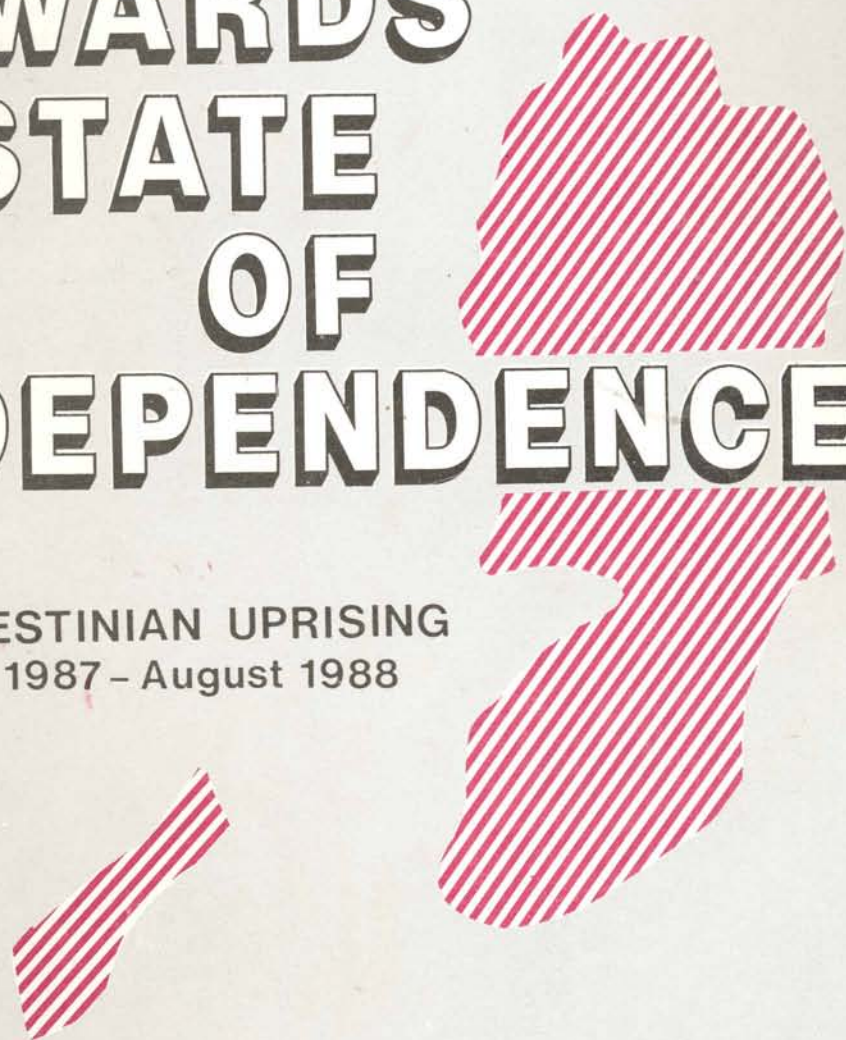


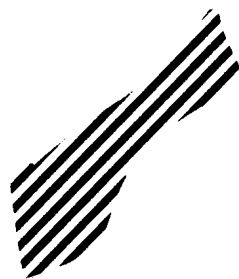
TOWARDS A STATE OF INDEPENDENCE

THE PALESTINIAN UPRISING
December 1987 - August 1988



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FACTS Information Committee
Jerusalem

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FACTS Information Committee
Jerusalem
September 1988

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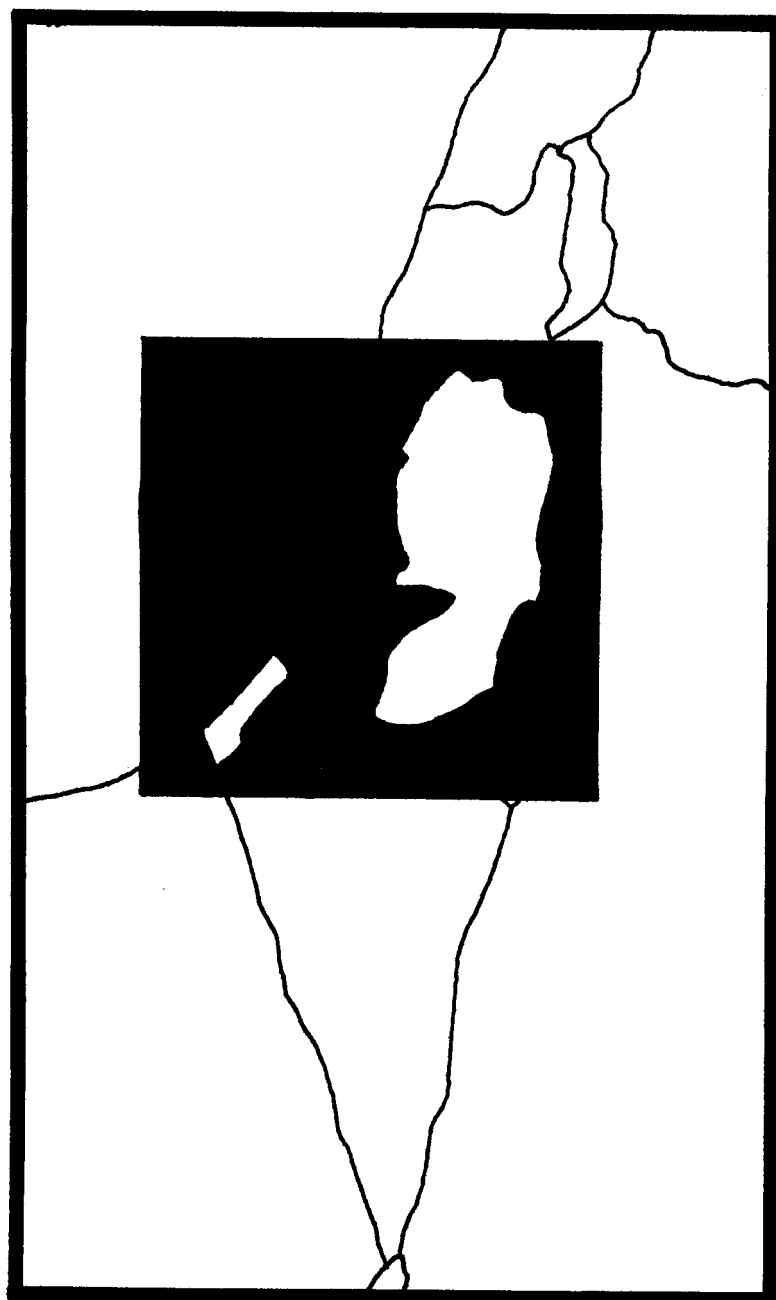
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FOREWORD

Since January 1988 the FACTS Information Committee has been working to communicate the realities of life during the Palestinian uprising to the outside world. While journalists have drawn the world's attention to the succession of Israeli atrocities, the voice of the Palestinian people under occupation has received minor coverage. While much sympathy for the sufferings of Palestinians was provoked by the spectacular television footage, the uprising remained without a face.

The media coverage helped to change the world's view of Israel by showing the army's brutality, while the Palestinian cause won a new legitimacy, but there was much more to the uprising than the violence. Political analysis of the uprising tended to be relatively superficial, while the various non-violent forms of protest and organization were, initially, all but ignored. The communities were highly disciplined and organized, developing a wide range of tactics in their struggle for a political solution, yet this facet of the uprising received little attention.

Political distortions and simplifications abounded in media coverage: the PLO was presented as something outside the occupied territories, different from the people of the uprising and while the US "peace initiative" was given center stage, the Palestinian peace movement was either dismissed or given a passing reference.

The Committee has attempted to offer a local, Palestinian perspective on the uprising by publishing weekly reviews of current developments. In addition to documenting the repression of the Israeli authorities, we have tried to present the other face of the movement. Non-violent forms of protest, including strikes, tax boycotts, Israeli product boycotts and the local production movement, have all played a central role in the development of the struggle, while the process of community-based organization - the popular movement - has created a nationwide network of committees without which the uprising could not have been sustained. One field of popular organization has been the creation of a network of popular information committees, to which the FACTS Information Committee belongs.

Important political developments within the Palestinian National Movement have

also occurred which, until recently, went relatively unnoticed on the international stage.

"Towards a State of Independence" is a collection of articles which were published by the Committee between January and August 1988.

Chapter 1, The Uprising, is a review which was published in April. The article offers an overview of the factors which led to the uprising, and reviews its development over the first four months.

Chapter 2, Rebellion, is a collection of articles which describe the forms of protest which have been adopted within the framework of the popular committees. The "diaries" of resistance" take the reader through the uprising as it has developed in individual communities. The diaries document the dramatic impact which the last 8 months have had in the West Bank and Gaza: the fearless and heroic spirit which has fuelled the rebellion is best seen in these diaries, where communities describe the struggle as they have experienced it. The communiques of the uprising introduce the reader to the declarations of the local Unified National Leadership: the close adherence of the people to the directives in these communiques has been crucial in developing the tactics of the struggle while maintaining the unity of the movement. Demonstrations are also documented, to show the continuing vast scale of protest, which has been sustained throughout the period despite repeated Israeli claims that things were quietening down. Sections are also devoted to the merchants' struggle and the resignations from the Israeli "Civil Administration", two essential components of the uprising's tactics.

Chapter 3, Repression, documents the range and scale of measures which the Israeli authorities have unleashed against the Palestinians in an attempt to deter the protest. Specific sections are devoted to martyrs, army and settler violence, curfews, prisons and economic sanctions. Accounts from those on the receiving end of these measures show clearly that they have served, not to deter, but rather to deepen the will to continue resistance.

Finally chapter 4, Resolution? is a collection of reviews of political developments which have accompanied the uprising. These developments have been watched with great interest by the Palestinians in the occupied territories. The Palestinians are calling for a political solution to the Palestine/Israel conflict, and the uprising has led to changes in the international political arena which have brought this goal closer than ever before.

The collective Palestinian will is now focussed on the achievement of an independent state. This collection is offered as a contribution to that struggle.

1. THE UPRISING

THE UPRISING ORIGINS AND DIRECTIONS

On 9th December, following a car accident in the Gaza Strip in which four Palestinians were killed, a period of sustained popular protest began which has become known as the uprising. The causes of this movement cannot be found in the individual events which preceded the accident. Neither is the uprising simply a "spontaneous" expression of frustration with military occupation. The uprising can only be explained within the context of twenty years of political struggle between Israel and the Palestinians.

During this period Israel has attempted to consolidate the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, while exploiting its human and material resources for its own economic purposes. In opposition, the Palestinian national movement has been working to bring the occupation to an end. It is the dynamics of the conflict between these two opposing movements which have led to the current uprising, which represents a distinctive new phase in the struggle for an independent state.

Israeli Policy Towards the West Bank and Gaza

Israeli policies and practices since 1967 have aimed at affecting all aspects of life in the occupied territories; through controlling the political, economic, and social institutions, the occupation has sought to force the Palestinians into submission and to make them accept the status quo of military rule.

Israel has sought to reap the greatest possible economic benefit from the occupation, through a variety of legal and administrative measures instituted for that purpose.

The aggressive Israeli policy of land expropriation carried out over the past twenty years has resulted in the loss of 52% and 42% of the land in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip respectively. Land has been confiscated both for "security reasons" and for the construction of Israeli settlements, which have proliferated throughout the years of occupation.

Israeli control over water resources has also progressed rapidly, and has been a major cornerstone of the policy of control over the land. Legislation enacted by the Israelis stipulates that the amount of water allowed for Palestinian use should not exceed 90 to 100 million cubic meters annually until the year 2010. This means that Palestinians must maintain their water usage at the present level over the next two decades, while the Israeli settlers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip will be granted a 100% increase in the amount of water they can use during the 1980s.

The Palestinian economy as a whole has been subject to a systematic policy of destruction. In addition to the appropriation of vital land and water resources, the Israelis have weakened the ability of Palestinian agricultural produce to compete with Israeli produce in the captive market which has been created since 1967. To this end, Israel has imposed production quotas on Palestinian farmers, and has systematically denied them the subsidies it provides to Israeli producers.

Palestinian industry and commerce are similarly restricted. Industrial enterprises are denied subsidies, and the granting of import licenses is almost exclusively restricted to Israelis. The granting of licenses to establish productive enterprises is subject to many restrictions; in Gaza, where citrus products comprise 70% of exports, Palestinians planning to establish a fruit canning plant were denied a permit to do so.

The exploitation of Palestinian laborers working in Israeli enterprises is the most vivid example of the colonial situation created since 1967. The low wages paid to Palestinian workers and the fact that they do not enjoy the social benefits provided to Israeli workers have made them into a source of great profit to the Israeli economy. Palestinian workers are paid less than Israelis for doing the same job, while provident fund and social security contributions are deducted from their salaries without being returned upon retirement.

The Israelis also reap enormous benefits from the various kinds of taxes and duties levied on Palestinians in the occupied territories. Figures for 1986 indicate that \$150 million were channelled into the Israeli treasury from taxes and customs duties alone. Another \$250 million were raised from water fees, and an estimated \$470 million from tourism.

It is clear from the above that the occupation is a highly profitable enterprise for the Israelis.

The profits enjoyed by the Israeli occupation authorities are made possible by the minimization of expenditure for services rendered to the population of the occupied territories. The health sector is symptomatic of this willful neglect. Indices of unequal health services include the number of hospital beds, the per capita expenditure on health care, and the number of physicians per person. The West Bank and Gaza Strip have one tenth of the number of hospital beds per person available in Israel, while the per capita government expenditure on health is

8% of that spent in Israel. The ratio of physicians to population is one to 1000 as compared to 29 to 1000 in Israel. The latter statistic is particularly telling in view of the 320 unemployed doctors in the West Bank and Gaza Strip who are unable to find work in the underdeveloped public health sector.

The low level of expenditure in other areas of Palestinian life is also well documented. Public education, social welfare services, and municipal public works are examples of sectors kept underdeveloped by the Israeli occupation authorities.

Measures Taken Against the Palestinians since 1982

	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Political killings	53	9	10	13	21	28
Deportations	0	1	4	30	11	8
Administrative detentions	0	0	0	129	39	143
House demolitions and sealings	18	22	3	51	77	109

(Source: MERIP no. 150, Jan/Feb 1988)

These Israeli policies have been met over the past twenty years by sustained Palestinian resistance in many forms. Resistance, in turn, has been met by harsh measures. The record of Israeli repression of the Palestinian people under occupation is long and varied. It includes acts of collective and individual punishment such as destruction of homes and property, imposition of curfews on whole communities, forced closure of institutions and enterprises, the killing of hundreds of people, deportation of thousands of individuals, and the arbitrary arrest and detention of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians. The table above summarizes some of these measures taken against Palestinians since 1982.

Palestinian Resistance to Occupation

Palestinian resistance in the occupied territories has not been restricted to fighting Israeli policies forced upon the population. It has also developed in response to political and diplomatic activities viewed by the Palestinians as detrimental to and often aimed at suppressing their national aspirations. The most prominent of these struggles was waged in 1976 when the Israeli authorities tried, unsuccessfully, to put forth a "new leadership" through the holding of municipal elections. They hoped that the new "leadership" would accept the autonomy scheme subsumed under the rubric of the "Civil Administration", and that the demands for national sovereignty could be finally thwarted.

The Palestinian uprising of 1976 responded to these designs by electing nationalist figures into office. The elections were viewed as a popular referendum

which dealt a decisive blow to the "Civil Administration" scheme designed to deprive Palestinians of national independence.

The uprising of 1979/80 was also directed against political efforts to stifle Palestinian demands for self-determination. Like the "Civil Administration" scheme, the Camp David accords negotiated by Anwar Sadat in Jerusalem and Washington were also designed to limit Palestinian authority to administrative matters, while keeping military and security affairs in the hands of Israel. Palestinian resistance to the Camp David version of autonomy was widespread: the clear demands of that time were the right to self-determination, the establishment of an independent state in the West Bank and Gaza, and the recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The Palestinian national movement also took a prominent role in pressing for the abrogation of the Jordanian-Palestinian accords which did not satisfy Palestinian demands for self-determination and statehood. The confederation with Jordan envisioned in these agreements also relegated the PLO to a peripheral role and denied it its status as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians. The Palestinian national movement in the occupied territories has developed and matured over the past twenty years and has consolidated a broad consensus on clear and realistic objectives for the Palestinians in the occupied territories and the diaspora. These objectives are national independence through the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip under the leadership of the PLO, and the right of return for Palestinian refugees to their homeland. The movement has also developed a strong social foundation of grass-roots organization, and has thus been able to foil Israeli and Jordanian attempts to create an alternative leadership in the form of the Village Leagues or pro-Jordanian personalities such as Elias Freij and Rashad al-Shawwa. These attempts failed largely due to the fact that these groups and personalities lacked a genuine social base, and were therefore unable to attract a mass following.

The Uprising

The December uprising in the occupied territories can only be understood within this historical context of increasing political maturity and organization at the mass level. The current uprising thus represents one phase in the history of the Palestinian national movement. Nevertheless, it is unique in its wide scope and intensity, in the clarity of its political content, and in the unity and maturity of its leadership.

In terms of the scope and intensity of the confrontations between the Palestinians and the Israeli occupier, it is striking that in its first 100 days the uprising witnessed a daily average of one martyr, about 25 wounded, and 40 arrested. In addition, the confrontations have taken place in all sectors of Palestinian society, in cities, towns, villages, and refugee camps, and have involved individuals of all ages and social backgrounds. The demonstrations have also taken

unprecedented proportions: those with over 1000 participants have been frequent, especially in heavily populated areas.

The Israeli response to this unprecedented uprising has been to take unprecedented measures to suppress it. Curfews of long duration have been imposed upon many areas; at one time in February, 25 communities in the Nablus area were placed under curfew, depriving over 135,000 persons of freedom of movement and means of earning their livelihood. The Nablus area curfew lasted 13 days.

The intensity of the confrontations led to a brutal policy of breaking limbs, introduced and justified by the Defense Minister himself. Thousands of Palestinian men, women, and children can testify to the wholesale assault on their persons.

Palestinians have responded collectively by breaking curfew orders, and by determining for their own communities the hours during which they conduct their commercial affairs. The commercial strikes have been tremendously successful, despite the persistent efforts of the Israeli army to impose its own timetable for the opening and closing of places of business. Palestinians have also been successful in hindering or preventing, often for days at a time, army penetration of their communities, especially in refugee camps and villages. The army has thus resorted to the increased use of helicopters to move soldiers into barricaded communities, to pursue youths over the hilly terrain, and to drop tear gas into areas inaccessible to their ground forces.

At a different level, the uprising has been characterized by the spirit of unity and a high level of organization. Both qualities have been demonstrated clearly in the field. Demonstrations and conflict with the army have not been restricted to any one group among Palestinians. All have taken part. "Unified" popular committees have kept watch at night in an effort to provide some protection for villages and refugee camps against settlers' vigilante raids. Unified relief committees have been set up to distribute food and clothing to camps and villages under siege, and supplies have been collected from Palestinians from all walks of life. "Field committees" have also been established to administer the daily requirements and needs of the struggle. The committees have been able to overcome narrow special interests, and to work for the common good.

In addition, there has been no dissonance in the various calls for steps to be taken during the uprising. The common and narrow calculus of special interests, more familiar at other times, has not arisen in discussions and planning pertaining to the uprising.

This unity in the field has been reflected in unity of demands. The demands and slogans of the uprising have revolved around the need to implement United Nations resolutions concerning the protection of the civilian population in the occupied territories from the indiscriminate attacks of the army. The demands have also included putting an end to deportations, mass arrests, killings, beatings, the imposition of curfews, and the withdrawal of the army from populated areas (given that its presence is the chief provocative agent in these areas). Moreover, the national movement has called for the abolition of taxes imposed by the occupation authorities, since these taxes are levied upon the occupied population in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention. Demands have also been made for the reopening

of schools, colleges and universities. All educational institutions in the West Bank have been closed by military order.

While these demands have been central in the uprising, the long-term vision of the solution to the Palestinian problem has not been neglected. The slogans of the uprising have been very clear: there is no possibility for a permanent solution without the participation of the PLO, the acceptance of the Palestinians' right to self-determination, and the establishment of a Palestinian state. Leaflets distributed, bearing the signature of the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising, have also emphasized that the most suitable vehicle for arriving at a peace settlement is an international conference with full authority and which includes the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, as well as the PLO.

The demands of the uprising have not only been clear; there has also been a consensus around them. This is obvious from the statements and leaflets issued by the leadership of the uprising and its popular committees. The political content of these declarations has been especially clear, and in particular the demand for national independence. This demand is also the main message of slogans chanted by demonstrators and painted on walls throughout the occupied territories.

But the process of outlining the salient features of the uprising would not be complete without addressing a large but central question: why is the current uprising different from the others which preceded it in both its comprehensiveness and political maturity? The answer to this question must begin with a consideration of two basic factors: first, the social composition of the occupied territories, and second, Israel's strategy towards the national movement, especially as it has unfolded in the 1980s.

Israel's policy of creating an economically dependent colony of the West Bank and Gaza Strip led Israel to tighten the noose on small and large productive enterprises, and on Palestinian agriculture. The lack of economic development in the occupied territories has resulted in scarcity of jobs for university graduates, resulting in large-scale unemployment in their ranks. They, along with many secondary school and college graduates, have had no option but to become laborers in whatever enterprises offered work in the occupied territories or in Israel. This same process of proletarianization has taken place with thousands of farmers in the occupied territories. The resultant change in the social composition of Palestinian society has reflected itself in the composition of the national movement. The table below illustrates this process of proletarianization.

The Wage Labor Force of the Occupied Territories
(thousands)

Date	Working in Israel	Working in West Bank & Gaza	Total
1970	20.6	152.7	173.3
1980	75.1	140.6	215.7
1985	86.1	153.5	239.6

(Source: Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1986).

The years of occupation, particularly the late 1970s and early 1980s, were characterized by the important role played in the national movement by the middle class and the more educated strata, such as professionals, academics and students. This reflected itself in their assumption of an important role in the leadership of the national movement. The uprisings of 1979/1980 and 1982, for example, were led by political figures representing some of the national institutions, including municipalities, professional associations, universities and charitable societies. These uprisings depended, to a large extent, on the role of the leadership drawn from such institutions. But the gradual increase in the political role and weight of the lower social strata - such as villagers and the inhabitants of refugee camps, who were the main two sources of the developing labor force - together with the attempt of the Israelis to attack the political leadership of former uprisings through arrest and deportation, led the national movement to adapt to these new circumstances. As a result, we now see a distinctive role played in the current uprising by peasants and refugees from the camps. In addition we also see an important role for workers, dramatized through their intermittent boycott of work in Israel. Moreover, we also witness a decline in the role of representatives of the middle class and figures from the national institutions. During the uprising for instance universities and other educational institutions have not been the main venues for confrontations with the occupation authorities, as they had been previously. There is no longer any need or possibility for the uprising to be led directly by these national figures. For the first time we are now witnessing an uprising led directly by the national forces in the field, with national figures and institutions playing a less important role.

This fundamental change was brought about by the fact that the active lower strata have not operated within the framework of these national institutions, but have been more directly connected with the national political forces. As a result the political oscillations and maneuvers which some of the representatives of the middle class are prone to have been absent from the present struggle.

The social strata that have played a major role in the current uprising are the very same ones which have most felt the burden of occupation. Hence these strata

have been more loyal to the principle of national independence.

As an illustration of this, one can point to the failure faced by some local Palestinian personalities in their attempt to use the uprising to peddle their personal political goods. Their failure was due to the fact that what they attempted to sell was not in consonance with the political positions of the masses of the uprising.

These attempts appeared in statements of people like Sari Nusseibeh and Hanna Siniora. Their comments on the Shultz initiative, for example, only involved the point that Shultz should meet with a delegation representing Palestinians inside and outside the occupied territories. They did not condemn the initiative. The position of the uprising, on the other hand, was unanimous and clear in its rejection of the principles upon which the initiative was based. This appeared clearly in the slogans carried and chanted during demonstrations, and in all the leaflets distributed during the uprising. The Shultz initiative was rejected because of its neglect of the principle of the Palestinians' right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state under the leadership of the PLO. The initiative was seen as an extension of the Camp David accords and was consequently rejected.

The changes brought about by the current popular uprising within the national movement have also had another important result. The uprising has weakened the social base of Jordan's influence in the territories. Jordan has worked hard to establish a base of support in preparation for a possible Israeli-Jordanian agreement, based, most recently, on the Peres-Hussein "London agreement". The uprising has brought considerable pressure to bear on the mayors who were appointed by the Israeli authorities in co-ordination with Jordan. As a result many have resigned.

Moreover, the leaflets and slogans of the uprising have made it clear that the "Jordanian option" is rejected because it is simply a transfer of repression from Israel to Jordan. Under the best of circumstances it would only amount to a division of political tutelage over the Palestinian people between Israel and Jordan. What has assisted in the rejection of the Jordanian option is that the masses in the occupied territories still remember the bitterness of political repression they endured during Jordanian rule over the West Bank. Jordan's persistent attempts to suppress the political and national identity of the Palestinian people are still very fresh in the collective memory.

The uprising has witnessed the emergence of popular committees which have provided the organizational structure for both popular protest and for the provision of community services. Committees supervise food distribution, co-ordinate medical services, and supervise the implementation of communique directives.

Although these committees have, in many cases, become public during the uprising, they are the fruit of community-based activism which has developed through the years of occupation. Organizations promoting self-help and community self-reliance, as well as explicitly political organizations, have developed deep roots

within their communities. As mass organizations they are now identical with the forces which are leading the national movement.

The new popular content of the national movement, and its detachment from bureaucratic institutions, have made it possible for the leadership of the national movement in the occupied territories to be effective. The leadership has also been effective because of its presence in the occupied territories, at the scene of the battle, so to speak. Through its political loyalty to the PLO and its local presence, it has been possible for the leadership to interact creatively with the masses and their local committees. Because of these factors, and given that the local leadership of the national movement is also in harmony with the Palestinian national consensus, it has been possible for it to work effectively. It has played the role of field command, in both its political and non-political aspects.

This has been instrumental in the development and unfolding of the uprising and its various tactical responses in the process of struggle, responses which were appropriate for the specific local circumstances.

In conclusion, the popular uprising has thus far resulted in concrete developments and gains at different levels:

1. The uprising has altered the balance between the national movement in the occupied territories and the occupation authorities. The national movement has been strengthened, and the occupation authorities have admitted that it will be very difficult to return things to the way they were before the uprising. Self-confidence among the masses has increased, and morale has received a tremendous boost. One indicator of this new equilibrium is the routing out of known informers and agents of the occupation within the local population. An example of this is the self-dissolution of some of the Village League branches that were set up by the Israeli authorities to facilitate their rule. Another example is the surrender of weapons by many collaborators to the people as a sign of repentance.

2. As a result of the uprising, Israel has found itself in a defensive position. This was reflected in media coverage, particularly in the US and Western Europe, where Israel used to enjoy most favorable reporting. Israel's embassies, consulates and supporters have had trouble explaining the events and presenting Israel's point of view. The uprising has put the Palestinian question back in a prominent place in the international media after a period of relative neglect; the struggle of the Palestinians has won legitimization.

3. The uprising has placed new constraints upon certain prominent figures who previously showed signs of willingness to accept solutions which were unacceptable to the Palestinian people, such as the "Jordanian option" or "autonomy". These solutions aimed at a division of political and administrative control of the occupied territories between Israel and Jordan at the expense of Palestinian sovereignty. An example of this is the position of Elias Freij, the mayor of Bethlehem, and Rashad

al-Shawwa, the former mayor of Gaza. Freij declared on the eve of the first visit by Shultz that while he accepted meeting with the visiting Secretary of State, he did not want to do so alone, unaccompanied by other Palestinians. And despite al-Shawwa's former position supporting the Jordanian option, he recently declared in a meeting with the head of the southern command of the Israeli army that he does not see any credible solution except total Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories.

4. Finally, the uprising has strengthened the value which people within the national movement place in popular struggle, and it has enhanced its credibility as an option to achieve revolutionary results. This has led to a weakening of the role of bureaucratic elements within the national movement, to the extent that the uprising has increased confidence in popular action.

In addition, the uprising has weakened the idea that the national movement inside the occupied territories is a mere extension of the external PLO. Local leadership has often been perceived as an executor of instructions and a communicator of positions from the leadership outside. The uprising has strengthened the voice of those who view the relation as being interactive in such a way that gives the local leadership more room to maneuver. From this perspective flexibility is essential so that appropriate decisions can be made in light of concrete realities on the ground. It gives the leadership the right to share in political decision-making within the framework of the general unified stance adopted by the PLO.

Conclusion

The uprising has not been a spontaneous phenomenon; it is rather a mass-based movement of clear political content. It has generated a new dynamic whose hallmark is mature political consciousness among the Palestinian people.

The causes of the uprising cannot be reduced to a few incidents which immediately preceded its eruption. The uprising must be seen as a qualitatively distinct stage in a struggle which was initiated over twenty years ago, between the Israeli occupation and the Palestinian national movement.

The central issue of this struggle has been that of sovereignty. Israel's attempts to suppress and exploit the Palestinian population and to "normalize" the occupation have been met by the Palestinians' struggle to end the occupation and to realize Palestinian sovereignty by establishing an independent state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The uprising represents a new stage in this movement, characterized by unprecedented intensity, built on a broad and popular organizational base. There is a new clarity and unity within the movement, which is unequivocally demanding the right to self-determination and the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza under the leadership of the PLO.

(FACTS Weekly Review, 4, 2nd April, 1988).

2. REBELLION

THE POPULAR MOVEMENT

Popular Restructuring

One of the distinctive features of the uprising has been the proliferation of "popular committees". These new structures are more than just temporary committees which will operate for a limited period of time. They represent a permanent structural change in the form of organization of Palestinian society.

Initially committees were formed in villages, camps and town neighborhoods in response to specific needs within those communities:

- * As nighttime attacks on communities by settlers and the army became commonplace, nightwatch committees were formed so that communities could be prepared to defend themselves when attacks were initiated.

- * Prolonged curfews and sieges led to a need to obtain and distribute food within the besieged communities. Food supply communities were formed for this purpose, which functioned as food distributors within their communities in co-ordination with other committees which obtained food as donations from farmers and merchants.

- * All educational institutions in the West Bank have been closed since December. The army has used force to prevent students and teachers from returning to their schools and universities. Education committees have been formed throughout the country, providing classes for students. In many towns a large proportion of school students are now attending classes.

- * Voluntary work committees have taken over a variety of functions which would normally be the province of government services including road cleaning, garbage disposal, land reclamation and various kinds of social work for the needy.

- * In response to the heavy restrictions which have been imposed on the movement and reporting of journalists, community-based publicity committees have been formed which function to disseminate information concerning the uprising. They are linked into the National Information Committee in Gaza and the Facts Information Committee in the West Bank.

* A wide range of measures have been taken against the agricultural sector by the Israeli authorities. These include the closure of wholesale markets and retail outlets, the banning of export to Jordan and the placing of severe restrictions on the movement of agricultural produce within the country. Farmers have responded by organizing their own committees for the transport and sale of their produce directly to consumers without centralized agricultural structures.

* The "home economy" movement has mobilized communities throughout the West Bank. Almost every patch of available land has been cultivated this year, in an attempt to maximize the self-reliance of communities, and to minimize the purchase of Israeli or imported produce which confers economic benefit to Israel. Agricultural committees for this purpose have been formed in most villages and camps in the West Bank.

