

# PASSIA ANNUAL REPORT 1995



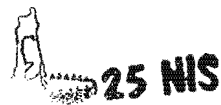
# ANNUAL REPORT

# 1995



**PASSIA**

**Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs**





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The PASSIA Annual Report for 1995 describes PASSIA's activities throughout the year in several major areas. During 1995, PASSIA published further research studies in English and Arabic dealing with a variety of important issues affecting Palestinian society, politics and history. PASSIA organised a further seminar on Education and Training in International Affairs for Palestinian graduates, on the topic of the European Union. At the end of the year, PASSIA published an updated desk diary for 1996, an indispensable resource for all those working in or connected to Palestine. As a major Palestinian think tank, PASSIA attended many conferences on the Palestine question and wider international issues, both at home or abroad. As in the past, PASSIA held many roundtable meetings and discussions with Palestinian and foreign academics. However, this activity was severely curtailed in 1995 due to the Israeli closure of Jerusalem. The Question of Jerusalem itself remained a focus of PASSIA's activities in all the above areas.

## PREFACE: REVIEW OF THE YEAR

The first nine months of 1995 in Palestine saw conditions similar to those of the previous year: frustrating and seemingly fruitless negotiations with Israel, further land confiscations and human rights abuses and continuing armed operations by the Islamic opposition. Important events, however, took place over the final three months of the year. Towards the end of September, the Palestinian Authority (PA) and Israel signed the Taba Agreement, the second stage of the process begun with the Oslo and Cairo Agreements. The most dramatic events of the year were two assassinations: the first of Islamic Jihad leader Fathi Shiqaqi by Israeli agents in Malta on 26 October, the second that of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin by a Jewish extremist on 4 November.

### **Continuing Negotiations with Israel**

Throughout early 1995, several meetings between Chairman Yasir Arafat, PM Yitzhak Rabin and Deputy PM Shimon Peres and failed to achieve any result towards extending self rule in the West Bank. In March, Arafat and Peres agreed on a deadline of 1 July for reaching an agreement. When this passed, 25 July became the new target. It was the cause of no little surprise when the 400-page Taba Agreement was finally reached, with the official signing ceremony taking place in Washington on 28 September.

## **The Taba Agreement**

The Taba Agreement divides the West Bank, excluding East Jerusalem, into three categories: area A: six major towns (excluding Hebron), from which the IDF redeployed by the end of the year, handing administrative control to the PA with joint PA-IDF patrols, and Israeli security duties including right of 'hot pursuit'; area B: a patchwork of Palestinian villages, in which the PA has civil authority, while the IDF retains overall "security responsibility"; and area C: Jewish settlements and areas defined by the Israelis as militarily sensitive, where Israel remains in full occupation. In Hebron, the IDF retains full control of the Ibrahimi Mosque, and the central district of the city in which settlers occupy five buildings. A partial IDF redeployment from Hebron was scheduled for March 1996 but subsequently delayed until after the Israeli election in May 1996. In sum, the PA gained various degrees of limited administrative control over 27% of the West Bank, with the Israelis retaining effective control over the entire area.

The complexity and difficulties in the implementation of the agreement were made apparent in October, when the Israelis presented redeployment maps differing from those agreed on at Taba, while Israeli President Weizmann refused to free four women prisoners whose unconditional release had been agreed. Nonetheless, 600 political and 200 civil prisoners were released on 10 October, and on the same day, the redeployment process began, with the PA establishing its presence in the village of Salfit near Jenin.

Caretaker Prime Minister Shimon Peres seemed to take advantage of the disarray in the Israeli right following the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin to accelerate the process. The IDF redeployed from Jenin on 13 November, and the Palestinian police entered the city.

The same process was repeated in five further towns in the West Bank: Tulkarm (10 December), Nablus (11 December), Qalqilya (16 December), Bethlehem (21 December) and Ramallah (27 December).

## **Preparations for Elections and Internal Political Developments**

Throughout the year various new political factions were formed, such as the Palestine National Grouping headed by Bassam Shaka'a and the National Democratic Coalition led by Haider Abd al-Shafi. Dialogue between the PA and the Hamas movement continued throughout the year. Following the Taba Agreement, PA and Hamas officials met in Cairo, with Israel facilitating the travel of Hamas leaders from the Palestinian Territories. The talks covered the elections; participation by Hamas in the PA; military attacks on Israel and detainees in Israeli prisons.

The year ended with the prospect of Palestinians in the West Bank including

Voter registration began on 12 November. By the end of the month, 350 000 Gaza Strip residents had received voting cards. Registration in East Jerusalem was initially sporadic due to fears that registration might compromise residency rights in the city. The electoral law proposed by the PA was the cause of controversy, dividing the West Bank and Gaza in 16 districts with varying numbers of seats in each district. Candidates were to be elected by simple majority, leading to fears that the system would not give a fair chance for small parties to gain seat, but favour the main faction, Fatah, to gain a stronger position. Nevertheless, the law was ratified by the PA in late November. By the time nominations closed, 700 candidates had registered. Despite their decision to boycott the election, the religious and secular opposition urged their supporters to exercise their right to register as voters.

### **The Palestinian Authority**

1995 began with a symbolic demonstration of state-building, as Chairman Arafat mailed the first letter with a Palestinian stamp. Equally symbolically, however, the letter had to be put inside a second envelope with an Israeli stamp on it in order to be delivered. On 31 January, the PNA-appointed Mufti of Jerusalem announced the start of Ramadan, the first time the fast had begun without the go-ahead from Cairo or Amman. The first Palestinian passports were issued in March, and in April, the first group of Palestinian passport holders set out on the pilgrimage to Mecca. In May, plans for an airport in Rafah were announced, and in June, Palestinian Television began broadcasting, initially for two hours daily.

In February, Palestine and South Africa established full diplomatic ties at ambassadorial level. Foreign visitors included the Troika of European Union Foreign Ministers in February, which visited Chairman Arafat in Gaza and met with a Palestinian delegation headed by Faisal Hussein at Orient House in East Jerusalem, British PM John Major, US Vice President Al Gore in March and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in June.

### **Human Rights**

The conduct of the Israeli government and security forces continued to call their commitment to peace into question during 1995. By the end of the year, it was estimated that 91 Palestinians, including seven police officers, had been killed by Israelis in 1995, 35 of whom were killed by the IDF, 14 by special units, 14 by settlers and 14 under interrogation. The first week of the year saw the IDF shooting three Palestinian police officers in Gaza, an undercover unit killing four Palestinians in Bet Liqia in the West Bank, and a shoot-out at Erez between the IDF and Palestinian police. Also in January,



30 families were expelled from their homes in the Yatta district near Hebron. In April, a Palestinian invalid died following interrogation at the hands of the Israeli secret police. The form of torture which resulted in his death, violent shaking, was endorsed by an Israeli ministerial committee in August. Three days later a Palestinian was shot dead at a checkpoint on the road to Jerusalem. In June, three Palestinians were killed by the IDF entering the Gaza Strip from Egypt, three demonstrators demanding the release of political prisoners were killed in Nablus, and an undercover unit killed a member of Islamic Jihad. Ironically, one of Yitzhak Rabin's last acts as Prime Minister was to order the murder in Malta of Islamic Jihad leader Fathi Shiqaqi.

The human rights record of the Palestinian Authority was far from ideal. A Middle East Human Rights Watch report issued in February concluded that, "The PNA has not demonstrated a commitment to installing the rule of law." In February, Raja Sourani, Head of the Gaza Centre for Rights and Law, was arrested for the first of several times following his criticism of the establishment on State Security Courts in Gaza and Jericho. Several newspapers were closed for short periods during the year, among them al-Quds, al-Hayat al-Jadida, al-Watan and al-Istiqlal. As of September, five Palestinians had died in PNA custody. The PNA's policy of attempting to prevent attacks on Israelis led to periodic mass round-ups of Islamic and secular opposition activists, and the use of arbitrary military or state security courts for speedy trials, often held at night.

### **Israeli Settlements**

Continued expansion of Israeli settlements, especially around Jerusalem, remained a serious cause for concern in 1995, and a violation of the Oslo Agreement. In May, the Israelis began confiscating Palestinian land throughout the West Bank in order to build roads for the use of settlers bypassing Palestinian towns. Prime Minister Rabin admitted that the programme, consisting of 130 kilometers of roads in total, would cost the Israeli taxpayer \$250,000 per settler family. In order to complete redeployment, thousands of dunams of Palestinian land were expropriated, especially around Nablus, Ramallah and Bethlehem.

The Israeli right remained vehemently opposed to even the limited withdrawal envisaged by the government. In February, the 'Council for Settlement in Judea and Samaria' instructed all settlements in the West Bank to seize and enclose areas surrounding settlements designated as 'state land'. A further land grabbing campaign began in June, aimed at undermining the Taba negotiations. This intensified the following month with settlers closing off roads and attacking Palestinians and their property; the IDF did not intervene except to suppress Palestinian counter-demonstrators. In July, The Israeli authorities, however, did act to disperse 1,500 settlers who

Settler violence resulted in the deaths of 14 Palestinians over the year. Incidents included an attack on the Qutuba girls' school in Hebron in September, following which 25 pupils and 20 toddlers from a nearby kindergarten were hospitalised. The IDF intervened on the side of the settlers, attacking parents with teargas and rubber bullets. The next month, Israel TV reported that settlers and rightists were planning to form a militia to resist any attempts to evacuate settlements. The strains in Israeli society culminated in the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin by a right wing extremist on 4 November.

## **Jerusalem**

Despite negotiations on the future of Jerusalem being due to begin in May 1996, Israeli politicians made repeated statements that the issue was closed. Palestinian daily life in the city remained hampered by Israeli restrictions. East Jerusalem remained under the closure imposed since March 1993, with Palestinians from the rest of the West Bank and Gaza still prevented from entering the city without permits. Settlement activity around the city continued apace. A crisis erupted in early May with the announcement of the biggest land confiscation proposal in Jerusalem since 1980, covering 130 acres of Palestinian land in the Beit Hanina and Beit Safafa areas. This, it was announced, was the first stage of a plan by the West Jerusalem Municipality to seize a further 1,000 acres of Palestinian land in the city. The Palestinian Authority could do no more than condemn the expropriation, and the United States vetoed a muted Security Council Resolution condemning the measure. In the event it was a combination of the Arab parties in the Knesset and the political ineptitude on the part of Israeli PM Rabin which led to the freezing of the move. Rabin declared a motion condemning the expropriation a matter of confidence, leading to the Likud threatening to vote for the motion in order to bring down the government. In the face of this, the government withdrew the proposal.

The Israeli West Jerusalem Municipality began a campaign to destroy 'unlicensed' Palestinian homes. In May alone, 27 demolition orders were signed, compared to 19 for the whole of 1994. Palestinian national institutions in the city were subject to harassment, three being briefly closed in July. Orient House was subject to settler demonstrations and harassment throughout the summer, with children attending the nearby Dar al-Tifl school also suffering at the hands of settlers and police. In November, Rabin announced that he would not meet any foreign visitor of the rank of minister or above who had visited Orient House. In December, new residency regulations for Palestinians became apparent, with children

whose mothers, but not fathers, were registered as Jerusalem residents, denied residency rights in the city.

### **Opposition**

The conduct of the Israeli government and settlers did much to provoke continued armed operations by elements of the Palestinian opposition. Bus bombings took place in January, July and August, leading to tension between the PA and the religious opposition, and mass detentions of opposition activists. In April, an explosion killed five Palestinians, among them a Hamas member, in Gaza's Sheikh Radwan neighborhood. Hamas accused the PA of collaboration with the Israelis, with the PA accusing Hamas of recklessness in storing explosives in a residential area. In retaliation, two suicide bombers attacked settlers and IDF personnel in the Gaza Strip. Much of the dialogue between the PA and Hamas which took place throughout the year was aimed ending such tension, and seemed to succeed, with no major armed operations taking place in 1995 after August.

# 1 RESEARCH STUDIES

*P*ASSIA, as an independent, non-profit Palestinian institution, publishes research studies on the question of Palestine and its relationship to international affairs. As part of PASSIA's Research Studies Programme, PASSIA has commissioned a small number of academics to conduct research on Palestinian issues annually since 1987. Over the last nine years, PASSIA has published over 80 studies, as listed in Appendix IV to this report. PASSIA seeks to publish research studies on the Palestine Question which reflect a plurality of perspectives, Palestinian and foreign, within the context of academic freedom. PASSIA received several research proposals in 1995 and, after review by the Academic Committee, the following seven were approved for publication:

**Jerusalem Women's Organisations During the British Mandate: 1920s-1930s**  
**Ellen Fleischman, *March 1995, Arabic and English, pp. 98***

This study demonstrates the choice of women living in a society threatened by an alien culture to define themselves as nationalists rather than as feminists. However, the Jerusalem of the Mandate was perhaps ripe for feminism. The British civil sector opened employment opportunities to educated women. Upper class Muslim families educated their daughters so that they could be self supporting in a period of economic and political uncertainty. Educated women began to emerge into public life; working, volunteering, attending public events and becoming politically active. Arabic newspapers during the 1920s reflected public awareness of the changing role of women in Palestinian society.

It was the context of "events and the intense anxiety and uneasiness about the future that propelled women to act politically." There are vague references to women's charitable organisations dating back to 1910, but it was the *Buraq* (Wailing Wall) disturbances of 1929 which led to the Palestinian Arab Women's Conference being held in Jerusalem at the home of Tarab Abdul Hadi. An executive committee of 14 women was formed,

and a delegation visited the High Commissioner for Palestine to protest Zionist immigration and other British policies. Receiving an unsatisfactory response, they decided to demonstrate. The High Commissioner intervened with the cooperation of Palestinian men to suppress the demonstration. After 1929, Palestinian Jerusalemite women were active under a variety of forms, most significantly the Arab Women's Association. A split occurred in about 1938, probably due to the Husseini - Nashashibi rivalry, leading to the formation of the Arab Women's Union.

The political activity of Palestinian women in Jerusalem in the 1930's made use of the written word to protest and publicise the Palestinian cause. Women also participated in demonstrations, raised funds, networked with other women's organisations in the Arab world, and confronted British officials. Fleischman identifies a self conscious use of gender distinctions for political purposes in the AWA's actions.

The author concludes that these women activists were neither feminist nor even suffragist, but were fiercely nationalistic, struggling for the survival of Palestinian society threatened by Zionism. Unfortunately, much remains obscure. Relying upon the Arabic press of the day, British government documents, interviews, memoirs and letters, pamphlets, and secondary sources, the author was hampered by both a lack of material and a reluctance on the part of now elderly women to discuss some matters. Fleischman acknowledges that, "I cannot pretend to present a representative, comprehensive account of all Jerusalem women during this period", rather open "a window to a world."

**Jerusalem: Palestinian Dynamics, Resistance and Urban Change 1967-1994**  
**Anne Latendresse *April 1995, Arabic and English, pp. 165***

This paper seeks to demonstrate that Palestinians have had a role in determining the structure of Jerusalem since 1967. The author discusses sociological theory of urban movements, the transformation of cities by their inhabitants; and local development, collective initiatives by a geographically defined community which is politically or economically marginalised. Latendresse concludes that one must consider both the dominant and the dominated to understand Jerusalem, and that Palestinians could resist more effectively.

Latendresse explains that the process shaping Jerusalem since 1967 is dialectical. The resulting territorial, demographic, economic and political transformation of Jerusalem is nonetheless partly propelled by Palestinian responses. Palestinian efforts to survive as a distinct society are described in some detail. Latendresse raises the question of what Palestinian priorities

Latendresse contrasts the Palestinian strategies of *samud*, or steadfastness, and that of popular resistance. The latter involved an attempt to build an alternative infrastructure of health, agricultural, and educational institutions. The intifada compelled an Israeli concession that integration had failed. However, Israelisation proceeded unabated. The struggle for Jerusalem has continued in the form of attempts by the Palestinian Authority to reinforce existing institutions and to establish quasi-governmental institutions in East Jerusalem.

Latendresse concludes that the Palestinian leadership must now develop a unified strategy particular to Jerusalem to counteract Israeli demographic expansionism in the city. Unfortunately, the paper is marred by typographic and grammatical errors, and its often stilted syntax may be responsible for the lack of clear connection between the article's thesis, and its conclusions about the need for a new Palestinian strategy.

### **The Israeli Disengagement Plan of 1995**

**Jawad Ja'abari, July 1995, Arabic, pp.188**

This information paper attempts to shed light on Israeli aims to partition the West Bank between Palestinian inhabitants and Jewish settlements. The author begins with a detailed description of disengagement as envisaged by Israeli generals, in the context of historical failures of static defense lines such as the Maginot or Bar-Lev lines. Jabari describes unilateral separation, as advocated by the late Yitzhak Rabin, as an example of discrimination.

In chapter 2, the author examines the disengagement plan as reflected in the Hebrew press, which tends to ignore the political aims of the plan and emphasises the security aspects. Jabari concludes that the plan demonstrates certain Israeli objectives, particularly a desire to redraw the boundaries of the West Bank and maintain Israeli hegemony in Jerusalem. The author then goes on to discuss the economic implications of the plan, the likely effects on final status issues, particularly Jerusalem, and the connotations for the future of the Palestinian entity.

The author concludes that, while in theory, there are differences between Labour and Likud on the question of the Occupied Territories, both parties are in agreement not to return to the 1967 lines, and that Jerusalem ought to remain undivided. The author emphasises that Israel is attempting to influence final status negotiations by creating facts on the ground.

## **The Israeli Economy: Structure and Transformation, 1985-95**

**Jamil Hilal, August 1995, Arabic, pp.135**

The author quotes Shimon Peres in 1986 that Israel had no choice but to opt for export led development. Israel would be forced to abandon industries which could not afford to pay high wages in order to end Israel's dependence on donations and grants from the United States. The establishment of industries able to compete with the economically advanced world was possible with Israel's human resources. Peres was confident that Israel could become the centre of science, technology and culture in the Middle East. These principles became the policy of successive Israeli governments since the mid-1980s.

In Chapter 1, Hilal outlines the basic aspects, infrastructure and the evolution of the Israeli economy. He goes on to discuss the relations between the Israeli state and society, the militarisation of the Israeli economy, the military industrial complex, and strategic relations with the US, as well as civil aid.

The author then discusses the Israeli economy in the context of the likely regional settlement, concluding that the Israeli expectation is that the end of the Arab economic boycott will lead to exports to Arab countries, gas and oil imports from Arab countries. There is a consensus in Israel that political stability in the region will lead to economic development and that foreign multinationals will establish their regional headquarters in Tel Aviv, leading to significant capital inflows. Economic reforms will reduce unemployment in Israel. Israeli opinion tends to emphasise the importance of Israeli economic ties with the US, EU and Japan and sees a political settlement in the region as a possibility to develop these links. Peres has said that there is no purely Arab or Israeli economy, but a universal economy. Israel will remain geographically Mediterranean and politically westernised, but must be active economically in all areas of the world.

The author concludes that normalisation will create the context for political stability, as well as encourage investment and economic development, and that Israel may become a financial and trade centre in the region, but one should not exaggerate Israeli economic potential. Energy, water and security considerations are likely to remain priorities in Israeli strategic thinking.

This work is now used as a textbook at an-Najah University, Nablus.

activists conducted during 1994 and 1995. The author aims to evaluate attitudes towards the Oslo and Cairo Agreements and allow "...respondents to speak in order to contribute to the Palestinian national narrative at an important juncture in Palestinian history."

The nationalist mainstream (Fatah and the PNA) broadly support the agreements as the best the Palestinians could have achieved given their weak negotiating position. Satisfaction is derived from the Israeli recognition of the Palestinian people and that the political process is seen as irreversible and likely to lead to a Palestinian state.

The secular opposition (DFLP and PFLP) are unanimous in their condemnation of the Oslo and Cairo Agreements as falling far short of the Palestinian minimal demands, and merely a reorganisation of the occupation. The PNA is held in poor esteem, and the proliferation of the Palestinian security apparatus is seen as being aimed at the opposition.

The Islamic opposition rejects the agreements with Israel for religious-ideological reasons. Nevertheless, with some Islamists, there is a more pragmatic attitude and a willingness to dialogue with the PNA. Again, the Israelis are seen as trying to reformulate the occupation. The various trends in the Islamic opposition are illustrated, with some figures prepared to tacitly accept a cease-fire with Israel in return for a withdrawal from all the Occupied Territories.

Independents and reformists generally accept the Oslo Agreement, but were deeply disappointed with the outcome at Cairo. Reformists hold that negotiations with Israel ought to be suspended until Israeli settlement activity is ceased, and the Palestinians have put their own house in order. Independents are critical of both the PNA for its conduct and human rights record, and the opposition for the failure to formulate a coherent alternative.

The author's findings point out the greater pragmatism of the Islamic opposition in comparison to the secular leftist factions; the suspicion of Israeli intentions and disappointment with the performance of the PNA common to all factions. The dilemma of contemporary Palestinian nationalism is summarised as the need to achieve a balance between the agreements and "... inclusion of the Islamists, the claims of the leftist camp, [and] the demand of the civil intelligentsia for participation and democracy."



The study presents an interesting and timely snapshot of opinion among the Palestinian political class one year after the formation of the PNA. Reservations, however, lie in the often weak analysis of this findings, and a tendency to repetition and poor organisation of ideas.

### **Jerusalem - Religious Aspects**

**Dr. Sari Nusseibeh, Dr. Bernard Sabella, Dr. Yitzhak Reiter, December 1995, English, pp. 157**

This book contains four papers originally presented at a symposium on religious aspects of the question of Jerusalem, organised by the Centro Italiano per la Pace in Medio Oriente, Milan, as well as an introductory chapter.

Sari Nusseibeh's first paper deals with Jerusalem's significance to Islam, examining the current standing of Jerusalem as the third holiest city for Muslims, suggesting that the original status of the city for Islam may have been higher. Nusseibeh's second paper deals with the political future of the city. Nusseibeh holds that any solution will have to entail division basically along the 1949 green line and a large programme of development in East Jerusalem to equalise the infrastructure of the two sides of the city.

Bernard Sabella describes the Christian community's demographic breakdown in Jerusalem, their customs and rites, their positive relations with Palestinian Muslims and political attitudes. The higher rate of emigration among Christians is attributed to their more middle-class social structure, as well as the general pressures of living under Israeli occupation, shared by all Palestinians in Jerusalem. The paper concludes with a description of the Memorandum of Heads of Christian Churches on Jerusalem of November 1994.

