply involved in Lebanon that they could not withdraw empty-handed. Likewise, Israel failed to impose an agreement on Lebanon and make it the second Arab country after Egypt to sign a peace treaty. In the end, however, Israeli troops found themselves being chased out of Lebanon by an ever-growing militant resistance which did not balk at using suicide attacks against the occupation army.

Even though Israel succeeded in getting the PLO to leave Beirut, it could not eliminate the PLO from the Middle East formula. In fact, the ruthless Israeli invasion attracted the world attention to, and sympathy for the plight of the Palestinians and sharply highlighted the urgent need to solve the Palestinian problem. The American response to this world outcry, however, took advantage of the weak position of the PLO, and attempted to further undermine its role.

The Americans' eagerness to eliminate the PLO was clear from the terms of the Reagan Plan, which US President Reagan presented in a public address immediately after the PLO's departure from Beirut. The gist of Reagan's plan called for a political settlement between Jordan and Israel and ignored the PLO. The plan represented a new push on the part of the US administration to reach a political settlement to the Palestinian problem, exploiting the weakness of the Palestinian organisation.

The Arab world, particularly the pro-Western Arab states, stood idly by throughout the invasion and watched the annihilation of the PLO. All they were ready to offer was a few condemning statements. Even the symbolic forces which most Arab states used to send to fight against Israel during previous wars never arrived. Following the war, the Arab states played an active role in pushing the differences which emerged within the Palestinian organisation to a split. This, naturally, was another phase in the attempt to weaken the PLO and to diminish its role.

Since then, pro-Western Arab countries have been trying to extract concessions, step-by-step, in order to hammer out a position which would be acceptable to the US and Israel. This hammering is also continuing on both the political and military fronts.

At the same time, Amal's onslaught on the Palestinian camps, whether knowingly or not, is pushing the Palestinians to believe that the military option is no longer feasible, and that the only way out is to accept the minor role that the US, Israel and the Arab regimes are offering them.

The only light at the end of the dark tunnel is the Palestinian national unity that was achieved in the trenches of Sabra, Shatila, and Burj al-Barajneh refugee camps. Through national unity, the Palestinians have succeeded in overcoming many difficult situations in the past. The national unity maintained during the Lebanon War successfully aborted all Israeli schemes, and today it could help the Palestinian resistance out of the mud which the Arab regimes played a big role in dragging them into. It is, however, important to assert that this national unity must be based on common ground which can really unify the Palestinian struggle. An Arab proverb states: One hand cannot clap alone. ■

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Amal's Aim: To Eliminate Palestinian Military Independence

by Awad Abdel Fattah

To most Palestinians and political observers, the brutal attack on the three large Beirut refugee camps by the Amal militias came as a great surprise and even as a shock. Two of the three camps, Sabra and Shatila, have hardly overcome the trauma of the 1982 massacres by the Israeli-backed Phalangist forces, and the scar is still bleeding. What is more surprising and painful is that this new crusade against the Palestinian refugee camps was not launched by the bloodthirsty Phalangist forces or by the Israelis, but by one of the Palestinians' allies who played an effective role in full cooperation with the Palestinian resistance against the Israeli occupation forces. What worries Palestinian leaders most, is that all the national achievements made possible by the joint struggle of the Lebanese National Movement (LNM) together with Amal and the Palestinian resistance after the Israeli invasion are now in real danger. The attack has also set back the reconstruction of the PLO infrastructure in the Palestinian camps to defend them and to resume the struggle for a real democratic and Arab Lebanon, as a part of the struggle against Israel which wanted Lebanon to be isolated from the Arab world with a collaborating government. The fact that the LNM and the Palestinian resistance forced the Israelis to evacuate Lebanese territory and to cancel the May 17 agreement, thereby weakening the isolationist option, is a success not only for the Lebanese people but also for the Palestinian people.

Therefore the questions which now arise are: How did things reach this stage between Amal and the Palestinian resistance? And what is behind the silence and passive role of the Syrian regime which previously gave full backing to the struggle of the Lebanese people against the Israelis and which has embraced the opposition Palestinian organisations that have played a vanguard role in this struggle?

The Amal Movement

Amal belongs to the Shi'ite community, which is the largest of the Lebanese communities. It is mainly concentrated in south Lebanon in tens of poor villages.

The Shi'ite community has long suffered political and social discrimination and neglect from the Lebanese government. Therefore the community's main concern has always been to achieve social and economic equality and a just share in the country's political system. During the 1975-78 civil war the Palestinian resistance movement helped Amal to form an armed militia to face the Phalange. But facing the Israelis has always been a secondary goal for Amal. This stems from the nature of its political programme, which separates the Lebanese problem from the Palestinian question. The fact that the two groups had different priorities was mostly behind the frequent minor clashes between the two before 1982. These divisions weakened joint cooperation in confronting the Israeli invasion. Only a small number of Amal fighters fought alongside the Palestinians during the siege of Beirut, while in the south Amal did not take any role against the Israelis during the invasion. Even after the Israelis tightened their siege around Beirut and started to work towards setting up a client regime in Lebanon, Amal was not among the Lebanese national forces which refused to accept the new reality and initiated the armed struggle. It was the leftist Lebanese organisations such as the Communist Party, the Organisation of Communist Action and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party which ignited the spark of armed resistance against the Israeli occupation forces. Contrary to Amal's political platform and ideological line, the organisations which comprised the Lebanese National Resistance Front have always held that the Palestinian issue can't be separated from any other pan-Arab issue, including the Lebanese problem. They also differ with Amal on the question of confessionalism. While Amal refused to cancel sectarianism in Lebanon, the leftist organisations advocate a true democratic regime in Lebanon with a radical social and economic transformation on the ruins of narrow sectarianism. This is exactly why Amal has always refused to be a member in the Lebanese National Movement in general, specifically in the Lebanese Democratic National Front that was formed in October 1984 — comprising the organisations mentioned above in addition to Walid Jumblatt's Socialist Progressive Party — for the purpose of continuing the struggle against the Israeli occupation and achieving radical social, economic and political reforms. Being a sectarian group, Amal has always chosen to work outside the nationalist framework, but to work in coordination with it to a certain extent.

Amal joined the armed struggle against the Israeli occupation only late in 1983. At the beginning, Amal's attitude toward the new reality which was created by the Israeli occupation of Lebanon was similar to that of the official leadership of the PLO — that Lebanon and the whole area have fallen under the American grip and only diplomatic means can effectively solve the Lebanese and the Palestinian problems. But this analysis collapsed, and the facts on the ground proved that the opposite was true. The Syrian-backed alliance of Lebanese national forces and Palestinian organisations which rejected the official PLO leadership's political position forced the Americans — whose presence in Lebanon became somewhat of a military occupation when the New Jersey aircraft carrier shelled nationalist positions — to leave, and also forced the Israeli army to withdraw.

Amal's late participation in the armed resistance was motivated by a number of factors. First, the involvement of most of the Lebanese national forces in the armed struggle increased their influence on the course of events and on Lebanon's future development at the expense of Amal which aspires to an influential role in the politics of the country. Second, radical religious groups such as Hizballah (which is believed to be responsible for most of the suicide operations) emerged in the Shi'ite community and criticised Amal for not taking part in the armed struggle. In other words, Amal's reformist leadership was forced to compete with these radical religious groups in order to retain its control of the Shi'ite community. Third, like the rest of the Lebanese, the Shi'ite community was directly affected by the Israeli policy of economic disruption and military oppression during its occupation of the south.

> Only a small number of Amal fighters fought alongside Palestinians during the 1982 siege of Beirut.

As a result, Amal's role against the Israeli occupation forces has rapidly expanded since 1983. The Israeli news media almost stopped talking about the involvement of leftist groups who preferred to avoid media attention and started to give wide coverage to Amal's activities. Amal's growing role was based on the demographic predominance of the Shi'ites in south Lebanon and on the increasing involvement of religious leaders who made use of religious sentiments to spur on national struggle.

So, the Israeli invasion and occupation of Lebanon was the primary factor which strengthened and reinforced Amal's position in the internal Lebanese conflict and enabled it to become a key force which none of the other parties can ignore.

The Israelis were closely observing Amal's development and correctly concluded that Amal would stop its military operations as soon as the Israelis completed their withdrawal from Lebanon. It is no accident that Israel gambled on Amal even at the height of Amal's military operations and expressed readiness to submit the south to Amal to maintain 'security' — that is, to prevent Palestinian fighters and other Lebanese national forces from carrying out cross-border operations against Israel.

This does not mean that we underestimate Amal's effective contribution to Lebanese national victories. But, as mentioned above, Amal's participation in the armed national resistance was motivated by a well-defined purpose, namely, expanding the Shi'ites' share in the Lebanese political system.

