


PASSIA ANNUAL REPORT 1993



PASSIA
Palestinian Academic Society

for the Study of International Affairs



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1. INTRODUCTION.

This report summarises the activities of the Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, (PASSIA) during the year 1993. It begins with a review of each publication released as part of the PASSIA Research Studies Programme 1993. Of the four publications, two are concerned exclusively with Jerusalem, although the themes of each are very different, the third is on legal and land issues; and the fourth is an information paper on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

The second section deals with PASSIA meetings held throughout 1993. This year there were almost 40 meetings covering all topics related to the Palestine question, including the key issues of security, economy and future democracy. Many of these meetings were arranged at very short notice in order to keep up with the rapidity of developments.

PASSIA initiated two new projects this year: "Program on Democracy" which will involve workshop presentation and publication of five papers on different topics related to the process of democratisation; and "A Review of Literature on Economic Co-operation and Integration in the Middle East" Both of these projects will be summarised here.

As always, Jerusalem was a main subject and PASSIA began a series of meetings, which will continue throughout 1994, concerned exclusively with the relations of the three monotheistic faiths. This involved inviting representatives of Islam, Judaism and Christianity to come together and discuss their differences and concerns over the city of Jerusalem. Other issues were also addressed and this part of the report concludes with a summary of steps taken towards forming a Jerusalem National Council.

The series of seminars "Education and Training in International Affairs" which was begun in 1992 continued, and in April and November/December respectively the second and third parts of the course were held. These were on the subjects of Strategic Studies and Security and the European Community and the Middle East.

Other items included are a review of the PASSIA desk diary and a list of conferences in which PASSIA participated or was invited. In the appendices are details of the Board of Trustees, PASSIA Administration, a full list of PASSIA publications since 1987 and a list of journals and periodicals available in the PASSIA library.

Introduction

PASSIA is an independent, non-profit Palestinian institution, unaffiliated with any government, political party or organisation, which undertakes studies and research on the question of Palestine and its relationship to international affairs. PASSIA encourages the publication of various research studies on the Palestine Question that together reflect a plurality of perspective within the context of academic freedom.

Each year since 1987, PASSIA Research Studies Programme has commissioned a small number of academics to conduct research on Palestinian issues. In the past seven years, PASSIA has published over 60 studies, as listed in the appendix to this report. In 1993 PASSIA received six research proposals and, after review by the academic committee, the following four were approved as research studies and chosen for publication:

1. **Topic :** "The Conservation of Jerusalem."
Author: Khaled A. Khatib - Engineer and researcher based in Jerusalem.
2. **Topic :** "The Law of the Land: Settlements and Land Issues under Israeli Military Occupation."
Author: Raja Shehadeh - Lawyer and co-founder of Al Haq, the West Bank affiliate of the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva.
3. **Topic :** "The Occupied Palestinian Territory." A PASSIA Information paper.
Author: PASSIA Researchers.
4. **Topic :** "The Jerusalem Arab Municipality."
Author: Usama Halabi - Lawyer currently working in the Quaker Legal Aid Centre, Jerusalem.

PASSIA would like to thank those who helped to compile these reviews.

1. The Conservation of Jerusalem by Khaled A. Khatib

PASSIA, June 1993. 141 pages. Price \$5.

There have been many studies of the old city and its monuments ranging from the purely pictorial "coffee-table" books, surveys of historic buildings dating from specific periods to specialist archaeological reports. Most have dealt only with the historic sites and monuments that relate directly to the complex history of the city. Of these, most have concentrated on recording and analysis of the sites studied, but have contributed little to the problematic issues of their conservation and preservation. Nor have they contributed to understanding or relieving the day to day problems experienced by those living in the city.

Where studies have been done to propose how the Old City might be improved for its inhabitants, notably the Harvard Studies Project run during the 1970's, they have often been sponsored and/or carried out by Israeli or other foreign institutions. Understandably from the Palestinian perspective such studies, even if they do set out with good intentions, are viewed with suspicion given the stated aims of the Israelis with regard to Jerusalem.

It is therefore refreshing and, in the context of recent events, appropriate that a book should be written that, while not neglecting the conservation of the important Islamic monuments, concentrates specifically on the problems experienced by and conditions of those living in the most neglected area of the city, the Muslim Quarter. It is even more appropriate that it should be written by a Jerusalemite and one who so clearly knows his subject. With years of experience as an engineer with the Waqf in charge of the technical and administrative affairs in that area of the city, Khatib evidently has the range of experience necessary to make such a contribution. More importantly, in the process of gaining that experience he has been afforded valuable insights into the condition of buildings housing the population, and the effect they have had on morale and psyche.

Many of the buildings occupied as residential accommodation are over two centuries old and thus in their own right constitute a considerable amount of heritage. In addition, as a result of the increase in the population of the city, many residents occupy monuments, sometimes important ones, not originally intended to be used as permanent homes. The alterations made to these monuments in an attempt to make them more habitable, while understandable, are frustrating to those involved in their preservation. The balancing act of caring for the welfare and health of the residents on the one hand and preservation of the nation's heritage on the other, in the context of a city that is not just a museum piece but also a "living" city, obviously poses a complex set of problems for those involved in such work. The added backdrop of the Israeli occupation of the city and municipality laws preventing building work without a licence, adds to the complexity and current inability or unwillingness by landlords and property owners to maintain their own buildings, and necessarily highly restricts any efforts at positive practical assistance.

Although much of the information contained in it will be of interest to both groups, the purpose of the book is not to provide solutions to remedy the situation for the residents of the city nor for those involved in the field of conservation and restoration. Furthermore it does not set out to be an academic instruction book for those working in the field. Rather Khatib's stated intention is to document the conditions of residential accommodation and the problems faced in attempting to improve them. In addition his aim is to show how maintenance and restoration work has been done today and in the past.

Any ancient and unmodernised city, particularly one in a contained area, presents considerable challenges for those working to bring standards and conditions of living within them into the 20th century. The provision of services-sewerage and water in particular-as well as maintenance and conservation is more costly and time consuming than in more easily accessible locations. This is particularly true in

In particular Khatib focusses on the reasons for damp (according to social workers the cause of many health problems experienced by the population) and its effects on the structure and fabric of residential buildings and their occupants. The seepage of water through external walls, with no modern form of waterproofing to the interior of buildings becomes increasingly evident as the stonework ages. In addition, the neglect of roofs increases the likelihood of leakage. Once inside the buildings the plasterwork, as most residents will confirm, peels away from the wall. This is not only a risk to the health of the occupants but it is also a serious drain on their all too precious financial resources.

Adequate sewage disposal, until recently almost non-existent in the Old City, now reaches most of the Muslim Quarter. However, while acknowledging that the municipality and the Waqf have been continuing with the work of extending sewage disposal facilities, this important public service is still sub-standard in comparison to that outside the city wall and continues to pose a threat to the health of the residents. However, Khatib does emphasise the practical difficulties of improving, laying and indeed maintaining drainage facilities in the narrow streets of the city. Non-cooperation on the part of both the local population and the Israelis also contributes to the lower standards of garbage disposal, water supply and drainage.

Khatib's third main concern in his catalogue of undesirable features, is the structure of the buildings themselves. He goes into admirable detail and at some length to explain the problems experienced with various types of structures and materials and, more poignantly, details examples of structural failure. The fact that almost every building within the walls joins to one or more adjacent structures has, to date, helped to buttress potential lateral failures. However, since many of the same buildings are built with virtually no foundations, in the event that excavations are being carried out in streets or open spaces adjacent to a building, there need to be carefully laid plans to support them while the excavations are being carried out. Testament to this were the structural failures caused by Israeli excavations immediately to the west of Haram al-Sharif. Khatib points out that while there have been no fatalities until now, the likelihood of such a tragedy increases the longer unsafe structures are left neglected.

Considering the maintenance and restoration of the buildings, and without drowning the narrative in technical jargon, Khatib provides the reader with a detailed study of methods that have been used for individual structural and constructional elements of the buildings, from foundations to roofs, from plaster work (Kuhla) to doors and windows. In the process he provides useful real-life examples of work carried out sometimes in hair-raising detail. Much of the discussion concentrates on the day to day maintenance of residential buildings; however, he also gives an indication of some of the work carried out on monuments and sites of archaeological interest. Such buildings require a much greater degree of thought and skilled labour, the latter particularly in the restoration of decorated or carved facades. Such labour is expensive and not easily found today but it is essential if these monuments are to be preserved with integrity. In this regard, the author laments the fact that as a result of socio-political and economic conditions, work has been regularly carried out that has been inappropriate and of poor quality. A very visible example of such work is

the use of grey cement to re-point and even bed stones instead of using lime mortar. Quite apart from the aesthetically displeasing aspect of this, the cement, over time, chemically rots the stones it was designed to bond, thus in the long term actually exacerbating the problem it was meant to solve. While such short-termism has, as much as anything else, been encouraged by the necessarily clandestine nature of some of the work, Khatib acknowledges that it has also been the result of contractors taking advantage of the ignorance of residents in such matters.

An understanding of the complexities of property, ownership and waqfs and the role of the Administration of Waqf and Islamic Affairs (AWIA) in the city, within the context of the Israeli occupation is vital to understanding some of the reasons for the continued neglect of buildings and to formulating any future plans for their long term refurbishment. This is particularly relevant given the "Catch 22" situation that exists today, namely that since the residents of the city pay very low, pre-1967 rents, the landlords, even if they collected the rents, are unable or unwilling to carry out maintenance work to their property. Furthermore, since many of the residents are on exceptionally low incomes, they too are unable to finance even the most basic of repairs to their homes. As a result, the buildings rarely get the attention they require. Khatib provides an outline of the forms of property ownership (whether Waqfs or otherwise) and describes the idiosyncratic and sometimes highly bureaucratic machinery of the Waqf and those departments within it that are directly concerned with the field of conservation and restoration.

While the political status of Jerusalem remains uncertain there is every chance that the future of many of the historic buildings and monuments, including the vernacular architecture, will also remain unclear. While funding for the maintenance of homes and converted buildings originally serving other purposes has been available for their conservation and maintenance, it has been too little spread too far with residential buildings having received no substantive support for more than three years. In addition, monies that have been donated ostensibly for the conservation of monuments in the city have, on occasion, been held up or have not been forthcoming for political or bureaucratic reasons. The only thing that is certain is that unless funding reaches Jerusalem soon some of the best preserved Islamic buildings in the region will continue to deteriorate.

Khatib's final chapter attempts briefly to deal with the future by assuming, in the first instance, that for the present the *status quo* of Israeli occupation will prevail. However, with Israeli laws banning all but the most basic of building work and with lack of investment on the part of property owners both local and foreign, as well as the overall atmosphere of uncertainty, any action to conserve or even preserve the Muslim Quarter will continue to be exceptionally difficult.

To provide a more comfortable framework in which to propose a plan of action Khatib suggests an ideal situation in which the city of Jerusalem would exist as a demilitarised zone governed by a committee made up of representatives from all the parties involved in the conflict. An international committee would operate as a back up to oversee the operation of the former. Separate religious groups would be responsible for their own holy sites.

practical field experience it has accumulated, it would be almost impossible for it not to be involved. However, while acknowledging this, the author's narrative reflects clear frustration with the inevitable bureaucracy that would be introduced. In response he suggests that an independent unit complementary to the departments of the AWIA should be set up. Such a unit has been demanded by many for some time. The purpose of the unit would be to research all aspects of the city's heritage with a view to translating the research into practical solutions. Such a proposal seems eminently sensible, if the separate parties can agree on its functions in relation to other existing bodies and if, as Khatib hopes, the new unit were to have its own independent funding. Both would have to be pre-requisite to the unit's foundation firstly to avoid the work of different departments or organisations overlapping and, secondly, to ensure that any unit dealing with the problems inherent throughout the city, regardless of the landlord or property owner, has more than a degree of independence to carry out its research and consultative activities. Independent funding would go a considerable way to allowing that to happen.

Clearly, as far as vernacular architecture is concerned "grass roots" co-operation from the residents and the property owners would be required. Until there is deregulation of rent sales (there appears to be quiet confidence that this will happen), co-operation of the latter may be problematic. However, Khatib's suggestion that given the right circumstances, residential associations could be set up is an approach proven in other countries. With encouragement and even small amounts of money, such associations, driven by a common sense of purpose, are more inclined to be motivated to self-help than if an outside body, even one with the best intentions, were to promise great solutions to the residents plight. The success of small pilot schemes (like the local committee for the Aqabat al-Khalidiyye neighbourhood), even if they involve only one or two properties or families (invisible associations), could provide the moral support and encouragement and an example, not only to the local population and perhaps even the property owners, but also to local or foreign organisations perhaps wanting to provide financial aid to such a programme.

Khatib's assertion, however, that years of research are required for results and more worrying, that perhaps all work on conservation should be suspended until the results of a research unit begin to come to fruition, while academically correct, is less than helpful given the conditions in which the residents of the Muslim Quarter are living today. There are many things that can be done in the short term to relieve the problems they face at both the level of practical and moral support.

With the motivation that Khatib suggests does exist for the idea, and with good will, the unit could be set up today. The academic, professional and managerial infrastructure already exists. Difficulties might perhaps be had in encouraging and persuading individual waqfs and landowners to become involved, though even those might be in part overcome if it was known that the unit had its own independent source of funding. Individuals from the community may also be more inclined to act if it were reiterated to all parties that the Old City of Jerusalem is, at an economic as well as spiritual level, potentially the most valuable asset for any future Palestinian state.

There is however, a large gap in Khatib's proposal. This concerns the vital necessity for education and awareness campaigns both within the professional context (building contractors in particular), and, as importantly, at the level of the ordinary man on the street. In the first case it is clear from some of the examples that Khatib gives and indeed from simply seeing the work going on in the city, that many contractors are not always aware of the long term consequences of the work that they carry out. While long held practices are often difficult to change, it would be very valuable if the unit were to attempt to demonstrate to builders methods of maintenance and restoration which are more appropriate to the buildings on which they are working.

A second aspect of educating the public could be aimed at instilling in residents and in particular the younger generation, an awareness of the historical importance of the environment in which they live. Such a programme might promote at grass-roots level an appreciation and understanding of the historic and vernacular architecture, and the associated problems of its conservation which, in the long run would aid primary function of the unit.

Clearly Khatib's experience of working with the buildings and residents of the Old City has had a humanising effect on him. Those who are familiar with the conditions in which they live will be able to relate to that experience closely. One hopes that the publication of this report will have the same effect, as he would wish, on those foreign and local institutions who have an interest in the city and the well-being of its inhabitants. This report is an informative and valuable addition to PASSIA's list of publications and should be followed up with a detailed proposal for future plans of action.



2. The Law of the Land: Settlement and Land Issues under Israeli Military Occupation by Raja Shehadeh.

PASSIA July 1993. 135 pages. Price \$5.

In the introduction to this collection of seven articles, Raja Shehadeh very succinctly outlines the areas he has attempted to cover and why. He hopes that by highlighting discrimination and inequality in the areas he addresses he can draw attention to some of the problems to be overcome in laying the legal foundations for peace.

Throughout this collection Shehadeh seeks to illustrate that underlying every Israeli action in its occupation of Arab lands is the attempt to justify that action by legal means. Although Israel could well accomplish its goals by force alone, it is part of the Israeli political ethos to maintain a veneer of legal justification for its actions. Shehadeh calls for a correlate response from the Palestinian national movement: he believes it is now necessary that the Palestinian leadership focus on the heretofore

justice and equity. However, he argues that under land-law in the West Bank, (the Ottoman Land Code with British Mandate and Jordanian modifications) no category of state land exists in the sense that the term is used by the Israelis. Israel's claim that all the land it is using for settlement belongs to the "state" is false and contravenes local and international law.

Drawing a comparison of the theoretical basis of land-law in Palestine to English land-law, the Crown or the Sultan, by virtue of conquest, owned the land. Both King and Sultan distributed lands to be held as "fiefs" (or "miri" land), while ultimate ownership was retained by the Crown. What began as theoretical state ownership of the land, has developed over time into the practical private ownership of the land which exists today.

Shehadeh claims that Israel is using the same policy in the West Bank that was used in Mandate Palestine in order to assure growth of the Israeli communities. This involves the encouragement of local councils and the establishment of local autonomy of the settlements in the West Bank. There are now over 120 settlements for which Israel has established a separate and distinct legal structure and status from the rest of the territory.

In the third article, Shehadeh demonstrates how Israeli law was extended to the settlements, while denying the Palestinian communities of the West Bank the development benefits of Israeli law. The settlements are empowered to expand in numbers as well as to develop economically under a self-governing authority backed by Israeli law. Conversely, the Arab municipalities are crippled under Jordanian law amended by Israeli military orders designed to restrict the growth of the Arab community.

Shehadeh goes on to trace the legal methods employed by Israel to acquire the land of Palestine. Outright purchase of the land was the common method of the early Zionist movement during Ottoman and British rule. Acquisition is now accomplished through voluminous military orders, of which there were 1,026 by 1993. Some effect acquisition for so-called "security" reasons, others by reclassification of land from private to "state" land. Land surveys, (showing Palestinians' understating of the amount of land owned in order to minimize tax liability) facilitated this reclassification.

Classification as "abandoned" property as defined by Israeli Military Order 58 has likewise resulted in expropriation of private land. An absentee owner is defined as anyone not physically in the West Bank area for any reason at the time of the 1967 War. The reclassification itself means voluntary departure in the legal sense but as Shehadeh points out this was rarely the case.

Citing the World Zionist Organization, Shehadeh illustrates that the master plan of Israeli policy is to use settlements in the West Bank to re-shape its demographic characteristics and to ensure the incorporation of the West Bank into Israel proper.

Land use plans for the West Bank are designed by the occupiers with the specific intent of promoting settlement areas and fostering interconnection between settlements, while hindering any expansion of Arab communities and preventing development of Arab blocs. Further, military orders have amended Jordanian land-law to prevent local Arab participation in land use planning, leaving control over land development entirely in the hands of Israeli officials.

Israeli authorities also use road schemes designed to connect Israeli settlements with each other, with the coastal area and with the metropolitan centres of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. These roads conspicuously avoid Arab towns and villages and have effectively shifted the Green Line in Israel's favour.

Restrictions placed on agricultural land, land designated as "land for future development", as well as land adjacent to major roads, have succeeded in thwarting growth in the Arab communities. Furthermore, within major Palestinian towns, local mayors have been replaced by Israeli mayors. The result is discrimination in the granting of building licences: Jewish settlements are granted licences, while Palestinian locals are denied approval, under the pretext of zoning regulations. Under the pretext of preserving archeological sites, restrictions are placed on the use of private land, which is then often expropriated to "protect" the land.

Shehadeh argues that Israeli strategy has been to bring West Bank settlements within Israeli law, strengthening the legal bonds of citizenship between the settlements and the State of Israel as a preliminary step in the *de facto* annexation of the territory.

As Israeli law was extended to Jewish settlements in the occupied territory, Palestinian towns and villages were kept outside the Israeli legal system so as to avoid charges that the area was being, in effect, annexed. Although the territories are under military control, the actual administration and legal system for the settlements are under civilian control with strong ties to Israeli civilian power centres. These civilian administrations are able to act as a lobbying body *vis a vis* the Israeli government.

When the Israeli army occupied the West Bank, the Area Commander of the Army assumed absolute legislative authority. Since the beginning of the occupation, the Area Commander has, to date, issued over 1,400 military orders, which have the effect of virtual "proclamations."

Shehadeh traces the stages of military orders which first facilitated the establishment of settlements and later extended Israeli law to the settlements, resulting in *de facto* annexation of the territory comprising the settlements.

Shehadeh believes that Israel violates international law in bringing about transformations in the make-up of the people and institutions in the territories so as to effect an irreversible condition. As legal methods to achieve expansion and solidification of Israeli settlements approached saturation point around 1985, illegal methods have become more prominent. Shehadeh draws attention to outright expropriation of the land (without resorting to the ruse of declaring the land "state" land) and increased administrative difficulty for Palestinians in registering their land

by Palestinian claimants against Israel, were destroyed. The civil case file destruction which have gone uninvestigated.

This is a fascinating and thought provoking-study, which is easily understood without a background or understanding of legal processes, although the reader may encounter a problem with the many references to Jordanian land law in effect before 1967. The intricacies and disappointments of the legal battles which are documented illustrate the obstacles which have, thus far and ironically, actually prevented justice from being done. However, the future possibilities of pursuing this line of redress should not be underestimated. Under international law no occupying power has the right to expropriate any land for the purpose of building settlements leading to *de facto* annexation as in the West Bank. This collection of articles serves as a vital focus on the issues which need to be tackled in order to challenge Israeli occupation through legal channels.



3. Occupied Palestinian Territory - A PASSIA Information Paper.

PASSIA July 1993. 129 pages. Price \$5.

Information Paper is a very apt description of this publication, detailing as it does a staggering amount of historical, demographic, geographic, socio-economic, political and cultural facts about the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This is quite a task considering the obstacles caused by the occupation which prevent the acquisition of reliable data. Consequently a lot of the material used in this publication has come from local institutions who took responsibility for collating and publicising this information in order to increase understanding of the land and its people.

It begins with a summary of geographical features of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. Between 1948 and 1967 the Gaza Strip was under Egyptian administration and the West Bank under Jordanian administration. Both have been occupied by Israel since 1967. The Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT) form less than one quarter of the area allocated to the Arab state in 1947, only 6000 km² which contains a population of 2.2 million, 1 million of whom are refugees. Diverse topography and agricultural produce characterise the country from the coastal dunes of Gaza to the fertile plains of the Jordan Valley. Palestine, the name applied to the Philistine coast, has ancient traditions dating back thousands of years and has absorbed many influences from Byzantines, Arabs, Crusaders, Marmelukes, Egyptian Sultans, Ottomans and the British until the UN partition of the country in 1947.

The partition resulted in clashes between the Arab and Jewish communities causing hundreds of thousands of Palestinians to flee or be expelled as refugees. One third of the estimated 5.8 million Palestinians worldwide live in the OPT with a population density of 370 people/km² in the West Bank and 3,590 people/km² in Gaza. Half the population is under fifteen and the continuing high birth rate strains education and health services. Traditional Palestinian society was engaged in agriculture and after 1948 the majority of good agricultural land came under Israeli

control. This loss of livelihood and expansion of transportation and wage labour in Israel encouraged immigration to the cities. Relatively high levels of education and desperate economic conditions have led many Palestinians to seek employment elsewhere in the Arab world and in the West.

Chapter IV on Government and Administration, begins with a concise history of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) which was formed in 1964 and passed the Palestinian Declaration of Independence in December 1988. The PLO, an umbrella organisation representing many resistance groups, is made up of various professional bodies and organisations. However, since June 1967 Israel has administered the OPT and its control covers legislative, executive and judicial power, land, water, natural resources, banking, imports, exports, municipal and village councils, freedom of the press and assembly. Israel established the Civil Administration in 1981 in order to retain overall power even when Palestinians are granted autonomy.

Existing infrastructure in the OPT is dealt with in sombre detail. Acute overcrowding, poor housing and dilapidated infrastructure such as roads and drains are common. Many Palestinian communities have no piped water, very few have sewage systems, many no garbage disposal system and electricity is erratic. Israeli zoning plans permit building in limited areas only and ignore traditional land ownership plans which aggravates this situation more. Israeli restrictions on Palestinian movement plus a cut in remittances from the Gulf have further exacerbated Palestinian economic hardship as have laws preventing Palestinian produce from being marketed in Israel without special permits. Since the Intifada, however, a wide range of initiatives in small scale industry, agriculture etc. have developed and multicultural assistance from the European Community and bilateral assistance from foreign governments provides some relief. The section on the Palestinian economy considers economic viability in the West Bank and Gaza Strip looking at its past record, future prospects and the barriers that currently hinder and may continue to prevent development.

On educational facilities it is noted that the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) runs elementary and preparatory schools in refugee camps while Palestinian and international charitable organisations run many private schools. During the Intifada, Israel closed many schools as a punitive measure and since the effects of this have become more widely recognised, educators have tried to remedy some of the problems by in-service training, long distance learning and compensatory education. Israel has neglected to build new educational facilities for the growing Palestinian population and the various universities and colleges that have been established are mainly a Palestinian initiative. Health services are also provided by UNRWA, charitable organisations, local and international Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), the private sector and the Israeli Civil Administration. A national health plan for the Palestinian people was undertaken in 1991-1993 and the Palestinian popular committees formed during the Intifada have been instrumental in the provision of primary health services. UNRWA provides hospital services and limited psychology/psychiatry and rehabilitation services.

implementing, funding or developing them. Agricultural credit and marketing cooperatives have existed in the West Bank since the mandate and there has been a tradition of various women's organisations since the 1930s and 40's. Palestinian trade unions in the West Bank and Gaza cover a wide range of occupations but few are registered because the Israeli authorities have not responded to applications. Palestinian trade unions in Israel and Jerusalem are banned so thousands of Palestinians who lost jobs in Israel in recent years have had no means to claim recompense.

Culturally there has been a growth in organised festivals to promote Palestinian theatre, music and art with cultural institutions concentrated in Jerusalem. The religious affiliation of Palestinians is Sunni Islam making up 97% of the population and various denominations of Christianity, 3%. The role of local mosques and churches in providing education, health and social services is also noted.

Palestinian newspaper publishing in Palestine dates from the early years of this century but censorship has become an issue of increasing concern. The most obvious form is restriction on publication and distribution of written material which requires Arabic newspapers published in East Jerusalem to submit to the censor, or face withdrawal of their permit to publish. Outside annexed Jerusalem, restrictions are much more severe and military orders make it illegal for any printed matter to be brought into the West Bank without a permit. Many Palestinian journalists, in covering the events of Israeli occupation since 1967, and especially the Intifada, have been subject to harassment, detention and deportation.

The final chapter in this study documents a variety of human rights abuses perpetrated against Palestinians some of which are on a scale that affect large sections of the population in one action, deprivation of land and water, for example, followed by building, re-settlement and loss of residency rights. Israel gives residency rights in the OPT only to those Palestinians present, registered and issued with identity documents by Israel at the beginning of the occupation in 1967, and to their descendants. Apart from 1948 refugees no longer in Palestine, this excludes tens of thousands of Palestinians resident in the West Bank and Gaza Strip immediately before the 1967 war. Israel allowed a minority of these to return as residents in the two years after the war when the authorities granted very few discretionary "family reunions".

Although overridden by the general closure of the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1993, Israel has used several specific measures to limit movement of Palestinians. Despite years of work by local human rights organisations, and UN resolutions condemning Israeli practices, the human rights situation in the OPT continues to deteriorate. During 1991-92, human rights groups exposed Israel's shoot-to-kill policy implemented by undercover units of disguised soldiers. Contrary to Israeli claims, most victims were "unarmed and pursuing non-violent activities when they were ambushed and shot repeatedly at close range" (PHRIC May 1992).

"Occupied Palestinian Territory" at times makes disturbing reading, but it serves as a vital source of information and an illustration of the existing facilities which can and are being developed, despite the harsh conditions under which this development strives to take place.

4. The Jerusalem Arab Municipality by Usama Halabi

PASSIA December 1993. 95 pages. Price \$5.

Jerusalem occupies a central place in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and in the struggle for Palestinian statehood. This study by lawyer Usama Halabi on the Jerusalem Municipality offers a comprehensive historical picture on the role of one of the key institutions of the city. In addition to presenting the history of the Jerusalem Municipality from its foundation in 1863 until the Israeli Likud Party victory in the 1993 elections, this study details the current dimensions of Jerusalem in the Palestinian struggle against Israeli occupation of the city. It supports discussions on current Palestinian thinking and planning about the future of Jerusalem with important appendices with texts of declarations, laws, maps, and statistical information.

In the first chapter of this study, the author focuses on the laws and precedents surrounding the Jerusalem municipality in the Ottoman period and under the British Mandate. The first Jerusalem Municipality was established in 1863 by a special firman issued during the time of Sultan Abdelaziz. An 1877 law clarified the authority, duties and responsibilities of the municipality and delineated the conditions for elections for the council members and the mayor.