Yitzhak Reiter begins by stressing that his views do not represent a consensus of Israelis or Jews. However, a consensus does exist on the centrality of the city to the Jewish people, as intrinsically holy, historic national capital, and site of the temple. Reiter sees the conquest of the city by David as marking the transition from 'people' to 'nation' and the establishment of a nation-state. The centrality of the city is stressed with reference to Biblical, Talmudic and Midrash sources. As to the future of the city, Reiter proposes freedom of access and worship to all holy sites for all religions regardless of which political and religious group is administering the site, without mentioning current Israeli policy on Jerusalem which prevents Palestinian Muslims and Christians from the rest of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip from worshipping in the city.

admirers themselves seem aware that their arguments and propositions are unlikely to have a real impact on the eventual status of the city.

### **Non-Governmental Organisations and Freedom of Association: Palestine and Egypt - a Comparative Analysis**

**Denis J. Sullivan, *December 1995, English, pp. 86***

The paper presents a comparative study of the regulation of NGOs in Palestine and Egypt, the author's thesis being, "[t]he way in which the PNA deals with NGOs now indicates the underlying philosophy of the coming regime. Is this philosophy of the PNA supportive of civil society, democratic governance and popular participation, or is Palestine destined to be ruled by another authoritarian regime?"

Sullivan demonstrates that in both the Egypt and Palestinian cases, the political authorities seem more keen to regulate NGOs' activities than to support their efforts to develop society and the economy. The PNA, in need of legitimisation in pursuing a far from ideal agreement with Israel, seeks to gain this by encroaching on the NGOs' role as providers of services. This is compounded by the actions of international donors, who have largely diverted funds from the NGOs to the PNA.

The process of the formulation of the Palestinian draft law on NGOs is then outlined, followed by a description of the campaign against the law by the NGOs and international donors, leading to a second draft, which itself was suspended by the PNA in October 1995.

The author concludes by reiterating that the relationship between the emergent Palestinian entity and society is currently being established, and that the draft law on NGOs and the method by which it was arrived at does not auger well for the future development of Palestinian civil society.

Analysis is spread through a narrative of the formulation of the draft Palestinian law and the workings of the Egyptian law. The contents of the Palestinian law, and precisely what made it so objectionable, are not presented clearly, instead being presented in a verbatim appendix.

The following research study was published in 1994, but did not appear in the 1994 Annual Report:

### **Palestinian Education: The Future Challenge**

**Dr. Andrew Rigby, *March 1994, Arabic and English, pp. 110***

This study is an attempt to assess the likelihood of the Palestinian educational system succeeding in teaching the civic virtues necessary to democracy, rather than an intensive survey of the education systems or curriculum in Palestine. Nonetheless, it provides a useful sketch of the Palestinian education system.

Dr. Rigby identifies areas which the PA must address. Overcrowding is rife, while resources and materials are inadequate and outdated. The Israeli-censored Jordanian and Egyptian curricula must be replaced. Libraries and laboratories are scarce. The quality of the teaching staff, two thirds of whom lack advanced degrees, must be improved by training. Remedial learning programmes for children who missed large amounts of study due to the intifada, or who are disabled, should also be a priority.

More than a third of the paper is dedicated to the intifada and the struggle to establish an alternative, or "popular" school system during the extended periods of closure. Despite the valuable lessons gained from this experience, the intifada left Palestinian schools substantially worse off. The student body has lost habits of study and replaced them with those of struggle. Teachers have been impoverished and demoralised.

The stated goal of this study is "to explore some of the obstacles and challenges faced by those charged with the task of establishing a Palestinian education system. Dr. Rigby concludes that an open culture with respect for difference and diversity is vital.

The massive numbers of young people in the school system must be reached, but the schools themselves have longed adhered to rigid and authoritarian methods. While the PA claims to have developed classes in civics and Palestinian society, which should be introduced in Autumn 1996, the author's conclusion that the education system can be expected to solve the "fundamental issue regarding the establishment within the emergent Palestinian political entity of a democratic political system and culture" is probably unrealistic.

# 2 PASSIA MEETINGS

## **Introduction**

Since its foundation in 1987, PASSIA has invited local and international scholars to address meetings on current developments in Palestine and Middle Eastern Affairs. PASSIA has also become the major venue for intra-Palestinian meetings and roundtable discussions. Such activities were greatly curtailed in 1995 by the Israeli closure of Jerusalem which prevented Palestinian scholars from the West Bank and Gaza Strip from attending meetings at PASSIA. As an important independent Palestinian academic institution PASSIA also regularly receives invitations to meetings with visiting foreign dignitaries. Meetings held at PASSIA and other venues are listed below. Details are presented in the following order: date; venue; speaker or visitor; topic; other participants. A summary of selected meetings is given.

## **2 January**

**Tel Aviv University, Moshe Dayan Centre for Middle Eastern & African Studies  
Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Head of PASSIA**

*From Occupation to the Palestinian Authority - A Chapter in Palestinian Nation Building*

Dr. Abdul Hadi introduced his lecture by describing the current stage in Palestinian society and politics as marking the transformation from an intifada-based society, in which unwritten laws were acknowledged and arranged by a popular movement, to a embryonic civil society, with a leadership which is now a recognised partner in a political settlement. Dr. Abdul Hadi then outlined five periods of the Palestinian struggle against Israeli occupation: non-cooperation; steadfastness; isolation following the PLO's decamp to Tunis; Intifada; and negotiation.

Dr. Abdul Hadi went on to describe the various political trends in Palestinian society and their attitudes to the Declaration of Principles. The mainstream see the agreements as the first step towards the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. The political priorities of the PA were defined as: release of political prisoners; dismantlement of Israeli settlements;

development of the economy; and the democratisation of Palestinian society; Meanwhile, the Fatah movement has begun a process of institutionalisation in preparation for the Palestinian council elections. The problems facing the mainstream were defined by Dr. Abdul Hadi as the continued presence of Israeli settlers in the Palestinian territories; the lack of linkage between the transitional phase and the final status negotiations; unclear division of labour and responsibilities within the PA, leading to internal power struggles, deterioration of the relationship with Jordan; and the plethora of economic agreements with Israel, Jordan and donor countries.

Dr. Abdul Hadi then went on to discuss the Palestinian opposition, in both its secular and religious guises. Both see the Declaration of Principles as being unable to lead to a Palestinian state, this goal clearly being off the international agenda. It was stressed that armed operations of the Islamic opposition took place in reaction to actions by Israelis, such as the Hebron massacre. Both, however, have failed to formulate a coherent alternative to the strategy pursued by the mainstream.

A third stream was identified as the grassroots organisations, business people, intellectuals and the 'silent majority', believing that the current process will lead to more than autonomy, but less than a state, and hoping that the Palestinians will take the opportunity to constructively develop their society and economy during the transitional phase.

As for the major external parties in the process, Jordan is no longer interested in competing with the PLO for Palestinian loyalties. Israel clearly still intends to:

- cut Jerusalem off from the rest of the West Bank;
- defer serious consideration of the issue of settlers;
- encourage assimilation rather than return as a solution for the Palestinian refugees;
- maintain Israeli military superiority and regional police role;
- normalise relations with the Arab world;
- and strictly implement the Israeli interpretation of the DOP via control of budgets and projects in the OPTs.

The donor countries themselves are concerned with accountability and transparency within the PA, advocating a centralised body through which to channel funds; and less sympathetic to the political conditions demanded by Tel Aviv and Washington.

Of the issues facing the PA Dr. Abdul Hadi emphasised the question of

Israel. Dr. Abdul Hadi emphasised the necessity of establishing democratic structures as the only way to overcome the problems facing the PA.

Dr. Abdul Hadi concluded by outlining possible scenarios for the future of the region: an acceptance of Israel as a Middle Eastern state, this being dependent on Israel dealing with the Palestinians and Jordan as equals; a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation on the basis of equality; a Syrian-Lebanese confederation; or finally, a failure of the DOP, leading to a rise in extremism and violence in both the Israeli and Palestinian camps.

**14 February**

**PASSIA**

**Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi**

*Historical Background and Political Situation of the Palestine Question*

Presentation to Long Island University Students on the Friends' World Program

Dr. Abdul Hadi began by describing the current Israeli attitude to the PLO, identifying two streams of opinion. The first sees it as beneficial to Israel to encourage PLO activity and openness to prevent the alternative, which would be underground activity harmful to the Israelis. The second attitude sees open PLO activity as enabling Israel to monitor the organisation and close institutions which they see as harmful to Israeli interests. The PLO meanwhile sees open activity as a component of state building and seeks to encourage the transformation of PLO institutions into civil councils.

The historical background to the question of Palestine was then elaborated, concentrating on four issues: land; people; national rights; and leadership.

Historical developments up to the formation of the PLO in Jerusalem in 1965 were outlined, followed by a description of the subsequent tension between the organisation and Jordan. The Palestinian strategy of steadfastness, *samud*, following the Israeli occupation in 1967 was examined. Israeli human rights violations in the Occupied Palestinian Territories were detailed, such as house demolitions, confiscation of Palestinian property and the establishment of illegal Jewish settlements. The PLO's establishment of quasi-state apparatuses in Jordan and Lebanon in order to confront the Israelis was described, as was the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 which led to the organisation's move to Tunis.

From 1987, the Palestinians under occupation embarked on a new strategy, the uprising or *intifada*. This followed the lack of action by both the Arab states and the wider international community to support the Palestinians.

The *intifada* was characterised by a strong sense of national pride and lack of fear. New methods of resistance were employed: stone throwing, tyre burning, and commercial strikes. The fax machine was a vital organisational tool. A young leadership of activists, committed to a two-state solution, emerged. Women became more involved at the grass roots level.

In the aftermath of the Gulf War, after three years of the *intifada*, negotiations began, clouded by humiliating Israeli conditions: Palestinians attended as part of a Jordanian delegation, with no Jerusalem representative. After 22 months of fruitless negotiations, an agreement between Israel and the PLO emerged out of the secret 'Oslo channel'. Elements of the PLO leadership subsequently moved to Gaza and established the Palestinian Authority.

Dr. Abdul Hadi then went on to analyse the current situation, identifying three aspects to Rabin's strategy: territorial division, whereby Israel left most of Gaza and Jericho, while settlements and a military presence remained; secondly, a time element as Israeli withdrawal and elections were indefinitely postponed; thirdly, the testing of the Palestinian Authority, such as by expanding settlements around Jerusalem.

PM Rabin was acting out of fear of losing support in the 1996 elections if too much was conceded to the Palestinians. Rabin was also intending to push for economic links with the Arab states before any concessions to the Palestinians. The Palestinian leadership in Gaza was currently in a state of siege. Yasser Arafat is more like a mayor than a head of state, and faces both secular and religious opposition. The secular opposition was less of a threat, with no funds and no coherent programme. In contrast, the religious opposition was strong, with a definite alternative programme.

### **Discussion**

The lecture ended with a discussion in which the students asked Dr. Abdul Hadi questions about Palestinian history and nationalism, pan-Arabism, Israel's view of the Palestinian council to be elected, and Hamas, which Dr. Abdul Hadi said saw its armed operations as resistance to occupation, not terrorism. Hamas did not recognise Israel, but did not want to see a collapse of the Palestinian Authority as this would damage the stability of their own institutions. Hamas attacks are aimed at putting pressure on Rabin and Arafat, gaining Hamas sympathy among the people due to their activism, while the Palestinian Authority is seen as ineffective. If the peace process fails, there is likely to be a military uprising by Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

**8 April**

**PASSIA**

**Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi**

*Briefing on 'Palestinian Concerns in the Peace Process' for visiting American investment analysts.*

Earl V. Gould; Edwin W. Rickert; J. Dale Harvey; Talcott W. Seele.

**9 April**

**PASSIA**

**Don Peretz**

*Discussion on a Project for the Centre for Palestine Policy Analysis - Palestine Refugee Compensation.*

**24 April**

**PASSIA**

**Workshop for Palestinian Universities under the UNITWIN/UNESCO Chairs Programme**

Christina von Fuerstenberg, UNESCO/UNITWIN; Dr. Belinda Allen, Oxford University; Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi; Dr. Omar Abu-Humos; Dr. Muhammad Abdeen; Dr. Bernard Sabella; Dr. Norma Masriyeh; Prof. Elia Zureik; Dr. Salim Tamari; Dr. Najeh Jarrar; Prof. Hisham Awartani; Dr. Rami Hamdallah.

**29 April**

**PASSIA**

**International Labour Organisation delegation**

*Briefing on Palestinian Concerns in the Peace Process*

Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi; Riad Malki; Dr. Muhammad Jadallah; E Comtet Simpson; William Simpson; Fred Fluitman.

Discussion focused on the agreement between the Palestine General Federation of Trade Unions and the Israeli Histadrut.

**2-3 May**

**PASSIA-Roundtable on Palestinian Concerns in the Transitional Phase**

Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Dr. Muhammad Jadallah, Dr. Said Zeedani, Dr. Yezid Sayigh; students from Cambridge University, UK.



**14 May**

**PASSIA**

**Dr. Wolfgang Ehmke, Istar Buscher**

***The Work of the Deutsch-Arabisches Friedenswerk (German-Arab Peace programme)***

The German-Arab Peace Initiative was founded in 1993 by members of the German peace movement in order to support the Palestinian-Israeli peace process and work towards greater understanding between the Arab world and Germany. Dr. Wolfgang Ehmke, chairman, and Istar Buscher, secretary, visited PASSIA as part of a fact finding mission to Egypt, Jordan and Palestine to meet politicians, NGOs, journalists and academics. The organisation's activities include Palestinian-German cultural exchange, campaigns against Israeli settlements in the Occupied Territories and fundraising campaigns for projects in Palestine.

**30 May**

**American Colony**

**Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi**

***The Oslo Agreement: A Palestinian Perspective***

Meeting with a delegation from the American Technion Society

**3 June**

**PASSIA**

**Jibril Rajoub**

***Strategy and Security in the Transitional Phase***

Sawsan Dweik; Dr. Riad Malki; Dr. Said Zeedani; Dr. Sari Nusseibeh; Dr. Bernard Sabellah; Fehmi Abu Sneineh; Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi

**12 June**

**PASSIA**

**Dr. Richard Haass, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, USA.**

***American Foreign Policy in the Middle East***

Dr. Haass, Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington D.C., came to PASSIA as part of his first visit to the region in two years with the aim of updating himself on recent developments. Speaking about US foreign policy in the Middle East, Dr. Haass pointed out four political fault-lines, each of which could lead to an "earthquake" and each of which could affect the others:

1. Iran;
2. Iraq;
3. Domestic instabilities (Islamists vs. secularists, traditionalists vs. modernists);

negotiations. According to his thesis, the following conditions have to be met in order for negotiations to be successful:

- Political strength.
- Desire, that is the belief that conditions better than the *status quo* can be achieved.
- Outlines of how future agreements will look.
- An acceptable process.

As regards the current situation in the Middle East, these conditions are basically met. Syria, for example, is strong and has a definite position; Israel has the desire to involve Syria. On the Israeli-Palestinian track there is the problem of interim as against the final agreement with their different agendas. Although Israel has the necessary strength, desire and ability to follow the road already taken, the situation might deteriorate in the short run.

In order to move to and beyond the next steps, Dr. Haass outlined the following requirements for the main actors:

#### Palestinians:

- Passing an investment law, as investment and trade are the keys to economic development. This is even more important since Palestine will face competition not only regionally but also internationally with regard to countries such as Mexico, Singapore, Taiwan etc.
- Although no-one expects perfect security, clear efforts to ensure security are expected.
- The coming elections must be free and fair, with guarantees of freedom of access to the media, fundraising etc. during the election campaign. Elections will enhance the legitimacy of negotiators. The Israeli side will be more willing to talk with elected Palestinian democrats who were legitimately put into their positions.
- Building and strengthening Palestinian institutions and civil society must continue.

#### Israelis:

- Steps to make it easier for the Palestinians to develop their economy.
- In terms of security, Israel ought to calculate less narrowly and deal more carefully with short term achievements.
- Israel ought not to undermine the Palestinian leadership, especially after elections have taken place and the leaders are legitimate.
- Israel ought to exercise restraints and refrain from taking unilateral actions, such as on settlements or land confiscation.

US policy towards the Middle East in general and the peace process in particular demonstrates continuity rather than change. Even a new president in 18 months will not make a significant difference. The US is, and will continue to be, a mediator and facilitator, but not an arbiter. As such, the US is limited in its role: it can help make compromises between the two sides, it can advise, but cannot intervene too deeply.

**Discussion:**

Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi asked for Dr. Haass' comments on the thesis that the US is turning its attention more and more towards the Syrian-Israeli track, increasingly ignoring its role on the Palestinian-Israeli track.

Dr. Haass said that the US focuses on Syria for the following reasons:

1. The Syrian-Israeli talks are more in need of US assistance than the Palestinian-Israeli talks. The latter, for example, went to Oslo without the US.
2. There is a sense of opportunity since the Syrian-Israeli negotiations are much easier than the Palestinian-Israeli negotiations. There is the controversial Golan question and a strong Syrian leadership, but the Golan is not all of Syria as the OPTs are "all" of Palestine. On the Syrian-Israeli track, the issues are basically security-oriented. An Israeli-Syrian agreement will probably be achieved even before the final agreement between the Palestinians and Israel is reached.
3. Palestinians and Israelis have already negotiated arrangements while Israel and Syria have achieved little to date. The Syrian-Israeli track also affects the Palestinian-Israeli track.

Asked about the role of Jordan, Dr. Haass said that Jordan is not really concerned with the interim phase issues but is more crucial in terms of the final stage negotiations.

Riad Malki of the Panorama Centre, Jerusalem, said that the Palestinians were about to reassess their general perception of the US as a traditional ally of Israel. But with the recent veto [of a UN Resolution condemning Israeli expropriation of Palestinian land in Jerusalem], US credibility as a facilitator and mediator has been lost. Now, the Palestinian attitude to the US has to be reassessed and is being discussed intensely by the Palestinians, including the PA. The Palestinians have not assessed the early period of the peace process until now, as there was no time to discuss the past, present and future of the negotiations and their goals. However, it is important that the Palestinian people evaluate the whole process in order to decide whether it is worth continuing. Elections alone do not provide legitimate representatives. The question is what kind of elections are likely? Elections such as those in Haiti and Chile, for example, did not provide legitimacy for

Dr. Haass said that the current peace process is not perfect but that he did not like people speaking about reassessment and the like. The fact is that there is no alternative to this peace process. This is the first real process and progress in some 45 years. So it is better to try to make the best of the current situation - even if it is not ideal - than to complain and "reassess" something which has no alternative. As for the elections, the presence of international observers and the fact that these will be the first elections held in Palestine, means that these are a step forward anyway. Five years ago, it was unimaginable that Arafat would meet Peres and that a Palestinian Authority would come to Gaza and Jericho. All this is by far not enough and progress is very slow, but there is nonetheless progress which will continue and a better future ahead.

Dr. Abdul Hadi said that Palestinians do not believe or trust in the US mediating their matters. The US is not a friend, they are traditionally supporters of Israel and there is the influential Zionist lobby in the US. Israel is not going to divorce the US although they have to do so in order to become a citizen of the Middle East.

Allison Hodgkins, of the School for International Training, USA, expressed the opinion that the US is not interested in the outcome of final stage negotiations but in matters such as its arms export industry.

Dr. Haass responded that as far as arms are concerned, sales to the Middle East have been rather stagnant. Therefore, this matter has no influence on the position of the US towards the peace process and the eventual permanent status talks.

Muhammad Yousef, of the Arab Thought Forum, Jerusalem, said that in the past he had believed that the US was not interested in peace in the Middle East due to its arms sales to the region. With the Gulf War, it became clear that the US had lost its interest in Israel as an ally or stronghold vis-a-vis the Gulf. If the US now wants to be a mediator and not an arbitrator - why do they not allow others to interfere, as, for example, at the UNSC. If the US wants to play a role here and now, they must become more active, or else they will lack consistency and credibility once more.

Dr. Haass replied that even in the past, Israel's strategic importance was overestimated and that the US interest in Israel was not as strong as widely believed. Israel was never a central participant in US foreign policy. The same goes for the Zionist lobby who have also nothing to do with US foreign policy: US foreign policy existed before the lobby became so significant.

A problem is that many Americans still have an unfair and incomplete vision of the Palestinians as hijackers and terrorists. In this regard, Palestinian elections will help to upgrade the general perception of the Palestinian people in the US.

Other issues raised and discussed were the US continuation of support to Israel despite cuts in aid to virtually every other country and the question of moving the US embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Dr. Haass said that the US position on Jerusalem is a domestic issue and that he did not see it as the end of the world should the US move its embassy to West Jerusalem. It is unclear whether President Clinton will veto a bill on the embassy's move as he threatened. In any event, the move will happen sooner or later.

Riad Malki asked why the US vetoed the UNSC Resolution on land confiscation in Jerusalem under the pretext that there should be no talks or discussion on permanent status issues before the final talks actually begin, while they at the same time talk about moving their own embassy to Jerusalem - a grave violation of the DOP and pre-empting the outcome of the final status negotiations.

Dr. Haass replied that the people exaggerated the whole issue of moving the US embassy although this would have negative repercussions on the peace process.

**12 July**

**PASSIA**

**Albert Aghazarian, Head of Public Relations Department, Birzeit University**

*The Crisis of the Palestinian Media and the Question of Jerusalem*

**17 August**

**St. George's College**

**Presentation by Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi**

*The Peace Process: A Palestinian Perspective*

**23 September**

**PASSIA**

**Meeting with delegation from the Royal College of Defence Studies (UK)**

***Security Issues in the Peace Process***

Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Dr. Riad Malki, Sheikh Jamil Hamami

Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi; Dr Said Zeedani; Dr. Sami Musallem; Dr. Zakaria al-Qaq; Allison Hodgkins; students from the School for International Training, USA.

This was the first of two meetings hosted by PASSIA for students from the School for International Training of Vermont, USA, who were spending a semester in Palestine, Jordan and Israel, as part of a programme in Peace and Conflict Studies. The discussion focused on the relationship of the elections to state building, the roles and histories of the various Palestinian political movements, and the relations of the elections to the Oslo process.