Provocation Before Attack

As the Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon neared completion, Amal leaders started to issue statements on and to take measures in the Palestinian camps, which fulfilled Israeli expectations and their gamble on Amal. A few weeks before the overall attack on the Beirut camps, Nabih Berri stated that he would not allow any operations across the border. Also Amal militias carried out provocative measures against the Palestinians in the south, such as setting up barricades near the Palestinian camps and disarming their residents. This behaviour was a clear step towards preventing the Palestinian camps from arming themselves, which ironically serves the purpose of the Zionists and the reactionary Arabs, who have so far failed to strip the Palestinians of their militant gun.

Amal started to move against the Palestinian armed presence in the camps only after it felt that it no longer needed Palestinian organisations as an ally in its struggle. It has now achieved its primary goals. But this was not the stand of the Lebanese Democratic National Front (LDNF) which supported the return of an armed Palestinian presence to the refugee camps and eventually drew up a working paper with the Palestinian Salvation Front just a month before Amal's attack on the camps. Even Amal agreed on most of the points in the working papers but it seems Amal only agreed under the LDNF pressure and then waited for an excuse to violate this agreement and start its campaign to eliminate the armed presence in the camps and impose its control over West Beirut. The excuse was a minor scuffle between Shi'ite militiamen and Palestinian fighters shortly before the attack.

The Syrian Attitude

Syria's support for Amal's attempt to eliminate the armed presence in the camps has come under fire from all Palestinian factions. The official leadership of the PLO went so far as to accuse the Syrian regime of executing an agreement reached with Israel and the US. The Salvation Front and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), which have chosen to cooperate with the Syrian regime in the joint struggle against the American and Zionist plans in the area, saw things differently and rejected this accusation. But they were also critical of Syria's passive stand on the massacres. They believe the Syrian regime can bring Amal's attack to a halt. The Syrian regime, though nationalist, has always tried to control the Palestinian resistance. But the Pale-

Continued on page 10

The Israeli Histadrut and the Palestinian Worker

by Awad Abdel Fattah

The fact that the Labour Party, which has always controlled the Israeli workers' union (Histadrut), lost ground among Arab voters in more than 46 Arab communities inside the 'Green line' in the May 13 Histadrut elections echoes the disappointment of Palestinian workers at this union's long standing policy towards the Arab sector.

The majority of Arab votes went this time to the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE) whose membership is largely Palestinian.In Nazareth and Taibeh, two of only four Arab communities which have workers' councils (the other two are Shafa 'Amr and central Galilee), the DFPE has become the dominant force instead of the Labour Party which has been reduced to a minority. In many Arab villages, the DFPE got more than 70 percent of the vote.

However, this notwithstanding, very little change is expected from the Histadrut in the Arab sector because the political force which has controlled the Histadrut and which is responsible for the general policy towards the Arab sector is still there. Palestinians inside the 1948 borders of Israel feel they have been discriminated against and ignored by the Histadrut leadership, and that so far no radical change in its policy has been made in their favour. To a large extent, this explains the drop in Arab support for labour Histadrut representatives.

A History of Discrimination

Until 25 years ago, Palestinians who are citizens of the state of Israel had been excluded from membership in the Histadrut. This policy was adopted when the Histadrut was first established in 1920, and it was clearly reflected in its name, 'General Federation of Hebrew Labourers in the Land of Israel.' Clearly, the Histadrut did not have the interests of Palestinian workers in mind when they set up their federation. Because of this Palestinian workers established their own unions which united to become a general Palestinian union in 1946, called the Arab Workers Congress, which played both a unionist and a political role. Jamal Musza, a veteran Palestinian communist unionist from Acre, explained that the Zionists who controlled the Histadrut refused from the beginning to listen to ideas proposed by some Jews and Palestinians that the union should be an Arab-Jewish one, "based on the principle of joint struggle against the British occupation and the racist Zionist trend."

Instead, the Histadrut established a separate union in 1927, called the Federation of the Workers of Palestine, for Arab workers only but directed by the Jewish Histadrut leadership. "The purpose of this," said Salim al-Qassem, who has been active in unionist work since 1940, "was to undermine the independent Palestinian unionist struggle." He explained that the Histadrut's hostile attitude to the independent Palestinian union was motivated by the fact that these "unions opposed and exposed the Zionist plan against our Palestinian people and workers."

The Histadrut's refusal to accept Arab members did not cease immediately after the establishment of Israel. It followed this policy for a number of years and maintained a separate union for the Arab members, whose name was changed to The Association of the Workers of Israel, but which still failed to attract very much support from Palestinian workers.

The Arab Workers Congress continued to operate as an independent body for five years after the establishment of Israel. On June 4, 1949 it held its first conference and set up branches in different Arab villages and towns. Many workers who belonged to this union were unable to find jobs in Histadrut-owned projects and workplaces, and they were not allowed to subscribe to health insurance in the Histadrut-medical fund, Kupat Holim. These measures were initiated in order to force workers to cut off all relations with the Arab Workers Congress. Jamal Musza told *Al Fajr* that the Histadrut's policy of "siege and deprivation" had exacerbated the plight of the Palestinians, who still had not overcome the trauma of 1948 with all its implications.

So the leaders of the Arab Workers Congress — who were predominantly communist — decided to disband the congress and wage a struggle to join the Histadrut in order to get at least the minimum services, in particular health insurance and the right to work. They felt that struggle from inside the Histadrut would be more effective. They brought the case to the Knesset for debate after a series of protest actions were organised. In 1954, the Histadrut finally decided to provide Kupat Holim health insurance for Arab workers. In 1960, Palestinian workers were officially accepted in the Histadrut and in 1964, they voted for the first time in the Histadrut elections for which a number of parties competed.

While the Community Party views this change in Histadrut policy towards Arabs as a fruit of its struggle, others see it differently. For example, Mohammed Mahamid, 52, a veteran worker and activist in the *Abna'a al Balad* movement which boycotts both the Knesset and Histadrut elections for ideological reasons, views this step as part of the Histadrut's ongoing war against any independent Palestinian unions inside Israel. He told *Al Fajr*, "The Palestinian workers within the 1948 borders of Israel were only allowed to join the Zionist trade union (Histadrut) after 80 percent of the Arab population of Palestine had been expelled from their country, thus the 20 percent that remained constituted a powerless minority in the face of an overwhelming majority."

Arab workers demonstrating in Nazareth against unemployment and inflation.

No Real Change After Joining Histadrut

Despite the 25 years that have passed since Palestinians were allowed to become members in the Histadrut, they are still discriminated against and deprived of most of the services provided for Jewish workers.

First of all, instead of putting the affairs of the Arab workers in the hands of Arab unionists, the Histadrut set up something called the Arab Department of the Histadrut in the late 1950s, consisting of Jews who are believed by many Arab unionists to be intelligence officers. "This" said Musza, who has been directly involved in unionist work for the last 25 years as elected representative for the Israeli Communist Party, "was done on the pretext that the Arabs don't have unionist knowledge and consciousness, a pretext which is baseless because we have led unions since 1920."

The overwhelming majority of Palestinian communities have no workers' councils, which are responsible for following workers' issues and problems and raising them in the central office of the Histadrut. According to the Histadrut rules, every community with a population of 1500 or more is eligible for a workers' council. However, there are only four elected workers' councils in the entire Arab sector which were all set up after 1965. They are in Nazareth, Taibeh, Shafa 'Amr and the Galilee centre which comprises 13 Galilee area villages. In other Arab areas , there are appointed workers' councils, or Palestinian villages are annexed to neighbouring Jewish workers' councils or there are no councils at all. For example, in Rahat village in the Naqab there is a predominantly Jewish workers' council. According to Jamal Musza, 67 percent of the Arab workers who number about 145,000 are not represented by workers' councils, and 103 villages don't have any workers' representation body . This means that there are no Histadrut services whatsoever in these villages. If those workers face any problem with their employers they have to travel to places where there are workers' councils.

Discrimination in services between the Jewish and the Arab sectors is very clear. Although the Histadrut controls 25 percent of Israeli industry, it has not built or set-up a single factory in the Arab sector,"which forces most of the Arab workers to commute for hours to workplaces in the Jewish towns," remarked Musza.

Suheil Thyab, a member of the elected workers' council in Nazareth, talked about Nazareth and the Jewish "Nazareth Elite" as an example of discrimination in Histadrut services. There are 160 factories and workplaces in Nazareth Elite which has only 11,000 workers. Arab Nazareth, with 28,000 workers, doesn't have a single factory, and therefore 61 percent of its workers must commute to workplaces outside the town every day. There are six clubs for workers in Nazareth Elite, but there are none in Arab Nazareth. There are 12 kindergartens in Nazareth Elite for workers' children. In Arab Nazareth there are none. There are 11 sports branches in Nazareth Elite, but only one branch in Arab Nazareth.