* Merchant committees were formed to co-ordinate strike action; this has achieved unified timing of protest strikes and has prevented the Israelis from breaking the strikes.

These committees grew initially out of concrete local needs. Their work, however, has been consolidated through the formation of village, camp and neighborhood committees which act to co-ordinate the work of the different groups. These popular coordinating committees consist of elected representatives from the different sub-committees previously described. They are popular and democratic community structures, as the majority of the population now participate in the work of the sub-committees.

In the towns the neighborhood committees are represented on a higher level by coordinating committees for the town as a whole.

These structures are not explicitly political. They function as democratic structures of local organization. Neither are they illegal. There are no laws against the formation of informal committees of this kind. There is a long tradition in the country of the organization of voluntary committees for self-help, and no legal precedent exists to show that the work of voluntary committees, per se, is illegal. There can be no question, however, that the population of the West Bank and Gaza supports the Unified Leadership of the Uprising and the PLO. These popular structures are therefore loyal to the leadership of the uprising.

Those centralized institutions which would normally provide services to the population have been completely paralyzed during the uprising. The people have found a new strength and confidence through organizing their own services in a fully democratic and participative way.

These new structures have now been established as the legitimate organs through which communities organize. One of the clear political demands of the uprising has been the resignation of appointed heads of municipal councils. The Israeli-controlled and pro-Jordanian institutions in the country have now been

completely marginalized in the eyes of the people, who have developed their own alternative which can fulfil their needs rather than those of Israel or Jordan.

Thus, beneath the surface of violent confrontations, there lies a more profound restructuring of Palestinian society. These independent Palestinian structures embody the new spirit which the uprising has brought. It is that same spirit of Palestinian self-reliance and independence which will accept no less than an independent Palestinian state.

Even if there are lulls in the intensity of confrontations between the Palestinians and the military authorities, the basis of the uprising is continuing to consolidate and develop its roots through these local popular structures. They represent a practical expression of the central demand of the uprising: the right for the Palestinians to determine their own future.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 8, April 24th - April 30th, 1988)

Committees Declared Unpopular

Last week the FACTS editorial discussed the process of disengagement through which the uprising is reducing the economic and political control of the Israeli authorities on the Palestinians. The popular committees have formed the alternative organizational structure to those institutions which the Israelis had previously used to control the population.

On 1st July the Israeli O.C. Central Command, Amram Mitzna, confirmed that the authorities are concerned to stem the disengagement process when he announced on Israeli television that "the Establishment of popular committees is against the law. Any person who co-operates with these committees will be punished... The Civil Administration (i.e. the military authorities [ed.]) is the only authority in the occupied territories...".

FACTS knows of no Israeli, Jordanian, Egyptian or even Ottoman law which forbids the formation of informal committees. It will be interesting to see the legal arguments which will be used against, for example, agricultural committees, if Mitzna tries to follow up his threat. Perhaps the dangers of planting tomatoes will be considered confidential for security reasons.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 16, 27th June - 2nd July, 1988)

The Process of Disengagement

Israeli commentators have suggested that, beyond continuing mass protest, the uprising has no clear strategy - that there is no clear plan as to how sustained

demonstrations will lead to the goal of creating an independent Palestinian state. Such a comment reveals a superficial view of the nature of the uprising: while popular protest is clearly important, the significance of the uprising lies equally in the extent to which it has succeeded in weakening Israel's control and influence over the daily lives of Palestinians.

Since last December there has been a continuing process of disengagement from the apparatuses of the occupation authorities, a process which forms one of the main platforms of the revolt. The rationale behind this strategy is both economic and political. At the economic level the aim has been to reduce the financial benefits which the occupation confers on Israel, through the withholding of taxes, the boycott of Israeli produce, withholding of labor, and increasing the military costs of remaining in the territories. At the political level the uprising has weakened those institutions and individuals which Israel had previously used to manipulate and control the population.

Withholding Taxes

Throughout the occupation, taxes had been collected greatly in excess of the amounts spent in the government service sector: taxation has been a source of net revenue for the Israelis. Thus the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU) has called for a refusal to pay certain taxes. The Israeli government recently announced that their taxation revenue during the uprising had dropped by fifty percent, showing that many have adhered the call of the leadership. Shopkeeper committees in many towns have refused, en-masse, to pay any taxes, despite continuing threats and harassment by the authorities.

The Israeli response has been to refuse to grant any form of permit until all taxes have been paid; they have even resorted to confiscating personal property (see FACTS Weekly Review 13) of those whose taxes are unpaid, during army raids on Palestinian communities.

Boycott of Israeli Produce

The occupied territories form an important market for Israeli exports, while Israel obtains substantial revenues from imported goods which are sold through high customs tariffs which Israel imposes. The UNLU has called for the boycott of Israeli and imported products where a locally produced alternative exists, in order to reduce Israel's revenue and to support Palestinian producers. As a result, the volume of Israeli and foreign exports to the West Bank and Gaza has declined considerably, while local producers cannot keep up with demand.

Withholding Labor

The occupied territories provide a reservoir of cheap labor for Israeli

companies. While a complete boycott of work in Israel is currently impractical as many families have no other source of income, the vast majority of laborers abstain from going to work in Israel on the regular general strike days. Many who can afford to have stopped commuting to Israel altogether, preferring to farm their own land or find work locally.

Military Costs

The scale of army activities in the West Bank and Gaza has increased in response to the uprising. This has incurred a substantial increase in military expenditure. In addition, the number of weeks which army reservists serve per year has been increased, reducing the effective size of the Israeli labor force.

At the political level the uprising has decreased the ability of the military authorities to control the daily lives of the occupied population. The sectors which the military government controls have long been used to manipulate the Palestinians, offering incentives to those who co-operate and denying various services to those who resist.

The Municipalities

In 1976 municipal elections were held in the West Bank, returning largely pro-PLO mayors. Since then Israel has systematically dismissed most of the elected mayors, replacing them with candidates of their own choice, effectively allowing the military to control the municipalities for their own purposes. This attempt to promote an alternative leadership to the PLO was a complete failure, as a result of unanimous popular rejection of these new appointed puppets.

The strengthening of the popular national forces which has accompanied the uprising has meant that the appointed mayors and councils have been unable to ignore the calls of the UNLU for their resignation, and most have now left their posts.

The Police

The police force in the territories has served as an arm of the Israeli security forces, working with the army to suppress any form of resistance to the occupation. The UNLU has called for the resignation of all Palestinian members of the force, a call which has been widely obeyed. Exact details of the numbers of resignations are not available, as the information has been suppressed by the Israelis, but Arab policemen can rarely be seen in the streets or in the police stations, having been replaced by soldiers and Israeli police.

Tax Collection

In addition to the economic benefits for Israel, tax collection is used as a way

of controlling the population. During the uprising those who have not paid their taxes have been refused a wide variety of permits including car licenses, travel permits, business licenses and permission to visit prisoners.

The UNLU has called for the resignation of all Palestinian employees in the taxation departments, and the call has been widely obeyed, most notably in Gaza, Ramallah and Bethlehem, where all employees have reportedly resigned. All the employees in car licensing departments have also resigned in Ramallah and Bethlehem, and many have left in other areas, despite arrests and harassment by the army (see FACTS Weekly Review 13).

Collaboration

Finally, and perhaps most significantly, the power of collaborators with Israel has been undermined. Since the onset of occupation the military has cultivated a network of Palestinian collaborators through a mixture of threats and bribery. The network provided information on activists to the security services, and offered influence with the authorities to those who accepted their patronage.

The UNLU has called upon these elements to renounce their ties with Israel, and throughout the uprising collaborators have been handing over their (Israeli supplied) weapons to the authorities, and publicly announced their repentance and willingness to turn over a new leaf.

This development has substantially weakened Israeli influence in Palestinian communities, and has blocked the previous flow of information to the intelligence services. The suspicion and fear which were created by these elements have been removed: the uprising is now in the open and the people are ready to face the consequences. It is now the collaborators who are frightened and powerless.

A major aim of the uprising is to sustain and develop this process of disengagement from Israel. Total disengagement or de facto independence is clearly impossible at this stage, as the occupied territories cannot be fully economically independent, and people need access to certain basic services. However, the control of the population by Israel is weaker than it was at any other period of the occupation, while economic revenue to Israel has been substantially reduced.

Beneath the process of disengagement lies the consolidation of popular forms of organization which are independent of any Israeli control. These popular structures form the grass-roots base which is sustaining the protest, and they have become the legitimate form of local government managing various aspects of community affairs. As the process of disengagement continues, so these forces are growing in strength, while Israel's role diminishes. While the extent to which total disengagement can be attained remains unclear, much progress has already been made. The Palestinians are reclaiming the right to control their own lives. []

(FACTS Weekly Review, 15, 19th June - 26th June, 1988)

The Discipline of Resistance

Over the past five months, more than 200 Palestinians have been killed by Israeli soldiers and settlers whereas not one Israeli has been killed by a Palestinian during the clashes.

Why have no Israelis been killed by Palestinian demonstrators during the uprising? It is obvious why so many Palestinians have been killed: the Israeli army is using a substantial arsenal of live ammunition, rubber bullets and tear gas. Palestinians, on the other hand, have only stones and the occasional molotov. But since December, there have been many occasions when it was well within the power of Palestinians to kill Israeli soldiers, and yet they refrained from doing so.

Beita is the most well-known example. Even after two Palestinians had been shot dead, once the villagers had disarmed the settlers, they allowed them to go free, and even escorted them to safety. Remarkably, Beita villagers did not use the weapons which they had confiscated, and which still contained live ammunition, but rather chose to dismantle them (see FACTS 5). True, some of the villagers threw stones at the settlers; yet even the IDF Chief of Staff Shomron noted that the residents of Beita had not meant to kill the settlers.

In Idna, soldiers whose ammunition was used up were released unharmed after their vehicle had been burned (see FACTS 7). Even during the heat of the battle, while protesters were being shot and beaten, not once have Palestinians taken out their anger on soldiers or settlers whom they had captured and disarmed. In all cases, their weapons have been dismantled and they have been set free.

There have been many incidents of this kind during the uprising, which have gone unreported as they have not been considered newsworthy, or have been suppressed by the Israeli military authorities. These incidents, however, serve to illustrate a significant point: it is not the intention of the demonstrators to kill Israelis.

As a general principle of the uprising, this tactic has proved to have obvious advantages: the Beita affair showed that the army is straining at the leash to let loose massive retribution against any community in which an Israeli is killed. In the case of Beita, massive retribution was meted out although the settler girl had not been killed by a Palestinian.

The uprising is primarily a movement of popular mobilization for civil disobedience. Of course, the forms of protest are not exclusively non-violent. But stone-throwing has been, first and foremost, a means of expressing protest. The stones have made Israel, and the world, take notice. The stones are also a form of defense to protect communities from attacks by the army and settlers.

Equating stone-throwing with lethal violence, Israel has tried to project the image of Palestinian demonstrators as a wild mob, seething with irrational hatred.

While Israel has been shooting, beating and tear-gassing the Palestinians, the Israeli propaganda machine has been portraying the demonstrators as wild monsters. In reality, the demonstrations are highly organized and disciplined. Both the activities of defense committees and demonstrations are carefully planned and executed. This political maturity has been demonstrated by the restraint displayed towards soldiers even when there was a chance of harming them.

Those who have the task of describing the uprising might consider presenting demonstrators in a way which goes beyond the image of the angry mob. Of course, there is anger; but there is also clarity of purpose and discipline in action. In a very real sense, the protesters are heroic, ready to die for their beliefs. Many have done so. They are calling not for revenge or blind destruction. Their call is for justice.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 10, May 8th - May 21st, 1988)

DIARIES OF RESISTANCE

The Idna Diary

For more than 4 months now, communities throughout the West Bank and Gaza have organized sustained resistance to the military occupation. This process has led to the transformation of these communities, and the development of new forms of local organization and a new spirit of common struggle for a national homeland.

In the long run, the significance of the uprising does not lie in the individual acts of resistance. Rather, a new consciousness has been created which now provides a solid foundation for future struggle. The intensity of demonstrations may oscillate, with periods of relative calm, but communities are now able and ready to mobilize. The mass demonstrations following the recent deportations and assassination of Abu Jihad clearly demonstrate this phenomenon.

The Idna diary provides a chronology of events in one such community. Written by villagers from Idna, the diary illustrates the new confidence and determination which now permeate every community in the West Bank and Gaza. It also shows that the resistance is well disciplined. On many occasions, demonstrators had the power to kill Israelis and refrained.

Idna: Background

Idna lies to the west of Hebron, near the border with Israel. In 1948 the new border cut through the village's land; two thirds of our land was lost to the state of Israel. The population of about 15,000 now live on what remains of our land.

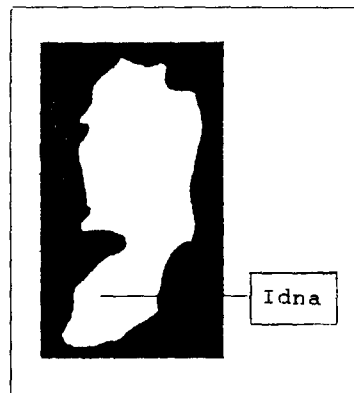
Many of the villagers work as wage laborers in Israel, however, agriculture still forms an important part of the economy. A wide variety of crops are grown for local consumption, including olives, grapes, grains and nuts, and most households raise sheep or goats for meat and milk production. Our village is a poor community, unskilled wage labor and small-scale agriculture providing a modest income.

There are a variety of popular organizations in the village, including two union branches, a voluntary work committee, and a number of new committees

which have been formed during the current uprising. Their work is co-ordinated by a central committee.

The Idna Diary

From the first days of the uprising the people of Idna followed with great interest the confrontations in Gaza and Balata camp, and the attacks by settlers in Beitillo and Deir Ammar. Heated discussions were held in the village over the significance of the events, and villagers waited for workers to return in the



evening so they could read about new developments in the newspapers. Workers bought portable radios so that they could follow the events while at work.

20th December 1987

The uprising began in Idna on 20th December when a large group of young people erected stone barricades at the northern and southern approaches to the village, just before an Israeli army patrol was due to arrive on its daily rounds. When it reached the barricades, the soldiers immediately called for reinforcements, and a clash with the villagers began. Live ammunition and tear gas were fired into the crowd, however, the soldiers were driven back under a hail of stones, and failed to enter the village. No injuries were reported on that day.

21st December 1987

From the early hours of the morning, the village was festooned with Palestinian flags and national slogans painted on the walls. Villagers did not go to work on that day. A large military force took the village by surprise, and positioned itself in the main junctions and squares of the town. Fierce clashes took place between the army and the villagers in which live ammunition was used indiscriminately.

Soldiers chased youths into their homes, but failed to apprehend anybody, as by the time they had forced entry into the homes, the youths had escaped into the fields. A great deal of property was destroyed in these raids, and forty solar panels were broken by the army as they rampaged through the village.

When the army finally withdrew, teams of volunteers worked to repair the damage to doors, windows and furniture, and to repair the solar panels and water tanks.

22nd December 1987

Village laborers continued their strike against working in Israel. Buses came to collect them, but went away empty. Some Israeli employers returned with the army, and tried to persuade workers to return to their jobs. Village notables were summoned and ordered to stop the strike. When all this failed, a large military force was sent into the village with the aim of forcing people to go back to work. The people were prepared for this attack, and confronted the soldiers with a hail of stones and bottles from behind barricades and burning tyres. The army failed to enter the village.

After prolonged confrontation, three Israeli helicopters arrived, firing large numbers of tear gas grenades into the village. Many people, particularly young children, were overcome by the fumes. Dozens of people were injured by rubber bullets, and Mohammed Abdel-Qader Faraj-Allah was wounded by a live bullet in the head. He is now suffering from partial paralysis and is unable to speak.

The army finally withdrew, having failed to enter the village.

2nd-4th January 1988

On these three days, marches of unprecedented scale took place in the village. Thousands of men, women and children marched in the streets singing national songs and carrying national banners. The marches were punctuated by speeches from village leaders. Speeches stressed the achievements and goals of the uprising, the need to create the conditions for the convening of an international conference, the need for maintaining national unity within the framework of the PLO, the importance of popular organization and the participation of villagers in decision-making through the popular committees.

Community forums and the formation of popular committees continued until mid-January, by which time the village had gained much experience in community organization, devising tactics for confronting the army, minimizing injuries and arrests, and defending the village.

Popular committee formation was not easy - there was a wide range of opinion about how they should function and what they should do. Some saw their function as being restricted to organizing confrontations with the army. Others proposed a

broader function including the provision of various community services.

Discussions were carried out in a democratic spirit, with the participation of a large proportion of the village. Following these debates the following committees were formed:

- * defense committees (for guarding the village)
- * a food supply committee
- * a strike committee
- * neighborhood committees
- * mobilization committees
- * a publicity committee.

The various committees were coordinated by a central committee, called "The Committee for the Leadership of the Struggle." This committee keeps the people informed about the latest news of the uprising and political developments, and discusses both practical and political questions with the community. Committee members also make regular night visits to the defense committees.

Throughout the first two weeks of January, while popular organization within the village developed, there were regular clashes between the army and the defense committees. The army was still unable to enter the village.

During one clash with the military, a large tent was wrested from the army and was pitched on the village hilltop as a lookout. The tent had the Hebrew initials of the Israeli Defense Forces on its side. The tent remained on the hill for one month before it was recaptured by the army.

A growing pride and strength became evident in the community, as the attacks of the army were successfully repulsed, and the internal affairs of the village became well organized despite the effective state of siege.

17th January 1988

A three-day general strike was declared. Stone barricades were erected in the main entrances, slogans were painted on walls throughout the village, and Palestinian flags flew from the majority of houses. The people prepared themselves to receive the army.

In the morning three truckloads of soldiers attacked from the north, were greeted with a hail of stones and bottles, and withdrew. In the afternoon, a second force attacked from the south. The village leaders issued instructions to "pelt the soldiers with stones at least one per second!" Again, the army was forced to withdraw.

That evening two Israeli buses came to transport workers to Israel. Their drivers had previously been warned not to come and had disregarded these orders. The drivers were ejected from the buses and were allowed to flee from the village. The buses were then burned to ashes. The army did not intervene.

18th January 1988

In the evening the army took the defense committees by surprise and entered the village at 8.30 pm. Since the village was unprepared, it was decided to avoid confrontation, and the soldiers were ignored. They became angry and rampaged through the village breaking down the doors of homes and smashing everything in sight. Furniture, radios, televisions, windows and anything else they could find was broken in the assault. Tear gas grenades were fired into many homes. Numerous villagers were severely beaten in their homes, as the soldiers were apparently angered by failing to apprehend the youths who they had come to arrest.

22nd January 1988

In the afternoon a march was held in the village, accompanied by a CBS reporter. An army helicopter hovered overhead and began to fire tear gas grenades into the crowd. Many villagers, in addition to the news crew, were overcome by the gas, and were treated by the villagers. Women, carrying jugs of water on their heads, rushed to extinguish the canisters, while youths hurled others a safe distance from the crowd.

Two popular antidotes to tear gas - cologne, and the herb khubeizeh - were distributed. Idna youths now carry the herb in their pockets during their confrontations with the army.

24th January 1988

Idna students returning home from Hebron, after sitting for their General Certificate of Secondary Education, were surprised to find a helicopter pursuing them. After bombing the students with tear gas, the helicopter descended and arrested nine students.

31st January 1988

A force of about one thousand soldiers attacked Idna in an attempt to break up what had become a routine of daily demonstrations. The soldiers made four assaults, but were driven back each time by the defenders. During the fifth attack, at night, the army gained access to a small area of the village, where they broke into homes, shooting rubber bullets at close range and clubbing people with rifle butts and truncheons. Several people were injured in the attack. Soon the defense committees regrouped, and the army was driven back from the village.

Following this battle the village was declared a closed military area, and was besieged by a large military force for two weeks.

15th February 1988

A large army transport vehicle advanced cautiously into the village, apparently

lost, with two armed men inside. They were cautioned not to proceed, but they continued to advance, pointing a rifle from the lorry window.

The lorry was hit by a barrage of stones, which continued until the ammunition of the men inside was exhausted. The men were then ejected and allowed to flee, as they were unarmed and in civilian dress. The vehicle was set alight and burned for 6 hours.

A large army force came to the village, but was unable to pass the barricades. They worked for three hours with a new vehicle with special rubber bullet and tear gas launchers and with a plough attached to its front, before they had cleared the roads.

That night, at around 11.00 pm, about 2000 soldiers shot their way into the village, backed up by helicopters and flares. An officer announced over a loudspeaker that the village was being placed under curfew, and ordered everybody to go home. 15 people were arrested, the rest of the young men having fled to the hills.

16th February 1988

In the morning the army returned, again announcing the curfew, and surrounding the village on all sides. Despite this announcement clashes between the army and villagers continued throughout the day, while helicopters used to chase youths through the hills and valleys around the village.

The defenders adopted new tactics of retreating and then re-attacking, which surprised and confused the army.

In the evening the army erected a camp in the center of town. Despite the curfew the Committee for the Leadership of the Struggle instructed youths to engage the army in skirmishes at the edge of the village, in order to draw them out of their tents. When most of the soldiers had left the camp, another group attacked the tents, taking army equipment and clothing but leaving arms behind.

When the soldiers returned and saw what had happened, they took down their tents and left the village, shooting in the air.

The curfew continued for six consecutive days, during which daily clashes occurred. No arrests were made.

27th February 1988

Youths from Idna set up an ambush on the Hebron-Ashqalon road, stoning eight settler and military vehicles.

28th February 1988

Settlers tried to assault the village in order to take revenge for yesterday's attack, but were prevented by the defense committees from entering.

29th February 1988

The settlers returned again, and were again repulsed by the stones of the defense committees. The ranks of these committees were strengthened as the importance of their role grew; they also succeeded in identifying several collaborators who tried to slip out of the village under the cover of darkness to pass information on to the authorities.

3rd March 1988

A bus from the Beit Hanina bus company tried to enter the village, despite repeated warnings from the defense committees that this was forbidden on a general strike day. The bus was attacked, the driver fled and the bus was burned by village youths.

Later, a group of 70 soldiers attacked the village. On failing to find the youths who they wished to arrest, they arrested a group of 50 elderly people who were later released.

At 6.00 pm, a new curfew was declared, and army reinforcements were brought in, but clashes continued and two villagers were wounded with "dum-dum" bullets (flat-nosed bullets).

4th March 1988

Thousands of villagers took to the streets to condemn the previous evening's attack, and the detention of elderly people. During the ensuing mass rally, villagers watched as a horse approached, with a rider carrying the Palestinian flag aloft, led by a second man. The man leading the horse, who was known as a collaborator, announced that he wanted to make a public declaration of repentance for his collaboration with the Israelis. His declaration was greeted by loud cheers.

Before the uprising, this particular collaborator had been in the habit of riding around on his horse in a provocative and arrogant way.

The crowd then marched to the northern edge of the village where they attacked an army emplacement with stones and bottles. The soldiers dismantled their tents and retreated, and the march returned to the village center singing national songs, and surrounded by youths dancing the dabkeh.

That night the army returned and shot large quantities of tear gas into homes. The following day Israeli TV stated that Idna had been declared an "independent state"!

5th March 1988

Despite the stoning of five Israeli cars the army did not attempt to enter the village.

6th March 1988: Palestinian Flag Day

Hundreds of flags flew throughout the village. One was thrown on to the electricity cables above the army observation post. The army did not attack.

7th March 1988

The defense committees were on red alert, as army reinforcements had been seen arriving. At 2.45 am 150 army vehicles attacked while three helicopters hovered overhead. Groups of youths were posted at all entrances to the village, while reconnaissance teams dispatched reports of army movements. "Guerrilla" tactics were employed, in which soldiers were ambushed in surprise attacks, causing confusion. Stones could also be thrown from the hills above the village on to the heads of the soldiers without detection.

One soldier was throwing a hand grenade when he was hit by a rock, and the grenade exploded inside an army jeep. Eyewitnesses reported that several soldiers were injured although this was not reported in the press.

The army later announced that a grenade had been thrown at their forces, which was used as a justification for the liberal use of live ammunition that night.

At dawn a group of soldiers apprehended two village youths. The defense committee attacked the soldiers, who retreated into a nearby house under a hail of stones. There, besieged, they opened fire from the windows, injuring several people. A helicopter arrived and rescued the soldiers.

By 8.00 am the army had control of the village, while the youths had fled into the surrounding hills. Soldiers went from house to house, searching out youths, smashing furniture and beating people.

In the afternoon they declared Idna a closed military area. Nobody was allowed to enter or leave the village for the next 21 days. Soldiers destroyed the electricity supply for the community, and refused to allow food supplies in. Sick people had to be carried over the hills to Hebron. Clashes between the military and the village continued throughout this period, whenever the army attempted to enter the village. No press was allowed into Idna during the blockade.

24th March 1988

A force of about 2,500 soldiers invaded the village and commandeered the school, which they converted into an army post. Most young men escaped into the hills. One was shot in the thigh while making his escape.

25th March 1988

A demonstration was held, which was broken up with clubs. 23 men were arrested.

1st April 1988

After a large demonstration in the village the army invaded, but was repelled by a barrage of stones. They returned later with reinforcements, and a helicopter fired live ammunition into the crowd. Two people were killed by bullets from the helicopter: Jamal Tmeizi (22) and Ishaq al-Salimi (24). A large number were injured by rubber bullets or overcome by tear gas during this clash.

The funeral procession saw further clashes with the army. The mourners vowed to continue the fight until the establishment of a Palestinian state.

(FACTS Weekly Review, 7, 17.4. - 23.4.1988)

The Yatta Diary

Yatta is a large town in the Hebron region and has a population of 30,000 people. The population depends for income mainly on wage labor in Israel, then on cattle raising in the area or working in local quarries, and to some extent on agriculture. To the east of Yatta four Israeli settlements have been erected; Ma'on, Carma'el, Sosia Hadash and Lotsefer.

Throughout the uprising, the community of Yatta has been informed and updated on the events taking place in other parts of the occupied territories. Accounts of what had been happening in Gaza and the West Bank were given during the first meeting held in Yatta and organized by the Labor Union of the town. This was followed by daily meetings for workers, students and others who were interested in discussing the direction of the uprising and its implications. A Workers' Council was formed whose task was to visit the houses of workers and their families as well as people from other sectors of the community. This council used to discuss the current situation, raise the political consciousness and press for the formation of popular committees.

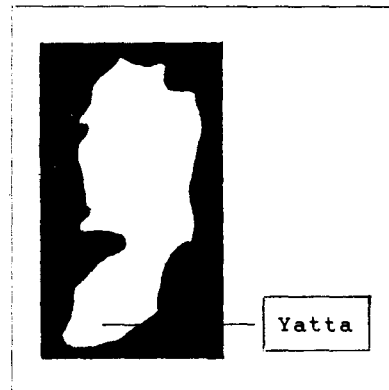
21st December 1987

During the early hours of the morning, tyres were set on fire and stone roadblocks were erected at the main entrances to the town. A couple of hours later, two Israeli army patrols were stoned by youths as they arrived at the town. The army fired tear gas, shot rubber bullets and arrested four youths. The Yatta municipality's fire engine was used to extinguish the burning tyres under the instructions of the appointed mayor. They also dispersed the youths who later regrouped and again set up burning tyres and roadblocks.

22nd December

Stone roadblocks were set up at three entrances to the town, tyres were set

alight and Palestinian flags were raised. Walls throughout the town were covered with nationalist slogans. A number of youths burnt tyres in front of the municipality building. The mayor and other municipality employees who were inside the building started to shout at the youths and threatened them with prosecution. The youths, angered that such a threat had come from members of the community, started to throw stones at the building. The municipality employees (also Israeli-appointed) chased the youths using the fire engine and other cars. The youths retaliated by throwing stones, forcing them to retreat. That evening representatives of the clans in Yatta were summoned by the mayor and were warned that if they did not



control their sons and family members and stop them from participating in demonstrations, then he would make sure that demonstrators would be put in prison. Following this threat, anger and tension spread throughout the town.

23rd December

At dawn, large numbers of troops lead by the intelligence force responsible for the area, attacked Yatta. A campaign of arrests took place, 11 houses were stormed and 11 youths were arrested. The youngest of the detainees was 14-year-old 'Issa Qar'ish.

20th January 1988

In protest against the constant arrests and storming of houses, youths closed off the village entrances with stone blockades and burning tyres, and gathered in different areas, standing alert in case the troops repeated the attack. In the afternoon, a large number of Israeli soldiers approached the town, firing tear gas and shooting in the air. One group of soldiers managed to enter and started chasing youths into the old part of the town. The youths managed to surround them and

showered them with stones. The troops shot back with rubber bullets and live ammunition: a 15-year-old schoolboy was shot in the leg and taken to hospital; 9-year-old Lubna al-Masri was hospitalized after she was shot in the back with a live bullet.

4th February

At five o'clock in the morning an Israeli bus driving along the highway near Yatta was stopped by youths from the town. The driver was ordered to get off the bus and leave. The bus was then set on fire.

That day a communique had been distributed. It was the first to be released by the National Popular Committee of Yatta. It called for the sustaining of the uprising and discussed the political achievements that had so far been accomplished. Different activities and days of strikes were called for in the communique which declared every Sunday of the week to be a general strike: the shops would close, the workers would not go to work, and transportation would stop. During the rest of the week, shops could open from 8 - 11 am. The communique also included a warning to the people about certain rumors and attempts to create friction and to destroy the unity amongst the different political groups in Yatta. It also emphasized the importance of backing and supporting the local popular committees, the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU) and the PLO.

5th February

When army patrols arrived, they found the roads blocked. The youths started burning tyres and stoning the patrols. Live bullets were fired but nobody was injured and the soldiers retreated after the windscreens of the patrol vehicles were smashed to pieces.

8th February

A huge march took place that morning, Palestinian flags were raised and nationalist slogans were shouted. Israeli troops arrived and clashed with the demonstrators: tear gas was used extensively, and a helicopter unloaded soldiers who chased and dispersed the demonstrators. The clashes lasted until late in the afternoon when the soldiers stormed dozens of houses. 'Arafat Bassal (50 years old) was brutally beaten on the head, and his daughter-in-law, Kefah (20 years), was also beaten until her whole body was covered with bruises. 'Arafat 70-year-old mother Fathiyeh was also beaten. 'Arafat' was then dragged out of his house where an army patrol was parked. There the soldiers beat him unconscious and left him in the street. Later he was taken to hospital along with his mother and daughter-in-law.

14th February

The date of the assassination of three PLO leaders in Limassol, Cyprus. One of these leaders was originally from Yatta, and anger and sadness spread through the town when the news was heard. The following morning people went to the family house to offer condolences. Hundreds of people held a symbolic funeral in the town, Palestinian flags were raised and nationalist songs were chanted. The demonstrators split up into groups and closed off the entrances to the town by building stone blockades. Soldiers tried to enter the town from two directions but were prevented as the demonstrators showered them with stones. In the face of hundreds of angry and defiant people, the soldiers withdrew.

The appointed mayor claimed that the withdrawal had happened following his personal intervention and contacts with the military governor. He also said that as long as people did not attack his municipality, he would be ready to negotiate with the Israeli authorities to prevent arrests in the town. Little attention was paid to the words of the mayor, and the demonstrators regrouped and went to the house of the martyr. There a discussion on the uprising, its accomplishments and effects on the Arab countries took place. This was followed by an account of the life and work of the assassinated leader who was one of the PLO leaders in charge of the occupied territories.