### **15 October**

#### **PASSIA**

##### *Palestinian State Building*

Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi; Dr Said Zeedani; Dr. Sami Musallem; Dr. Riad Malki, Allison Hodgkins; students from the School for International Training, USA.

The second discussion dealt with scenarios for the possible Palestinian state from legal, economic and political points of view. SIT Students were given access to PASSIA's library and archives for the duration of their period in Palestine.

### **1 November**

#### **St. George's College**

##### **Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi**

##### *The Peace Process and its Obstacles: A Palestinian Perspective*

### **11 December**

#### **PASSIA**

##### *Palestinian Elections*

Dr. Abdel Abu Arafah; Dr. Zakaria al-Qaq; Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi; Sheikh Jamil Hamami; National Democratic Institute/Carter Centre (USA) election observers.

### **20 December**

#### **PASSIA**

##### *Palestinian Elections*

Ibrahim Kandaleft; Hanna Siniora; Dr. Said Zeedani; Japanese election observers delegation

In the run up to the Palestinian elections in January 1996, PASSIA organised and hosted briefings for various delegations of election observers. The meetings provided the opportunity for delegations to meet representatives of all Palestinian political factions, including those not taking part in the elections.

**14 December**

***First Coordinating Meeting of Palestinian and Jordanian Research Centres/  
Workshop on the Palestinian Elections***

University of Jordan, Amman

*Participants:*

Dr. Mustapha Hamarneh, *Centre for Strategic Studies, University of Jordan, Amman*

Hani Hourani, *al-Urdun al-Jadid Research Centre, Amman*

Bilal Tal, *International Islamic Centre for Studies and Information, Amman*

Dr. Yusef Nasir, *National Information Centre, Amman*

Dr. Khalil Shiqaqi, *Centre for Palestine Research and Studies, Nablus*

Jamil Rabah, *Jerusalem Media and Communications Centre, Jerusalem*

Dr. Riad Malki, *Panorama Centre for the Dissemination of Alternative Information, Jerusalem*

Dr. Musa Budeiri, *Muwatin - Palestinian Centre for the Study of Democracy, Ramallah*

Dr. Hamarneh proposed the establishment of a Council for Palestinian and Jordanian research centres with the aim of coordination, implementation of joint projects and the exchange of ideas, information and publications.

Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi and Dr. Khalil Shiqaqi welcomed the idea saying that they would encourage coordination projects and meetings but considered it too early to institutionalise such a Council at this stage. More information on the research centres invited to join such a body was necessary, in terms of independence, sources of funding, credibility, boards of trustees/directors and their respective role and connections in society.

All attending centres met with HRH Crown Prince Hassan Bin Talal as an introductory session for their work and discussed ideas for future cooperation.

Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Dr. Riad Malki and Dr. Khalil Shiqaqi gave lectures on Palestinian elections at the University of Jordan (December 14th) which were recorded and quoted in the Jordanian press and later published by the media in the Palestinian territories.

The outcome of the Amman meeting was an agreement on the following:

a) PASSIA would host a second meeting for the aforementioned Palestinian-Jordanian research centres to meet in Jerusalem in 1996.

b) PASSIA would publish a bulletin introducing the work of all these research centres which will be requested to provide all material they wish to be

Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Dr. Riyad Malki and Dr. Khalil Shiqaqi were invited to give a second round of lectures at the University of Jordan (January 28th, 1996), assessing the first Palestinian elections.

## **29 December**

### **PASSIA**

#### ***Palestinian Perspectives on the Current Status of the Peace Process***

Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi; Dr. Said Zeedani; students from Social Science Research Council, USA

The visit to PASSIA formed part of a workshop with the aim of enabling doctoral students from the United States preparing for research on various topics connected with the Middle East to discuss their proposed dissertations and methodologies with students from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

## **Meetings with Diplomatic and Political Representatives**

Since 1987, PASSIA has been a favoured venue for foreign political and diplomatic visitors to gain a Palestinian perspective in current events in the region. In addition, PASSIA is regularly invited to send a representative to meet visitors at other venues, such as Orient House or foreign consulates. In this way during 1995, PASSIA representatives were invited to attend meetings with figures such as the Troika of European Union Foreign Ministers, headed by Alain Juppe; British Prime Minister John Major; Pool Nielson, Danish Minister for Development Cooperation, Christine Stewart, Canadian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Jose Maria Aznar, leader of Spanish Popular Party; and British MPs Derek Fatchett, Ernie Ross and Mike Gapes.

Meetings which were held at PASSIA included:

### **Belgium**

M. Jean Louis Mignot, Belgian Consul General, Jerusalem.

### **Canada**

David Viveash, Canadian Consul, Tel Aviv; Steve Hibbard, Counsellor; Louis Sinard, First Secretary; Sandra McCardell, Kirsty Wright, Canadian Embassy, Tel Aviv; Allan Rock, Minister of Justice, Attorney General of Canada.



## **Egypt**

Mohammed Mustafa, former Egyptian Consul General, Tel Aviv; Mamdouh Hilmi, Egyptian Consul General, Tel Aviv.

## **European Union**

Neville Beale, Thomas Ety, Victor Cabrera, Georgine Willems, Nadia van Hamme, members of the European Parliament; Luciana Castellina, Commission of Culture, Youth, Education and Media; Michael Bahr, Matthias Burchardt, Bettina Muscheidt, Soeren Schmidt, Fernard Clement, EU Representative Office, Jerusalem.

## **France**

Jean-Christophe Peaucelle, Acting French Consul, Jerusalem; Gilles de la Guardia, Commercial Counsellor, French Consulate General, Jerusalem.

## **Germany**

Horst Eylmann, Hermann Bachmayer, Volker Beck, Dr. Uwe Jens Heuer, Heinz Lanfermann, Juergen Meyer, Gerhard Schulz, members of the Legal Committee of the German Bundestag; Martin Kobler, Head of the FRG Representative Office, Jericho; Kai Boeckmann, FRG Representative Office, Jericho.

## **India**

Shivshankar Menon, Indian Ambassador, Tel Aviv; N.A. Prasad, First Secretary, Indian Embassy, Tel Aviv

## **Italy**

Luisa Morgantini, Association for Peace; Giacomo Santini, Forza Europa

## **Japan**

Ogawa Hideki, Japanese Embassy, Tel Aviv

## **Netherlands**

Daan Rosenberg Polak, Dutch Consul, Tel Aviv; Sven B. Bjerregaard, Head of the Dutch Representative Office, Jericho.

## **Palestine**

Afif Safieh, Head of the PLO Delegation to the UK, London, and PLO Representative to the Vatican; Ali Kazak, Head of the PLO Delegation to Australia.

## **Poland**

Boguslaw Ochodak, First Secretary, Embassy of Poland, Tel Aviv.

**Spain**

Manuel Cacho, Spanish Consul General, Jerusalem.

**Sweden**

Karin Roxmann, Swedish Consul General, Jerusalem; Per Gahrton, MP Green Party.

**Switzerland**

Ms. Salpi Eskidjian, Director of the Commission of Churches/International Affairs, World Council of Churches, Geneva; E. Comtet Simpson, William Simpson, Fred Fluitman, International Labour Office, Geneva.

**Turkey**

Zuki Kira, Turkish Consulate General, Jerusalem.

**United Kingdom**

Richard Dalton, British Consul General, Jerusalem; Chris Innes-Hopkins, Temporarily Acting British Consul General, Jerusalem; Mary Pring, Vice-Consul; Joan Adamson, Political Officer, British Consulate, Jerusalem; Sir Timothy Garden, KCB MPhil RAE Commandant, Royal College of Defence Studies; HE Greville Janner, MP-House of Commons; Sir John Moberly, Chatham House, London; Greg Shapland, Research and Analysis Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London; Mr. Norman Abbot, Cabinet Office, Whithall, London.

**United States**

Edward Abington, US Consul General, Jerusalem; Lea Perez, Susan Ziadeh, Cultural Officers; Lorraine Kresse, Political Officer; Paul Sutphin, Economic Officer, US Consulate, Jerusalem.



# 3 THE QUESTION OF JERUSALEM

## **Introduction**

PASSIA's activities in connection to the question of Jerusalem remains a priority. As a Palestinian institution located in East Jerusalem, PASSIA experiences first hand the effects of the Israeli occupation and the effects this has on PASSIA activities. PASSIA continues striving to disseminate information on the city as part of all its activities. In 1995, PASSIA published several research studies on Jerusalem, participated in international and local conferences, in addition to hosting meetings with guest speakers and collaborating with other institutions to raise awareness of the issue.

The following is a summary of meetings held at PASSIA and conferences attended by PASSIA on various aspects of the question of Jerusalem:

**5 January**

**Meeting at PASSIA**

***Jerusalem: Urban Policy in an Ethnically Polarised City***

**Speaker: Dr. Scott Bollens**

Dr. Bollens introduced his findings, the outcome of three months research on urban planning and land use in Jerusalem since 1967. In summary, urban planning in the city was found to be almost exclusively within Israeli conceptions of security and sovereignty over the city. Israeli urban planning is almost totally biased towards Israeli/Jewish interests. Most Israeli interviewees identified with the aim of limiting Palestinian growth. For every shekel spent on Palestinians by the municipality, eight are spent on Jews.

Dr. Bollens identified several methods by which discrimination in planning is carried out. Former mayor Teddy Kollek concealed severe inequality in financial and service allocation. Israeli planners use technical measures to arrive at 'objective' solutions which in fact discriminate against Palestinians. Palestinians are excluded from decision making and planning in order to develop their community. Israeli urban policy restricts Palestinian growth; Palestinian areas do not have plans and consequently few building permits

are issued. What plans the municipality has are for legislative purposes and do not improve Palestinian living conditions.

Statistical details of the situation were then given. One quarter of East Jerusalem is vacant and Palestinian-owned. A third of East Jerusalem has been expropriated by the Israelis and 40% is designated as 'green area', where development is prohibited, often under pretexts such as preservation of views, environmental protection etc.

Dr. Bollens described Israeli policy as counter-productive to Israeli goals, in increasing tension and potential violence between the two groups. Indeed, increased violence was viewed as the likely future for Jerusalem, calling into question the future of the peace process. The Israeli national consensus is virtually unanimous regarding Jerusalem, something which is not the case with the West Bank. An Israeli withdrawal from East Jerusalem seems impossible without international compensation, something not likely to occur in our lifetime. Israelis are trying to redefine sovereignty to an institutional level, while Palestinian understanding of the concept is tied to land. In Jerusalem, adequate land use and sustainable development is possible only through co-existence.

### ***Issues for the Future***

There is a lack of political organisation at the local level. Local organisations must emerge, organise themselves democratically and participate as equals. Palestinian organisations are currently weak, increasing the appeal of Islamic fundamentalism.

Palestinian requirements were identified as to establish a centralised body on land issues; a coherent and clear land use policy; the addressing of housing needs; continuation of documentation of land issues; a clear strategy for the Palestinian side of the city; to address land use and planning as a human rights issue to alter the Israeli contention that planning is purely a technical issue; to establish a Palestinian public body to organise development communally; to establish a financial institution to provide credit for construction; to maintain the independence of NGOs; to encourage economic development and induce Palestinians to stay; and to refute Israeli definitions of the city and what is good for its Palestinian inhabitants.

### ***Discussion***

Palestinian resistance to attempts to Israelise the east of the city is weak. Grassroots organisations are unable to compete with material benefits such as health insurance which Palestinians receive by being residents of Jerusalem. Increasing numbers of Palestinians in the city have recently

International opinion tends to accept Israeli authority over East Jerusalem but this does not apply to areas such as al-Ram, Abu Dis and al-'Azariyyah, where Israeli control can be restricted. One option would be for Palestinians to run matters communally outside the Israeli-defined city boundaries. Palestinian grassroots organisations could collect local taxes for a Palestinian entity in al-Ram rather than the Israeli municipality. Some social services could be provided by NGOs.

Israeli planners talk of leaving space as 'green areas' in East Jerusalem for future (Jewish) generations to plan. However, 'green areas' often become used for exclusive Jewish use, Har Homa being a current example. Seven percent of East Jerusalem territory is currently designated as for 'neutral use', a benign term which disguises the way land is often used to the detriment of Palestinians, an example being Road 45 to Jordan, which constricts the growth of Palestinian villages. Other methods of discrimination are used. Most blatantly, settlers in Neve Ya'akov refused to allow Israeli Arabs to move in. Otherwise, mortgages are often dependent on army service, excluding Israeli Arabs and Palestinians from East Jerusalem.

## **Conferences on Jerusalem**

PASSIA was invited to attend and make presentations to the following conferences on various issues connected to the question of Jerusalem. Information is presented in the following order: date; title of conference; organiser; venue; PASSIA attendee.

**15 April**

***Right of Residency in Jerusalem***

**PA Ministry of Information**

**al-Kasabah Theatre, Jerusalem**

**Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi**

**9-11 May**

***Jerusalem- Religious Aspects***

**Centro Italiano per la Pace in Medio Oriente**

**Milan**

**Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Dr. Sari Nusseibeh, Dr. Bernard Sabella**

The proceedings of this conference have been published by PASSIA under the same title, reviewed in Chapter 1.

**13-14 May**

***Jerusalem- Political Aspects***

**Institut Francais des Relations Internationales (IFRI)**

**IFRI, Paris**

Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Dr. Sari Nusseibeh, Dr. Bernard Sabella

Topics discussed:

- The concept of sovereignty
- Defining the geographical/demographic boundaries of the city
- Proposals for shared or common sovereignty and their practical implications
- Confidence building measures
- Educating public opinion to a compromise solution

**15-16 June**

***The Current Status of Jerusalem and the Future of the Peace Process***

**International Campaign for Jerusalem**

**School for Oriental and African Studies-SOAS, the Geopolitics Centre, London**

Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi

*Professor John Quigley's* (Ohio University, International Law) presentation on the legal status of Jerusalem emphasised the position in international law that the Palestinians, by virtue of their long term occupancy of the city, have the most valid claim to the city.

*Dr. Michael Dumper* (Exeter University, Middle Eastern Politics) described the demographic and border changes made by Israel in order to strengthen its hold over Jerusalem. The Israeli boundary of greater Jerusalem is an outcome of security considerations in seeking to gain control of high ground, while annexing as little Palestinian inhabited area as possible. Dumper described the different geographical and conceptual definitions of Jerusalem for Palestinians and Israelis, which might make a compromise solution possible.

*Geoffrey Aronson*, of the Journal of Palestine Studies, described the Rabin government's continued settlement activity in East Jerusalem, with 13 000 housing units due to be built between 1995 and 1998, with the aim of creating demographic facts making a division of sovereignty over the city impossible. Aronson described the impact of the Oslo Agreement on this process as marginal.

*Karen Armstrong* described the way in which the three monotheistic religions have created a 'secular' Jerusalem, which is a 'secular' city.

*Michael Prior* (University of Surrey), dealing with the significance of the city from a Christian perspective, emphasised three aspects: Jerusalem as the site of the passion and resurrection; as a focus of pilgrimage; and the historic efforts of all three religions to attempt to assert their hegemony over the city.

On the question of the ownership of the city, *Meron Benvenisti* described Jerusalem as a 'totem pole' for two rival tribes, who both manipulate history, geography and demography to reinforce their claims to the city.

Former Jordanian ambassador to the UN *Adnan Abu Odeh* identified five components to the question: physical property, demography, religious places, political symbolism, and international law. Israel since 1967 has sought to tamper with the first two components in order to alter the *status quo ante*. Odeh went on to advocate a solution whereby the Old City would be de-nationalised, the Arab populated part of the city would come under Palestinian sovereignty and the areas west of the city populated by Jews would remain under Israeli sovereignty.

*Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi* introduced his talk on 'The Ownership of Jerusalem: A Palestinian View', by defining 'which' Jerusalem he was discussing, namely the Jerusalem of 1947, according to the municipal boundaries of 1948. There were 32 villages and towns surrounding Jerusalem, most of which have subsequently been demolished. The boundaries of the city are as follows: to the east, the village of Abu Dis, to the south, the city of Bethlehem, to the west, Ein Kerem, and to the north, Shu'fat.

Dr. Abdul Hadi then outlined Palestinian resistance to the occupation of Jerusalem since June 1967. Sheikh Abdel Hamid Al-Sayeh issued an Islamic *fatwa* which stated a clear position of refusing to be governed by Jewish/Israeli law. The Islamic Council formed the first National Guidance Committee which succeeded in keeping the Islamic Courts and institutions away from Israeli interference. Bishop Kabein and many other bishops and priests standing by Muslim Sheikhs and leaders hand in hand in defending Arab Islamic/Christian rights. This resulted in keeping the commercial and other major institutions as well as the Arab Electricity Company in Palestinian hands.

Turning to recent events, Dr. Abdul Hadi described how Shimon Peres, the Israeli Foreign Minister, told the European Troika delegation last year that the question of Jerusalem consists of political, religious and civilian aspects and its status as capital of Israel was not negotiable. Dr. Abdul Hadi countered



that the various components which form the question of Jerusalem, national, political, historical, religious, geographical, communal and institutional, are inseparable,

Historically, as Islam has dominated the culture of the Middle East for the last 1,400 years, it has dominated Jerusalem. Jerusalem is an historic city of culture, heritage and significant monuments and there is an urgent need and duty to preserve these sites as well as Jerusalem as a historic city. Its Islamic identity is derived from the Prophet Muhammad's night journey *Is'ra* and *mi'raj*, and its status as is the original *qibla*. Al-Aqsa Mosque is Islam's third holiest shrine. Jerusalem also contains the Holy Sepulchre, the Arab Churches, and the Mount of Olives. There has been continuous and uninterrupted Arab presence in the city in terms of population, culture, heritage and monuments.

In national terms, Jerusalem is the symbol of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Politically, Jerusalem must be the capital of the Palestinian people and their future state. A population cannot be separated from the sovereign forms for which it yearns. This applies for both Palestinian and Jewish residents of the city. The collective right of only one population, the Israelis, over the whole city is illegitimate.

Before the 1967 war, West Jerusalem covered 53 square km and had 195,000 inhabitants while East Jerusalem covered 6 square km and had 75,000 inhabitants. Today, 28 settlements and neighbourhoods have been added to the city. There are currently 330,000 Israelis in West Jerusalem and 160,000 Palestinians in East Jerusalem. Since 1967, more than one third of the land in East Jerusalem has been expropriated by the Israeli government. Neighboring Arab villages have been divided or encircled by Jewish settlements. The approximately 168,000 Israelis who live in East Jerusalem today comprise 76% of the total increase in Jerusalem's Jewish population since 1967.

International law prohibits the annexation of territory by force. Until today, the entire world does not recognise the Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem, which is considered occupied territory and Israel's activities in this part of the city (such as construction of settlements, transfer of Israeli population, and annexation) illegal and null and void. Moreover, articles of UN Resolution 194 relating to compensation and the right of return are still ignored by Israel in regard to Arab properties in West Jerusalem which were taken by Israel in 1948. In the course of the 1948 war, between 64,000 and 80,000 Palestinians were forcibly driven out of West Jerusalem and its immediate vicinity and their property was expropriated. In 1948, 40% of the property of West Jerusalem belonged to Palestinians, 34% to the Waqf, Churches and

Looking to the future, Jerusalem is the largest Palestinian city in the West Bank upon which the livelihood of so many people is dependent. It is the home of the most active, influential and effective Palestinian presence, the primary site for educational, cultural, professional and business endeavors. The territorial integrity of the Occupied Territories or a future Palestinian state cannot be maintained without Jerusalem: It lies in the north-south crescent of the West Bank and without its geographic and demographic centre, the unity of the whole area is divided and lost.

Palestinian security needs are a factor which are usually ignored. These can only be met by putting an end to Israeli occupation and by recognising Jerusalem as an open, shared city, not united under Israeli sovereignty but guaranteeing Palestinian self-determination and the right to self-defense against external aggressions or internal subversion. There is no future for the PLO, the Palestinian Authority (PA) nor the Palestinian people without Jerusalem. It must be recognised as seat of government for the Palestinians. There will be never peace or stability in the region without a just solution to the question of Jerusalem.

Dr. Abdul Hadi continued outlining a proposed strategy to defend Palestinian rights in Jerusalem, with the aim of maintaining Jerusalem as an inseparable part of the Occupied Palestinian Territories and the political, religious, geographical, demographic and cultural capital of Palestine.

The first necessity is to achieve unity on the ground and among the Palestinians in the city, and strengthen their presence to enable them to defend their rights and speak with one voice. Secondly, the geographic and demographic linkage between Jerusalem and the West Bank and Gaza Strip must be maintained. This can be done either by establishing new institutions or rehabilitating existing ones and to strengthen cooperation and coordination among them. It can also be achieved by providing the necessary tools to engage and involve Arab institutions in Jerusalem with ongoing projects in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Thirdly, dialogue with international actors such as the Vatican and the Israelis should be continued. This dialogue should aim at enhancing the understanding on the complexity of the existing unresolved issues on Jerusalem. Such a dialogue should focus on developing new ideas for reaching a better future for Jerusalem.

These three dimensions are the components for establishing a Jerusalem Arab Council. This council will act as the central body for the Palestinian

# 4

## EDUCATION AND TRAINING IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Since 1993, PASSIA has organised seminar programmes to enable selected Palestinian graduates to deepen their knowledge and expertise in specific areas of international affairs. As well as the purely academic value of such programmes, PASSIA aims to assist in the establishment of a cadre of young Palestinians with training in this area which will be of increasing importance as Palestine moves more and more into the international arena. Subjects previously covered include *Strategic Studies*, *The European Union* and *Diplomacy and Protocol*.

Recognising the important changes in Europe since the Maastricht Treaty of 1992, and in view of Europe's increasing role in the Middle East, PASSIA chose the European Union as the subject for the 1995 seminar. PASSIA concluded that it was vital that Palestinian graduates gained detailed training concerning this increasingly important international actor. In keeping with previous seminar programmes, PASSIA undertook to select a group of Palestinian graduates of high calibre, and put together a programme of lectures, workshops and simulations with lecturers from Palestinian and European institutions. Participants were assessed on their contributions and two written assignments. Six participants were selected to broaden their knowledge of the European Union with a study visit to a European capital followed by the European Union headquarters in Brussels.