The author discusses briefly the changes which took place after the British occupation of Palestine in 1917. In addition to reviewing basic historical events and the council appointments and elections, the author discusses issues related to the two major issues of that time: Arab independence movements and Zionist immigration to Palestine. For example, the appointed mayor, Musa Kazim al-Husseini was dismissed in 1920 for opposing British policy. Furthermore, the 1917 Balfour declaration caused tensions between the Jewish and Arab members during this period and, as the conflict between Arabs and Zionists increased in intensity in the late twenties and early thirties, Jerusalem became a central issue.

Chapter Two deals with the period when Jerusalem was divided in the 1948 War, the Israeli occupation of the western part of the city and the takeover of 12 Arab neighborhoods. The author discusses the implications of a divided city in light of international law and the decisions to make Jerusalem an international city. He mentions that the Peel commission of 1937 advocated the internationalisation of Jerusalem, an idea which was also part of the Partition of Palestine plan recommended by the United Nations in 1947. According to the author, this UN decision remains only a recommendation and is not binding because it was not passed by the UN Security Council. Therefore, the author maintains, the right to decide the future of Palestine belongs to the people of Palestine.

In Chapter Three, the author discusses Jerusalem between 1948 and 1967 as a divided city with two municipalities. Of importance to the author was the Jordanian influence on the East Jerusalem municipality. The author also outlines the elections of the fifties and sixties and the central issues facing the municipality at that time, one of which was expanding its borders. Eventually, the Jordanians upgraded the status of Jerusalem from a city council to a capital "Amanah" council similar to Amman. The sixties were characterised by a number of significant activities, among which were the

were difficult. However, the new Israeli government began moving its institutions to the city, and the population doubled between 1948 and 1967. West Jerusalem was declared the capital of Israel for the first time in 1950.

The Israeli occupation of East Jerusalem in 1967 and the ultimate dissolution of the Arab municipality is the subject of Chapter Four. The author discusses the loss of land and property, arrests and detentions, not only in the Old City but throughout East Jerusalem, and the Israeli efforts to get people to leave by providing transportation to Jordan. The author discusses the work of Teddy Kollek, mayor of West Jerusalem, in subsuming Arab East Jerusalem under the jurisdiction of Jewish West Jerusalem. All this occurred despite the fact that Jerusalem was under military administration. East and West were declared "united" within weeks of the Occupation, bus lines were extended and water and sewage networks joined.

Halabi goes on to analyse the stand of the Arab municipality members towards the Israeli incorporation of East Jerusalem into West Jerusalem (called the "unity" by Israelis) which ultimately resulted in the dissolution of the Arab municipality. He gives the details of the nationalist stand of the various members of the Arab council and the decisions of the United Nations regarding the status of Jerusalem. There were Israeli efforts to involve Palestinians in the municipality elections, but Arab municipality members felt this would indicate an acceptance of the occupation and they therefore refused to participate. The Israelis also refused to allow Palestinians to join, and after a number of suggestions, it was finally decided that East Jerusalem would have an Israeli adviser for its affairs who would serve as a link between the municipality administration and the neighbourhood committees and local heads.

A main point of interest in the study is how the researcher traces the composition of the representatives of the municipality. For example, in 1863 the board consisted of five members: three Muslims, one Christian and one Jew. The Ottoman period had a Muslim majority and a Muslim mayor. Under the British Mandate and the Zionist movement, this changed. The 1927 elections brought five Muslims, four Jews and three Christians to the municipality. However, the 1934 elections saw the election of six Arabs (4 Muslims and 2 Christians) and 6 Jews. In 1936, the mayor Hussein al-Khalidi was exiled to the Seychelles and his Jewish deputy mayor (not his Arab Christian deputy mayor) was given the mayoral responsibilities until 1938. In 1945, the British instituted a rotating mayoral system - first Jewish, then Arab, then British. This was kept until the city was divided in 1948.

Another interesting strand running through the study is the evolution of voting rights. Under the Ottomans only male Ottoman citizens over the age of 25 who had paid property taxes (meaning only property owners) were allowed to vote. However, elections occurred only once in 1908. In 1934, the British changed the law to give the right to vote to tenants as well. This allowed the many Jewish immigrants who were not property owners the right to participate in the elections. Under Jordanian rule, municipal elections were opened to males over the age of 18. After the Israeli occupation of the city, voting rights were extended to all residents, male and female, with an Israeli identity card. Since that time, however, East Jerusalem has never

participated in Jerusalem municipal elections neither as a voting bloc nor as candidates. This issue is discussed in detail in Chapter Five of the study.

Chapter Five is an interesting and relevant chapter for those concerned with the current issue of Jerusalem. It poses the question of whether the Palestinians in East Jerusalem should vote in the Jerusalem municipality elections or should try to re-establish their Arab municipality for East Jerusalem. The author discusses the legal and political dimensions of participation in the elections in detail. Legally, he warns against the implications of voluntary participation in the elections given the fact that some legal scholars advocate giving occupied territories to the occupier if a significant amount of time has passed and the population participates voluntarily in the structures set up during the occupation.

For Halabi, the political dimensions are as important as the legal aspects of Jerusalem. He cites examples from the recent past of how participation or even the concept of participation is used by the Israelis to support their claim that East and West Jerusalem are one united city and the eternal capital of Israel. The author makes it clear in his study that participation in the municipal elections reflects negatively on the Palestinian legal and political struggle against the Israeli occupation. He raises an important question about whether there is a difference in the issue of participation according to the party or list for whom one votes. He uses the example of the Municipality elections of 1993 and the "Peace for Jerusalem" list which was partially made up of Peace Now and former Meretz activists. They ran on the platform of "Two States for Two People" with Jerusalem the capital of both states. The author declares, however, that this was most definitely not a new political opportunity because the principle of the matter does not differ: irrespective of the party, the act of participation implies granting legitimacy to that body. More importantly, the author maintains that the Jerusalem municipality elections are not the forum in which to decide or even discuss the issue of the status of Jerusalem and that these issues should be decided in negotiations between the Palestinian leadership and Israel. The PLO and Palestinians in East Jerusalem have continuously maintained a boycott of the municipal elections.

Halabi goes on to review the subject of the re-establishment of an Arab municipality and states that it follows the agenda of both the Palestinian leadership and people. However, the author urges that the municipality needs to be established on the bases of national interests and experience and democratic elections without being affected by religious or family influence.

Chapter Six contains a review of suggestions and discussion from the Palestinian Technical Committees on Jerusalem and PASSIA meetings and seminars, as well as initiatives by Palestinian personalities in late 1993. The author summarises the ideas put forward in these sessions and provides documentation published as a result of them.

There is little to fault in this study. However, in the context of the discussion of the municipality, it would have been beneficial to discuss what is the role of the municipality both in terms of serving the residents of the city and its role in building Palestinian society and leadership. While the author discusses the importance of an

the author touches on the subject briefly when he discusses the post 1967 Jerusalem municipality as forgetting about the East Jerusalemites except during election and tax collection time, emphasizing this issue would strengthen the argument for the need of an independent Arab municipality.

Halabi's study brings us to another issue which is an important dimension of the conflict, although definitely not within the scope of this study. An interesting research topic would be a comparison between the position and services of Palestinians in East Jerusalem and those Palestinians who remained inside West Jerusalem and Israel in 1948. Although by international law they do not share the same status, under Israeli law they do. While this does not legitimise Israeli law, the similarities of their experiences such as the destruction of Arab institutions, replacement with Jewish leadership, discrimination in services and the issue of participation in elections all remain a subject to be expanded upon in order to understand Israeli policy towards the inhabitants of land that it occupies. In particular, discussions in 1987 about entering a list in the Jerusalem municipality elections which included the name of an Arab resident of East Jerusalem requires deeper analysis. Not only did council members say that this would signify an acceptance of Israeli control of the city, but more importantly, some said that any council member would have to declare Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. This declaration, in essence, resembles the addition to the Basic Law implemented by the Knesset in 1984 stating that any person wishing to run for the Israeli parliament had to declare that Israel is the state of the Jewish people.

"The Jerusalem Arab Municipality" is, overall, a comprehensive, well-documented study of the history of the municipality and the major issues regarding Jerusalem which face Palestinians today. While the study is of interest to any scholar of the conflict, those who are particularly interested in current Palestinian ideas about the city will find this study particularly beneficial. The legal training and expertise of the author gives this study a firm foundation in documentation and makes it a worthy addition to the PASSIA publications.



3. PASSIA MEETINGS.

PASSIA Meetings Programme for 1993 covered over 40 meetings, many of them arranged at very short notice owing to the sudden arrival of visitors from abroad and the increased necessity for discussion amongst Palestinians to keep a constant perspective on the rapid political changes during the year.

Introduction.

The year began with the peace process at a stalemate, the deportees remaining on Marj al Zuhour and increasing frustration among Palestinians involved at all levels - the delegation, professionals, academics and grass-roots organisations. The refusal of the Israeli negotiators to discuss or deliver anything beyond the transitional phase was a major source of this frustration as was Israeli inflexibility on settlements and the inequalities in the negotiating positions of the two sides. The economic and social gap between the Gaza Strip and the West Bank widened further and from March, when the Israeli closures of the two areas took effect, unemployment, poverty and deprivation were to rise dramatically which served to further undermine the peace process, weaken the position of its supporters and help to strengthen the opposition.

It was against this background that Palestinian-Israeli negotiations were to begin in a series of meetings in Oslo, Norway. There were limited closed meetings for eight months of which only four people from each side were aware and as a result of which came the Declaration of Principles (DOP) and its signing at the White House on September 13th 1993.

There were scenes of jubilation and celebration among Palestinians in the OPT in the aftermath of September 13th, with the Palestinian flag allowed to wave freely for the first time in 45 years. This euphoria was short-lived. Talks in Taba and Cairo between President Arafat and Prime Minister Rabin on the implementation of the DOP brought no progress on the ground. Frustration returned and opposition to the declaration began manifesting itself in clashes, demonstrations and a particularly disturbing series of unprecedented attacks on Palestinians by Israeli settlers.

Since September 13th there has been more violence and death on both sides. The first deadline of December 13th for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Gaza and Jericho areas, ironically passed with more Israeli troops being deployed in Gaza.

The year ends much as it began - negotiations at a stalemate, tensions rising and the future as uncertain as ever.

involving a wide range of participants and subjects. Despite the Israeli closure of Arab Jerusalem, denying the right of non-Jerusalem residents to be in the city, the siege in the Gaza Strip and other travel restrictions, PASSIA meetings have been functioning well, albeit with limited attendance of senior academics from universities in the West Bank.

To overcome some of the obstacles resulting from the above and without actually moving the meetings outside Jerusalem, PASSIA focussed on three groups to participate in the meetings of 1993:

- a) Young graduates who were partly trained in PASSIA programmes on Diplomacy and International Affairs.
- b) Heads of Palestinian professional associations or their members, based in Jerusalem.
- c) Members of Palestinian research and information centres and media organisations in Jerusalem.

We were successful in continuing the original purpose of PASSIA meetings which is to facilitate open dialogue among all schools of thought within the Palestinian house, and to bring together visitors, official delegations and diplomatic corps, to discuss a variety of issues. In presenting the younger generation to foreign visitors and putting on record Palestinian positions with the knowledge of the interests and viewpoints of others, we could support and enlarge their practical training in diplomacy and international affairs. The negative aspect of Israeli policy in preventing some academics from being in Jerusalem without a permit, was unexpectedly positive for these young graduates who were given the chance to replace the senior academics, meet visiting diplomats etc. and gain first hand exposure to different points of view.

In 1993 guests attending meetings at PASSIA became more diverse. As well as continuing our rewarding relationship with representatives of Canadian institutions and members of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, contacts with other European countries and institutions increased during 1993 and we had the pleasure of welcoming members of the German, French and European parliaments. As always, meetings were well attended by representatives of diplomatic missions in Jerusalem and elsewhere.

In the latter half of the year, particularly after September 13th, PASSIA hosted and organised meetings for visiting Jewish delegations and hosted one from Chicago of 30 members comprising State Legislators, Mayors, business people etc. and one of 26 members representing the United Jewish Appeal "Metrowest" area. Towards the end of the year meetings were held with a visiting international survey team from the National Democratic Institute in Washington DC and a visiting delegation from the Washington Institute.

SUMMARY

As always the peace process and the various problems associated with the slow progress since Madrid were the subject of many meetings. A strong point raised in all of these meetings was the need for national dialogue and national cohesion to try and close the gaps between the various schools of thought within the Palestinian house. At one meeting with an SPD delegation from Bonn, Dr. Riad Malki of BirZeit University was asked if he had any optimism about the future. He pointed out that since Rabin had been in power expulsions had risen, numbers of Palestinians killed had risen and freedom of movement had been severely restricted. It was not easy to be optimistic.

The economy has also been a major subject of concern and there has been a programme of meetings devoted entirely to the discussion of the Palestinian economy, its current state and the possibilities for growth and development. One of these was addressed by the French Commercial Counsellor, Mr. Michel Leroy who said that a decision must be made to either establish new banks or re-open a franchise with Jordan. Antony Sullivan, Director of Programme, Earhart Foundation, said that the legal point was the most pressing as to receive any investment from abroad there must be legal guarantees but Farid Assali, Director of Arab Medical, concluded that the crux of the matter was to generate the growth of agriculture and the tourist industry. Investment in these had visible results and there was already a base from which other institutions could follow.

In another meeting, Salah Abdul Shafi of the Economic Development Group in Gaza talked about the Foreign Economic Relations of the Gaza Strip. He gave a brief history of the Gazan economy from 1957 to the present when the predominant desire is to move towards an independent economy with a legal protective framework. These ideas, however, are severely restricted by occupation laws. The question of a free port in Gaza cannot be taken lightly, another port is needed and Israel is aware that using a Palestinian port would be cheaper per se and would avoid the expense of building an Israeli planned port at Ashqelon. Considering future development, Abdul Shafi pointed out that Palestinian institutions are at a disadvantage regarding capacity, funding, experience and contacts.

Security was another topic covered and there were several meetings held on this subject throughout the year. Two sessions were held with a group from the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in which strategic and security concerns were discussed at length. It was concluded that Israeli settlements were the biggest obstacle to peace, particularly in Jerusalem where Israeli construction policy is effectively shifting the green line eastward and continuing to deprive Palestinians of their land and water resources. Raja Shehadeh, a lawyer based in Ramallah further made the point that the legal system had been gradually moulded to favour Jewish claims on the land making it almost impossible for Palestinians to regain their own land.

A further meeting was with Mr. Donald Sinclair, (Deputy Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Division, External Affairs and International Trade Center, Canada.) who expressed his concern about the importance of Palestinians having

Other meetings, particularly early in the year, included the role of NGOs and think-tanks such as PASSIA and the importance of their role in the future. In one meeting, attended by representatives of the International Association of Voluntary Agencies, the current operating problems of NGOs in the Occupied Territories were discussed, particularly regarding organizational ability to receive and monitor incoming funds especially as they increase. The future roles and abilities of Palestinian NGOs in the transitional phase were discussed at length.

A meeting with the International Labour Organisation based in Geneva raised the unemployment problems unique to this region and the fact that only a comprehensive regional plan would provide any form of solution.

Meetings held near the end of the year often used the following synopsis of political positions in the Middle East as a starting point for discussion. This was written by Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi on November 24th and it should be noted that subsequent summaries of meetings all began with this assessment or an approximation of it.

In June 1918, Prince Faisal in his capacity as head of the Arab Delegation to the Peace Conference in Versailles, met for the first time with Chaim Weizmann representing the Jewish delegation to the same conference and the two men signed an agreement. Part of that agreement read, " We, the Jewish people are asking you, the Arab People to give us part of the land of Palestine on which the Jewish people can have autonomy and establish a homeland." The basis of their understanding for co-existence was economic co-operation and it was said that in return the Jews would give the Arabs the world economic markets.

A similar tale unfolded recently, except this time it was the Palestinians asking the Israelis to return part of their homeland on which to have autonomy and to establish a state. In return the Palestinians would give the Israelis the Arab economic markets.

It is important to consider the current position of all parties involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict to get an overview of the situation in the region today.

Firstly, the United States:

In direct talks between US and PLO officials in Tunis last October there were five issues on the agenda:

1. Washington urged the Palestinians to influence the Arab world to lift its trade boycott against Israel, effective since 1948. The Palestinian response was that consensus had declined among Arab capitals and actual Israeli infiltration of the Arab market could already be seen in Morocco and the Gulf markets. Moreover, Palestinians don't expect "normalisation" with Israel before occupation is ended and concrete achievements concerning Palestinian independence on the ground have been realised.

2. Washington demanded professional monitoring, guidance and financial auditing to direct and/or supervise all projects and funding during transition within a Palestinian economic and investment council. This was met with approval by the PLO and in late November the Economic Council was established.

3. The United States stressed its interest in seeing Palestinian capital invested in the Territories along with Arab and European capital which also met with approval.

4. Washington made a decision to establish a White House task force for the economy in which American, Arab and Jewish businessmen would be involved and would be headed by Vice-President Al Gore. The PLO was receptive to this idea but raised some reservations that its work may be parallel to or at least overlap with European plans.

5. Institutionalising Washington and PLO relations was a concern raised by the PLO and summarised in the following quote: "Is Hanan Ashrawi to be the first Palestinian ambassador to the White House or will she only be spokesperson for Palestinians in Washington circles"?

What must also be considered is the importance of what has not been discussed, for example:

1. Regional security arrangements, military co-operation with Israel and the new role of Turkey, which includes issues of water, borders and the Kurdish problem.
2. Leading officials in the United States National Security Council offering assistance to Tel Aviv which was declined, indicating that Tel Aviv is "in control" in this process.
3. The role of the Islamicist movement and, in particular, the current wave of confrontations with Israeli settlers and the implications this has for the future.

If we look at the current situation with Europe there are three major issues of concern:

1. A possible conflict of interests between Brussels and Washington. In terms of funding and implementation, the following questions are raised:- Is Europe going to fund projects while Washington governs and if so, where and how? Is Europe to provide skills while Washington administers them?
2. What role can Europe play? Monitoring, auditing or guidance under which the people of the region have relative freedom of action.
3. Considering Europe's own problems and slow progress with the Maastricht Treaty, can Europe establish a similar economic task force for the Middle East which includes Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel and Palestine?

In Israel today three schools of thought can be seen:

The first is represented by military generals, academics and leading professionals and their thesis is that Israel has enough strength militarily to resist any threat to security. After twenty five years of occupation with its negative impact on Jewish morale and society, they want Israeli withdrawal from the Occupied Territories and they don't want anything to do with the future of the Palestinian house.

The second school of thought is represented by the architects of the Oslo accords. They consider it crucial for joint economic co-operation between Palestinians and Israelis to draw the future map of the region and cooperation with the current PLO leaders, to put the DOP into practice is essential. Only after results can there be guarantees and democracy and democratic elections will be the testing ground for the implementation and legitimacy of the DOP.

The third school is represented by Mr. Rabin himself, and reflects the military mentality of a general and the developed character of a seasoned statesman. He considers there to be three essential points:-

- give in phases.
- give small portions.
- continually test.

It is not important to Rabin whether the current PLO leadership be the party to deliver, but every stage should be tested and guaranteed before any movement to the second

a) The PLO leadership in Tunis which is committed to the letter of the accord and keen to implement it according to the timetable. Yasser Arafat has said that he will not become another Gorbachev, meaning, he will not deliver the means for change and then depart. However, he could have said that he may become another Yeltsin, meaning that the US and Europe will continue to support him even if he crushes the opposition while flying the democratic banner.

b) Those who fluctuate between high expectations and exaggerated worries and demand election to bring the two poles together and for democracy to prevail.

c) Those who have already started the struggle for power among themselves inside the Territories, resulting in bloodshed in Gaza, the struggle outside the Territories, among those who are concerned about the future of the PLO establishment, and finally the struggle between inside and outside and the question of linkage between the two.

The second school of thought is that of the opposition which has both secular and religious groups.

The secular opposition is currently perceived as a divided group inside and outside the Territories. Their problem is a lack of any alternative political agenda to the DOP and although they advocate election for national authority they will not accept the legitimacy of elections based on the DOP.

The Islamist opposition are well organised and have an alternative agenda based on their own ideology. However, they cannot afford to be outside the future transitional authority and are, therefore, interested in elections as a tool to serve their own ends without actually legitimising the process as read in the DOP.

The third school of thought is the silent majority in the communities. They are critical of the current PLO leadership and its tactics and fear the absence of a clear strategy. They call for democratisation and elections as well as dialogue to maintain harmony and understanding between all parties in the Palestinian house.

The Syrian position demands complete withdrawal by the Israeli military from the Golan Heights, intends to keep a continuous strong presence in Lebanon and wants progress along the Palestinian track, though not necessarily believing in the maintenance of the current PLO political leadership. It also wants a say in regional economic cooperation but again, this may not mean acceptance of the current PLO/Israeli agenda for the region.

The Jordanian position is to deal with Palestinians on three fronts: internally, within the Occupied Territories and with the PLO. Jordan decided not to oppose the PLO/Israeli arrangement and is keeping a close eye on the evolving Islamic trends within its own society. It demands a continued role as a full partner with Palestinians on the issues of Jerusalem, refugees and security, especially during the transitional phase. They don't like to be seen as an extension to an agenda already decided by the PLO and Israel and it is likely that Jordan will seek to pressure and influence the current process through the means of democracy, economic development and security.

A meeting held near the end of the year with representatives of the National Democratic Institute International Survey Team served to clarify Palestinian positions regarding the current stage of the peace process. Lewis Manilow of the NDI described

its work in over 50 countries as focussing on democratisation and education towards that end. This was often very practical work such as teaching people how to use polling machines, monitoring elections or training local monitors. They were very interested to discover if there would be a role for them in the near future of the Palestinian territories. Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi gave an outline of the current situation as noted above adding that the recent student elections in the West Bank University of BirZeit, (in which the mainstream was voted out and replaced by a coalition of those opposed to the September 13th agreement) could be seen as a barometer of current public sentiment. He further noted that these elections served to illustrate the importance of learning the logistics of elections or candidacy, constituency and timing.

Dr. Hisham Ahmed, a visiting Fulbright Researcher at PASSIA, agreed with the outline of the current situation and expressed his concern about the possibility of a renewed "tribalism".

Ms. Zahira Kamal, a UNDP Project Manager, reiterated the suspicions held about the future but strongly affirmed her commitment to democratic development. She pointed out the problem of the lack of a real programme to organise people around and to work for and expressed worry that there was an easy opening for a new dictatorship.

Abdul Jawad Saleh, former elected mayor of Al Bireh and recent returnee, said that in his experience of the PLO factions he could only conclude that they are not fully aware of what is happening on the ground inside the territories. He went on to say that he considers there to be no real democracy within the PLO, and no mechanism for collective decision making as all decisions are made by President Arafat himself. He said he personally believed the DOP to be unfair and unjust and that it was not an agreement that would bring peace; Israeli settlement would continue, military oppression would continue and fanatic settlers already seemed to be becoming a new authority.

Engineer, Khalil Abdinnour, commented that the complexity of international interest in the region would prevent the Palestinians from being free to take their own decisions and the scrutiny under which they will be acting will create further pressures and obligations to try and satisfy the whole international community. He said he did not believe it possible that peace and stability could come out of forcing what he called "customised democracy" upon the society.

Another participant said that he believed the dividing line within Palestinian society was between those who wanted democracy and those who did not. He saw the choice as being between the implementation of the DOP and the implementation of democracy. He said that to implement the agreement certain things must be sacrificed and certain limitations must be set, especially during the transitional phase and his fear was that given the content of the declaration, to implement the agreement would entail the sacrifice of democracy and human rights.

Dr. Mamdouh Aker, a member of the Palestinian negotiating team, commented that he accepted that the Declaration of Principles was a step towards peace but

Higher Islamic Council member, Mohammed Nusseibeh pointed out that if the opposition won the elections then the Declaration of Principles would be null and void and that it is very difficult to make any predictions at this stage with there being so many uncertainties and so few results thus far.

Lewis Manilow of NDI went on to talk about the specific dynamics of the electoral process saying that the whole process of election should not be underestimated as in the experience of NDI it has often been found to be the catalyst for democratic development with elections unleashing energy, ideas and changes in perspective.

In a meeting on Conflict Resolution, Arms Control and Regional Security, Richard Herrman, (Director of the Program in Foreign Policy Analysis at the Mershon Center, Associate Professor of Political Science at Ohio State University.) made the point that the current and perceived as rising threat in the Middle East is Islamic populism and this is an unknown quantity to the United States which doesn't know the extent to which this will gain political support and sees a lack of the democratic institutionalisation that could counter its rise to power.

Dr. Khalil Shikaki from An-Najah University, asked why a change brought about by Islamic populism would lead to the inevitable conflict perceived by the US. He said that a change of this nature would not necessarily be anti-western or undermine US interests. There were a number of local actors whose interests were also in containing the same things which were the concern of the US.

One participant mentioned Algeria and the crushing of the democratically elected Islamic party and said that non-acceptance of Islam by the West will only serve to create a more explosive state.

William Cottam (Professor of Political Science Emeritus, University of Pittsburgh) spoke on his own speciality which was Iran, and said that the prevailing US perception was that Iran was the initiator, financial agent and orchestrator of movements toward Islamic revolution. He pointed out that this perception was not based on US ideas alone but had arisen from information given by Israel, Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

In reply to a suggestion by Khalil Shikaki that Iran was becoming less a regime of ideologues and more pragmatic in its approach, Richard Cottam commented that despite voicing opposition to the PLO/Israel accord, Rafsanjani has also made statements implying certain acceptance. Furthermore, normalisation of relations with Iran would be quite simple to implement and he didn't believe there would be any fundamental disagreement were this to happen. As far as the United States was concerned, although the view of the last fifteen years was still predominant, he didn't believe it was the view of the foreign office or the Presidents office.

Shibley Telhami (Associate Professor of Government, Cornell University) talked specifically of the Declaration of Principles and suggestions for implementation. He

said that the lack of progress was a problem and stressed that there must be tangible results soon for credibility to be maintained.

Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi raised the point of Israeli settlers and settlements and said that this was perhaps the main point on which credibility could really be maintained and tangible results seen.

Other points raised emphasised that this was a *transitional* phase and consequently a time for dialogue, groundwork, sharing of responsibilities among grassroots organisations and establishing and developing a solid base for human rights. It was a period in which doors would be opened for all and participants stressed their commitment to elections and democratic reform as the current goal.

The final comment, however, was that with the first deadline passed (Dec. 13th) the fight for credibility was futile and stability fragile. Power struggles within mainstream Fateh have resulted in assassinations in Gaza and the dominance of Fateh could result in suppression of all opposing voices and allow for Fateh to operate without any monitoring by those familiar with its past experience, particularly in its handling of finances. The arrival of a Fateh police force and "appointees" to top positions might render the prioritising of democracy very problematic.

The final meeting of the year was with French Council representatives and business associates of Montreuil Municipality. It was suggested that the French delegation would invite Mr. Faisal Hussein to nominate five Palestinians to visit Montreuil municipality in January or February 1994 to discuss specific projects and plans, by-laws and the process and experience of elections.



Diplomatic Meetings.

Throughout the year PASSIA received a number of international representatives and diplomats from the Consulates in Jerusalem and the Embassies in Tel Aviv. The purpose of these meetings is to exchange information and ideas on political aspects of the situation and give the Palestinian perspective on internal, regional and international issues. It is also a part of PASSIA's efforts to forge and maintain International Diplomatic links for Palestinian institutions.

Listed below are those received by PASSIA in 1993.

Australia. Reverend and Mrs. Keith Rayner, Anglican Church, Australia.

Belgium. Jean Louis Mignot, Consul General; Pierre Galand, Director General of Oxfam and Head of Palestinian-Belgium Friendship Organisation, Brussels; Minister of Finance in Brussels.