16th February

Early in the morning the Israeli army again tried to enter the village. The alertness of the guarding committees and the readiness of the whole community ensured the presence of hundreds of residents who were prepared to face the approaching troops. As usual, stones were thrown proving effective in forcing the troops to withdraw. However a number of troops in vehicles at the western entrance to Yatta managed to infiltrate the town and went directly to the house of the martyr's family. The house was stormed, tear gas was thrown and pictures of the martyr were confiscated.

News of the attack spread and the guarding committees moved from their positions at the eastern side of the town and clashed with the troops in front of the house. Ambushes had been set up for the troops as they retreated. A 40-minute confrontation ensued, in which rubber bullets, tear gas and live bullets were shot indiscriminately. Two youths were captured and viciously beaten. One was forced to stand upright and was shot with rubber bullets at point blank range, leaving his body and face covered with huge bruises. Other youths surrounded and attacked the soldiers, managed to free the two youths, and forced the soldiers to retreat.

19th February

At 9.30 am the local popular media committee headed to the mosque of Yatta

to address the inhabitants. Through the loudspeakers the town was declared to be liberated and the committee introduced itself as "The broadcasting station of liberated Yatta." A number of the Unified Leadership communiques were read out as well as the communiques of the local popular committee. Following that, a review of incidents and accounts of what was happening throughout the occupied territories was presented. The number of martyrs and injured as well as the victims of the "breaking of bones" policy and the number of detainees were reviewed and updated. The accomplishments of the uprising and the dangers and conspiracies surrounding it were read out. The broadcast also called on the residents to organize internally, and to carry on with the activities of the uprising. It stressed the importance of rallying around the PLO and of adhering to the aims of the just struggle of the Palestinian people for an independent state.

The town was in celebration; women were on the roofs listening to the broadcast, hundreds of youths and children were on the streets chanting and singing, and in some alleys the youth gathered and were dancing the dabkeh.

In the afternoon a group of youths walked up to the police center in the town. One local policeman who was there was taken out of the building, his hat was taken and trodden on and he was asked to leave the town. The police station was then set on fire and the policeman's hat was put on a stick and paraded in the streets of Yatta, before it was thrown onto a burning tyre. Within an hour, a helicopter arrived and started dropping tear gas grenades. Army forces approached the town, but they were confronted with stones thrown by the residents. The vehicles were allowed to enter the town but were then ambushed and surrounded, thereby forced to slow down. Meanwhile from a helicopter, soldiers were throwing dozens of tear gas canisters onto the streets and inside the houses. During the clashes four soldiers were injured, dozens of women, children and youths were hit with rubber bullets and poisoned from tear gas and five were injured with live bullets.

In the following days the troops did not enter Yatta, however a helicopter came daily and dropped tear gas canisters into meeting areas, inside houses and around the mosques of Yatta. Throughout, the popular committee was concentrating on organizing the population. Dates of the general strikes inside the town for the shops and the workers were set. A schedule was also set for public transport.

3rd March

Food supplies were collected from the residents and were sent to the nearby village of Bani Na'im which was under siege. The Israeli forces did not allow the provisions in to Bani Na'im. The following day, the same provisions were left just outside the village. The location was prearranged through the village's popular committee who managed to smuggle the supplies in during the night. Late that night

army forces and bulldozers arrived in Yatta and demolished seven walls, one at the local school, another at the clinic and the rest around private houses. All these places were on the outskirts of the town: the troops did not enter the village where the guarding committees were alerted and well prepared.

5th March

The guarding committees informed the residents that Israeli settlers from nearby settlements were coming daily to the entrance of the town and were taking pictures of Yatta. They were also provoking the residents on entering and leaving the town. That evening a settler's car was spotted at the entrance: the youth attacked it with stones and destroyed it completely. The settlers shot at the residents as they fled.

An hour later, a bus, military vehicles and settlers' cars arrived. Live bullets were shot in all directions as the convoy approached. It stopped in front of one house and soldiers and settlers stormed the house breaking everything in sight. Without exception, the residents were beaten with batons. The head of the household and his two sons were taken into detention.

Meanwhile, the popular committee alerted the residents through the mosque loudspeakers, calling on them to go to the rescue of those who were being attacked. Within minutes the streets were full of hundreds of residents of all ages carrying sticks, slingshots, knives and iron bars, and the Israelis quickly withdrew.

Three days later the town held an International Women's Day march, while at the town entrances groups of youths were on guard to ensure the safety of the people. The march headed towards the local school where speeches by the women's and popular committees were presented. Pride was expressed about the role of women during the uprising and a review of the unified Palestinian position on Shultz's peace proposal was explained.

10th March

A private Israeli bus was set on fire just outside the town; the driver had been ordered to leave the bus and was allowed to escape. Troops arrived within a short period of time, and a clash took place during which a youth from Yatta was injured with a live bullet. Reinforcements arrived from the town and the troops were forced to leave. The following day, a car belonging to a collaborator in Yatta was set on fire.

14th March

That evening, a march was organized and headed in the direction of the homes of the appointed municipality members. Demonstrators called on them to submit their resignations. Some promised to do so while the mayor and his entourage

refused. The mayor threatened those who had promised to resign and they were later summoned to the headquarters of the military governor in Hebron after which they went back on their promise. From then on the mayor and his entourage were armed with Israeli weapons.

The next day, roadblocks were erected, tyres were burnt and a group of youths set fire to the building of the local Israeli job and employment bureau. Troops arrived and used the municipality ambulance to chase the demonstrators. It was the first time since 19th February that the troops had been able to enter the village. A helicopter was used to drop tear gas directly at the demonstrators while the troops used live bullets. Two people were seriously injured.

On the 19th, army forces in military vehicles, led by an army bulldozer, invaded the town during the night. They arrived at the school, occupied it and turned it into an army barracks. It also became an army center used for detention and interrogation. Between 300-500 troops were permanently stationed in the new army camp.

The four days that followed were characterized by the burning of tyres and stone-throwing incidents, on some occasions the troops chased youths and beat them up.

24th March

A demonstration took place and the people stoned two local buses belonging to a Palestinian company. The company had been warned several times for not abiding with the general strike days. Troops arrived at the area and dispersed the demonstrators using tear gas and rubber bullets. The following day another demonstration took place. When troops arrived, they were showered with stones and were forced to retreat to their new center - the local school.

26th March

Tyres were set on fire throughout the town. When the troops raced to the locations, the residents confronted them fiercely. They managed to imprison four soldiers inside a room. The soldiers started shooting from a window and 40-year-old 'Ali Diab was shot in the neck with a live bullet as he approached the room. He was later taken to Hadassah Hospital in a critical condition. 'Ali died on Monday 4th April as a result of his injuries.

Meanwhile, a helicopter was summoned to the rescue of the four imprisoned soldiers. It managed to disperse the demonstrators outside the room, and the soldiers started running in the direction of the school/army center. Hundreds of people - children, women, youths and the elderly - started chasing the soldiers up to the school. Very few people remained in their houses: hundreds had gathered and hundreds were following them. In the face of the angry, advancing crowds, the

troops retreated from the school/ army center. They left behind their helmets, batons, some clothes and private belongings. The retreating troops were followed by the women who were singing and shouting cries of joy.

There were many casualties in the final clashes between the soldiers and the residents. Some fainted from tear gas while others were hit with rubber bullets and later hospitalized.

The next day Israeli troops arrived to avenge what had happened. Violent clashes took place where, instead of chasing the youths, the soldiers were chased by the youths! They finally left the town having caused a number of casualties.

That day, after the troops had left, the municipality building was set on fire and an album containing the pictures of Israeli officers and the mayor was confiscated.

On 29th March, one day before the anniversary of Land Day, army vehicles arrived in Yatta just after midnight. Several army bulldozers arrived, too, and the residents estimated that between 2000-2500 troops were present. The convoy occupied the town school and remained there.

30th March

At 8.30 am, thousands of children, women and elderly marched through the town. Then they split up into a women's march and a men's march. The troops first attacked the women and managed to encircle them, but not for long. The men's march approached the troops and created confusion, thereby freeing the women who then joined in a serious clash against the troops. The popular committee announced a maximum emergency situation, residents responded and started maneuvering to divert the attention of the troops. They managed to "entice" them away from the area where the clashes had intensified, which further enraged the troops who fired tear gas extensively.

The troops managed to catch two youths and beat them brutally with batons, then they tied one of them to the hood of an army jeep and drove around the town to intimidate the people.

Around 34 residents were injured with live bullets, some of whom were then arrested.

Eyewitnesses from the village reported 23 casualties among the soldiers.

Tales of Heroism on March 30th

* A number of youths hid in the area around the school/army center and waited until troops left in the direction of the clashes. A small number of soldiers were left behind. The youths crawled silently into the school and managed to get hold of the guard, whom they tied up and stripped of his uniform which was burnt along with the Israeli flag that soldiers had hoisted at the entrance of the school.

Instead, the youths raised a Palestinian flag and took the guard's helmet and baton.

* A soldier who was about to fire a tear gas canister was spotted by a young man carrying a slingshot. The young man aimed and hit the soldier with a stone causing him to lose balance and fire the tear gas. The canister hit a wall, bounced back at the soldiers, and fumes of tear gas forced the soldiers to abandon their strategic position. A young man climbed to the abandoned position and hoisted a Palestinian flag.

* Some youths threw six tear gas canisters at the soldiers, who were taken by surprise and ran away. The canisters were among the things that the residents had found on 26th March when the troops had fled the school/army center.

* A number of youths were captured and led away by the troops who beat them with their batons and boots. Suddenly a group of women attacked the soldiers and started hitting them with sticks and their slippers. One of the women pulled at one of the youths in the hands of the soldiers and managed to free him after she bit the soldier's hand. All of the youths were eventually freed.

The following day, troops positioned in different places in the town were attacked by youths throwing stones. The soldiers set chase and shot live bullets indiscriminately. 17-year-old Suleiman Ahmad Al-Jundi was shot in the abdomen several times. His friends picked him up to take him to hospital, but the ambulance which had been called was prevented from getting to the scene for one whole hour. Suleiman bled profusely during that time, and when the ambulance was finally let through it was too late. Suleiman died on the way to hospital.

Meanwhile the town was thick with the fumes of tear gas which was dropped from two helicopters and a third aircraft.

In the evening, when Suleiman's body was brought back to Yatta, Israeli troops arrived at his house and tried to kidnap the body. They were confronted by a huge number of angry residents, and had the troops not promptly withdrawn there would have been grave consequences. The two helicopters and the aircraft kept flying at a low height around the martyr's house. Suleiman's funeral took place later that evening - his body was wrapped in a Palestinian flag and his funeral was a feast of nationalist songs and cries of joy. Everyone joined in chanting the traditional songs for the funerals of martyrs: "O mother of the martyr, rejoice for we are all your children".

1st April

At 3 am Israeli troops arrived and declared a curfew. It was announced that anyone who broke the curfew would be shot. The troops started attacking the houses and arresting the inhabitants. Eighty houses were stormed, furniture was smashed and residents were beaten. The soldiers had a list of the names of wanted youths. Of those youths only twenty were found in the town, and they were all

arrested. Eleven were put under administrative detention, one of whom was the clinic physician. The ages of the arrested ranged from 21 to 40.

Identity cards of 31 residents were confiscated: they were the fathers and the brothers of the youths who were wanted and were not found in town. As this was going on, people gathered and held a symbolic funeral to protest against the arrests. Palestinian flags were held high and the curfew was broken. In the face of the hundreds of demonstrators the troops were forced to lift the curfew which had anyway been broken despite them.

4th April

The funeral of `Ali Diab who had been shot on 26th March and died of injuries inflicted, took place in the town. Despite the attempts of the troops to block the entry of the car carrying `Ali's body into Yatta, the residents managed to trick the soldiers and to smuggle his body in from a side road.

7th April

Soldiers and intelligence forces entered the town to arrest youths, but they did not find any of them and left empty-handed. Another attempt was made on the 10th, and when none of the wanted youths were found, the soldiers threw tear gas canisters inside houses and broke furniture and glassware. One of the houses was that of Musa al-Makhamreh where the furniture was destroyed and tear gas was fired. Musa's wife who was three months pregnant subsequently miscarried. Eight children as well as adults were hospitalized for tear gas poisoning.

On the 11th troops arrived and arrested two young men from the town.

The Israeli authorities were obviously not satisfied with the constant and brutal attacks on the residents in Yatta, for on 18th April 20-year-old Suleiman Mohammed from Yatta was attacked by a number of Israeli intelligence officers, while he was working in al-Tireh, a town inside Israel. He was beaten, then arrested, and he was later told that it was forbidden for him to work inside Israel.[]

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Kufr Ra'i - Diary of Resistance

Kufr Ra'i village lies 20 km to the south-west of Jenin in the north of the West Bank. The village has a population of 7,000 people and the villagers rely for their income primarily on selling their labor on the Israeli wage market. They depend secondarily on agricultural produce. The village is famous for cultivating olive and almond trees. Some villagers rely on remittances from their families, and a few rely on commerce. As is the case with other Palestinian villages, Kufr Ra'i is

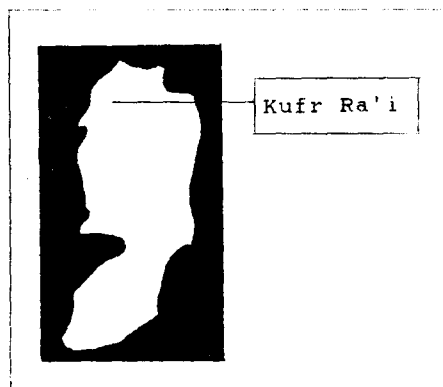
deprived of services: for example, it does not have a piped-water system or any agricultural projects. It also suffers from the absence of electricity and barely manages with the use of electricity generators owned by the villagers, which guarantee only 5-6 hours of electricity during the day. Concerning medical services, there is one government clinic which in fact has only a symbolic presence and is of little value to the villagers. A physician from Jenin works in the village for 2 hours a week. The village was denied permission by the military authorities to establish a youth club.

Historically the village was an important center for revolutionary fighters in 1936, and the village has also lost martyrs in the battles between the Jordanian regime and the National Palestinian Movement in Jordan in 1970. Many of the youth from the village have been in detention since 1967 and some detainees were released during the prisoner exchange in 1985.

Since the start of the uprising, the village has witnessed many protests against the occupation and its agents. Between 9th December 1987 and 19th January 1988 Palestinian flags were raised in the village, walls were covered with nationalist slogans and threats against collaborators. Other protests included the building of stone barricades at the entrances of the village and burning tyres. Throughout that period the army did not enter the village or clash with the population despite the fact that several marches and demonstrations took place inside the village.

The army patrolled the village during the night and would withdraw without confrontations even though they were stoned on some occasions.

On 19th January 1988, late in the evening, three masked youths attacked the houses of two suspected collaborators. Their houses were stoned, and as a result, the two collaborators fled from the village. A third collaborator from Jenin camp who had also fled his own home, was in hiding at one of the collaborators' homes. He, too, was chased out of Kufr Ra'i.



20th January

Israeli troops arrived at the village soon after the attack on the collaborators and stationed themselves at the main village entrance. In the morning the troops started to clear the stone roadblocks and drove to the center of the village. Cries of warning spread throughout the village and hundreds of youths and older men gathered in the village center. The demonstrators started throwing stones and empty bottles at the cars of the intelligence agents at the forefront of a convoy of military jeeps. The soldiers shot in the air, and the villagers were warned by the head of the military convoy that they would be back soon to punish them. Faced by the large number of demonstrators, the troops withdrew from the village without continuing the confrontation. That evening the army's threat to the village was discussed and a decision was taken to set up popular guarding committees to protect the village and to provide early warning of the troops' arrival.

24th January

From the early hours of the morning, the villagers set up stone roadblocks and raised Palestinian flags, however the troops did not come to the village. At around 9 pm, the soldiers tried to enter the village from a side entrance assuming that it would not be guarded. To their surprise there was a huge stone roadblock across the road, and as soon as they approached the barricade, the night-watchmen started whistling to one another from their guarding positions to warn of the army's arrival. In a short space of time, dozens of youths gathered and prepared for the confrontation, but on realizing how alert and organized the villagers were, the troops withdrew. Villagers report that meanwhile, at another entrance to the village, there was another group of soldiers, this time on foot, shooting into the air. They were trying to trick and intimidate the villagers into thinking that the whole village was completely surrounded. The villagers realized what was happening as the guarding committee was keeping the villagers informed of all the army's movements and tricks.

25th - 28th January

During these four days several large marches took place in the village. Palestinian flags were raised and many nationalist slogans - "Yes to the independent state", "Yes to the PLO", "Yes to the continuation of the uprising and freedom for all the detainees" - were written on the village walls. The army did not come to the village during these four days.

29th January

Around 2 pm a large number of troops attempted to enter Kufr Ra'i but were prevented from doing so by the youths and stone-throwing groups using slingshots.

The troops threw tear gas and shot at the villagers using rubber bullets and live ammunition. Dozens of youths were hit with rubber bullets and many others suffered from tear gas inhalation. The villagers showered the soldiers with stones and shattered the windows of a military vehicle, forcing the troops to withdraw.

3rd March

A low-flying helicopter arrived in the village at around 3 pm. The helicopter dropped dozens of tear gas grenades in the hillsides where the guarding committees were stationed. Tear gas was also dropped throughout the village and inside houses. Dozens of cases of poisoning resulted, mainly children, women and elderly. From that day on, this became daily routine.

Marches of hundreds of villagers were held in the village. Demonstrators would march to the center of the village where a speaker would talk about the initial accomplishments of the uprising and its future prospects. Others would discuss the current political situation in the area and the potential for change. There were also discussions about the aims of the uprising which included creating the conditions for the convening of an international conference with full authority and establishing an independent Palestinian state. Attention was drawn to the implications and dangers of proposals put forward by Jordan and Egypt.

Certain elements in the village objected to the marches saying that they were the creation of communist "infidels" and that there was no need for the youth to cover their faces as all the villagers were known to one another. The villagers stood up against these elements with unity and cohesion and ordered them to stay inside the national fold or else to step aside. The villagers were proud of the fact that they remained undivided despite provocative factional, tribal and religious tendencies.

10th March

The Committee for the Supervision of Prices and Boycott of Israeli Produce distributed a leaflet. The leaflet called for the boycott of Israeli produce where there is an alternative Palestinian product. Following this call, the Israeli dairy products from Tnuva were not allowed into the village and the villagers satisfied their needs through local resources, purchasing dairy products from the nearby villages. Israeli and foreign cigarettes were not seen any more inside the village, and many villagers even stopped smoking.

17th March

A massive demonstration left Kufr Ra'i, heading for the nearby village of Ya'bad, to demonstrate solidarity with the families of the martyrs who had been killed by the army in the village. Ya'bad had been cordoned off by the Israeli

troops but the villagers from Kufr Ra'i managed to enter Ya'bad by marching over the hills.

24th March

Leaflet no. 2 was issued by the village's popular committees, calling on the two appointed members of the village council to resign. The leaflet included another call for the collaborators in the village to repent before the deadline of 28th March.

The calls made by the popular committees corresponded with the calls made by the Unified Leadership of the Uprising in one of its communiques. All of the communiques had been read out over the loudspeakers of all the three mosques in Kufr Ra'i.

30th March

Another enormous demonstration left the village in the morning, heading for the nearby village of Fahma in solidarity with the villagers who were protesting the recent kidnapping of a villager from Fahma by collaborators who had stormed his house during the night and forced him out at gunpoint. This was done in order to punish him for the actions of his wife who had urged dozens of female laborers from the village to boycott work in the Israeli job market.

That night the arrangements for Land Day were announced over the loudspeakers of the mosque. The following morning, hundreds of women, children, youth and elderly people gathered and demonstrated through the village carrying flags and shouting slogans against the occupation and its collaborators. The demonstrators walked to the house of one of the appointed council members in the village, and a group of masked youths went in to force him to resign. Inside the house the youths were attacked with batons and knives and one was injured. The brother of the council member was stabbed and later died. The following day the dead youth's funeral took place and the council member announced his resignation saying that he had sacrificed his brother for the people and the uprising, and that he did not accuse anyone of killing his brother.

Over the next few weeks, the Israelis attempted to make use of this death and encouraged some of the village youth to spark off clashes inside the village. These youths were soon discovered by the villagers, they admitted to what they had been encouraged to do, and they later repented.

10th April

Around 3 am large army forces entered the village leaving their heavy vehicles outside. The troops approached on foot taking advantage of the darkness and

succeeded taking the guarding committees by surprise.

More than 1000 soldiers clashed with the guarding committees and many youths were shot with rubber bullets.

The troops gained control of the village, and after they had cleared the roadblocks they started storming the village houses. The youths were incapable of standing up against the heavy army presence and had no alternative but to flee. Around 100 youths were caught and taken to the center of the village. They were beaten and insulted, and a list with the names of 23 youths was produced who were subsequently arrested and taken to a detention camp in Jenin. Their ages ranged from 14 to 34 years.

Meanwhile soldiers took down Palestinian flags and burned them.

At the other end of the village the houses were stormed, furniture was broken, and children, women and elderly people were brutally beaten with batons and the butts of guns.

At the end of the day a curfew was imposed and houses were stormed in search of young men. The imam of the village was attacked and beaten by the soldiers after he refused to announce the curfew over the loudspeaker of the mosque. The soldiers withdrew the following morning, and as they left the village they shouted racist slogans over the loudspeakers.

11th April

An army vehicle carrying eight soldiers entered the village. It was halted by villagers who showered it with stones and empty bottles. The troops responded with tear gas and rubber bullets. Large numbers of villagers gathered and started throwing stones at the soldiers. The soldiers retreated.

Immediately the fighting forces of the guarding committees distributed themselves in different positions inside the village. A small group of youths deliberately remained visible to the soldiers in order to make them believe that the demonstrators had dispersed. The troops were again showered with stones during the ensuing clashes, which lasted for about two hours. The soldiers used their weapons indiscriminately and after the clash the village streets were full of used bullets.

Later a group of soldiers were forced to leave their vehicle and sought shelter under the roof of a veranda. Some youths managed to climb onto the roof and threw cement blocks down onto the soldiers. When they ran out of blocks, they started dismantling a stone wall and using the stones. An elderly man standing on the roof saw one soldier aiming his gun at a villager; he threw a rock which hit the gun, causing the soldier to fall. He was then quickly pulled in under the shelter by the other soldiers.

One of the soldiers spotted a 12-year-old girl standing nearby, grabbed hold of her and dragged her across the ground declaring that she was a hostage and that

she would not be released until the stoning had stopped.

The villagers stopped throwing stones and started negotiating with the soldiers while remaining in their positions. Meanwhile a planned operation was being executed by dozens of youths who crept up on the soldiers and showered them with stones. The soldiers were taken by surprise and the young girl managed to free herself.

The commanding officer then shouted through a loudspeaker "Inhabitants of Kufr Ra'i, you are good people. We are not the ones to blame for what is happening, we will withdraw and we will not shoot or arrest any of you."

The villagers did not trust what was being said and remained in their positions. Soon army reinforcements arrived in a convoy of army vehicles led by a jeep. Two young men who had been captured from the nearby village of Fahma were tied to the bonnet of the jeep, which was intended to stop the villagers from throwing stones. The youths from Kufr Ra'i dispersed and hid in trees and behind walls as soon as the leading jeep passed. The rest of the convoy was then showered with stones. The troops started shooting in all directions. One of the vehicles armed with a machine gun fired large bullets (10 cm long) in the direction of the villagers. The army convoy managed to reach the entrance of the village and in the meantime troops on foot closed in on the demonstrators from behind.

22-year-old Jalal Milhem was shot by three bullets in his chest. He had been standing with his back to the soldiers. As they approached he turned around and was shot from a distance of three meters. He died instantly.

Many other youths were injured with live ammunition, and two others were killed.

Fu'ad `Aziz Saleh (22) was shot in the leg. When other youths tried to carry him away they were shot at with rubber bullets and were forced to leave Fu'ad on the ground. Soldiers approached him and when he tried to run away they beat him to death using batons and the butts of guns.

Another youth (21 years), Mohammed Kamal Ghandor, was shot in the heart and died instantly. The same day soldiers attacked a mosque in the village shattering its windows and smashing the loudspeaker.

Meanwhile, women, children, youths and elderly people remained on the streets confronting the troops and preventing them from entering the rest of the village. Women hurled stones at the soldiers, supplied the youths with stones, informed the youths of the movements of the troops and extinguished tear gas grenades with water.

Ambulances from Nablus and Jenin and volunteer doctors from Jenin arrived in the village. At the same time three doctors from the village had set up an emergency room and were dealing with the casualties. After long hours of fierce and continuous resistance the soldiers decided to withdraw. Three villagers had been

killed that day and nine people were badly injured after being shot with live ammunition. The youngest was a 12-year-old girl who had been shot with a "dum-dum" bullet in the waist. Dozens of women, children and elderly villagers had been shot with rubber bullets but had refrained from seeking medical attention for fear of reprisals from the army. Tens of houses were stormed during the day, furniture was destroyed and members of the family were beaten up. Some were arrested in order to force members of their families to give themselves up.

That evening a funeral for the three martyrs took place in the village. Nationalist slogans were shouted: "O martyr, rest in peace, we shall continue the struggle". The procession carried the bodies of the martyrs wrapped in Palestinian flags through the streets of the village, and three days of mourning were declared. Hundreds of people from the surrounding villages arrived in Kufr Ra'i to pay condolences to the village.

During those three days massive demonstrations took place condemning the occupation and calling for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

16th April

Following the announcement of the assassination of the Palestinian leader Abu Jihad, the villagers of Kufr Ra'i organized massive demonstrations. The army did not attempt to enter, however the village was put under strict siege: villagers were not allowed to leave, and journalists were not allowed to enter. No direct confrontations took place.

Villagers from Kufr Ra'i who work as wage laborers in Israel reported being stopped at army checkpoints between the West Bank and Israel. When they produced their identity cards the soldiers, after having read their place of residence, asked them "Are you from the village of war? The people there cannot be subdued!"[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 9, May 1st - May 7th, 1988)

The `Arroua Diary

`Arroua is a village in the Ramallah region with a population of approximately 2,000 people who depend for their income on olive tree cultivation and wage labor in Israel.

The uprising in the village did not start on 9th December 1987, the date which has become the "landmark" of the 1987 Palestinian Uprising. `Arroua, similar to many communities throughout the occupied territories, has not in the past missed any Palestinian nationalist event without demonstrating and expressing protest against the 20-year-old Israeli occupation. In `Arroua, these events were always

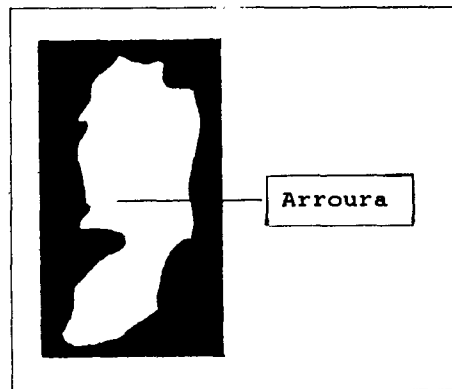
accompanied by demonstrations and protests, either in the village school or in its center; Palestinian flags were raised, nationalist slogans were written on the walls and stone barricades were erected.

In August 1986, for example, the joint plan between Jordan and Israel, which later came to be known as the "autonomy plan", was being proposed for the occupied territories. One of its elements was that development plans for every village should be submitted to the authorities. Jordan at that time had proposed a five-year development plan which would have ultimately placed the West Bank directly under the control of the Jordanian government. The development plans were supposed to define the boundaries of each location. This was seen as a dangerous step towards the confiscation of yet more land and was immediately and strongly opposed.

Villagers in `Arroura rejected the proposal and fought a long struggle which lasted several months. This opposition carried with it punitive and oppressive measures on the part of the Israeli authorities, including the arrest of two youths. Both were arrested for 18 days on the grounds of opposing the proposal.

The wealth of experiences and confrontations with the Israeli authorities which accumulated over the years had strengthened and refined people's knowledge of the nature of the Israeli oppression and the means to counteract it. In `Arroura, house raids and arrests had long since become the norm. Union activists in particular, who were members of the local Union of Construction Workers and Public Institutions, had always been targets for the attacks of the Israeli secret service, the army and the collaborators in the village.

The events which took place on 9th December 1987 in Gaza, and the ones that later on that month took place in Kalandia camp, where a large number of troops raided a school and physically assaulted the students, were followed in `Arroura with great concern. A few days later, youths from the village protested against the



Israeli authorities' repression by raising Palestinian flags, setting up stone barricades and writing nationalist slogans over the walls in the village.

21st December 1987

On 21st December 1987 the army entered the village. That day, "Peace Day", marked a general strike throughout the occupied territories and amongst the Palestinians in the 1948 Territories.

Early in the morning, an Israeli army jeep entered `Arroura and stopped below an electricity pole, at the top of which a large Palestinian flag was fluttering. The soldiers tried to force villagers in the area to take the flag down while cursing and insulting them. News of what was happening quickly spread in the village, and youths gathered and started stoning the jeep. The soldiers retreated, jumped into the jeep and threatened to come back for the villagers: the jeep drove away with a broken windshield and head injuries to soldiers who had been stoned.

22nd December 1987

By 10 am the village was surrounded by a large number of army troops who quickly entered the village and started a campaign of mass arrests. Six unionists and four workers were taken from their houses and detained in al-Dhahariyeh prison in Hebron; they were amongst the first to "inaugurate" this detention center.

The assault in `Arroura that day did not end with the arrests. Identity cards and driving licenses were confiscated: the holders of these documents were told by the troops that they would be returned only when a list of the names of stone-throwers in the village would be supplied.

Over the next few weeks, the Israeli secret service (in co-operation with collaborators from the village) tried to spark off arguments and feuds amongst the villagers. Family disputes were intentionally being raised, and some villagers were threatened with punitive actions which would be taken against them if they did not supply information on the activists in the village. The village experienced a serious social conflict. Had it not been for the broadmindedness of the villagers and the long tradition of nationalist struggle in `Arroura, which succeeded in defeating this plot, unity in the village would not have been accomplished.

An internal campaign against the collaborators was conducted. The campaign also educated the villagers about the methods used by the Israeli intelligence to extract information by blackmail and intimidation. Women were included in this information campaign while they were baking bread in the communal bakery and during social evenings. Union activists used to visit the houses to explain the political implications of current events, Israeli policies and means of counteracting them. With time the villagers began to become mobilized and informed, resulting in the social isolation of collaborators in the village whose names and identities had

been exposed and written on the walls.

It was most noticeable that women had a crucial role in conducting and implementing the results of this campaign. A feeling of unity and strength was gradually overwhelming the village. Disputes were put aside and everyone was working for the common good of national unity.

On 7th January 1988, the arrested youths from `Arroua were released, and despite the physical brutality that each one of them had faced while in detention, none were charged. They left the prison with high spirits, each telling about the heroic stands taken by the others while under detention. That day turned into a national feast: the high spirit of the detainees infected the villagers, who felt victorious.

Village Participation in Relief Campaigns

On 7th January, relief calls were published in the local newspapers calling on the Palestinians in the occupied territories to mobilize and organize for relief aid to the population in Gaza and especially to the besieged refugee camps. Activists met and asked for a public meeting with the villagers where the means of collecting aid would be discussed. Three committees were formed during the public meeting; their task was to visit all the houses and ask for donations.