There are no night medical clinics for the Arab sector except in Nazareth, "while the clinics which operate during the day in most of the Arab villages are not giving services on par with those in the Jewish sector," said Suheil Thyab.

Another form of Histadrut discrimination against Palestinian workers is in housing. The Histadrut-owned workers' housing company has built 150,000 apartments all over the country in which 550,000 Jews live. Not a single Arab worker lives in Histadrut-built apartments despite the fact that Palestinians in Israel, mainly in mixed Jewish-Arab cities like Jaffa, Ramla, Lydda, Haifa and Acre, face an acute housing shortage.

There are hundreds of Histadrut vocational schools for the Jewish sector, while there are only two for the entire Arab sector.

Histadrut unemployment offices have only been opened in some large Palestinian villages and towns, so that most Arab workers have to commute on a daily or weekly basis to have their names registered for unemployment benefits.

The situation is not easy. Palestinian workers still have a long way to go to bring about a real change in their conditions. ■

Perspective on Israel's Lebanon War

Three Years Later

by Michael Lowry

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The Grand Plan

[illegible]

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been below

[illegible]

A Dirty Little War

[illegible]

Zero Hour

[illegible]

[illegible]

"After the Phalange had massacred the Palestinians, the refugees were supposed to finally understand that... they had no choice but to flee."

[illegible]

General Sharon

[illegible]

Israel's Image

[illegible]

Conclusion

[illegible]

Below is the sixth and last of a series of interviews conducted by *Al Fajr's* **Kate Rouhana** with Arabs who are members of the Israeli Knesset. The seventh MK, Tawfik Zayyad (DFPE), refused to be interviewed.

Arab Members of Knesset

Mohammed Watad:

Mapam's Veteran Arab

Born in 1937 in Jaljulia in the Triangle, Mohammed Watad finished high school in the village and went on to Tel Aviv University for his BA in Middle East and African Studies. During college he worked as a journalist, writing primarily for three MAPAM affiliated publications, Al Hamishmar *(Hebrew),* Al Mirsad *(Arabic), and* New Outlook *(English). He also wrote occasionally for the Hebrew theatre. One of his plays,* Coexistence, *was the first Hebrew play written by an Israeli Arab to be produced in Israel (1971).*

Watad defines himself as "Palestinian by my geopolitical belonging, Arab by my nationality, Israeli by my citizenship, and Muslim by my religion."

Watad is currently serving his second term as an MK with MAPAM. Recently he brought before the Knesset a law against racism, one of his major projects, which was overwhelmingly defeated.

On his political background: "I became involved in politics when I was around 16. I joined the Communist youth movement — *Maki*, as it was called then — during the fight against military administration in the Arab areas. Later I came to the conclusion that it would be more useful to find a progressive Jewish party inside the Zionist movement, to join it and fight with it for equality and coexistence, civil rights for the Israeli Arabs, and for a solution to what we used to call the Israeli-Arab conflict.

"In 1965 I came to the conclusion that the main problem is the problem of the Palestinian nation, not just an Israeli-Arab conflict. So in '69, I think I was the first Israeli Arab to write in favour of establishing a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. The Communist Party attacked me very hard, because they were still in favour of returning the occupied territories to Jordan. They only recognised Fatah and Yasir Arafat and adopted the idea of fighting for a Palestinian state in 1970-71."

On who represents the Palestinians: "The war in Lebanon finally convinced me that we cannot speak just about the Palestinians; the only representative of the Palestinians is the PLO. I think it was a result of the ugly war against the Palestinians, and also of recognising developments inside the PLO over the last 10 years."

On his membership in a Zionist party: "Between '67 and up till today, I tried to bring more Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza to the Israeli population for a direct dialogue, and I tried to convince different sectors of the Israeli public that the one way to reach a real peace — actually to practice the main part of the Zionist idea — is to have a peace with the Palestinians. Because the Zionist movement says that the idea of establishing Israel was and still is to give Jews a shelter, a safe shelter. There can be no safe shelter without an agreement with the Arabs, mainly the Palestinians. So paradoxically, if there will be a peace between the Jews and the Palestinians, the Palestinians will help the Zionist movement practice its main aim. But there is no other way for the Palestinians, either. When they speak of peace negotiations with the 'democratic forces' in Israel, who are they? Let's say we have a dozen thousand 'democratic forces' in Israel, but the very big majority, more than 99 percent, is Zionist. And a peace agreement will be signed with their representatives.

"This actually was the main idea which brought me to the decision, 30 years ago, to move from the Communist Party to Mapam. And it is still a main idea for me today...

"This is my second term in the Knesset. I was elected in '81. We have a kind of list elections. I was elected inside the party, in spite of my different positions. I'm not quite in the consensus of the party; I'm supposed to be on the left, especially for the last three or four years. I was not sure that I would be elected again to the Knesset, and I passed with only 60 percent of the votes of the centre of the party, which is unusual. The second term, MKs are usually elected again by 90 or 95 percent.

"We have our own internal laws, and according to these laws, the Arab member must be the fifth on the list to make sure that he will be elected."

On discrimination in his party: "There is no doubt that among even the so-called Socialist-Zionist parties, there is no equality between Arabs and Jews. It's a kind of discrimination which you cannot prove by documents. It's not just a feeling either. I think somewhere these parties actually do not believe in total partnership between Arabs and Jews, in parties or in the state. The fact is, that in parties where you find the Arab supporters in the majority, the Jews are really equal to the Arabs. But in the parties where the main support comes from the Jewish population, there is no real equality; there is no equality in practice, in all fields. It's a result of two things: on one hand, even the progressive Jewish sectors are still afraid of the Arabs — it's a kind of mentality. And on the other hand, the Arabs did not fight quite strong enough to become equal inside these parties.

"In the Labour Party, you'll find the so-called "Arab section" and the same in MAPAM. For example, in my party the principle is that in any kind of activity, there must be a Jew and an Arab together — but only in the Arab areas. You cannot find even one Arab who is responsible for a Jewish area. And you will never find an Arab who represents his party in a sensitive position.

"If this continues, I think there will be no way but to find a new formula for the Arabs in Israel of being separate from Israeli Jews in terms of organisation, and together in terms of a minimum programme for peace. This is the model at least discussed now in the Arab circles, among intellectuals."

On who he represents: "Because we are elected on one list, we are supposed to represent the party and the voters of the party. But by my nature, I'm supposed to represent first of all the Arabs, or the Arab interests in Israel. And the Arabs are Palestinian by their geopolitical belonging, Arab by nationality, Israeli by citizenship, Muslims, Christians, Druze and others, which makes it very difficult. But our main target is to fight for civil rights of the Arabs inside Israel. We also try to represent the people in the West Bank in the sense of their daily living and problems.

"Racism is the most urgent and direct problem that we have to deal with..."

On what MAPAM has done for the Arabs in Israel: "My party did a lot in the 1950s. It was unbelievable what this party did by bringing young Arabs to the kibbutz, and training them in different fields of life. Also in politics.

"MAPAM was influential because of its history in the Zionist movement among the Israeli Jewish public. It led the struggle against the military administration and expropriation of land. The first literature in Arabic in Israel was printed by MAPAM, and so was the first literature magazine — *Al Fajr* — and other things. This is for the past. Since MAPAM became a part of the Alignment, it did not do much directly for the Arabs in Israel or for the Arabs at all."

On the solution to the Palestinian problem: "MAPAM, in principle, is in favour of self-determination for the Palestinians, but MAPAM prefers a Palestinian-Jordanian solution, which I see

Continued on page 11

MAPAM, a small left-wing socialist-Zionist party, broke away from the Alignment (with the Labour Party) after the 1984 elections, when Labour joined the national unity government with Likud. MAPAM has six seats in the current Knesset. Below are excerpts from its platform:

Principles of Peace:

1. The Land of Israel-Palestine is the common homeland of the Jewish people returning to their land and the Palestinian Arab nation, a part of which lives here and part in exile. This community can be jointly expressed through partition of sovereignty over the Land of Israel between both peoples.
2. Self-determination for every people is part of the development of national consciousness and cannot be granted from without. These legitimate rights to self-determination, to expression and to independent national existence are unlimited, other than by the rights of another nation to sovereignty, peace, and security.
3. The state of Israel will be a beacon to the Jewish people only so long as it rigorously guards its democratic character. A pre-condition for this is not ruling over another people, and living within borders with a largely Jewish majority.