Canada. H.E. Norman Spector, Ambassador; Louis Simard, George Rioux, First Secretary, Consul; Steve Hibbard, Counsellor; Stuart Hughes, General Director, Middle East Division; Peter Paproski, Canada International Development Unit.

European Community. Ian Mackeson, Daniel Bollinger, EC Consultants; Mathias Burchard.

Finland. Jarmo Viinanen, Consul.

France. Jean de Gliniasty, Consul General; Michel Leroy, Consul; Alain Bockel, French Cultural Consultant, Foreign Ministry, Paris; Jean Christophe Peaucelle, Consul General Adjoint;

Germany. Hans Henning Blomeyer Bartenstein, Deputy Head of Mission, German Embassy, Tel Aviv; Bernard Kasperek, General Secretary of the SPD, Nordheim-Westhalen; Andrae Gaerber, Peter Hunseler and Herman Bunz, Friedrich Ebert Foundation; Walter Rudel, Friedrich Naumann Foundation.

India. Virendra Gupta, Counsellor; Dr. Kaumar.
Italy. F. Damiano Spinola, Consul General.

The Netherlands. Como Van Hollonburg, Deputy Chief of Mission; Daan Rosenberg Polak, Counsellor of Embassy; Mr. Meerburg, Head Directorate of Private Activities and Educational Research Programme, Foreign Ministry.

Norway. F. Bull Hansen, Chief of Staff, Norwegian Army.
Russia. Alexa Maslou, First Secretary.

South Africa. Mark Albon, Political Secretary; Sauman Plefsis.

Sweden. Ingvar Carlsson, Former Prime Minister and Chairman of the Social Democratic Party; Mikael Dahl, Consul General; Lena Sundh, Counsellor, Permanent Mission of Sweden to the UN.

Switzerland. William Simpson, Director of Industrial Relations and Labour Administration Dept; Catherine Comtet and Fred Fuitman, International Labour Organisation, Geneva.
Turkey. Isuk Akim, Consul General.

United Kingdom. David Maclennan, Consul General; William Ehrman, Head of Near East and North Africa Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office; Sir Michael Barton, Lord Gilmour and David Welton, MAP UK; Philip Robins, Chatham House; Martin Jacomis, Chairman of the British Council London; Chris McConville, British Council; Christopher Innes-Hopkins, Attache; Joanne Adamson, Vice Consul; Richard Dalton, Consul General and Yacoub Dahdal, commercial/information officer.

United States. Molly Williamson, Consul General; Edward Abington, Consul General; Michelle Dunn, Consul, Gilbert Sherman and Karen Lee Perez, United States Information Service; Hermann Eilts, former US Ambassador; Bruce Stanley, AMIDEAST; Suzanne Wood, Salzburg Seminar Co-ordinator; David Nygaard and Humphrey Davis, Ford Foundation.

4. PASSIA PROJECTS 1993-1994.

PASSIA has been able to initiate new projects for 1993\94 as well as continuing with those started as recently as last year, or as long ago as 1987. What follows is a brief outline of PASSIA's 1993-1994 project activities on "Education for Democracy" and "A Review of Literature on Economic Co-operation and Integration in the Middle East."

PROJECT I.

EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

PASSIA has been able to begin a very timely project entitled "Education for Democracy 1993-94" which is a public education programme designed to help reinforce democratic debate and practice and to increase understanding of democratic ideas and processes within the Occupied Palestinian Territory. The project is planned in three stages with related activities. The first stage involves the commissioning of five papers from academics and professionals representing various schools of thought. The second stage is the organisation of workshops in community and education centres in Nablus, Hebron, Gaza and two in Jerusalem where the papers will be presented and discussed. The third and conclusive stage will be a publication containing all papers written and a summary of ideas raised in the various workshops. PASSIA hopes that this project will provide a forum for open and free debate on aspects of democracy in relation to Palestinian society and strongly encourage greater awareness of the value and importance of open and fair elections.

The authors, subjects chosen for the papers and the areas each will cover are as follows:

1. Author - Raja Shehadeh.

Lawyer; Co-founder of Al Haq, the West Bank affiliate of the International commission of Jurists in Geneva; member of legal advisory committee for the Palestinian delegation in the Middle East Peace Process.

Subject-"***Jurisdiction and National Authority in the Transitional phase and the Final Arrangement.***"

Areas to be covered:

*questions of legislation and the relationship between lawyers, judges, and their organisations.

*how will the Palestinian judicial system evolve considering the background of former bodies: Ottoman, British, Jordanian, Egyptian and Israeli?

*other legal issues.

2.. Author - Dr. Khalil Shikaki.

Assistant Professor of Political Science, An-Najah University, Nablus; Director of the Center for Palestine Research and Studies, Nablus. Author of various studies on the Palestine Question.

- *how will the two areas be represented in national bodies?
- *will the level of representation differ for refugee camps, villages, and major towns?

3. Author - Ali Jarbawi.

Assistant Professor of Political Science, BirZeit University; political commentator and columnist.

Subject-"***Mechanisms for Palestinian Elections: The Laws, Candidates and the Electorate, Parties, Funding and the Media.***"

Areas to be covered:

- *which laws should govern elections? (international, Jordanian, etc.)
- *who should elected officials represent? (social groups, geographic regions, classes?)
- *should candidates run individually or as representatives of political parties or a combination?
- *who will supervise elections? (local, regional, or third party: international or UN observers?)
- *who will be on the list of nominees?
- *how will Palestinians in the diaspora, returnees, expellees, detainees participate?
- *who has the right to vote?
- *what will the role of financing be, what restrictions will be placed on it?
- *will the elections be general or limited only to specific arenas like local councils?

4. Author - Mahdi Abdul Hadi.

Academic; member of the Palestinian delegation to the multilateral working group on Refugees in the Middle East peace process; political analyst and author of various studies on the Palestine Question.

Subject-"***Democracy in Theory and Practice among Palestinian Factions in the Occupied Territories including Islamic Political Trends.***"

Areas to be covered:

- *the evolution of the Palestinian National movement 1967-1982
- *the relationship between various political trends
- *political factions including Islamist during the intifada
- *from the Madrid Conference to the Oslo agreement
- *positions, interests and needs in the transitional phase
- *perspectives on the various agendas of political trends in the democratic process

5. Authors - Jamil Rabah / Ruba Hussari

- Researcher; Jerusalem Media & Communications Centre (JMCC)
- Journalist - Ramallah.

Topic-"***The role of the Palestinian Media in a future Democratic System.***"

Areas to be covered:

- *what will its relationship be to the national authority?
- *what relationship will it have to the political factions?
- *will television be independent or affiliated with the system?
- *will journalistic associations be affiliated with the system, with political factions, or be independent?
- *censorship?

So far two of the papers are completed and are being finally edited for publication. Plans for the first workshop are being made and it is intended that this will be held soon.

PROJECT II.

"A REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND INTEGRATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST."

PASSIA, in conjunction with the Centre for International Studies at the University of Toronto, Canada and sponsored by the Canadian Government, began a joint project in 1993 to compile part of a bibliography for "A Review of Literature on Economic Co-operation and Integration in the Middle East." There are three mutually exclusive independent teams for this project with PASSIA forming the Palestinian team. The Jordanian team is from the Centre for Strategic Studies at Jordan University and the Israeli team is from the Truman Institute at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

This is another timely project especially when considering the contents of the Declaration of Principles and the emphasis on economic co-operation in the Middle East, particularly within the economic triangle of Palestine, Jordan and Israel.

PASSIA is currently involved in research for this project which requires the listing and annotation of approximately five hundred pieces of literature written on the subject of economic co-operation. This includes not only books but journal articles, local research project papers and essays. The original research has found approximately one thousand, five hundred pieces of work which are relevant to the subject, many of these in Arabic and not previously available to a wider audience. A PASSIA research team formed exclusively for this project undertook the task of selecting a third of these items and writing brief reviews of each to be included in the final joint work with the Centre for International Studies.

Owing to the enormous amount of relevant items that the PASSIA team discovered in the course of this research, PASSIA intends to also produce its own bibliographical publication on the subject of economy. This will contain many more than the five hundred listings required in the joint project and ultimately give a very comprehensive overview of Palestinian literature concerned with economic issues. It is hoped that this will be available by April 1994.

Jerusalem has always been a subject to which PASSIA has devoted considerable study and there have been many meetings concentrating exclusively on concerns regarding the city with many different groups of people. This year meetings were held to study the subjects of religion and religious affiliation with the city, settlement and land use, Israeli municipal elections and the Arab municipality itself. The subjects of land and municipality have been produced in book form as part of PASSIA Research Studies 1993 and more detail is available on these studies in Chapter two.

In 1993 PASSIA, with Bishop Samir Kafity of the Episcopal Church in Jerusalem, initiated the meeting of representatives from the three monotheistic faiths to come together and discuss the importance and meaning of Jerusalem to their respective ideologies. It is intended that these meetings continue and develop in the coming year and summaries of the three inaugural meetings are given below.

April 18th.

"The three Monotheistic Faiths in Jerusalem."

Participants:

David Hope - The Bishop of London.

Mahdi Abdul Hadi - PASSIA.

Members of the Anglican Church in Jerusalem.

Summary.

In this meeting Dr. Abdul Hadi explained how the closures have affected access to religious sites in Jerusalem. He explained the Palestinian position of having to obtain special permission to enter Jerusalem in line with Israeli requirements. Also discussed were the steps taken by certain foreign institutions to lodge protest on this matter, mainly in the form of letters to Mr. Rabin condemning the closures, and PASSIA's plan to start holding meetings between representatives of the three monotheistic faiths living in Jerusalem for them to exchange information on their respective positions.

July 15th.

"Relations of the three Monotheistic faiths"

Participants:

Rabbi Yehezkel Landau - Educator Peace Worker.

Rabbi Isaac Newman - Rabbis for Human Rights.

Rabbi Jeremy Milgram - Researcher/Organizer.

Bishop Samir Kafity. - Episcopal Church in Jerusalem.

Abdelrahman Abbad - Lecturer at Hebron University.

Mahdi Abdul Hadi - PASSIA.

Said Zeedani - Professor of Philosophy at BirZeit University .

Ziad Abdeen - Director of Jerusalem Public Health Society.

George Samaan - Lawyer, Jerusalem.

Summary.

This meeting was held to set up an agenda concerning future round table discussions. Bishop Samir Kafity said that Jerusalem should be given first priority and discussed academically, culturally and nationally. Isaac Newman agreed that the agenda should be Jerusalem. Jeremy Milgram said that the problem with the meetings was that they would have no impact on the community at large and future meetings should involve a wider audience and be community-based. George Samaan pointed out that meeting is an achievement in itself but an agenda needs to be developed. Mahdi Abdul-Hadi commented that Jerusalem is part of faith, Arab culture and Islamic heritage. He looked forward to committed people building a forum for future action and serious discussion. Questions of access, freedom of movement and openness are also relevant issues and must be raised. Said Zeedani said that Jerusalem should be viewed from three different angles religious/spiritual, national/sovereignty and municipal/services. He further said that Palestinians should exercise their authority in East Jerusalem and that its inhabitants are entitled to all types of services like their counterparts in West Jerusalem as well as equal residency. Concepts of tolerance and de-politicisation of Jerusalem are important. Ziad Abdeen said that he subscribes to the view that conflict and disagreement are inherent in all societies but that the views of the participants seem to be diametrically opposed because there is a gap in perceptions of reality which stimulates a war of images. Israelis and Palestinians while trying to talk to each other, often end up talking past each other, partly because they have no shared views of the same fact. Islam can be understood in at least two different ways; as a religious belief and practice i.e. a matter of scripture; or as a political framework i.e. a matter of law, government and society. Jerusalem should therefore be discussed from an educational point of view which encompasses the spiritual, religious, cultural and political aspects. Abdulrahman Abbad said he had many reservations since Christians and Jews do not recognise Islam in the way Islam recognises the other two religions. Yehezkel Landau said that a practical agenda is needed based on human rights, politics, sovereignty and spiritual symbolism. It was conclusively agreed that a further meeting be scheduled for August 5, 1993 at PASSIA and that PASSIA headquarters be used for future meetings.

August 5th.

" The three Monotheistic Faiths and the Question of Jerusalem."

Participants:

- Rabbi Yehezkel Landau - Educator Peace Worker.
- Joseph Emanuel - Interfaith\Educator.
- Rabbi Isaac Newman - Rabbis for Human Rights.
- Rabbi Jeremy Milgram - Researcher\Organizer.
- Bishop Samir Kafity - Episcopal Church in Jerusalem. .
- Maher Doudi - Researcher\Project Officer of the Society for Austro-Arab Relations, Jerusalem.
- Khalil Shikaki - Professor of Political Science, A-Najah University.
- Ziad Abu Amer - Professor of Political Science, BirZeit University.
- Bernard Sabella - Professor of Sociology, Bethlehem University.
- Mahdi Abdul Hadi - PASSIA.
- Hisham Ahmed - Visiting Researcher, PASSIA.

... attachment to the Jewish people as the city of redemption. He described Jerusalem as a city of peace and truth and said that justice is required for all who live there. As Jerusalem is a political and spiritual centre of Judaism and Islam, he could not conceive of it being the capital of Palestine only; it should be divided to serve as the capital of both Israel and Palestine. He likened Jerusalem to a mother who should not be monopolised by her children. Joseph Emanuel said that Jerusalem is the heart of everything to the Jewish people, in the diaspora it was the city that was most spoken of and not the land. Bernard Sabella asked if the question of Jerusalem could really be simply resolved by reconciliation and peace with others. He pointed out the political dimension of Jewish hegemony. Samir Kafity asked how far back in history the participants wished to go. To a Christian he said, Jerusalem has always been multiplicitous and asked how far the participants were going to use examples of the politics of different eras and how far religion was being abused to meet political gains. Ziad Abu Amer commented that his interest was academic and national and asked how long the Jewish people had seen Jerusalem as city of redemption. He said that to solve the question of Jerusalem the group must move on from religion to a more practical approach. From the beginning it was necessary to avoid any exclusive religious claims on the city. Khalil Shikaki, however, said he wished to learn more about the speakers religion and asked if the politics mentioned from the days of Solomon and David were also used to refer to the present day. Dr. Abdul Hadi asked if there was a way to look at religion without politicising it, to understand it on its own. Isaac Newman said that religious Jerusalem was one square mile but political Jerusalem was much bigger and religiously all it should be is a house of prayer for all peoples and a centre of peace. Yehezkel Landau iterated his wish to see Jerusalem as the capital of two states.

Concluding points were that it is impossible to deal with Jerusalem in purely religious terms. The Jewish acceptance of partition in 1948 meant that it was now impossible to partition the heart, a metaphor strongly used to refer to Jerusalem by all religious persuasions. Points to be raised at the next meeting were then discussed including whether the religious approach can provide a basis for reconciliation. Ziad Abu Asir suggested that their talks needed to address anything that can be found in each of the three religions books which would justify Jerusalem being a shared city.

Another major area of concern has been the Arab Jerusalem municipality, land use, settlement and security issues with three meetings being held on these subjects. The first is a brief review of the present state of the Arab municipality and the following two detail land use for settlement and the possibilities for their future security arrangements. The fourth, is an examination of legal practices regarding land appropriation and the difficulties of proving land ownership through Israeli legal channels.

16th March.

"Metropolitan Jerusalem."

Participants:

Mohammed Nahal - Researcher, Jerusalem.
Raja Shehadeh - Lawyer, Ramallah.
Mohammad Jadallah - Physician, Jerusalem.
Walid Assali - Lawyer, Jerusalem.
Adnan Hussein - Architect, Director of Islamic Waqf, Jerusalem.
Farid Abdeen - Islamic Waqf, Jerusalem.
Sheikh Azam Khatib - Jerusalem.
Neshat Tahbub - Engineer, Jerusalem.
Abdel Rahman Abu Arafeh - Engineer, Jerusalem.

Summary.

This meeting covered aspects of the metropolitan area of Jerusalem beginning with a historical background of transportation in the city from the time of the British Mandate (1914-47) to the present day. The demographic distribution of the Jewish and Arab sectors was discussed followed by a detailed explanation of the two separate transportation systems over the East and West sides of the city. The issue of new Jewish areas in East Jerusalem and the transportation implemented to fulfill their needs was also raised. A discussion of services and national institutions on both sides of the city was included. Background of the Mount Scopus area was given and statistical questions of Arab and Jewish residence put forward. Although Jerusalem was defined as one metropolitan area under the British Mandate, there have been two separate transportation systems in Jerusalem since 1938 and this has remained unchanged for the last 55 years. It was noted that the Palestinian transportation system has been largely ignored and neglected by the Israeli-run Jerusalem municipality despite the fact that since 1948 East Jerusalem has become the metropolitan centre for all transport to and from the West Bank serving all destinations within the green line. It was suggested that Jerusalem could be characterised in the same way as other divided cities such as Beirut, Belfast, and Nicosia.

June 19th.

"Jerusalem and Israeli Settlements."

Participants:

Terry Boullata - Research Assistant, UNRWA.
Jamil Rabah - JMCC - Jerusalem.
Ibrahim Abudalo - Offset Institute, Beit Safafa.
Mohammed Nusseibeh - Engineer, Vice President of Islamic Higher Council - Jerusalem.
Rula Kort - Assistant to Hanan Ashrawi.
Rana Budeiri - Office Manager, Centre for Development in Primary Health Care.
Usama Halabi - Lawyer, Jerusalem.
Mohammed Nakhal - Researcher, Arab Studies Society.
Mustafa Abu Zehra - Engineer, businessman, member of Islamic

Albert Aghazirian - Public Relations Officer, BirZeit University.
Abdel Rahman Abu Arafah - Engineer, Jerusalem.
Izzedin Aryan - Pharmacist, Ramallah.
Amjad Aryan - Post Graduate student, USA.
Khalil M. Tufakji - Researcher, Arab Studies Society.
Mahdi Abdul Hadi - PASSIA.

Summary.

Terry Boullata gave a paper in which she detailed the constant undermining of the Palestinians in their claim for Jerusalem. Despite Israel having violated international laws they introduced the following policy in a systematic attempt to destroy the ability of East Jerusalem to become the capital of a Palestinian state: a) Boundaries - The Israeli Jerusalem municipality has extended the city limits to effectively incorporate as much land as possible from Palestinian villages but to exclude concentrations of Palestinian population; b) Population - The population percentage at the end of 1992 was 72% Israeli and 28% Arab. With continuous mass building of new Israeli settlements around East Jerusalem the gap is set to widen further; c) Land Use - Since 1967, nearly 40% of all land in the annexed areas has been confiscated for "public use" and then used for high density Jewish housing or turned over to Jewish institutions such as the Hebrew University. These three things had resulted in a ring of settlements strangling Arab Jerusalem and limiting any further Arab expansion. These policies and continued Israeli refusal to stop or even discuss them may have consequences of political instability should this issue cause the collapse of the peace talks. Terry Boullata pointed out that the main objective of the Palestinians is to have Jerusalem as the capital of a recognised state and the options for the future were either: a) As detailed in the 1947 UN Plan; b) A functional division of power, within a divided city; or c) An open city. She went on to point out the problems with each of these options and concluded that her preference was option c), that is a divided but open city for both peoples where each nation can exercise its sovereignty. This option she said, meets the minimum aspirations of the Arab world, the ability to preserve the character of Jerusalem and to finally retrieve the heart and symbol of their existence.

July 3rd.

"Jerusalem, Settlements and Security Strategies."

Participants:

Maher Doudi - Researcher/Project Officer of the Society for Austro-Arab Relations, Jerusalem.
Ibrahim Matar - ANERA, Jerusalem.
Usama Halabi - Lawyer, Jerusalem.
Terry Boullata - Research Assistant, UNRWA.
Jamil Rabah - Jerusalem Media and Communications Centre.
Ibrahim Abudalo - Offset Institute.
Ibrahim Jebriil - UNRWA, Jerusalem.
Ruba Hussari - Journalist, Al Hayat, Jerusalem.
Ziad Abu Zayyad - Journalist, Editor of Geshar. Jerusalem.
Mahdi Abdul Hadi - PASSIA.
Hisham Ahmed - Visiting Researcher, PASSIA

Summary.

Maier Doudi gave a presentation in which he examined security issues and Palestinian national authority in the transitional phase. He began by giving a brief outline of the events which led up to the peace talks, focussing particularly on the effects of the Gulf War and the demise of the former Soviet Union. He then went on to talk about the settlements in the OPT which he considers in two broad categories: a) Hard line ideologists who believe that "Judea and Samaria" are an integral part of the land of Israel, and b) Residents without strong ideological commitment but attracted to live in the Territories for financial reasons ie. cheap housing, tax incentives etc. Mr. Doudi gave four possible options for settlement security beyond the transitional phase: 1) Self-Policing; 2) Palestinian Policing; 3) IDF Policing; 4) No change (ie. continued Israeli Govt. Policing). Israel is not willing to leave the West Bank as it maintains that its continued presence is essential for Israels security to be positioned there. Mr. Doudi suggests that the threat posed by other Arab States towards Israel is not going to be affected by their presence in the West Bank especially with regard to the availability of long-range missiles. Furthermore, the political priorities of leaders in the Arab States are the security and maintenance of their own regimes. Israel must address these issues. Mr. Doudi suggested the establishment of a joint crisis management centre with UN involvement in order to deal with dangerous or violent activity that could arise on either side in opposition to the peace process. Mr. Doudi concluded that there must be a serious commitment on both sides to work through their differences.

July 10th.

"Land Issues and Jerusalem."

Participants:

Raja Shehadeh-Lawyer, Jerusalem.
Usama Halabi - Lawyer, Jerusalem.
Mahdi Abdul Hadi -PASSIA.
Ziad Abdeen - Director of Jerusalem Public Health Society.
Suleiman Aref - Loans officer, Technical Development Group, Jerusalem.
Ibrahim Abudalo - Fellow at PASSIA.
Hisham Ahmed - Visiting Researcher at PASSIA
James Leith - CCINGO, Jerusalem.
Mohammed Mustapha - Egyptian Embassy, Tel Aviv.
Ruba Hussari - Journalist, Al Hayat, Jerusalem.
Ibrahim Shaaban - Head of Housing Council, Jerusalem.

Summary.

Raja Shehadeh gave a paper on his studies of Law and Land Appropriation. Regarding settlement, he said that land for settlements was expropriated until 1978. After the case of Elon Moreh in 1979 the High Court ruled that only seizures of privately owned land could be prevented. Since a little over a third of the land in the West Bank was registered this left it the majority of it vulnerable. Thus began a new method of acquisition which declared the land "public domain" and it became the responsibility of whoever owned the land to prove their ownership of it. These cases were however, tried by special military committees and Mr. Shehadeh

raiesurian presence in the new settlements could not expand. Raja Shehadeh stressed that the Israelis have created a legal justification for every action which is impossible to challenge without studying all of their arguments very carefully. Until now, he said, the Palestinian National Movement has neglected the legal challenge, but for progress to be made, it is essential to focus on this.

Municipal elections held in Jerusalem on November 2nd were also an important issue and with the ousting of long time mayor Teddy Kollek and the victory of Likud's Ehud Olmert a different era of policy making has begun. The effect of this change remains to be seen but granting permission for Jewish building on land earmarked for an Arab school on the Mount of Olives has been an inauspicious beginning.

July 27th.

"Israeli Views on Municipal Elections in Jerusalem."

Participants:

Usama Halabi-Lawyer, Jerusalem.

Raja Shehadeh - Lawyer, Jerusalem.

Said Zeedani - Professor, BirZeit University.

Rana Budeiri - Office Manager - CDHC.

Ziad Abu Zayyad - Journalist, Editor of Gesher. Jerusalem.

Bernard Sabella - Professor, Bethlehem University.

Mahdi Abdul Hadi - PASSIA.

Abdel Rahman Abu Arafah -Engineer, Jerusalem.

Samia Houry - Business administrator; national president of YWCA, Jerusalem.

Adnan Arafah - Head of Arab Health Centre - Jerusalem

Ibrahim Shaaban - Head of Palestinian Council fo Housing, Jerusalem.

Summary.

Usama Halabi gave a presentation in which the discussion centred on the following three aspects of the Israeli municipal elections:

1. The Peace for Jerusalem party headed by Moshe Amirav and Sarah Kaminker and their attempts to compile a running list consisting of Israeli Arabs and Palestinians in the forthcoming elections in Jerusalem; (Their manifesto pledged to support Palestinian rights and advocated a two state solution with Jerusalem as the joint capital).

2. The attempts of the then incumbent mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kollek to garner support amongst Jerusalem Arabs in order to maintain his seat which he had held since 1966;

3. The Likud party and the strong challenge of Ehud Olmert to change the longtime policies of Teddy Kollek and to revoke building restrictions which could decelerate the Judaisation of the city of Jerusalem.

Mr. Halabi mentioned that despite Sari Nusseibeh calling for a unilateral Arab list for elections in the previous year, Palestinians generally viewed participation as legitimisation of occupation. Whether the ballot list was unilateral joint with Israelis or in any other form, participation would be seen as recognition of annexation and the Palestinian consensus was to remain uninvolved. Action on the part of the

Palestinians was to work towards re-establishing their own Arab municipality for East Jerusalem.

It was noted that the decision of Teddy Kollek to stand for re-election had been to a certain extent coerced as his chances of victory were slim. It was suggested that this was a deliberate action which would allow the Likud party to win as a form of political compensation and counterbalance to the direction in which the peace process was going.

Towards a Jerusalem National Council

This plan was initiated by Mr. Faisal Hussein, Head of the Palestinian team to the Middle East peace process, and his colleagues, to co-ordinate together and consult with others toward the goal of forming the departments and divisions of a Jerusalem National Council. Before the announcement of its founding, planned for mid-December 1993, local Arabic and Israeli press ran reports on these national efforts. What follows is a outline of the process and progress of the Jerusalem National Council.

On 1 November 1993, Faisal Hussein, head of the Palestinian negotiating team to the Middle East peace talks, called a meeting at the Orient House in East Jerusalem to discuss establishing the basic structure for the "Jerusalem National Council - Palestine". The founding members of this Council (approximately 50 persons) formed the General Assembly which met on 4 November 1993 at the Orient House under the chairmanship of Faisal Hussein. The Assembly discussed the following issues: Israeli Closure and Checkpoints around Jerusalem; Settlements; Residents and Housing; Issues in the Old City; Religious Institutions; Activities in Jerusalem; the Relationship between Jerusalem and the Rest of the Occupied Territories; the Current Stage of the Discussions between Faisal Hussein and the Israeli Police Minister Shahal and Possible Changes on the Ground over the Next Two Years; International, Arab and Islamic Positions; Arab Countries' Interests in Aiding Palestinians; NGO Positions on Jerusalem; Christian Institutions and the Issue of the Vatican and Christian Properties; Health and Education; and the Likud Party takeover of the Israeli Jerusalem Municipality. Discussion of these issues was to be through a collective effort in order to obtain comprehensive perspectives focussing on three different fronts: the internal front, the Arab-Islamic front, the Israeli front.

In this first public meeting, the assembled members recommended the following:

1. Appointment of Hassan Tahboub as deputy chair to lead Assembly meetings in the absence of the head, Faisal Hussein;
2. Formation of a temporary Preparatory Committee made up of six members and headed by Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi;
3. Assignment of specific duties to the Preparatory Committee until the formation of the Executive Bureau and National Body departments.
4. The duties of the Preparatory Committee are to concentrate on the following

- working relationship with the body or for consultation purposes;
- d. Co-ordination and consultation with all parties interested in Jerusalem with the purpose of clarifying the efforts and ideas of the working papers discussed in the forum meetings.

5. A second preparatory meeting of the Assembly to be held on Thursday 18th November from 5.00 pm to 7.00 pm at the Orient House in Jerusalem.

The Work of the Preparatory Committee.