The `Imam in the village was asked to dedicate Friday's sermon (the 8th January) to explaining the moral and religious obligation of donating to the besieged areas.

While the donations were being collected, the members of the three committees answered villagers' questions concerning the political situation, the repression under occupation, the importance of continuing the uprising and its immediate and future objectives.

The overwhelming majority of the village participated in donating, even the poorest of the families who were ready to offer what little they had. The donations collected amounted to US\$ 3,000 in cash and in foodstuffs. The women's role in this campaign was considerable and effective; some joined the men in collecting while others did it by themselves.

This collective and nationalist spirit did not meet with the approval of the village collaborators who were joining up their efforts to intimidate the population and to identify the activists by keeping an eye on the villagers at night. There were incidents when the collaborators went as far as raising knives in the face of some activists and beating them. The collaborators were then told by the village unionists and activists that they would be attacked and driven out of the village if they continued with their excesses. The Progressive Workers' Block in the village held a meeting and came out with a resolution that night-watch committees should be formed to abort the collaborators' attempts to identify the activists and to

protect the village from the army's night raids. These actions succeeded ultimately in deterring the collaborators, many of whom asked mediators in the village to reconcile them with the committees and activists.

The village was undergoing the important stage of political mobilization, organization and polarization during the months of December and January, resulting in creating a strong network for organizing the population through the popular committees.

23rd February

A worker from `Arroua, who was visiting the nearby village of Deir al-Sudan, was provoked by collaborators who threatened him with their guns. The news reached `Arroua and several days later the collaborator's car was stoned; he got out of his car and started shooting in the direction of the throwers, managing to flee. The villagers recognized the implications of the incident and started preparing for the arrival of the troops.

The popular guarding committees (working around the clock) were on full alert the whole night. At 10 am the following morning they spotted the approaching army vehicles.

24th February

Thirteen army vehicles and secret service cars along with the collaborator's car were approaching `Arroua. The villagers had prepared for this arrival; stone barricades had been erected for two kilometers along the main road, and striking forces were positioned on the hills and behind stone walls. The accompanying army bulldozer cleared aside the stone barricades and allowed the other vehicles to advance. Within minutes, the vehicles were being showered with stones from all directions, the striking forces having their supplies replenished by women who carried stones in the laps of their long dresses and in containers.

During the four-hour clash with the army, tear gas and live bullets were shot generously at the villagers. The troops tried but failed to find refuge from the hail of stones, and finally pulled back the vehicles and retreated away from the village. Their exit was crowned with cheering, while Palestinian flags were fluttering from the surrounding olive trees.

The troops came back an hour later. They had kidnapped villagers from the neighboring village of `Ajjoul, who were ordered to walk in front of the army vehicles to protect them from the unarmed villagers of `Arroua. They were also forced to remove the remaining stones on the roads, and the soldiers tried to use their bodies as a protection from the flying stones.

The striking forces, positioned on the hills, shouted to the kidnapped villagers to fight against the blackmail of the troops and to go back to their village. The

villagers from `Ajjoul refused both to remove the stones and to advance any further. They were beaten savagely by the soldiers but did not concede and were later released. The soldiers then drove to another nearby village, Deir al-Sudan, and came back with youths from there to clear the streets and to protect them from the stones. The youths were called upon to refuse which they did, and as a result, were brutally beaten with batons. Army reinforcements arrived; the troops were intent on entering `Arroua. Reinforcements from the nearby villages were coming through the hills to the aid of the striking forces.

Dozens of tear gas canisters, rubber bullets and live ammunition were fired. The villagers threw back the fired tear gas canisters into the valley below where the troops were stationed. This was possible because `Arroua is situated on a hill: its geographical position kept the number of casualties to a minimum, given the amount of ammunition which was fired. Many, however, suffered from tear gas poisoning, and two youths were injured, one of them shot in the shoulder with a live bullet.

Throughout the clashes, the troops were able to advance a mere half a kilometer and were forced to retreat in the face of the heroic defense from the villagers.

The stone barricades remained on the roads for four days until the Israeli troops came back on 27th February.

27th February

Army vehicles arrived at dawn, indiscriminately spraying live ammunition in the air. The army bulldozer cleared the roads and the vehicles were soon inside the village. Guarding committees were prepared and started stoning the vehicles from different locations, completely smashing all the windshields. The troops jumped out of the vehicles to protect themselves and later returned under the protection of arms to drive away the vehicles.

Following the troops' withdrawal, the roads were again blocked with stone barricades. A decision was taken that 24-hour guarding committees should be positioned not only at the entrance of the village but also on the outskirts and on the roads that lead to the village. The number of volunteers for this task was increased, older people and women joined in and worked on shifts with the others.

New Forms of Steadfastness

During the months of February and March popular participation increased. Sectors within the society traditionally known to be the least active joined in the confrontations with the troops and in the struggle to consolidate the uprising:

1- In addition to the workers, the peasants joined in the confrontations and enriched the demonstrators with their knowledge and experience in making slingshots

and using them.

2. The elderly in the village were active participants whether in the demonstrations, in night guarding or in supplying information to the committees concerning the movement of troops.

3. The women's presence was noticeable for they participated in the demonstrations and the guardian day and night. They were also crucial in providing first aid to the wounded and in rescuing the youths from the soldiers; as a result many of them suffered beatings and insults. Women were also active in supplying the guarding committees with food and drink.

4. The very young were organized as groups trained to use slings and to watch the entrances of the village.

5. The religious men in the village, too, were co-operative and participated in the activities. Very few refrained and chose to stand aside.

6. Organized committees were constantly being formed; agricultural, first aid and food supplies committees were fulfilling the everyday needs and requirements of the population.

7. A higher level of co-ordination within the committees extended to the neighboring villages' committees; contacts and organizations were regular.

8. Political discussions within the committees were vital to consolidate an understanding of popular organization. Accumulated experiences of other committees in the occupied territories were discussed and developed.

9. The role of the guarding committees was to protect the village, not only from the troops but also from the attacks of the Israeli settlers who had started a vicious campaign of burning and uprooting trees and crops of the village.

10. The Village came to be known as a "liberated zone" for a number of months as the army was unable to enter or arrest any of the wanted youths.

The "Day of the Helicopter"

An army helicopter arrived above the village, flew around for about half an hour and then left, clearing the way for the fast advancing army vehicles and troops. Again the villagers managed to force the troops to retreat out of the village. The helicopter returned, dropping tear gas canisters and shooting rubber bullets at the villagers. Then it started chasing the youths in the hills and finally managed to trap two of them. They were detained and released after four hours; they had been ordered to carry detention orders to some of the wanted in the village but had refused to carry out the order.

8th March

A women's demonstration took place that day in the village: nationalistic slogans were carried saying "Yes to the Palestinian state and yes to an

international conference". The women erected more stone barricades and burnt tyres in front of the troops who had arrived to stop the demonstration. They stoned the soldiers, clashed with them fiercely and were joined by the rest of the villagers who finally forced the troops to withdraw.

Despite repeated attempts by the army to enter the village throughout the month of March, they failed to do so as the guarding committees were constantly on alert and ready for any confrontation.

Land Day- 30th March

A march started in 'Arroua and headed in the direction of the neighboring village of 'Abwein. Women, children and young men participated. The demonstration fulfilled its purpose and returned safely to 'Arroua despite the "escort" of a military helicopter hovering above.

In Deir al-Sudan another march took place that day which headed in the direction of another village. A clash took place with Israeli settlers who wanted to disperse the demonstration.

2nd April

This day marked the last attempt on the part of the troops to enter 'Arroua from their usual entry point. One of the guarding committees spotted large numbers of troops advancing on foot. A message was sent to the other committees informing them of the arrival of the troops; this was done in the form of a coded message agreed upon among the villagers.

The troops were thus "welcomed" with the cheers, whistles and ululations of the villagers: signs to inform the troops that the villagers were fully alerted and ready for them.

The troops who had to sneak and walk for a distance of four kilometers were taken by surprise and were terrified by the echoing sounds being made by the villagers. The element of surprise which the troops had obviously planned for backfired; with no time to figure out what was happening, they started running down the hills followed by the striking forces.

Some of the villagers heard the officer in charge shouting angrily over the wireless, "The soldiers are cowards, they are running away from the unarmed crowd. We need reinforcements".

The army vehicles, which had been positioned several kilometers away from the village, started moving forward and came across the striking forces from 'Arroua who had followed the troops.

Tear gas, rubber bullets and live ammunition were fired extensively, and the clouds of tear gas and flare bombs filled the skies of 'Arroua. An intense and fierce clash took place in which one villager was shot dead (Khamis Ahmad, 40

years, and father of ten children). Others were injured with live bullets while many suffered from gas poisoning and from rubber bullets.

The incidents of that day remain in the memory of the villagers as being the most brutal and indiscriminate. The troops left the village several hours later when the villagers were still resisting and fighting back.

A detainee from 'Arroua recounted that while in detention an Israeli soldier said to him, "That day we withdrew thinking that at least ten people had been shot, we expected that we had executed a massacre, and had we known that only one person had died, we would have advanced further into the village".

5th April

It was a cold night and the guarding committees had lit a fire that would provide some warmth. One of the youths moved a couple of meters away from his friends to urinate. He heard a sound, looked and saw soldiers crawling up the hills. Silently he walked back, informed his friends who at first thought that he was joking. One of them refused to believe him and stayed where he was while the others followed him to check out his story.

Upon confirming the arrival of the troops, the youths started whistling in a special way meant to inform the other committees of the arrival of the troops on foot. By then the troops had completely surrounded the village and started advancing backed by their tanks. A helicopter had debarked the troops away from the village, and the guarding youths had been tricked for they thought that the army would attack a nearby village.

The advancing vehicles announced through loudspeakers that "a curfew is being imposed on 'Arroua and everyone must remain inside their houses, the army is all over the village, the wanted had better surrender or they will be harshly punished".

House raids were started but the troops failed to find any youths since some of them had broken the curfew and had run through the hills to take refuge in the nearby villages while others were confronting the troops and fighting back.

By 3 am other army reinforcements had arrived while the striking forces had regrouped and were joined by the striking forces of the nearby village 'Abwein. They clashed with the troops and managed to ease the growing pressure on the villagers inside 'Arroua.

Hours later, clouds of tear gas were polluting the morning skies. The villagers from 'Abwein returned to their village; none of them had been injured. The heroic steadfastness of the people from the two villages will remain for ever a strong bond between them, and tales of what had happened will become the history of their children.

The damage left behind by the troops included the destruction of furniture, private property and the village dental clinic which had been attacked and its

contents destroyed.

Khalil Nimer (50 years), who is the principal of the local school, was arrested and spent two days in al-Dhahariyeh prison.

The bulldozer demolished stone and concrete walls, and three people from the village were injured in the head from the falling stones.

A mother from 'Abwein was brutally beaten with batons when she tried to rescue her son from the soldiers. The troops were obviously taking their revenge on the population, beating and intimidating them.

After the troops had failed to find the wanted youths, they left the village in the direction of 'Abwein where they thought many had taken refuge. The village was put under curfew and the houses were stormed but none of the youths were found. The troops had mistakenly thought that the striking forces were only from 'Arroura and that they had taken refuge in 'Abwein. They never imagined the solidarity between the villages would reach that level; this was a new phenomenon that had evolved during the age of the uprising.

The next period was characterized by numerous assaults by the army; attacks were made at night with dozens of army vehicles, and long hours of clashes with the population during which ammunition was generously fired. Checkpoints were set up, where workers coming back to their village were harassed, beaten and some were detained.

Punitive actions were taken against the villagers, public services were stopped and a helicopter became a permanent stain in the skies of 'Arroura.

There was a total of 30 army attacks on 'Arroura between the months of February and June.

16th May

Five military vehicles headed in the direction of 'Arroura but then turned and drove into Mazra' al-Noubani. The popular committees in 'Arroura were meanwhile organizing themselves and plans were made to block the exit for the vehicles, tyres were burnt and when the troops attempted to return they were faced with striking forces who showered them with stones. Again the element of surprise was effective and, according to plan the vehicles were forced to drive through 'Arroura. There they were allowed to advance into the center of the village, and only then were they attacked by the villagers. Three soldiers were injured and many vehicles were stoned. They had fallen into the trap and they had to retreat immediately.

18th May: The Big Attack

At 1 am the guarding committees watched as a huge number of troops descended from helicopters a couple of kilometers outside the village. The troops did not advance as usual into the village, but surrounded the village on its outskirts

until 5 am. The workers leaving the village to work were turned back and ordered to remove the stone barricades. Most of the youths in the village had already left or were attempting to do so through the hills. Some were spotted by the troops who followed them and managed to catch one of them.

Hasan 'Abd al-Rahman was taken by the soldiers up the hill where his hands and feet were tied and he was pushed into a one and a half meter deep trench. One of the soldiers started dropping big stones on Hasan and the other soldiers joined in and aimed at Hasan's legs and chest. The stones were piling up, and the soldiers were adding more; Hasan was covered with stones up to his chest. Meanwhile the soldiers were kicking his head and face with their boots. An hour and a half later they ordered him to get out, but Hasan could not, he was lying unconscious. Water was poured on his head, and his blood stained the suffocating stones. When later on an Israeli army investigation committee arrived at the site, Hasan's blood on the stones was enough testimony of the soldiers' barbaric and fascist crime.

The soldiers, it seemed, were acting insanely and had lost all control. They started shooting rubber bullets at Hasan's head from close range, then one of the soldiers pulled Hasan by the hair out of the trench. He was dragged to the center of the village where the other troops had already forced the village youths to gather. The same criminal and brutal act that Hasan had gone through was experienced by two other youths from the village: Mohammed 'Awadeh and Mohammed 'Arrouri.

A curfew was imposed on the village at 5.30 that morning. 30-40 army vehicles advanced and entered 'Arroua. The male population was ordered to gather in the school courtyard and to lie flat on their stomachs. The soldiers started walking on top of the lying bodies and beating them with batons. Some were beaten unconscious while others had their eyes damaged and blood coming out of them.

Four people were hospitalized, all with broken bones. Thirteen men between the ages of 19 and 50 years were taken into detention.

The village was then declared a closed military area and at 2.00pm part of the troops left 'Arroua in the direction of 'Abwein, while the army helicopter chased some youths from 'Arroua in surrounding hills and valleys.

In 'Abwein the villagers courageously confronted the troops who fired ammunition indiscriminately. Majdi Hilal (16 years) was shot dead by a bullet in the head, and Fatima Qassem (29 years) was seriously wounded in the head and remained unconscious at Maqassed Hospital in Jerusalem until she died on 1st July.

Dozens of others were injured that day in 'Abwein which was declared a closed military area: journalists and foreign correspondents were not allowed entry into the village or into 'Arroua.

5th May

An army police vehicle arrived: the troops sent word to the villagers that they were an investigation committee coming to study the cases of the youths who had been buried. The guarding committees then allowed them into the village and took them to where the incidents had taken place.

1st June

Amram Mitzna, head of the Israeli military authorities in the area, arrived in a convoy of military forces which included two helicopters, a gravel-throwing vehicle, a bulldozer and an ambulance. He claimed that they had arrived to continue the investigation of the burial cases. The villagers soon discovered that Mitzna had lied: troops started storming the houses and clashed with the villagers. Satisfied, Mitzna left the village.

5th June

A military jeep arrived, and when the troops saw a Palestinian flag fluttering on an electricity pole, they climbed and took it down. The striking forces in the village followed and attacked them with stones. When the troops could not retreat out of the village, they were forced to drive into its center. One soldier was still holding the Palestinian flag, and he raised it high, thinking of it as a protection. The driver speeded through the village and drove away towards another exit while the flag was still raised high. The village children positioned on both sides of the road stopped throwing stones and started clapping for the Palestinian flag.

Ever since that day the village has been replenishing its committees and re-organizing the villagers.

In a later development, on 9th July, two private cars were seen by the guarding committees in 'Arroura driving through the village in the direction of 'Abwein. The cars were stoned, and it was later discovered that they were driven by troops and Israeli secret service who had come with the intention of arresting some activists from 'Abwein.

Meanwhile the villagers discovered that a military jeep had driven into 'Arroura with its lights off: it was stoned and the troops were attacked by the striking forces. The two private cars came back to 'Arroura to aid the military jeep. The villagers realized what was happening and set up stone barricades which succeeded in isolating the two cars from the jeep. The troops and the secret service abandoned their cars and attacked the nearby houses in a barbaric manner. They started by smashing all the windows of the verandas and physically attacked the residents.

The following are examples of what happened that day:

* Hasan 'Abd al-Rahman (27 years, laborer) was attacked after his house had been stormed. He was beaten systematically when he said, "I have done nothing, in

fact I am the one whom you had buried in June and I have a case in the court against the army. I couldn't possibly be involved in anything".

The troops looked at him and shouted, "So you are the one. Come, come". They pulled him out of his house and hit his head with big stones and with the butts of their guns. Then they carried him and threw him on the fence of the garden.

Hasan now lies in Ramallah Hospital in a coma after surgery was performed for his head: his skull had been broken.

All of the windows and furniture as well as his car had been smashed before the soldiers left.

* Haifa, Hasan's niece, was inside the house when it was attacked; she was picked up by the troops and thrown from the window of the house. She is currently in hospital.

* Da'oud Mohammed (17 years, a worker) was sleeping when the soldiers stormed into his house. He was carried by the troops and only awoke when he was outside the house, where he was beaten systematically on all parts of his body with the leg of a table which the troops had broken earlier on. Then they made him stand with his face against the wall and burnt his back using a cigarette lighter. When the gas in the lighter ran out, they lit cigarettes and applied them directly to his burnt back. Finally they splashed dirty water on his body, confiscated his identity card and left him. Da'oud is receiving treatment at the Augusta Victoria Hospital in Jerusalem.

* Fatima 'Issa (32 years, mother of four children) tried to protect her brother-in-law 'Othman from the beating fists of the troops. They had already broken the house furniture and smashed the windows. 'Othman was beaten so cruelly that his face was covered with blood; the walls of the room still bear witness to his sufferings. Fatima tried in vain to spare him but she was also attacked, pulled by her hair, and she received blows in her face. She fell unconscious and is now at Augusta Victoria Hospital.

* Taleb 'Awad, an elderly man, saw his neighbor's door being smashed after he had refused to open it for the troops. He decided to open his own even before the soldiers had knocked. This did not help for his house furniture and the windows were immediately broken by the troops. Next his 20-year-old son Jamil was dragged outside the house as he was sleeping and beaten. Taleb and his wife refused to close the door of their house; they wanted to see what was happening to their son. The troops then returned into the house and attacked both of them. They were hit with stones on their heads which started bleeding.

Jamil has concussion from the beating with stones: he is in Augusta Victoria Hospital with a ten stitches wound on his forehead.

Both his mother and father have also been hospitalized at the same hospital.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 17, 3rd - 9th July, 1988)

Jenin Camp: Diary of Confrontation

Jenin refugee camp is located to the west of Jenin city, near the village of Brouqeen, a village which has recently become famous for its cemetery, where the martyrs of the uprising in the region are buried. The cemetery has been given the name "cemetery of the martyrs".

Jenin camp has a population of 10,000 people, the majority of whom sought refuge in Jenin after the 1948 war, having fled from their villages in the Triangle, the coastal plain and the Galilee. The rest of the population are originally from Jenin and chose to remain on their land when it became a camp.

The camp is supplied with electricity and water from the Jenin municipality, however the majority of houses are not connected to the Jenin sewage system. Only eight houses have telephones and even those are mostly out of order. The camp has two UNRWA schools, one for boys and the other for girls; both are elementary level. There is also one youth club which has ceased its activities since the beginning of the uprising.

Health services are provided to the camp through one UNRWA clinic which is open for six days per week and is staffed by one general practitioner, a dentist and three nurses.

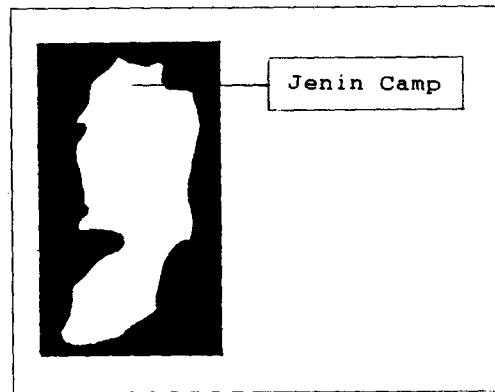
The residents depend for their income on a variety of sources, listed below in order of predominance and importance:

1. The overwhelming majority of the work force are wage laborers in Israel; few work in Jenin.
2. The residents are also involved in agricultural work, farming the land situated to the north of the camp and owned by big landowners from Jenin city. The residents work as sharecroppers or by renting land. During the uprising the number of workers in agriculture increased due to the unemployment of wage laborers in Israel.
3. The rest mainly work as shopkeepers and merchants, or in clerical work in the UNRWA and government offices.

Recently, about 200 wage laborers working in Israel have been fired from their jobs because, as their employers explained, they were from Jenin camp.

Before the Uprising

Like many other villages and refugee camps in the occupied territories, the residents of Jenin camp reject the idea that the intifada started there on 9th December 1987. It would be inaccurate, they explain, to say that confrontations and ensuing collective punishments by the Israeli authorities had not been taking place throughout the years of occupation.



The most recent confirmation of this statement were the events which took place there in October 1987, when a committee was formed in the camp called "Committee Against Collaborators". The group exposed the names of collaborators in order to minimize the harm that they could do. Residents were also mobilized in order to boycott and socially isolate the collaborators.

The permanent army posts and surveillance points on top of the camp houses were often under attack from the residents who used to stone them, ambush the soldiers and constantly harass them. Several days before the intifada spread through the occupied territories, Israeli troops stormed a number of houses in the camp and arrested 12 youths.

The camp also witnessed solidarity marches and demonstrations in response to the army's attacks at the end of October 1987 on Bethlehem University, Deheisheh camp and later on in Balata camp and Ramallah.

The residents reject the notion that the military operation of the hang-glider from South Lebanon was the catalyst for the onset of the intifada. They emphasize that the Palestinians had been organizing, mobilizing and rejecting the occupation since its inception.

The fact that the camp had always been decorated with nationalistic slogans on its walls and Palestinian flags on electricity poles is yet another testimony that the residents fought on a daily basis against the Israeli occupation.

Confrontations and demonstrations, however, were up until the beginning of the intifada, limited to students, workers and children. This gradually changed and spread to all sectors of the community.

Peace Day: 21st December 1987

This day was proclaimed by the progressive and democratic forces in Israel, both Palestinians and Israelis, in solidarity with the occupied territories.

At dawn Palestinian flags were fluttering high all over the camp, stone barricades and tyres were positioned awaiting the arrival of the troops. Workers went on strike that day and remained in the camp, and transportation came to a complete halt.

The camp residents - men, women and children of all ages - gathered in the open square where a huge demonstration set off in the direction of the main entrance of the camp. Huge numbers of troops had already blocked the entrance and immediately fired tear gas in the direction of the crowd. Dozens of tear gas canisters were thrown and fell indiscriminately in the midst of the demonstrators. Rubber bullets and live ammunition were showered at the people, and the soldiers started advancing towards the crowd.

Great confusion spread amongst the residents who started running in all directions. Those with experience - the young women, the workers and the children - reorganized and split into groups positioned in the narrow alleys. They clashed with the army which was both brutal and aggressive. Within the first hours of the clash a young man, Yusef el-'Ar'arawi (24 years), was injured in the chest by a live bullet and fell to the ground. Other youths tried to rescue him and get him away from the troops, but the soldiers reached him first, led by the Druze officer, Yusef Halabi, famous in the camp and the region for his brutality. He viciously attacked Yusef with his baton, and the other soldiers joined him and kicked with their boots until he bled to death. Yusef al-'Ara'arawi died in front of the residents who were prevented from intervening by the soldiers.

The echo of women's cries filled the area and the residents left their houses enraged and grieved. They stoned the troops and shouted nationalist slogans. Some of them even attacked the soldiers, who were armed to the teeth, and confronted them with sticks. The troops responded by shooting haphazardly and densely in order to intimidate the people: within two hours of the death of the first martyr, a second, Mahmoud al-Qaisi (21 years), was shot by a live bullet in the head. The soldiers were chasing some youths in the alleys and shot Mahmoud while he was sitting in front of his house in a wheelchair: Mahmoud was handicapped.

The troops kidnapped the bodies of Mahmoud and Yusef and took them out of the camp. The residents later discovered that the troops had buried Yusef in a village 6 km to the east of Jenin, while Mahmoud had been buried in a village 10 km to the west of Haifa.

That day, dozens of other residents were injured from rubber bullets and many suffered from tear gas poisoning. Thirteen others were injured by live bullets.

Following the clashes and the heavy toll of dead and injured that day, the

camp was put under curfew and the troops withdrew from inside the camp. They left behind 70 destroyed solar heaters which they had shot at directly and deliberately. In spite of the curfew, the youths organized guarding committees inside the camp in preparation for another assault.

22nd December

A symbolic funeral for the martyrs started in the camp. Thousands of people marched with coffins wrapped in Palestinian flags. The troops approached and tried to stop the crowd who confronted the soldiers and clashed with them face to face.

Meanwhile a huge march coming from Jenin was approaching in the direction of the camp, and the troops tried to prevent it from entering. Tear gas filled the air and armored personnel carriers were used to disperse the crowd, part of which returned to Jenin while the others walked to the southern entrance and managed to join the demonstrators inside the camp.

They clashed with the troops in a fierce confrontation. An officer announced to the residents that if they dispersed and went back to their houses none of them would be shot. If they refused he would order his soldiers to shoot at everyone and a massacre would take place.

The crowd then decided to pull back into the camp and gathered in the open square. Speeches from the different political representatives were read out calling on the people to consolidate their efforts and to strengthen the intifada. The role of the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people was emphasized. Everyone stood silent for a minute in commemoration of the martyrs, after which nationalist slogans and songs filled the air.

The crowds were guarded by watch committees which were keeping an eye on the entrances of the camp. The committees started burning tyres and blocking the entrances, and when the troops tried to enter by firing tear gas canisters and rubber bullets, they were confronted by crowds who forced them to retreat.

The troops tried to enter from another direction but were only able to do it when reinforcements arrived made up of army vehicles and artillery. The officer in charge called through the loudspeaker and ordered the people to disperse. The crowd responded by shouting back: "Leave, leave, o occupier". Troops advanced and shot live bullets injuring two youths. The troops had encircled the camp from all its sides except for the one leading to the hills, which was later used by youths.

The troops stormed the houses in the camp and completely destroyed furniture and water tanks on top of the roofs. A campaign of arrests followed: 100 youths were detained, the majority of whom are still imprisoned. 70 arrest orders were left for the youths who were not found in their houses, and the following day nine of them were arrested. A curfew was then imposed which lasted until 27th December.

31st December

Foot patrols and surveillance points were stoned inside the camp. The attacks were sudden and the youths quickly withdrew. A number of soldiers were seriously injured and a curfew was imposed for the next two days.

Throughout the month of January almost daily clashes with the troops took place. The severest was one on 25th January when Omar Jum'a was beaten by the soldiers with batons and butts of guns all over his body until he was bleeding from his mouth and head. Two youths were also arrested and have since remained under administrative detention.

On 26th January, two youths were injured by live bullets. A curfew was imposed and the camp was declared a closed military area.

January 28th

Army checkpoints were erected that morning, and on the opposite side the youths set up their stone barricades and burning tyres. They clashed with the troops who later dispersed them and arrested two.

1st February

School children started a huge demonstration which was attacked by the troops, who used tear gas, rubber bullets, live ammunition as well as batons. Dozens of male and female school children were poisoned from tear gas and others were injured from rubber bullets. Ten youths were seriously injured with live bullets. A number of soldiers were hit with stones from the demonstrators. Another curfew was imposed, which lasted until the morning of Tuesday 9th February.

On 4th - 7th February huge demonstrations took place in the camp in spite of the curfew and the continuous heavy presence of the troops.

16th February

The camp was decorated with dozens of Palestinian flags and national slogans covered the walls. A demonstration which took place that morning was attacked by the troops using tear gas and live ammunition. Many people were injured that day.

For the rest of that month there were daily confrontations, some of which lasted for 24 hours. Clashes with the army took place during the night when youths would launch sudden attacks on the soldiers at their surveillance points, and then run back into the camp. Throughout the month guarding committees were consolidated. Since the camp was vulnerable to the sudden attacks of the troops, hundreds of volunteers from the camp took shifts on a 24-hour basis to protect the camp.

24th February

The arrival of Shultz to the area was announced and the residents went out on a huge demonstration including the elderly, men and women, the religious men in the camp as well as the children and the youths.

Slogans were carried saying "Out, out, Shultz... We want an independent state", "Shultz does not carry the key to the state", and "George Shultz, O you impostor ... We've heard about you on the radio"

The demonstrators walked to the main entrance of the camp passing the houses of the martyrs' families and saluting them. It was there that the son of one of the camp collaborators announced in front of everyone his father's repentance. The collaborator was accompanied by five residents to the military headquarters in Jenin where they gave the collaborator's gun back to the military governor.

The demonstrators moved forward and were faced with the troops who immediately started shooting: four children were injured with rubber bullets. The demonstrators advanced further and the troops ordered them through the loudspeaker to disperse, but the demonstrators ignored the order and carried on. Tear gas was fired as it had never been fired before, and the soldiers were shooting live ammunition densely and at a close range. Two youths were killed:

The first, 'Issam Abu Khalifeh (17 years), was shot under his left eye and died on the way to hospital. The residents were enraged by the shooting of 'Issam and fearlessly advanced in the direction of the troops throwing stones and empty bottles, while the soldiers were still shooting live bullets at close range. Within five minutes after the shooting of 'Issam, another youth, Ahmed Bitawi (27 years) was shot twice in the head. He was taken to Jenin Hospital and then referred to Rambam Hospital in Israel due to his critical condition. He was kept there by the army and remained in the intensive care unit until his death was announced on 29th January. Ahmed was father of two children.

When 'Issam's body reached the hospital in Jenin, troops surrounded the premises and tried to kidnap the body. The residents who carried 'Issam's body were alerted to this well-known and inhuman practice of the Israeli troops and managed to smuggle his body out of the hospital. They drove back to the camp and after the body was wrapped in a Palestinian flag, a funeral started from the martyr's house and thousands of grieved people filled the streets of the camp. They marched for two kilometers towards the cemetery of the martyrs in Brouqeen while an army helicopter followed the funeral to the cemetery and back to the camp.

In the camp, the thousands of residents advanced towards the troops and a group of them commandeered an army jeep. They climbed on it and raised Palestinian flags, then ordered the driver to drive slowly through the camp or his jeep would be set on fire.

Very soon army reinforcements arrived, high-ranking officers among them, and

they addressed the crowds saying that they would not interrupt the demonstration if the jeep and the soldiers inside it would be freed. The soldiers in the jeep were released and the demonstration headed in the direction of one of the camp entrances, where youths were positioned and striking forces were throwing stones using slingshots. They were doing it so effectively that one of the officers tried to persuade an old man to call on the youths to stop. The old man refused and later joined the demonstrators in their national slogans and chants for the martyrs, while the Palestinian flags were flying high in the air.

26th February

Residents informed the officer in charge that they were holding a peaceful march that day and that they did not want to clash with the troops. The officer promised that he would not interfere and that his troops would remain 100 meters away from the crowd.