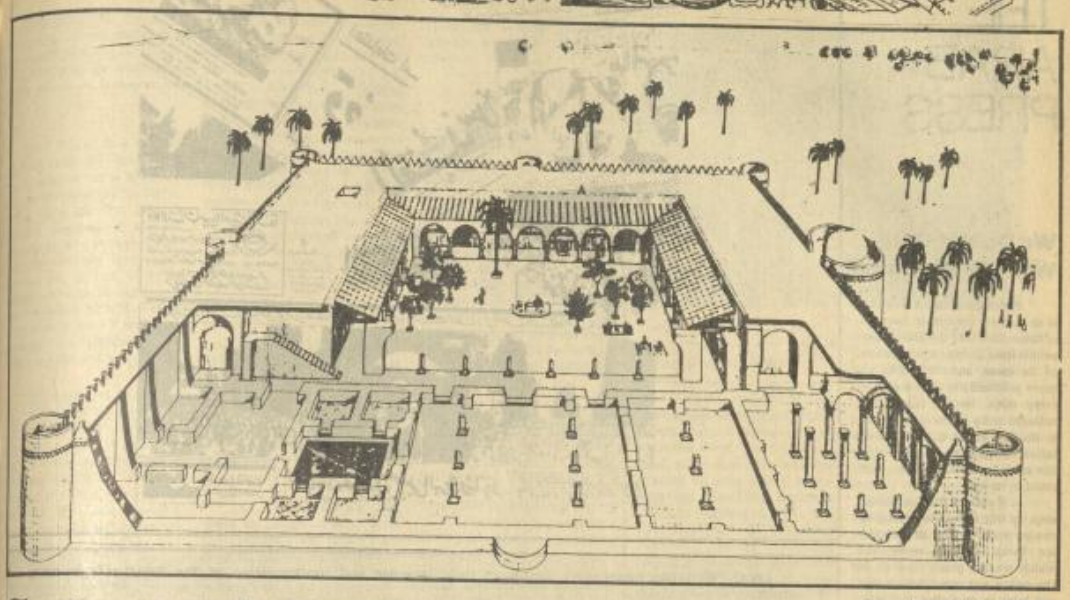
On the Palestinian Problem:

1. Simultaneous, mutual recognition of both peoples' right to self-determination, Jewish and Palestinian.
2. Recognition of sovereignty of all the states in the region.
3. Peaceful borders determined through negotiations will be recognised and agreed upon by all sides.
4. All parties involved will be free to come to the negotiating table with any opening position. Non-acceptance of the opening position by the opposite side will not constitute a reason for the termination of the negotiations. Any agreement reached through the negotiating process will be honoured by all parties. All parties will recognise it as a permanent solution unless otherwise agreed upon.

MAPAM recognises the many advantages of a solution based upon a common Palestinian-Jordanian framework. MAPAM will stress that this approach represents the Israeli side in the negotiations, but because of our desire to mention all options in future negotiations, we leave this question of the type of sovereignty to be determined in the negotiating process.

Israel must declare its willingness to give up most of the West Bank and Gaza Strip for an historic compromise while standing firm on its solution to Israel's real security requirements.

MAPAM favours a Palestinian-Jordanian state, but respects the will and desire of the Palestinians to establish an independent state — on the condition that they will do so after the peace agreement is signed.



General view of al-Menia Palace.

Testimony to the Umayyad Heritage

Al-Menia Palace

by Anton Farah

The Umayyads constructed luxurious castles in remote rural regions far from densely populated areas where they enjoyed tranquillity, solitude, and a leisurely life near lakes and beautiful landscapes. Al-Menia Palace, which was built by the Umayyad Caliph Walid Ben Abdel Malek, and other palaces such as Hisham's near Jericho and Anjar near Baalbek, were all built on lovely sites near lakes and rivers. Some palaces were built near fertile plains which were used as estates for princes or government tax collectors. Others from the same Umayyad era were designed to contain vast gardens, hunting grounds, and magnificent courtrooms. These castles were usually inhabited by the ruling class, sons of caliphs and their friends. The Umayyad caliphs also built castles which contained warehouses for agricultural purposes.

Al-Menia Palace was built on the northwestern shore of Lake Tiberias, 200 metres south of a water pumping station which supplied water from Lake Tiberias to the Naqab. Surrounded by the Hittar plains and the Amoud valley, the palace is believed to have been built between 705 and 715 BC. *Menia* in Arabic means a small port. It is also used to refer to many bays alongside the Nile river. There is no doubt that the Umayyads benefited from the surrounding landscape, enjoying the charm and serenity of Lake Tiberias for recreation and relaxation. Archeological documents indicate that there was a road connecting the castle to the Tiberias plains. The documents say that the road was 240 metres long and flanked by marble pillars. No trace of this road and its pillars remains today. It is believed that the Umayyads had inherited the aristocratic habits of their Byzantine predecessors, who made the Galilee the home of their aristocratic class.

It is also certain that forests surrounded al-Menia palace. This area, which also served as a nature reserve, was named "Khair land." It was fenced by a wall four metres high that extended for eight kilometres. The Khair land was used as a hunting ground and for breeding rabbits and deer. It was also used by government officials and bureaucrats. The palace gardeners planted it with fragrant trees and flowers such as jonquils, musk roses, willows, and henna. These same trees can also be observed around Hisham's palace in Jericho.

It is easy to prove that Caliph Walid Ben Abdel Malek built the castle. This has been deduced from gold coins engraved with the name Walid Ben Abdel Malek which were discovered in the area of al-Menia palace. Abdel Malek's name was also engraved on a marble stone at the entrance of the castle.

The palace's golden era was under Umayyad rule. In later eras, it was apparently neglected by the Abbasids and others. The European crusaders who constructed luxurious palaces in Banias, Befourt, Tubnin and Tyre also did not renovate the castle. Al-Menia palace is mentioned in Mamluke documents dating from the 15th century. According to these documents, the Mamluke Katabi, the ruler of Egypt, lived in the castle only for a short period en route from Tiberias to Safad. Under Turkish rule, poor Arab peasants lived around the palace.

Archeologists say that excavations at the palace were not difficult because it is simply designed and it was only used for a short period. The palace building was square. Each side was 70 metres long. The entrance was situated on the eastern side. It was surrounded by a wall 4.5 metres high and 1.5 metres wide. The base of the palace was made of rock and the building was limestone. Circular pointed towers were built at the palace fortress. These towers led a German excavation group in 1932 to wrongly assume that the castle had served as a military Roman citadel. The excavation group discovered their error when they examined the eastern main entrance which had clearly not been constructed for the purpose of defending the palace or the surrounding area. The group also realised that the palace was located far away from the main urban centres of the time, such as Jish, Tiberias, Safouria, and Jidra. The excavators concluded that the Roman design used in construction did not mean the castle was built by the Romans.

The entrance to the palace is also square. Each perimetre side is 6 metres. Two big domes decorated with engraved roses were built atop the entrance arches. Under the entrance arches, there are niches which were once decorated with statues.

After passing through the entrance, one finds a courtyard 12 by 7 metres large. Beyond the courtyard, there is a roofed yard which was decorated with pillars. A 260 square metre mosque is located on the south side of the yard. It has both an internal door for palace inhabitants and an external door for villagers.

Archeologists have not yet found adequate explanations for certain areas of the palace. For example, although cooking tools and a stove were found at the site, it remains unclear which rooms served as dining hall and kitchen. Archeologists believe that the rooms on the northern side served this purpose, but they are not certain because rooms there were apparently also used by the palace guards. It is also not clear how water was channeled to the palace from Lake Tiberias, which is located 300 metres away. Archeologists discovered a net of ceramic pipes, and they believe that water was piped to the palace from the lake. Ceramic pots were fixed in both the rooms and the courtyards for drinking, bathing and heating the palace. ■

Anton Farah is a tour guide from Kufr Bur'im in Upper Galilee.

Eastern entrance to the palace.

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

Local Palestinian newspapers continued their coverage and condemnation of the Beirut refugee camp assaults.

On Saturday, June 15, all local Arabic papers highlighted the Muslim celebrations on the last Friday of Ramadan. Newspapers ran photos of thousands of Muslims crowding al-Aqsa Mosque courtyard for the Friday prayers. Monday's papers were full of advertisements celebrating *Id el-Fitr*. *Al Mithaq* daily declined to publish any ads because of the bloodshed in Beirut.

Because of Ramadan, local papers were not published Tuesday and Wednesday, June 18 and 19.

We Do Not Only Wish, We Demand

Palestinian national unity is an historic conviction because of the existence of the Palestinian people itself and the continuation of its cause and its ability to move politically to face events in every stage. So the talk about national unity is really the same as the talk about the implementation of it and about correcting the mistakes and problems that stand in its way.

It is natural that we should step up our collective efforts to restore unity among all Palestinian factions. The experience which we are going through in the camps war constitutes a crucial joint in escalating this will. Even the Salvation Front created by the Assad regime is capable now of revealing the secrets of the ploy and of coming back to the PLO. The Syrian regime imposed this ploy on some Palestinian factions. But after Sabra, Shatila and Burj el-Barajneh, we do not think any Palestinian is still deceived by it.