### **Preparation**

PASSIA formed a committee specifically for the preparatory stage of the seminar, consisting of Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Dr. Rosemary Hollis of the Royal Institute for International Affairs, Valerie Grove and Deniz Altayli. The committee consulted British and Palestinian scholars and European Union officials based in Jerusalem and Brussels in order to plan and implement the seminar. Consultation began in June and PASSIA advertised the seminar in the local press at the beginning of July. Notification was also given to national organisations such as universities, research centres and institutions of the Palestinian Authority. The seminar programme was supported financially by the Ford Foundation and the field trip was funded by the European Commission.

PASSIA received 58 applications from all over the Occupied Territories, 42 of whom were invited for interview. Dr. Rosemary Hollis came from London in order to conduct the interviews. The committee selected 15 to participate in the seminar and seven reserves.

### **Reading Period**

The lecturers provided a full list of reference materials covering the topics addressed in their respective lectures. Required reading material was photocopied and distributed to participants at the beginning of September in order that participants could familiarise themselves with the contents of the seminar in advance. Each participant received a reading package including assorted articles and booklets amounting to approximately 300 pages. The reading period included the preparation of a country position paper, with each of the 15 participants being assigned one of the 15 EU member states.

### **Social Activities**

PASSIA hosted an evening reception on 5 November for all involved in the seminar, representatives of local institutions, the diplomatic corps in Jerusalem and friends of PASSIA.

### **Writing Assignments**

Participants were required to write two essays. The first, a position paper on one of the 15 EU member states, to be submitted before the seminar started, in English covering basic statistical data on the respective country as well as the country's position within the EU and towards the Arab-Israeli conflict. The participants presented these papers during the seminar. The second essay, in Arabic on topics studied during the seminar was required for submission by the end of December 1995. Seminar lecturers compiled a list of suggested titles for the essay papers.

### **Advanced Studies**

The PASSIA Committee nominated six of the fifteen participants to be considered for two week study visits in Spring 1996 to one of the following European capitals: Rome, London, Paris, Bonn, Madrid, The Hague. The six will then all attend a further study week at the European Commission in Brussels. The expenses for these two weeks of study covered by the European Union.

### **Publication**

PASSIA recorded all sessions and discussions of the seminar, which has been published as the seminar report.

**Lecture programme:**

30 October

*Opening Remarks and Introduction*

Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Head of PASSIA

Michael Bahr, EU Representative Office in Jerusalem

*History of the EU (I): Evolution of the Concept of Union*

Dr. Othman Othman, Al-Najah University, Nablus

*History of the EU (II): Development of the Institutions*

Dr. Nayef Abu Khalef, Al-Najah University, Nablus

*The EU Member States*

Briefing by the participants on EU member states

31 October

*The Treaty of Maastricht: Its Meaning and Implications*

Dr. Nayef Abu Khalef, Al-Najah University, Nablus

*The European Union and the Middle East*

Dr. Othman Othman, Al-Najah University, Nablus

*The National Agendas of the Member States (Interests, powers, influences, approaches to the future)*

Country-position papers prepared by participants.

1 November

*The European Union: Why Should Palestine Care?*

*The Union and Common Police: European Defence and Security*

Dr. Rosemary Hollis, Head, Middle East programme, Royal Institute of International Affairs (RIIA - Chatham House), London

*Governing NGOs in Palestine*

Dr. Denis Sullivan, Fulbright Fellow, Northeastern University, Boston

2 November

*The Union and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: From Venice to Madrid*

*After Madrid: The EU and the Peace Process*

*The Mediterranean Partnership programme*

Dr. Rosemary Hollis

3 November

*The Single Market: Economic and Monetary Union*

Dr. Andrae Gaerber, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Jerusalem.

*The New Economic Agenda in the Post Cold War World and Palestine.*

Dr. Rosemary Hollis

*Dealing with the EU: External Perspectives (non-EU States)*

Paul R. Sutphin, Economic Officer, US Consulate, Jerusalem

Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi

*EU Member States and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*

Participants Presentations

*EU Member States and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*

Martin Kobler, Head, German Representative Office, Jericho

David Haines, British Consulate General, Jerusalem

Marc A. Schwarz, Representative, SIRECOX

Discussion: *International Reaction to the Assassination of Israel's PM Rabin*,  
with Said Abu Rish, Journalist, London

7 November

*The Union and the Peace Process since Madrid*

Bettina Muscheidt, EU Representative Office, Jerusalem

*The Institutions of the Union (I): Council, Commission & Parliament*

Fernand Clement, EU Representative Office, Jerusalem

*The Institutions of the Union (II): Internal Relations - A Case Study (Palestinian  
Aid programme)*

Matthias Burchard, EU Representative Office, Jerusalem

*The Institutions of the Union (III): Others: Court of Justice, Court of Auditors &  
European Investment Bank (EIB)*

Soeren Schmidt, EU Representative Office, Jerusalem

8 November

*The EU and the Palestinian Entity: Economic Issues (I)*

Hanna Siniora, Head, European-Palestinian Chamber of Commerce

*The EU and the Palestinian Entity: Economic issues (II)*

Veronique Peaucelle, Commercial Counsellor, French Consulate

*The EU and the Palestinian Entity (III): Final Status Issues*

Dr. Sami Musallam, Director, President's Office, Jericho

10 November

*Introduction to International Negotiation*

*Negotiating: Strategy & Tactics, Skills & Styles*

*Bilateral Negotiation in the European Union (Introduction & Exercise)*

*Multilateral Negotiation in the European Union*

Dr. Paul Meerts, Clingendael Institute, The Hague

(Evening Assignment: Prepare for Individual Interventions Next Day)

11 November

*Simulation: Meeting of 'Permanent Representatives' to the EU*

*Statements prepared by participants the previous evening)*

*Working Groups on Internal & External Issues of the EU*



Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Head of PASSIA, lectured the Arab-Jewish Center in Givat Haviva's delegation to Palestinian institutions in Jerusalem on the occasion of their visit to Orient House





Visit of a delegation from the Royal College of Defence Studies (RCDS), UK









Mr. Andersson, former Swedish Foreign Minister; Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Head of PASSIA; Mr. Afif Safieh, Palestinian General Delegate to the UK and the Vatican.



Albert Aghazarian, director of the Public Relations Office at Bir Zeit University, on *The Crisis of the Palestinian Media and the Question of Jerusalem*

*(European Monetary Union, Institutional Reform, Enlargement of the EU)  
Working Groups on Internal & External Issues of the EU / contd.  
(Final Document)*

*Drafting & Debriefing*

Dr. Paul Meerts

## **Palestinian Participants**

Abu-Yousef, Sagida Tarek

Diploma English, Ummah College; B.A. Law, Beirut University.

Deputy Director of Public Relations at Palestinian Ministry of Information, Ramallah.

Ashhab, Allam Mahfouz

B.A. Economics, Yarmouk University, Jordan.

Field Officer, International Committee of the Red Cross, Hebron.

al-Ayoubi, Ayman Sami

B.Sc. Management Information Systems, University of Oklahoma, USA.

Manager, Ayoubi's Sweets, Old City of Jerusalem.

Barakat, Hitaf Taleb

B.A./Diploma, Middle East Studies & Political Science, Birzeit University.

Radio/Telex Operator, UNRWA Field Office, Jerusalem.

Bitar, Hania

BA English Literature and Translation, Bethlehem University; MA English-American Literature, Catholic University of America.

Business Manager, Jerusalem Times.

Dajani, Rula Mohammed

BA English Literature, Birzeit University; M.P.A. (Public Administration) International Management, George Mason University, USA.

Special Assistant/Senior Manager, Palestinian Independent Commission for Citizen's Rights.

Da'na, Adli Mohammed Rajeh

B.A. Biology, Birzeit University.

Administrative Assistant & Visiting Groups Coordinator, Public Relations, Birzeit University.

B.A. Political Philosophy, ...  
Higher Specialised Studies, International Relations & Development Studies,  
International Institute for Public Administration, Paris.  
Officer, European Union Desk, PECDAR.

Jaloudi, Bashar Nasri

B.A., Journalism/Public Administration, Mysore, India; M.A. Commonwealth  
Literature, Mysore, India; Ph.D./First Year, Literature, Jaipur, India.

Journalist, Al-Aqsa Newspaper, Jericho; previously journalist, Jenin  
Establishment, and Teacher, Al-Farabi Cultural Centre, Jenin.

Kaprielian, Maral Souren

BA. Political Science and English Linguistics, Hebrew University, Jerusalem  
Senior Clerk, European Commission, Jerusalem.

Martha, Samar Mounir

B.A. Science/Marketing Management, American College of Greece, Beree  
College.

Coordinator, International Relations Department, PA Ministry of Culture.

El-Masri, Anwar Nimer<sup>1</sup>

B.A. Sociology, Birzeit University; M.Sc. Development Administration,  
Birmingham University, U.K.

Relief programme Officer, UNRWA.

Zaqout, Ina'm Awad

B.A. Economics, Birzeit University.

Radio Operator, UNRWA, Jerusalem.

The following participants were selected to spend a week's further study in  
a European capital, followed by a week at the European Union  
headquarters in Brussels.

Allam Ashhab, Hania Bitar, Rula Dajani, Adli Dana, Lily Habash, Maral  
Kaprielian.

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<sup>1</sup> Attended part of the seminar only due to the closure of Jerusalem.

# 5 PASSIA DESK DIARY

*T*he PASSIA Desk Diary provides a reference for basic information on the Palestine question in a single publication, presenting the relevant historical facts, documents, maps and statistics in an accessible form. When PASSIA first conceived of the diary in 1988, it did not realise the extent of the vacuum it hoped to fill. Now entering its eighth year, the PASSIA diary has become an invaluable source of information on Palestinian institutions, foreign NGOs and international agencies operating in the Palestinian territories. Demand increases each year: The 1995 edition was sold out within three months of publication, so the initial print run for the 1996 edition was doubled to 4000. Throughout the year PASSIA updates existing information and adds new data and documentation as it becomes available.

The 1996 edition contains 361 pages, divided into three sections. The diary itself includes the standard features of a diary such as a day by day planner, calendars for the previous and following years, address and note space. The diary also notes dates of importance to Palestine and wider international affairs.

The first section of the desk diary is the directory, which contains details of institutions and organisations working in Palestine or on the Palestine question from abroad, as well as local providers of services. Names of administrators, phone and fax numbers, e-mail addresses and addresses are provided, along with a brief mission statement for each organisation. These listings are updated annually and applications from institutions wishing to be registered in the directory increase every year. The directory provides details of Palestinian Authority offices and ministries, academic centres, agricultural institutions, professional unions, chambers of commerce, charities, cultural and diplomatic missions, educational institutions, financial and development institutions, health services and institutions, human rights centres, media organisations, local government, international and local

and makes it an invaluable resource on the Palestine question.

The final section of the diary consists of the PASSIA agenda, a source of information and facts about the Palestine question and contemporary Palestinian society. The agenda begins with a brief history of the country and Palestinian politics during the late Ottoman and Mandate periods. A section on the PLO and other political movements provides basic information about the various Palestinian political factions concisely and objectively. Geographical and demographic information, particularly details on refugee and settler populations, economic and health statistics are provided. The directory also contains brief essays on the media in Palestine, legal and human rights issues, and the women's movement in the country. In all cases suggestions for further reading are provided.

A major section of the agenda is devoted to Jerusalem, including a chronology, basic facts of the Israeli occupation, and details of settlements in and around the city. This is followed by brief biographies of important Palestinian figures from the turn of the century to the present day, and a detailed chronology of the events of 1995. Fifty important documents related to the Palestine question, from the McMahon-Hussein correspondence of 1915 to the Taba Agreement of September 1995, are reproduced. The agenda concludes with a series of maps of Palestine and 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 possible and PASSIA hopes to continue improving the content and standard of the diary.

# 6 CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS

As a major Palestinian academic institution dealing with international affairs, PASSIA is invited to most conferences, seminars and workshops worldwide and locally which deal in some way with the Palestine question. This chapter lists those conferences attended, and summarises the proceedings of selected events. Information is provided in the following order: date; subject; organiser; venue; PASSIA representative.

**16-18 January**

***Europe and the Middle East: Dialogue for Future Oriented Cooperation***

**Bertelsmann Foundation**

**Kronberg, Germany**

Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Head of PASSIA, Deniz Altayli, PASSIA Research Director

**Session 1: 16 January**

**Dr. Caio Koch-Weser, Vice-President of the World Bank,**

***The Middle East and the International Community: The Economic Challenges.***

Since the early 1980s, there has been no *per capita* growth in the Middle East. Even the formerly wealthy oil exporting countries face increasing problems. One quarter of the Middle East and North African population lives in poverty. Unemployment averaging 20% is a major problem, especially for the younger generation. With a population growth of 2.5-3%, a doubling of the population is expected within the next 20 years. The current situation of the water quality and the lack of resources, as well as the environment, is critical. The main cause of these problems is the lack of investment due to factors such as the high risk and low efficiency prevailing currently in the region. Reforms to encourage economic growth need to be:

- rapid and related to population growth;

- development of good management...
- environmentally sustainable;
- focused on and encourage the private sector to be the engine of growth. This could be achieved by reducing restrictions such as economic protection and developing markets towards free trading.

Regional cooperation basically means Arab-Israeli cooperation. The main function of the EU consists of being a potential market for goods and a region for emigration. The EU can also play a major role in cooperating between and building up institutions, as well as connecting EU-MENA institutions

## **Session 2: 17 January**

**Prof. Dr. Werner Weidenfeld, Bertelsmann Foundation**  
*Europe and the Middle East*

The current peace efforts in the Middle East have to be translated into political and economic reforms in order to reach cooperation and integration between the states involved. The multilateral negotiation groups, discussing common problems such as water, environment and arms control, are the first step towards regional cooperation. To reach a new Middle East, EU policy cannot only consist of continuous financial contributions but must also mirror its political responsibility: the EU has to unite the foreign policies of its members towards a clear strategy, based on a EU-MENA partnership. Socio-economic improvements in the Middle East imply:

- relief from immigration pressures for Europe;
- weakening of Islamic fundamentalists, including their network in Europe;
- better handling of mutual environmental problems;
- a stable southern flank;

***Discussion: What can Europe Contribute to Peace and Integration in the Middle East?***

**Helmut Schaefer, Deputy German Minister of Foreign Affairs**

It is crucial that the peace process is made visible, that is that people have to experience (positive) changes and perceive the achievements of the ongoing peace process accordingly.



**Dr. Usama al-Baz**, *Chief of the Bureau for Political Affairs of the President of Egypt*

The EU has to identify the issues which concern the Middle East in particular, such as fundamentalism and its socio-cultural background, Jerusalem, Palestinian national rights, self-determination etc. and to formulate a common agenda on which to base its policy.

**HE Hikmet Cetin**, *Member of Turkish Parliament, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs*

Iraq has to be included into the peace process because of its strategic importance. Its reintegration into the Middle East, as well as into the world community, is important for the development and stability of the whole region. Turkey has good relations with the Middle East and is the bridge to Europe at the same time. It has supported the peace process and has participated in multilateral working groups on refugees, regional cooperation, and arms control.

Europe's role in developing the New Middle East should include the following:

- encouraging the peace process;
- active involvement as at the Casablanca summit;
- participation in the Regional Development Bank;
- coordinating regional economic policies;
- supporting Gaza's development efforts;
- offering expertise and knowledge;
- establishing a Council on Security and Cooperation in the Middle East (equivalent to the CSCE) which could evolve from the present multilateral groups to build a framework for cooperation in economic, political and security issues.

**Bassam Tibi**, *Professor of Political Sciences, University of Goettingen, Germany*

The peace process can be seen as the follow up to the Gulf War and the events in its aftermath. Three basic lessons have been learned from the war:

- There has been a shift from pan-Arabism to regional cooperation.
- Regional cooperation cannot succeed without involving all the states of the region, including Israel, Iran and Turkey (i.e. non-Arab states)
- To support regional dynamics, the EU and the USA can play an important role, but they must not undermine the genuine dynamics of the Middle East.

necessarily has to be done, countries concerned. The needs of the new Middle East can only be met with the help of external/international support. External support can be crucial in solving problems, but it must be left to the people concerned to address the conflict. The frame of reference has to be taken into consideration. The Middle East peace process is broader than the Arab-Israeli conflict. The whole Mediterranean area should be involved in the peace process since it involves all kinds of security related issues.

**Rachid Driss, *President of the Association of International Studies, Tunis***

One of the questions most often raised, is whether the peace process is irreversible. On the contrary, the process is currently in danger of collapse. Unless two conditions are met, no progress in the peace process will occur: first, the establishment of a Palestinian state, including the solution of the issue of Jerusalem and second, that Syria joins the process. Regarding the developments in the Middle East, the role of Europe is as follows:

- The European countries should coordinate their policies towards the Middle East in particular and towards international problems/issues in general. In other words: a united policy and position is necessary.
- Europe should cooperate with the countries concerned, for example regarding the process of institution building. The idea of institutions growing out of the current multilateral groups is good, but needs lots more work and elaboration, such as the integration of Syria and other states currently excluded.

**Prof. Dr. Udo Steinbach, *Director of the Orient Institute, Hamburg***

This conference gives the general impression of optimism, but the reality is quite different. There are many obstacles on the road to peace, and if they cannot be eliminated, fundamentalism will increase and thus make any further progress even more problematic.

### **Session 3: 18 January**

**HE Dr. Ruud Lubbers, *former Dutch Prime Minister***

The end of the cold war especially, has created many new conditions and has re-shaped the political landscape. A look at South Africa shows major political changes in that country. However, the developments there cannot be compared to the Middle East. Approaches and starting points, such as: market economy and democracy are good and right, but one should not forget the traditional and cultural background of the Middle Eastern countries.

***Institution Building as a Challenge for Israelis, Palestinians, Jordanians and Syrians.***

**Dr. Nabil Sha'ath, PA Minister of Planning and International Cooperation**

Currently, Palestine is in limbo, between occupation and non-occupation, where the final status is not clear yet. This situation has the following implications:

- problems for the process of institution building;
- denial of stability, territorial integrity, security and statehood for the Palestinian people;
- collective punishments, such as the Israeli closure policy, cause continuous setbacks;
- Palestinians are losing their faith in the peace process due to the ongoing settlement policy;
- denial of free borders, including air and sea, make the peace process lose its credibility; economic restrictions imposed by Israel prevent Palestinians from benefiting from the new situation (for example, all imports and exports have to be channeled through Israel, which limits exports particularly, in quite a destructive manner).

On the other hand, some achievements have been made. Everything that has happened since the emergence of the PA has happened in a very short time. When the PA entered Gaza, it proved that it was capable of taking charge of Palestinian affairs and that it had the will to do so.

Positive factors for the Palestinians are :

- the well educated manpower inside and in the diaspora at their disposal, which can provide experience, knowledge and contacts;
- throughout the long struggle Palestinians have been, to a great extent, self-sufficient;
- in their efforts to build a state they are beginning at square one, therefore they do not have to face or tackle existing restrictive structures, for example regarding the economy.

Against this, there are several negative factors affecting Palestinian development:

- the Palestinian community is an "intifada society" formed by the experience of killings, injuries, arrests etc.;
- infrastructure in terms of railways, sewage etc. is almost non-existent;

infrastructure, the Gaza Strip is not prepared accordingly, and most problematically, there is no employment potential in which to absorb the increasing labour force;

- economic development is restricted by not having an air or sea port at their disposal;
- uncertainty about the implementation of the DoP and the subsequent agreements undermines popular support.

As far as Europe is concerned, in its role as the most important donor, supporter and promoter of peace for Palestine, it should focus on better coordination in trade relations, increasing investment, funding joint projects and providing loan guarantees.

**Prof. Dr. Shlomo Avineri**, *Hebrew University of Jerusalem; former Director-General of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs*

The major problem on the Israeli side is that the government is not backed by a majority, holding only 56 out of 120 seats in the Knesset. Nevertheless, it is hoped in Israel that the current peace process will lead to stability and integration in the region.

European societies at the outset of integration had much more closely related economic structures; their economies were more complementary than it is the case for Palestine and Israel. The economies of Palestine and Israel are not complementary and thus, integration is restricted: only vertical, not horizontal integration is possible. While the historical background of the European societies was one of mutual hostility, their relations were nowhere near as traumatic as the is the case with the Palestinians and Israelis. When European countries began the process of integration, democracy had already existed in each of the member countries to a certain extent. For Palestine, as well as for its Arab neighbours, efforts towards democratisation have not yet been convincing.

**Dr. Ziad Fariz**, *Advisor to HRH Crown Prince Hassan bin Talal of Jordan*

In order that the peace process continues successfully, the following requirements must be met:

- economic relations have to be established and all trade restrictions such as administrative barriers and boycotts are to be lifted;
- economic cooperation should lead to a reduction of income and other disparities in the countries of the region;
- economic cooperation should not be to the disadvantage of any country and should foster prosperity and social stability;

- special financial programmes and a regional development bank should be established for the mobilisation and allocation of financial requirements. Such a bank would be crucial for the promotion of trade and investment in the countries of that area. Furthermore, it could finance common infrastructural projects in the region and could establish contacts with other regional and international institutions. In consolidating macro-economic stability, it also would serve to encourage the private sector.

### **Discussion**

**Martin Kobler, Head of the German Representative Office, Jericho.**

The starting point of the establishment of the PA was not easy: it was accompanied by the unrealistic expectations of the Palestinians, as well as the international community. Since no governmental structures had existed before the arrival of the PA, the building of its infrastructure started from scratch. What made the Palestinian case more difficult is the fact that the Israeli Civil Administration did not provide an institutional and legal framework on which the Palestinian administration could be based.

On the other hand, in the short period since the PA has taken responsibility, some positive facts have to be mentioned:

- infrastructural problems, under the given difficult demographic and economic situation (especially in Gaza), have been handled well so far, and many institutions, such as the ministries and special councils, have been set up (17 ministries, 12 councils and a well organised police apparatus are now operating in the autonomous areas);
- the international community has allocated considerable funds;
- coordination mechanisms such as the ad hoc liaison committees have been successfully established;
- the Palestinians are highly educated and have a high level of manpower and expertise at their disposal.

**Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Head of PASSIA, Jerusalem**

After having already heard pessimistic and optimistic perspectives on the current situation of the Palestinian-Israeli track earlier at this conference, it is time now to suggest a more realistic approach. Contrary to the impression given in the media, the conflict is not over! In fact, not even chapter one has been concluded yet, and this is Rabin's mistake whose policy consists of meaningless phrases, promises, and testimonies. Currently, the main

- and other issues whose solution is of major concern.
- Rabin is not willing to stop land confiscation and settlement expansion.
- The Jerusalem question, including related topics such as the closure, settlement expansion, isolation from the rest of the West Bank, and the attempt to minimise Palestinian population, is one of the most important issues in the entire Palestinian-Israeli conflict, but is still neglected.

Rabin is obsessed with the coming Israeli elections, and makes sure he is seen as an international peacemaker, signing treaties here and there in order to improve his image, yet, he is totally ignoring his commitments to the Palestinians. Furthermore, he is obsessed with the settlement issue, although it is widely known that the settlers won't vote for him anyway, whether he supports their interests or not. For the time being, the Palestinians have to accept these circumstances because they are weak. It should be made clear that there will be no Palestinian Authority without Jerusalem, which is part of the Palestinian Territories; the settlers within Jerusalem's boundaries are as illegal as their counterparts elsewhere in territories. To achieve a better future for both sides, Jerusalem has to become an open, free city with a shared sovereignty. Unfortunately, there is still a big gap between the Israeli and Palestinian perception [on the question of Jerusalem].

**Dr. Muhammad Shtayyeh, PECDAR, Ramallah**

When talking about the continuously stressed Israeli security concern, it should be made clear that this security concern is mutual. The Palestinians have a major interest in security as well. Unfortunately, this is widely and generally ignored.

**HE Claude Cheysson, former French Minister of Foreign Affairs**

An acceleration of the peace process is very important. Strategically, that requires a refocusing of the problem and the finding of a political solution. The necessity of a Palestinian state is already determined by the fact that it implies the basis for a general solution of the Palestinian problem.

**Eberhard Rhein, Director of the Mediterranean and Middle East, European Commission.**

Regional cooperation cannot exist or succeed unless it is built on a basis of mutuality. This goes for the EU as well as for the potentially emerging Middle East community. Fields of possible cooperation are numerous; in the area of energy, for example, a common electricity grid could be developed which connects the power supply of all countries in the region. To realise and

implement regional cooperation, the awareness of interdependence has to be raised as well.

### **Nabil Sha'ath**

The idea of joint Israeli-Palestinian actions and Europe's role in activating them is generally good but cannot work as long as the Palestinians are still dependent on Israel. In this regard, the first step has to be to gain more independence, then further relations can be built on *interdependence* based on mutuality. The present situation which only witnesses Palestinian dependence alongside Israeli hegemony cannot provide the essential preconditions for economic or other cooperation between the two sides.

### **Caio Koch Weser**

Firstly, the new development paradigm of an economic-social policy with the private sector as engine of growth should be pursued as soon as possible. And secondly, the Middle East and North Africa area should be warned of taking too Eurocentric a view, by ignoring the potential of intra-regional cooperation.

### **Claude Cheysson**

Israeli attitudes contribute to the PLO's loss of credibility inside the territories. Furthermore, the PLO has no Arab state supporting it. A look at the Palestinian diaspora makes it even more doubtful whether the implementation of the DoP or even more than this (state of Palestine, an open Jerusalem as capital of two states) is possible. What aggravates these circumstances is the continuous Israeli settlement policy and the unsolved problem of the settler's withdrawal. There should be an uncompromising demand that the DoP be implemented. Public opinion is crucial in order to convince current as well as potential future decision-makers of the importance of implementing the agreements according to what has been signed.

### **Prof. Dr. Walter Sommerfeld, Phillips University, Marburg; President of the German-Iraqi Society.**

In the framework of all that has been said in this conference, there is one thing to remember: Iraq is part of the Middle East and crucial for a comprehensive and lasting conflict solution in the region. Iraq has also considerable educational and manpower resources and an advanced programme for women's promotion. Furthermore, Iraq has a huge economic potential.

### **HE Nasser Bin Hamad Al-Khalifa, Head of the Qatari Delegation to the Regional Economic Development Working Group.**

With regard to the Gulf Cooperation Council's (GCC) member states, in terms of trade, the GCC is not even a half as important as the E.U. is to

**Prof. Dr. Abdessatar Grissa, Consultant to the World Bank.**

When talking about the prospects of EU-Arab economic cooperation, firstly, the Arab world itself should be looked at. Arab economic integration faces numerous difficulties and obstacles. In 1990, the Arab world had an average population density of 16 persons per km<sup>2</sup>, but - economically more relevant - a very low GDP density per km<sup>2</sup>, of only \$25,300 in 1990 against \$2,5 million in the case of the 12 EU states. The Arab world cannot be generalised and neither can their markets. Mutual intra-Arab trade is limited and occurs mainly between the Gulf countries in the form of petroleum re-exports. The low level of intra-Arab trade cannot be explained solely by the structure of their production but goes back to the inefficiency of their infrastructures and communication systems, their lack of information about each others economies and needs, the extent of their geographical area, and their political antagonisms and hostilities. The Arab countries have hardly any internal integration, either vertically (between domestic and export sectors) or horizontally (between their different regions), which greatly hinders the development of trade relations with each other. All these obstacles to mutual trade are aggravated by the fact that Arab countries have a huge lack of information about each others economies, production structure and development strategies as well as partly fundamental ideological differences. What they need most urgently and as premises for economic integration, is comprehensive and better education, more private sector initiatives, and better factor allocation.

The conference concluded with an agreement to hold regular conferences in the future on topics such as security and regional economic cooperation.

**23-26 January**

***Preparatory Workshop on the Reconstruction of Palestine***  
**Welfare Association**

**Cairo**

Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Head of PASSIA

**16-18 February**

***Second Workshop on the Reconstruction of Palestine***  
**Amman**

**Welfare Association**

Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Head of PASSIA



These two workshops were held in order to prepare a seminar with the aim of formulating a plan for the social and economic development of Palestine, to which major international institutions and Palestinian personalities from inside and outside would be invited. The seminar would be held in coordination with the Arab League and aim at the establishment of a fund totaling \$1bn to generate \$10m income annually for development and reconstruction projects in Palestine. A steering committee to implement the proposal was established, on which Dr. Abdul Hadi represented PASSIA.

The preparatory committee agreed on the following eight topics to be discussed at the seminar:

- Creation of a Palestinian framework for development, through unity of the inside and outside.
- The Arab framework for development in Palestine.
- The centrality of Jerusalem in the framework of development.
- Palestinian-Jordanian economic ties.
- The role of international donors and institutions.
- Obstacles to development in Palestine.
- Opportunities, strategies and mechanisms.
- The role of the Arab League in supporting the Palestinian private sector in construction and reconstruction of the Palestinian economy.

### **17 February**

#### ***Real Peace Demands Removal of the Settlements***

#### **Land and Water Establishment/ Alternative Information Centre**

Attended: Deniz Altayli, PASSIA Research Director

The final statement of the conference called on all Palestinian forces to unite against settlements and to oppose settlement expansion with mass, non-violent demonstrations and by the expansion of the Land Defence Committees. The importance of reaching and influencing Israeli public opinion was recognised. Palestinian institutions and Israeli peace groups were called on to form a joint Palestinian-Israeli Higher Committee against Settlements. Action to defend Arab Jerusalem was particularly stressed.

### **18-25 March**

#### ***Salzburg Seminar: The European Union After 1996***

#### **Salzburg, Austria**

Attended: Ahlam Abassi

PASSIA nominated Ahlam Abbasi, desk officer responsible for Europe at Orient House, to attend the seminar. In her report to PASSIA, Ahlam stated

with the Mediterranean and Middle East in a speech at the seminar, she described the relations between Europe and the Palestinian territories and the difficulties faced by the PA, especially regarding the delays in receiving promised funds. Points raised by other participants in the workshop focused on the perception that Islamic extremism is the cause of problems in the Middle East. Abbasi pointed out that the Palestinian Islamic movement is closely linked to political developments in the country and are not linked to Islamist groups in the Maghreb. Overall, Abbasi found the seminar very useful for her work at Orient House and recommended that attempts be made to increase the level of Palestinian participation in future seminars.

**19-21 March**

***The Resolution of Intractable Conflicts: The Israeli-Palestinian and South African Experiences***

**Tami Steinmetz Centre for Peace Research, Tel Aviv University**

Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Head of PASSIA

The conference began with attempts to define the concept of 'intractable conflicts', followed by brief introductions to the Israeli-Palestinian and South African conflicts. The next focus was on what considerations had brought the respective sides from both conflicts to negotiations. The following sessions focused on the two negotiation processes and negotiation methodology and typology. The final day concentrated on the implementation of the agreements from the various points of view, and the importance of issues such as (continued) violence, and political prisoners. The concluding roundtable discussed the lessons of the two cases for conflict resolution elsewhere in the world.

The South African and Israeli-Palestinian conflicts have often been compared and the conference provided a welcome opportunity to examine this comparison in a more academic context. On the theoretical level, *Louis Kriesberg* of New York University, defined 'intractable conflicts' as those lasting for more than a generation, where the protagonists regarded their goals as irreconcilable, liable to recourse to violence and where significant numbers of both groups have a vested interest in a continuation of the conflict. Conflict between groups based on ethnicity, language, religion or territory are particularly liable to become intractable, especially where these factors coincide. Intractable conflicts, however, *begin* as tractable, and will revert to this stage as a result of changing conditions such as ideology, economic conditions or a sense of the failure of existing strategies.

*Dr. Hermann Giliomee* of the University of Cape Town explained the NP's decision to open negotiations with the ANC as due to the acceptance of the inevitability of some form of democratisation, with the NP choosing to negotiate sooner rather than later in order to direct the process as much as possible. It would seem that the Israeli government pursued a similar logic in opening the Oslo channel with the PLO, but has been consistently more successful in shaping the outcome of negotiations. Giliomee made further points about the South African situation which could be applied to Palestine, pointing out that the shift from an authoritarian system to democracy needs to be accompanied by broad based economic development; and the prevalence in Africa of populations "...rallying behind a single mass party which would soon proceed to stifle democracy."

*David Welsh* of the University of Cape Town pointed out some of the differences between the two conflicts and their envisaged solutions, with the South Africans embarking on an uncertain process of common institution and nation building, in contrast to the process of institutional separation under way in Palestine.

Responding to Ya'ir Evron's paper on *the Process of Getting to the Negotiating Table*, PASSIA's *Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi* described the pre-negotiation phase between Palestinians and Israelis as serving to mold public opinion in both the Israeli and Palestinian peoples. The intifada, meanwhile, had served to strengthen the idea of a two state solution in Arab and Palestinian thinking. Both sides experienced divisions between military and politically oriented leaderships, while the Palestinian leadership on the outside was apprehensive of the emergence of a local leadership from the inside engaging in substantive negotiations with the Israelis. It was the local leadership, led by Faisal Husseini, which persuaded Tunis to accept the humiliating conditions for attending the Madrid conference, in order to attempt to build and change the situation. The Palestinian negotiating position was weakened by this division of responsibility and the lack of a central body directing the negotiations. The negotiators in Washington were not authorised to agree to anything, having to carry out instructions from Tunis.

The negotiations in Washington which produced the Israeli document on autonomy and the Palestinian proposal for an Interim Self-Government Authority (PISGA), provided the starting point for the secret negotiations in Oslo. The exclusion of the PLO and the fact that the local leadership was not legitimated by the organisation led to the emergence and eventual success of the third group, the academics and professionals, through the Oslo channel.

Palestinians, meanwhile, have a great future. In the future, there are three options: Israel's integration into the Middle East; separation, as advocated by Rabin, which would fail due to demographic pressures, with the likelihood of increased armed struggle; or finally economic cooperation, namely a Palestinian-Jordanian federation.

**16 March**

***The Independence of the Judiciary in the Transitional Phase***

**AMIDEAST**

**Rishad Shawa Centre, Gaza**

Attended: Khamis Ghosheh

Topics discussed:

- The separation of powers;
- The principles of the independence of the judiciary with respect to the West Bank and Gaza Strip;
- The impact of Israeli policy on the independence of the judiciary;
- The current status of the judiciary;
- Necessary mechanisms to guarantee independence of the judiciary;
- The role of the courts and the denial of their authority;
- The role of the judiciary in maintaining human rights;
- The need to form a judicial council with clear authorities and legal structure;
- Lawyers' role in guaranteeing the independence of the judiciary.

**24 March**

***Settlements and the Challenges to Peace***

**Jerusalem Media and Communications Centre**

**Ambassador Hotel, Jerusalem**

Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Head of PASSIA

Topics discussed:

- *The place of the settlements in the permanent status*  
Khalil Tufakji (*Geographical aspects*)  
Ali Safarini (*Legal aspects*)  
Hanan Ashrawi (*Political aspects*)
- *Israeli conceptions of the final status of settlements*  
Joseph Alpher

- *Palestinian and Israeli options on the final status of settlements*  
Ahmad Khalidi; Khalil Shiqaqi; Camille Mansour

*Discussion: Palestinian political options in confronting settlement activity*

**27-28 March**

***Canadian-Palestinian Networking and Partnership - the Next Step?***

***A Canadian-Palestinian Exchange***

**Palestinian NGOs Network (PNGO); Canadian-Palestinian Studies Association (CPSA); Centre d'Études Arabes Pour la Développement (CEAD)**

**Holy Land Hotel, Jerusalem**

Attended: Deniz Altayli, PASSIA Research Director

*Mustafa Barghouti* from PNGO outlined the current situation faced by Palestinians and NGOs: the PA is very weak, Israel does not observe agreements while simultaneously putting great pressure on the PA. The challenge for Palestinians is to overcome the current situation, achieve self-determination and develop the economy. The role of NGOs is and has been to build a civil society, creating infrastructure and promoting pluralism and diversification. Many NGOs are dedicated to defense of the rights of the underprivileged. Currently, they are vital as promoters of dialogue between the people and the various institutions of the Palestinian Authority (PA).

*Dr. Anis al-Qaq*, Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation began by reviewing the PA's policy towards NGOs. In the past, the lack of a government and the occupation resulted in the establishment of more than 800 NGOs covering a broad range of activities (e.g. health, women, education etc.). Now the PA is making efforts to register NGOs by type of activity. NGOs must resolve problems such as duplication, inefficiency and the lack of uniform standards. NGOs can help the PA in implementing projects since they often possess superior experience. Although NGOs should be independent from the PA, they should be registered, operate under law, and be monitored by the government. International funding should be channeled through, and in coordination with, the PA and NGOs should report their spending to the PA. Registration of NGOs will involve five ministries (Ministries of Interior, Labour, Planning and International Cooperation, Justice and Social Affairs) and the PA will formulate laws covering the following organisations: associations and sports clubs, political factions, labour unions, NGOs, and cooperatives.

*George Giacaman* raised the question of whether Palestinian civil society

political developments since the 1990s, Palestinian political life for almost three decades.

The absence of a state has enabled a degree of individual social and political mobility and influence on society. Many parties and factions established their own NGOs by which they sought to extend their influence in society, for example by providing health, educational or other services. Organisations working within the private-public sphere were common in Palestinian society throughout the decades without a Palestinian authority. The Oslo Agreement and subsequent events are a watershed, which have changed the situation for NGOs and raised questions about their future role. The existing private-public sphere needs to be maintained, that is the PA's influence has to be limited.

Palestinian NGOs' current role is to give civil society direction. The fact that the PA has sought the assistance of NGOs, especially in the health field, shows that there is some degree of reliance on NGOs. For the NGO network to secure support and legitimacy, its work must be efficient, serve society effectively, and be accountable to the people.

### Discussion:

A participant remarked on the effects of political factionalism within NGOs, stressing that affiliated NGOs perform professional work and have the right to express political opinions. The quality of their work is more important than any affiliation, and political diversity is part of pluralism.

*Wassim al-Kurdi* of the Educational Network spoke about the experience, goals and structure of this networking body and stressed the importance of joint work. The members of the Educational Network share the idea of a basic educational philosophy. The network also focuses on media: the concept is disseminated through brochures and other materials to educational centres and those dealing with curricula. Within the network discussion, coordination, joint decision-making and other activities furthering the common goal take place. These include developing educational efforts, providing alternative approaches, and clarifying learning concepts despite different political affiliations.

*Munir Fasheh* of the Tamer Institute explained that development must address society's needs, an imperative which is often neglected due to over-stressing on society's deficiencies while ignoring strengths. An alternative is to consider people as creative actors who are the solution, not the problem. This necessitates creating as many learning environments as possible including the following basic components:

- the ability to express personal views
- team work/work in groups
- access to relevant information
- formulation of a common vision
- awareness of society's patterns of thinking, behaving and perceiving.

*Dr. Khalil Nakhleh* discussed the prospects for effective partnership and cooperation among Palestinian NGOs (PNGOs) and between them and their foreign counterparts (INGOs). The changing Palestinian (since September 1993), international political and economic environments mark a turning point and require the drawing of lessons from past experience for future NGO cooperation. The respective agendas should be reconsidered, in order to establish principles for more solid and lasting cooperation. PNGOs should work towards safeguarding, developing and enriching Palestinian civil society with an emphasis on the democratic component of societal development. Nakhleh said that the pre-requisites for such a PNGO-INGO partnership are twofold:

- The "structural properties" of the partnership should be determined and INGOs have to re-examine and redefine their objectives and the kinds of relationships regarding their partnership with PNGOs.
- The "functional properties" have to be determined. In this regard, activities should be jointly determined and should recognise mutual needs, priorities and potentials. They also should define their roles and the division of labour.

PNGOs role should be, for example, in implementing activities, facilitating cooperation with local partners, and generating local support for the INGOs while the INGOs tasks should include funding, technical assistance, and lobbying for international support.

Nakhleh went on to discuss how these principles could be translated into actual PNGO-INGO partnership by using the Palestinian-Canadian NGO partnership as an example. There are more than 150 Canadian NGOs operating worldwide but only half a dozen are active in Palestine. For these, and others interested but not yet involved, the development of a strategic Canadian agenda - jointly with the PNGO counterparts - is needed. They also could mobilise other Canadian or international NGOs to become involved in the development of the Palestinian NGO sectors and contribute to its horizontal expansion. A further important role of the Canadian NGOs is advocacy and lobbying both of the Canadian government and the PA.

**Al-Ahram Centre for Political and Strategic Studies  
Alexandria**

Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Head of PASSIA

Topics discussed:

- *Egyptian Mediterranean Policy* - HE Raouf Ghoneim
- *Institutional Interlocking across the Mediterranean* - Roberto Aliboni
- *Addressing Mediterranean Issues: Institutional Paradigms* - Seyhi Tashan
- *The Mediterranean Area and Global Change* - Chater
- *Europe's Common Foreign and Security Policy* - Alvaro Vasconcelos
- *Conceptualising non-Military Security: The Mediterranean* - Muhammad Said
- *The Dynamics of the Mediterranean Forum* - Muhammad Selim
- *French Mediterranean Priorities* - May Chartouni
- *Threats to Peace and Security* - Mark Heller
- *Muslims in Europe* - Bou Ranan al-Wanas
- *Multilateral Security Cooperation* - Theodore Couloumbis

The second Mediterranean Study Commission meeting was hosted by the al-Ahram Centre for Political and Strategic Studies and focused on cooperation between the Mediterranean countries. The conference was attended by 16 institutions from countries bordering the Mediterranean.

The consensus of the conference was that the Mediterranean region lacks political, economic and security coherence. Enhanced institutional networking between Mediterranean institutions is necessary. New security problems in the Mediterranean are emerging in addition to previous issues such as the Arab-Israeli or Cyprus conflicts. These include demographic and economic issues, particularly as the southern part of the region faces the challenges of social change, modernisation and economic development.

**3-4 April**

***A Future Perspective of Palestinian Higher Education***

**Council for Higher Education**

**Birzeit University**

Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Head of PASSIA

Topics discussed:

- Relations between educational institutions and the PA;
- Models for educational institutions;



- The universal right to education;
- Institutions' capabilities of monitoring students;
- Democracy in university life;
- Legislation for higher education;
- The right of the state and independent institutions to establish universities;

**1 May**

***Workshop on Refugees***

**Palestinian Diaspora and Refugee Centre - Shamil  
Ramallah**

Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Head of PASSIA

**18-19 May**

***Preparatory Conference for the 12th UN International Meeting on the Question of Palestine***

**Voice of NGOs in Palestine**

**Ambassador Hotel, Jerusalem**

Attended: Deniz Altayli, PASSIA Research Director

The conference was attended by over 150 participants representing over 100 Palestinian and international NGOs. The aim of the organisers was to prepare for the upcoming conference on the Question of Palestine to be held in Vienna, in particular to concentrate on concrete proposals to bring to the conference in order to advance NGOs' purpose of assisting Palestinian development and empowerment, and to reverse the tendency in recent years towards sterile political debate.

Conference chairwoman *Maha Nasser* opened by defining the purpose of the conference as to enhance coordination between NGOs; set a negotiation agenda for topics not yet being dealt with in the peace process; discuss methods and rules of negotiations; to stress the implementation of UN resolutions; and to restore hope among the people by demonstrating solidarity and action with NGOs

*Jonathan Adams*, head of the Association of International Development Agencies (AIDA) introduced the organisation as an association of 25 International NGOs working in Palestine. Membership is open to organisations whose headquarters are outside of Palestine but who are also physically present in the OPT. The organisations should be dedicated to development activities and support Palestinian efforts directed at their self-development and empowerment.

without the PA and Palestinian society has suffered - and still does - from military occupation. He asked whether the PA is able to coexist with society - both individuals and organisations. Neither the people nor the NGOs want interference in their affairs but need organisational stability, transparency and accountability of the PA. The PA and the police/security apparatus have to recognise the existence of different opinions within society. The relationship between the PA and the PNGOs is determined by the fact that the PA considers the NGOs as potential rivals for political hegemony and legitimacy. Jadallah said it has to be questioned whether the PA can deal democratically with the NGOs. If the PA continues to lack this ability, its authority will not be accepted by the people but only by some individuals and organisations.