Thousands of residents took part in the march, shouting nationalistic slogans and calling for the resignation of the appointed mayor of Jenin. The residents walked in the direction of the mayor's house and called on him to resign. Hundreds of troops confronted them on their way back to the camp but they entered and continued the march until the evening.

February 29th

When Ahmed's death was announced, a large number of cars drove from the camp to the hospital in Haifa to collect the body. On their way back to the camp, troops were standing ready to kidnap the body. The residents had become familiar with this practice, and managed to transfer the body out of the ambulance and into a car which left the convoy and drove into the camp from a side road. Few people in the convoy were aware of what had happened when the troops stopped them and searched the ambulance only to find it empty. The striking forces in the village had not yet been informed of the whereabouts of Ahmed's body and thought that the troops had got hold of it. The troops had to seek protection from the striking forces by standing as close as possible to the convoy of the residents' cars. Reinforcements arrived and the officer in charge declared that the body of Ahmed was truly not with the troops and that the convoy would be set free if the striking forces withdrew back into the camp.

The youths accepted on the condition that the checkpoint would be removed and that the troops withdraw.

Ahmed was buried in the cemetery of the martyrs in Brouqeen after a large procession from the camp. On their way back to the camp, the crowd was attacked by troops; one of the youths, Mahmoud, jumped at a soldier and disarmed him. The soldier went pale and was completely immobilized. Mahmoud then threw the

soldier's gun away and shouted at him, "Take your weapon for it is useless since it will not protect you from the anger of the masses". The minute Mahmoud threw the gun a number of soldiers assaulted him and beat him with their batons and fists. The crowd attacked the soldiers who started shooting rubber bullets from close range.

Meanwhile an army helicopter arrived and started dropping a huge amount of gravel, stones and stone bricks on the heads of the residents. At the same time, the helicopter fired tear gas into the crowd and forced them to disperse. Hundreds of youths from the surrounding villages of Silet al-Harthiyeh, al-Yamoun, Brouqeen and Jenin city had actively participated in the clash.

By the beginning of March there were 16 guarding committees stationed in the different parts of the camp and working 24 hours a day. A central guarding committee was also working 24 hours and was coordinating between the other committees. An additional committee for food supplies provided the volunteers with food and drink during the long exhausting hours.

7th March

The striking forces in the camp attacked a number of surveillance points and injured several soldiers. The other soldiers started shooting and shot 6 youths with live bullets.

8th March

A large women's demonstration started in the camp in celebration of International Women's Day. When the troops tried to disperse the demonstrators, youths attacked them and tear gas and rubber bullets were used against them.

9th March

More Palestinian flags were raised in the camp in response to the Day of the Flag proclaimed by the Unified Leadership of the Uprising, and national slogans covered the walls. The flags remained in their places for a whole month without the soldiers being able to take them down.

On 14th March troops blocked one of the camp entrances with barrels filled with cement. The barricade was several meters high and about ten meters wide. Cars could no longer go in or out of the camp.

16th March

At night the striking forces in the camp stoned troops who were standing on guard around the besieged city of Jenin. The striking forces were trying to alleviate the sufferings of the residents in the city by luring the troops away from them. The soldiers followed them immediately and stormed into the camp. On their

way, the troops got hold of a child from the camp, nicknamed Abu 'Eizar (13 years) and tied him to the front of the jeep in order to protect themselves from the stones. The striking forces had set ambushes for the advancing troops and managed to attack from different directions without harming the child tied to the front of the jeep.

The officer in charge then shouted that Abu 'Eizar would be released and that they would withdraw if the youths stopped stoning them. The youths agreed, and when the troops retreated the child was carried on his colleagues' shoulders.

The following day, troops stormed into the houses of the camp at 3 am after having declared a curfew. Each house was searched, its furniture destroyed and window glass shattered. One hundred youths were arrested in this raid.

Two of the detainees are "missing" to this date; their families do not know where they are being detained, and even the prison authorities claim that they are not in any of the numerous detention centers. Their families appeal to world opinion to pressurize Israel into revealing the truth about these two youths who were detained that night. They are Rifqi al-Doukh (22 years) and Hisham al-Doukh (18 years).

The camp remained under curfew until 1pm while the troops tightened the siege, not allowing food supplies into the camp which suffered from severe shortages of baby milk, medicines and foodstuffs.

On 18th, 19th, 21th, 25th and 26th March tyres were burnt, patrols were stoned and empty bottles thrown directly at the soldiers. On 26th March serious clashes took place and several residents were injured with rubber bullets.

29th March

Troops imposed a curfew on the eve of Land Day and announced that anyone who left the house would be shot immediately. Hundreds of soldiers spread everywhere in the camp and the siege was further tightened. The curfew remained in force until 1st April.

1st April

As soon as the curfew was lifted, the striking forces attacked a number of soldiers who were positioned on the roof of an abandoned house inside the camp. The youths took down the ladder that the troops used to climb onto the roof and attacked them with stones. The soldiers were helpless especially when they had used all the ammunition they had with them. Reinforcements arrived and rescued the trapped soldiers. From that day on, not one single surveillance post was set up inside the camp.

Clashes with the soldiers followed on an almost daily basis, sometimes during the morning, other times during the afternoon, but mostly during the night.

16th April

The day of the assassination of Abu Jihad, a huge march carrying black flags in mourning and Palestinian flags clashed with the troops who were forced to retreat. The clashes lasted for two hours and two youths were killed (Bassam al-Harriri, 25 years, and Helmi Abdullah, 23 years).

The camp was declared under curfew for the next week. Twenty youths were arrested that day.

1st May

A large demonstration took place on the occasion of International Workers' Day. The residents clashed with the troops who used tear gas and rubber bullets. Two soldiers were critically injured in the face from the stones.

18th May

That day the striking forces attacked the army base near the camp with stones and molotov cocktails. The soldiers started chasing the youths in the narrow alleys, and the officer ordered the residents through the loudspeaker to assemble in the open square of the camp. There the residents were physically assaulted, insulted and threatened with death, with destruction of their crops and with prohibition from working in Israel. Many residents suffered from bruising and injuries in the head as a result of the brutality of the troops.

12th June

In the morning youths set up stone barricades and burning tyres at the entrance. A car with a West Bank tag approached, the passengers dressed in civilian clothes. The residents soon discovered that the passengers were soldiers in disguise. The soldiers attacked the youths and fired live bullets indiscriminately. The seventh martyr from the camp was shot. Basem al-Sabagh (21 years) was followed by a soldier and was cornered in a narrow alley. Other soldiers followed, and when Basem tried to escape he was shot in the head from a distance of 20 meters. The soldiers then carried him away and the residents do not know whether he died on the spot or on his way to the hospital.

13th June

The troops had refused to give the martyr's body to his family and buried him outside the camp. Despite the fact that the camp was put under curfew, the residents went out on a huge demonstration. The clashes with the troops lasted until late in the afternoon, while the camp was besieged at all its entrances. In the afternoon the troops fired heavily all kinds of weapons, especially tear gas which was indiscriminately thrown inside the houses. Ahmed Shehadeh, an infant of

40 days suffocated from tear gas when his family's house was drowned with the clouds of the poisonous gas.

The troops then carried out raids of the camp houses in search of the youths. Some were arrested while others had fled through the hills to the nearby villages. The soldiers were so intent on capturing them that they followed them to the villages of al-Yamoun, Brouqeen and Silet al-Harthiyeh where they clashed with the villagers. A curfew was imposed on the camp for the next 9 consecutive days.

16th June

Large numbers of troops entered the camp. The residents thought that it was another campaign of arrests, but later discovered that the troops had arrived to demolish the house of Ziad al-Zubaidi (23 years). The house consisted of five rooms and was inhabited by nine people. Two brothers of Ziad were under administrative detention for six months. The house was demolished with dynamite and four adjacent houses were badly affected. One house was burned down by an electric short circuit when the explosion took place.

A second house was demolished that day, a two-storey building in which 9 people lived. The reason given was that the son of the owner was involved in a plot to kill one of the collaborators.

The residents broke the curfew order, went out on a demonstration and clashed with the soldiers whom they forced to leave the camp.

2nd July

That morning, the school children were provoked by the troops, so they threw stones at the soldiers. The troops followed the children into the school and threw tear gas canisters at them. The children left the school and joined a demonstration. They faced the soldiers and clashed with them until one of them shouted to the officer that they would stop throwing stones if the soldiers left them alone. This happened, and the students marched to the center of the city. Their parents joined them, and they repeated slogans calling for an end to the tragic fighting amongst Palestinians in Lebanon, incriminating Syria for its negative role and calling for the convening of an international conference while asking for the end of the oppressive measures of the Israeli authorities.

A police car tried to harass the people in the march but the police were attacked by youths who succeeded in stoning and damaging the police car which quickly drove away. Soldiers who were inside the police car shot as they were driving away and killed Na'el Khamayseh (17 years). His body was hidden for fear of being kidnapped by the troops, and he was buried in his village al-Yamoun.

The troops followed the youths into the camp and clashed with them in one of the fiercest clashes of the intifada. The youths injured at least 10 soldiers who had

to be carried away from the scene. A military jeep was completely burned. The camp remained under curfew until 8th July.

Life Under Curfew

During the curfew, the toops stormed into houses, destroying furniture, arresting youths, ruining the water storage tanks, preventing the sick from leaving the camp and preventing doctors from entering the camp. Food supplies were not allowed into the camp. As for the siege of the camp it has been constant throughout the intifada. Checkpoints at the entrances stopped the residents and harassed them every time they entered or left the camp. Collective punishments were also imposed while the camp was under curfew, including cutting off the water supplies and electricity. Finally troops broke the electricity generator of the camp on the 18th June.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 18, 10th - 16th July, 1988)

Al-Yamoun Diary

The Village

Al-Yamoun is a village located on the crest of the hills south of Marj Bin-'Amer, 155m above sea-level. Lying nine kilometers from Jenin city, al-Yamoun owns a total of 24,361 dunums of which 16,000 dunums are hillsides planted with olive, nut and fig trees. The remaining land lies in a low fertile plain, planted with vegetables, grains and pulses. 12,000 dunums of village land have been confiscated by Israel.

With a total population of 12,000, working mainly in agriculture, wage-labor, commerce and white-collar jobs, the village has a high level of education compared with surrounding villages. There are four village schools (two for boys and two for girls), at elementary and secondary levels.

Since the village depends largely on revenue from olive crops, there are five olive presses, used by villagers as well as those from surrounding villages.

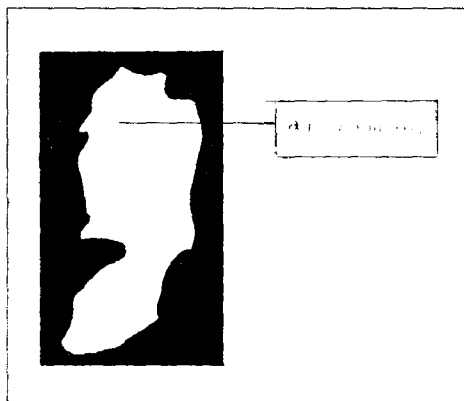
In 1976, seven villagers were elected to the village council. There are another four village heads (makhateer) who are also members of the village council representing the main clans. The Israeli authorities had appointed three heads to the council. During the intifada, two of the appointed heads resigned while a third fled the village leaving only the elected members of the village council.

A charitable society has worked in the village for a number of years. It has established a sewing project and kindergarten which also acts as a supplementary feeding center, and a center for mother and child health. There is also a clinic staffed with three doctors, who work three days a week, and a nurse and midwife who work throughout the week. There is one pharmacy in the village.

The activities of the village council have included providing the village with electricity through four electricity generators. In addition, many of the village roads are now asphalted. All of this work was carried out by the elected village council, independent of the conditional aid of the so-called civil administration services.

Throughout the intifada, al-Yamoun has provided an example for other villages to follow. The organization of the masses prior to the intifada was relatively weak. This was due to the absence of youth, women, workers and other organizations in comparison to other villages in the occupied territories. This, however, did not detract from the villagers' strong nationalistic spirit and the readiness to struggle against the occupation, a fact that has been fully realized during the intifada.

The Early Days of the Intifada



The Early Days of the Intifada

The intifada did not start in al-Yamoun with clashes with the army. The enthusiastic youth first started by breaking down the barrier of fear, developing trust, and encouraging the inner strength among the residents. This was particularly difficult given that the Israeli authorities had planted a number of collaborators and spies within the village.

Early activities included: raising Palestinian flags, erecting roadblocks, writing nationalistic slogans against the occupation and collaborators, who were exposed and warned against continuing their relations with the Israelis. All this was done in order to lift the morale of the residents and in order to prepare them for the future struggle.

Discussion groups were formed with the aim of explaining the oppressive measures of the authorities, land confiscation, the absence of adequate health and educational services and job opportunities. This was followed by reviewing the developments of the intifada in the villages, refugee camps and towns of the occupied territories. This process was instrumental in creating unity and consensus among the residents who all stood behind the elected village council. The process developed further with attacks on the houses of collaborators which were stoned and whose names were written on the walls throughout the village, while a campaign was carried out explaining to the residents the harm and the problems which were created by the collaborators. In this way the residents were mobilized and the village was organized in preparation for confrontations with the Israeli army.

25th January

Fifty residents of Jenin and al-Yamoun were summoned to the military

headquarters. They were informed that the attacks on collaborators and campaigns against the occupation were reported to the military governor. He threatened that he would take punitive measures against the residents of al-Yamoun if this was not stopped. This was the second time that the authorities had formally threatened the village. When the residents left the military headquarters, one of them commented that "one screams as much as one hurts", reflecting the extent to which the village activities were being felt by the authorities.

4th February

The youth in al-Yamoun built stone barricades at the entrances, raised Palestinian flags and burned tyres. A demonstration followed, and the army arrived and was confronted by stones and empty bottles. Rubber bullets and tear gas were fired directly at the demonstrators. A military siege was imposed, and the villagers were not allowed in or out of the village for 13 days.

14th February

Troops attacked the village, stormed the houses and arrested many youths.

22nd February

This day the first extended clash with the army occurred. A large number of youths attacked the houses of collaborators using stones, empty bottles, slingshots and molotov cocktails. Loudspeakers were used to call on the collaborators to repent and to surrender their weapons immediately to the people. The collaborators were given the choice of being punished by the people or leaving the village.

This event marked an important development of the intifada in the occupied territories. It was the first incident where collaborators were asked to hand in their Israeli-issued weapons to the people. It was an attack with clear demands and it preceded the events which took place in Qabatia on 24th February when the collaborator Mohammed 'Ayed was killed. What happened that day in al-Yamoun was an example for other villages, especially Kufr Ra'i and Qabatia.

After having been warned, the collaborators were given a period of time to announce their repentance and to surrender their arms. The collaborators responded and gave themselves up to the villagers who welcomed their repentance. Three of them handed over their weapons to the villagers who in turn took them back to the military governor in Jenin. The other three, who were also members of the police force, resigned from their jobs and handed in their weapon. The two appointed members of the village council also resigned while the third fled the village and is now under military protection.

That day the village celebrated its victory: a nightmare which had haunted the village for years had finally ended. The residents celebrated with songs and slogans, and ululations of the women erupted over the hills of the village. Delegations of

youths were sent to the other villages to announce what had happened in al-Yamoun.

In the afternoon, the villagers discovered the arrival of around 2,000 soldiers; they were accompanied by a helicopter which was flying over the village and giving instructions to the troops, who by 7pm had completely surrounded the village. Meanwhile all of the villagers were organizing themselves: striking committees, barricade committees and first aid committees were formed as well as support, supply, stone-carrying and co-ordinating committees.

The village is quite conservative and strongly attached to tradition: it was the first time ever that women left their houses and participated in the organization. The army vehicles approached from three sides and began shooting at the villagers who pretended to flee but in fact led soldiers straight into their ambush. Villagers had covered the roads with stones and tree trunks, forcing the soldiers to get out of the vehicles and clear the roads to advance into the village. They were pelted with stones, empty bottles and molotov cocktails. Several soldiers were injured and several vehicles were badly damaged. The troops were forced to withdraw in the face of such brave resistance.

14-year-old Mahmoud Hosheyeh was the first martyr in al-Yamoun, killed by a bullet in the neck. Residents saw soldiers trampling on the body after he had been killed.

The troops pulled out of the village, only to return at 11pm when they clashed for two hours with the residents but failed to enter.

A third attempt was made at dawn the next day. The troops took full advantage of the state of exhaustion of the residents after 19 consecutive hours of confrontation. Tens had already been poisoned by the tear gas and injured by rubber bullets, and 12 residents had been shot with live ammunition. At 4am the troops entered the village and imposed a curfew during which homes were stormed and furniture destroyed.

On 23rd February an army officer who had been involved in the attacks on al-Yamoun, admitted during an interview on Israeli TV that his forces faced strong resistance from the residents, which forced him to reorganize his troops three times before they were able to enter the village.

The same evening the military governor in Jenin summoned the head of the village council and demanded that Mahmoud be buried in the nearby village of 'Aneen in the presence of a limited number of relatives. The head of the council refused and insisted that the burial take place in Yamoun. The military governor claimed that since the village was under curfew, and he was unable to lift the curfew for fear of clashes with the residents, the burial could not take place. The head of the council said, "Give us two hours to bury him, pull out your troops and there won't be any clashes". The governor accepted with the condition that

Palestinian flags would not be raised. The head of the council refused, and the governor, finally defeated, gave his consent. Mahmoud was wrapped in a Palestinian flag and his body was carried in a huge funeral procession through the town before he was buried in al-Yamoun.

The curfew was reimposed after the funeral and lasted for five days during which the troops confiscated the fuses of the electricity generators. The village remained without electricity for 65 days.

29th February

A military bulldozer built enormous earth mounds to prevent cars from entering or leaving the village. A military checkpoint with a list of the names of wanted residents was set up. Seventy youths were arrested while many had fled to the hills. The military siege lasted until 6th April.

During the month of March food supplies were not allowed into the village, and the peasants were not allowed to use tractors or to harvest their crops.

On 8th March, a curfew was imposed and houses in the village were stormed. An average of 20 soldiers entered each house arresting youths indiscriminately. If youths were not found, their fathers or elderly relatives were arrested. For example, Ibrahim Khamaiseh was arrested, and his release was conditional on the surrender of his two sons. Later, both sons were arrested and released twice, but the father was not released and is still in prison. A total of 40 people were arrested that day.

14th March

A huge number of troops arrived to protect a collaborator whose house had been attacked the previous day by villagers. He was taken out of the village under the protection of soldiers and is currently living in Meggido. Despite the fact that the village was under curfew, the villagers clashed violently with the soldiers. An officer was overheard shouting over the wireless that he needed reinforcements and that "if you do not rescue us we will be forced to hand in our weapons to the demonstrators!" Meanwhile many soldiers who were under attack ran into the village mosque and hid inside. Four of them had been seriously injured.

An army ambulance, an army helicopter and reinforcements arrived within an hour. Live ammunition was used and nine youths were injured. Most had been shot from the helicopter which had chased them over the hills. In one incident, a young man was running over a hillside, followed by a helicopter. He stopped running, the aircraft landed and the soldiers descended to arrest him; he would carry on running so that the aircraft would have to chase him again. He did this repeatedly, and since it was raining heavily, every time the soldiers jumped out of the craft, their boots sank into the mud making it impossible for them to run after the youth. A

soldier was heard swearing and shouting at his officer because he was so frustrated. The youth was not caught.

The total number arrested that day was 190, making a total of 300 arrested since the start of the intifada. At the end of the day soldiers blocked off the main road to the village with barrels of cement.

On 15th March, troops clashed with the residents, seven of whom were injured with live ammunition. Following this, the siege was tightened and the curfew continued.

On 21st March, thirty youths were arrested; the following day the curfew was lifted while al-Yamoun remained under siege.

30th March

A large demonstration went out on the streets of the village. Troops soon arrived and the officer in charge announced through the loudspeaker, "People of al-Yamoun, a curfew has been imposed, stay inside your homes. We have come with the intention to kill". Clashes continued nonetheless and two youths were shot: Hussein Qbalay (23) was shot in the leg and fell to the ground. When the soldiers reached him, they shot him in the head. Mohammed Zeban (20) was shot in the head and died the following day. Eleven other youths were injured with live bullets while dozens of others were injured by rubber bullets. During the curfew, soldiers urinated inside the mosque, did not allow the calls for prayer and confiscated loudspeakers. The wall surrounding a school in the village was demolished, and some soldiers stole money from houses which they had stormed.

5th April

While the village was still under curfew troops entered and blew up three houses belonging to the parents of persons accused of having participated in the intifada. The owners of the demolished houses are now living in tents.

7th April

The curfew and the siege were lifted. During the curfew the people had managed to smuggle food and provisions into the village over back roads, mainly during the night and on foot. Sixteen barriers - either cemented barrels or earth mounds - were removed by the villagers as soon as the soldiers had left. For a long period to follow, troops did not even try to enter the village.

30th May

Soldiers arrived in the village, stormed and arrested 50 youths.

31st May

The same act was repeated and 25 youths were arrested.

June

The residents decided to rebuild the demolished school wall. While they were working the military governor of Jenin arrived, accompanied and protected by large numbers of troops and vehicles. The governor approached the head of the council who was participating in the building and said, "I have come to you with a permit to rebuild the wall of the school". The residents answered, "We are building the wall without your permission, and if you demolish it again we will rebuild it again".

The governor was infuriated and started threatening the villagers. He addressed the head of the council and said, "Tell the people that they are banned from travelling abroad, all services for them are frozen". He then turned to the villagers and said, "I'll show you!"

That evening Israeli radio announced that the military governor of Jenin had responded to an invitation from the village council of al-Yamoun and had visited the village. The following morning, the local newspapers published a denial from the village council of what had been announced on the radio. The statement was signed by eyewitnesses from the village. Following this, the head of the council was summoned to the military headquarters in Jenin where the deputy governor spoke to him and said in an indirect way that what had happened was a mistake on the part of the governor. He then expressed his wish that the head of the council would accept to receive Shaiki Erez, head of the Civil Administration.

The head of the council refused and explained that he would never receive Erez and that he would close down the buildings of the council if such a visit was ever attempted. He then explained that the governor had lied and that he wanted an apology.

On 7th June the head of the council was again summoned to Jenin where a number of heads of local village councils were present. They were told that they were to meet with Erez. When Erez began to speak to them he was told by a soldier that he was wanted on the phone. His expressions while he talked on the phone displayed shock and anger. He excused himself and said he had to leave for an urgent matter. It was discovered later on that the subject of the call had been the stabbing of the appointed head of the municipality council in al-Bireh.

25th June

Al-Yamoun was attacked and three youths were arrested after tear gas was used.

5th July

Troops arrived in the village and announced to the wife of the detainee Suleiman Abd al-Ghaney (24) that her house was to be demolished as it had been built without a license. On 11th July, soldiers attacked the village and arrested three youths.

Summary

- * 27 days under curfew
- * 59 days under siege
- * 411 detainees - the majority have been released, 110 remain, 20 of whom are being held under administrative detention in Ansar 3
- * 3 Martyrs
- * 50 injured with live ammunition
- * 3 houses demolished and a fourth is under threat of demolition.

Political changes: the intifada has become part of the villagers' everyday life. They consider that their struggle against the occupation is fulfilled through different means: continuing clashes with soldiers, refraining from paying taxes, organizing politically, following the directives of the UNLU and the PLO.

Economic changes: there has been a noticeable increase in people's involvement in agriculture, especially in the light of the unemployment among wage-laborers in Israel. The village has become self-reliant in its fruit and vegetable supplies - residents are economizing and limiting their purchases to essentials, and there is a strong move towards developing home economy.

During the curfews and sieges, the village received food supplies from the villages of Tumra, which supplied 71 sacks of flour and various other foodstuffs. The village also received food supplies from a relief committee in Jenin as well as the zakat committee.

Social changes: family ties were consolidated and community relations were strengthened especially between parents and children. The sense of solidarity increased amongst the residents and public interest took precedence over the individual. The youth have gained a lot of power and have become part of decision-making processes; popular committees are consulted on many matters.

Coming from a conservative and traditional community, women in al-Yamoun participated for the first time in street protests, the experience of which has helped to build their confidence and consciousness.[]

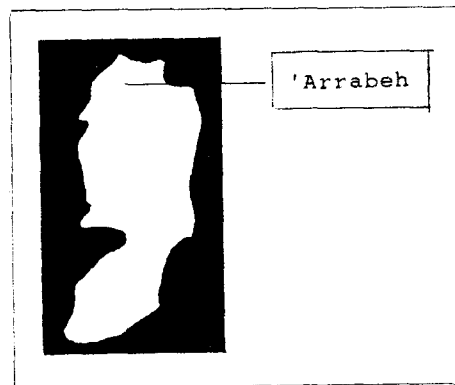
(FACTS Weekly Review, 19, July 17th - July 30th, 1988)

The 'Arrabeh Diary

'Arrabeh is a town 13km southwest of Jenin. It has a population of 10,000 people and a total of around 40,000 dunums of agricultural land. Up until the mid-70s, the town depended economically on agriculture, but gradually the residents came to depend primarily on wage labor and secondarily on agriculture. The town has two olive presses and two grain presses, a clinic and an elementary and secondary school for boys and girls. In the early '60s a municipal council was established in the town.

On 19th December, 'Arrabeh joined the rest of the occupied territories in the intifada. A demonstration of male and female school students marched through 'Arrabeh chanting "O our people, join for the martyr has sacrificed with his blood."

The demonstration lasted for four hours and although the Israeli troops kept away, it was important since hundreds of youths had rallied together and taken the first concrete step in mobilizing the rest of the town. For the following three weeks 'Arrabeh was quiet, monitoring the news of Israeli brutality in the occupied territories and discussing ways in which the village could participate in the intifada.



14th January

That evening, the street walls in the town were covered with national slogans which called upon the residents to organize demonstrations after the Friday prayers. The slogans were signed by the UNLU: it was the first time that the name entered the vocabulary of the residents.

On Friday 15th January, following prayers, huge demonstrations marched from

the two mosques in the town in the direction of the town center. Youths and elderly, males and females joined the demonstration which lasted until the afternoon without the arrival of Israeli troops. At around 4pm, an Israeli 'Egged' bus which usually transports workers to and back from work in Israel arrived. The workers got off the bus and as it was leaving, the demonstrators ordered the Israeli driver to stop and to get out of the bus. One youth got on to the vehicle, collected the driver's papers and money, gave them to him and ordered him to leave the town. The youth told the driver, "We do not harm civilians, what's important is that you never return to the town." Meanwhile other youths had set fire to an old tyre and placed it under the empty bus, which was soon a burn-out wreck. That night a military helicopter flew over the town for about half an hour inspecting the area where the wreck lay.

This was the first act of defiance and confrontation with the occupiers in 'Arrabeh since the start of the intifada.

20th January

This day became known as 'The Unforgettable Day'. At 4am the residents were awakened by Israeli troops announcing over the loudspeaker that 'Arrabeh was under curfew and that anyone who left their house would be punished. The troops spread throughout the town and carried out a comprehensive campaign of house searches, arresting 28 youths. The youths were dragged out of their homes, while continually being beaten by soldiers. Rabin's famous policy of force, might, beatings and bone-breaking had been broadcast the night before: the residents of 'Arrabeh were among the first to experience the brutality of this policy.

Seventeen of those arrested and beaten were taken to the village of Ya'abad and the other 11 were taken to Burqa. In Ya'abad, the troops ordered the 17 to clear the roads of stone barricades and burning tyres. One of the youths, Abdel Majeed Shqeir (27 years), who is currently detained in Ansar 3, was ordered to move a three-meter high rock. Naturally he was unable to do this, and the soldiers beat him viciously on the head, arms and legs with their batons. They continued to insist that he move the boulder and whenever he bent his back to try to move it, he was again attacked. Abdel Majeed fell to the ground, shouting in pain, only to be beaten on his hands. Blood poured from his palms, and backs of his hand, and from between his fingers.

Walid 'Ardha (28), currently under administrative detention, was also brutally beaten that day. He was handcuffed and beaten over his cuffed hands, as well as over the head and on the knees. The military governor of Jenin joined in beating him while blood poured from his hands. Walid was then laid out on the ground, in the middle of the street. A resident from 'Arrabeh, who was driving through the town at that moment, was stopped by soldiers and ordered to drive over Walid's

bleeding body. The driver refused and shouted, "Do you think I am like you, you are despicable!" The governor then ordered the soldiers to leave Walid, saying that he had had enough beating.

When Walid was later taken for medical treatment, the doctor was forced to surgically remove his fingernails.

The other youths who were taken to Burqa received the same barbaric treatment and were also forced to remove stone barricades and burning tyres. Throughout the long hours of their arrest the youths were forbidden to drink water or to go to the toilet. All were viciously beaten up before they were taken back. Back in 'Arrabeh they were gathered and one officer said to them, "We are sure that it was you who set the bus on fire. What we have done to you tonight is nothing compared to what we will do to you in the future. We want you to tell the residents of your town about what we have done to you."

The youths were ordered to stand in a queue to get back their confiscated ID cards. Troops formed two lines, facing each other and the youths had to walk between the lines in order to get their ID cards at the other end. As the youths walked through the lines of troops they were beaten from both sides, attacked with batons and helmets specifically on the heads, knees and backs and were spat at by the soldiers. The youths had to pass through this torture a second time on the way back after having taken their ID cards. They had to crawl on their knees because of the injuries they had suffered.

Ra'ed al-Ashqar (17) was brutally beaten on the abdomen, as a result of which he developed a stomach ulcer and bleeding of the large intestine. Ra'ed is currently receiving medical treatment, and vomits every time he tries to eat.

That evening Communique number 3 was distributed, and calls to escalate the intifada in 'Arrabeh covered the walls of the town. The events of that day were the residents' first lesson that the occupation does not differentiate between participants and non-participants in the intifada. Rather than intimidate the people, the anger and the suffering were the driving force for people to unite against the occupation. The seeds of organizing and mobilizing resulted in the formation of guarding and popular committees in 'Arrabeh.

2nd February

Armed Israeli settlers attacked the town and set fire to the water generators and pumps. The residents confronted the settlers and managed to force them out of their town. The settlers then parked at the intersection of the 'Arrabeh-Jenin-Ya'abad road. They stopped all Palestinian cars, using their weapons to threaten and harass the drivers. The guarding committees in 'Arrabeh informed the striking forces about the settlers, and the residents were urged through the mosque loudspeakers to prepare themselves for the settlers' attack. Thousands

responded and filled the streets, building stone barricades and burning tyres. The settlers, realizing that their weapons were useless in the face of the approaching thousands, were forced to withdraw. The residents began to realize their strength.

3rd-7th February

During these five days the residents were on maximum alert with farmers, workers, young and old volunteering to join the guarding committees. With troops stationed at the two main entrances of the town, the guarding committees were working around the clock. During the day there were marches and political festivals.

The residents requested that the local municipality should take actions to guarantee the protection of the town from the armed settlers.

Soldiers who were positioned at the entrances of the town were facing the town's guarding committees and they used to exchange threats. The soldiers would shout, "Woe unto you!", and the youths would respond saying ' "If you are real men, come and face us, one of you!" The troops were well aware that if they tried to enter the town during the day the residents would fight back, and if they entered during the night to arrest youths, they would not find anyone, as all the youths left their homes for the hills during the night.