The light of hope may come from Aden. We hope that the reports about 'secret' meetings among the Palestinian factions are true. We not only wish that, but we demand unity

AL FAJR
June 13

The Jordanian Move Went Beyond the Amman Agreement

Though Peres' plan added nothing new to the well-known Israeli position, the US administration welcomed it and reiterated its confidence that negotiations would start soon.

But a comparison between what Peres said and the Amman agreement reveals the wide gap that separates the two parties. There is no justification for the American confidence that negotiations will start soon.

Yet we cannot say that the US State Department is so naive. Rather, the truth is that the State Department received a Jordanian plan during Hussein's visit to Washington that differs from the Amman agreement and is closer to the Israeli and US positions. Consequently, Peres' plan deserved consideration and welcome by the State Department.

This is not a guess. The international conference was abandoned in favour of a NATO cover, and so were the independent Palestinian state and the right of the PLO to represent the Palestinian people. Hence the American optimism. Some reactionary Arab countries are moving to provide the political cover for what Jordan had agreed upon.

The development of the move, which some tried to justify as being a 'manoeuvre' to embarrass the US and Israel, went beyond the Amman agreement. It has become a Jordanian-American move — regardless of whether or not the Palestinian side agrees to it.

AL TALI'A
June 13

The Conspiracy Against The Palestinians

The Lebanese factions involved in the conspiracy against the Palestinian people revealed their true intentions when they started moving camp residents to the Beqa'a.

Amal's step, supported by Jumblatt, indicates the proportions of the conspiracy agreed upon among Syria, America and Israel during Murphy's latest visit and his three-hour meeting with Assad.

During those three dark hours in Syrian history and the Palestinian and the Arab cause, it was agreed to liquidate the Palestinian presence and to cancel the Palestinian factor in Lebanon, on the wrong assumption that it is the cause of the Lebanese crisis. But that is only an illusion.

Reducing the Lebanese crisis to this size is an oversimplification and contradicts all values and facts. It is considered as a big condemnation of the Syrian position. The Palestinian people went through many hardships and always emerged victorious. Its enemies fell to shame and disgrace and Syria will be no exception.

AL QUDS
June 14

The Failure of the Axis Policy

When the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front was set up after Camp David, the Arab peoples expected a new approach to face the new stage. But the Syrian regime turned the Front into an axis to be added to the already existing Arab conflicting ones. By doing so, the Syrian regime dashed the hopes of the Arab peoples.

The Syrian regime, through this axis, created bilateral alliances with Libya, Algeria and Democratic (South) Yemen, and sometimes acted unilaterally to exploit the situation in favour of its narrow plans in Lebanon. It also tried to impose guardianship on the PLO.

Though the Syrian regime has gone a long way in this direction, its cards have fallen and the Steadfastness Front has dwindled to mere slogans and hollow terms.

Since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and the involvement of the Syrian regime in it, until the camp massacres, the Syrian regime distanced itself from nationalist history and became deeply involved in conspiracies dividing Arab ranks, particularly the attempt to liquidate the Palestinian cause and divide Lebanon into sectarian cantons.

Despite the late awakening of the Front members, the Libyan stand confirms the extent of the plight of the Assad regime and the proportion of the crime which it committed against the Palestinian people, its cause, existence and legitimate leadership.

The Libyan stand was preceded by Algerian uneasiness and displeasure from Democratic Yemen. So, the Syrian regime is now cut off from the slogans it has been raising for years.

The Syrian regime acted on the basis of the conflicting Arab axes. We believe it is time to break this policy and convene an Arab summit whether Assad's regime agrees or not. The resolutions of this summit should be binding. This opportunity should not be missed.

AL FAJR
June 14

Don't Kill the Martyrs Again

If reports about an agreement sponsored by the Syrian regime are true, then we are facing an extremely dangerous stage. The agreement proposes disarming the camps from heavy and medium weapons at a time when the Phalange, Amal and the factional Lebanese Army militias to strengthen themselves. The agreement calls for opening a police station in every camp. The station is to be manned by the same people who are now killing the Palestinians. It also calls for appointing the Salvation Front to take charge of the Palestinians in Lebanon. This means loyalty to Assad's regime.

The agreement as declared in Damascus means accepting the plan of the Syrian regime and betraying the blood of the martyrs. The masses of our people will confront the agreement even though a Palestinian side is party to it. We hope that the agreement will be rejected by the Palestinian factions who are party to the Salvation Front.

AL SHA'AB
June 17

Beirut Massacres Overshadow *Id al-Fitr*

Celebration in the West Bank and Gaza was muted this year during the three days of *Id al-Fitr* that mark the end of the fasting month of Ramadan on June 17.

Local Palestinians heeded calls from inside the Shatila and Bourj al-Barajneh camps in Beirut that have been besieged by Shi'ite militias since the first day of Ramadan. Residents of the besieged camps, who most probably fasted involuntarily throughout Ramadan due to lack of food, declared through a statement issued in Beirut June 16 that *Id al-Fitr* should be a "period of mourning" for Palestinians and Arabs everywhere this year.

The statement requested that "black flags be hoisted all over the Arab and Muslim world in mourning for the hundreds who fell during the Amal siege." It pointed out that "*Id al-Fitr* has come at a time when we are besieged by some so-called Muslims and at a time when we are forbidden water, bread and medicine."

Id al-Fitr which has in the past been marked by festivities, movies, family reunions, and dinner parties, was celebrated discreetly this year. Faithful Muslims directed their mosque prayers at rescuing the residents of the camps. Most others stayed home. Fewer children than usual visited movie theatres, which kept advertisement campaigns for movies at a low-key level. The union of Palestinian boy scouts cancelled all planned festivities for the *Id* this year. Instead, it has instructed members to perform community work, the union announced.

In a show of support for, and solidarity with, residents of the besieged camps, dozens of women from the occupied territories held an eight-hour sit-in strike at the office of the Red Cross in Jerusalem and Gaza June 17.

A statement was issued by a large crowd of West Bank residents who held a rally June 16 in the Headquarters of Professional Unions in Beit Hanina, a north Jerusalem suburb.

Speakers at the meeting, including Izz el-Din Aryan—head of the Central Committee of the Red Crescent Societies in the West Bank and Gaza, head of *Ina'ash Al Usra* (The Family Rehabilitation Society) in al-Bireh — Samiha Khalil, and representatives of local institutions and student bodies, stressed the need for national unity in the face of the several conspiracies against the Palestinian people, the latest of which is being perpetrated by Shi'ite militias with Syrian backing against the camps around Beirut.

Speakers also reminded residents of the occupied territories to show solidarity with camp residents by donating to the campaign drive for aid for the camps and by restricting their *Id al-Fitr* festivities to commemorate those who have died during the siege.

Hussein Makes Waves in Washington

by Ghassan Bishara

King Hussein's visit to President Reagan seems to have made a dent into the previously rigid American stand. The dent was a result of the Arab party's change of stand on some points. At the American Enterprise Institute (AEI) in Washington, DC, the King articulated the Palestinian position: "Yes the Palestinians are willing to accept Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principles they contain as the basis for the settlement." Hussein called this "an historic breakthrough," in that it is the first time since the beginning of the conflict that Palestinian leaders who have the support of their people "have been willing to accept a negotiated settlement." American observers believe that the PLO was previously unwilling to adopt such a stand and to declare it in public or to allow others to do so on its behalf.

Speaking to a full house of Washington-based journalists and former US government employees at AEI, the King explained that the February 11 Amman agreement calls for a negotiated peace "under the auspices of an international conference," which would include all members of the UN Security Council, as well as "Egypt, Syria, Israel, Lebanon, and a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation," with the Palestinian role played by the PLO. The conference, the King continued, "will be based on UN Resolutions 242 and 338," and will end in a peace which would ensure for the Palestinians their right of self-determination "within the context of a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation." The confederation, the King added has been approved by the 16th and 17th sessions of the Palestinian National Council (PNC). The outcome of the negotiations will have to include: an exchange of territory for peace, recognised and defined borders, and a "mutual commitment to peace and security by all the parties."

This will be the ultimate outcome, as the King put it; in the meantime the Jordanians see their role as trying to introduce the PLO to the Americans in a first stage contact. Jordan is therefore proposing a meeting between US officials and a Jordanian-Palestinian party, the Palestinians to be appointed by the PLO. According to Taher al-Masri the Americans have accepted this idea, with the caveat that at this stage Palestinian delegates not be PLO members or from the military ranks of the PLO. Previously the US opposed this formula altogether and insisted that Palestinian delegates should deny any association with the PLO.