*Izzat Abdul Hadi* of the Bisan Research and Development Centre defined the framework for appropriate PA-NGO relations as consisting of:

- A legal aspect to guarantee the independence and liberty of NGOs and of civil society. Therefore, the constitution to be set up must be democratic in nature and must be developed as a new and independent entity.
- Registration must be based on a definite system; the registration process should be postponed until a legal framework is established.
- Professionalism: The PA has issued a law of cooperation concerning the NGOs and has implemented several projects competing or conflicting with NGOs' activities. NGOs agree to cooperation, but only in an equal partnership and interaction.
- Transparency: The NGOs have agreed to report on their activities and to prepare financial reports. NGOs should audit their accounts to establish accountability. This principle should also be extended to the PA.
- Finance: Both NGOs and the PA have financial problems. In this regard, Abdul Hadi suggested a trust fund for NGOs be established in order to maintain the continuity of NGOs and to cover their deficits.

*Jonathan Adams* mentioned that the development context of the Palestinians is very difficult due to the political situation. In this regard he pointed out the following urgent areas of work:

- Coordination: better mechanisms to avoid duplication and to work efficiently.

- Building partnerships: between/among INGOs and PNGOs; throughout the whole course of a project; i.e. from the project development and design until its implementation.
- Strengthening institutions: improving strategic planning and learning by long experience in order to be able to demonstrate their positive impact.
- Focus: specialisation of NGOs should be a crucial community resource for development alternatives.
- Self-identification: distinguishing between types of NGOs.
- Local roots: commitment to mobilise more local resources in order to achieve long-term sustainability.

*Intisar al-Wazir*, PA Minister for Social Affairs spoke appreciatively about the NGOs and their provision of services. Regarding the 800 NGOs currently active in Palestine, the PA should decide which PA department is responsible for which NGO and where it should be registered. The following problems concerning NGOs were mentioned:

- Duplication of projects;
- Sector intervention;
- Lack of professional expertise;
- Politicisation

NGOs which focus on urgent development issues such as housing, infrastructure or health should have priority and should be involved in the PA departments. The roles of the PA and the NGOs should be complementary. During the transitional phase, NGOs can continue to provide services using their experience, while the PA departments are still being set up. Other NGOs, however, are not related or linked to the PA, such as human rights or women's organisations. Nevertheless, they should engage in constructive dialogue with the PA. The planned procedures for NGOs are as follows:

- registration; commitment to by-laws, laws etc. and provision of services according to national plans.
- financial support should go on practical and clear policies. The PA should have priority for international funds over NGOs, therefore, the latter should be approved by the PA or - if there is direct contact between a donor and a NGO - it should be reported to the PA.

**29 May**

***Future Legislation Governing Non-Governmental Institutions***

**Palestinian NGO Network**

- Definition of NGOs
- Financing NGOs
- Licensing and Registration of NGOs
- NGOs concerns regarding the PA: funding and support
- The legal framework governing NGO relations with the authority; taxation
- Cooperation between NGOs and the PA
- Duties and responsibilities of NGOs towards each other: coordination and exchange of information

**15-16 June**

***The Current Status of Jerusalem and the Future of the Peace Process***

**International Campaign for Jerusalem, SOAS, the Geopolitics Centre, London**

Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Head of PASSIA

***(See chapter 3, the Question of Jerusalem, for details)***

**21-23 June**

***After Oslo: Israeli-Jordanian Relations and the Future***

**International Institute for Strategic Studies, London**

**Amman**

Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Head of PASSIA

**29 June**

***Israeli Settlements***

**Hyatt Regency Hotel, Jerusalem**

**American Jewish Committee**

Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Head of PASSIA

**9-11 September**

***Washington Institute for Near East Policy Conference***

**Washington Institute for Near East Policy**

**Amman**

Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Head of PASSIA

The conference was the first to be held by this American Zionist institution in the Arab World, with the aim of assessing developments since the Jordan-Israel peace treaty of 1994.

While HRH Crown Prince Hassan's closing address described the treaty as a 'momentous event... promis[ing] to transform the region', caution was

sounded by Marwan Mu'asher, then Jordanian Ambassador to Israel, who predicted that the peace would not be durable in the absence of a satisfactory agreement between Israel and the Palestinians on final status issues. Some Israeli participants took offense at Mu'asher's further comments on the expectations of Palestinian refugees in Jordan to receive compensation from the Israeli government for their expropriated property. Jordanian businessmen tended to be considerably more sanguine about the economic benefits of the peace treaty than their Israeli counterparts, leading Israeli commentators to conclude that the real impact of the conference was to demonstrate how many problems and obstacles remained between the two peoples.

### **23 September**

#### ***Workshop on the Proposed Political Parties Law***

**PA Ministry of Information, al-Bireh**

Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Head of PASSIA

### **25 September 1995**

#### ***Policy Research Priorities in Palestine***

**Ford Foundation/ International Development Research Centre (IDRC - Canada)**

**Cairo**

Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Head of PASSIA

Topics discussed:

- Final status issues: Discussion of research priorities.
- Governance/ Civil Society: Discussion of research priorities.
- Development policies: Discussion of research priorities.
- Priority policy themes and issues: general discussion.
- Institutional capacity building.
- Policy research institutions: discussion of problems and needs.
- Collaboration, coordination and networking.

The conference resulted in the launching of the "Policy Research Initiative in Palestine" jointly by the Ford Foundation and IDRC. The aim of the initiative is to strengthen policy research capability of Palestinian institutions, especially in regard of their ability to inform and influence public opinion and policy positions during the transitional period. Thirteen Palestinian researchers attended the conference with the aim of identifying research priorities. Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi chaired the discussion of overall priorities.

The following areas were identified as priorities:

- Data collection in key areas such as legal inventory, NGO

drafts.

- Longer term research on the future role of the state in political, economic and social spheres, and the relationship of Palestine to its regional and international environments.
- Promotion and coordination of networking among Palestinian research centres.
- Building new research capacity by training the new generation of Palestinian researchers and encouraging return of expatriate researchers.
- Promote increased contact between Palestinian and foreign intellectuals.
- Support in the area of information technology.

**27 October**

***Palestinian NGO Network meeting 2***

**Popular Arts Centre, al-Bireh**

Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Head of PASSIA

**7-9 November**

***Rebuilding Palestine***

**League of Arab States/Welfare Association**

**Cairo**

Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi

**14-16 November**

***Preliminaries to a Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Middle East and North Africa***

**Bertelsmann Foundation**

**Rome**

Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi

**18 November**

***Workshop on Refugees***

**Shamil- Palestinian Diaspora and Research Centre**

Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi

Topics discussed:

- Facts and figures on displaced persons in various host countries
- Definition of the displaced persons of 1967

- Israeli legislation and measures to deprive Palestinians of residency rights
- Difficulties for refugees in Arab host countries
- Refugees/displaced persons in the current negotiations
- Brief report on the quadrilateral technical committee (Palestine, Israel, Jordan, Egypt) on refugee issues

**21 November**

***The Peace Process after Rabin***

**PA Ministry of Information**

**al-Bireh Municipality**

Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi

**24 November**

***The Crisis of the Palestinian Political Party in the Transitional Phase***

**Muwatin- Palestinian Centre for the Study of Democracy**

**Ramallah**

Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi

Speakers:

Azmi Bishara; Haider Abdul Shafi; Musa Budeiri; Sa'id Zeedani; Tawsir Aruri; Nabil Qasis; Azmi Shu'aybi; Omar Asaf; Walid Salim; Sari Nusseibeh; Ghali Abu Jiyab; Islah Jad; Jamil Hilal; Jamad Mansur.

Dr. Abdul Hadi proposed to form a national list of approx. 40 members from all schools of political thought, to contest the coming elections, with the aim of bridging the gap especially between Fatah and Hamas.

**30 November**

***Jerusalem***

**Arab Tourist Association**

**Seven (7) Arches Hotel, Jerusalem**

Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi

**1-2 December**

***Israeli Settlements***

**Israel-Palestine Centre for Research and Information (IPCRI)**

**Taba**

Attended: Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Head of PASSIA

Topics discussed:

- Creating a typology of settlements:

- Possible negotiated trade offs,
- Security arrangements: strategic interests and personal security;
- Political processes.

Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi analysed the settlement issue as follows:

The development of settlements can be seen in four phases, which gives an indication of likely future developments. In the first phase, from 1967 to 1987 Israeli governments, whether Labour or Likud, made intensive efforts to create facts on the ground and to move Israelis to the Occupied Palestinian Territories, with the intention of annexing the entire historical land of Palestine to the State of Israel. Scholars such as Meron Benvenisti concluded that the extent of the settlement drive was such that the process was irreversible.

The second phase was the intifada, which proved to the world that the situation *was* reversible. The Palestinians succeeded in changing the status quo and passing a clear message to the Israelis that they could not continue occupying the Palestinian territories. Mr. Peres began to say that Israel could no longer govern the Palestinians and Mr. Rabin accepted the idea of separation.

The third phase was the negotiations lasting until 1993, which had two tracks. The first 22 months of the negotiations were with a Likud government which would not move one inch on the issue of settlements. The longer negotiations continued, the more settlements were becoming facts on the ground, which crippled the Palestinian negotiating team. Finally, the Oslo Agreement included the postponement of discussion of five major issues, including settlements.

There are two schools of thought in Israel on settlements. One seeks to use the settlements as a card to perpetuate the Israeli presence in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Others are reluctant to trust the PA as a national authority capable of governing the Palestinians and maintaining stability and security in the region. They want to return to the old agenda of the Labour party, using the Jordanian option with a different interpretation. If Chairman Arafat fails in the transitional phase, they will still have the Israeli Jordanian option.

We are now entering the transitional phase, which will be very delicate given the divisions in Israeli society. It is questionable whether Mr. Peres can



deliver and maintain the interests of the various constituencies in Israel, including the settlers, or build public opinion for the removal of settlements.

There is a need for creative thinking among both Palestinian and Israeli leaderships to overcome the issue of settlements. The retention of some settlements in the Palestinian Territories, will lead to resistance from Palestinians, as occurred with the Mount Scopus enclave between 1948 and 1967, and the British installations in Egypt during the 1950s. This will be an economic and security drain on Israeli resources, and destabilising for the region as a whole. The settlements must therefore be removed, perhaps with compensation.

**12 December**

***The Elections for the Palestinian Council and the Head of the Palestinian Executive Authority***

**Freedom Defence Centre**

**Speakers: Hanan Bakri, Taher Nasser, Walid Salim, Hani Aysami**

Attended: Khamis Ghosheh

**27-28 December**

***Israeli-German Relations***

**Institute of German History, Tel Aviv University**

Attended: Edward Jenkinson, PASSIA Research Assistant (28 December)

Much of the discussion focused on the Federal Republic of Germany's concern for Israeli security and self image as a protector of the Zionist state. A moderation of German support for Israel had occurred around the time of the October War, for example in Chancellor Schmidt's support for Palestinian self determination.

*Robert Livingston* of John Hopkins University described the German perception of a triangular German-Israeli-American relationship which the other parties do not share. This was described as the Federal Republic playing to the American gallery with respect to Israel and the perceived influence of the Jewish lobby in the US. When a conflict of interests occurs, the US gives priority to Germany, for example over President Reagan's visit to Bitburg.

*Moshe Zimmerman* of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem pointed to a normalisation of relations between Israel and Germany over the 1990s, with polls showing that 80% of Germans describe themselves as indifferent to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The idea that Germans feel a particular obligation to Israel is in need of revision.

8 January

*The Palestinian-Israeli Dialogue: Pre/Post Oslo Agreement*

The Jerusalem Link (Jerusalem Centre for Women/ Bat Shalom)

20 February

*The Current Situation in South Africa and Palestine: a Comparative Study*

Birzeit University

4-6 March

*Workshop on Palestine Policy Research Centre*

Interword Cooperation Ltd., Washington DC

9 March

*Common Values in the Shari'a and Halakha*

Jerusalem Institute for Israeli Studies, Jerusalem

10-12 March

*Cultural Encounters Across the Mediterranean*

Birzeit University

12-14 March

*Jerusalem: City of Peace*

General Secretaries of the Islamic Conference Organisation/League of Arab States  
Cairo (PASSIA assisted the organisers to invite a Palestinian delegation to the conference)

22 March

*State Security Courts*

Gaza Centre for Law and Rights, Gaza

29-31 March

*Seminar on Assistance to the Palestinian People in Media Development*

UN Palestine and Decolonisation Section, Department of Public Education  
Madrid

6 April

*The Role of Participating Organisations in Civic Education, Democracy & Elections*

International Foundation for Electoral Systems/Friedrich Ebert Stiftung  
Al-Bireh

9-10 April

*German Historiography at Era's End - The 19th and 20th Century*

Institute for German History, Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv

11 April

*Prospects for Regional Cooperation in the Middle East*

UN University, World Institute for Development Economics Research, Padriagu,  
Truman Centre, Hebrew University of Jerusalem  
Notre Dame Centre, Jerusalem

21 April

*An Agenda for the Rebuilding of Palestine*

Welfare Association, Geneva

28-29 April

*The Legal System in Palestine*

Birzeit University Law Centre

20 May

*Briefing on Palestinian Council Elections*

International Foundation for Electoral Systems

PECDAR, Dahiet al-Barid

25 May

*Confiscation of Jerusalem Identity Cards from Palestinian Jerusalemite Women*

Jerusalem Centre for Women, Dahiet al-Barid

3-6 June

*International Colloquium - Jerusalem, Key to Peace in the Middle East*

Associazione Internazionale per le relazioni col Vicino Oriente

Bari, Italy

5-7 June

*First Conference for Jordanian-Palestinian Businessmen*

Arab Economists Association

Amman, Jordan

8 June

*Jerusalem - A City of many identities*

Ir Shalem, Jerusalem

15 June

*Problems of Democracy*

Palestinian Centre for Democracy and Elections (PCDE), Jerusalem

21-23 June

*Regional Cooperation and Institution Building in the Middle East and Strategies for Free Trade in the Mediterranean*

Bertelsmann Foundation

Cairo

5 July

*Conference for Human Rights Organisations and Attorneys*

Israel-Palestine Centre for Research and Information (IPCRI)

Notre Dame Centre, Jerusalem

5-9 July

*Nation Building and Democracy in Multicultural Societies*

ISPP - 18th Annual Scientific Meeting

1-4 August  
*Jerusalem - Now and in the Future*  
Jerusalem Information Centre, Jerusalem

5-7 August  
*Third World Peace Conference*  
Federation for World Peace  
Seoul, South Korea

16 August  
*Jordanian-Palestinian Relations*  
Centre for Palestine Research and Studies (CPRS), Nablus

18 August  
*Workshop on the Palestinian Legislative Council*  
Palestinian People's Party, Ramallah

21-27 August  
*The Current Situation in the Middle East*  
Federation for World Peace  
Seoul, South Korea

5 September  
*Potential Problems in the Lead-up to Elections*  
Palestinian Centre for Democracy and Elections (PCDE), Jerusalem

9 September  
*Meeting of NGOs and CEC*  
International Foundation for Electoral Systems/Central Elections Commission  
Ramallah

13-15 September  
*The Palestinians in Transition: Rehabilitation and Community Development*  
Gaza Community Mental Health Programme, Gaza

16 September  
*Workshop on Israeli-Palestinian Cooperation*  
Alternative Information Centre, Jerusalem

5 October  
*Workshop on Local & International Campaign for the Defense of Palestinian Jerusalem*  
Palestine Human Rights Movement  
Popular Arts Centre, Al-Bireh

5-7 October

*Mediterranean Partnerships*

Association of European Journalists/Philip Morris Institute

Madrid

9 October

Meeting between NGOs and the Central Elections Commission

International Foundation for Electoral Systems/Central Elections Commission

CEC, Ramallah

21-23 October

*Israeli Settlements*

Israel-Palestine Centre for Research and Information (UK)

London, UK

25-26 October

*The Psychology of Peace and Conflict: The Palestinian-Israeli Experience*

Truman Centre/ Palestine Consultancy Group/ Konrad Adenauer Stiftung

Notre Dame Centre, Jerusalem

7 November

*Rights of the Citizen in Palestine*

Arab Thought Forum, Jerusalem

7 November

*Palestinian Elections and the Palestinian Election Law*

Palestinian Authority, Ministry of Information

12 November

*Programme for the Expansion of the Palestinian Economy*

Arab Thought Forum, Jerusalem

19 November

*Workshop on Development of Human Resources*

Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation/UNDP

Birzeit University

22 November

*Religion and State in Israeli and Palestinian Society*

IPCRI, Law and Development Programme

Ambassador Hotel, Jerusalem

23 November

*Workshop on Palestinian Refugees*

Faculty of Social Sciences, Bethlehem University

24-25 November

*International Encounter on the City of Jerusalem*

Mediterranean Citizens' Forum/UNESCO, Paris

National Endowment for Democracy, Washington

1 December  
*Workshop on Democracy and Elections*  
National Democratic Coalition, Ramallah

4-5 December  
*The Last Nationality Question? Social Democracy, National Identity and Jewish Emancipation*  
Institute for German History, Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv

5 December  
*Developments since Rabin's Death, Effects on the Palestinian Cause and the Peace Process*  
Arab Thought Forum, Jerusalem

12 December  
*The Palestinian Religious Attachment to Jerusalem*  
Arab Thought Forum, Jerusalem

13 December  
*Workshop on the Late Hikmet al-Masri*  
An-Najah University, Nablus

14 December  
*The Legal Status of Palestinian Refugees*  
Shaml - Palestinian Diaspora and Refugee Centre, Ramallah

14 December  
*Elections are a Human Right*  
Arab Thought Forum, Jerusalem

22 December  
*The Meaning of Christmas in the Bible and Qu'ran*  
Al-Liqa Centre for Religious and Heritage Studies in the Holy Land  
Women's Union Centre, Bethlehem

24 December  
*Palestinian Women and Elections*  
PNA Ministry of Information  
Al-Bireh Municipality

# APPENDICES

## I. PASSIA BOARD OF TRUSTEES

### **Dr. Kamal Abdul Fattah**

Professor of Geography, Birzeit University; author of various publications on the geography of Palestine.

### **Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi**

Political scientist; historian; columnist; author; founder and member of various Palestinian institutions; head and founder of PASSIA.

### **Dr. Adnan Musallam**

Associate Professor of History, Bethlehem University; member of al-Liqa' Centre for Religious and Heritage Studies in the Holy Land, Bethlehem.

### **Dr. Sari Nusseibeh**

Professor of Philosophy; political analyst; author and columnist; President of Al-Quds University, Jerusalem.

### **Dr. Bernard Sabella**

Sociologist; demographer; professor, Bethlehem University; columnist and author of various studies.

### **Ms. Diana Safieh**

Administrator and senior manageress of a private Palestinian travel company, Jerusalem.

### **Dr. Said Zeedani**

Professor of Philosophy, Dean of Faculty of Arts, Birzeit University.

## II. PASSIA ADMINISTRATION

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 tasks related to these projects.

### **Mrs. Kainat Dweik - 1988-**

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

### **Ms. Deniz Altayli - 1993-**

Research Director; MA, Sociology (with Economics), Birzeit University

**Ms. Nada Awad - 1990-**  
Secretary, professional Arabic and English typist; tawjihi from Dar al-Fatah al-Laji'a School, Jerusalem 1988; YWCA secretary diploma (1989); born in Jerusalem.

**Khamis Ghosheh - 1992-**  
Administrative Assistant; tawjihi from Ibrahimiyah College, Jerusalem, 1963; BA Business Administration, Beirut University, 1968; general manager of a Jerusalem pharmacy; advertisement representative for medical companies; freelance advertiser for local and international companies; born and living in Jerusalem.

**Talal Natsheh - 1987-**  
Accountant at PASSIA; registered with Palestinian Accountants Association; diploma from Beirut University, 1970. Born and living in Jerusalem.

**Wa'el Sa'adi**  
Auditor; diploma from Hebrew University of Jerusalem

### III. FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR PASSIA PROJECTS

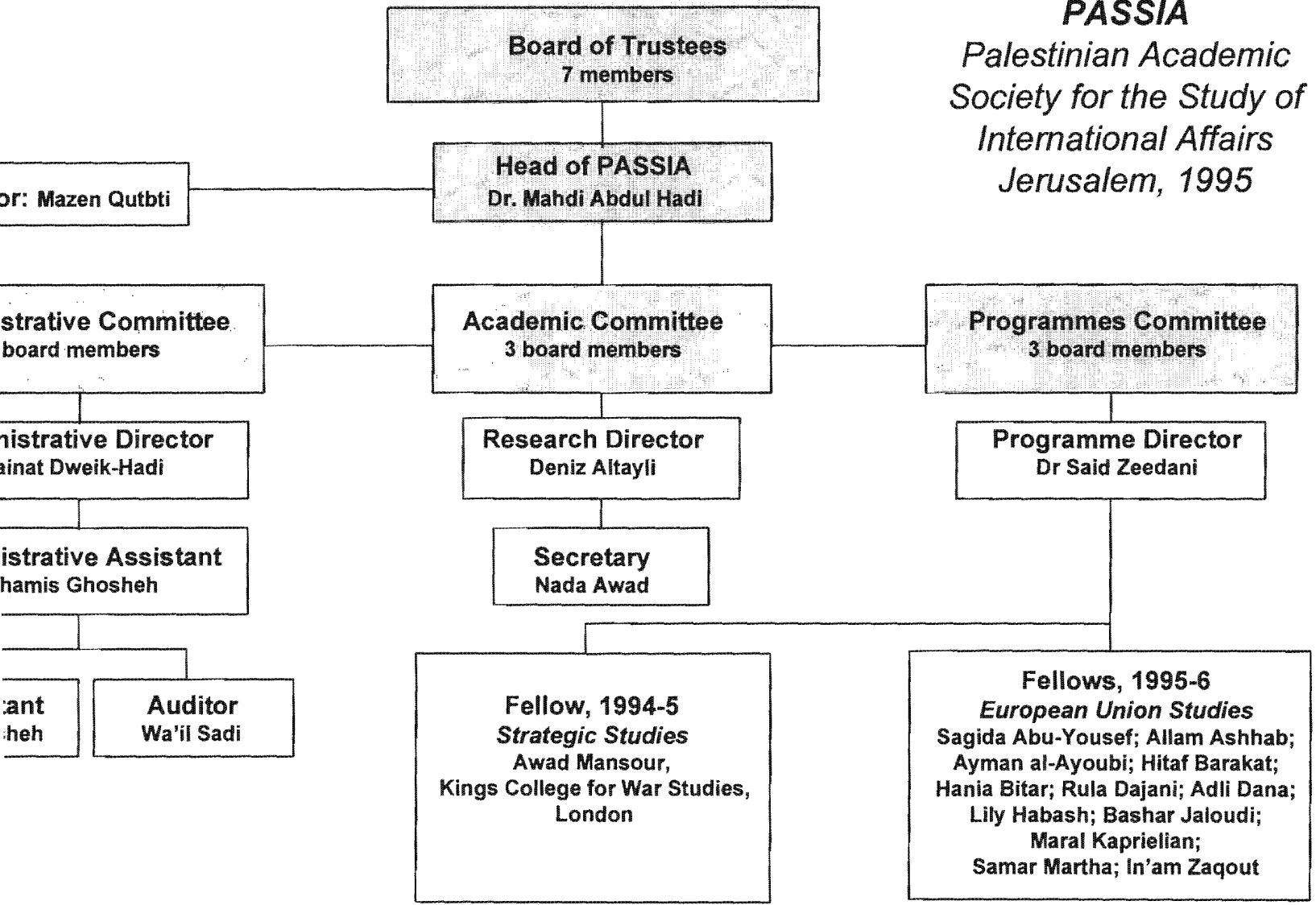
*Each year, PASSIA's Academic Committee prepares proposals for its projects, based on the policy guidelines of the Board of Trustees. PASSIA projects for 1995 and the financial support given towards each are listed below. PASSIA takes this opportunity to acknowledge with gratitude the contributions of the organisations and institutions mentioned.*

1. Research Studies Programme  
Supported by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Jerusalem.
2. PASSIA Meetings Programme  
Financed by income generated from local sales of PASSIA publications
3. Seminar and Fellowship Programme on International Affairs 1995-96  
Supported by the Ford Foundation, Cairo (seminar) and the European Commission DG I-H-2 (fellowship programme).
4. PASSIA Diary 1995  
Supported by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Jerusalem.
5. Joint Project 1995/6: Palestine-Jordan-Israel: Building a Base for Common Scholarship and Understanding in the New Era of the Middle East  
Supported by the Dialogue Fund, Canadian Embassy, Tel Aviv  
[Details about the project will appear in the 1996 Annual Report]
6. Programme on Jerusalem.  
Financed by income generated from local sales of PASSIA publications
7. Specialist periodicals and library archives  
Financed by income generated from local sales of PASSIA publications.