8th February

By now, many of the youths who had been active in the guarding committees were exhausted. They had worked around the clock and slept only a few hours. They handed over the guarding to youths who were fresh and had little experience. On the evening of 8th February the guarding committees clashed with the town collaborators who had joined the troops. The collaborators fired live bullets indiscriminately and the youths charged towards them clutching stones. The collaborators had succeeded in luring the youths away from their guarding positions, leaving them open to troops. Some of the youths realized that they had been trapped, so immediately returned to their positions awaiting the arrival of the troops. Army reinforcements had arrived and were waiting for the right moment to attack the town. The youths of the guarding committees rekindled their fires around which they gathered and talked in loud voices so that the troops would understand that they were alert and had not fallen for the collaborators' trap.

Later that night, another group of youths devised a plan whereby they tricked the collaborators into believing that they were safe. The youths then attacked the houses of five collaborators, two of whom were relatives of the appointed mayor of Jenin city. The houses were attacked with stones and empty bottles and the collaborators responded by shooting at the youths from inside their houses.

9th February

What the residents expected would happen, took place that morning. Again the collaborators tried to lure the guarding committees away from their positions and engage them in a confrontation. They fired guns, several bullets entering houses in the town. At the same time helicopters flew overhead and were seen landing soldiers on the outskirts of the town. The guarding committees were alerted. Hundreds of soldiers approached from all directions, shouting over loudspeakers that a curfew was being imposed and that everyone should remain in their houses or they would be shot.

The troops did not wait to see if their instructions were being followed. They immediately started to bombard the town with tear gas and let off sound bombs to terrorize the residents. The residents broke the curfew and the popular striking committees attacked the advancing troops, who by now were only a few meters away. Dozens of children, youths and women were poisoned by the tear gas. Many lost consciousness. The soldiers advanced further, trampling over the bodies of people who had fainted from the effect of the gas, and arresting youths who they beat brutally. Other troops stormed houses, firing tear gas inside the homes and smashing furniture. The soldiers also used mace canisters to spray the faces of women who tried to protect their families from the soldiers' brutality. In one incident, a young student was ordered by an officer to leave and not interfere. She refused and he ordered her to approach. She did so and then attacked him in the face with a bottle she had hidden behind her back. Blood poured from his face and soldiers rushed to him. Meanwhile other women attacked the soldiers and managed to rescue the student who escaped.

By the end of the day 20 youths had been arrested, and later some of them were put under administrative detention. Dozens of others aged between 13 and 45 years suffered broken bones.

At 2 pm, the striking committees had regrouped and began to attack troops in small groups scattered at the corners of streets and in narrow alleys. Everyone, including women and the elderly, were part of these confrontations which took place face to face with the troops, with batons and bare hands. The residents were defiant to the end and by just after 2 o'clock had forced the troops to withdraw from their town.

On 13th February, troops carried out a campaign of arrests but could not find any of the 'wanted' youths. Two other youths were arrested that day.

2nd March

A large number of troops accompanied by an Israeli intelligence officer calling himself "Captain Amir" (Captain Prince) entered the town. The captain shouted through the empty streets of the town, "Where are the rabbits? Why are they

hiding? Where are the fighters and the guards of 'Arrabeh?"

The following day the same troops along with "Captain Amir", other intelligence and the military governor of Jenin drove through the town, but this time did not stop. They drove straight through to the neighboring village of Kufr Ra'i. On their way back, the troops were caught in the trap which the residents of 'Arrabeh had set up. Stone barricades had been erected, and as soon as the army vehicles had stopped in front of the barricade, another was quickly put up behind them to prevent them from reversing. The troops were then showered with stones. Since the trap had been set up in an area between two hills on top of which the youths were positioned, the bullets which were shot had no effect. One of the youths shouted, "Captain Amir, where are you, you coward, come out and face us, you rabbit! We are the ones who decide when to respond to you. Here we are, the fighters of 'Arrabeh, you coward!"

The military vehicles had no choice but to reverse a short distance and then drive through the fields and over small hills. The victory of the day was that the troops did not drive through 'Arrabeh. That evening the collaborators were given a final warning - either to resign and repent or to leave the town immediately. Some of them accepted to resign and to hand over their weapons while others refused.

4th March

After the Friday prayer, a huge demonstration marched through the village, chanting in support of the intifada and the PLO. Slogans were raised for self-determination and an independent Palestinian state, while the collaborators were called on to resign and to surrender their weapons. Collaborators announced that they agreed to the demands of the residents. The demonstrators were called on to gather in the town center, but at that moment children came running, shouting that troops had arrived in the town.

Almost immediately, the demonstrators rebuilt the barricades, collected stones and cases full of empty bottles. They clashed with the troops and managed to push them back. Tear gas, rubber bullets and live ammunition were shot at the demonstrators from a helicopter, while troops on the ground managed to pull youths out of the narrow alleys and hidden places, into an open area just outside the town. Hundreds followed the troops, showering them with stones. In one incident, a group of youths picked up a tear gas canister which had been fired, and threw it at a military jeep. The soldiers who were inside the jeep quickly jumped out and ran away leaving the jeep to burn out completely. In addition to ammunition being fired, stones and then cement blocks were dropped from the helicopter onto the people below. Many people suffered severe head injuries. The helicopter also tried to rescue soldiers who had been trapped by dropping tear gas to disperse the residents.

That day, the first martyr in 'Arrabeh, Baker al-Shibawi (16) fell, after being shot in the forehead. Although he died immediately, one of the soldiers ran up to him and hysterically hit the dead youth's head against a wall.

Twelve youths were arrested that day and were beaten up. The soldiers knocked them over and trampled over their bodies and heads.

The residents realized that the collaborators had lied to them and were still in the service of the occupation. Some had even joined the troops in shooting at the residents.

The troops cut off the electricity and water supplies to the town, then confiscated the loudspeakers from the mosques and declared punitive measures against the residents, banning them from travelling and refusing to process any administrative services. The residents were also threatened with economic sanctions.

At 6.30 pm the troops left the town, positioned themselves at the entrances and declared 'Arrabeh a closed military area. Later that evening a huge funeral took place for Baker.

5th March

Many villagers from Kufr Ra'i got into 'Arrabeh after coming over the hills and using small side roads. A huge march took place and speeches were read out, condemning the collaborators and the reactionary Arab countries, foremost the Jordanian and Egyptian regimes. The American initiative was also condemned, and it was stressed that there was no alternative to independence, self-determination and the establishment of a Palestinian state.

On 7th March, three collaborators finally publicly declared that they had resigned from their work and they surrendered their weapons. One of the collaborators' houses had been set on fire earlier, and he had been rescued by troops who managed to get him out of the town.

8th March

International Women's Day

All women, young and old, went out into the streets of 'Arrabeh, carrying Palestinian flags, flowers and banners. They were later joined by the men. The march was headed by children carrying flowers to the martyr's grave. The children chanted songs which had been written by the martyr's father, a famous Palestinian writer. The lines went:

*"One hand uproots collaborators
And one had plants freedom
Stop and let me step
On the neck of the biggest collaborator".*

On 21st March, troops unsuccessfully tried to enter 'Arrabeh: youths pelted

them with stones from their hiding places in the hills.

30th March

While residents marched, troops stormed into the town. They managed to get hold of a small group of people and forced them to take down Palestinian flags from electricity poles. Other youths attacked the soldiers, forced them out, then replaced all the flags. Troops fired tear gas from a distance, then approached and removed the flags again. When the youth managed to raise the flags a second time, the troops left.

Notes on Activities during March

1. Almost daily there were marches and clashes with troops.

2. Heads of the popular committees and representatives of the national forces reviewed their policies, practices and plans in confrontations with troops. Organization and popular mobilization were also discussed. Popular committees described these meetings as being reflective of the civilized and revolutionary maturity of the youths of the town. The following are examples of the changes and developments which resulted from these discussions.

- * The approach which had been used until then was to threaten the workers who were working in Israel. This was found to have negative effects in the long term even after workers had complied. The popular committees realized that discussions which stressed the importance of abiding by the strike at a national level were much more effective. Threats were stopped and the workers responded positively.

- * It was agreed among the national forces that one signature would be used for the slogans - that of the UNLU. This was done to close the way to collaborators, so as not to allow them to take advantage of the ideological differences among national forces. Furthermore it was agreed that slogans on the walls were to be the slogans raised by the UNLU and those agreed upon at the last Palestine National Council. These were to be in addition to the slogans specific to 'Arrabeh.

- * Regular discussions were characteristically candid and self-critical. The public interest dominated and national unity was consolidated.

- * The methods of forming popular committees were reviewed and revised. Until then, members of the committees were youths who were known to be politically active. This original method had not succeeded in embracing all sectors of the village: the popular committees were restructured and people who were not known activists were brought in. The committees grew to include all sectors of society; merchants, workers, farmers and students. Women as well as men played major roles. This phase allowed the national forces and popular committees to incorporate the maximum number of people whose potentials and talents were used.

10th and 11th April

Large numbers of troops in vehicles drove through the town on their way to Kufr Ra'i. On both occasions, residents clashed with the troops. On 11th April, half of the troops stayed in 'Arrabeh to protect the others. Youths from Jenin camp, city, Ya'abad, Qabatia, Burqeen and Tubas arrived to express their solidarity and support for the residents of 'Arrabeh and Kufr Ra'i. There were clashes with the troops and three martyrs fell that day in Kufr Ra'i while dozens of others were injured in both places. Confronted by the thousands of people, the troops were eventually forced to withdraw.

After their withdrawal the people marched to Kufr Ra'i where a huge funeral march took place for the martyrs.

16th April

This was the day of the assassination of Abu Jihad. Huge marches filled the streets while a symbolic funeral took place and a coffin wrapped in a Palestinian flag was carried through the town. That day marked a turning point in the residents' confrontations with the troops. The striking committees moved to the main road to Jenin and attacked settlers' cars and army vehicles. This was done to increase the blows to the occupation while sparing the residents from the vindictive actions of the troops.

18th May

At 1am, troops attacked the town and arrested 17 youths, 11 of whom are now under administrative detention. Houses were raided and furniture and glass were smashed. Women and children who tried to defend their property and family were beaten up. Foodstuffs were mixed together; oil was poured over flour supplies and sugar was mixed with rice or salt. One tractor in the village was destroyed.

On 21st May the popular committees clashed with the remaining armed collaborators.

29th May

Army vehicles and a bulldozer drove through the town to Kufr Ra'i. It was soon discovered that they had gone there to destroy houses. On their way back, 11 jeeps, a bus full of soldiers, the bulldozer and other military vehicles were attacked by the striking committees in 'Arrabeh. The clash lasted for three hours and dozens of residents were injured with rubber bullets.

5th June

Students in the town organized a huge march and clashed with the troops. Several were injured. The troops retreated and were followed by the students who

declared that they refused to study any longer until the school headmaster and a teacher, both known to be collaborators, had resigned. Daily student demonstrations followed, demanding their resignation until the military governor of Jenin was forced to give both the head and the teacher a long vacation. The governor later threatened the students saying, "I have agreed to the request of the students but if it becomes evident that the reason for their demonstrations has nothing to do with the headmaster and the teacher, I will return them to their posts."

The national forces along with the popular committees in 'Arrabeh carried out a campaign for the students. In this campaign, the importance of education and of attending school according to the hours as defined by the UNLU was explained and discussed with the students who continued their studying. The authorities were waiting for an excuse to close down the schools, and as the students were well aware of this, they demonstrated after school hours and always outside the walls of their schools.

12th June

That morning, a leaflet signed by the popular committees was read out in the playground of the girls school. The leaflet attacked the headmistress who lived in Jenin and was known to collaborate with the infamous Village League. The headmistress immediately contacted the authorities in Jenin and asked for protection. A military jeep and army vehicles arrived in the town. Students from the boys school were prepared and attacked them with stones and bottles. The troops started shooting as they arrived. Two youths were injured with live ammunition and 15 others with aluminium bullets. The troops also attacked and beat up many youths, breaking their limbs. A boy of 12 years was beaten and had his hands broken by the batons. Women managed to rescue a number of youths and prevented their being arrested. By the end of the day four soldiers had been injured.

From that day on, demonstrations took place almost daily, but the troops never tried to enter 'Arrabeh. Instead, they posted a checkpoint outside the town and refused to let the workers out to work by turning them back at the checkpoint. The troops at the post also had a list of the 'wanted' youths in the town. Every day, the school headmistress came to town under the protection of a group of thugs from Jenin. Students and residents of the town soon attacked the thugs, who had to try to seek shelter and promised never to come back to 'Arrabeh. The military authorities then closed down all the schools in the town as a punishment against the residents.

8th July

Army troops surrounded 'Arrabeh while helicopters landed a large number of

troops inside the town. At dawn they declared a curfew. The troops used loudspeakers and called on the residents who owned private and public cars to assemble in the playground with their cars. The soldiers threatened that anyone who did not comply would be severely punished. The residents agreed among themselves that no one should respond. When no one appeared, the troops stormed houses and literally dragged residents out. Then the owners of tractors and trucks as well as shopkeepers were ordered to go to the playground. When assembled, their ID's were confiscated and they were told the IDs would be returned only when all the taxes that had been imposed on them were paid. Meanwhile the majority of youths had already broken the curfew and headed off in the direction of the surrounding hills and fields.

Troops had started to arrest youths - they arrested 17 of the 70 names on their 'wanted list'.

The following morning, the residents broke the curfew, the striking forces followed army patrols and attacked them with molotov cocktails. The troops then stormed many houses, destroying furniture, and assaulting and beating young children. They forced people to paint over the slogans which were written on the walls and the elderly were forced to take down the Palestinian flags.

To the shock and surprise of the soldiers, no sooner were the slogans rubbed off than others were painted back on. With the continuous presence of the troops, it seemed that tension was progressively escalating with clear signs that there would be aggressive clashes; at that stage the troops left the town.

10th July

The military governor of Jenin sent 70 warrants to residents of 'Arrabeh, summoning them to Jenin in order to try to force them to pay the taxes which had been imposed on them.

After eight months of the Palestinian uprising, the Israeli authorities had finally realized that all their methods to 'quell' the intifada had failed, be it through intimidation or temptation.

The intifada had become part of the residents' everyday lives. It was no longer restricted to stone-throwing; residents refrained from paying taxes and asking the authorities for services. Agriculture and land reclaimed their importance. Organization of popular committees and political mobilization through discussions became the norm. Children's games and songs changed radically: slingshots became their toys, and many spent their time drawing Palestinian flags on the town's walls.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 20, 31th July - 6th August, 1988)

COMMUNIQUE

Gaza Communique, 16th December

May Friday be Transformed into a Symbolic Funeral

In Memory of the Martyrs of the Popular Uprising

To Our Great People:

The Zionist rulers of Israel have yet to learn their lesson. Statements by their leaders still insist on making our people kneel, on making us surrender. They ignore in this the most basic of facts which this popular upsurge has plainly revealed: our unprecedented readiness to sacrifice and fight until the demise of occupation and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

The rulers of Israel deluded themselves into thinking that they had come closer to creating an alternative to the Palestine Liberation Organization, and that with their empty talk of direct negotiations with Jordan they had won the final round. But what they have missed is that our Palestinian people is patient and aware of its national rights. The Palestinians' strong belief in their legitimate rights, embodied in the PLO, provides the spiritual force behind their daily struggle. For this very reason the insurrection escalates and the readiness of the people to sacrifice intensifies.

Different classes and strata of our people have proved the extent of their ability to give, despite economic hardship and the interruption of work and trade. The stand taken by workers and merchants is something of which our people can be proud.

To Our Heroic People:

You have seen the great readiness to sacrifice with which our martyrs gave their lives, and the high level of dedication with which thousands of youths and students faced the bullets of the occupier. You have also witnessed the high degree of unity and the wide extent of the popular uprising. The blood of the martyrs and

wounded from Beit Hanoun and Rafah has flown into the blood of our martyrs in the occupied West Bank. We have an obligation to all of them.

May the entire Gaza Strip be transformed into a symbolic, unified funeral in memory of our martyrs on Friday, 18th December. May the mothers, children, elderly and youths of every refugee camp, village and city take part in this mass peaceful funeral. We will march in unison, insisting on our legitimate rights, and honoring our martyrs.

Long live the heroic Palestinian people!

Long live the unified Palestine Liberation Organization!

Glory and everlasting life to the martyrs of the uprising and all innocent martyrs!

National Forces in the Gaza Strip

16th December, 1987

Gaza Communique, January 8th

Yes to continuing the Uprising!

Yes to the Formation of National Committees in the

Neighborhoods to Protect the Gains of the

Uprising and to Confront the

Terror of the Occupiers!

To Our Great People:

The uprising continues despite the infusion of thousands of soldiers into the occupied territories and terror and repression carried out by them. Despite the summary trials, repression, and deportations from the homeland, the uprising continues, and we witness new achievements with every passing day. Rabin himself has admitted that Israel is isolated in the international arena and indeed, we have witnessed how the uprising has made the Security Council issue two very important resolutions. Their importance does not lie only in their condemnation of Israel, but in that they have defined for the first time occupied Palestinian territories to mean the West Bank including Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip. This is a significant step, in view of the fact that the borders of these territories had in the past been subject to bargaining by reactionary Arab regimes and by expansionist Israel. These resolutions also affirmed the Palestinian identity of these areas; this implies the recognition of the sole right of the representatives of the Palestinians to negotiate in their name. The resolutions have also paved the way for affirming the boundaries of the future Palestinian state and have confirmed the right of the PLO to represent the Palestinian people at the highest international levels, against the will of Israel and her allies.

It is the right of our people in the occupied territories to realize how great their achievement is. It is also the right of the families of martyrs, the wounded, the detained, and the thousands who sacrificed work days, to be proud of this achievement. All the empty rhetoric of the Arab radio stations, could not accomplish what our people has achieved.

To Our Heroic People!

The continuing popular uprising is acquiring new dimensions and its achievements are increasing with every day. The National Forces view with pride the stand taken by the international community in support of our cause, and invite our people to continue the uprising and the general strike for the realization of the following:

1. The immediate intervention of the Security Council in ensuring the implementation of its recommendations, and in providing protection to our people against the terror of the occupiers. The immediate initiation of efforts to convene an authoritative international peace conference in which the PLO, our sole legitimate representative, will participate.

2. The immediate rescinding of deportation orders issued against the nine Palestinians, and the implementation of Security Council resolutions.

3. The cessation of the campaign of arrests and raids, the cancellation of summary trials, and the release of prisoners detained during the uprising.

4. The cessation of the policy of blockading refugee camps and neighborhoods, harsh treatment of individuals, and the withdrawal of the army from population centers.

To the Heroic People of the December Uprising!

The success of the strike and the continuation of the uprising depend on our ability to be creative, as witnessed by the formation of national committees and other frameworks which cannot be contained by the occupiers. We must expand committees providing medical relief and first aid, committees of merchants, committees to defend prisoners, and publicity and neighborhood committees. Our merchants, workers, and clerks must not be alone in the battle.

The circle of international solidarity with our people is widening; we have many allies in the world community, and the blackout imposed on our cause will not succeed. The fears of starvation or loss of employment, with which the occupiers confront us, are only a reflection of their own fear of the uprising, and of world solidarity with us.

To our workers, merchants, physicians! To all our people!

Have you joined committees to support the strike? Have you joined national

committees in your neighborhoods? If no such committees exist, take the initiative to form them, and gather your people around you. The address of the national committees is clear: it is yours, hers, mine, and we shall all rally around them.

Long Live the Heroic Palestinian People!

Long Live the Palestine Liberation Organization, our Sole Legitimate Representative!

Glory to the Martyrs of the Uprising and all our Martyrs!

National Forces in the Gaza Strip

8th January, 1988

Gaza Communique, January 12th

Yes to the Continuation of the Uprising

Yes to the General Strike

Down With the Occupation

Brothers and Sisters:

Have you struck fear in the heart of an occupation soldier today? Have you participated in spreading the slogans of the uprising? Have you taken part in forming national committees in your neighborhoods? Have you shared this communique with your colleagues and neighbors? Have you copied it and distributed it in your neighborhoods?

To our Great People:

The occupiers are walking on fire throughout our land while national committees are formed with the speed of lightning. Dozens of such committees have begun their work, each person participating in them to the extent of his ability. In Khan Younis, the food relief committee stands out as an outstanding example: it has distributed more than 3,000 loaves of bread to besieged neighborhoods, and has distributed two truckloads of vegetables in blockaded quarters in Rafah and Jabalya. We urge any person capable of assisting to present himself to food and medical relief committees, or to form such committees in order to provide emergency relief in Khan Younis and Bureij.

A state of emergency was declared all yesterday by the relief and medical committee in Gaza city. Dozens of homes in Shati', al-Nasr, and Shuja'iya were visited, and clinics were established in homes under the protection of the residents of these quarters. In Jabalya, the national committee prevented an attempt to disrupt UNRWA relief work, and organized the distribution of supplies to needy families. This was carried out with strong discipline.

The national committee of merchants in the Gaza Strip has called upon

merchants to retain existing price levels, and has undertaken to publicize the name of any merchant taking advantage of the situation. The committee has also requested merchants to refrain from selling large amounts of goods to individuals, and to try to sell to the largest number of people. It has also hailed the efforts of volunteer blacksmiths who repaired locks broken by the occupation forces in their failed attempt to stop the strike.

National publicity committees also became active in responding to the closure of the area to the media; dozens of news-gathering networks were formed, and news was translated and distributed to news agencies with great speed. As for the brave cadres behind the barricades in each street, block, camp, city and town, they have protected the strike with great effectiveness. They work untiringly from early morning to evening, defending their areas with massive barricades, and chanting in one voice,

*Down, Down with occupation,
Down with the Iron Fist.
We want self-determination,
And a Palestinian state.
Our weapon is the strike,
And the popular committees.
We are behind the PLO,
Until our cause is won.*

To Our Great People:

Statements issued by Israeli officials reveal great confusion in their ranks. The whole world is watching the uprising of our people, and waves of solidarity and support emanate from forces in sympathy with our cause, even in Israel itself. May we continue to deepen the quandry in which the occupation finds itself, for the cause of liberation and an independent state.

Long Live the uprising!

Yes to the Palestine Liberation Organization!

Glory to the martyrs of the uprising and all our martyrs!

National Forces in the Gaza Strip

12th January, 1988

Gaza Communique

Communique from the Unified National Leadership
of the Uprising in the Gaza Strip
February 1988

The Unified National Leadership is a broad coalition which was established during the uprising. It is composed of:

1. The basic activist forces which are represented in the Palestine Liberation Organization: Fatah, the Palestinian Communist Party, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.
2. Other national forces, including the popular committees which have proliferated during the uprising in the refugee camps, villages and towns.
3. National institutions and national figures.
4. Those religious forces which accept the political programme of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The Unified National Leadership is following a unified programme for the uprising which reflects the aspirations of the people, including the working class, the peasantry, merchants, doctors, lawyers, engineers, teachers, clerks, students and that section of the national bourgeoisie which is dedicated to the goal of national independence.

The programme is based on the following main premises:

1. The P.L.O. is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and embodies the Palestinian national identity which aspires for self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.
2. The Uprising represents an advanced stage in our national struggle. Its purpose is the achievement of the following national goals:
 - a. Insistence on our national demand for self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. This should be achieved through the organization of an international conference which should have full decision-making authority and full participation of the P.L.O.
 - b. The immediate implementation of international protective measures for the Palestinians under Israeli occupation. These would include implementation of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which forbids tax-collection and prohibits change of laws by the occupying authorities.
 - c. An immediate halt to the oppressive measures of the occupying forces (which include beatings, curfews, the forcible entry into mosques and houses) and the withdrawal of Israeli military forces from towns and other residential areas.
 - d. The release of those who have been detained since the beginning of the Uprising, the return of deportees, and a halt to summary trials and deportation.

While the Unified National Leadership sees the continuation of the struggle for these goals as being sufficient to force the occupiers and their American allies to accept our demands, we also insist on a strong rejection of

- 1) the Camp David Accords
- 2) the Mubarak initiative, and
- 3) the complicity of the so-called representatives of the Palestinian people with the US plans which aim to prevent the Palestinian people from obtaining their legitimate rights.

The Unified National Leadership is responsible for taking tactical decisions during the Uprising, based on its understanding of concrete local situations.

We honor our courageous people who have not been deterred by the oppressive measures of the Zionists; rather these measures have strengthened the people's dignity.

We call upon our nation to continue the great Uprising!

Long live the Uprising!

Long live the P.L.O.!

Honor and glory to the martyrs of the Uprising!

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising in the Gaza Strip

(FACTS Press Release No. 13).

Communique 10

No Voice Can Drown the Voice of the Uprising!

Communique No. 10

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising/PLO

Courageous people,

The uprising is entering its fourth month. We have beaten the "undefeated" army and economically weakened the occupation. Your struggle, chosen freely and independently, is winning our future homeland.

Your determination has defeated the Shultz conspiracy, which was the last in a series of bloody conspiracies against our national rights. The uprising sent Shultz away empty-handed, has increased the international isolation of Israel, and has swept away those who have tried to undermine the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of our nation. America has been exposed as being not a mediator but rather our main enemy.

We have made it clear that no other party can speak on our behalf. We will not allow any of the Arab countries to betray the Palestinian cause by preventing the PLO from attending an international conference. The PLO must be represented

by an independent delegate.

Whoever dreams of a seat for himself at Shultz's table will be spat out by the Arab Nation!

In the name of the Palestinian uprising we commend the stance of Algeria, the Nation of Martyrs, for its condemnation of the silent Arab nations.

We applaud the declaration of the PLO executive committee, which calls for an urgent Arab summit conference under the banner "The Conference of the Uprising and its Martyrs", with the aim of directing support for our nation through all possible political and material means.

We acclaim those freedom-loving people, and those progressive forces in Israel, who have supported us in our struggle for our right of return, our right to self-determination and the building of a Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO, our sole legitimate representative.

We, the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising, offer to our people the following directives:

1. Only the unity of our people can guarantee the consolidation and development of the uprising's achievements. We therefore call for the strengthening of unity within all sections of our society, and for the punishment of any person who endangers that unity.

We call for the establishment of more popular committees which are the basis of our unified struggle.

2. We call for unity in the timing of shop-opening, which will be for three hours per day. Each district will decide upon the three hours for which they will open.

3. The previous call for the resignation of employees from the civil administration refers only to Arab policemen. We renew our call for all people who work in police stations to submit their immediate resignation.

4. We renew our call for merchants to refrain from paying taxes, and for accounts offices to refrain from administering tax payments. The popular committees, including the merchant committees, should supervise the implementation of this directive.

5. We call upon our shopkeepers to boycott both Israeli and foreign products where there is a locally produced alternative. We stress the need for co-operation between shopkeepers and local factories, and the importance of not exploiting the consumer. Factories are requested to lower their prices, not to lower their workers' wages, and to open only during authorized periods.

Vegetable merchants (both retail and wholesale) must boycott Israeli agricultural produce and trade only in local produce in order to strengthen the steadfastness of the peasants.

We call upon businesses, doctors, pharmacists and lawyers to reduce their

prices. Now is the time for real solidarity between all ions of our society.

6. We ask our people to reduce the military pressure on besieged areas by escalating the struggle and offering moral and material support.

7. The struggle against the army, settlers, collaborators and Jordanian supporters must be continued. We applaud the efforts of our people against those who collaborate with Israel and Jordan, which has forced some to renounce their collaboration.

We call upon those members of the Jordanian parliament who were appointed by King Hussein to resign. If they do not they will forfeit the right to remain in our country.

8. In order to conform with other sectors, schools, colleges and universities should open for three hours daily, until eleven o'clock.

9. We re-endorse the directives of Communique 9, with the addition of the preceding points.

10. To the heroic people of the uprising, we declare the following:

a. Every day of the uprising should be a day of struggle against the occupation, its settlers and collaborators.

b. Monday 14th March will be a day for solidarity with prisoners and the wounded, to be marked by sit-in strikes and visits to the families of prisoners and wounded to offer moral and material support.

c. Tuesday and Wednesday, 15th and 16th March, will be days of general strike, under the slogan "there can be no alternative to an independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO, our sole legitimate representative".

d. March 21st is the anniversary of the battle of Karamah, a proud day for our people. This solemn anniversary will be marked by intense confrontation with the authorities.

Long live the PLO!

Glory to the martyrs of the uprising and to the three Palestinian martyrs who were killed on Cyprus!

We will march the road of the uprising together until victory!

Revolution until victory and liberation!

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising
in the Occupied Territories/PLO

10th March 1988

(FACTS Weekly Review, 1, March 5th - March 12th, 1988)

Communique 12

No Voice Rises Above the Voice of the Uprising

Communique No. 12

Issued by the Unified Leadership of the Uprising

The Palestine Liberation Organization

We will die standing upright,
We will not kneel, we will not surrender,
And the uprising will triumph!

O great and valiant people of Palestine! O people of the stone and the molotov! O courageous heroes of the uprising, you who have given our land your precious blood! Our uprising continues, and becomes greater and stronger with every victory, small as some may appear. But these victories are adding one to the other, and bringing closer our objective of an independent Palestinian state. Our children, women, men and youths stand firm against the ruthless Zionist military machine, defending the land with their sacred stones and their naked rage.

O fighting people! O people of Qassem and Abdel Qader al-Husseini! O people of struggle and sacrifice! As our triumphant revolution enters its fifth month, our people stand facing two thirds of the army of occupation, aided by gangs of Zionist settlers who have raided our villages and cities. But no measure of broken limbs, mass arrests, economic pressure, nor indeed murder and terror, will be able to liquidate our glorious revolution. Hundreds of Palestinians throughout the land are announcing their refusal to turn back; they are determined to continue the struggle until statehood is achieved. This will was expressed most recently on Land Day, when two million Palestinians affirmed their identity as one unified people, under the banner of their legitimate leadership, the PLO.

O people of the PLO! O people of the Unified Leadership of the Uprising! As the occupation finds itself unable to extinguish the fire of the uprising, it resorts to spreading false rumors and distributing forged communiques bearing the signature of the Unified Leadership of the Uprising. The Unified Leadership is confident that these attempts at sowing the seeds of confessional and sectarian strife, and of suspicion regarding groups and individuals, will meet with failure. We are also confident that rumors about the apprehension of the authors of the communiques issued by the Leadership of the Uprising will be understood as nothing more than attempts to cast doubt on the accomplishments of our uprising.

As we enter the fifth month of our uprising, we commemorate the Battle of Qastal and the martyrdom of the heroic Abdel Qader al-Husseini.

The Unified Leadership affirms the following:

* We condemn all efforts aimed at preventing the convening of the Arab Summit meeting scheduled for the first half of April. We demand that the Summit convene at once, to give support to the uprising of our people. We wish to reassure the Arab monarchs and heads of state that it is not their wealth that we need, for we would rather go hungry than forfeit our rights. What we demand from the Summit is a commitment in deed to what it has previously committed itself in words: our right to an independent state under the leadership of the PLO; and the convening of an international conference with full authority attended by all parties, including the PLO as an equal partner. We also call upon the Arab Summit to block with all the strength at its disposal the Shultz conspiracy, which aims at liquidating our uprising. We demand that all Arab airports be closed to Shultz and any other American emissary, so that they, and those Arab regimes collaborating with them, may finally understand that there is only one Arab address, and that is the PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinians.

* The Unified Leadership and the masses deplore the recent Israeli siege isolating the occupied territories, and the imposition of a three-day curfew on the Gaza Strip. These measures, which restricted the movement of residents and the media, and which aimed at preventing our people from commemorating Land Day, did not and will not succeed. The determination of the revolution of the stones is indeed stronger than the fascist ways of the Israeli army.