In an unscheduled press conference, King Hussein surprised the press when he said that both the PLO and Jordan are ready to negotiate on the basis of "all pertinent UN resolutions including 242 and 338." Americans were also pleased to hear that the King shares President Reagan's hope that direct negotiations can begin before the end of this year and that land returned to Arab hands will become part of a Palestinian-Jordanian confederation, and not an independent Palestinian state. The Americans expressed some understanding for the King's demand for an international umbrella, but they seek a European rather than an international umbrella with a role for the USSR.

Palestinian

Continued from page 1

notice on the continued policy of town arrests. The report says that the authorities have been placing more university students under town arrest. Outgoing Civil Administration boss Zach told reporters that some 20 town arrest orders have been levied on Palestinian university students in recent months. Zach claimed that this policy was a liberal measure aimed at bypassing the need to close universities altogether. An-Najah, the largest West Bank university located in Nablus, was closed for four months in 1984. The new campus of Bir Zeit University was closed for two months in February 1985. Both higher education institutes were closed after book exhibits on campus were raided and allegedly "illegal" books confiscated.

According to the report, the Civil Administration's plans to establish an Arab Bank have been approved from the Israeli side and now only require Jordanian approval. Zach also revealed that since 1967, Israeli officials had placed heavy restrictions on family reunification applications, but claimed that this policy has now changed. Zach said that only vague criteria of "true humanitarian concern" are now being used. According to a report in *The Jerusalem Post*, however, this change of policy has not increased the number of Palestinians annually allowed to reunite with their families here. Last year only 1055 such permits were issued. Responding to a question, Zach said that no election will be allowed in the West Bank and Gaza.

Zach is to be replaced by another Israeli military officer, Ephraim Sneh. Zach will himself replace Arye Beckenstein as the head of the economics branch of the Defence Ministry's office for coordination of activites in the occupied territories. This branch is responsible for approving development projects for the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The Civil Administration was established in the spring of 1982 while Ariel Sharon was defence minister. Sharon's intention was for the Civil Administration to be the nucleus for the planned Israeli autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Palestinians vehemently opposed the Civil Administration. At least 22 Palestinians were killed over a two-month period of demonstration against the scheme. The mayors of the West Bank and Gaza's major cities were also ousted from their postions for their refusal to cooperate with the Civil Administration. The first head of the Civil administration, Professor Menachem Milson, resigned from his post in September 1982.

Army

Continued from page 1

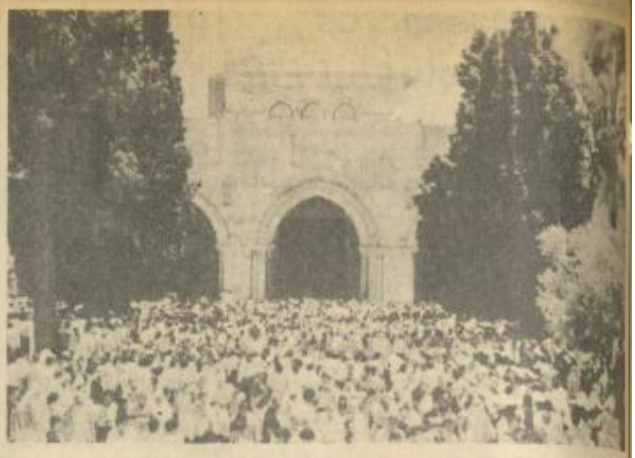
their homes on. Even the original inhabitants, all from al-Ajajreh village built in 1948, have been unable to settle down in one place since the Israeli authorities demolished their village in 1967 to make way for the Israeli settlement of Massan.

Farmers from the Jiftlik area say that at least 150 farmers from the Tammoun and Toubas regions in the Jenin district, who have been leasing land in the Jiftlik area for years, decided this year to lease land in the northern part of the Jordan Valley because shelters are available. If this migration continues, the future of the region — considered the backbone of the West Bank's winter agriculture — will be in real jeopardy. The Jiftlik region contains about 15,000 dunums of irrigated land and produces about 85 percent of the West Bank's winter vegetables. The Mennonite centre in Jerusalem has invested a great deal of energy to develop the area into its present status. The area is now considered a strong competitor for Israeli products.

Perhaps this is why the Israelis have been exerting so much pressure on the Palestinian farmers. Last December, Israeli bulldozers demolished at least 73 shelters and insisted that farmers who are not from the region cannot stay overnight in Jiftlik.

As for local residents, they are obliged to live in shabby old shacks which are extremely overcrowded. Taha said his 12-member family lives in two small mud huts. The mud huts also often house poisonous snakes, which are another cause of distress to the farmers.

WEEKLY REVIEW



Thousands of Muslim believers prayed at al-Aqsa Mosque on the last Friday of Ramadan.

June 12, 1985

BOMB EXPLOSION IN ASQALAN

A bomb exploded in the Israeli city of Asqalan. No injuries were reported, but Israel Radio said windows of several residences and buildings were shattered. The report said the bomb had been placed outside a dentist's office.

50 DUNUMS GRABBED

Israeli authorities confiscated a 50 dunum plot owned by Mahmoud Abd al-Hamid Mustafa Abu Sarah al-Alami in the village of Beit Ummar in the Hebron area. Alami had received a warning to give up the land within 24 hours, otherwise he would be punished for trespassing on his own land.

PETROL BOMB ATTACKS IN GAZA STRIP

A petrol bomb was hurled at an Israeli vehicle as it was passing on the Gaza-Khan Younis road. The bomb did not explode, and Israeli army troops sealed off the area and conducted searches. Also in the Gaza Strip, a petrol bomb was hurled at an army vehicle on the outskirts of Rafah. A number of youths have been detained for questioning.

GAZA RESIDENT JAILED FOR MEMBERSHIP

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Mohammed Abed Mohammed al-Hasni of Gaza to 3 months in jail and 1 year suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation.

BUS STONED ON JERUSALEM-HEBRON ROAD

An Israeli Egged bus was stoned as it was travelling on the Jerusalem-Hebron road, and one of its windows was smashed. Israeli troops sealed off the area and conducted searches.

POLICE THREATEN TO DELIVER YOUTH TO KAHANE

June 7, Israeli police arrested Ihsan Munier Awwad, 20, from the village of el- Eissawiyeh, just north of Jerusalem, on suspicion of stealing a sum of US$1500 and IS30,000 from his working place in Ma'ale Adumim settlement. Awwad, who was released 48 hours later, was not only abused and tortured during his detention, but was also told by one of his interrogators that if he does not confess to the alleged theft, he would be handed over to racist MK Meir Kahane's group.

PHARMACY CLOSED

Pharmacist Mohammed Suwwan, owner of the Jaffa Pharmacy in Gaza, has been forced to close down his business because of heavy taxes. He has been asked to pay a total of IS30 million by both the tax department and the customs.

June 13, 1985

JALAZON YOUTH JAILED, FINED

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Ashraf Ahmad al-Sayed, of Jalazon camp, to 1 month in prison and a IS350,000 fine for throwing stones at Israeli vehicles.

QALQILYA, DURA MEN SENTENCED

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Yusef al-Khatib of Qalqilya to two-and-a-half years in prison and one-and-a-half years suspended for membership in a Palestinian organisation.

An Israeli court in Ramallah sentenced Fawaz Mohammed Mustafa Amr of Dura, in the Hebron district, to 5 years in prison and 2 years suspended on 'security charges.'

PETROL BOMB IN GAZA

A petrol bomb was thrown at an Israeli vehicle travelling on the road between Gaza and Beit Hanoun.

June 14, 1985

YOUTH "ACCIDENTALLY" SHOT BY SOLDIER

A Palestinian youth from al-Am'ari refugee camp near Ramallah was "accidentally" shot and wounded by an Israeli soldier, Israel Radio reported. It said the youth, who was not identified, was slightly wounded in the arm. No other details were released.

CROWDS FLOCK TO LAST FRIDAY PRAYERS AT AL-AQSA

An estimated 100,000 Muslim worshippers from all over the country attended the traditional Last Friday (*al-Juma'a el-Yatimeh* — the last Friday in the month of Ramadan) prayers at al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. A similar number of residents also attended celebrations last night at al-Aqsa for the "Night of Destiny" (*Lailat al-Qadr* — the night in which, according to sura 97, the Holy Koran was revealed).

CUSTOMS RAID

Customs officials raided a number of businesses in the village of Dhahriyeh in the Hebron district and imposed heavy fines on owners.

NABLUS MUNICIPALITY APPEALS TO ARAB LEAGUE

The elected Nablus municipality has appealed to the Tunis-based Arab League Council to intervene to save the lives of Palestinian refugees in Iraqi camps. The appeal came in a memorandum signed by the following council members: Ibrahim Hatem Abu Ghazaleh, Haj Khalil al-Attiwh, Yasir Aslan and Haj Burhan Ya'ish.