# PASSIA

*Palestinian Academic  
Society for the Study of  
International Affairs  
Jerusalem, 1995*



Since its establishment in 1987, PASSIA has been involved in a wide variety of projects and activities which has resulted in over 80 different publications which have served to enrich the Palestinian library in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. These publications cover a wide range of topics which contribute to international exchange and co-operation and often promote the discussion of controversial or rarely addressed subjects. They further enable the expression of a diverse range of perspectives and thus encourage the better understanding of different points of view.

The following list of PASSIA publications contains brief reviews of all books, monographs and reports edited between 1987-1995, which have appeared in either of the following separate categories: Research Study, Information Paper, Lecture/Workshop, Seminar Report, Translation, Annual Report, or PASSIA Diary.

## PASSIA ANNUAL REPORTS

*PASSIA Annual Report 1992 (English, Pp. 65)*

*PASSIA Annual Report 1993 (English, Pp. 108)*

*PASSIA Annual Report 1994 (English, Pp. 152)*

In 1992, PASSIA decided to 'go public' by publishing a review of PASSIA's work - the idea of which was prompted by the increasing local and international interest in PASSIA and by the recognition that PASSIA, in entering its seventh year had, in a sense, 'come of age'. Since then, the Annual Report is published every year, covering all activities undertaken by PASSIA in that year, including reviews of PASSIA publications, summaries of PASSIA meetings, lectures and seminars, and an outline of new and ongoing projects.

## PASSIA DIARIES (see also Chapter 5 of the Annual Report)

*Currently available: PASSIA Diary 1996 (English, Pp. 365)*

Each year since 1988, PASSIA publishes its Diary, which contains not only all the standard attributes of a diary (day by day planner, calendars, address and note space, important dates), but also a comprehensive directory listing the names and addresses of Palestinian and foreign institutions operating in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, such as *Academic and Research Centers, Associations and Unions, Diplomatic Missions, NGO's, Media, Human Rights Centers, Women's Organisations, Educational Institutes*, and organisations of the *Health, Economy and Services* sectors. Other chapters detail Palestinian history, geography, population, education, economy, the refugee issue, the Israeli occupation, settlements, water, the PLO/PA, and the question of Jerusalem, and contain historical chronologies, documents and resolutions related to the Palestinian question, and a collection of maps illustrating aspects and stages of the Palestine-Israel conflict.

## PASSIA PUBLICATIONS (in chronological order)

### Notes on Palestinian-Israeli Meetings in the Occupied Territories, 1967-87

Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi.

*June 1987 (English, Pp. 22, and Arabic, Pp. 17); 2nd edition May 1988; 3rd edition Febr. 1991.*

Documentation of meetings held between June 1967 and June 1987 between Palestinian: from the OPT and Israelis illustrating the changing nature of their discourse over the twenty year period. It discusses meetings of significance, the participants - Palestinians from different geographical areas, universities, municipal councils and religious and family

groups and Israeli military staff, government and political party officials, academics and media - and examines the general trends in these meetings. Points of agreement and disagreement are noted as are Palestinian and Israeli positions and the positive and negative results of these meetings.

### **Notes on Palestinian-German Seminar.**

*October 1987 (English, Pp. 9, and Arabic, Pp. 10)*

*Out of Print*

This pamphlet documents the first PASSIA Seminar held in October of 1987 on Palestinian-German relations. It discusses the timing of the seminar, the complications of the subject, and gives a summary of the papers and evaluation of the seminar.

### **The Federal Republic of Germany, the Palestinians and the Middle East.**

Dr. Helga Baumgarten.

*October 1987 (English, Pp. 35, and Arabic, Pp. 21)*

*Out of Print*

This paper was presented at the PASSIA Seminar on German-Palestinian relations and lays down a framework for analysis of German foreign policy in the 1980s. Background taken into consideration includes the history of the Third Reich, Adenauer's foreign policy in the 1950s-60s, the policies of the Social Democratic Party (1969-81) and the blending of German and EEC foreign policy. EEC decisions following the October War in 1973 and the oil crisis of the 1970s are also discussed.

### **Modern Arabic Literature Translated into German.**

Dr. Stephan Wield

*March 1988 (Arabic, Pp. 11)*

*Out of Print*

This lecture investigates the major issues facing the translation of modern Arabic novels, short stories, and poetry into German.

### **Swedish Foreign Policy and the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict.**

Beatrice Zeidler-Blomberg.

*April 1988 (English, Pp. 19, and Arabic, Pp. 10)*

*Out of Print*

This lecture provides a brief background of Sweden - history, demography, and geography - and then concentrates on Swedish foreign policy in the Middle East. Swedish perceptions of Israel and Palestine are considered as are Swedish government policies towards Israel and the PLO, including an analysis of the policy shifts of the 1980s.

### **Closing Down the Palestinian Information Office in Washington D.C.**

#### **- A Documentation File.**

Prepared by Maha Shehadeh and Basma al-Saman.

*June 1988. (Arabic, Pp. 47 + Pp. 11 of English documents)*

*Out of Print*

This file documents the US Government decision to close the PLO offices in Washington and the United Nations in 1987, the background of US-PLO relations and the principle motives behind the closure. The positions and points of view of various Palestinian, Arab, Israeli, American and world groups and individuals are included.

### **The Jordanian Disengagement: Causes and Effects.**

Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi.

*September 1988 (English Pp. 20, and Arabic, Pp. 28)*

*Out of Print*

The Jordanian disengagement provoked much discussion and this PASSIA lecture outlines the causes and effects of that move. In particular, it examines the procedures of the disengagement, Jordan's motives, Palestinian, Arab, Israeli and international factors, and the effects of the disengagement on the region. The relationship between Jordan and the PLO and the position of Israel confronted with the Palestinian option are also discussed.

### **Economic Aspects of the Intifada.**

Dr. Andrew Rigby.

*September 1988 (English, Pp. 28, and Arabic, Pp. 19)*

*Out of Print*

This study examines the nature of the economic struggle as one of the spheres of civilian-based resistance (*Intifada*) to the Israeli occupation. It deals with the subject of strikes,

### **"Nagorno Karabagh - Arstakn".**

Dr. Manuel S. Hassassian.

*December 1988 (English, Pp. 59, and Arabic, Pp. 38); 2nd edition January 1990*

As background to the subject, the author provides a critical overview of the historical evolution and origins of the Armenian question: the Armenian revolutionary movement, Armenian nationalists and the Young Turks, the Armenian genocide and exodus. Further discussed are the Soviet Republic of Armenia, the nationality problem in the USSR, the origins of boundary feuds, the question of the geographic enclave "Nagorno Karabagh", and the recent revival of the Karabagh issue.

### **Economic and Social Conditions During the Intifada.**

Dr. Hazem Shunnar.

*January 1989 (Arabic, p. 84.); 2nd edition May 1989.*

Written one year into the Intifada, this study details the economic and social circumstances of life in the OPT and their role in the politicisation and mobilisation of the people in their struggle against occupation. Issues addressed include the Israeli policy of "economic assimilation"; forms of Palestinian resistance; external factors; and the effect of the Intifada on the Palestinian national economy and socio-economic problems.

### **The Nation and the Homeland in the Islamic and Christian Thoughts in the Middle Ages.**

Dr. Ulrich Haarmann.

*April 1989 (Arabic, Pp. 18)*

A comparative reading of the understanding of the "nation" and the "homeland" in Christian Germany and Europe and the Islamic Arab East is the subject of this lecture. A further element concentrates on the terms used at this time - from the Latin and the ancient Egyptian - how they were explained by the intellectuals from the two areas, and the differences and similarities in the expressions and meanings. In bringing the issue up to the present, the lecturer discusses the modern national movements in Europe and the Arab world and the religious element in them.

### **Towards a Viable Islamic Economy: Conceptual Approaches in the Eighties in Retrospect.**

Dr. Dieter Weiss.

*May 1989 (English, Pp. 149, and Arabic, Pp. 11)*

In attempting to examine areas outside of traditional conceptions of economics, this lecture examines the vast discussion among Islamic authors about interest-free banking within a system of international banking following conventional roles, and an Islamic economic history which often circumvented the ban on interest, and provides models used in various countries.

### **The European Community and the International Conference for Peace in the Middle East.**

Dr. Nayef Abu-Khalaf.

*May 1989 (English, Pp. 56, and Arabic, Pp. 35)*

*Out of Print*

This study discusses the European Community, the development of the idea for an international peace conference on the Middle East and European Community efforts for convening such a conference.

### **Israeli Planning and House Demolishing Policy in the West Bank.**

Rasem M. Khameyseh.

*May 1989 (Arabic, Pp. 79); December 1989 (English, Pp. 82);*

This study discusses the Israeli planning policy in the occupied West Bank at the regional, district and local levels. It further examines the changes in this policy, the implementation of "Israeli Planning" and the impact of this policy on Palestinians in the West Bank by

considering house demolitions, the prevention of construction following the natural growth trend and the subsequent socio-economic transformations in Palestinian society. Well-documented, with 18 maps of proposed road networks, skeletal maps and settlement plans, this study is essential in illustrating the Israeli legal and administrative changes that were undertaken by the military authorities to facilitate the implementation of plans designed to minimize the Arab presence in the West Bank.

### **Nahaleen in the Intifada.**

Ziad Mahmoud Abu Saleh.

*June 1989 (Arabic, Pp. 156)*

This book documents the Israeli army attack on the village of Nahaleen, near Bethlehem, on April 13th, 1989, in which five people were killed. It includes eyewitness accounts, articles from the local press and world reaction to the events.

### **The Intifada: Causes and Factors of Continuity.**

Dr. Ziad Abu-Amr.

*June 1989 (English, Pp. 31, and Arabic, Pp. 43); 2nd edition June 1994.*

This study focuses on the first year and a half of the Intifada and examines the continuation of the uprising against the Israeli occupation. In disproving the Israeli claims that an external power was behind the Intifada, Abu-Amr discusses the root and immediate causes and catalysts for the outbreak of the uprising. He considers the organization of Palestinian society, the Unified National Leadership, the PLO, national figures and institutions, discovery of potential and mass creativity, the media and press, and finally reviews Israeli measures against the Intifada.

### **The Intifada: The Struggle Over Education.**

Dr. Andrew Rigby.

*July 1989 (English, Pp. 27, and Arabic, Pp. 21)*

*Out of Print*

Rigby, a lecturer in Peace Studies at the University of Bradford in England, discusses the struggle over education in the West Bank and Palestinian responses to Israeli attempts to "outlaw" all forms of educational activity in schools and universities in the West Bank.

### **Reflections on American-Palestinian Dialogue.**

Dr. William B. Quandt.

*August 1989 (English, Pp. 26, and Arabic, Pp. 28)*

This lecture, given in 1989 at a time when PLO-US dialogue had just begun, details the history of PLO-US relations under Carter and Reagan. Quandt also discusses the change in US policy and thinking and the reasons for this change analysing issues such as the Intifada, the Jordanian disengagement from the West Bank and US-Soviet relations.

### **The Intifada and the Arab Press.**

Ali Khalili.

*September 1989 (Arabic, Pp. 45)*

Journalist and editor Ali Khalili discusses the experience of the Palestinian press, their relations with the Israeli authorities, in particular the military censorship. He includes a discussion the Palestinian press' relations with each other and their attempts to deal with the reality of their situation. He further examines and their philosophy and methods of work, the role of the press and means of expression during the first years of the Intifada and the new expressions which became part of the journalistic language as a result of the Intifada.

### **Creating the Palestinian State - A Strategy for Peace.**

Dr. Jerome Segal (*PASSIA Translation into Arabic*).

*September 1989 (Arabic, Pp. 156)*

This book is a proposal for resolving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict based on the two-state solution. Segal directs his strategy proposal primarily towards the Palestinians and the PLO but takes into consideration that they operate within a network of constraints and influences and that whatever decisions they make are affected by the views and likely responses of other actors. Putting the creation of a Palestinian state - without obtaining international agreement - as a starting point and, at the same time, as the heart of the

### **Palestinian-Saudi Relations (1936-1939).**

Dr. Taysir Jbara.

*October 1989 (Arabic, Pp. 119)*

This study examines Palestinian-Saudi relations at a critical time in the history of the two countries. It discusses the Palestinian strike of 1936, the Palestinian cause and Saudi position after 1936 and events surrounding the London Roundtable Conference of 1939.

### **Islam in the Federal Republic of Germany.**

Dr. Rotraud Wojtowycsch-Wielandt.

*November 1989 (Arabic, Pp. 24)*

This lecture focuses on two different stages of Muslim immigration to Germany. The first stage was at the end of the 19th century as a result of the wars between Europe and the Ottomans. It examines issues of integration into Western society and retaining traditions and symbols of the home society. The second stage was after the World War II which witnessed a rise in the number of Muslims living in Germany for a number of reasons, both social and political. Many came to work, study, or as entrepreneurs. The author also discusses the relations that have developed between the Muslim immigrants on different levels with German society.

### **Studies in the Arabic Library.**

Dr. Mohammed Jawad Al-Nuri and Ali Khalil Hamad.

*January 1990 (Arabic, Pp. 429)*

This study discusses classical Arabic literature in depth, specifically focusing on an analysis of poetry, prose and translations from the pre-Islamic period and the first five centuries of Islam. In a thorough analysis of over 30 different pieces of literature, the authors provide exemplary text, background information on each piece and its author as well as its significance as a literary composition.

### **Palestine: Factionalism in the National Movement (1919-1939).**

Dr. Manuel S. Hassassian.

*February 1990 (English, Pp. 147)*

This study examines the internal struggle among leading Palestinian families for the attainment of power and leadership of the Arab national movement in Palestine. It discusses the rise of Zionism and Palestinian nationalism; the development of the *majlesiyoun's* (council members) leadership of Arab Palestine, and of the *mu'arada* (opposition) in the 1920's; the *mu'arada* and the *majlesiyoun* in the internal political struggle (1929-1932); and the role of the *mu'arada* in the major political crises of 1933-1939.

### **About the French Revolution and the Artist Jean Louis David.**

Karim Dabbah.

*February 1990 (Arabic, Pp. 24)*

The lecturer discusses the French Revolution, the storming of the Bastille Prison in 1798 in Paris, and the essential events of the revolution which took place under the slogans of freedom, brotherhood and equality. At the same time, the rise of a new artistic movement in French cultural life was part of the ideas and people of the revolution. Focusing on the French painter Jean Louis David and his work, the development of his style and subject matter of his paintings, the lecturer interprets the history, events and lives in Parisian society during the French Revolution.

### **Sayyid Qutb - The Emergence of the Islamicist 1939-1950.**

Dr. Adnan Musallam.

*April 1990 (English, Pp. 130)*

*Out of Print*

The intellectual career of Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966), an Egyptian poet, educator, journalist, literary critic and leading intellectual of the contemporary Islamic movement in Egypt

and the Arab world, is the subject of this study. By examining the stage in Qutb's life which has received the least amount of attention from writers, the author seeks to understand the transformation in Qutb's world-view (*Weltanschauung*) in the 1940s and to raise questions about the factors that led to the emergence of Qutb as an Islamicist in the late 1940s.

### **Najati Sidqi (1905-1979) - Life and Works.**

Ibrahim Mohammed Abu-Hashhash.

May 1990 (Arabic, Pp. 240)

Najati Sidqi was an outstanding figure in the literary culture of Palestine in the first half of the century. This study uses Sidqi's unpublished diaries to reveal the literary character of this author, translator and critic, providing a survey of the different aspects of his literary activities. The appendix contains classifications of Sidqi's published works, writings that were prepared for broadcasting purposes and some of his translations and short stories.

### **The Transfer of Soviet Jews to Israel During "Perestroika".**

Dr. Azmi Bishara.

June 1990 (Arabic, Pp. 35)

A general discussion of the immigration of Soviet Jews opens this lecture which delves into the issues of Soviet Jewish immigration and US-USSR relations, Soviet policies, Palestinians and aspects of the tie between the immigration and the Israeli economy.

### **Palestinians in Israel and the Intifada.**

Dr. Muhsen Yousef.

August 1990 (Arabic, Pp. 110)

This important study examines the situation of Palestinians in Israel and their participation in the Intifada. The first part of the book discusses the history and changes taking place in this population in terms of demographic, economic and educational developments as well as political parties and alliances. The participation of Palestinians in the Intifada is the subject of part two and is examined according to "legal" and "illegal" activities as seen from the Israeli perspective. Part three discusses the factors which limited the Intifada activities of Palestinians in Israel.

### **The Palestinian Component in Jordan's 1989 Parliamentary Elections.**

Schirin H. Fathi.

August 1990 (English, Pp. 36, and Arabic Pp. 27); 2nd edition August 1995.

This paper focuses on the Palestinian issue in Jordan's parliamentary elections, depicting the underlying facts that led to the decision to hold elections and their timing. The paper discusses the importance of the Palestinian issue as an integral component of the election process.

### **The Graffiti of the Intifada: A Brief Survey.**

Paul Steinberg and A.M. Oliver.

July 1990 (English, Pp. 56; Arabic, Pp. 16, with 19 black & white photographs)

2nd edition May 1994.

*Out of Print*

This informative paper examines the rarely addressed subject of graffiti and its pivotal role in communication during the Intifada. It analyzes different types of graffiti, interprets the use of different symbols and remarks on whether their intention was to warn, to convey political messages or to be simply commemorative.

### **Ghassan Kanafani: A Study of his Novels and Short Stories.**

Fayha Abdul Hadi.

August 1990 (Arabic, Pp. 247)

Ghassan Kanafani was an important Palestinian author, intellectual, and activist who was assassinated by the Israelis in Lebanon in 1972. This study discusses various dimensions of his literary production and career.

published in 1949, the book drew a dark picture of a dehumanizing totalitarian society. The decision to translate this piece of world literature into Arabic and thus, to make it available for Arabic readers, came due to its worldwide fame and the growing actuality of the future scenarios it suggests.

### **Jerusalem - the Effects of Israel's Annexation of Jerusalem on the Rights and Position of its Arab Population.**

Osama Halabi.

*September 1990 (Arabic, Pp. 99)*

This important research study by lawyer Osama Halabi covers a variety of aspects of Israel's annexation of Jerusalem, including its legality under international law and Israel's position in this regard. Other chapters include a well-documented discussion of the legal situation of Jerusalem residents after annexation, the effect of the annexation on the rights and duties of Arab Jerusalemites and the role of Jerusalem in the Intifada.

### **Germany: Information Paper.**

*December 1990 (English, Pp. 60); (Arabic, Pp. 68)*

This paper offers information about the history of Germany, events surrounding unification, the political parties and government, the states within Germany, issues such as the military, education, religion, tourism, economy and labour force. It also discusses specific issues such as relations between the FRG and the Middle East, its technical cooperation with the West Bank and Gaza, and German private voluntary organizations and other institutes in the OPT.

### **West Bank and Gaza Information Paper**

*December 1990 (English)*

*Out of Print*

This information paper describes historical, demographic, geographic, socio-economic, political and cultural facts about the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. It also includes statistical information and lucid commentary.

### **The Conflict over Jerusalem: Some Palestinian Responses to Concepts of Dispute Resolution.**

Cecilia Albin

*December 1990 (English, Pp. 40, and Arabic, Pp. 38); 2nd edition July 1992* *Out of Print*

Jerusalem's historical, religious and political significance to many peoples and three faiths as well as its own ethnic diversity, have made it a city fraught with a unique mixture of conflicts. This paper is the result of two lectures given at PASSIA during 1990. It examines claims and concerns regarding Jerusalem, analysis of the positions, interests, needs, strategies and options which arise when negotiating over Jerusalem as an indivisible entity.

### **German Unification and the European Unity.**

Dr. Wolf D. Gruner.

*January 1991 (English, Pp. 40, and Arabic, Pp. 27)*

This lecture concentrates on the problem of unifying Germany, Europe, the single European Market in 1992, and the implications of the process of European integration for Germany as a whole.