* We condemn the banning of the Shabiba movement, and the forced closure of the unions and other institutions. These acts are in clear violation of the internationally recognised human rights principles, and will not deter us from continuing our struggle.

* The Unified Leadership and the masses greatly value the unified position of the Ramallah merchants who decided, in a meeting attended by 300 of their numbers, to refuse to pay taxes to the Israeli occupation authorities. Ramallah merchants should serve as a model for merchants everywhere.

* The Unified Leadership salutes those members of municipal and village councils who have responded to calls for their resignation from their posts. The Unified Leadership warns that the blood and property of those who have not yet resigned are no longer inviolate, and that the masses of the uprising will trample on anyone who does not heed its voice.

* The Unified Leadership and the masses greatly value the collective resignation of employees of the tax and customs departments in the Gaza Strip, and urge their counterparts in the West Bank to follow their example. We also value the mass resignation of members of the police force and urge those who have not done so yet to resign. We call upon all popular committees to complete their work of forming watch and defense committees entrusted with the protection of our communities. This is especially crucial at a time when attempts are being made by

the occupier to create unease among the population. We also call on the owners of industrial enterprises to cooperate by absorbing ex-policemen and former employees of the tax and customs departments into the workforce.

* The Unified Leadership urges all agricultural engineers, agrarian specialists, and owners of vegetable nurseries to support our farmers and striking laborers in their efforts to achieve the highest levels of self-sufficiency in the face of the economic blockade imposed by the occupation forces. And may we all realize that going on strike does not mean not working the land.

The Unified Leadership calls upon the masses to intensify their struggle and to implement the following steps:

1. To reject the imperialist initiative of U.S. Secretary of State Shultz by declaring Monday 4th April a day of general strike. May we reaffirm on this day our and the PLO's boycott of Shultz or any other American emissary.

2. To devote Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, 4th, 5th and 6th April to opposing the Shultz visit and to expressing our solidarity with the detained and wounded of the uprising. We call upon all popular committees and national organizations to intensify their activities by holding mass demonstrations, women's marches, and sit-ins on these days.

3. To declare Tuesday 5th April a day of national work. We urge all factories and concerns to operate at full capacity to support those who have suffered most during the uprising: families of martyrs and the wounded, residents of blockaded villages, workers who have boycotted Zionist enterprises, and all those who have heeded national calls to resign from their posts. We urge that profits realized on that day be donated to supporting these sectors of the population.

4. To celebrate International Health Day on Thursday 7th April. We urge all those physicians, pharmacists, and nurses who have already given great support to our cause, to continue their tireless efforts at providing emergency relief and routine medical care to the people.

5. To commemorate the Battle of Qastal and the martyrdom of Abdel Qader al-Husseini on Thursday 7th April by staging violent confrontations with the occupation forces and the cowardly settlers. May all our refugee camps, villages and cities be transformed into fortresses of confrontation and a refuge for the uprising and the revolution.

6. To devote Saturday 9th April to commemorating the fall of the first group of martyrs of the uprising, and the martyrs of the massacres of Deir Yassin. And as our uprising enters its fifth month on this day, let us mark this occasion by marching to the graves of the martyrs, holding sit-ins in municipalities and other institutions, and staging demonstrations throughout the land. We declare this a day of rage when we will shake the earth with our fury.

7. To devote Friday and Sunday, 8th and 10th April to prayers in memory of

the fallen martyrs of the uprising. And may marches, demonstrations, and sit-ins be staged in our mosques and churches.

8. To declare a general strike on Monday 11th April and to devote the day to voluntary work on the land, in support of the Palestinian countryside and the development of the agrarian economy.

O people of the uprising! Continue your struggle, and give your utmost to the cause.

O children of the stones, march forward, for we shall be victorious!

The Unified Leadership of the Uprising

in the Occupied Territories/

The Palestine Liberation Organization

2nd April, 1988

Communique 13

No Voice Rises above the Voice of the Uprising

Communique No. 13

Issued by the Unified Leadership of the Uprising

The Palestine Liberation Organization

O struggling people!

You have shaken the ground under the feet of the Zionist occupiers. You are making our shining future through your heroic struggle, your stones and molotovs, in order to build your Palestinian state. Your strong arms were seen in the Palestinian village of Beita, challenging the barbaric settlers. Your heroic uprising has caused the failure of the Shultz initiative by insisting that he should only be met by the PLO, our sole legitimate representative and the leader of the struggle.

O people of the uprising!

Our path of struggle will expel the occupiers. So let us continue with civil disobedience. The Israeli oppressive measures have failed because of your unity in the struggle. They have only increased our determination to continue to achieve more and more victories.

Your uprising has achieved many victories. Now we can feel the increase in the international support of our cause and of our legitimate rights. Our national unity has been consolidated, both in Palestine and in the diaspora; support for the PLO and its national program have been strengthened. Support for Jordan has diminished, and the program of functional division has been destroyed (i.e. the autonomy plan which divides administrative control over the West Bank and Gaza between Israel

and Jordan [eds]). You have also unmasked the racist face of Zionism, which led to an international condemnation of its aggressive policy. You have also caused economic losses for the occupiers, which amount to more than hundreds of millions of dollars, in addition to their human losses. These losses have made our occupied territories a bleeding wound on the body of Israel, rather than being a source of profit.

Our uprising is still continuing, and it must be escalated, in order to create an atmosphere where civil disobedience is possible. Already many of the employees in the "Civil Administration" have resigned, including policemen and tax employees, in addition to the resignation of many of the appointed municipal councils. Many of our people have refused to pay taxes. Many of our people are boycotting Israeli products. Many of our laborers stopped working for Israeli companies. Another achievement has been to consolidate unity and co-operation amongst our people who began to show increasing interest in planting the land, and in the ideas of household economy. The popular committees are proliferating all over the occupied lands. In a word, our people are beginning to establish new national systems and to consolidate their authority.

As we enter the month of Ramadan, the month of sacrifice and co-operation, and as we approach Palestinian Prisoners Day, we wish to stress the following:

- * The struggle against the appointed municipal councils should be accelerated. Our people should boycott them, and refuse to pay their taxes. The Unified National Leadership declares its final warning to them.

- * We salute our people and our national institutions, and especially the economic institutions, who refused to pay taxes. We issue a warning to those who paid, and note that the large factories and businesses should also follow the boycott.

- * The Unified National Leadership also salutes the employees who resigned from the "Civil Administration" organizations, especially the policemen and the tax collectors. We call upon their colleagues in the police and tax departments to follow their example.

- * The Unified Leadership calls upon our heroic laborers to boycott Israeli projects in the settlements of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, since this will freeze the services sector in these settlements. We also demand that our laborers expand their workers' committees in their factories and in their places of residence, in order to organize themselves and consolidate their role in the struggle.

- * The Unified Leadership calls upon the national manufacturing institutions to increase their production and to absorb more and more of our laborers. We also ask them to pay full wages during the days of general strike.

- * The Unified Leadership appreciates the co-operative spirit among the people, and asks them to establish more and more local popular committees and guarding

committees, which should administer their life and struggle. We also call upon the people to develop and practice the idea of home economy by planting the land, raising poultry, minimizing expenditure and boycotting Zionist produce, especially during the month of Ramadan.

* The Unified National Leadership calls upon our people in the Arab world, and all democratic forces, to accelerate their struggle and to support the uprising of the Palestinian people. We salute the Algerian attitude, in their initiative of calling for an Arab summit, and condemn the attempts of the reactionary Arab states to postpone it.

* The Unified National Leadership calls upon our brother Syria to correct its relations with the PLO on the basis of the common struggle against imperialism, and in order to serve the goals of the Arab liberation struggle.

* The Unified National Leadership calls upon doctors, engineers, agriculturalists, lawyers and teachers to participate practically in the uprising in providing assistance, each with their own skills.

* The Unified National Leadership asks our people to be aware of the attempts of the Israeli intelligence service to divide the people and to spread rumors in order to destroy the reputation of some of our people. We must be careful in dealing with these rumors which originate with the collaborators. We also draw our people's attention to the attempts of the Israelis to vandalize property.

O strugglers for a free future!

The Unified National Leadership, while continuing with you the path of struggle, the path of defeating the occupation, and the path of establishing an independent Palestinian state, calls for the implementation of the following steps:

1. The decision of the enemy to close shops in the mornings should be challenged by insisting on opening between 8 and 11. In the holy month of Ramadan, the shops should be open from 2.00 to 5.00 pm only.

2. Fridays, Sundays and Tuesday 12th April are days of demonstrations and national activities.

3. Wednesday 13th April is a day for collecting donations and for solidarity with Beita village. It is a day where we should stand silently for one minute in memory of the martyrs of the uprising, at 10.00am.

4. Thursday and Saturday, 14th and 16th April, are days of general strike, in protest against the arrests and other oppressive measures which have been taken against our people.

5. Sunday 17th April, Palestinian Prisoners Day, should be a day for sit-in strikes in the offices of the Red Cross, the Red Crescent and other national institutions in solidarity with our people in the fascist detention centers. A hunger strike should be declared for these sit-in strikes.

6. Monday 18th April is the day for solidarity with educational institutions, through the defiance of the closure orders for these institutions.

7. Tuesday 19th April is the day for solidarity visits to families of martyrs and detainees.

8. Wednesday 20th April is a day for national unity. It is the anniversary of the Algerian Unification Session of the Palestine National Council. It should be a day for national activities and for working in home economy.

9. Thursday 21st April is to be the day of the Palestinian molotov, as an answer to the policy of the authorities which authorizes to shoot the throwers of molotovs.

It will be a day for general strike.

O great people!

Continue your forward struggle, face the settlers, and let us cause the enemy more and more losses. Continue to throw stones and molotovs until we have expelled the occupiers and achieved victory.

The Palestine Liberation Organization

The Unified Leadership of the Uprising
in the Occupied Territories.

Communique 14

No Voice Can Drown the Voice of the Uprising
The Voice of the People of Palestine,
the People of the Palestine Liberation Organization

The Call of the Martyr, Leader and Teacher,
Our Brother Khalil al-Wazir/Abu Jihad.

Released by the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising/PLO

O struggling people everywhere, brothers and comrades in the struggle of our martyr Abu Jihad, masses of the courageous uprising.

In a desperate attempt to suppress the glorious uprising, the arm of the new fascism and nazism of the Zionist entity has reached out to add yet another crime to its series of daily crimes committed against our courageous people and their leadership, the symbol of our struggle, the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people everywhere. The fascist, racist entity is up to its neck in a sea of blood which it has spilt on the land of struggle and defiance, with the

aim of denying the national rights of our heroic people.

And even though your body fell, O faithful son of Palestine, symbol of defiance and revolutionary commitment, and even though your body was riddled with bullets driven by spiteful hatred, you will remain the teacher and inspiration for rejuvenating generations of our people who will struggle until victory. You will remain alive in the soil of Palestine and in the hearts and minds of the children, the elderly, the women and youth of our great people. We vow to you, our martyr, the teacher of the generations, we vow to you that we will remain faithful to our pledge that we will continue the struggle until the fulfilment of all the aspirations of our people. Your blood and the blood of our martyrs will never have been shed in vain. We will choose either martyrdom or raise the banner for which you chose to sacrifice yourself. We will raise it high over Jerusalem, the capital of our independent state. We pledge commitment to our vow until martyrdom and victory on the road of liberation and independence.

Struggling people! The Zionist racist entity imposes its increasingly oppressive measures, through the policy of assassination and killing, through collective punishment such as economic sanctions against our cities, villages and camps, through deportations and the long continuous curfews, the closure of areas as well as the policy of breaking bones and limbs, the use of poisonous gas, and night raids coupled with the destruction of all property that the arm of the fascist forces can reach, in complete disregard of human rights, international codes and conventions - but all these policies and practices reflect the haphazardness and the confusion of the Zionist enemy, and the successful blows that the brave uprising has inflicted on the enemy's troops and its economy, which is based on sucking our people's blood. Our giving people, onwards with unity and cohesion! Intensify the painful blows to the tired fascist entity and its forces by using stones, molotovs, and all similar means available to you. Let the ground burn under the feet of the invader, let us use all means to avenge the killings of our people, and remain faithful to the blood of our martyr Abu Jihad, and all our martyrs.

Our enduring and steadfast people, with glory and pride are you sustaining your brave uprising through your great improvisations and escalations. You are building a solid base towards the fulfilment of a comprehensive civil disobedience, while our great leadership is paving the road, through intensifying its political moves, gaining support from the victorious revolution of our people, and through mutual moves with the friendly nations, foremost the political moves between the PLO and the Soviet Union, towards the convening of the international conference: an international conference that would have full authority, and where the Palestinians would be represented by an independent delegation to reflect the legitimate national rights of our people to return, and to have self-determination and an independent Palestinian state. These demands have been endorsed by the majority of the great countries of

the world. All these achievements are the fruition of our glorious uprising. Onwards with escalating the struggle against the occupation, its apparatus and its collaborators, headed by the appointed municipal councils! Forward with the expansion and consolidation of our popular committees, the strike forces, the neighborhood committees and the guarding and food provision committees! Let us increase the cohesion and unity for the national struggle everywhere. Let us work toward the full implementation of the program of the uprising as outlined in the previous communiques. Let us intensify the boycott of the Zionist products where there is an alternative local product, as well as of consumer produce that we can do without. Merchants, too, should adhere to the boycott and not buy Zionist produce. Continue to boycott the blood-sucking apparatus of customs and taxes, and call for the resignation of those who have not done so in the police and the tax offices. We call on you to immediately follow the steps of your colleagues who have resigned, and not to try to deceive people by taking vacations. The eye of the people is sharp, and the arm of the people will reach all those who remain outside the victorious uprising.

People of our glorious uprising, in accordance with the program of the uprising, we call on you to comply with the following:

1. We emphasize the importance of complete commitment to refraining from paying taxes.
2. We highly value the role of our committees who have responded to the call of the land, and who are cultivating the gardens and the plots of land through agricultural cooperatives. We call on all of the committees to intensify and expand agriculture and cooperatives to extend to all of the beloved soil of our country.
3. We call on all of our people to continue with economizing and cutting down on expenditures during the holy month of Ramadan.
4. We call upon our workers to increase their boycott of work in the Zionist settlements - work there should be completely boycotted.
5. We call for an expansion of the work of the health committees, and for an increase in the organization of first aid courses and preventive medicine and health education. We call upon doctors to reduce their fees in order to support our people.
6. In accordance with the decision of the Executive Committee of the PLO, the popular committees and other committees will extend a helping hand to resigned policemen and tax employees, and the workers who have boycotted the work in the Zionist settlements.
7. We salute the people of the heroic Golan and reaffirm our mutual struggle. We salute the Palestinian people inside the Zionist entity and the Arab peoples for supporting our uprising. Let us all rise up against the occupation and the oppression. We call upon the Arab governments to release the Palestinian and Arab

detainees serving the uprising.

8. We call upon office directors working in the "Civil Administration" in Gaza to immediately submit their resignations.

9. We reaffirm the necessity for the International Red Cross and UNRWA to take up their responsibility for providing the medical and food provisions to the cities, villages and camps under siege and under curfew.

People of our uprising, committed to the program of the Unified Leadership, the arm of the PLO in struggle, we offer you the following directives:

1. Sundays and Fridays are declared days of prayer for the soul of our martyr, the symbol Abu Jihad, and of all the martyrs of Palestine; symbolic funerals and marches are to be held, and black flags and the Palestinian flag to be raised.

2. 23rd April 1988 will be a day of anger, on which all combative means should be used in commemoration of the passing of one week since the death of the martyr Abu Jihad.

3. 28th April 1988 will be a day for the deportees. It will be a day of general strike with combative activities in solidarity with the deportees, and in condemnation of the policy of deportation.

4. The remaining days of the week will be days of anger and escalation of activities in condemnation of the policies of killing and assassination, of house demolitions, the imposition of long curfews, the killing of children by tear gas, and of mass arrests. These days should be characterized by combative activities.

We call upon all of the popular and work committees to implement all of the means of struggle and to declare the days from 22nd April until 29th April 1988 days of Palestinian anger, in order to direct blows against the Zionist entity, its forces and the settlers.

Our people, brothers of our martyr Abu Jihad and all the other martyrs, let us give more and sacrifice more; let there be more national unity and cohesion, let us employ all the energies and potentials, let there be more stone-throwing and molotovs and strong blows against the tired body of the fascist entity. Let the earth tremble beneath the feet of the invaders. The spring of Palestinian blood will never run dry. We vow to our martyr Abu Jihad and all our martyrs that the day will come when the Kalashnikov will sound in Palestine, in every village, city and camp, to create from the bullets the end of fascist Zionism. Our people shall sow its legitimate national rights through the leader of its struggle, the PLO. An oath is an oath, a vow is a vow: either victory or martyrdom for an independent liberated Palestine.

We shall be victorious!

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising
in the Occupied Territories

The Palestine Liberation Organization

22 April 1988

(FACTS Weekly Review, 7, April 17th - April 23rd, 1988)

Communique 15

No Voice Rises Above the Voice of the Uprising

No Voice Rises Above the Voice of the People of Palestine,
the People of the PLO

Communique no. 15

The Workers Appeal

Issued by the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising

in the Occupied Territories, the Palestine Liberation Organization

O great people of Palestine, O heroes of the uprising and makers of its glory! O people who have shaken the earth with your stones and molotovs! We salute all of you who have clung with such patience and tenacity to the aims and slogans of the uprising. Our uprising has cut a sure path to the stage of total civil disobedience, enduring on the way martyrdom, injury, arrest and other forms of fascist brutality. The uprising has also created a will in our people to resist uncertainty and retreat in the face of brutality and terror practised by the occupier. We have no choice but to escalate our struggle and to deal painful blows to the fascist enemy, bringing closer our aim of freedom and independence.

We declare that our people will not retreat from its goals despite the brutal measures taken against it. Neither the blockading of our cities, towns and camps; the killings; arrests; deportations; the criminal assassination of the leader Abu Jihad; nor the psychological war being waged against the uprising will deter us from our struggle. On the contrary, our people is ever devising new methods of confrontation in response to the escalation of the occupier. Our people is proving its ability to adapt itself to a long-term struggle in the strategy for an end to occupation and the establishment of an independent state. And despite all the calls for surrender made by the occupier, our people views its daily accomplishments as a solid foundation for the continuation and development of the uprising.

The uprising has introduced new patterns in our economic and social life. These new patterns are based on a vision of the uprising as a long-term and continuous revolutionary process which entails hardship and sacrifice but which in the end abounds with achievements. These achievements have solidified the unity of the national forces and of all sectors of our society. This unity is clearly reflected in the wide success of the popular committees, fighting teams, watch committees, cooperatives and in the widespread return to the land.

The achievements of the uprising do not lie only in the defeat of the conspiracy of the Americans and other reactionary forces and the defeat of the dreams of the Zionists in continuing their hegemony over our land. They lie also in the expanding international support for our just aims and for the creation of an

appropriate opening for their realization, especially in light of the joint Palestinian-Soviet agreement for the convening of an international conference with full authority. This conference should be based on the recognition of our people's legitimate rights and aimed at forcing the Zionist entity and its imperialist ally, the US, to bow to the will of the international community. This community has been increasingly supportive of our aims, and demonstrated this recently in Security Council resolution 605 which calls for the necessity of realizing the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people.

It is also a clear result of the uprising and of Palestinian, Algerian, Libyan and Soviet efforts that Syrian-Palestinian relations are moving in the correct direction. This movement was crowned by the recent meeting of the Palestinian delegation under the leadership of Chairman Arafat and Syrian president Hafez al-Assad. We call upon Syria to establish a military alliance with the PLO based on respect for the independence of Palestinian decision-making. We also call upon nationalist Arab states to establish a new and steadfast front whose priority is the convening of an Arab summit for the support of the uprising, and the crystallization of an Arab position opposing American designs, especially the Shultz plan.

The effects of the uprising also extend to our steadfast people on the Lebanese front, easing their hardship and expanding their struggle. This development has also provided the opportunity for the Palestinian groups still outside the PLO to join its organs on the basis of the program adopted by the 18th Palestine National Council. In short, the uprising has effected a qualitative shift in the international balance of power in favor of the national right of our people to return to their homeland, to self-determination, and to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO.

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising proclaims its adherence to our people's just aims, and thereby not only exposes the Zionist enemy's misleading claims to international public opinion concerning the aims of our uprising, but also increases Israel's isolation in the world community and our people's optimism by proposing a just solution to the national issue.

O great people of Palestine! This 15th communique comes to you on 1st May, International Workers' Day. And on this occasion, which celebrates the struggle of workers throughout the world, our people salute with pride the revolutionary role of our laborers and their labor movement. We also salute the sacrifices made by workers in defence of their freedom, and call upon international bodies and labor organizations to express solidarity with the Palestinian labor movement by protesting the deportation and the arrest of unionists, the closure of union headquarters, and the banning of union activity.

* On the occasion of May Day the UNLU salutes our heroic workers and calls upon them to launch a total boycott of work in Zionist settlements and to return

to work on the land. We also call upon workers not to waste opportunities for alternatives to working across the Green Line, and to continue their commitment to the struggle. We urge workers to form unified laborers' committees and to work for the unification of the labor movement.

* The UNLU values greatly the courageous and honorable position of merchants, and salutes the heroic merchants of Jerusalem for their rejection of the occupiers' orders. We urge all merchants to refuse the authorities' call for the opening of shops during strike periods, and to refrain from raising their prices. We also call upon all sectors to refrain from paying taxes to the occupation authorities.

* The boycott of work in Zionist settlements, and the boycott of Israeli products will lead to the damaging of the Israeli economy.

* The UNLU urges our fighting people to direct its severest blows to those policemen and appointed municipal and village councils who still remain outside the national consensus. Foremost of these are al-Zir, al-Towil, Khalil Musa and Jamil Sabri Khalaf. We assure them that actions taken against them so far have merely been warnings.

* In keeping with recommendations by merchants' committees and the public, we call for the opening of shops in all areas between the hours of 9am and 12 noon. This also applies to petrol stations. The hours for industrial zones will be from 8am to 1pm.

O fighting people of Palestine! In order to reach the stage of civil disobedience, and in keeping with the program drawn up by the UNLU, the fighting arm of the PLO, we call upon you to take the following steps:

1. To devote 1st May, which will be considered a national occasion, to confrontations with the racist occupation forces and the holding of marches and demonstrations in cities, villages and refugee camps. We urge you to raise the Palestinian flag on this day and paint slogans against the occupation on the walls of your communities. We call upon all employers to consider May Day a paid vacation for their workers.

2. To observe a general strike on 4th May and to devote this day to national reconstruction by working the land and rebuilding homes demolished by the racist occupier.

3. To consider 5th May a day for violating the military closure of educational institutions. We urge academic institutions to observe the working hours of 9am to 12 noon.

4. To observe a day of solidarity with merchants on 7th May. We urge the public and our fighting teams to support the merchants in the opening of their shops.

5. To observe a general strike on 9th and 10th May, when all institutions and public transport will cease functioning. On these days we will commemorate the fall

of the first martyrs of the uprising and mark the beginning of the sixth month of the uprising. May the will of our people express itself on these days in attacks upon the occupation forces and its collaborators.

6. To consider 2nd May and the following 11 days, days of rage and intensified struggle, and to devote Fridays and Sundays to prayers and demonstrations in memory of our fallen martyrs. We call upon all national and popular committees to rename institutions and streets for the martyrs of the uprising, so that their names will live on for coming generations.

The UNLU wishes to reaffirm that the road to civil disobedience entails the formation of more popular and neighborhood committees. "We urge" the formation of more of local neighborhood, education, guarding, agricultural, and publicity committees, and call upon our people to develop the tools of daily struggle and to intensify the use of popular means of resistance such as stones and molotovs. We call upon our youth, young men and women, to form more fighting committees, and to intensify their sacrifices for their land. Each strike against the enemy brings us closer to victory; the blood of our martyrs has not been shed in vain.

We will continue the struggle with you until we reach our aim of independence, and we affirm that the PLO is the only party to address any dialogue concerning our legitimate national rights.

We salute our steadfast masses, and salute the Arab and international support for our victorious uprising.

May we continue the uprising! We shall be victorious!

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising
in the Occupied Territories

The Palestine Liberation Organization

30th April 1988

Communique 16

No Voice Rises Above the Voice of the Uprising

No Voice Rises Above the Voice of the People of Palestine,

The People of the Palestine Liberation Organization

Communique No. 16

The Palestine Appeal

Issued by the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising

The Palestine Liberation Organization

To the Masses of our People:

Forty years have passed since the eviction of our people from its homeland.

Throughout this period, there have been attempts to liquidate our existence and our national identity. But the Palestinian people have proven to be resilient, and have succeeded in defeating these attempts. The current national revolution and the sacrifices that it has entailed have succeeded in obtaining international recognition of our legitimate national rights. These include the recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the right of our people to return to their homeland, and our right to self-determination and the establishment of a Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO.

Our people knows its enemy well. It also knows that our struggle is a long one, and that the war of attrition we have declared is increasing the political and economic cost of the occupation as well as the isolation of the occupier in the world community. The great December uprising has proven that our people cannot be silenced. It has also taken our national struggle into a new stage whose hallmark is a continuation of resistance and its escalation toward civil disobedience.

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising affirms the capacity of our people for sacrifice and vows that we will march together toward civil disobedience. Civil disobedience signifies the independence of our people from the occupier's authority; this means that we must continue our efforts to store food and medical supplies, and to prepare ourselves for the hardships and sacrifices civil disobedience entails. The Unified National Leadership affirms the determination of our people to remove all obstacles on the road to civil disobedience; the priority at this time is the resignation of employees in the tax and police departments and in appointed municipal councils.

The Unified National Leadership welcomes the normalization of Palestinian-Syrian relations within the context of a constructive and democratic dialogue, and affirms the necessity of avoiding peripheral conflicts, and the importance of democratic dialogue as a means of solving internal disputes. It also condemns those who work outside the national consensus and cause rifts within national ranks. In this regard, the Unified National Leadership salutes the nationalist role performed by Libya and Algeria in strengthening the unity of the PLO and in solidifying a nationalist Arab front to confront imperialist designs, foremost of which is the Shultz conspiracy. The Leadership also welcomes efforts to revive and activate the Palestinian-Syrian-Lebanese steadfastness triangle. It condemns at the same time the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon which was intended to weaken the uprising and draw attention away from the heroic struggle of our people against the occupation. The Unified Leadership affirms that neither the Zionist invasion of Lebanon nor the media blackout of the uprising can extinguish the struggle of our people.

The Unified National Leadership wishes to affirm the following:

* We salute the heroic role the people of the refugee camps in the Gaza Strip

have played in escalating the uprising, and single out in this regard the residents of the Shati', Jabalya and Khan Yunis camps. We call upon our fighting people in the Gaza Strip to continue their escalation and to defeat the neo-fascist plan to issue new identity cards. We urge all Gaza Strip residents to boycott this scheme and to refrain from paying taxes and fines.

- * We urge the immediate resignation of department heads in the Civil Administration in the Gaza Strip, and call upon Khairi Ramadan of the Health Department and Mohammed al-Jidi of the Education Department to resign immediately. May they all know that the fighting masses of the uprising are capable, at the appropriate moment, of punishing all those who choose to remain outside the will of the people and the decisions of its leadership.

- * We urge our people to complete the task of forming popular committees without delay. The popular committees and other specialized committees are entrusted with organizing the requirements of daily life and guaranteeing essential services and supplies such as food, health, education, and security. The popular committees represent the people's authority and function as alternatives to the crumbling apparatus of the occupier. They are also the main instruments for leading and achieving civil disobedience.

- * We urge the intensification of strikes against the police and collaborators who have remained outside the national consensus by refusing to resign from their posts. The same applies to appointed municipal councils.

- * We urge the escalation of the refusal to pay taxes to the occupation authorities. And may the striking forces of the uprising defeat the attempts of the occupier to single out individuals and to force them to pay taxes. We also urge residents to refrain from paying taxes and fees to traitorous appointed municipal councils.

- * We call upon our people to intensify the boycott against Israeli goods for which there are no local substitutes or with which they can dispense. Striking forces will confront any attempts to market such products.

- * We call upon workers to intensify the boycott against work in Zionist settlements and to refrain from giving any services to the settlers.

- * While we salute lawyers for defending our detainees, we call upon them to reduce their fees and to work towards exposing the inhuman conditions under which our people are living in the prisons of the fascist occupation.

- * We call upon all teachers to participate as widely as possible in the popular education effort. We also call upon them to intensify their protest activities against the continued closure of educational institutions and the refusal of the occupation authorities to pay them their salaries.

- * We call for complete adherence in all areas to the commercial strike and to the schedule permitting the opening of places of business between the hours of 9

am and 12 noon. We call for the removal of street stands and carts outside these hours.

At a time when we commemorate the painful anniversary of our dispersal and mark, along with the Muslim world, the Feast of al-Fitr, we call upon our people to carry out the following:

1. To hold prayers in memory of the martyrs of the uprising after the special prayers of Al-Jum'a Al-Yatima on Friday, 13th May, and to hold symbolic funerals and demonstrations on that day.

2. To declare 15th May, the anniversary of the Disaster, a day of mourning and general strike, to refrain from using public and private transport, and to remain in our homes.

3. In memory of the fallen martyrs, and in protest against Arab and Muslim silence regarding the crimes committed against our people and our holy places, the Unified Leadership has decided to cancel all celebratory aspects of the Feast of Al-Fitr, and to call upon our people to confine themselves to observance of the religious rites connected to this occasion.

The first day of this Feast will be consecrated to the memory of the martyrs, when our people will demonstrate after prayers, place wreaths on the graves of our martyrs, and raise Palestinian flags.

The second and third days of the Feast will be days of solidarity with our people, when we will pay visits to the wounded and the families of martyrs and deportees. We also call upon our people to form committees for the assistance of families in need.

4. To declare a general strike on Saturday, 21st May, and to devote the day to strengthening the authority of the popular committees and completing their formation in all areas.

5. The period from 12th to 22nd May should be considered a period of militant nationalist activity. May the banner of the uprising flutter over the path of liberation and independence.

Long live our glorious uprising!

We shall be victorious!

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising

The Palestine Liberation Organization

13th May 1988

(FACTS Weekly Review, 10, 8th May - 21st May, 1988)

Communique 18

No Voice Rises Above the Voice of the Uprising

The Appeal of the Palestinian Child

Issued by the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising

The Palestine Liberation Organization

To Our Heroic People:

We take this opportunity to salute our people who, through their tireless struggle, have successfully destroyed the myth of coexistence with the occupation, and who have defeated the attempts to find alternatives to our chosen representative and to deny us our right to self-determination. Our uprising is destroying the apparatus of the occupation and is building upon its ashes, through the popular committees, the framework of an independent people's authority.

Our uprising has restored to our struggle its rightful place on the agenda of international forums; the struggle of our people for independence figures prominently in the deliberations of the Moscow summit, and will be the main focus of the upcoming summit in Algeria.

This week we observe the 21st anniversary of the occupation of what remains of our land. In the coming days we will witness the Moscow summit, the Arab summit, and yet another visit by George Shultz aimed at sabotaging our uprising and silencing our people. But the uprising continues and escalates, and our people are determined to push forward until the demise of the occupation and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO.