The Preparatory Committee held three seminars at PASSIA to exchange the ideas, views and opinions of individuals, representatives from organisations or projects and political factions from Jerusalem. Over 30 people attended each of these seminars and the following three issues emerged from them:

I. The Basic Goal.

The first step was delineating the basic goal or vision of the "Jerusalem National Council". This goal reflects the Palestinian goals of the transition period and final settlement. Jerusalem is part of the Occupied Palestinian Territory, and is the political, religious and geographical capital of Palestine. Therefore, it is necessary to formulate a clear picture of Palestinian duties in response to the policies and practices of the Israeli occupation.

A discussion of the procedures and mechanisms of the Palestinian national leadership, which will be in place during the transition period, was deemed necessary so as to ensure that it has a role and a presence in Jerusalem. Its authority must eventually extend from Gaza and the Jericho area to the West Bank and Jerusalem where it will have an active public role with influence and presence in Jerusalem from now and throughout the transition period. When discussions begin after two years, the necessary framework for the final stage negotiations will be in place.

In order to enable such a situation to develop, we must work to achieve unity on the ground and among the people in the West Bank and Gaza with regard to their political, spiritual and religious centre. What we must achieve as a working goal in Jerusalem in the next three or four years, is the extension of political influence and authority to the temporary Palestinian government to include, if not to be centralised in, Jerusalem. At the same time we must protect and strengthen the Palestinian presence in the Holy City and to enable it to defend Arab (Muslim and Christian) rights in the city.

II. Strategic Outline.

The following subjects currently make up a possible strategic outline to use in achieving the goals of the transitional stage: 1) planning; 2) economy; 3) law; 4) basic services; 5) institutions; 6) politics; 7) religion; 8) finance; 9) defence and public safety.

Restrictions and pressures must be taken into account as well as objective conditions on the ground in the regional and international arenas where the work will

take place. However, the question remains as to whether the general policies and activities in the present institutions are enough. Do we need to found an umbrella national institution to unify matters under the name of the Jerusalem National Council.

III. Work Plan.

The following plan outlines the steps needed, according to the ideas of the participants, to achieve the goals of this stage:

- a) Building or rehabilitation of institutions and coordination with others and to achieve a unity of strength and activity in a nationalist centre.
- b) Providing the tools of political leadership and a detailed plan of administration through the national central institution in Jerusalem and other national institutions and activities.

Meetings of the Preparatory Committee

Three meetings were held at PASSIA on 10th, 13th, and 17th November 1993. These were attended by members of national organisations and activists from the OPT including Jerusalem and numbered approximately 40 people. From these meetings, the Preparatory Committee emerged with the following recommendations:

- a. the necessity and importance of uniting national activities under a general council in Jerusalem given that it is the capital of the state of Palestine;
- b. naming the council "The Jerusalem National Council - Palestine";
- c. announcing the founding of this council, the working headquarters of which will be at the Orient House in Jerusalem.

The Preparatory Committee drafted the following plan for the formation of the Jerusalem National Council:

1. The Executive Bureau:

The Executive Bureau will be made up of twenty-two elected members among whom will be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary General, and eighteen members. Each of the nine departments which make up the National Council will be represented by two members who will co-ordinate with the appropriate specialists to achieve designated goals.

The Executive Bureau will have the following responsibilities and duties:

- a. Working towards implementing the general goals of the Jerusalem National Council through its decisions and recommendations;
- b. Representing the Jerusalem National Council both inside and outside the country in all respects;
- c. Forming the departments of the Council through specialised and continuous consultation with each department including qualified personnel without discrimination or differentiation according their political views or personal opinions;
- d. Implementing suggestions and projects for the departments, providing them with a budget, and assigning experts to monitor activities;

to its particular needs. In the first phase, each division will contain a minimum of five and maximum of ten members with relevant experience and with the commitment to work in such a division. The departments and divisions are as follows:

1. Planning Department

Divisions:

- a. Research and Studies
- b. Land and Planning
- c. Housing
- d. Statistics
- e. Database

2. Economics Department

Divisions:

- a. Tourism
- b. Energy
- c. Commerce
- d. Water and Environment
- e. Agriculture
- f. Transportation
- g. Labor and Unions

3. Law and Legal Affairs Department

Divisions:

- a. Documents and Laws
- b. Violations
- c. Internal Disputes
- d. Legal Advice
- e. Settlements
- f. Arab Municipality
- g. Israeli Municipality
- h. Identity Cards and Residencies
- i. Courts

4. Basic Services Department

Divisions:

- a. Education
- b. Health
- c. Social Welfare
- d. Antiquities
- e. Property and Real Estate
- f. Food Supply and Storage

5. Institutions Department

Divisions:

- a. Cultural institutions
- b. Women's Institutions

- c. Social Institutions
- d. Charitable Institutions
- e. Clubs and Scouts

6. Political Department

Divisions:

- a. Strategic Planning
- b. Arab Affairs
- c. International Relations
- d. Israeli Affairs
- e. Internal Coordination
- f. Media and Translations

7. Religious Department

Divisions:

- a. Holy Places
- b. Higher Islamic Council
- c. Islamic Waqf
- d. Sharia Courts
- e. Christian Courts
- f. Christian Patriarchs
- g. Vatican
- h. Christian Properties and Waqf

8. Finances Department

Divisions:

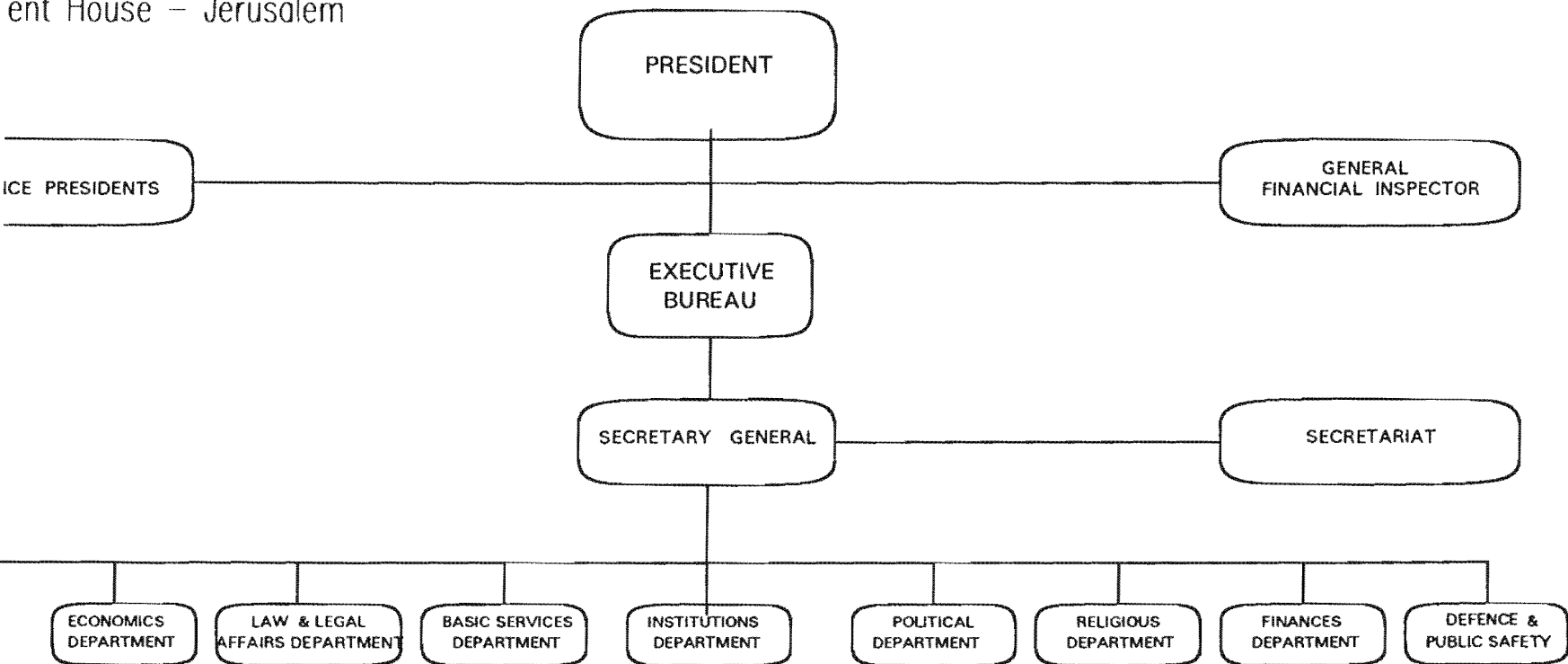
- a. Financial Institutions
- b. Taxes and Customs
- c. Budgets
- d. Cashier's Office
- e. Auditing Office

9. Defence and Public Safety Department

Divisions:

- a.
- b.
- c. (to be announced)
- d.
- e.

Jerusalem National Council General House – Jerusalem



- ies
1. Tourism
 2. Energy
 3. Commerce
 4. Water & Environment
 5. Agriculture
 6. Transportation
 7. Labour & Unions

1. Documents & Laws
2. Violations
3. Internal Disputes
4. Legal Advice
5. Settlements
6. Arab Municipality
7. Israeli Municipality
8. Identity Cards & Residencies
9. Courts

1. Education
2. Health
3. Social Welfare
4. Antiquities
5. Property & Real Estate
6. Food Supply & Storage

1. Cultural Institutions
2. Women's Institutions
3. Social Institutions
4. Charitable Institutions
5. Clubs & Scouts

1. Strategic Planning
2. Arab Affairs
3. International Relations
4. Israeli Affairs
5. Internal Coordination
6. Media & Translations

1. Holy Places
2. Higher Islamic Council
3. Islamic Waqf
4. Sheri's Courts
5. Christian Courts
6. Christian Patriarchs
7. Vatican
8. Christian Properties & Waqf

1. Financial Institutions
2. Taxes & Customs
3. Budgets
4. Cashier's Office
5. Auditing Office

1. To be
2. Announced
3. Announced
4. Announced
5. Announced

in its report to the general assembly meeting at the Orient House on 18th November 1993.

1. The members of the Executive Bureau be elected by secret ballot in the general meeting of the assembly of the Founding Council on the 18th November 1993 at the Orient House.

2. The Executive Bureau be assigned to create a work programme for the departments and divisions of the Jerusalem National Council. This plan is to be developed from specialised seminars with experts and candidates for membership in each department and division. Added to this will be co-ordination and consultation with national activists and political factions in order to crystallise the ideas and efforts put into the work plan of this phase.

3. The Executive Bureau be assigned with proposing an annual budget and electing the General Financial Inspector for the Jerusalem National Council - Palestine.

The General Assembly made the following conclusive remarks:

1) Thanks and appreciation to the Preparatory Committee for their efforts and intensive work.

2) Agreement with the recommendations of the Preparatory Committee with the exception of the issue of elections. The assembly suggested the postponement of elections until the departments and divisions are formed.

3) An invitation to the third meeting of the Founding Council to follow-up planning and to emerge with a realistic framework for implementation.



6. EDUCATION AND TRAINING IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

In 1993 PASSIA continued its programme on "Education and Training in International Affairs."

PASSIA's seminar on Strategic Studies and Security, 1993, is the second of three courses arranged by PASSIA in the academic year 1992-93. In October 1992, the first course was conducted in co-operation with the Swedish Consulate on the subject of Diplomacy and Protocol. The third was held in November\December 1993 on the subject of the European Community and the Middle East.

These courses aim to train young Palestinian graduates in the field of diplomacy and international affairs. They are part of PASSIA's endeavour to meet the need of our community for formal education, training and practical experience in these areas. PASSIA invites experts and professionals from outside the Occupied Territories to join Palestinian academics in educating and training young Palestinian graduates.

PASSIA hopes that this seminar, held at this crucial period in our history, will enable Palestinians to continue the process of state-building and to enhance our relations and better understanding with the international community.



Part I - Diplomacy and Protocol.

This seminar was held over the period 5th-16th October, 1992. It was supported by the Ford Foundation and the Swedish Consulate General in Jerusalem. The special committee formed for this seminar was headed by Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi as director, and further consisted of:

Dr. Bernard Sabella : Director of the Academic Committee. 1992.

Dr. Sa'id Zeedani : Director of the Projects Committee. 1992.

Mrs. Kainat Dweik : Director of the Administrative Committee. 1992.

Mr. James Leith : Co-ordinator of the Academic Committee. 1992.

In the first week of September the committee, in conjunction with the Arab Studies Society, invited applications for the seminar and out of the 23 received, fifteen plus two reserves were selected to participate.

The PASSIA committee approached the Swedish Consulate General in Jerusalem and arranged for the Swedish government to provide diplomats from Stockholm to lecture at the Seminar. In consultation with Mikael Dahl, the Swedish Consul General, a list of books and reading material was prepared and given to the participants between mid-September, 1992 and the beginning of October. PASSIA

period from the 5th to 16th of October. It was opened by the head of the Arab Studies Society, Faisal Hussein and the Swedish Consul General Mikael Dahl who also participated in the lecture programme.

Other speakers and lecturers were as follows :

Mr. Mathias Mossberg - Ambassador Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Ove Bring - Deputy Under-Secretary of State, Legal Department, Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Per Holmstrom - Consul, Consulate General of Sweden.

Mr. Krister Mumlin - Ambassador, Head of Press and Information Department, Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Mrs. Cordelia Edvardson - Foreign Correspondent of Swedish Daily "Svenska Dagbladet".

Mrs. Gun-Britt Andersson - former Deputy Under-Secretary of State, Department for International Development Co-operation, Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Klas Stenstrom - Ambassador, Deputy Chief of Protocol, Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Mats Bergquist - Ambassador, Tel Aviv/Helsinki.

The lecture topics were :

Introduction to International Relations.

A Brief History of Diplomacy.

International Law.

Diplomacy and Mass Media.

Organisation and role of a Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

The role of a Diplomatic Mission International Organisations and International Civil Service.

International Negotiations and Arbitration.

Protocol, Ceremony, Diplomatic Immunity and Privileges.

Diplomatic History of the Middle East.

International Development Cooperation North-South Issues.

Because this seminar was held in 1992 a full summary of lectures is not included here but is available in the PASSIA publication "Diplomacy and Protocol" which was published in December 1992.

Part II - Strategic Studies and Security.

The PASSIA special committee for this seminar consisted of :

Dr. Ibrahim Abu Lughod - Head of Department of Political Science at Northwestern University, USA; Vice-President of BirZeit University.

Dr. Khalil Shikaki - Professor in the Department of Political Science at An-Najah National University in Nablus; Director of Centre for Palestine Research and Studies - Nablus.

Ms. Alison Brown - Seminar Co-ordinator and Rapporteur; PASSIA.

Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi - President and Founder of PASSIA.

PASSIA consulted with British and Palestinian scholars in the field of Strategic Studies and Security on sharing the implementation of the seminar. During December and January, PASSIA prepared reading material for the course. PASSIA advertised the proposed seminar in the local press, *Al Quds* and *Al Fajr* English, and through national institutions such as universities and research centres. PASSIA received 40 applications from all over the Occupied Territories.

The Committee invited all applicants to individual interviews at PASSIA between 18th and 20th March 1993. Of the thirty applicants who attended interviews, the Committees selected fifteen to participate in the seminar and three reserves.

The Committee recommended that PASSIA hold another seminar in Arabic. PASSIA will invite the majority of those not selected for the April 1993 course to participate in this seminar.

This seminar took place from the 19th-30th of April and the following accepted the PASSIA invitation to be guest lecturers:

Dr. Rosemary Hollis - Research Fellow and Head of the Regional Security Programme at the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies in London.

Ms. Valerie Yorke - Middle East Editor at the Economist Intelligence Unit, London.

Dr. Ibrahim Abu Lughod - Head of Department of Political Science at Northwestern University, USA; Vice President of BirZeit University.

Dr. Khalil Shikaki - Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at An-Najah National University, Nablus. Director of Centre for Palestine Research and Studies.

The British guests and the Palestinian academics ran the seminars as a team, with the exception of Professor Trevor Taylor - Head of the International Security Programme of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, who unfortunately declined to attend the seminar at the last minute.

The intensive programme of lectures and workshops was held over a two week period from the 19th to 30th of April.

LECTURES.

*The seminar began with introductory addresses from **Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi** and **Dr. Ibrahim Abu Lughod**.*

Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi addressed current political developments saying that since Madrid two documents have been produced, the Israeli plan entitled "Autonomy" and the Palestinian "PISGA" (Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority). Added to this are the multilateral talks on the issues of the economy, water, environment, disarmament and security, and human rights. Another factor is in the domestic arena and the importance of going beyond the settling of internal disputes and preparing for exercising national authority on the ground. He noted that much of the structure and consensus needed for this kind of movement was already in place with a clear mandate from the leadership in Tunis, higher councils established on a

recognised boundaries since the Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916 and priority should be given to determining exactly which territory is being discussed before setting a political arrangement and not vice versa.

Dr. Abu Lughod addressed security issues such as the protection of national interest and said that Palestinians prefer to give attention to how security can be achieved through the rule of law and equality among nations rather than the balance of power and the threat of war. He defined the state in terms of national identity, territory and representation by national consensus. He considered the final factor to be sovereignty over land and concluded that it was only this factor that the Palestinians did not yet have. An important aspect is the attention to political and national rights and the central problem is how the Palestinians are to protect themselves as a people and a state. He noted that in 1974 Arafat re-opened the Palestinian question and the vision of a democratic secular state with a strategy of clarity about political goals, attention to individual rights, national liberation consistent with international legitimacy and organising people, especially in the Diaspora, to revive national identity. Israel lost its moral authority during the intifada by fighting unarmed women and children while the political goal of a state in the West Bank and Gaza for all the Palestinian people was pursued by political means. Professor Lughod added that states come into being in two ways, by the use of force or by agreement and while Israel can perpetuate occupation by military means, it cannot impose its will to bring surrender. There must therefore be a mutual political solution.

Sovereignty, self determination, power, national security & use of force. **Dr. Khalil Shikaki.**

The lecture began with an attempt to define power, politics and the results of a power relationship when one group can dictate the actions of others through a variety of means. It went on to talk about the system of nation states and to define security and the separate security needs of all parties when all are strategically interdependent without one state having control over its own fate. The question of anarchy was raised and the effects of an absence of a central authority and how this affects the role of force in international politics.

The lecture then focussed on nationalism with a brief historical review of the foundations of nationalism and its possible components of religion, land, language, race etc. This was linked to the ideas of various philosophers and theoreticians and developed with historical examples of revolution. The final part of the lecture focussed on the expansion of force in the international system going through its rationalisation, popularisation, professionalisation and finally the role of technology in adding to its capabilities and the ways in which perception of force has changed, especially in the nuclear age.

Nuclear deterrence and the balance of power. **Dr. Khalil Shikaki.**

The lecture initially covered the concept of deterrence and defence, the traditional objectives of military power and the extent to which force can accomplish

these objectives. A brief review of the means by which force affects behaviour was given, citing historical examples of threats of retaliation, punishment and denial and cost and benefit calculation between the positions of deterrence and defence. When applied to specific targets, deterrence and the threat of retaliation is directed at the population and industry whereas defence is directed at enemy military capabilities. Missiles were considered and nuclear weapons in particular, as a means to restructure concepts regarding use of force in international politics but it was questioned whether this automatically produced deterrence. Deterrence theory, it was noted, was deductive and paid little attention to policy goals or underlying motives and sought basically to maintain the *status quo*. However, in a pure model of deterrence, mutually assured destruction was necessary and sufficient for deterrence of total and limited wars.

Foreign and defence policy, military strategy and military doctrine. **Dr. Rosemary Hollis.**

This lecture began with an introduction of the "Western Tradition" in thinking about strategy and security and a theoretical outline of three alternative models which interpreted international political economy in different ways. These were a) The Liberal Model, which separates politics and economics and sees progress as linear, gradual and continuous; b) The Nationalist/Mercantilist Model, which subordinates economic activities to the goal of state building; and c) The Marxist Model, which has a dialectical approach to reality and actually combines elements of a) and b). The lecture continued by defining the realist and neo realist approaches to international relations saying that the neo-realists have refined the original realist model by introducing the notion that actors have perceptions and perspectives that are subjective and not universal, therefore refuting the idea that states/actors behave rationally, in some objective and immutable sense. As far as policy making was concerned it was remarked that, in general, Western analysts still describe the policies and objectives of states as though they are coherent single units. In fact, it is now well-understood that policies are the aggregation of actions and motives of a number of players and factors operating within and between states.

The next part of the lecture focussed on decision-making theory which was illustrated by three models. The Rational Policy Model, which sees the state or government as a unitary rational actor, the Organisational Process Model which sees action not as a rational choice but as the output of large organisations functioning according to standard patterns of behaviour, and the Bureaucratic Politics Paradigm which sees policy as the outcome of political bargaining between those in the government hierarchy. Hence, decisions are made as a result of individual actions and not the rational decisions of states as the West likes to portray.

The lecture concluded with Military Strategy and Doctrine, charting a brief history of the nature of warfare and concluding that as the 21st century approaches the power of so-called conventional technology for fighting non-nuclear or conventional wars, has become so destructive as to render even this type of conflict counter-productive or irrational, unless the amount of force used is limited.

In this lecture, several graphs were distributed to illustrate the Evolution of the International Arms Market and Controls, Regional Shares of the World Arms Import Market, 1979 and 1989, Middle East Arms Import Market, 1989 and World Arms Export Shares, 1989. Dr. Hollis went on to talk about factors underlying the changes over the past 2-3 decades which have included more importers, exporters and producers and a levelling-off of the growth in arms trade in the mid/late 1980s due to economic and political developments. The stages of the development of the international arms trade were outlined, beginning with the inter-war period of 1930-40 continuing with the post World War II period of 1946-66 and oil boom years of 1966-80 and concluding with the end of the Cold War, 1992.

Important characteristics of the contemporary arms trade were noted such as the internationalisation of industrial, and hence arms, production, the blurring of lines between civilian and military technology, the re-emergence of illegal traders/traffic, contraction of government involvement in industry in the developed world, availability of surplus arms from the Cold War and the problems of tracking, let alone controlling, arms/technology transfers.

On arms control and disarmament in the Middle East specifically, three levels of impact/implications were identified: the level of domestic politics and economy of each state and the role of the military in the respective societies and economies; the possibilities of military confrontation between states and the likelihood of war being fuelled by the arms race were considered; and finally the international setting, which gives countries supplying arms a stake in the region and cements their relations with some governments, while endangering their relations with others.

The problem of defining arms control and its enforcement was raised and the lecture continued to illustrate and evaluate the pros and cons of approaches such as arms supplier constraint and arms consumer constraint.

Nuclear proliferation: conceptual and technical discussion in a Middle Eastern context.

Dr. Khalil Shikaki.

This lecture began by remarking on the inevitability of the spread of technology needed for the making of nuclear weapons and delivery systems and then turned specifically to the Israeli nuclear monopoly and the effects this could have on the strategic environment, if, for example, the Israelis became more dovish or hawkish, or as an incentive for Arab possession of an "equaliser".

In the second part of the lecture the requirements for "effective" mutual nuclear deterrence or "mutually assured destruction" (MAD) and the means to acquire nuclear weapons and delivery systems were raised. The unknown nature of Israel's nuclear capabilities about which there had been contradictory reports, were noted. There followed a review of past Arab attempts to obtain the nuclear capability and mentioned current Egyptian plans and the position of Iraq from pre-Gulf War of 1991 until the present and the uncertainties surrounding the stage the Iraqis reached, how much of their capabilities were destroyed and if the Iraqis could rebuild their nuclear

capabilities. A discussion of the problems that may arise and prevent the Arabs from acquiring nuclear capabilities such as Western intervention arose and resulted in a review of Arab and Israeli delivery systems and decisions on the nature of attack, referring to their incumbent air force and missile capabilities.

The requirements for a "stable" mutual nuclear deterrence and the ability of the two sides to absorb a nuclear first strike and then be able to retaliate, and the issue of the invulnerability of the nuclear forces was the next topic addressed. This was followed by a outline of the requirements for "credible" mutual nuclear deterrence, the ability to formulate a nuclear threat, communicate it to an opponent who believes in the seriousness of the threat and the extent of the opponents fear.

In conclusion, a discussion was initiated about Arab and Israeli views regarding nuclear deterrence and other strategies.

Strategic studies and crisis management: Past and Future.
Valerie Yorke.

In this lecture three videos were shown, the first on the Cuban Missile Crisis. Following this there was a discussion which raised the issues of Realism and Crisis Management and the importance of the study of this. It was noted that political realism forms the philosophical backdrop for contemporary strategic thought but since there is no supranational body to maintain order between states, the international arena is inherently conflictual and characterised by anarchy. The traditional Western-centric strategic studies approach is concerned with promoting peace and security, thus deterrence is the theory that peace and security can be promoted by threatening enemies with unacceptable retaliatory damage. Crisis management is the theory that security can be promoted by developing techniques for handling international crises and in the age of weapons of mass destruction, management of crises between major powers is as important as the study of use of military force. The policy maker's task/dilemma is crisis management in the nuclear age and the major problem how to manage affairs skillfully enough to avoid the more terrible weapons and still uphold essential interests. The aims are to "coerce prudently" and to "accommodate cheaply".

The second video shown was "Avoiding Armageddon" following which the participants were asked to try and identify elements of risk and danger in crisis management such as misperceptions and dangers arising from defects in decision-making processes. It was pointed out that superpower behaviour in the Cuban Missile Crisis suggests that there may be preconditions for successful crisis management but there is no reason to believe such superpower behaviour will be replicated in a more complex international environment. This complexity was discussed following the showing of the third video "Europe on the Brink".

Strategy and game theory.
Dr. Khalil Shikaki.

This lecture began by addressing the definition of strategy, how one mobilises resources to achieve goals and how strategy can mean different things to an individual, an organisation or a state. Strategy presumes goals and objectives and is

relate resources to goals, build teams and mediate conflict. Implementation of strategy is seen in policy formulation, institution building, plans that specify actual steps to be undertaken and the execution of these plans. The implementation phase requires knowledge of techniques and methods, processing of information, and analytical ability.

There followed a discussion of game theory which was defined as a study of rational decision-making based on predicting the behaviour of others and used when there is no independently "best" choice. Game theory illustrates the uses of rationality and irrationality in bargaining, the role of stakes and interests and the balance between stakes and risks.

Strategy and system analysis (writing options papers) **Dr. Khalil Shikaki.**

This lecture talked about the role of system analysis in formation of strategy and defined it as a systemic examination of options and alternatives which seeks to find the best course of action by examining costs, effectiveness and risks of alternative strategies. Components include defining the problem to be resolved and objectives to be accomplished. Examples given were the possibilities of security for the Palestinians.

1. What functions
2. What force composition
3. What interdependent factors to consider
4. Treatment of uncertainty
5. Minimise risks vs. maximise gains
6. Suggest a "dominant" alternative strategy
7. Or buy "insurance"
8. Treatment of reaction of others (game theory and simulation)
9. Treatment of phases and timing
10. Criteria: determine priorities and seek alternatives that maximise chances of success; be fully aware of goals and objectives

A detailed outline of the format for writing options papers was then given with the purpose of the paper being to provide your decision maker with a balanced presentation in the form of several options, at least three, but no more than five.

Strategic studies and the regional system: introduction and themes **Valerie Yorke**

The popular impression of strategy includes the mobilisation of resources to achieve goals, i.e. about *means* not ends, and the planning and fighting of wars. However, it is also about the ways in which military power may be used to achieve political objectives and the purposeful use of military power in peace-time. With the development of nuclear weapons, strategic doctrine's task was to find ways to avoid war and to find less catastrophic alternatives than nuclear war. As preserving military stability became vital, strategic studies became a form of "nuclear accountancy".

There needs to be a broader definition of Strategic Studies to take account of the post Cold War environment and the full range of threats to basic interests/values of Third World states and societies.

The place of the Middle East in the international system.

Lecturer : Dr. Rosemary Hollis.

This lecture discussed domestic, inter-state/intra-regional and international/global affairs.

At the domestic level there was a range of factors affecting stability/security including population growth, unemployment, scarcity/access to resources, civil-military relations and law enforcement, defence budgeting, political representation and inter-ethnic and secular-religious divides.