SETTLERS' TENT BURNED

Arsonists set fire to a tent owned by Jewish settlers near the Tomb of Joseph in Nablus. The tent was used as a temporary residence for a *Yeshiva* (Jewish religious school).

BZU STUDENT ACTIVIST HELD

The Israeli authorities refused to release Marwan al-Barghouthi, secretary general of the student council at BZU. His remand was extended by 8 days.

An Israeli military court in Ramallah charged that Barghouthi violated his town of rest. Barghouthi has threatened to start a hunger strike if he is not released from the Ramallah police station.

June 17, 1985

ISRAELI BULLDOZERS ON YATTA LAND

Israeli military authorities blocked Palestinian landowners from the village of Yatta, in the Hebron district, from intervening to stop Israeli bulldozers which started working on their land. The land, about 400 dunums, belongs to the Abu Sabra clan. The owners are planning to file an objection with the Israeli Military Objections Committee.

Israeli motorists stock up on gasoline in preparation for a gas station strike. Distributors are demanding a 50 percent increase.

Twenty-two Israeli school children were killed and many others wounded in a collision June 11 between an express train and a school bus near Haifa. The accident was the worst in Israel's history./AFP Photo.

SENTENCES FOR STONE THROWERS

An Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Adnan Suleiman Issifan from the village of Sayyir in the Hebron district to 4 months imprisonment. He was charged and convicted of stone-throwing. An Israeli military court in Nablus passed a similar sentence on Imad al-Jarba, from Nablus. He, too, was charged with stone-throwing.

JERUSALEM HOMES RAIDED

The Israeli authorities raided several Arab-owned houses in the Jabal al-Mukkaber quarter in Jerusalem on the pretext that they wanted to search for those responsible for burning Israeli car in Talpiot Mizrah settlement, near Jerusalem. The authorities arrested 15-year-old Mohammed Ibrahim Za'ter for questioning.

A fire in a garage one day after destroyed four cars.

ALGIERS-ADEN INITIATIVE TO RESTORE PLO UNITY

Algeria and South Yemen are preparing a plan to restore national unity to the PLO on the basis of the national stand taken in the Beirut camps. Reports said that dialogue is underway between Fatah, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

ARMY CAR ATTACKED IN GAZA

Unidentified men fired at an Israeli military car as it drove near Wadi Gaza. Israeli border police units were rushed to the scene, where they set up roadblocks and combed the area in search for the attackers. There were no reports of any arrests.

JUDGE SENTENCED TO THREE YEARS, FINED

An Israeli military court sentenced Ghaleb al-Haj Mahmoud, former head of the West Bank Court of Appeals, to three years in prison and a IS60 million fine. He was convicted of accepting bribes thought to total US$1 million while serving on the bench. He will start serving the sentence on July 1.

Document

World Health Organisation Condemns Israel

Below is a resolution on health conditions of The Arab Population In The Occupied Arab Territories, Including Palestine, adopted by the thirty-eighth World Health Assembly in its fourteenth plenary meeting, May 16, 1985.

Mindful of the basic principle established in the WHO Constitution, which affirms that the health of all peoples is fundamental to the attainment of peace and security;

Mindful of the struggle that the Palestinian people, led by the Palestine Liberation Organisation, their sole legitimate representative, have waged for their rights to self-determination, to return to their homeland and to establish their independent State in Palestine;

Considering the right of the peoples to organise for themselves the provision of their own health and social services;

1. *Reaffirms* resolutions WHA 37.26, WHA 36.27 and previous relevant resolutions of the World Health Assembly;

2. *Condemns* Israel for its continuing occupation, its arbitrary practices against the Arab population, and its continuing establishment of Israeli settlements in the Arab occupied territories, including Palestine and the Golan; and for its illegal exploitation of the appropriation of water resources and their diversion for the purpose of occupation and settlement, all of which have devastating and long-term effects on the mental and physical health conditions of the population under occupation;

3. *Condemns* Israel for its policy aiming at making the population of the occupied Arab territories, including Palestine and the Golan, dependent on the Israeli health system, by hindering the normal course and development of the Arab health institutions, as part of Israel's overall plan of annexation of those territories;

4. *Condemns* Israel for continuously raising obstacles to the implementation of resolution WHA 36.27, sub-paragraph 8(2), which requests the establishment of three health centres in the occupied Arab territories, including Palestine, under the direct supervision of WHO;

5. *Demands* an immediate end to occupation, violence and repression, and to the establishment of new settlements; also demands that those settlements already established be dismantled, in order to enable the Palestinian people to exercise its inalienable national rights, as a prerequisite to the establishment of a social and health system that would be able to ensure health for all by the year 2000;

6. *Thanks* the Director-General for his efforts to implement sub-paragraph 8(2) of resolution WHA 36.27 and requests that he pursue these efforts.

7. *Reaffirms* the right of the Palestinian people to have its own institutions which provide medical and social services, and requests the Director-General: (1) to collaborate and coordinate further with the Arab States concerned and with the Palestine Liberation Organisation regarding the provision of the necessary assistance to the Palestinian people; (2) to help the Palestinian people and their health institutions to promote primary health care inside and outside the occupied Palestinian territories, by developing sufficient health and social services, and the training of health personnel, in order to reach health for all by the year 2000; (3) to monitor the health conditions of the Arab population in the occupied Arab territories, including Palestine, and report regularly to the Health Assembly;

Ceasefire

Continued from page 1

Earlier in the week, fighting persisted around the refugee camps. Amal forces made several attempts to break Palestinian defences, but they were all repulsed. Amal positions in West Beirut and in the airport area were repeatedly shelled by Palestinian artillery in the mountains.

In south Lebanon, clashes erupted between an Israeli force and militias from the Israeli-backed South Lebanese Army (SLA), and left-wing Lebanese forces June 19 near the villages of Ain al-Mir and Beir Sur, in the Sidon area. An Israeli unit, of about 100 Israeli soldiers reportedly crossed the "security zone" border following Lebanese attacks on SLA troops in the "security zone" in which four SLA soldiers were wounded. The Israeli unit reportedly lost at least one tank and one armoured Personnel Carrier before it was forced to retreat.

Foreign press reports said that attacks against the SLA and Israeli troops in south Lebanon escalated sharply last week. Israeli settlements in the Galilee Panhandle were attacked with Katyusha and other rockets for the first time since Israel announced the completion of its withdrawal from Lebanon early this month.

Twenty-two Finnish UNIFIL soldiers held by the Israel-backed South Lebanon Army (SLA) were released June 15 after it was clearly proven that 11 SLA officers had in fact defected and were not held by Amal militias against their will.

Amal's Aim

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Nasser's resistance managed to foil this and force the Syrian regime to respect it. Even the Salvation Front and the DFLP, whose primary bases are in Syria, proved their independence. They chose to ally themselves with the Syrian regime on a tactical basis despite its drawbacks and refused to put the fate of the Palestinian cause in the hands of reactionary regimes, specifically the Jordanian regime, which is subordinated to the American policy. And in fact, the fierce fighting which is being launched by the Salvation Front and the DFLP (beside Fatah fighters) in defence of the Palestinian camps is new evidence of the independence of these factions.

The Syrian regime also doesn't want a strong armed Palestinian presence in Lebanon because this would create an obstacle in the way of imposing its own policy in Lebanon. It wants Lebanon under its control so it can impose a policy of reconciliation between the various conflicting parties on the basis of internal balance. With regard to the Palestinians, Syria has always wished to decide on their behalf. Syria also holds that it should not allow Palestinian operatives from its borders and from Lebanon before achieving "strategic parity" with Israel. Syria has always maintained that it should not allow anybody to drag it into a war with Israel before it is well prepared.

Despite the drawbacks, which have caused pain and disappointment among the Palestinians, the organisations of the Salvation Front and the DFLP, as well as the Palestinian Communist Party, have no other option but to try to patch up the differences with Syria, because they still have many things in common which can't be found with the other confrontation states. By patching things up with Syria, Palestinian organisations can pressure the Syrian regime to stop Amal's attacks on the camps, while at the same time ensuring that the struggle against Israeli and American plans for the Middle East continues. ■

Watad

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is a limitation. It's not MAPAM's business how the Palestinians and Jordanians will manage their relations but we could convince the majority in the party to make it a recommendation, not more. Now I'm trying to bring MAPAM to a direct dialogue with the PLO. If MAPAM will not adopt a position, a stand in favour of a dialogue with the PLO, I'll leave it. And they know it. Because this is the main, the important thing, and this is the time to do it!

"As an MK, I think the best way I can contribute to the peace process is to convince the Israelis to have a direct dialogue with the PLO..."