### **Palestinian Assessments of the Gulf War and its Aftermath.**

*April 1991 (English, Pp. 171), (Arabic, Pp. 178); 2nd edition June 1991* *Out of Print*

The Gulf War was a critical period in recent Palestinian history, and this essential book contains the papers delivered at a PASSIA conference on various dimensions of the war. The academic orientation of the articles is a critical self-examination as well as an objective assessment of the developments taking place in the region and the OPT. Articles are by Dr. Salim Tamari ("The Next Phase: Problems of Transition"); Dr. George Giacaman



("What Next for the Palestinians?"); Samir Huleileh ("The Gulf Crisis and the Palestinian Economy: New Tasks and Challenges"); Ibrahim Shaban ("The Legal Dimension: The Impact of the Gulf Crisis on the Palestinian Cause"); Dr. Helga Baumgarten ("The PLO's Political Program and the Gulf Crisis"); Dr. Bernard Sabella ("Post-Gulf War Prospects: Assessing the Positions"); and Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi ("Post Gulf-War Assessment: A Palestinian Perspective").

### **Introduction to Criminology - "A Sociological Study".**

Dr. Mahmoud Aqel.

*August 1991 (Arabic, Pp. 155)*

This study discusses criminology as a sociological discipline, the methods of research used in criminological studies, explanatory factors of criminal phenomenon, theories explaining criminal behavior as a product of society, other factors related to crime, and models of criminal behavior.

### **The Intifada: The Struggle between the Israeli Occupation and the Palestinians from the Perspective of Criminology.**

Dr. Suhail Hassanen.

*September 1991 (Arabic, Pp. 158)*

The author has a Ph.D. in criminology, an area of knowledge which is very effectively used to give this study a unique perspective on Israeli occupation policies and actions. The introduction provides background on the Intifada related to the study of criminology. Other chapters discuss the Intifada as portrayed by the dominant culture of the occupation, military law and the myth of security, the practices of the occupation and crime, the police and the Intifada in Jerusalem. The study examines the past, present and future, providing a concise assessment of criminological aspects in Palestinian society.

### **The Eighteenth of August Boris "Bonaparte"**

Dr. Azmi Bishara

*November 1991 (Arabic, Pp. 28)*

*Out of Print*

Bishara tries to illustrate how historic events may repeat themselves, comparing the attempted coup d'etat in the Soviet Union, which took place on 18 August 1991, with a similar stroke led by Bonaparte in the first half of the 19th century when the French bourgeoisie controlled the political authority. The failed coup d'etat in the SU was one of the rare historical events where a superpower faced a rebellion and where the whole political system fall apart. The paper covers the 1991 events in the SU, the rise of Boris Jeltzin to power, and the election on 12 June after the storm in Moscow. Also included is an outlook on the shaky future of the Perestroika. It is argued that the overthrow had not only failed because it lacked the backing of a personality like Trozki, but it was also too hasty to call that attempt a coup d'etat.

### **Ibrahim in the Torah, Bible and Qur'an.**

Dr. Abd El Sattar Kassim

*November 1991 (Arabic, Pp. 72); 2nd edition July 1994.*

The significance of the prophet Ibrahim as he appears in the Jewish, Christian and Muslim doctrines is the subject of this study. The author also discusses the political implications of these doctrines and how the concept of "the promised land" affects issues of history and nationality.

### **Israel on the Eve of an Election Year: Some Preliminary Reflections.**

Dr. Naomi Chazan

*November 1991 (English, Pp. 68)*

Prof. Naomi Chazan, chairperson of the Truman Research Institute at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, discussed the issues behind the 1992 Israeli elections, the parties and candidates preparations for elections, the issues and dynamics behind the preparations as well s trends and implications for the coming year. The discussion between Palestinians and Israelis which ensued following the lecture is also published in this book.

appearance of political Zionism, and Jerusalem under the British Mandate. In the modern context, it discusses US policy towards Jerusalem before 1948; official American and United Nations policy towards Jerusalem between 1948 and 1950; the US, Arab and Israeli positions toward Jerusalem; Israeli settlements; and the Jerusalem policies of US presidents Reagan and Bush.

### **Jerusalem and United Nations Resolutions.**

*December 1991 (English, Pp. 46)*

This paper deals with UN policy towards Jerusalem. It lists, discusses and historically reviews all UN resolutions on Jerusalem, starting with Resolution 181 of 1948 (on partition) up to the Security Council Reaction to the Massacre at Al-Haram al-Sharif on October 8, 1990. The book concludes that no significant action has been taken to implement these policies and to change the present status of Jerusalem according to international resolutions.

### **Palestinian Reflections and Opinions.**

Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi, Dr. Mohammed Jadallah, Dr. Riad al-Malki.

*March 1992 (Arabic, Pp. 92)*

This compilation of articles by three leading Palestinian figures, was first published in Al-Fajr (Jerusalem) in January, February and March 1992, under the title "Palestinian Reflections and Opinions". The authors took turns each week expressing their points of view in articles under the following titles: "Between the 'Bilaterals' in Washington and the 'Multilaterals' in Moscow"; "Moscow: What Next?"; "Municipal Councils & Elections", "Development in What Direction?"; "Democracy and the Palestinians"; "The Washington Negotiations - the Fourth Round".

### **Conflict Resolutions: Assumptions Behind the Approach.**

J. Kristen Urban.

*October 1992 (English, Pp. 32)*

This paper examines some of the assumptions of the "contingency theory" approach to conflict resolution as it has framed the various attempts at peace negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis. The discussion in this essay focuses on problematical issues deriving from the general approach to conflict resolution.

### **The Palestinian Islamic Movement and the New World Order.**

Dr. Iyad al-Barghouthi

*December 1992 (Arabic, Pp. 166)*

*Out of Print*

This study examines current Islamic movements in the OPT, most notably the Muslim Brotherhood, the Islamic Liberation Party and the Islamic Jihad. Their current activities, positions and relations with other organisations are considered and specific chapters discuss the New World Order, the Gulf Crisis and the Islamic movements' reactions to these issues. The position and relations of the Palestinian Islamists toward the Islamic world in general and the Middle East peace negotiations are also discussed.

### **Ein Beit el-Ma' Refugee Camp: A Sociological Study.**

Dr. Mahmoud Aqel.

*December 1992 (Arabic, Pp. 124)*

Ein Beit el-Ma', a refugee camp near Nablus, is the site of this case study on Palestinian refugees. The author details life in the Ein Beit el-Ma' refugee camp covering issues such as population and housing, education, health care, water, electricity and sewage, economic and professional status and the impact of the Intifada. The reasons for and results of the Palestinian exodus in 1948 from historic Palestine are included in a review of relevant literature on refugees.

### **Emerging Trends in Palestinian Strategic Thinking and Practice.**

Dr. Ziad Abu-Amr.

*December 1992 (English, Pp. 48, and Arabic, Pp. 32)*

Focusing on recent changes in political thinking and practice in the OPT, this research study proposes and analyses seven principle trends: from ideological purity to pragmatism; from violent to non-violent forms of struggle; the growing prominence of Islam among political forces; the diminishing status of the PLO; the relative empowerment of the local political leadership; the revival of Jordan's political role; and a retreat from broader social change.

### **Progress and Retrogression in Arab Democratisation.**

Larbi Sadiki.

*December 1992 (English, Pp. 47)*

This paper surveys progress made in Arab democratization and setbacks which have occurred through retrogression. It discusses Arab political liberalization, patterns and forms of retrogression and practical manifestations of this in Arab political life.

### **Half the People: Women, History and the Palestinian Intifada.**

Maria Holt.

*December 1992. (English, Pp. 84)*

*Out of Print*

This study provides an historical overview of women in Palestinian society and an analysis of the experience of women as related to the Intifada. It illustrates how women both benefitted and were profoundly disadvantaged by the events over the past few years. Chapter titles include "Women and the Intifada"; "Formal Organization"; "Women and Democracy"; "Paradoxes and Contradictions"; "Opportunities: Women and Work"; "Effects of Islamic Resurgence"; "Palestinian Women Detainees"; "Conflicting Israeli Influences"; and "Women, Culture and Identity".

### **PASSIA Seminar: Diplomacy and Protocol.**

*December 1992 (English, Pp. 117)*

The first report on a PASSIA *Training and Education in International Affairs* seminar covers the seminar preparation period, summaries of the lectures, the writing assignments, a project assessment and notes on lecturers and participants.

### **The Conservation of Jerusalem.**

Khaled A. Khatib.

*June 1993 (English, Pp. 142)*

This study, unlike the vast majority of books on Jerusalem, focuses not only on the conservation of the important religious monuments in the Muslim Quarter, but also on the living conditions and problems experienced by those living in that most neglected area of the Old City. Chapters deal with social structure and geography, undesirable features of residence; maintenance and restoration work. A case study of the Chain Gate Road and a look at the future possibilities for improvement are also included and contribute to making this a seminal Palestinian work.

### **The Law of the Land: Settlements and Land Issues under Israeli Military Occupation.**

Raja Shehadeh.

*July 1993 (English, Pp. 135)*

This book is an essential collection of essays written by lawyer Raja Shehadeh between 1979 and 1992. The essays are arranged under the following titles, all of which relate to Israeli land policies and practices in the OPT: "The Land Law of Palestine: An Analysis of the Definition of State Lands"; "The Legal System of the Israeli Settlements in the West Bank"; "The Changing Juridical Status of Palestinian Areas under Occupation"; "Restrictions on the Use of Land by Palestinians"; "The Operation of De Facto Annexation"; "The Legislative Stages of the Israeli Military Occupation"; and "Burning the Land Records: Unofficial Illegality".

staggering amount of historical, demographic, geographic, socio-economic, political and cultural facts about the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. It also includes up-to-date statistical information, maps and lucid commentary.

### **The Australian Press and Palestine.**

Dr. Henk Overberg.

*July 1993 (English, Pp. 26)*

Australian perceptions of the Palestine issue are the basis for this paper which discusses how the Australian press perceived such issues as institutionalized Israeli responses to the Intifada, the polarization of Israeli polity, Israeli intransigence versus Arab moderation and restricted media access.

### **PASSIA Seminar: Strategic Studies.**

*July 1993 (English, Pp. 112)*

Strategic Studies was the subject addressed in PASSIA's second seminar to train Palestinian graduates in the field of international affairs. The report contains the proceedings of the seminar including summaries of all lectures. The appendices document the course material, assignments and notes on the visiting lecturers and participants.

### **The Jerusalem Arab Municipality.**

Osama Halabi.

*December 1993 (Arabic, Pp. 95)*

This study by lawyer Osama Halabi offers a comprehensive historical picture on the role of the Jerusalem Arab Municipality from its foundation in 1863 until the Israeli Likud party victory in the 1993 elections. The author discusses laws and precedents, clarifying the authority, duties and responsibilities of the Municipality in the Ottoman period and under the British Mandate and reviews council appointments, elections and compositions. Halabi then examines the implications of a divided city (1948-1967) in the light of international law, with regard to the debate on the internationalization of Jerusalem, and in terms of two municipalities, before turning to the Israeli occupation of East Jerusalem in 1967 and the ultimate dissolution of the Jerusalem Arab Municipality. Halabi discusses the loss of land and property, arrests campaigns, Israeli efforts to make Palestinians leave the city, and the work of Teddy Kollek, mayor of West Jerusalem. Finally, Halabi reviews the subject of re-establishing the Arab Municipality and discusses the current issue of Jerusalem, on the bases of current Palestinian thinking and planning about the future of the city, and on suggestions and discussions from the Technical Committees on Jerusalem as and PASSIA meetings as well as various initiatives by Palestinian personalities.

### **The Palestinian Economy - A Bibliography.**

*April 1994 (English, Pp. 220, with Arabic entries translated and transliterated).*

*Out of Print*

This book, which contains more than 1,630 entries related to every aspect of Palestinian economic affairs, is the result of a PASSIA project conducted in 1993/94. Given the contents of the Declaration of Principles and recent developments in the region, a knowledge of economic issues and concerns is becoming increasingly important and a comprehensive listing of relevant information has not before been widely available. This bibliography is an extensive collection of local and international books, journal articles, conference proceedings and working papers covering every aspect of Palestinian economical life. Just a few of the categories included are economic development; agriculture; industry and industrialization; construction and housing; finances and banking; trade, economic relations and regional cooperation; settlement; education, training and human resources. Anyone needing information on the economic aspects, or their effect, on any area of Palestinian life will find this bibliography indispensable.

## **Palestinian Refugees.**

Najeh Jarrar.

May 1994 (Arabic, Pp. 128)

Opening with a historical description of refugees in the 20th century and of United Nations efforts and institutions for their protection, this study places the Palestinian refugee situation in a world context. It then focuses on Palestinian refugees and the international and local causes of their particular crisis, detailing the viewpoints of Palestinians, Israelis and international law toward them. A case study of the living conditions in refugee camps, the ties of residents to their original homes, their economic situation, political orientation and its effect on the peace process, is addressed in some detail. The study concludes with an examination of various projects, both contemporary and historic, to solve the Palestinian refugee problem and provides a vision of the future for Palestinian refugees in light of recent political changes.

## **Dutch Development Policy Towards the Middle East.**

Tom de Quaasteniët.

May 1994 (English, Pp. 62, and Arabic, Pp. 65)

Tom de Quaasteniët, of Middle East Research Associates in Amsterdam, gives a concise history and critique of Dutch governmental policy regarding development aid to the Middle East. He highlights discrepancies between official criteria for aid allocation and the actual practice of it and devotes a large proportion of the study to investigating the attitude of the Dutch government to the Occupied Territories. Dutch reluctance to become involved with the issue is shown to have slowly become more positive and the author expresses hope that this trend will continue in the future. The study makes use of a variety of tables to support its findings and gives a good overall picture of the intricacies and contradictions of development policy and development aid.

## **From Religious Salvation to Political Transformation: The Rise of Hamas in Palestinian Society.**

Dr. Hisham H. Ahmed.

May 1994 (English, Pp. 172)

*Out of Print*

This study provides a detailed investigation of the factors which led to the birth and growth of the Islamic Resistance Movement - Hamas. In addition to covering historical, social and economic components, it also takes into account the wider regional and global influences on the emergence of the Hamas movement. Making extensive use of some fascinating interviews with a variety of Hamas members and activists, the author illustrates the political program of the movement and its relationship to other forces within the Palestinian political arena as well as to Israel, Arab states and the international community. An investigation of recent events in the region and the subsequent reaction from Hamas leaders suggests possible directions that the Hamas movement may take in the future and the effect of this on Palestinian political life. Included is the full text of the covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement.

## **Democracy, Constitutionalism and the Future State of Palestine (With a Case Study on Women's Rights)**

Adrien K. Wing.

July 1994 (English, Pp. 84)

This study deals with the factors which affect democratization and need to be considered when formulating a Palestinian Basic Law to function as interim constitution. Issues discussed include pluralism, factionalism, the attitudes of the "Intifada" generation, the difficulties in the transition from underground movements to open democratic activities, the hierarchical society with its family and group loyalties. The study also examines prospects for the new Palestinian self-government, the institution-building process and implications for the implementation and enforcement of new laws. The final chapter is devoted to a case study of constitutional and human rights, focusing on women and their status within society.

This paper addresses questions of legislation and the relationship between lawyers, judges and their organisations in the current transitional phase. It examines how the Palestinian legal structure will look throughout this time and what form it will take under a final arrangement. Particularly investigated is the manner in which the Palestinian judicial system is likely to evolve, considering the influences of preceding legislators such as the Ottomans, the British, the Jordanians, the Egyptians and the Israelis. Other legal issues are also discussed and related to the process of democratization in Palestinian society.

### **Elections and the Palestinian Political System.**

Ali al-Jirbawi.

*September 1994 (Arabic, Pp. 44)*

This study shows the importance of elections and the presence of the Palestinian Authority (PA) on part of the homeland. The author suggests that the PA should develop its presence and its institutions towards the Palestinian objectives, the ultimate goal of which is a Palestinian state, and discusses the difficulties that will arise from turning the transitional PA into a permanent one. The different secular and religious factions and their differing interests in and reactions to the elections are also examined. The demographic reality of the Palestinians is addressed - one third being in the homeland while the rest is in the diaspora - as are the different laws by which these Palestinians are governed. In the final chapter, the author puts forward his own ideas on a future political system and the elected council which should govern it.

### **The West Bank and the Gaza Strip: Future Political and Administrative Links.**

Dr. Khalil Shikaki.

*October 1994 (Arabic, Pp. 161)*

This study looks at the different histories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and the consequent divisions that this has caused between the two regions. The need for dealing with these divisions in the transitional phase is emphasised and several options for the future linkage of the two areas are offered. The paper addresses how federal relationship in the OPT can ensure their integrity and safety as a single unit and how the two areas may be represented in national bodies. Considerable attention is also given to the limitations regarding the transitional phase which are inherent in the DoP and which will hinder attempts at securing cohesion between the two areas.

### **Palestinian Education - The Future Challenge**

Dr. Andrew Rigby.

*March 1995 (English, Pp. 53, and Arabic Pp. 57)*

This study is a useful sketch of the Palestinian education system. It examines the impact of the Intifada on schools, teachers and students and attempts to assess the likelihood of this system succeeding in teaching the civic virtues necessary to democracy. The author identifies several areas which the Palestinian Authority must address: overcrowding is rife while resources and materials are inadequate and outdated; the Israeli-censored Jordanian and Egyptian curricula must be replaced by a Palestinian one; the quality of teaching staff must be improved, requiring special training; libraries and laboratories are scarce; and there is a lack of remedial learning programmes for children who missed large amounts of study due to the Intifada or who are disabled. The author concludes that the education system within the emergent Palestinian entity can be expected to develop a democratic-pluralistic system and culture.

### **Jerusalem Women's Organizations During the British Mandate, 1920s-1930s.**

Ellen Fleischmann

*March 1995 (English, Pp. 49, and Arabic, Pp. 49)*

This paper demonstrates the choice of women living in a society threatened by an alien culture to define themselves as nationalists rather than as feminists. Based on the Arab

press of the day, British government documents, interviews, memoirs and pamphlets, the author shows that the civil sector under the British Mandate opened employment opportunities for educated women, who mainly came from the upper class, and then began to emerge into public life, working, volunteering, and becoming politically active. The paper describes the background, emergence and political activities of the Palestinian women's organisation during this time, concluding that these women activists were neither feminists nor suffragists but were fiercely nationalistic, struggling for the survival of Palestinian society threatened by Zionism.

### **Jerusalem: The Palestinian Dynamics of Resistance and Urban Change, 1967-94.**

Anne Latendresse.

*April 1995 (English, Pp. 61, and Arabic, Pp. 64)*

Against the background of theories of urban movements, transformation of cities by their inhabitants and local development, the author discusses the role of the Palestinian community in determining the structure of Jerusalem since 1967. The paper examines Palestinian efforts to survive as a distinct society and their strategies of resistance to Israeli attempts to "Judaize" the city. It concludes that Palestinian priorities were inadequately defined and conceived with regard to Jerusalem and that the Palestinian leadership must develop a unified strategy to counteract Israeli measures and actions in the city.

### **The Israeli Disengagement Plan 1995.**

Jawad Ja'abari.

*July 1995 (Arabic, Pp. 188)*

This paper attempts to shed light on Israeli aims to partition the West Bank between Palestinian inhabitants and Jewish settlements and describes the unilateral separation as advocated by the late Yitzhak Rabin. The disengagement plan is analysed historically (as envisaged by Israeli generals) and as reflected in the contemporary Hebrew press. The author also discusses the issue of redrawing boundaries, security aspects and likely effects on the economy of both entities.

### **The Israeli Economy: Structure and Transformation, 1985-1995.**

Jamil Hilal.

*August 1995 (Arabic, Pp. 135)*

Hilal outlines the basic aspects, infrastructure and the evolution of the Israeli economy against the background of the relation between the Israeli state and the society, the militarization of the Israeli economy and strategic-economic relations with the US. The paper also discusses the likely effects of the end of the Arab boycott on the Israeli economy as well as the interplay of political stability and economic development in the region. Economic prospects, investment opportunities and needed economic reforms are also examined.

### **One Year Into Self-Government: Perceptions of the Palestinian Political Elite.**

Helena Lindholm-Schulz

*September 1995 (English, Pp. 118)*

This study is the product of interviews with prominent Palestinian activists conducted during 1994 and 1995. The author aims at evaluating and comparing the differing attitudes of the nationalists mainstream, the secular opposition, the Islamic movements, and the camp of the independents and reformists towards the Oslo and Cairo Agreements. Analysed are the level of acceptance of the agreements among these groups, their assessment of the PA's performance, their opinion about Israeli intentions. The findings illustrate the dilemma of contemporary Palestinian nationalism: the need to achieve a balance between the outcome of the agreements, the leftists and the Islamists' claims, and the demands of the civil society for participation and democratisation.

This comparative study of the regulation of NGOs in Egypt and Palestine is based on the thesis that the way in which the PNA deals with the NGOs now indicates the underlying philosophy of the coming regime. Sullivan demonstrates that in both the Egyptian and Palestinian cases, the political authorities seem more keen to regulate NGO activities than to support their efforts to develop civil society and the economy. The process of the formulation of the PA draft law on NGO legislation is outlined, as is the reaction and protest campaign of the NGO community against this law (both documented in the appendix). The paper also includes an analysis of the Egyptian Law of Association and a comprehensive bibliography.

### **Jerusalem - Religious Aspects.**

Dr. Sari Nuseibeh, Dr. Bernard Sabella, Dr. Yitzhak Reiter; - *introduction by Dr. Mahdi Abdul Hadi.*

*December 1995 (English, Pp. 68, and Arabic, Pp. 89)*

This book contains four papers originally presented at a symposium on religious aspects of the question of Jerusalem (Milan, 1994). The first paper, by Sari Nuseibeh, deals with Jerusalem's significance to Islam in the past and present, while his second paper attempts to describe the political future of the city and what a final solution will have to entail, including development needs and boundaries. Bernard Sabella's paper deals with the issue of Jerusalem from a Christian point of view, including Christian population, emigration, customs, rites and relation with Muslims. Yitzhak Reiter outlines a personal view on the city's historical and national significance for Jews. He stresses the centrality of the issue to the Jewish people with reference to Biblical, Talmudic and Midrash sources. All papers all include suggestions on what a future solution will have to entail and present encouraging evidence that inter-faith and Palestinian-Israeli dialogue can take place on the issue of Jerusalem.