At the level of inter-state relations conflicts derive from antagonisms between rich and poor, effects of labour migrations, vulnerability of trade routes and financial links, competition for water resources, border disputes, cross-border ethnic, family and religious ties and ideological/religious divisions.

At the level of international relations, between regional and external powers, external powers are preoccupied with protection of their interests, access to oil and communication routes, defence sales and training agreements, political alliances and a possible spill-over to Europe of instability in Middle East.

There followed a historical overview of the Middle East through the Cold War, to the present and a detailed history of regimes in the region, their links and interests internationally and their strategic importance.

Regional system: local actors and the Palestinians.

Lecturer : Valerie Yorke

This lecture was concerned with the strategic analyst and the Arab system of order. The analyst is concerned with the social, political, and economic forces which may permit or constrain, inspire or compel the use of military force and how the use of force or the decision to desist from its application affects regional security. The analyst must therefore look at regional systems of order and assess the interplay between domestic and regional settings and the resulting consequences for regional security. The idea of a single Arab nation is often rejected in the West as the creation of ideology, while Arabs talk of its "decline", its end, its ebbing potency. But elements of an order exist. In the early 1970s inter-state relations were characterised by the diffusion of power and greater flexibility in policy as pragmatic relations developed between states. Egypt dropped hegemonical ambitions and Syria and Saudi Arabia established spheres of influence. A loose moderate coalition developed headed by Saudi Arabia and Egypt. But failure of the coalition to press Israel into a peace settlement undermined its influence. Post 1979 the Arab consensus was challenged by a multiplicity of regional and domestic issues. At the regional level, the 1979 Egypt-Israel peace treaty, which represented the culmination of Sadat's withdrawal of

worlds and made the gap between rich and poor a serious source of popular discontent.

At the domestic level the economic recession (reduced levels of aid, remittances, export revenues) put pressure on Arab regimes and their ability to maintain extensive public sectors/instruments of co-optation. Popular disillusion spread on account of the failure of Arab governments to deliver peace with Israel or satisfy economic demands. The impact of the economic crisis eroded "the political compact" on which Arab rulers had based their rule - whereby population refrains from demands for political participation in return for material benefits. The contradiction between the centralisation of power and the popular demand for democratisation was revealed as were the unstable foundations on which rulers had built their states.

The combination of these regional and domestic factors resulted in the weakening of Arab governments and the diversion of attention from the unifying themes of the Palestine problem and the Arab-Israeli conflict, growing domestic criticism of the nature of ruling elites and the economic and political structures on which they based their powers and the formulation of foreign policy according to perceptions of ruling elites on how to protect regimes and states.

Decision-making and defining national security: local actors.

Lecturer: Valerie Yorke.

The concept of national security is linked to the emergence of the modern European nation-state system. Security studies have limited focus to externally generated military or power threats to certain core interests of the state. However, the National Security concept raises questions when applied to the Arab world and the Third World generally. By the late 1980s Arab security concerns appeared to shift from military and power issues to economic and internal security concerns but the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and subsequent coalition response pushed military and power issues back to the forefront.

Simulation exercise

Lecturer: Valerie Yorke

The game is intended to operationalise the strategic concept of crisis prevention i.e. how to prevent a deteriorating situation from becoming worse. It is structured so that the participants learn and experience something about how decision makers have to operate under pressure. The intention is that the participants should get a feel of the difficulty of assessing policy options and organising priorities to protect the security interests of the state when rulers are subject to the pull of public opinion and the preferences of constituencies at home and when their capacity to implement change at home may be circumscribed by regional and transnational forces or by requirements of international law etc.

This should also create awareness of the difficulties of the above under pre-crisis conditions and of engaging in preventive diplomacy, and of the difficulties relating to decision making under pressure of time in the absence of full details but with the media ever-present.

The difficulties of the Middle East where some rulers are unashamedly pursuing interests related to regime survival whilst invoking the security of the state and abandoning even a semblance of inter Arab solidarity should be noted as should the need to weigh up the influence and future role of states peripheral to the region and the importance of maintaining economic and political links with them as well as with international actors (USA, EC, IMF, etc.).

Defining national security: the Gulf

Dr. Rosemary Hollis

This lecture began by a listing of the key players in the Gulf and their vulnerabilities and went on to identify regional and external powers. Optional configurations for regional balance were suggested and included collective security pact linking of the Gulf states.

Contending theories of Gulf (and national) security were noted. Tehran seeks freedom from fear of encirclement or isolation for Iran and a measure of regional predominance. The concern of Baghdad is Iraq's short term survival and, thereafter its re-emergence as 'the cornerstone of Gulf security' and leading defender of the Arab nationalist cause. The priority in Riyadh was seen as the elimination of external threats to Saudi Arabia (and the GCC), thereby eliminating the need for elaborate security arrangements, freeing the Kingdom to pursue its own affairs at its own pace and in its own way. The overriding concern of Kuwait, which would like a favourable position in OPEC is for its own survival. Washington, meanwhile seeks continued access to the Gulf, its oil and markets with the least possible hazard or costly engagements for Washington.

The problem is that the national aspirations and security interests of each of the players are incompatible and will remain so unless and until those players develop greater mutual trust and there is a tendency of all regional governments to define national and regional security in terms of their own survival/enhancement. Furthermore, the tendency to attribute regional insecurity to the nature of other regimes reveals interplay between domestic, regional and international relations.

Arab and Israeli military doctrines and strategies

Dr. Rosemary Hollis

This lecture began with strategic balance assessments considering factors such as geography, terrain, airspace, distribution of targets, population, installations, and manoeuvrability. There followed a number of comparisons between Egypt, Jordan, Israel and Syria as well as Israel pre- and post-1967, post-1980 (Sinai) and post-1983 (Lebanon). Saudi Arabia and Kuwait were also compared, *vis a vis* Iraq. There followed a discussion on military expertise, resources and strategic knowledge and the key principles leading to Israeli and Arab military doctrines. Conclusions drawn were that Jordan had opted for a totally defensive strategy, Egypt for a politico-diplomatic rather than military strategy, Syria for strategic parity, and Israel is for maintenance of its technological edge. As witnessed in the Gulf War, new technologies have transformed the battlefield and it is no longer meaningful to speak of individual

civilian economy, education system and so on, as well as in the military. Even then, they will be obliged to buy off the shelf (if they can find suitable suppliers) unless and until they can develop national expertise in these areas.

Arabs have been seeking to counter Israeli nuclear capability with chemical weapons and missiles while some countries are seeking their own nuclear capabilities.

There followed a discussion of the application of deterrence (strategic theory) arguments to the Middle East and the relationship between non-conventional and conventional weapons, especially in the light of new technologies.



During June/July, 1993 PASSIA printed and published one thousand copies of the full report (120 pages) on the seminar. This includes complete summaries of:

1. Preparation Period 2. Lectures 3. Social activities 4. Five papers written by participants and 5. An assessment of the programme by both lecturers and the PASSIA committee.

PASSIA Team for Strategic Studies.

As a result of the PASSIA programme on Education and Training in International Affairs, Part II - Strategic Studies and Security, the PASSIA team for strategic studies was formed. Four of the students who excelled in the seminar and were highly recommended by the programme committee were Jamil Rabah, Maher Doudi, Suleiman Aref and Terry Boullata.

Jamil Rabah. Co-ordinator of the Economic Monitoring Project of the Jerusalem Media and Communications Centre.

(Following his participation in the PASSIA seminar on Strategy and Security, Jamil was nominated by PASSIA to join the Palestinian Negotiating Team for the multilateral talks on Disarmament. The PASSIA recommendation was upheld and he joined the Palestinian Delegation in the Washington talks between 17th - 20th of May 1993. He is currently involved in the Palestinian Negotiating Team for Multilateral Talks on Disarmament);

Maher Doudi; Executive Manager, Society of Austro-Arab Relations, Jerusalem;

Suleiman Aref; Loans Officer, Technical Development Corporation;

Terry Boullata; Research Assistant UNRWA.

The team was under the supervision of Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Dr. Khalil Shikaki and, later, Dr. Hisham Ahmed.

The team members decided that the purpose of the team was to continue building on the information and skills they had gained in the seminar, with the ultimate goal of compiling a publication on Strategic Issues and Security for Palestinians.

The team met weekly for the four months of June, July, August, and September 1993. In each of these meetings a team member presented a brief paper for group discussion on topics relevant to their chosen subjects. Some of the presented papers were "Regional Security Programmes", "Jerusalem and Israeli Settlements", "Demilitarisation in a Palestinian State" and "Borders and External Security". The meetings included debate on current issues and subjects related to the papers. The team also followed-up on seminars and conferences in the region and abroad related to these issues. A further goal of the team was to publish introductory booklets defining terms of reference, bibliographies and information on the subjects of security and strategy. They laid out plans for publishing a position paper entitled "Palestinian National Security: Problems and Prospects".

PASSIA Visiting Researcher Hisham Ahmed supervised round table meetings and team debates. Furthermore, the team paid a working visit to the Nablus Centre for Palestine Research and Studies and established a base for co-operation between PASSIA and the Nablus Centre.

A significant step in the development and experience of the team was when three of the four members attended the summer course at the International School of Disarmament in L'Aquila, Italy between 19th-29th July 1993. They found this seminar very useful and were keen to attend other similar training sessions and seminars. Unfortunately, lack of funds prevented them from travelling abroad for further training.

In their capacity as the PASSIA Team, they held meetings with various groups including the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (AAAS) Boston, USA, to discuss the topics of "Strategic and Security Concerns for Palestinians in the Framework of a Future Palestinian State" and "Security Arrangements in the Interim and Final States". AAAS participants were Everett Mendelsohn, Harvard University, Chair of Middle East Security Studies program at AAAS; Naomi Weinberger, Dept. of Political Science, Barnard College; Jeffrey Boutwell, Director of Strategic Studies Foreign Policy Project, AAAS.

The team ultimately expressed the need for further training before they felt they would be prepared to write a study on Strategic Studies and Security and owing to funding constraints, PASSIA lacks a full-time tutor to guide projects such as these. The team suggested that the programme be coordinated in a more formal format where there would be funding for a tutor and for team research as incentives to encourage research of a standard suitable for publication. They also suggested that another seminar be held (for 6 weeks) as well as a seminar in Arabic in which further background and preparation could take place.

The PASSIA evaluation of the programme highlighted the importance and relevance of the team, but emphasised the need to find funding to maintain a high standard of work. Eventually, the programme had to be postponed for financial reasons and the lack of opportunity for the team to devote itself full time to the strict timetable requirements.

Dr. Nayef Abu Khalef - Lecturer in Political Science and specialist in European affairs at an-Najah National University in Nablus.

Dr. Othman Othman - Assistant Professor in the department of political science at an-Najah National University in Nablus.

Ms. Valerie Grove - Seminar Co-ordinator and Rapporteur. Executive Secretary at PASSIA.

Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi - President and founder of PASSIA.

Between September and October 1993 this committee consulted with German and Palestinian scholars in the field of The European Community to compile reading material for the course. PASSIA advertised the proposed seminar in the local press and through national institutions such as universities and research centres. PASSIA received twenty-five applications from all over the Occupied Territories.

The Committee invited all applicants to individual interviews at PASSIA in the first week of November 1993. Of the twenty applicants who attended interviews, the Committee selected twelve to participate in the seminar.

The intensive programme of lectures and workshops for this seminar was held over a one week period from the 29th November to the 5th December.

The following accepted the PASSIA invitation to be guest lecturers:

Dr. Nayef Abu Khalef - Lecturer in of political science and specialist in European affairs at an-Najah National University in Nablus.

Dr. Othman Othman - Assistant Professor in the department of political science at an-Najah National University in Nablus.

Najah Jarar - Assistant Professor of Sociology at an-Najah University, Nablus.

Mr Herman Bunz - Director of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES), Brussels, Germany

LECTURES.

Summaries of lectures given here are those that were originally delivered in English or for which there are translations from Arabic available. While the seminar was conducted in both languages, the majority of the material was in English. PASSIA hopes to print the full seminar report in the new year. However, because of the importance of the European Community *vis a vis* its future relationships in the area, PASSIA has decided that the community would be better served were this report to be published in Arabic.

Europe and Palestine.

The seminar began with an introductory address by Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi in which he discussed the emergence of Turkey, its strategic importance and future role in the Middle East. He pointed out that Turkey had been a member of NATO since 1952 and before the end of the Cold War, had a strategic role as a defensive curtain

from the former Soviet Union and as an economic and military base for Europe and the United States. At present, with its particular geography and demography, Turkey serves a dual role. One of these is to the new independent Islamic Republics in the former Soviet Union to provide a market and economic/technological aid, and the other is to our region where Turkey is involved in the question of water, borders with Syria and Iraq, the Kurdish question and the alliance with Israel. The question of arms capabilities and prospects for control is another dimension which should be considered.

Dr. Abdul Hadi went on to discuss security issues saying that education on the subject is crucial. Gaza in particular and the need for a Palestinian port is a good example of the necessity for naval security arrangements as well as considering Aqaba, Haifa, The Red Sea and the Mediterranean. He concluded by giving a brief summary of ideas of Regional Economic Co-operation as contained in the Declaration of Principles incorporating the future role of the European Community.

The European Economic Community.

Dr. Nayef Abu Khalef.

This lecture focussed on the history of the European Community and Parliament beginning with Robert Schumann who proposed the idea of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) which bore fruit in the signing of the treaty of Paris in April 1951. Six states laid the foundations, Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. The ECSC was given a parliamentary assembly which met for the first time in September 1952.

Landmark dates and events after this were outlined and these included the signing of the treaty of Rome in 1957 which created the European Economic Community (EEC) and Atomic Energy Community (Eurotom) and set up the European Parliament. In 1973 the community expanded to nine members. In 1974 the nine heads of these states adopted the principle of electoral processes for membership of European Parliament and in 1979 the first session of the newly elected parliament took place. In 1986 the by then, twelve member states signed the Single European Act which committed the twelve to creating a fully unified market with free movement of persons, capital, goods and services. In June 1990 the European Council approved the start of the first stage of Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), aiming at convergence in economic policy, increased use of a common currency and later, a central European Bank. In December 1991 the European Council meeting at Maastricht agreed the Treaty of European Union including EMU, a common foreign and security policy and co-operation in justice and home affairs.

European Political Co-operation.

Dr. Nayef Abu Khalef.

This lecture examined the historical background of European Political Co-operation (EPC) citing the Luxembourg Report of October 1970 which called for regular consultation between member states on all matters of interest to them. It also called for the association of the EC institutions in matters where the Community

to intensify political consultation on important topics. These two documents are the bases for the work of the EPC which has three main characteristics: the absence of an independent single decision-making body; being equipped to react and not to act; and consultation being limited to foreign policy. Other issues such as security or energy are dealt with, either at national level or in the framework of other institutions such as NATO. The community has established a network of relations with non-member states and international organisations but the community's external role is limited to that of trade only. Thus any political influence that the community could exert in the Arab-Israeli conflict for example, is limited to that of establishing trade agreements only.

The EEC and the Arab-Israeli Conflict

Dr. Nayef Abu Khalaf

This lecture began by focussing on the importance of a political settlement relating the strategic and geographical importance of the region and how a political settlement would lead to better economic relations between the Arab region and Europe. The economic importance for the region of continuing to supply oil and the relation between conflict and oil was illustrated using the 70s as an example. The strategic and economic importance of Israel to Europe was seen as ensuring Western interests, acting as an extension of Western culture and civilisation and providing a model for capitalism and democracy.

The focus then shifted to consider European Community and US Relations starting with the premise that there is a conflict of interests, with Europe wishing to avoid confrontation with the US but interested in playing a strong, visible political role at the same time. The EC has latterly been adhering to a low-profile policy and its agreements with Middle Eastern countries aim to strengthen and develop relationships in the region and emphasize the non-aligned position of Europe.

Arab-European Dialogue was the result of a joint political will to establish a constructive network of co-operation in various fields, specifically so that oil would not be used as a weapon in the conflict. This meant there was a continual presence of European political and diplomatic relations, starting with the French initiative from Copenhagen in 1973. Arab-European dialogue started in 1974 and ended with Camp David negotiations and it failed for the following reasons: a) the establishment of the Energy Consumer Front (IEA); b) PLO representation; and c) the Gulf Co-operation Council relationship with Mitterand and Reagan, especially after Camp David. General Committees were set up in 1977 under the following headings: a) Transfer of Technology b) Protection of Promotion of Investment; c) Trade Co-operation; d) Labour; e) Agriculture. The EC position was to support the Palestinian people's right for self-determination while linking it to Israel's right to exist, and the EC refrained from taking any initiative not in line with these two things.

Since before the 1973 War, the EC position was to support the international position and the UN and to express EC willingness to deliver international guarantees. However, they stopped at the door of Resolution 242 without advancing. After the '73 War, the EC position was the following: a) comprehensive settlement based on 242

in addition to considering the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and b) EC willingness to play a bigger role in a peace settlement. The Arab world was receptive to their policy, but it was obvious that US Secretary of State Kissinger's step by step policy was aiming to kick Europe out of the game. From this juncture EC countries started taking separate and individual foreign policy decisions, France, for example, was the only EC country which did not vote against the PLO in the UN and granted it diplomatic status in Paris. Remaining EC policy was to not isolate Israel, but it lacked a formula where their support for Palestinian rights could fit into a comprehensive settlement which took into account Israel's right to exist. Therefore, Britain, Germany and Holland strongly objected to any resolution against the expulsion of Israel from the UN or noting that Zionism is equal to racism. France, Italy, and Ireland were not in line with this, and Belgium, Denmark and Luxembourg took a middle position. All, however, supported Israel and were against any attempt to isolate it internationally and continued to be divided on the issue of Palestinian representation and Palestinian rights. However, the EC London statement of June 1977 was a turning point which contained implicit criticism of Israeli policy in the OPT and emphasised the need to establish a Palestinian homeland. This document stressed the right of Palestinians to choose their representatives and to take an active role in the peace talks and called on all parties to encourage any initiative towards a peace settlement.

The Maastricht Treaty and its Consequences.

Mr. Herman Bunz.

Mr Bunz began by saying that Europe has a bad reputation now and cited an article in the Economist from November 1993 which said that everything in Europe is going to go downhill and there will be a crisis of unemployment and inability to cope with international problems. Mr Bunz commented that criticism was easy but insisted that the Maastricht treaty is a key instrument for European integration and that that process is irreversible. The economic situation is bad with unemployment rising; a severe problem for highly industrialised countries.

Mr. Bunz presented four points: The first was that the treaty is a guideline for politicians, for all groups in society of all member states and to move towards closer European integration to face competition from the US, Japan and the growing competition from other Asian states. Point two, often overlooked in the predominantly political discussion of the Maastricht Treaty, was the fact that monetary union will be created and implemented according to a timetable set for it. The third point was that the European Community or European Union will be enlarged and the fourth, that there will be a substantial reform of European institutions.

The Maastricht treaty is divided into two parts, internal market and European citizenship: the first includes four elements of freedom: freedom of movement, freedom of services, freedom of capital and freedom of labour. The second adds European citizenship to National citizenship, the European Community gives European citizenship which means you can be elected on a local, municipal level and vote in European elections. It also means that any person of a member state can approach the diplomatic representatives of any of the member states abroad

British vetoed the vote and left it approved by 11 instead of 12 votes. Thus Britain is not included in the Social Chapter.

A fourth new element is that development policy has also become a community activity, although this does not affect bi-lateral arrangements between member states and developing countries.

There are also some new characterisations of European institutions. The European Parliament now has the right of co-decision order to give the European Parliament the ability to make decisions on the same level as the Council of Ministers. It is able to block decisions made by the Council and to make initiatives through the Commission. It also has the right to elect the president of the Commission and decide on 50% of the budget.

The Council of Ministers remains the main decision-making body although now affected by the new powers granted to the European Parliament. The European Commission has become more like a European government. There have been no major structural changes to the Commission itself, but it now has to co-operate more with parliament in a constructive way, have more commitment and has been granted more power, more responsibilities and more control over European regulations though not legislation.

There was a hall of justice which existed before the treaty but was not a commitment of all member states, the same is true of the auditing body. These things are now approved by all members and are now community institutions.

Well documented in the media is the nationalistic tendency apparent in all countries of Europe . All member states are concerned with their national interests especially in thier present state of crisis. To counteract this tendency there is more emphasis put on regions within each member state to bring together and promote regional interests.

The second part of the Maastricht treaty concerns European Union, the main principles of which being that co-operation between the member states should be improved, national identity should be maintained on an international level and that there should be increased co-operation in the fields of justice and internal policy. One very important principle is that of subsidiarity which means that whenever a problem can be solved on a certain level, a municipal level for example or a regional level, the responsible authorities at this level should solve this problem. If they are unable to do this because of financial, technical or other reasons, then the problem is automatically taken up by the next level. This is a good idea for the Community as, especially when it comes to solving infrastructural or unemployment problems, the higher level must support the lower level. The British are opposed to this idea, they say that they should handle their own affairs and question who decides and at what point the problem must be transferred to another level.

The common security policy should strengthen the security of each member state and therefore be in a position to contribute to the improvement of international

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December 22nd - Reception and Press conference held on the return to Jerusalem of Mr. Afif Safieh, PLO representative in London.



security and peace-keeping. Concerning justice and internal policy there is a common political will to create regulations regarding immigration and asylum policy. There is a desire to jointly fight the drugs trade and this should now become a common action which will overcome the problem of police from one member state being unable to pursue criminals across the borders of other member states. This also means the establishment of EUROPOL or joint European policing.

Concerning Economic and Monetary Union, the consequences of the Maastricht Treaty in this area raise the question of the reality of being able to implement a common European currency by 1999. It is generally thought unrealistic and in 1996 there will be a discussion on this very matter because the international financial and economic crisis, which is a structural one as well will also affect this policy.

The Convergence Criteria or the economic conditions for participation in the final stage of economic and monetary union consist of four basic and central points:

1. Price Stability - a member state must demonstrate sustainable price stability. The average rate of inflation, observed over the year prior to examination for the final stage, must not exceed by more than one and a half percentage points that of the three best performing member states in terms of price stability.

2. Public Finances - at the time of examination the Council should not detect any excessive deficit on the part of the member state. The deficit is deemed to be excessive if the budget deficit is more than 3% of gross domestic product or if total government debt exceeds 60% of gross domestic product.

3. Exchange Rates - a member state must have respected the normal fluctuation margins (currently 2.25%) provided for by the Exchange Rate Mechanism of the European Monetary System which is the system keeping the exchange rates in a certain margin. This margin now stretches to 15% from top to bottom which is very wide but is at least still in place. There is the hope that this margin will become smaller in the future.

4. Interest Rates - observed over a period of one year before examination the average nominal long-term interest rate may not exceed by more than two percentage points that of the three member states who have the best results in terms of price stability.

These convergence criteria are not, however, a rigid set of rules but more a set of guidelines within which the member states must act in as disciplined a manner as possible. The Maastricht treaty envisions a "punishment " whereby steps may be taken to isolate member states who do not follow these disciplines.

Regarding enlargement of the European Community as a consequence of the Maastricht treaty, it is relatively sure that Austria, Sweden and Finland will become members while the Norwegian government is in favour but the majority of the population isn't. The second group requesting membership consists of Cyprus, Malta and, repeatedly Turkey. The third group is the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, Poland and Hungary. They are very keen to become members but there is a wide gap politically and economically between this group and the current member states. Because of their instability it is proposed that these states should first form a

Topics and speakers for the remaining lectures were as follows:

Towards European Unity.

Dr. Nayef Abu Khalef. - Lecturer of Political Science and specialist in European affairs at an-Najah National University in Nablus.

This lecture was also concerned with the Maastricht Treaty and possible future effects its ratification could have on the Middle East.

Western European Policy pre-1970 towards the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

Dr. Othman Othman - Assistant Professor in the department of political science at an-Najah National University in Nablus.

Arab-European Dialogue and its influence on European-US Relations.

Dr. Othman Othman.

The Hidden Agenda of EC Policy toward the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Dr. Othman Othmman.

The Palestinian Issue in German Middle East Policy.

Dr. Othman Othman.

Refugees, the European Community and the Middle East.

Najah Jarar - Assistant Professor of Sociology at an-Najah University, Nablus.



7. PASSIA DESK DIARY

PASSIA desk diary is an attempt to develop understanding of international relations as they affect the Palestinian question and to present the relevant historical facts, figures, events and statistics in a widely accessible form.

When PASSIA first conceived of its diary in 1988, it did not realise the extent of the vacuum it helped to fill. Now entering its seventh year, the PASSIA diary has become an invaluable source of information on Palestinian affairs, both here and abroad and demand for it increases each year.

Throughout the year PASSIA updates existing information and adds new data and documentation as it becomes available. This includes statistical information on the West Bank and Gaza and providing a complete directory of institutions both here and abroad.

The importance of the diary is evident from the material it contains. Its 380 pages contain all the standard attributes of a diary such as a day by day yearly planner, calendars for the previous and following years, address and note space and important international dates. The first 50 pages, however, contain an alphabetical list of Palestinian notables and a directory of Palestinian and other institutions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip which is unavailable anywhere else in such a concise and thorough form. Examples of directory listings include Arab associations and unions, all foreign consulates and embassies, foreign and local NGO's, research centres, hotels, media, Israeli/Palestinian dialogue groups, doctors, hospitals, universities and schools. There are altogether 27 different group listings which have proved useful to all diary users. These listings are updated annually and applications from institutions wishing to be registered in the directory increase every year.

The following eight chapters of the diary detail different aspects of Palestinian society and the Palestinian question. History, geography, demography and economy as well as refugees, the Israeli occupation and the PLO are covered concisely and objectively with a variety of statistical illustrations. Also included is a chronology of events in the history of Jerusalem and its religious significance to the three monotheistic faiths. Key names, dates and terms in Islam are listed to serve as an explanation for things often having no English equivalent. The final part of this section is a chronology of Palestinian history from the 15th century to the present day.

Documentation collected in the last part of the diary is extensive and includes 67 political documents of relevance to the Palestine question. In the most recent diary, correspondence, declarations, and resolutions begin with the McMahon-Hussein correspondence of 1915-1916 and end with the Declaration of Principles of September 1993. Others include some previously unpublished documents which chart the history of the negotiations which led up to the September 13th signing at the White House. The final part of the diary contains a collection of eight maps illustrating the land of Palestine in various historical stages and showing the development of the city of Jerusalem.

The speed of events means that the PASSIA diary continues to grow each year in order to include all the necessary information which will keep it as up to date as

PASSIA receives many invitations to a variety of conferences and seminars which are held nationally and internationally. PASSIA tries to attend as many of these as possible and what follows is a summary of all those in which PASSIA participated during 1993 and a list of those which PASSIA was unable to attend.

1.

DATE:-19th February.

PLACE:-National Palace Hotel.

TOPIC:-"Twenty-Five Years under Israeli Occupation. The Status of Health, Education, Land and Water in the Syrian Golan Heights."

ORGANISER:-"The Arab Association for Development" in co-operation with "The Bisan Centre for Research and Development."

Summary.

Ms. Sawsan Huleileh, researcher at PASSIA attended this conference which included the presentation of lectures by Izzat Abdul Hadi of The Bisan Centre and Dr. Riad Malki of Panorama and BirZeit. Four separate papers were given by the Arab Association for Development in both Arabic and English, covering the four subjects listed in the title above. This workshop was an attempt to highlight the issue of Israeli occupation in the Golan Heights and to help close the gap between Palestinians and Syrians living under occupation.

2.

22nd February.

Bethlehem University.

"Conflict Resolution."

"The Initiative for Peace and Co-operation in the Middle East."

Summary.