On the ideal future for the Arabs in Israel: "If a Palestinian state were estbished — it will be for them as individuals to decide what they want. I'm totally against group decisions. It's a very personal and individual question. We have Israel. The very big majority of Jews, about 11-12 million, are still spread all over the world. Does anyone push them to Israel? If we compare our situation to that of the Jews in the Diaspora, we have been here for hundreds of years. It's our birthplace. We were here before Israel. We will continue to be here in any case.

"If the Palestinians, our people, will have the opportunity to establish their own state, or any kind of solution agreed by the PLO — I don't use anymore the Palestinians in general — we will continue to fight for our civil rights, for our identification as Arabs and Palestinians, and for full equality. The very big majority of the Israeli Arabs will continue to live in Israel, and ideally, their status would be like that of Arab citizens in the US.

"We are looking for full equality and recognition of our cultural background and our national belongings....but a secular state does not work. I do not believe it. I have a lot of problems getting real partnership in a very small party. Or look at Jerusalem, what happens there.

"So what I am seeking for my people is to help them in any way to have their own room. It's not even a question of kilometres. When we were small, we used to play *ta-ru'a*, catch. And we used to point out a spot on the wall, or in any place. If you reached there, nobody could catch you or hurt you. You were safe. It's *your* place. This is what the Palestinians need actually. I don't want them to share the Israeli home or their own home with the Israelis. Maybe later. I think they will have no choice but to work out cooperation in various ways — later." ■

To Aid Beirut Victims

Local Campaign Gets Underway

Refugee families under siege: *"We want to let these suffering individuals know that we are with them heart and soul."* **UNRWA Photo**

by Baher al-Ashhab

The grim news about the situation in the Palestinian refugee camps around Beirut was sure to cause much anxiety and frustration among Palestinians in the occupied territories. It also prompted several individuals and institutions to try to offer help to the residents of the camps that have been besieged by Shi'ite Amal militias since May 19.

Right from the outset, local newspapers ran front page stories about the siege, reporting in detail the various atrocities perpetrated by Amal and keeping track of the casualty toll. One story described residents of the Shatila and Burj al-Barajneh camps eating meat of stray cats and dogs in the fight for survival. Another described how bodies of civilians are left to rot underneath the rubble of whole blocks of houses, spreading diseases that are killing even more people because the Red Cross cannot get in to evacuate the sick and wounded.

These stories, one would think, would cause a chain of nervous breakdowns or at least severe depression among Palestinians here who are already frustrated enough by the never-ending condition of military occupation.

Instead, the people in the occupied territories have plans for a relief campaign for their fellow nationals in the Lebanese camps. By implementing this campaign its organisers hope to revive the spirit of solidarity with their Palestinian brethren in Lebanon and to strengthen the steadfastness of the besieged camp residents.

The Relief Committee

A group of individuals belonging to several concerned institutions in the West Bank and Gaza decided to help their people in the Beirut camps. This group met shortly after the siege began, to form the "Relief Committee for Palestinian Camps in Lebanon," and promptly called their first meeting of dozens of personalities and representatives of nationalist institutions to discuss ways to implement their campaign.

At the meeting on June 6, the group chose an executive committee and instructed it to carry out an intensive fund drive to collect donations from the public for medical and food supplies to ship to the camp. The executive committee — which included a representative of the Red Crescent Society, the Pharmacists Union, the Journalists Union and others — took out front page ads in local papers calling on the public to donate, and formed local committees in most cities in the West Bank and Gaza to collect the funds. The executive committee will also appoint a group of physicians and nurses to take the supplies to Lebanon and to treat the injured and the sick in the camps.

The supplies and the team will then travel to the besieged camps in Beirut, or so the committee members hope.

The Red Cross Connection

So long as the Amal militias are besieging the camps, the only way the supplies and the medical team can enter is in Red Cross convoys. Amal has prevented the Red Cross from entering the camps on several occasions. They were only able to sneak in to rescue some injured and rush out, twice in three weeks. The Red Cross remains, however, the only means of carrying supplies into the camp.

When relief committee members contacted the Red Cross office in Jerusalem, they were told that the Red Cross is unable to help them in the manner they request. Instead, the Red Cross offered to take over the funds collected, transfer them to their Beirut office, which would in turn purchase the necessary supplies and try to get them into the besieged camps. "It is not desirable for you to give us supplies. We prefer to take the money," Red Cross officials told the committee members.

This infuriated the Palestinian volunteers who alleged that the Red Cross is showing indifference about the massacres in the camps. "When governments send supplies to people in Africa or to earthquake victims somewhere else the Red Cross takes it, but when we want to help starving children in the camps they refuse. It's an unfair decision," one committee member told *Al Fajr*.

The Red Cross, on the other hand, argues that it never accepted any conditions tied to relief supplies. Furthermore, "We keep receiving supplies that are not at all needed and we want to avoid that," one Red Cross official told *Al Fajr*.

The contact — and perhaps the quarrel between the Red Cross and the relief committee — will go on for a while. On June 9, the Red Cross in Jerusalem told the committee that it has conferred with headquarters in Geneva for advice and will give the committee a final answer the minute it comes from Geneva. John Luc Blondel, director of the Red Cross in Jerusalem, told *Al Fajr* however that the chances of the Red Cross accepting the mission are very slim. As the Red Cross is the only international organisation waiting around the camp for any chance to aid the victims, he said, he resented the committee's accusation of indifference and lack of concern on the part of his agency. "We do care, but there are certain rules that we have to stick to, one of which is to have full control of relief missions and never to accept conditions on how or when we carry out these missions."

Committee member Radwan Abu Ayyash, who heads the Arab Journalists Association, argued that such rules need not apply when hundreds of lives are at stake. "We deplore the fact that the Red Cross is not cooperating with us when they cooperate with foreign governments and institutions," he told *Al Fajr*.

The committee, which looks upon the relief mission partly as a symbolic gesture to camp residents showing them that their people in the occupied territories are concerned, will not stop at that. They promise to exert pressure on the Red Cross by contacting foreign consulates and institutions and presenting their case to them. "Imagine how morally supportive it will be when Red Cross trucks roll into the camps with supplies, with 'West Bank' or 'Gaza' written boldy on the side. We want to let these suffering individuals know that we are with them heart and soul," said Isma'il Tazzi, head of the Pharmacists Union and member of the relief committee. "The position of the Red Cross is unacceptable. We hope they do reconsider."

If the Red Cross does reconsider, then the first obstacle to the mission would be overcome. The committee would then be faced with several problems that are connected with getting the supplies to Beirut from the occupied territories, and whether Amal will allow these supplies into the camps.

To transfer the supplies to Beirut, the committee will have to get approval from four governments: Israel, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. A convoy, leased by the Relief Committee will carry the supplies from the West Bank and Gaza to the Allenby Bridge, one of two crossings to Jordan. There, the supplies will be thoroughly inspected by Israeli authorities. It may take several hours or days as each bottle of medicine and [illegible] of food is scrutinised. On the other [illegible] of the bridge, the shipment will again [illegible] inspected by the Jordanians who [illegible] to make sure that no Israeli-made [illegible] labelled product is included. From Jordan, the shipment will have to proceed first to Syria, where similar inspections may occur, and then to Lebanon. At the least, if the goods are allowed through all four countries, it would take a week or two before they reach the outskirts of Shatila and Burj al-Barajneh camps. There the convoy will undoubtedly be stopped by Amal militiamen and may sit there for weeks or even [illegible] confiscated by the Amal militia for their own use. Over the last four weeks, several Red Cross vans and ambulances met just such a fate.

Blondel of the Red Cross office in Jerusalem told *Al Fajr* that such difficulties only make the Red Cross determined to remain firm in its stand on accepting only funds. He added that it will also be impossible for a Palestinian team from the West Bank and Gaza to enter the camps, "because Amal militia will not let them in and because the Red Cross will not take responsibility for their lives."

If the Red Cross insists on not participating in the mission as the committee wants, members of this committee will have to find alternatives. As a matter of fact, they have carried out relief missions in the past without the help of the Red Cross. They organised the "Committee for Defence of the Refugee Camps." Cash money was sent to Sabra, Shatila and Ein al-Hilweh camps in 1982 and there used to buy food and medicine.

The story behind the transfer of the money and how supplies were bought and sent to the camps in 1982 forms the committee members. They argue that "if we could do it then, we can do it now."

"They feel the main issue is that the people in the camps know that we here in the occupied territories are worried about their situation and that although we are limited in what we can do, we are doing our utmost. We also want the people in the occupied territories to have the chance to help the camp residents," Tazzir told *Al Fajr*.

The committee has urged local residents to donate to Red Crescent centres all over the West Bank and Gaza. "Let us help them," urged Tazzir, "so let's hope we never have to face similar horrible conditions."