This seminar was a full day's programme of lectures, exercises, discussion and evaluation attended by Khamis Ghosheh, administrative assistant at PASSIA. Speakers were Professor John Murray, Dr. Christopher Moore and Bonnie Pearlham. "The Initiative for Peace and Co-operation in the Middle East" is a project of the "Search for Common Ground" founded in 1991 after the Gulf War and before the peace process began. It has 34 members from Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Israel, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Palestine. The members established four groups dealing with different areas including civil society, economic co-operation and security as well as conflict resolution. They plan to publish a quarterly bulletin on regional co-operation in the Middle East. The programme is designed to plan, develop and co-ordinate a series of initiatives that encourage a multi-track approach to the Middle East and promote co-operative relationships between Middle Eastern nations and people.

3.

February 26th-27th.

"Tantur Ecumenical Centre." Bethlehem.

"Political Change and the NGO role."

"AIVA" The Association of International Voluntary Agencies.

Summary.

AIVA is a long established forum for discussion on issues confronting international NGOs working in the West Bank and Gaza. Monthly meetings deal with common problems, constraints on INGO work and ways of improving INGO contribution to the Palestinian Community. The conference was intended for AIVA members to improve their understanding of the current situation. The two day conference had representatives from various organisations as speakers. The lead speaker was Ms. Lena Sundh, Counsellor for the Permanent Mission of Sweden to the United Nations who spoke on the international responsibilities of NGOs and the problems faced by them. Ibrahim Daqaq and speakers from the Gaza Islamic University, the Bisan Research and Development Centre and The Arab Thought Forum followed. They covered the INGO relationship to the unique development situation in Gaza, the emerging national institutions, the promotion of Sectorial Development and Alternative Development strategies. PASSIA organised an academic team to participate in the conference consisting of Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Dr. Ali Jarbawi, Bernard Sabella, Dr. Sa'ïd Zeedani and Ms. Sawsan Huleileh. The two day conference was concluded with a roundtable discussion at which the PASSIA team each addressed their separate concerns about the transitional phase and brought together all the ideas that had surfaced over the two days of the conference.

Summarised below is the presentation given by Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi.

Subject: The Transitional Phase

A. Introduction

Discussion among most political trends and schools of thought in the Occupied Territories concerning the current negotiations, starting with Madrid and including the bilateral and multilateral talks in Washington, Moscow and elsewhere, anticipates that they may be the beginning of a transitional phase. This phase may witness, in accordance with its timetable, an Israeli withdrawal on more than one front, and a retreat from more than one position. It might see develop instead a local Palestinian administration or authority.

It goes without saying that in this phase a new relationship will develop between Palestinians inside and outside, and that there will be new arrangements between Israel and the Occupied Territories in the fields of economy, industry, trade, borders, security and so on. This phase will give people an opportunity for social, economic and psychological respite, distancing themselves from Israeli military presence. At the same time, the people will go through internal political "labour pains" which will affect the negotiation process on all fronts. Similarly, this phase will also witness the emergence of a new relationship between Palestinians inside and the State of Jordan.

substance of the transitional period. The first carried the title of *autonomy*. It represented the official Israeli position. The second, put forward by the Palestinian negotiating team, bore the title **Palestinian Interim Self Government Authority**.

During the past year, the bilateral talks in Washington have sought a common denominator between the two documents. Both parties seek to explain their position, to convince the other side of their demands, and also to convey their message to Washington. One of the main points of disagreement between the parties was the question of elections: whether these were for a legislative council, the Palestinian demand, for an administrative council, the Israeli demand, or for an executive body, the third party's suggestion. The future of the negotiations is still open, and in the international arena, in political circles and the media, are intensive calls for the continuation of negotiations, in order to achieve agreement between the parties and to start implementation of the process and arrangements to move from a situation of occupation to a transitional phase.

C. Events on the Ground

Israel

There are two schools of thought in the Israeli political establishment. The first calls for the continuation of the strategy and tactics of the previous Likud government. Thus there will be more Israeli obstacles which will hinder the current negotiations and maintain the status quo of occupation and the policies of annexation and transfer. In time, there will no longer be a Palestine question. Instruments used by this school include settlement policy, human rights violations and manipulation of the word "democracy". Some from this school posit a distinction between political and security settlements, and find "security" excuses for the demolition using missiles of houses in Gaza. They encourage the implementation of an "iron fist" policy and mass expulsion of Palestinians, by which they will pacify the Israeli right-wing and co-opt the opposition aiming at the continuation of the Labour party in government. On the question of democracy, this group is still undecided about whether to have administrative or Municipal elections now, along the lines of elections to Chambers of Commerce and professional bodies. At the same time, they want to use the question of elections in the media to bring confusion and embarrassment to the Palestinian negotiating team, deepening the divisions among Palestinians.

The second school of thought in the Israeli government calls for activating and institutionalising the relationship with the Palestinian negotiating team in its capacity as the official political address for Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. They want thereby to put pressure on the Palestinian leadership in Tunis, to confuse and preoccupy them with a wave of meetings and dialogue, Israeli officials and semi-officials and Jewish-American leaders. They claim that this is a step on the road to official recognition of the PLO. In reality, it seeks to drown the PLO in a sea of marginal positions and ideas without any real change.

This grouping is not opposed to European relations with and funding of the Palestinian political address through the various channels: the negotiating team, the Technical and Consultative Committees, the specialised Higher Councils, universities, unions, other existing institutions and those in the process of being established.

This position wants the new administration in Washington to continue its moral and financial support to Israel, to endorse Israeli plans for autonomy, and to implement it as a reality with marginal changes in faces and names in the process. Thus the negotiating team and the PLO will find themselves implementing this autonomy and the present negotiations will become a matter of recognition and acknowledgement of this fait accompli.

In short, Yitzhak Rabin's political school is committed to the major positions which Likud agreed upon at the beginning of the negotiations, including implementing mere autonomy.

Palestinians Inside

There are four political schools of thought among Palestinians in the Occupied Palestinian Territories.

The first calls for using the current peace negotiations as a political means to establish Palestinian national authority. They stress the link between the Palestinian negotiating team and the leadership in Tunis. They see their constituency through the specialised Higher Councils for education, housing, industry, and, in future, health, agriculture and other areas. These will be backed by the technical and consultative committees, and by training Palestinian cadres to run the administration and to become the basis of the national authority.

Today, political and financial support for this approach comes from the leadership in Tunis, with occasional reluctance, and it has the blessing of Washington, financial support from Europe, and no direct Israeli official interference. This trend believes that within two or three years they will be able to use this infrastructure as the basis of the national transitional government, a fact imposing its presence, if not its legitimacy, upon the other parties in the Palestinian arena.

Confronted with this reality, Israel will have the option either to normalise its relations with it, like the Europeans, Americans and (perhaps) Arab states, or to challenge it, attempting to change its form or substance or personnel, or to place obstacles in its path to progress.

The second trend calls for withdrawal from the current negotiations. Its alternative is to stress international legitimacy, domestically and internationally. However, it lacks a plan that its leaders can agree upon or can put to the wider national movement for agreement. This trend, despite its genuine nationalist commitment, has neither a realistic programme nor the means available to other trends to develop the intifada or to face international political challenges. They observe with concern and anxiety developments among the major political trends, fearing that they will find themselves left outside the processes and structures for establishment of the transitional authority.

The third trend demands retaining the option of military confrontation with Israel, and calls for use of this to maintain the struggle against Israel. This will lead the Israeli leadership either to escalate the confrontation, in which Palestinians and Israelis suffer further bloodshed and loss, or to deepen the divisions in both Palestinian and Israeli camps, which might in turn bring about different positions and decisions and will surely abort the current talks.

From among these three Palestinian trends, a fourth is emerging, although it is still in the early stages of national discussion. It is an attempt at a new formula to unite the left and to recruit elements from other trends. It takes into consideration recent regional and international changes and the general weakness among various factions, and proposes for discussion the question of peace as a Palestinian strategy and the political negotiations as the way to reach the national goal of the independent State.

This fourth position calls for direct participation in the following: the negotiating delegation, the specialised Higher Councils, Technical and Consultative Committees, training of cadres, and dialogue with all parties including the Israelis. They want to use their public

Aside from these four schools of thought there are three major social forces which are scattered, lacking mobilisation, and not putting their weight behind any of the above schools.

- a. *Palestinian women are disorganised, lacking administrative and professional cadres, in a state of struggle between older and younger generations, and receiving no assistance or substantial support from men political activists. The question of gender in the intifada is still on the table for discussion.*
- b. *Students are involved in struggle within educational institutions, divided between political factions, with no united voice. They are still a target for Israeli repression and brutality, but are absent as a force in the political "street".*
- c. *Labour, represented in various unions and institutions, still lacks professional organisation. It is confronted with the temptation to be absorbed into the Israeli market in the absence of national development plans to create employment.*

There is no objective information on the balance of political opinion among these groups. Nor is there any electoral process which would reveal the political preferences of the population as a whole.

D. Internal obstacles

1. The 415 Expelled Palestinians

It was said in early January 1993 that one of Rabin's aims is to weaken the PLO in Tunis, to cripple the Palestinian delegation, and to uproot fundamentalists from the Occupied Palestinian Territories and make them the new threat to the peace negotiations and to the moderates. It could be said that Israel succeeded in two of its aims but failed in the third. Because there is a consensus that all trends and factions are part of one family, the expulsions reinforced the reality of the unity of the people, but the events gave the upper hand to the position of the expellees at the expense of that of the delegation. There have been several attempts to marginalise the issue of the expellees, with no success. It is still a major obstacle to continuing the talks in Washington. Regardless of the outcome, the events have raised the Islamic leadership to the position of a partner with the PLO in Palestinian society.

2. PLO Decisionmaking

Since Madrid, with the development of relations between inside and outside, there has been a demand to institutionalise and to put in order Palestinian decision-making in the Occupied Territories and outside. Several factions have opted to create an independent leadership and demand that Tunis accept their position. It has been a nightmare for Tunis to see this happen. At the same time, that there is no united decision-making body in Tunis itself is still a matter for criticism and dismay for those inside and outside.

3. The Question of Jerusalem

It has been a humiliating and painful condition of the peace talks to put the question of Jerusalem aside during the first stage. There has been no Palestinian agenda on that question. However, the current circumstances are as follows:

- a. *Israel "allowing" Palestinian groups to handle education, health, insurance, services, and, perhaps, municipal affairs in the East of the city;*
- b. *No Palestinian mobilisation to create groups or national bodies to carry out the responsibilities, to face the Israeli challenges or to negotiate on proposals;*
- c. *Israeli policy towards the Jerusalem area, leading to the cutting off of Jerusalem and to the inability of the West Bank and Gaza Strip to function as a unit, with Jerusalem*

as its capital.

- d. *Issues of internationalisation, an open city or partition are far from the current reality of a quickening trend towards a unified Jewish city.*

4. Finance

Until recently, the Occupied Territories depended on outside financial support, from Palestinians in the Gulf and other Arab states, which was cut after the Gulf crisis. This severely affected the PLO, and, obviously, Palestinians inside. New sources of finance are Europe and the US. In both cases, funds require institutions to implement the proposals. This strengthens some political trends at the expense of others, encourages individuals and groups to set up new institutions leading to wasting of resources, and permits the interference of donors in the current political situation and the future, during and after the transitional phase.

E. External Obstacles

1. The Syrian Position

Since the early days of Madrid, the Palestinian fear is to see normalisation between Israel and Arab states before progress on the Palestinian-Israeli negotiating agenda. There has been a building of public opinion in the Israeli and Syrian media towards reaching an agreement, and "reliable rumours" in Europe about such a probable agreement. During recent events, Damascus's position has been ambiguous: should they back fully the Palestinian demands vis-a-vis Israel, or continue on the two tracks regardless of progress or retreat on the Palestinian track. Damascus's position considers seriously the new global balance of power and the new administration in Washington, the weak and divided Arab world, and its historically unstable relations with the PLO.

2. The Jordanian Position

It has been said clearly in Amman that the future relationship of confederation between Jordan and Palestinians is either too late or too early, meaning that they are not keen to go ahead with plans in that direction.

Following the influx of Palestinians from the Gulf to Jordan, the strengthening of fundamentalist trends, the weakening of the PLO after the Gulf crisis, and the emergence of a recognised moderate leadership in the Occupied Territories, Amman has become more clear in this position. Recently, Jordan supported and published widely a research study supporting it: it found that over 56% of those interviewed did not favour a confederation with the Palestinians. An element of crisis can be seen in the continuing delay in putting forward for discussion issues both of future Jordanian-Palestinian relationship and of practical steps for the transitional phase.

3. The New Administration in Washington

It has been said formally that the US Democrats favour the Israeli Labour party. They have already had talks, approaching an understanding on the Middle East conflict, thus:

- a. *Washington and Tel Aviv reach a deal on the expellees;*
- b. *no change in Washington's financial support to Israel;*
- c. *Washington encourages an agreement with Syria regardless of the consequences for Palestinians;*
- d. *no change in Washington's position on the PLO, but it encourages the emergence of moderates as the political address for Palestinians in the Occupied Territories;*
- e. *US guarantees, through its veto power, that Israel will not face harsh censure from the UN Security Council.*

2. *A process of democratization within Palestinian legislative body and legitimisation of its national authority;*
3. *Institutionalisation of the relationship between inside and outside in terms of PLO institutions; one body with members inside and outside;*
4. *Legislative and administrative functions for the Occupied Territories must be based in Jerusalem;*
5. *Efforts to link interim and final phases of negotiations, on both bilateral and multilateral tracks, in terms of the relationship between the Palestinians and Jordan.*

G. Specific Steps Required of Third Parties

1. *Enforce a freeze on Israeli settlement housing and highway construction and land confiscation in all of the Occupied Palestinian Territories, particularly the greater Jerusalem area;*
2. *In the light of worsening human rights violations, implement international protection for Palestinians under occupation, including stronger UN, US and European intervention;*
3. *Upgrade the political status of the Palestinians through:*
 - a. *resumption of dialogue between Washington and the PLO in Tunis;*
 - b. *dealing with the Palestinian negotiating team based in Jerusalem on an equal basis to other negotiating parties;*
4. *Increase support for Palestinian socio-economic development to a level in proportion to that given to Israel, and with particular attention to the problems of the Gaza Strip;*
5. *Include the question of Jerusalem and Jerusalem Palestinians in the coming rounds of bilateral and multilateral talks;*
6. *Include the Palestinian negotiating team in multilateral talks on Disarmament and Security;*
7. *Ensure support and protection for the Palestinian electoral process for a national legislative council, as a step towards legitimation of the national authority in the transitional phase.*

4.

5th May.

Notre Dame Lecture Hall.

**Symposium on the Peace Process. "Autonomy: An Essential Stage or a Dead End?"
The Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace.**

Summary.

This one day conference was divided into the three parts. The subject of Session I was "The Security Regime and the Tactical Security Issues" and the speakers for this session were Joseph Alpher and Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi. In Session II speakers were Naomi Chazan and Jonathan Khuttab and the topic was "The Issue of the Source of Authority" Session III on "The Nature of the Linkage between Interim Arrangements and the Permanent Solution" was presented by Sari Nusseibeh and Moshe Ma'oz. All presentations and the ensuing discussions were published by the Truman Institute. What follows is a summary of Dr. Abdul Hadi's presentation:

I have a few points as an introduction to the issue. These are neither a response to Mr. Alpher; nor are they aimed at confirming or refuting what he said. I basically agree that there are a lack of specialists on the question of security among Palestinians in the Occupied Palestinian Territory. And, of course, I'm one of the people trying to start learning about what's there. I'm not a specialist. I'm not an expert. I'm a simple academic working on

different issues. I've been invited here today to talk about Palestinian interests and positions vis-a-vis such things as security. I admire Yossi Alpher's dedication and hard work on the issue, for he is a specialist. But this does not necessarily mean that we Palestinians should accept Israeli dictats or patronising about what is or is not on this agenda, what we should accept, what we shouldn't accept, what the priorities are. Alpher has his agenda and we have ours. We are individuals or a collective, but let's put it this way: we are not negotiating here on an agenda, as others are already negotiating it.

What we are here for, I think, is to explore and expose some elements of the issue - and as I see it we have two schools of thought on the process of negotiating. Some people say that we are already in the transitional period. Some people say that it is not yet here but will start immediately once there is agreement in principle, once we accept the timetable and the framework for the transfer of authority, and we start implementing it. I'm one of those who believe that we are already in the transition period, that it has existed since Madrid.

My reading of the situation is as follows: We have a delegation negotiating with a mandate from Tunis - from the legitimate historical leadership of the Palestinians. There is consensus that this delegation is negotiating on behalf of the Palestinian people to end the Israeli occupation, to bring the Palestinians to exercise national authority in the transitional phase on their own soil, national soil, leading to an independent Palestinian state.

In this context, we have been functioning smoothly in establishing higher councils in such fields as education, health, transport, and the economy. And these higher councils are functioning with the endorsement of the leadership. They are already signing contracts and receiving funds from the European Community and they are already implementing projects on the ground without any Israeli interference.

The only two things missing from these higher councils is firstly to establish a higher Palestinian council for public order and safety and then to recognise their independent authority. This does not yet exist for several reasons, but I don't think that Palestinian history lacks experience of plans or apparatus concerning security. This does exist. It has always been there. Our history does not begin with Camp David. It does not begin with the current peace process. There have been several plans and attempts to set up projects for this kind of thing. The basic difference between Palestinians and Israelis is not in the content of the security but on the approach to it. I don't see a Palestinian national body exercising its authority on a certain border without certain security, security not limited to the question of a police force but a complete security apparatus, beginning with intelligence, a national guard, a police force, municipal police - i.e. with everything, the whole apparatus. Are we going to ask for permission to establish this apparatus? Are we going to be seen as collaborators with our occupiers in order to establish our national security apparatus? I don't see that.

What I do see are some major obstacles in moving from this gap to the reality. If we accept that the Israelis are already negotiating with our leadership, with those who can deliver, they can put the question of security on the agenda, under the sun, in front of everybody. And it must be put there clearly. Can the Palestinians maintain law and order and safety for all during this transitional period, whether it is three years or five years? I think the Palestinians are willing to go through such testing if there is not interference from Israel, i.e. if the training and education of the Palestinians are not carried out in Israel. There have been attempts to accomplish this in Jordan and in Egypt, and perhaps there will be future attempts in France - and there is already Force 17. In other words, there is already a Palestinian security system existing capable of governing and delivering. Why not bring it in to do the work in this transitional phase?

already in the first or second year of the transitional phase. The principle is that the negotiations are leading to autonomy, say, from the Israeli perspective, self-rule from the American perspective and to self-government – a national government exercising its authority in a process to establish an independent Palestinian state – from the Palestinian perspective, there should be a recognised border accepted by both parties where this national body is going to exercise its authority. This authority has to be recognised here, on the ground, which means as I see it, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem. Of course some people say it is difficult to discuss the details of the problem of Jerusalem now ... but Jerusalem is the heart of the problem. It is our capital. It is part of the Occupied Territory. It is the problem, but we have to address it eventually and it has to be kept on the agenda no matter what. There has been a lot of attention paid in the Israeli media to a police force, and there have been several recent attempts by settlers and others to exploit the problem. The problem is not the police force as such. The problem is whether you are willing to withdraw, to accept us as independent next-door neighbours, whether, just as you will accept our running of our education, health, transport, commerce, and everything else, you are willing to see us maintaining internal and external security. For there is no doubt that external security, even when we try to begin dealing with it, means collective security for the whole region. This means including Amman, Damascus, Beirut, Tel Aviv, and Palestinian Jerusalem in the collective security system.

In order to maintain the credibility of both the negotiators and the Palestinian people while ending the occupation, and establishing a recognised and accepted national Palestinian authority, we must link the political and security processes. They cannot be separated. You cannot have an elected national legislative body without an executive branch to implement its decisions, without a security apparatus to link its executive decisions. You need both at the same time.

I should not, perhaps, repeat myself in remarking that it is high time for our colleagues, the specialists, the experts and the professionals in the Israeli house to stop dictating what Palestinians should and should not do, what the priorities are and are not. But it is high time that the Israelis accept, acknowledge and recognise the Palestinian agenda. As far as I see it today, this agenda includes some sort of acknowledgement that we have been crushed, humiliated and governed by others for all these decades. It is time for us to breathe freedom and independence, to govern ourselves in our own way - and this must begin now.

One way to start is to close the gap between the Israeli leadership in Tel Aviv and the PLO leadership in Tunis. If you have already accepted PLO experts and specialists into the delegation, leading and governing the negotiations, why not accept talking directly to the PLO in Tunis? You recognise them as the specialists, the experts who will govern the future system of security for Palestinians. They are the people who can deliver. Local leadership in the Occupied Palestinian Territory is not in a position to deliver.

On the question of the settlers, I think there are three scenarios. One scenario says that the transitional phase will see them under Israeli control with Israeli security, and with absolutely no Palestinian security interference whatsoever. But you'll be fooling yourself if you think this will work. It is not your land to keep or govern... but we are not here today to talk about sovereignty or authority. In another scenario, the settlers will be dealt with as in the case of Palestinians and the Lebanese government. We have refugee camps in Lebanon, and there have been guns, weapons and everything in these refugee camps. The agreement between the PLO and the Lebanese government was not to use these guns or arms or whatever outside the borders of the refugee camps, and that neither the Lebanese government nor any Lebanese citizen would interfere with the security within these camps. This was between the Palestinians and the Lebanese government. If we now consider, hypothetically speaking, the settlers as residents or refugees in a future independent Palestinian state, the

settlers could enjoy a similar arrangement in the transitional phase, which would give them time to consider whether or not they wish to continue living there.

The third scenario is one in which the settlements are accepted as Israeli military installations during the transitional phase and once occupation ends, they end with it.

There may even be additional scenarios, but in order to have any agreed-upon and acceptable scenario for this transitional phase, you must first accept that this is the land of the intifada. This is the land of future Palestine. Thus, whoever lives in this territory must abide by Palestinian law, as any Palestinian who would like to live in Israel must abide by Israeli law. As you treat my people, I treat your people. But we cannot apply Israeli law in Palestinian territory. Otherwise there would be no national authority and no Palestinian security apparatus. It would not exist. You don't want to see the Palestinians who have been resisting occupation still struggling to end it. After twenty-five years of steadfastness waiting for a solution to come from the outside, and trying for the past five years to change the status quo and build a new society under the banner of the intifada, you cannot expect the Palestinians to become new collaborators, to maintain the status quo because of your security, to feed your confidence because you need to be 100% sure that you will be safe during the transitional phase. You cannot expect them to be as your employees. This cannot and should not be.

On the question of opposition, I don't think the only opposition comes from the settlers. We have opposition too. It is not Hamas or the Islamic Jihad. There are Palestinian nationalists who also oppose the current negotiations. What we are talking about in these negotiations is 25% of all the land of Palestine. We are talking about another amendment in the borders. We are talking about more settlers. At the time of Camp David there were about 11,000 settlers. Now we have 110,000. We didn't accept them then. Why should we accept them now? So opposition does exist. But opposition cannot stop the process if there is a strong committed leadership who can control and deliver.

Look what is now going on in Gaza. There is a dispute between factions. Who governs Gaza? It is the PLO. There is no doubt of that. There must be confidence and assurance in a leadership that can deliver and govern, especially during the transitional phase when we are trying to build this national consensus. We are asking everybody inside and outside to commit themselves to peaceful settlement. Of course, you have the need for safety and security. There is the same need for the Palestinians. We need guarantees that once you withdraw you will not re-occupy us if there are clashes between the settlers and our security apparatus - whether it is intelligence, the police force or the National Guard. Guarantees during the transitional phase should be the presence of the UN force, especially along the borders, and a new redeployment of forces where there are clashes. And, again, I am one of those who is willing to continue raising this problem for one simple reason: we need more meetings and more talk about this question because we need to build confidence in people's hearts and minds that we are for co-existence. We are entering a new era. What we are talking about today, we didn't talk about at Camp David. We couldn't talk about it in the thirties, in the forties, in the fifties, or in the seventies. We are both different peoples. We are in an entirely different era. We are more accepting of each other. And if we want to build a settlement together, we have to begin co-operating. And we cannot co-operate without equal respect, acceptance and shared work - but not as collaborators. We are not yet partners and we are still resisting Israeli occupation. Military occupation must end now.

Diamond Jubilee Celebrations.

Summary.

This was held to celebrate the passing of 75 years since the establishment of an-Najah University in Nablus. The ceremony took place at the University campus and Mr. Khamis Ghosheh, assistant administrator at PASSIA, attended the ceremony.

6.

24th-28th May.

BirZeit University.

"Mid Level Management."

US Team Speakers: Tom David, Jack Vincent, Sonny Smith.

Summary.

This conference was attended by the assistant administrator of PASSIA, Mr. Khamis Ghosheh. The lectures, discussions and exercises took the form of an intensive course in management skills. Topics covered in the course were the development of individual and administrative skills, methods, responsibility, efficiency and communication. The importance of communication when dealing with human resources was a main topic as was leadership and its qualities, motivation and success.

7.

23rd- 24th June.

BirZeit University.

"The Preservation of Palestinian Heritage."

National Campaign for the Preservation of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage.

Summary.

This conference covered the meaning and importance of both material and spiritual Palestinian heritage and was attended by Mr. Khamis Ghosheh, assistant administrator of PASSIA. Dr. Hamdan Taha described the astonishing neglect of antiquities and said that until now Palestinians seemed only to have been concerned with spiritual rather than material heritage. Many locations have been stolen since '67 but as Dr. Kamal Abdul Fatah said there are still more than 4,000 sites in the West Bank alone which must be protected to escape the destruction which has taken place at 11,000 other Arab sites and is a disaster for scientific and historical research. Other topics covered at this conference were the renovation and restoration of antiquities and sites. Some specific examples given were Al-Aqsa Mosque, Jifna and Hebron. The importance of tourism both now and in the future was discussed at length, particularly the interconnection between tourism and archaeology. The urgent need for Palestinian museums, and the steps currently being taken to establish these was the topic for the final session. Speakers included Abdul Aratouf Bargouti, Fatime Hamad, Dr. Mohammed Ma'en Sadakh and Mr. Ali Ziyadh.

8.

June 25th -27th.

**The Palestinian National Theatre & the National Palace Hotel.
25th Annual Convention of the United Holy Land Fund.**

Summary.

The United Holy Land Fund was founded in 1968 in the United States. In 1992-1993 it supported more than 100 organisations in the Occupied Territories and Palestinian Refugee Camps inside and outside occupied Palestine. The conference, attended by Mr. Khamis Ghosheh of PASSIA, began with a seminar on Jerusalem led by various religious figures in Jerusalem. Seminars on economy, politics, education and culture were presented by university professors and councillors. Seminars on health and social issues were overseen by doctors, medical councillors and other professionals working on the ground, particularly in Gaza. Recommendations for improvement were made and stated in a press conference which concluded the three days of meetings.

9.

5th-9th July.

BirZeit and an-Najah Universities.

"Palestine, the Arab World and the Emerging International System: Values Culture and Politics."

The Association of Arab-American University Graduates.

Summary.

This conference was attended by professors, university lecturers, research fellows and other specialists from Europe as well as from the US and here. The total number of participants was 57 excluding members of Birzeit and the AAUG. Two members of PASSIA attended this conference, Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi and Dr. Hisham Ahmed. Edward Said and Lord Gilmour opened the conference with speeches on "Critical Regional Perspectives on the Emerging International System". Over the five days of the conference there were ten different panels, each composed of six experts on a particular topic that each panel had chosen. Topics were as follows:

Replacing/Reshaping the old system: Conflicts in Public and Foreign Policy Formation; Cultural Hegemony in a Changing World; Palestine, Israel and the Arab Israeli Conflict; Ethnicity, Security and Hegemony; Political Disorders in a Troubled Arab State System; Feminist Perspectives on the Future of Palestinian Society; Ethics and Politics in American Dominance; Integrating/Marginalizing Palestine and Palestinians; Political Economy and Development: Palestinian Israeli Dependency or Interdependency; Peace and the Dilemmas of Statebuilding.

10.

2nd-5th September.

BirZeit University & Haj Rashid Shawa Cultural Centre, Gaza City.

The First Palestinian Conference on Democracy:

"Towards a Democratic Society "

worldwide and was attended by Valerie Grove of PASSIA. Following a theoretical overview given by Dr. Said Zeedani of BirZeit and Professor Kevin Boyle of Essex University, England, each speaker discussed the "model" of democracy as applied in or to their own countries. Where applicable, similarities were drawn with the situation in the OPT. Countries represented were Germany (Freimat Duve MP, SPD); Russia (Professor Vasily Istratov, Dean of Moscow State University); Canada (Professor Jim Graph, Toronto University); South Africa (Dullah Omar, University of Western Cape; Director of Community Law Centre); Nicaragua (Dr. Alejandro Bendana, History Professor and Director of Centre of International studies); Cuba (Raul Valdez Vivo, Director, Party Cadre School); and Chile (Eduardo Abed Rabo, Head of Youth section, Chilean CDP). Each speaker answered questions from the audience. The following two days were devoted to workshops covering democracy as relating to Women, Religion, Family and the PLO. The political future and the task of defining Palestinian democracy was part of a workshop which included Professor Ibrahim Abu Lughod, Dr. Sari Nusseibeh and Dr. Riad Malki. Keynote speeches were given by Dr. Udo Steinbach of the Deutsches Orient Institut and Asma Khader Head of the Womens Union in Jordan. The final day included workshops on Development, Human Rights and Democracy. The keynote speaker was Dullah Omar and the conference concluded with a tour of the Gaza Strip.

11.

13th September.

Notre Dame Centre, Jerusalem

"GAZA-JERICHO FIRST"

Implications and Ramifications. (Seminar)

"The Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information (I.P.C.R.I.)"

Co-sponsored by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation.

Summary.

The seminar attended by Valerie Grove of PASSIA, began with an introduction from International Director of I.P.C.R.I., Mr. Gershon Baskin and Chairman Mr. Hanna Siniora. Both commented on the importance of the historic juncture at which the region finds itself today but also warned of opposition to the agreement from both Palestinians and Israelis. Hanna Siniora said that the problem of Jerusalem remained a stumbling block to the future of the agreement. The first two speakers were Dr. Samir Abdallah and Professor Shlomo Ben Ami who both waxed lyrical about the glowing prospects for economic co-operation between Palestinians and Israelis. Professor Ben Ami said that Israel would take pains not to take advantage of the weaker position of a growing Palestinian economy. Dr. Abdallah stressed the need for extensive co-operation especially in areas such as tourism, water and transport. The nature of economic co-operation as the only true path towards peace was stressed but any optimism fostered by this was nullified by the following speakers who talked on the issue of security. Dr. Mark Heller began by addressing the major problem of knowing very little about the contents of the agreement although it was evident that the bulk of the content concerned economy with very little mention of security. He said that he firmly believed that Palestinian motivation for security violation would drop dramatically after this agreement but a major problem in his mind was that the

economy would become a security issue. In other words, lack of success on the economic front and subsequent disillusionment/frustration with the economic process could lead to security problems. Dr. Shikaki talked specifically about Gaza and Gazan settlements which he said should be dismantled to protect the settlers themselves and to avoid unnecessary provocation. The main security threat to the Palestinians is re-occupation and if they fail the "test" of policing themselves then re-occupation is a possibility. He said that Gaza is the main problem as the social and economic devastation brought about by the occupation and subsequent political sensibilities are almost impossible to overcome. Furthermore, even if there is some form of recovery in Gaza, issues like water (all sources of which will be saline within five years) will cause continual problems. Both speakers also mentioned the loss of capability and control by Israelis as withdrawal is effected which could be another area of volatility. It was concluded that it is basically security issues which can overturn the whole agreement. The final speaker was Radwan Abu Ayyash who talked about the necessity for three years of intensive re-education as the only starting point for peace and co-operation. He said that there was not any tension about the agreement and that most people were optimistic which was a good starting point for the tasks that lay ahead.

12.
22nd September 1993
Orient House, Jerusalem.
"Royal College of Defence Studies, Middle East Tour 1993"
Consulate of the United Kingdom, Jerusalem.

Summary.

This meeting was attended by Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Dr. Tamer Essawi and a group from the Royal College of Defence Studies which sends a team of military planners, strategists and officials from various countries on an annual tour. The group consisted of Major General J.S. Chester, Royal Navy; Brigadier M.L. Wildman, British Army; Commander Gopalachari, Indian Navy; Brigadier Keating, Australian Army; Mr. K. Masuda, Japanese Defence Agency; Captain C.S. McHugh, Royal Navy; Colonel C.H. Patrum, United States Air Force; Colonel J. Prochyra, Slovak Army; Mrs. J.B. Royle, British Ministry of Defence; Air Commander C.J. Sharples, Royal Air Force; Wing Commander M.P. Cocksedge, Royal Air Force. Also in attendance was His Excellency David Maclellan, British Consul in Jerusalem.

Internal and external security issues were discussed with the issue of Israeli settlements being raised as a major obstacle to the maintenance of law and order in the transitional phase. The development of political systems and the necessity for training and education was noted and the possibility of exchange visits for training Palestinians considered.

13.
6th-9th November.
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
"Relations between Europe and the Middle East"
The Hebrew University, The Ministry for Foreign Affairs & The International Support Committee of the Institute for European Studies at the Hebrew University

were Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Dr. Khalil Shikaki, Jad Isaaq and Dr. Hisham Anmea. This conference was divided into four sessions over a two day period, the event of the first day was an introductory dinner hosted by Shimon Peres. A Palestinian Academic team of four members attended the conference with one member speaking per session. The first was on the subject of "Autonomy, its Meaning its Evolution: The European, Israeli and Palestinian viewpoints." The speaker from the Palestinian team was Dr. Hisham Ahmed from PASSIA and Chairman of this session was Uffe Elleman-Jensen, Danish Foreign minister and chairman of the Liberal Party. Other speakers included Ephraim Kleiman of Israel and representatives from France, Germany and Belgium. The afternoon session was "The Permanent Peace Settlement". Mustapha Khalil, former Prime Minister of Egypt and current Deputy Chairman of the ruling party, was the chair for this session and the Palestinian speaker was Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi of PASSIA. Other speakers included Shlomo Avineri, Yossi Beilin, David Kimche and Moshe Ma'oz from Israel and speakers from the UK, Italy, France and Russia. On November 8th the first session was "Regional Co-operation: Economic, Water and Environmental issues". The Palestinian speaker was Jad Isaaq, Associate Professor of Life Sciences at Bethlehem University, and the chair was Valdo Spini, Minister of the environment for the Italian Socialist Party. Others represented in this panel were Israel, UK, Luxembourg and the European Community. The fourth and final session dealt with "Security Arrangements in the Middle East". This was chaired by Bruno Frappat of France, editor of Le Monde and member of the French Foundation Board of Directors and the Palestinian speaker was Dr. Khalil Shikaki, Professor at an-Najah University and Director of the Centre for Palestinian Research and Studies. There were three speakers for Israel and one for Greece, Ireland, Italy and France respectively.

14.

18th November.

The National Palace Hotel, Jerusalem.

"Islam and Human Rights"

Palestinian School of Law - Human Rights Center, Jerusalem.

Summary.

This one day conference was divided into three separate sessions. The first session came under the general heading of Human Rights and Sharia Law on which Sheikh Hayyan Idrisi spoke. Mousa Dweik spoke on Human Rights under International Law and representatives of Al Haq on the Implementation of Human Rights in the Occupied Territories. The session concluded with a lecture from Hussein Darwish on Islam and Human Rights.

Session two began with Dr. Nabi Saleh speaking on Legal Rights, Political Freedom and Criminal Law while the Protection of Legal Rights and Guarantees was covered by Dr. Ali Hishan. Sheikh Ikrima Sabri then spoke of Legal Rights and Political Freedom under Islam and the concluding lecture, given by Dr. Shafiq Ayyash was, again on the subject of Islam and Legal Rights.

The third session was on Islam and its relationship to the West. Summarised below is the presentation given by Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi:

Dr. Abdul Hadi began by saying how the historical evolution of Islam could be charted in the following stages:

- a) From the Prophet Mohammed in the seventh century and subsequent growth to the eleventh century.
- b) From the Crusades in the eleventh century to the fifteenth century, with focus on Islamic rulers in Andalusia.
- c) Between World Wars One and Two; and
- d) During the Cold War and up to the time of the Gulf War in the 1990s.

He went on to say that it is best that these evolutionary aspects be left to scholars, historians and orientalists to discuss for the focus of this particular event is on the current relationship between Islam and the West.

Twenty years ago Islamists and Islamic Fundamentalism were not visible on the European political map although it is fair to say that during the Cold War, thanks to their access to large sections of society via social activities and mosques, Islamists and, in part, the forums and leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood, were used as tools in the hands of various regimes to oppose or counter what was seen as the Communist threat.

Over the last fifteen years the following ten events and ten personalities have brought much more attention to Islam and its base in the Arab World. (It is important to connect these events and these personalities in order to illustrate the attitude of the West towards Islam today):

1. The fall of the one of the strongest and most pro-American of the countries in the region, Iran, whose leader was deposed by the Islamists.
2. The assassination of the President of another strong and pro-American regime, Anwar Sadat in Egypt.
3. The Islamist takeover of Sudan, one of the largest Arab countries.
4. The growth in social, political and economic strength of the Islamists in Jordan.
5. The Islamic Movement struggling against the regime in Algiers.
6. Islamists, in particular the Shi'ite and their struggle against Israel in south Lebanon.
7. The massacre of 30,000 Islamists in Ham'a, by the Syrian regime.
8. Takeover in Afghanistan by the Islamic Movement and subsequent threats to the newly independent republic in Tajikistan.
9. Islamist attacks and killing of police officers and several attempts on high ranking officials and tourists in Egypt
10. Islamic manoeuvres in Saudi Arabia resulting in the King declaring a royal decree for democratic changes and the appointment of a consultative council.

The following is a list of ten men who have brought attention in the West.

1. Fathi Shikaki - Islamic Jihad member who was deported from the Occupied Gaza Strip and went on to become head of Jihad with its headquarters in south Lebanon.
2. Sheikh Assad Tamimi - Islamic Jihad, Beit Maqdes, Jordan.
3. Mohammed Abdul Rahman Sharifa - Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan.
4. Sheikh Ahmad Hussein Fadlala - Hizbullah, south Lebanon.
5. Abbas Mousawi - Political Leader of Hizbullah in Lebanon who was assassinated by Israel Defence Forces in Feb. 92.
6. Sa'ed Mohammed Bakr Hakim - Leader of Shi'ite opposition, Iraq

9. *Iranian President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani.*
10. *Sheikh Ahmad Yassin - Spiritual Leader of Hamas in Gaza, currently in prison in Israel.*

The West today only reads about and hears of the activities of such men. A combination of the two factors outlined above is how Islam is seen by the Western world today. It is worth mentioning the case of Dr. Abdallah Azam who was an activist in Islamic forums in the Occupied Territory. He was deported to Jordan where he tried to run for higher office in the Muslim Brotherhood advocating a new approach but was rejected by the old guard who had maintained their seat of power since the early 50s. He was recruited by foreign agents and sent to Afghanistan where he succeeded in forming and arming the International Muslim Brigade before he was assassinated in a car bomb. His followers became the new mercenaries for special missions. They were recruited to fight the Russian invasion of Afghanistan and used by the governments in France, Algeria and Egypt to counter attacks by radical Islamic groups. This function has continued to the present day.

It is also worth mentioning some countries and their politics and practices which affect the relationship between Islam and the West. Turkey for example has been a member of NATO since 1952 and before the end of the Cold War had a strategic role as a defensive curtain from the former Soviet Union and as an economic and military base for Europe and the United States. The Turkey of today with its particular geography and demography serves a dual role:

1. *To the new independent Islamic Republics in the former Soviet Union to provide a market and economic/technological aid.*

2. *To our region where Turkey is involved in the question of water, borders with Syria and Iraq, the Kurdish question and the alliance with Israel. The question of arms capabilities and prospects for control is another dimension which should be considered.*

15.

December 7th 1993.

Orient House Jerusalem.

"Security Arrangements."

Meeting with Mrs. Elizabeth Rehn-Minister of Defence, Finland.

Summary.

This meeting was attended by Mr. Faisal Hussein, Dr. Hanan Ashrawi, Dr. Khalil Shikaki and Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi. The main discussion centred on the Declaration of Principles and the inequality of the relationship between Israel and Palestine as specified therein. Despite several months having elapsed nothing has changed on the ground and no part of the DOP has, as yet, been incorporated into Israeli policy. Arafat and Rabin understand the contradictions because they were not the only contributors to the DOP and because of the diversity of political opinion in their respective communities. The problem of security was raised as was Israel's intransigence on insisting that external security is under their complete control. This includes continued military presence in the OPT and total command over borders. The possible use and operation of the Rafah and bridge crossings were discussed.

Internal security including the role of the Palestinian police force *vis a vis* settlers and settlements, in relation to the Israeli police and in its role in implementing the decisions of the Palestine National Authority, was discussed at length. It could act as a protection from Israeli interference, protect civilians, maintain order and prevent attacks from extreme settler elements. On the status of settlements and their security there were many decisions to be made; whether they would become military installations, be policed by the IDF or become de-militarised civilian zones. Withdrawal and/or re-deployment of Israeli troops was another matter raised. The meeting concluded with a discussion on the status of Jerusalem.

16.

December 9th 1993.

Orient House, Jerusalem.

"The Three Monotheistic Faiths."

Meeting with the inter-religious delegation to the Middle East.

Summary.

Twenty-seven members of various Islamic, Christian and Jewish movements in the United States toured the Middle East and met senior officials in Jerusalem, Amman, Damascus and Cairo. On the 8th December they met with Israeli officials from the Foreign Office and on the 9th with Sheikh Ikrima Sabri and Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi. Dr. Abdul Hadi emphasised that this date was the anniversary of the intifada and that this had been the first chapter in the Palestinian resistance that led up to the current political negotiations, mutual recognition and work towards reconciliation and co-existence. Emphasis was also made that Palestine is part of the Arab world and its Islamic roots are very strong and that no social or political trend should be underestimated. The importance of dialogue as one method to bring the representatives and opinions of the three monotheistic faiths together was noted, and its role in increasing understanding, acceptance and co-operation. Dr. Abdul Hadi also noted the character of Orient House as a political address and Palestinian intentions and needs to see it as a future headquarters of a national authority. He encouraged further contacts to be made through this address on all matters and said that despite the difficulties of current political processes there were high expectations of a comprehensive political settlement.

17.

December 17th 1993.

"The Palestinian-Israeli Declaration of Principles: Current and Future Prospects."

BirZeit University.

Summary.

The first session at this one day conference was on the "Nature and Significance of the Accord" and was chaired by Isiah Jad and addressed by Dr. Ibrahim Abu Lughod, Dr. Ali Jarbawi, Dr. Khalil Shikaki and Dr. Riad Malki. The second session, chaired by Dr. Roger Heacock and addressed by Raja Shehadeh, Dr. Ziad Abu Amr and Dr. Ahmed Harb concerned "Direct Implications of the Accord". The third and final session on "The Accord and the Future Viability of the Palestinian

settlement and normalisation of Arab/Israeli or simply as an end to a historic conflict.

18.

22nd December.

The Ambassador Hotel.

Reception held on the return to Jerusalem of Mr. Afif Safieh.

Arranged by PASSIA.

The year ended with the brief return to Jerusalem of Mr. Afif Safieh, the Head of the Palestinian Delegation to the United Kingdom. In his honour, a reception was held on December 22nd in the Ambassador Hotel which was the first headquarters of the PLO in 1964.

This reception at which a press conference was also held, was attended by approximately 200 people from all over the Occupied Territories and many Consulate and Embassy representatives based in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv.



OTHERS.

Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi was invited by the Reverend Dr. Ray Barraclough to give three lectures at Saint George's College, Jerusalem. These lectures were to three different groups of adult students from Canada, Europe and Australia. They took place on the 10th February, 26th March and the 7th May and addressed the issues of the Intifada, the Palestinian Agenda and the Peace Process.



At the invitation of Dr. Jurgen Brauer, PASSIA registered with a Ford Foundation sponsored project to create a global register of experts on the Economic Aspects of Military Affairs. This register will appear in late 1994.



PASSIA was consulted by the "Initiative to Encourage Economic Research in the Middle East and North Africa" (IEERMENA) to help prepare the first Research Conference held in Cairo from the 4th-6th June. PASSIA recommended a list of possible Palestinian participants and a representative from IEERMENA visited PASSIA on February 12th to discuss and make a final decision on the Palestinian speakers.



PASSIA was invited to the following conferences but owing to commitments to the work of PASSIA itself was unable to send a participant. Apologies were sent and in most cases conference results were sent to PASSIA for present and future reference.

1.

Date: 5th-7th April.

Place Held: Intercontinental Hotel-Amman, Jordan.

Topic: "Strengthening Commitment to the Universality of Human Rights."

Organiser: The International Movement of Rights and Humanity.

2.

Date: 13th-14th June.

Place Held: ZOA House, Tel Aviv.

Topic: "The International Struggle Against Torture and the Case of Israel."

Organiser: Association of Israeli Palestinian Physicians for Human Rights. (PHR) Public Committee against Torture in Israel. (PCAT)

3.

Date: 24th-26th June.

Place Held: Hotel Michelangelo-Milan, Italy.

Topic: "Israeli-Palestinian Prospects for Peace."

Organiser: The Italian Centre for Peace in the Middle East.

4 .

Date: 8th-11th July.

Place Held: University of Warwick-England.

Topic: "EURAMES Inaugural Conference."

Organiser: The European Association of Middle East Studies.

5.

Date: 7th-8th September.

Place Held: Notre Dame Centre, Jerusalem.

Topic: "Non-violent Possibilities for the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict"

Organiser: Palestinians and Israelis for non-violence.(affiliated with the International Fellowship for non-violence.)

6.

Date: 11th-12th November 1993.

Place Held: The College of Science and Technology - Khan Yunis, Gaza Strip.

Topic: First Scientific Conference - "Toward a new view of Modern Problematic Issues in the Gaza Strip."

Organiser: The College of Science and Technology & AMIDEAST.

Sweden.

Topic: 3rd Pugwash Conference on the Middle East: "Visions for Peace and Development in the Middle East"

Organiser: Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs.

8.

Date: 13th-17th December 1993.

Place Held: Rockefeller Foundation's Conference Center. Bellagio, Italy.

Topic: "Middle East Arms Control after the Israeli-PLO Agreement"

Organiser: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC, USA.

9.

Date: 10th-13th December

Place Held: Federal Polytechnical Institute, Zurich, Switzerland.

Topic: "The First Israeli-Palestinian Conference on Water."

Organiser: The Jerusalem Centre for Strategic Studies & The Harry S. Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace.



9. WORKING VISITS.

1. **Date :** September 13th 1993.
Host : The White House.
Topic: The Signing of the Declaration of Principles.

The signing of the Declaration of Principles between Israel and the PLO took place at the White House in Washington. Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi was invited as a member of the Palestinian Delegation to attend this ceremony and was present at the White House on the afternoon of September 15th where he witnessed the signing and subsequent speeches.

2. **Date :** October 2nd - October 11th 1993
Host : The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington DC.
Topic: The purpose of this visit was to participate in a 35 member international team to observe the National Assembly Elections in Pakistan which were held on October 6th 1993.

The National Democratic Institute is affiliated with the United States Democratic Party and has been active for eight years working in over 50 countries around the world. The organisation focusses on democratisation in countries that have not had democracy before or are attempting to regain it and it tries to help in the process of democratisation and choice implementation. These functions have, in the past, proved to be practical ways to help such as teaching people how to use polling machines, monitoring elections or training local people how to monitor elections. There are other practical things done in connection with education or liaising with NGOs. It considers itself an information resource, not an academic centre or donor agency and also advises on a variety of things such as the design of election systems and illiteracy.

The National Democratic Institute invited Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi to be a part of their second international observation team for the Pakistani elections, NDI had first played this role in Pakistan in the 1990 elections. Other international observation teams were from the European Community and the Commonwealth. Dr. Abdul Hadi's participation in the NDI team was with the knowledge and affirmation of the Political Department of the PLO in Tunis and is the first time that a Palestinian has participated in an international team for election observation.

meeting with government and election officials, leaders of the major parties, NGOs and journalists. Campaign strategies of each party and the media coverage were closely observed.

The NDI team, while agreeing that their overall observations of the electoral process in Pakistan were encouraging, had several comments about ways in which it could be developed. The electoral rolls needed to be fully updated and the lack of participation of women in elections needs to be seriously addressed. Women suffered from problems of illiteracy, disinclination to vote due to social and cultural factors and lack of organisation in areas where they were expected to vote. This often manifested itself in presiding officers not bothering to set up the polling facilities because of expectations that women would not come to vote anyway. One of Dr. Abdul Hadi's main concerns was illiteracy and how this can be overcome in order to ensure a greater participation in the electoral process. There were delays in the opening of polling stations which also caused certain problems and some parties and candidates often ignored legal requirements regarding campaign spending. The role of the armed forces in Pakistan electoral process was generally seen positively by the delegation. It was, however, thought imperative that other institutions such as the media, civic organisations, the electoral commission and the government itself, be strengthened to obviate the need for such a large military role. Dr. Abdul Hadi felt that the military presence was overbearing.

Given the events of 1993 and the possibility of democratic reform and future elections in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, to observe the electoral process in Pakistan and gain a practical awareness of the procedures and possible problems that can arise, has proved an invaluable source of information and experience.

In December PASSIA hosted a roundtable meeting for an international survey team from the National Democratic Institute, Washington, DC in which current Palestinian perspectives were discussed at length along with the possibilities of NDI playing a future role.

3. **Date :** October 12th.
Host : Tunisian Government.
Topic: Palestinian Central Council.
Place: Tunis.

Dr. Abdul Hadi and other colleagues from the OPT attended a meeting of the Central Council in Tunis as observers. The discussion concerned the Declaration of Principles and approval of it.

4. **Date :** October 12-14th.
Host : Tunisian Government.
Topic: Multilateral Working Group on Refugees.
Place: Tunis.

The Palestinian Delegation to the Multilateral Working group on Refugees of which Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi is a member, held meetings at which the Declaration of Principles and its reference and relevance to the refugee question was addressed. The working group reassessed its position in the light of the DOP and decided that as well as elaborating ideas and proposals which will ultimately be finalised in the present and future bilateral negotiations, their task was also to examine and activate programmes and projects aimed at the immediate improvement of living conditions for refugees both inside and outside the Occupied Territory. They welcomed moves by the US whose delegation had just announced a substantive financial contribution to improve the living conditions of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon.

Much of the group work was devoted to the issue of family reunification and a report from the group's French emissary, which included important proposals accepted by Israel. A Palestinian and Arab consensus that UN resolutions pertaining to Palestinian refugees should constitute the basis for the work of this group was emphasised. There is explicit opposition to all schemes of re-settlement of Palestinian refugees in the various countries of their exile and unequivocal insistence on their right to return.



Since 1988 PASSIA has accepted the responsibility to act as host to visiting research scholars in a similar way to universities, think tanks and other research organisations.

The first of these was Andrew Rigby, Lecturer in the School of Peace Studies at Bradford University, England. He was at PASSIA on two separate occasions and his two research papers were published by PASSIA. The first on "Economic Aspects of the Intifada" was published in September 1988, and the second, "The Intifada, the Struggle over Education" in July 1989.

The second visiting researcher was Julie Peteet who came as a Fulbright scholar for the academic year 1990-91. She gained her Phd. in Anthropology from Wayne State University and held a variety of lecture and research posts. Dr. Peteet's research at PASSIA was on gender issues but this study was not published because she failed to give PASSIA the text for publication in Jerusalem.

The third and current scholar for the academic year 1993-94, is Dr. Hisham H. Ahmed also here under the auspices of the Fulbright Programme. Dr. Ahmed gained his PhD in Political Science from the University of California, Santa Barbara in 1988. Since then he has been a lecturer in this field teaching a variety of courses ranging from Middle East Politics to Foreign Policy Analysis. He is currently doing research on the evolution of the Hamas movement and PASSIA expects to publish this shortly.

PASSIA hopes to continue providing an academic base in Jerusalem for visiting scholars and also intends to develop exchange programmes whereby a Palestinian scholar can have the opportunity to study in Europe or the United States. PASSIA is trying to ensure that this proceeds on a yearly basis.



11. APPENDICES.

i. PASSIA BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Kamal Abdul Fattah

Professor of Geography at Bir Zeit University; author of various publications on the geography of Palestine.

Nayyef Abu Khalef

Associate professor of Political Science and Vice President for Cultural Affairs at an-Najah University, Nablus.

Mahdi Abdul Hadi

Political analyst, academic, columnist and author; founder and member of the various Palestinian institutions in the OPT; President and founder of PASSIA.

Freih Abu Meddian

Lawyer, specialising in Human Rights; Chairman of the Gaza Bar Association; member of Palestinian delegation in the Peace Process.

Riad Al-Agha

Associate professor of Political Science and Head of College of Science and Technology, Khan Younis, Gaza Strip.

Kainat Dweik

Sociologist and social worker; member of various women's organisations in the West Bank.

Ahmad Harb

Associate professor of English Literature at Bir Zeit University; columnist and novelist, Ramallah.

Adnan Musallam

Associate professor of History at Bethlehem University.

Mohammad Neirab

Associate professor of Modern History and Political Science at the al-Azhar Islamic University in Gaza.

Sari Nusseibeh

Professor of Philosophy, political analyst, author and columnist; member of Palestinian Steering Committee in the Peace Process, Jerusalem.

Bernard Sahella

PASSIA employs all its staff on a contractual basis whether full or part time. The current team handles the execution of all PASSIA projects with other researchers commissioned for specific duties related to those projects.

Mrs. Kainat Dweik. 1988-94.

Director of the Administrative Committee; B.A. in Social Work, the American University of Beirut; family social worker for ten years; social rehabilitation officer in the Occupied Territories for six years; born and living in Jerusalem.

Ms. Valerie Grove. 1993-94

Executive Secretary/Editor; B.Sc. in Sociology, Kingston University; lived and worked in Japan from 1986-91; teaching and editorial work at Japanese school in London before coming to Jerusalem; born in London, 1963.

Nada Awad. 1990-94.

Secretary and Professional Arabic and English typist; Tawjihi from Dar Al Fatah Al Laji'a School, Jerusalem 1988; YWCA Secretarial Diploma, Jerusalem, 1989; born in Jerusalem 1969.

Khamis Ghosheh. 1992-94.

Administrative Assistant; Tawhiji in 1963 from Ibrahimiyah College, Jerusalem. BA. in Business and Administration, Beirut University, 1968; general manager of a Jerusalem Pharmacy, advertisement representative for medical companies ; freelance advertiser for local and international companies; at PASSIA since 1992; born and living in Jerusalem.

Dr. Hisham Ahmed. 1993-94.

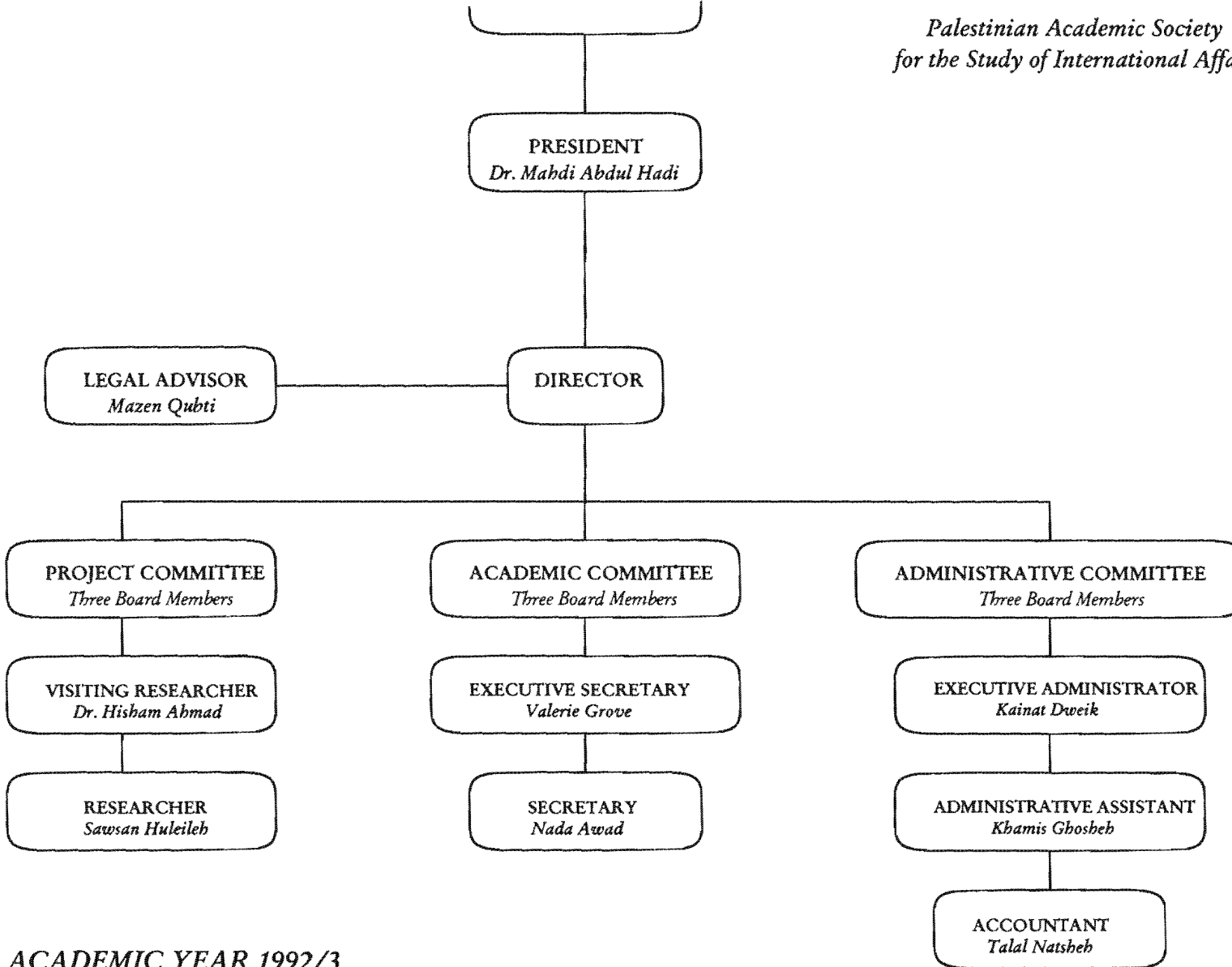
Senior Researcher and Fulbright Research Fellow at PASSIA for the academic year 1993-94. PhD in Political Science from the University of California, Santa Barbara in 1988. Since then he has been a lecturer in this field teaching a variety of courses ranging from Middle East Politics to Foreign Policy Analysis. Born and currently living in Dheisheh Camp, Bethlehem.

Talal Natsheh. 1987-94.

Accountant at PASSIA. Registered with Palestinian Accountants Association, Diploma from Beirut University, 1970. Born and living in Jerusalem.

Sawsan Huleileh. 1992-93.

Researcher at PASSIA. M.A. in Sociology, American University of Beirut; former fieldworker for the Quaker Legal Aid Center and International Committee of the Red Cross covering human rights violations; I.C.R.C. liason officer assisting the head of the Palestinian sub-delegation in Jerusalem. Born and living in Jerusalem.



Each year, PASSIA's Academic Committee prepares proposals for its projects, based on the policy guidelines of the Board of Trustees. Below we list the 1993 PASSIA projects and the financial support given towards each. PASSIA takes this opportunity to acknowledge with gratitude the contributions of the organisations and institutions mentioned.

1. Research Studies Programme

supported by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Bonn, Germany.

2. PASSIA Meetings Part I - January 1st - June 30th 1993

supported by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Bonn, Germany.

PASSIA Meetings Part II - July 1st - December 31st 1993

supported by the Canadian Embassy, Tel Aviv.

3. Three-Part Seminar on Diplomacy and International Affairs 1992-93

supported by the Ford Foundation, Cairo.

Part One - Diplomacy and Protocol:

supported by the Ford Foundation and the Swedish Consulate, Jerusalem.

Part Two - Strategic Studies and Security:

supported by the Ford Foundation.

Part Three - The European Community:

supported by the Ford Foundation.

4. PASSIA Diary 1993

supported by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Bonn, Germany and the Royal Netherlands Embassy, Tel Aviv.

5. PASSIA PROJECTS:

1. Education for Democracy

supported by the National Endowment for Democracy via the Foundation for Democracy and Political Change in the Middle East, Washington DC.

2. "A Review of Literature on Economic Co-operation and Integration in the Middle East."

(Joint project with the Center for International Studies at the University of Toronto, Canada) supported by the Canadian Government.

6. Programme on Jerusalem.

financed by personal loans from Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi

7. Specialist periodicals

financed by income generated from local sales of PASSIA publications.

iv. PASSIA PUBLICATIONS
March 1987-December 1993.

1. *Notes on Palestinian-Israeli Meetings in the Occupied Territories*
(Arabic and English)
Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, PASSIA, Jerusalem; June 1987.
2. *Notes on Palestinian-German Seminar .*
(Arabic and English)
PASSIA, Jerusalem, October 1987.
3. *The Federal Republic of Germany, the Palestinians and the Middle East .*
(Arabic and English)
Dr. Helga Baumgarten, Free University of Berlin, Germany; October 1988.
4. *Modern Arabic Literature Translated into German.*
(in Arabic)
Dr. Stephan Wield, Bonn University, Germany; March 1988.
5. *Swedish Foreign Policy and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict*
(Arabic and English)
Beatrice Zeidler Blomberg, The Swedish Institute of International Affairs; April 1988.
6. *Closure of the Palestinian Information Office in Washington, DC.*
(in Arabic)
Maha Issa Shahadeh and Basam Suleiman Samman, Bir Zeit University; June 1988.
7. *The Jordanian Disengagement: Causes and Effects*
(Arabic and English)
Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, PASSIA, Jerusalem; September 1988.
8. *Economic Aspects of the Intifada*
(Arabic and English)
Dr. Andrew Rigby, Bradford University, UK; September 1988.
9. *The Historic Evolution of the Armenian Question and the Conflict Over Nagorno Karabagh Arstakh*
(Arabic and English)
Dr. Manuel Hassassian, Bethlehem University; December 1988.
10. *PASSIA Diary 1989 , December 1988.*
(in English)
11. *Notes on the Palestinian Declaration of Independence (Arabic and English)*

13. *Towards a Viable Islamic Economy : Conceptual Approaches in the Eighties in Retrospect* (in Arabic)
Dr. Dieter Weiss, Free University of Berlin, Germany; May 1989.
14. *The European Community and The International Conference for Peace in Middle East*
(Arabic and English)
Dr. Nayef Abu-Khalaf, an-Najah University, Nablus; May 1989.
15. *Economic and Social Conditions During the Intifada*
(in Arabic)
Dr. Hazem Shunnar, Nablus; May 1989.
16. *Israeli Planning and House Demolishing Policy in the West Bank*
(Arabic and English)
Rasem Muhyiddin Khameyseh, Ramallah; May 1989.
17. *Nahaleen* (in Arabic)
Ziad Abu Saleh, Hebron, May 1989.
18. *The Intifada: the Struggle Over Education*
(Arabic and English)
Dr. Andrew Rigby, Bradford University, UK; July 1989.
19. *The Intifada: Causes and Factors of Continuity*
(Arabic and English)
Dr. Ziad Abu Amr, Bir Zeit University, Bir Zeit; August 1989.
20. *Reflections on American Palestinian Dialogue*
(Arabic and English)
Dr. William Quandt, The Brooking Institute, Washington, DC; August 1989.
21. *The Intifada and the Local Press* (in Arabic)
Mr. Ali Khalili, *Al-Fajr* Newspaper, Jerusalem; September 1989.
22. *Creating the Palestinian State - a Strategy for Peace*
(translation to Arabic)
Dr. Jerome Segal, Maryland University, USA; September 1989.
23. *Palestinian-Saudi Relations (1936-1939)*
(in Arabic)
Dr. Taysir Jabara, a-Najah University, Nablus; October 1989.
24. *Islam in the Federal Republic of Germany*
(in Arabic)
Dr. Rutrand Fieland, University of Ramberg, Germany; November 1989.

25. *PASSIA Diary 1990* (Arabic and English); November 1989.
26. *Studies in the Arabic Library* (in Arabic)
Dr. Mohammad El Nuri and Ali Khalil Hamad, a-Najah University;
January 1990.
27. *Palestinian Factionalism in the National Movement (1919-1939)*
(in English)
Dr. Manuel Hassassian, Bethlehem University; February 1990.
28. *On the French Revolution* (in Arabic)
Karim Dabbah, a-Najah University, Nablus; February 1990.
29. *Sayyid Qutub: The Emergence of the Islamicist 1939-1950* (in English)
Dr. Adnan Musallam, Bethlehem University; April 1990.
30. *Najati Sidqi: Life and Works 1905-1979* (in Arabic)
Ibrahim Abu Hashhash, Hebron; May 1990.
31. *Transfer of Soviet Jews during Perestroika* (in Arabic)
Dr. Azmi Bishara, Bir Zeit University; June 1990.
32. *Graffiti of the Intifada* (Arabic and English)
Paul Steinberg and A.M. Oliver, USA; July 1990.
33. *Palestinians in Israel and the Intifada* (in Arabic)
Dr. Muhsen Yousef, Bir Zeit University; August 1990.
34. *The Palestinian Component In Jordan's 1989 Parliamentary Elections*
(Arabic and English)
Shirin H. Fathi, Germany; August 1990.
35. *Jerusalem: Effects of Israel's Annexation of Jerusalem on the Rights and
Position of its Arab Population* (in Arabic)
Usama Halabi, Jerusalem; September 1990.
36. *Ghassan Kanafani* (novel and short story) (in Arabic)
Fayha Abdul Hadi, Nablus; September 1990.
37. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (in Arabic)
George Orwell; translated by Rashda Masri; September 1990.
38. *PASSIA Diary 1991* (in English); November 1990.
39. *Germany: Information Paper* (Arabic and English)
PASSIA, Jerusalem; November 1990.
40. *West Bank and Gaza: Information Paper* (Arabic and English)
PASSIA, Jerusalem; December 1990.

1990.

42. *German Unification and European Unity* (Arabic and English)
Prof. Wolf D. Gruner, University of Hamburg, Germany; January 1991.
43. *Palestinian Assessments of the Gulf War and its Aftermath*
(Arabic and English)
PASSIA, Jerusalem; April 1991.
44. *Introduction to Criminology: A Sociological Study* (in Arabic)
Dr. Mahmoud Aqel, an-Najah University, Nablus; August 1991.
45. *The Intifada: Struggle between Israeli Occupation and the Palestinians from the Perspective of Criminology* (in Arabic)
Dr. Suhail Hassanen, Jerusalem; September 1991.
46. *The Eighteenth of August: Boris "Bonaparte"* (in Arabic)
Dr. Azmi Bishara, Bir Zeit University; 1991.
47. *Jerusalem and US Foreign Policy* (in Arabic)
PASSIA, Jerusalem; December 1991.
48. *Jerusalem and United Nations Resolutions* (in Arabic)
PASSIA, Jerusalem; December 1991.
49. *Ibrahim in the Torah, the Bible and the Qur'an* (in Arabic)
Dr. Abed el-Satar Kassim, an-Najah University, Nablus; December 1991.
50. *Israel on the Eve of Election Year* (in English)
Dr. Naomi Chazan, Truman Research Institute, Hebrew University, Jerusalem; December 1991.
51. *PASSIA Diary 1992* (in English); December 1991.
52. *Palestinian Reflections and Opinions* (in Arabic)
Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Dr. Mohammad Jadallah, Dr. Riad Malki.
March 1992.
53. *Conflict Resolutions: Assumptions Behind the Approach* (in English)
J. Kristen Urban, University of Tennessee, USA; October 1992.
54. *The Islamic Movement in Palestine and the New World Order* (in Arabic)
Dr. Iyad Barghouti, an-Najah University, Nablus; December 1992.
55. *PASSIA Diary 1993* (in English); December 1992.
56. *Ein Beit Elma Palestinian Refugee Camp* (in Arabic)
Dr. Mohammad Aqel, an-Najah University; December 1992.

57. *Emerging Trends in Palestinian Strategic Political Thinking and Practice* (Arabic and English)
Dr. Ziad Abu Amr, Bir Zeit University; December 1992.
58. *Progress and Retrogression in Arab Democratization* (in English)
Larbi Sadiki; December 1992.
59. *Half The People: Women, History and the Palestinian Intifada* (in English)
Maria Holt, CAABU, London; December 1992.
60. *Diplomacy and Protocol: PASSIA Seminar 1992* (in English).
December 1992
61. *PASSIA Annual Report 1992*; January 1993.
62. *The Conservation of Jerusalem* (in English)
Khaled A. Khatib, Jerusalem. June 1993
63. *The Law of the Land: Settlement and Land Issues under Israeli Military Occupation* (in English)
Raja Shehadeh, Jerusalem; June 1993
64. *The Occupied Palestinian Territory* (in English)
PASSIA Information Paper, Jerusalem; July 1993
65. *The Australian Press and Palestine* (in English)
Dr. Henk Overberg, Deakin University, Melbourne; July 1993
66. *Strategic Studies and Security: PASSIA Seminar 1993.* (in English)
August 1993
67. *The Jerusalem Arab Municipality* (in Arabic).
Usama Halabi, December 1993.
68. *PASSIA Diary 1994* (in English) December 1993.

PASSIA's library specialises in books and periodicals in the fields of political science, international relations and Palestinian society and politics.

In an effort to enrich its library, PASSIA regularly adds to its collection new books in both Arabic and English and renews and increases its many subscriptions to magazines, journals, newspapers and other publications of academic institutions. PASSIA also receives material from local and international non-governmental organisations and UN agencies, including UNRWA, working in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. PASSIA's library is open on request to students, researchers and any other interested persons.

As part of our policy to broaden the base of knowledge in Palestine on international affairs, we plan further to improve and expand the information resources available.

Listed and described below are the periodicals to which PASSIA subscribed in 1992, classified according to place of publication, as follows: 1. Occupied Palestinian Territories; 2. Arab and other regional states; 3. Europe; 4. United States and Canada; 5. Israel.

Palestinian Periodicals from the Occupied Territories

Al-Malaf Al-Ussbu Al-Siyasi (Weekly Political Report, in Arabic) a weekly report consisting of articles, news items, research studies and transcripts of speeches from the Occupied Territories and the Arab world; the Arab Studies Society, P.O. Box 20479, Jerusalem.

Al-Malaf Al-Shahri (Monthly Report, in Arabic) includes major articles and analytical studies related to the Palestinian-Israeli and Arab-Israeli conflicts; the Arab Studies Society, P.O. Box 20479, Jerusalem.

Al-Haq is a Palestinian institution based in Ramallah specialising in documentation of human rights violations, legal advice, and legal and human rights education and campaigning. It publishes regular publications and special reports; Al-Haq, P.O. Box 1413, Ramallah.

JMCC, the Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre provides daily and weekly summaries of the main events concerning the Occupied Territories; it produces regular publications and special reports; JMCC, P.O. Box 25047, Jerusalem.

PHRIC, the Palestine Human Rights Information Center, documents human rights violations under Israeli occupation and conducts human rights education. It publishes monthly bulletins and special reports; PHRIC, P.O. Box 20479, Jerusalem.

Shu'un Tanmawiyah (Development Affairs), concerned with studies and research on development issues; the Arab Thought Forum (*Al-Multaqa*) P.O. Box 19012, Jerusalem.

Arab and Regional Periodicals

Al-Muntada a monthly journal on development in the Third World, Arab nationalism, international relations and domestic matters; the Arab Thought Forum, P.O. Box 925418, Amman (chairman, H.R.H. Crown Prince Hassan).

Al-Siyasi Al-Duwaliyah a quarterly journal, its chief editor from 1965 to 1991 was Dr. Boutros Ghali. It covers issues of arms control, world economic development, North-South relations, and strategic and diplomatic relations; the Centre for Political and Strategic Studies (*Al-Ahram*), Jala St., Cairo, tel. 755500.

Majallat al-Dirasat al-Filastiniyah Arabic quarterly, dealing with the Palestine issue and the Arab-Israeli conflict, including studies, reports, documentation on the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip; the Institute for Palestine Studies, Anis Nsouli St., P.O. Box 117164, Beirut and P.O. Box 5658, Nicosia, Cyprus.

Shu'un Filastiniyah an Arabic monthly focusing on the Palestine Question, events in the Occupied Territories, and political and socio-economic affairs; the PLO Research Centre, 92 Gregoris Afxentious St., Nicosia.

European Periodicals

Middle East International covers political and economic affairs and contains regular updates on events in the Middle East; published in London and printed simultaneously in New York, 25 issues yearly; 10 Chelsea Wharf, 15 Lots Road, London SW10 9AF.

Journal of Contemporary History academic quarterly combining research in social sciences, urban studies, culture and political sciences; Sage Publications, 6 Bonhill Street, London EC2A 4PU.

Arab Affairs informs on issues of the Arab World, including book reviews, documentation of meetings of the Arab League, analysis from the American and British press on issues concerning Arab states; published quarterly by the League of Arab States, 52 Green Street, London W1Y 3RH.

Security Dialogue aims to serve as a channel of communication between researchers all over the world. Seeks to provoke reflection through inter-regional dialogue on issues of global security in a variety of dimensions. Formerly ***Bulletin of Peace Proposals*** edited at the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo.

Survival quarterly specialising in strategic and international studies and security policy; published by International Institute for Strategic Studies, 23 Tavistock St., London WC2E 7NQ.

Orient. German Journal for Politics and Economics of the Middle East.

Quarterly publication in English and German. Covers political and economic developments in the Middle East. Deutsches Orient Institut, Mittelweg 150, 2000 Hamburg 13, Germany.

concentrating on political, social, economic and historical issues, in an effort to promote better understanding between the US and the Middle East; International Insight Inc., 1715 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Washington, DC.

Current History published nine times a year; examines issues of particular countries and regions and offers a monthly chronology of world news; 4225 Main St., Philadelphia, PA 19127-9989.

The Washington Papers of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, Washington DC; covers major developments in world affairs; published eight times a year in Hanover, Box 465, PA 17331.

Foreign Affairs published five times a year by the Council on Foreign Relations, 58 East 68th St., New York 10021; covers topics on international relations, politics, the United States and its foreign policy, and reviews recent books on international relations.

Foreign Policy published quarterly by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2400 N. St. N.W., Washington DC; concentrates on foreign policy, arms control, strategic studies and international relations.

Journal of Palestine Studies a quarterly on Palestinian affairs and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Includes special reports on the Palestine Question, recent books, a chronology of events and bibliography; published by the University of California Press for the Institute for Palestine Studies.

The Middle East Journal published quarterly by the Middle East Institute, 1761 N. St. N.W., Washington, DC, 20036; specialises in the Arab-Israeli conflict, economy and government policy; gives a chronology of events and review recent publications.

Journal of Modern History published quarterly by the University of Chicago Press, 5720 S. Woodlawn, Chicago, in cooperation with the American Historical Association. It specialises in modern history and reviews relevant articles and books.

American Arab Affairs published quarterly by the American-Arab Affairs Council 1730 M. St. N.W., Suite 512, Washington DC. It provides a forum for viewpoints on recent developments that affect US - Arab relations, including the Arab-Israeli conflict and other regional affairs. Contains book reviews and documentation.

Time International weekly news magazine; Rockefeller Center, New York 10020-1393.

Journal of Democracy published quarterly by the National Endowment for Democracy and the John Hopkins University Press, 701 W. 40th Street, Suite 275, Baltimore MD 21211-2190. Includes articles on democracy in relation to ideology, government policies and international politics, and reviews latest publications related to the subject of democracy.

The Washington Institute is an American-Jewish private foundation that publishes research and information on US interests in the Near East; 50 F. St. N.W., Suite 8800, Washington DC, 20001.

Palestine Perspectives a bimonthly magazine on Palestinian affairs edited by Dr. Mohammad Hallaj; 9522A Lee Highway, Fairfax, VA 22031.

The New York Review of Books P.O. Box 420384, Palm Coast, FL 32142-0384.

The Middle Eastern Times. This is a new publication which analyses press reports on the Middle East from worldwide media, it also includes interviews, essays and articles by a large cross section of those involved actively, professionally or academically in Middle East Affairs. Middle East Studies Centre, Hudson Bat Centre, 20 Bloor Street East, P.O.Box 75034, Toronto, Ontario, M4W 3T3, Canada.

Israeli Periodicals

B'tselem The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, 18 Keren Hayesod St., P.O. Box 92149, Jerusalem; documents human rights abuses in the Occupied Territories to bring them to the attention of policy makers and the general public; regular publications.

I. & P. Israel and Palestine Political Report, 5 Rue Cardinal Mercier, 75009 Paris, and Bamerkhav, P.O. Box 4461, Jerusalem; specialises in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, human rights, the Israeli government and politics.

The Other Israel is a newsletter of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, P.O. Box 956, Tel Aviv; promotes peaceful dialogue between Palestinians and Israelis to end the Israeli occupation.

The Other Front and **News from Within** both newsletters published by the Alternative Information Center, P.O. Box 31417, Jerusalem; addresses the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and promotes a peaceful settlement.





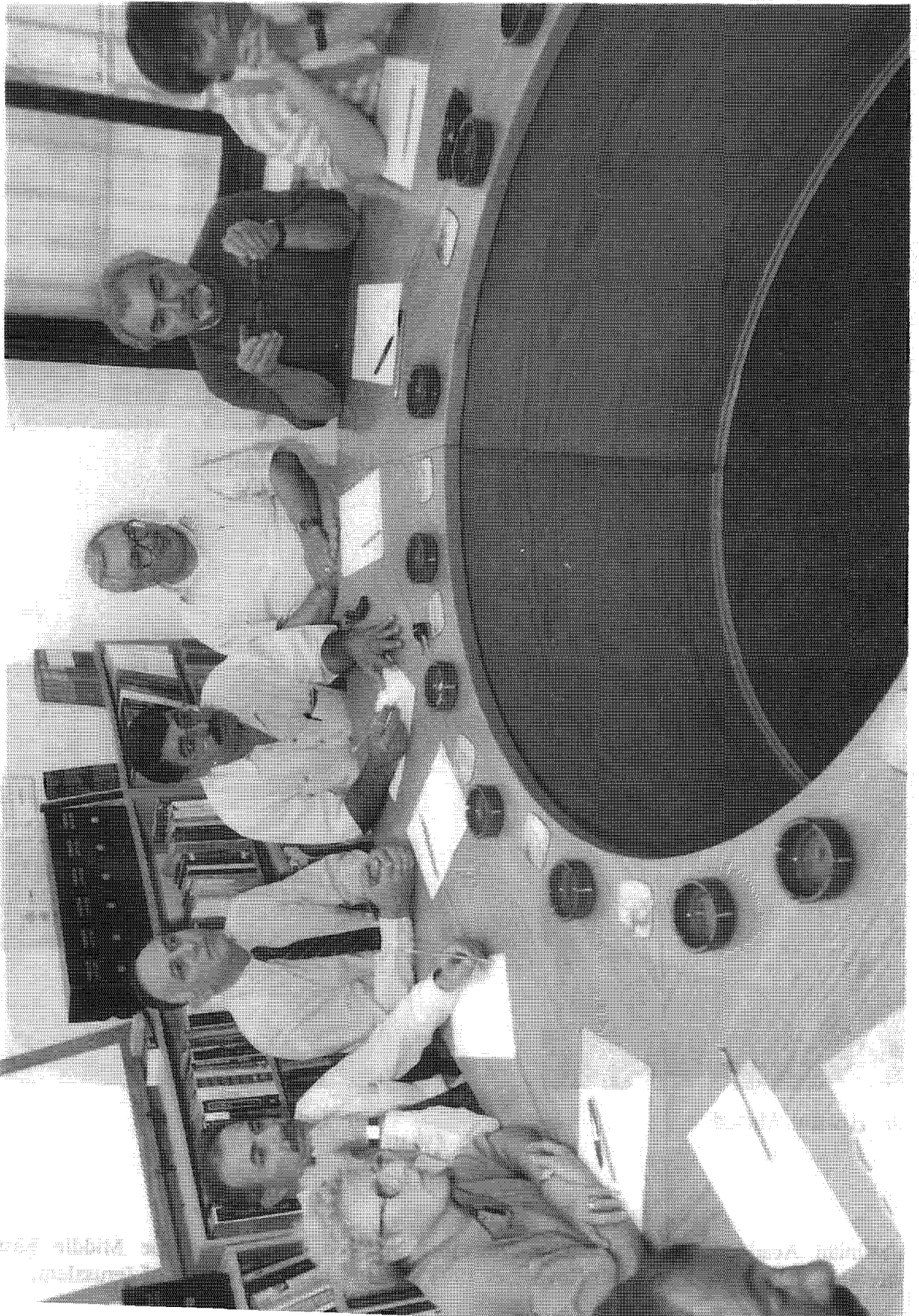
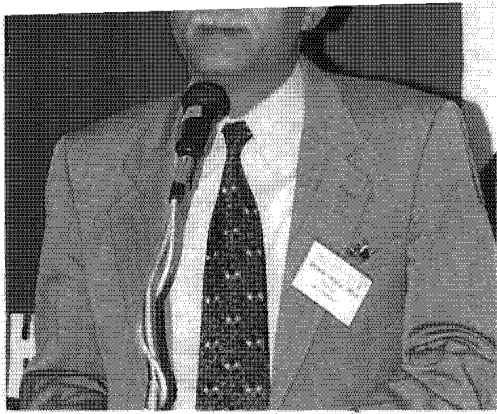


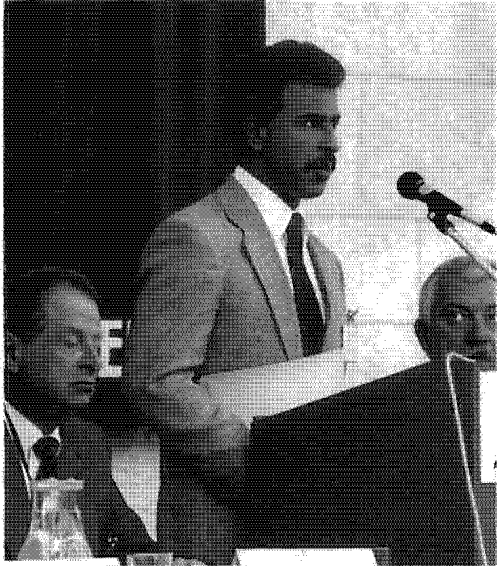
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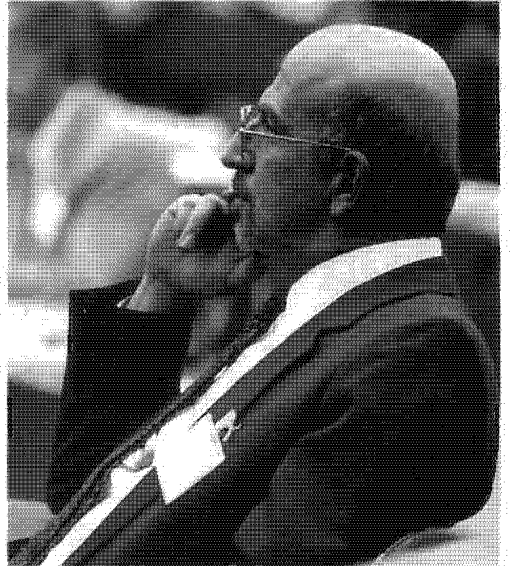
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Palestinian Academic team attending "Relations between Europe and the Middle East" conference held from the 6th-9th November 1993 at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.