Our young generation, the generation of the uprising, was not born and raised in a vacuum; it was nurtured under more than 20 years of oppression and violence, and came of age as a nation denied its legitimate rights and its independent national identity. This generation is determined to make the occupiers pay dearly for their defilement of our land and holy places, and to make the occupation a scorching inferno for the army of the occupation and the murderous settlers.

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising calls upon our people to escalate their struggle and to step up their painful blows to the neo-fascist occupier. We also call upon our people to intensify popular organization, to complete the formation of specialized committees, which are essential for the realization of a comprehensive campaign of civil disobedience. In short, we must work hard to lay the groundwork for achieving the demands of the uprising: the necessity of observing the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention by the posting of an international observer force for the protection of the population; the withdrawal of the Israeli army from the cities, villages and refugee camps; the lifting of sieges on Palestinian communities; the release of detainees; the return of

deportees; the rescinding of Israeli legislation regarding taxation and related matters; the holding of democratic elections for municipal and village councils; and the lifting of economic constraints stifling the development of the industrial, agricultural and service sectors in Palestinian society.

The Palestinian people and the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising call upon the participants in the Arab summit to shoulder their historical responsibility towards their people and the world by supporting the Palestinian struggle. This support does not come from statements of condemnation and declarations of solidarity, but entails the following:

1. The adoption of a unified and unambiguous political position which recognizes that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and the provision of the necessary means with which to enable our people to continue their struggle.

2. The rejection of all initiatives aimed at liquidating our struggle, and in particular the Shultz initiative. We also call for the insistence on an international conference with full authority with the participation of the PLO as an independent delegation and on an equal footing with other parties.

3. The release of all political prisoners from Arab jails, the granting of democratic freedoms to the Arab people to enable them to show their solidarity with our uprising, and the opening of borders to Palestinian fighters crossing into occupied Palestine.

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising wishes to affirm the following:

- * We call for the immediate resignation of employees working in the departments of automobile registration, planning, housing, and population registration.

- * Following our success in forcing the occupation to reopen the schools, we call upon our educators to intensify their efforts to compensate students for curriculum not covered during the closure. This applies in particular to the students about to sit for the exams for the General Certificate of Secondary Education (the Tawjihi). At the same time, we wish to affirm that our schools will continue to be fortresses for the uprising, and that popular education is an important complement to formal school education.

- * We call upon our people to cease dealing with institutions aimed at limiting our freedom of movement: we urge you to refrain from obtaining tax clearances, and dealing with the collaborationist municipal councils. Popular committees are asked to encourage people in their communities to observe this boycott.

- * The payment of taxes, whatever their form, is strictly forbidden. The boycott of Israeli products, both industrial and agricultural, should continue, and work in Israeli settlements is not allowed.

- * We call upon our people in the Gaza Strip to refrain from obtaining new

identity cards and ask the popular committees to assist in mobilizing our people to reject these cards.

* We urge the strengthening of the popular neighborhood committees and call upon them to intensify their activities in health care, food preservation, publicity, and in providing protection to their communities.

* We call for the intensification of blows aimed at all those who insist on remaining outside the national consensus: members of appointed councils, customs department employees, and policemen. And we urge the utilization of popular means of struggle against all enemies beginning with stones and ending with the molotov.

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising invites the people of the occupied territories to declare the coming period days of rage and resistance, to match the severity and importance of the events we mark during those days. We urge you to do so by carrying out the following:

1. To hold mass marches and demonstrations on 28th and 29th May so that the voice of the uprising will be heard loud and clear at the Moscow summit.

2. To observe a general strike on 30th May, and to mark the Reagan-Gorbachev summit by an intensified struggle including the painting of slogans and the raising of Palestinian flags.

3. To mark International Children's Day on 1st June by holding children's marches and displaying placards and flags. We call upon local solidarity committees to present gifts to the children of martyrs, the wounded, detainees, and deportees.

4. To observe a general strike on 3rd - 5th June to mark the Shultz visit, the invasion of Lebanon, and the 21st anniversary of the Zionist occupation respectively. Demonstrations will be held, and our people are urged to strike at the occupation and those collaborating with it.

5. To declare 7th June a day of Arab solidarity with the uprising. We urge the Arab masses to hold marches in their own countries in support of our uprising.

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising

The Palestine Liberation Organization

28th May, 1988

(FACTS Weekly Review, 11, 22nd May - 28th May, 1988)

Communique No. 19

No Voice Rises Above the Voice of the Uprising

No Voice Rises Above the Voice of the People of Palestine,
the People of the PLO.

The Appeal of the Prisoners of the Uprising

Issued by the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising
The Palestine Liberation Organization

To Our Great People:

The uprising of the Palestinian people has dealt a decisive blow to the persistent efforts aimed at liquidating our cause and denying us our national rights. These efforts, beginning with Camp David and ending with the Shultz plan, have been firmly rejected by our people, who insist on their right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state under the leadership of the PLO.

We have seen how American obstinacy and enmity to our cause prevented the Moscow summit from reaching any agreement concerning the Palestinian issue. We salute the support of the Soviet Union for our cause, and announce our total rejection of the Shultz plan and of Shultz's visits to the area. We view the Shultz plan as part of the American design to abort our uprising and to put pressure on certain Arab parties to influence the political decisions of the Arab summit meeting in Algiers. The efforts in certain reactionary Arab quarters to give currency to the Shultz initiative, which is part and parcel of the American imperialist design for the region, can also be viewed in this light.

On the local scene, the meetings being held between the Zionist minister of war Rabin, and certain collaborationist Palestinians, are also attempts to create alternatives to our sole legitimate representative, the PLO. The suspect activities of the collaborationist An-Nahar newspaper, especially its newly-founded research center and the poison it spreads on its pages, are nothing but efforts to bring our people to their knees, and to sow confusion and discord among their ranks.

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising affirms its condemnation of any meetings with Zionist and American politicians, and asserts that the PLO is the correct address for anyone wishing to talk to the Palestinian people.

To our heroic people: you have demonstrated, through your strong will and your sacrifices, that the uprising is not waning. You have given the lie to claims that your militancy is faltering. On the contrary, and despite the brutality of the occupier against the masses, our uprising is daily gaining ground on the road to liberation and independence.

We note the escalation of the boycott of the apparatus of the occupier; the

increasing number of those resigning from their posts in the Civil Administration; the non-payment of taxes to those who suck the blood of our people; the boycott of Zionist products and of work in settlements; the return to the land and the raising of livestock; the rationalization of consumption and the storing of essential foodstuffs; the realization of societal solidarity and mutual assistance; the strengthening of the instruments of people's power; escalation in the face of the occupation forces and the enemies of the people; and the total adherence to the program issued by the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising. These accomplishments bring us closer to a new stage in our struggle, the stage of total civil disobedience. And the necessary conditions for the declaration of this new stage are the completion of the work of building popular structures in all the cities, villages, and refugee camps of the occupied territories.

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU) salutes the steadfastness of our heroic prisoners in the neo-fascist prison camps of Naqab, Dhahariyeh, Atleet, Ansar, Megiddo, Far'a, and elsewhere, and announces the following:

- * We call for immediate resignations from appointed municipal and village councils, the police force, and the following departments: tax and customs, motor vehicle licensing, planning, housing, and population registry. We also call for the boycott of work in Zionist settlements and of Israeli products, and the non-payment of taxes. Finally, we urge our people not to apply for tax clearances.

- * The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising salutes those who have heeded the call for resignations, and in particular the employees of the motor vehicle licensing department who have submitted their resignations.

- * The UNLU salutes the heroic struggle of our people in Gaza, and their resistance to the Israeli scheme for changing identity cards.

- * We salute our merchants for their adherence to the commercial strike schedule.

- * We alert our people to the propaganda war being waged against us by the authorities and their agents, in the media and through the distribution of forged communiques. New methods used by the Zionist intelligence forces in monitoring and apprehending activists are the use of cars bearing West Bank and Gaza licence plates, the donning of traditional Palestinian dress, and other guises.

- * The UNLU salutes the heroic role students have played in the uprising. We wish to affirm that the reopening of schools is one of the achievements of the uprising and a reflection of the dilemma facing the occupation forces. We urge students, teachers, and school administrators to observe teaching schedules and to hold make-up classes on official holidays. No instruction should take place on days of general strike, and teaching should end at noon on regular days. Popular instruction should be used as a means of raising educational standards and assisting

students in compensating for curriculum not covered at school. We urge students to continue to participate in the activities of the uprising: to organize sit-ins, marches, and demonstrations in solidarity with their imprisoned colleagues.

* The UNLU urges our workers to complete the formation of unified workers' committees and to participate in existing unions. We urge employers to refrain from dismissing workers, increasing their work hours, or deducting strike days from their salaries.

* The UNLU urges the removal of street vendor stalls during strike hours, as erecting these stalls is contrary to the principles of the commercial strike. We also warn against the marketing of Israeli goods under Arab labels, and urge the striking forces to be vigilant against these practices.

To the heroic masses of the uprising:

We salute your persistence in continuing the uprising, now entering its seventh month. We salute the steadfastness of our people in communities under siege, in prison, and the families of our martyrs and the wounded. We invite you to carry out the following activities:

1. To declare a general strike on 9th June in commemoration of the first martyr of the uprising and to mark the beginning of the uprising's seventh month.
 2. To show our solidarity with our imprisoned brothers and sisters by organizing sit-ins in the Red Cross centers and demonstrations on 11th June.
 3. To consider 13th June a day for the strengthening of the instruments of people's authority. We urge you to devote this day to forming more popular committees.
 4. To declare a general strike on 15th June in solidarity with our imprisoned students and devoted to the strengthening of popular education.
 5. To devote 16th June to storing fuel and essential medical and food supplies.
 6. To consider 18th June a day for escalating our struggle under the leadership of the PLO, and to strike at the occupier and those among us who still insist on remaining outside the national consensus.
 7. To stage a full boycott of the Civil Administration on 19th June in order to pave the way for further resignations and the realization of the authority of the people.
 8. To mark the Day of the Martyred Palestinian Child on 20th June by holding children's marches and visiting the families of martyred children.
 9. To declare a general strike on 22nd June, when we will work on the land and attack Israeli industrial and agricultural properties.
 10. Fridays and Sundays should be devoted to prayers in memory of the fallen and to holding marches and demonstrations.
- We urge our people to intensify their struggle and use all means of popular resistance available to them.

We shall be victorious.

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising
in the Occupied Territories
the Palestine Liberation Organization

June 8, 1988

(FACTS Weekly Review, 13, 5.6 - 11.6.1988)

Communique 20

No Voice Rises Above the Voice of the Uprising

No Voice Rises Above the Voice of the

People of Palestine, the People of the PLO

Communique no. 20

The Jerusalem Appeal

Issued by the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising
the Palestine Liberation Organization

To the Masses of the Uprising, the Popular and National Committees, the Striking Forces:

Our uprising is intensifying and escalating, shattering the delusions of the occupier that its flames could be extinguished. The considerable achievements of the uprising only serve to elevate the morale of the masses and to provide the impetus for the continuation of the struggle.

Our people views with pride the impact of the uprising on the international and Arab arenas; the resolutions of the summit of the uprising in Algiers demonstrate the changes wrought by the uprising in the Arab world. The political resolutions of the Algiers Summit are in accord with the slogans of the uprising; they have dealt a severe blow to US policy in the region, and have blocked Shultz's attempts to impose his initiative. They have also affirmed the legitimate national right of our people to return to their homeland, to self-determination, and to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. Furthermore, the Arab Summit reaffirmed its recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people regardless of their place of residence, and stressed the necessity of convening an authoritative conference with the participation of the PLO on an equal footing with other parties, and the provision of international protection for our people in the occupied territories. And while we praise the efforts of President Shazli Ben-Jadid in convening and supporting the Summit, we urge the Arab states to respect its resolutions and to work seriously towards implementing them.

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising wishes to affirm its short-term aims by calling for the provision of international protection for our people in the occupied territories through an international observer force; the holding of municipal elections under international supervision; the implementation of the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention concerning the protection of civilians in wartime; the withdrawal of the Israeli army from populated areas; the release of prisoners and the closure of the prison camps; the repatriation of deportees; and respect for the principles of human rights.

To our heroic people: your uprising has been able to absorb and neutralize the impact of the escalating assault mounted by the Zionist authorities reflected in more house demolitions, arrests, and the burning and uprooting of agricultural produce. The last few weeks have also witnessed an escalation of the uprising, with an increase in the volume of confrontations with the army and settlers, and the use of petrol bombs. We urge the masses of the uprising to prepare the way for total civil disobedience by participating actively in the formation of popular committees and striking forces, by encouraging national unity, and by intensifying the boycott of the Civil Administration and the military government.

The Unified National Leadership salutes those of our people who have been the target of particularly harsh measures by the fascist occupier; we salute the heroic people of the Gaza Strip, the Tulkarm region, Ithna and the villages in the Hebron hills, Beit Furik, and 'Abwein. And in the name of these people and those in the refugee camps, we call upon our compatriots in the camps in Lebanon to put an end to the shedding of Palestinian blood. Our people will never forgive the instigators of these tragic events. We view these events as detrimental to efforts to achieve national unity, and to a rapprochement between the Palestinians and the Syrians.

The occupiers deluded themselves into thinking that they could impose a fait accompli upon the Palestinian people by annexing Jerusalem on 28th June 1967. They believed that they could convince world opinion that Jerusalem was unified under their rule. However, the active struggle of our people in Jerusalem gave the lie to these claims and strengthened the identification of our people with the capital of our future state and with its religious and cultural heritage.

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU) wishes to affirm the following:

- * The struggle of students for the release of their detained colleagues must continue. We call for the intensification of popular education for all students, particularly for those preparing for the examination for the General Certificate of Secondary Education (the Tawjihi). We call upon students and unified students' committees to protect school education and to respect the decisions of only the United National Leadership of the Uprising. We invite the administrations of universities and colleges to work towards organizing academic life, and call upon

local, Arab and foreign universities to admit detained students based on the results of the first part of the Tawjihi. The Council for Higher Education in the Occupied Territories is urged to adopt this demand and to work for its realization.

* The UNLU salutes our heroic merchants who have refused to pay taxes and who are constantly faced with assaults from tax collectors. We urge our industrial concerns to refrain from paying taxes, and call upon merchants to stage protests against the measures taken against them.

* We urge the people of the Gaza Strip to continue the struggle; we single out in this regard the people of Bureij Camp, where the local council has resigned. We warn our people in Deir al-Balah against the financial blackmail carried out by certain suspect individuals masquerading as nationalists. We call upon our people to disobey orders to erase nationalist wall slogans, and to form observer committees to ensure the orderly convening of secondary examinations.

* The UNLU affirms its request for the resignation of all employees of the departments of planning, housing, population registry, and motor vehicle licencing. Our striking forces are requested to mount attacks against appointed municipal and village councils and against those who have not yet resigned from the tax department and the police force.

* We call upon physicians to reduce their fees, and urge landlords to reduce rents for the poor and those financially harmed by the uprising.

* We call upon Arab states to grant democratic rights to their people and to release Arab and Palestinian prisoners from their jails.

* As we complete the seventh month of our uprising, we call upon you to observe the following measures for the sake of Jerusalem and as a reflection of our Arab identity:

1. To declare 24th June a day of solidarity with our merchants, and a day for the condemnation of raids on their premises, and the confiscation of their property and identity cards. Strikes against offices and employees of tax departments will be launched on this day.

2. To observe 25th June as a day of struggle against racial discrimination, and of solidarity with South Africa. Our people will on this day demonstrate their solidarity with all people suffering from racial discrimination, under the slogan of Freedom for the People and Death to Racists.

3. To celebrate the authority of the people on 26th June by striking at those remaining outside the will of the people and at headquarters of appointed municipalities.

4. To mark the annexation of Jerusalem on 28th June by a general strike in affirmation of the Arab identity of the city.

5. To consider 27th and 28th June days for the escalation of the struggle and to stage marches in all areas, particularly in Jerusalem, under the slogan of

Jerusalem, the Capital of the Palestinian state.

6. To declare 30th June a day of national reconstruction, and to show solidarity with the owners of demolished and sealed homes by extending assistance towards the rebuilding of demolished houses.

7. To observe Palestinian Heritage Day on 1st July by convening symposia and holding exhibits aimed at affirming our cultural traditions and at protecting them from attempts at their eradication and disfigurement.

8. To commemorate the 18th anniversary of the prisoners' strike at Asqalan Prison by showing solidarity with our heroic prisoners.

9. To observe National Health Day on 3rd July; medical teams and health committees will provide health care on this day.

10. To devote 4th July to the building of popular committees and striking forces, and to popular education and the storing of supplies.

11. To observe a general strike on 5th July and to boycott all offices of the civil administration. All institutions and schools not bearing Palestinian names will be renamed on this day.

We urge our heroic people to continue the struggle, and to continue the formation of striking forces, the militant arm of the national leadership. We call upon our people to expand the use of popular means of struggle, and to continue destroying the properties of our fascist enemy.

Glory to our innocent martyrs!

We shall be victorious!

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising
in the Occupied Territories

The Palestine Liberation Organization

22nd June 1988

(FACTS Weekly Review, 15, 19th June - 16th June, 1988)

Communique No. 21

No Voice Rises Above the Voice of the Uprising

No Voice Rises Above the Voice of the People of Palestine,

The People of the Palestine Liberation Organization

Communique no. 21

The Aqsa Appeal

Issued by the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising, The Palestine Liberation Organization

To Our Great People:

As the uprising of our heroic people enters its eighth month, we witness a high level of vigor and a noticeable escalation of our struggle. You, who have stood up to the violence of the neo-fascist occupiers, have shown the world your determination to continue the uprising until the achievement of our aims: the right of our people to return, and our right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO, our sole legitimate representative.

The uprising of our people achieved a great political victory at the Algiers Summit; the unequivocal recognition of our right to establish an independent state and the recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The masses of our people now call upon the leaders at the Summit to implement the decisions taken there.

On the international level, the uprising has brought about considerable change in public opinion, both on official and popular levels. It has generated unprecedented support for the undeniable right of our people to return to their homeland and of our right to establish an independent state. The uprising has succeeded in burying forever all those plans and "initiatives" aimed at forcing us to surrender and to forego our legitimate rights. In short, the uprising has established the fact that there is no alternative to freedom and national independence.

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU) wishes to make it clear that our people are fighting to preserve their existence and to regain their usurped national rights. In doing so, they are subjected to a campaign of violent repression which includes demolition of homes; the burning and destruction of crops and property; the blockading of villages and refugee camps; arbitrary deportation and detention; and the murder of children, women, and the elderly with live ammunition and toxic gasses. We call upon the world community and the United Nations to intervene immediately and to press for the withdrawal of the Israeli army from population centers; for the provision of international protection for

innocent people; and for the closure of the fascist prisons, especially the notorious desert prison in the Naqab (Ansar III).

The masses of our people affirm that there will be no stability in the Middle East and perhaps in the world in the absence of a just solution to the Palestinian problem. Such a solution can only be arrived at within the framework of an authoritative international conference attended by the permanent members of the Security Council and by the PLO on an equal footing with other parties to the conflict.

The UNLU is proud of the unity displayed by our people, and calls upon Palestinians everywhere to escalate their efforts at strengthening national unity; in this regard, we condemn the barbaric bombardment and destruction of the Shatila refugee camp carried out by the renegade Abu Musa. These actions constitute a stab in the back of the PLO; we hold Syria responsible for not preventing the devastation at Shatila, since she is the only party capable of doing so. We demand that Syria put an immediate end to the plan to commit massacres against Palestinians and liquidate the Palestinian presence in Lebanon.

The UNLU salutes our revolutionary masses everywhere, particularly the heroic people of Jerusalem who thwarted Israeli attempts to desecrate our Muslim and Christian holy places. Our people are invited to escalate and amplify the uprising, thus bringing us closer to total civil disobedience. We wish to affirm the following:

- * The boycott of Zionist products should be strengthened, and their importation to our markets should be forbidden. The local press is urged not to print advertisements for these products. Striking forces will be on the alert for any violations.

- * Fines and bail should not be paid into the coffers of the occupation authorities.

- * Savings accounts at Israeli banks should be withdrawn.

- * Local industries should increase their output. At the same time, workers should be compensated for overtime work, and general strike days should not be deducted from their pay. Labor unions are urged to negotiate work contracts with local employers in the national interest.

- * Our people are warned against attempts by the occupation authorities and collaborators to sow the seeds of confessional strife, as happened in Nablus, Bethlehem, and Gaza. Those taking part in this sordid campaign will be dealt with severely.

- * We warn against those collaborators who hide behind the mantle of religion and who abuse nationalist symbols in their attempt to denigrate the PLO and the UNLU. It is also imperative to verify the identities of those collecting donations in the community, and to strike at all attempts at hooliganism and larceny, such as we witness in the Gaza Strip and in the northern West Bank. We urge our people to

boycott the poisonous programs broadcast by the Zionist media.

* We salute those who have resigned from the Civil Administration, and call for an intensification of pressure on those who have not yet resigned from the departments specified in earlier communiques.

* Unified popular, health, education, watch and supplies committees should be strengthened. In case of problems, people are urged to address popular committees rather than the occupation authorities.

* Watch committees should be formed to protect property and crops, especially in Jericho, the Jordan Valley, and the north.

* We urge our people to strengthen national and household economy and agricultural cooperatives, and to spread the spirit of solidarity in the community.

* We warn school principals against violating the directives of the UNLU and penalizing their students. Teachers are urged to involve themselves in popular education on general strike days and during the closure of schools. Schools should be transformed into bastions for the raising of nationalist consciousness. Students are urged to complete the formation of unified students' committees.

* The UNLU salutes the city of Nazareth and the organizers and participants of the 13th Annual Voluntary Work Camp. We also salute our people across the Green Line for their support of our uprising. We are certain that they will not hesitate to contribute further to our struggle. The UNLU salutes those Jewish progressive, democratic, and peace forces which support our national cause, and calls upon them to intensify their activities in this regard.

The UNLU condemns the massacre committed by the army and settlers in the Aqsa Mosque compound on 3rd July, and salutes the heroic resistance of the people of Jerusalem in defence of their holy places. We urge our people to be more vigilant and to prevent settlers and Zionist politicians from desecrating and destroying our holy places. We call upon the Organization of Islamic States, the Vatican, the United Nations, and all friendly forces to stop the desecration of our Islamic and Christian holy places.

The UNLU invites our students, workers, merchants, peasants, and striking forces to observe the following program:

1. To declare 7th July a day of solidarity with besieged villages and refugee camps, and to hold activities to assist them and to break the blockades against them.

2. To observe Holy Aqsa Day on 8th July by staging activities in defense of the Aqsa, and by striking painful blows at the occupation forces and the settlers.

3. To observe a general strike on 9th and 10th July in memory of the first martyrs of the uprising and to mark the end of the seventh month of our uprising. These days will be considered days of national mourning in memory of our martyrs in Shatila and Burj al-Barajneh. Black flags will be flown on these days.

4. To declare 12th July a day for voluntary work and for the return to the land and the building of agricultural cooperatives.

5. To mark the eighth anniversary of the heroic strike at Nafha Prison on 14th July by showing our solidarity with the prisoners at the desert prison camp in the Naqab. Our institutions and mass organizations will hold solidarity activities. People are urged to forego one meal on that day.

6. To hold activities on 16th July in protest against the closure of and assault upon schools and the arrest of students.

7. To declare a general strike on 18th July in solidarity with the prisoners at the Naqab prison.

The days from 6th to 20th July should be considered days for the intensification of the struggle and striking at the forces of the occupation. Initiative for implementation of these activities is left to popular and specialized committees.

May the unity of our people in their struggle for freedom and national independence be strengthened!

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising
in the Occupied Territories

The Palestine Liberation Organization

6th July 1988

(FACTS Weekly Review, 16, 27th June - 2nd July 1988)

Communique 22

No Voice Rises Above the Voice of the Uprising

No Voice Rises Above the Voice of the People of Palestine,

The People of the PLO

Communique no. 22

The al-Adha Appeal

Issued by the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising/
The Palestine Liberation Organization

To the Masses of Our People:

As your victorious uprising continues to escalate and register more and more successes with each passing day, the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU) wishes to extend greetings to our struggling people and to the Arab and Islamic people on the occasion of the al-Adha Feast. We call upon our people to strengthen national unity between all national and religious forces and to direct

their energy towards resisting the fascist occupation. It is known that the enemy does not distinguish between one Palestinian and another; there is therefore no room for fissures within our ranks at a time when we are in greater need of consolidating our efforts to strike at the crumbling structures of the occupation.

Our people have succeeded in gaining wide international support for our national rights. They have also succeeded in dismantling many of the occupation's apparatuses; in intensifying contradictions within the political, economic, military and popular institutions of the Zionist entity; and in consolidating the national authority of the people. We have also defeated all attempts at finding alternatives to the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

What is happening to our fighting people on the Lebanese front is part and parcel of the American design to liquidate a militant Palestinian presence in Lebanon. And what the renegade clique led by Abu Musa has committed against our revolution, our people in Lebanon, and the PLO, is a stab in the back of our blessed uprising. We call upon Syria to put an immediate end to the conspiracy against our people, and to prevent the occurrence in the Sidon area of what happened in the camps of Burj al-Barajneh and Shatila. We also call upon all the organs of the revolution and friendly Lebanese forces to stand together in defense of our people's right to struggle in the Lebanese camps.

The UNLU salutes the resistance of the people of Jerusalem against attempts to destroy and desecrate our holy places. We call upon our people to rally around these holy places and to resist, with blood and fire, the decision of the Zionists to resume digging under the Holy Aqsa. Saluting the heroic people of defiant Beit Sahour, steadfast Qalqilya, and all besieged communities, we wish to affirm the following:

- * We call for compliance with the directives issued in previous communiques concerning resignations and boycotts.

- * We stress the importance of strengthening and building popular committees, and of supporting them in the implementation of their programs. All problems should be addressed to the popular committees, which, as the authority of the people, are alternatives to the occupying power and the appointed councils.

- * Popular education should be strengthened, and the aim of the occupation to deprive our people of knowledge by closing schools and other measures should thus be defeated. It is important that students preparing for the matriculation exam be given intensive instruction. We urge you to call for the release of detained students so that they may be able to sit for their examinations.

- * We salute those of our people across the Green Line who have heeded the call of the UNLU to destroy the property of the enemy and to strike at its forces. We call upon them to intensify their support of the uprising of our people, and urge them to defeat the sordid design of the occupation to enlist them in its

departments in the West Bank and Gaza.

* We salute the position taken by the administrations, physicians, and employees of government hospitals refusing compliance with the unfair orders issued by the authorities concerning the provision of medical services to our people.

* We call upon employees of government departments, with the exception of health department staff, to observe general strikes.

* We urge collective defiance of the tax authorities, and a refusal of attempts at blackmail. May the example of Beit Sahour serve as a model for dealing with the tax collectors.

* The payment of fines and bail is forbidden.

* We urge vigilance against the intelligence forces' use of media vehicles and local taxis as covers for surveillance and detaining people. And we warn against the poisonous rumors circulated by the intelligence forces and their collaborators.

* We salute the struggling people of Jericho and al-'Auja, and call upon them to ignore rumors circulated by the authorities aimed at destroying the unity of our people.

* We call for a total boycott of Israeli tourist sites and places of entertainment.

* On the occasion of the Feast of al-Adha, the UNLU announces that on Friday and Saturday 22nd and 23rd July, all stores will be open from the morning until 7 pm, and until 2 pm on Feast days. We urge you to restrict your celebration of the Feast to religious rites only, and to refrain from making excessive expenditures on this occasion. Sermons should be devoted to the uprising and to the dangers threatening our holy places.

* In keeping with the decision of the UNLU, factories may work at full capacity and during hours agreed upon between management and workers' committees. Workers' rights should be protected, especially if there is overtime work. Public transport is not restricted to specific hours as is the case with the commercial sector. Compliance with general strikes is mandatory.

* The striking forces are requested to direct severe blows to those who have rejected appeals to resign from their posts. They are also requested to block roads on general strike days, and to allow only physicians to pass through. Wall slogans should bear only the signature of the UNLU. Flags should be raised, demonstrations organized, tyres burned, and stones and molotovs flung at the occupier.

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising vows to continue and intensify our struggle on the path to liberation and independence. We urge you to observe the following:

1. To celebrate the Feast by staging demonstrations and collective marches to the graves of martyrs, and by placing wreaths and Palestinian flags on them. Visits to the families of martyrs, the wounded, detainees and deportees should be

organized.

2. To hold prayers in memory of the martyrs on Fridays and Sundays, and to stage marches in protest against the desecration of our Muslim and Christian holy places.

3. To observe a general strike on 29th July in solidarity with our women prisoners, and in protest against the oppressive acts and harassment carried out against them.

4. To observe a general strike on 1st and 2nd August in solidarity with deportees, and to denounce the arbitrary issuing of deportation orders.

5. To consider the days 21st July through 5th August days of confrontation with the occupier, and days for the strengthening of the authority of the people and the consolidation of popular committees and popular education.

We shall be victorious!

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising

21st July, 1988

(FACTS Weekly Review, 19, 17th July - 30th July, 1988)

Communique 23

No Voice Rises Above the Voice of the Uprising

No Voice Rises Above the Voice of the People of Palestine,

The People of the PLO

Communique no. 23

Appeal of the Deportees

Issued by the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising

The Palestine Liberation Organization

To the Masses of Our People:

Your victorious uprising will be entering its ninth month within the next few days. It is registering an increasing number of achievements as it takes its difficult course towards freedom and independence, and towards fulfilling the national aspirations of our people to return to their land and to establish an independent Palestinian state whose capital is Jerusalem. The latest Jordanian measures severing Jordanian legal and administrative links with the West Bank represent one of the most significant achievements of the great popular uprising, and one step towards the implementation of the resolutions of the Algiers Summit. These measures must also be viewed as strengthening the position of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of our people, and as the only party authorized to bear responsibility

for our people in Palestine and the diaspora. We call upon Jordan and the Arab states to extend the necessary assistance to our people, and especially to the Palestinians in the occupied territories, so that they will be able to continue their struggle.

This achievement follows previous achievements of the uprising; you have already inflicted an economic loss of one billion dollars on the enemy, in addition to having won three resolutions from the Security Council, which spoke, for the first time, of "the occupied Palestinian lands". You have exposed to the whole world the racist and fascist character of the occupation, and have reinstated the legitimate national rights of our people at the Summit of the Uprising in Algiers, after their near obliteration at the earlier Amman Summit. Furthermore, you have made great strides towards dismantling the apparatus of the military government and building the nucleus of the national authority of the people represented by the popular and national committees. You have also created a new way of life based on cooperation and self-reliance. May we all be proud of these achievements, and work towards protecting and furthering them.

The visit of the American envoy Murphy to the area is nothing but an effort to breathe life into the Shultz plan after the uprising had dealt it a mortal blow. The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU) therefore calls for the continuation of the boycott of all American envoys as long as the American administration persists in its denial of the legitimate rights of our people and in its refusal to recognize the PLO as our sole representative. We call upon our people to greet Murphy with demonstrations and clashes with the forces of the occupation.

The UNLU, together with the people of the uprising, welcome the Iranian decision to implement UN Resolution 598 concerning the Gulf war, and view this as a positive step towards putting an end to this destructive conflict which has sapped the human and material resources of both countries, and towards evicting the American fleet from the Gulf. The cessation of the war will be a service to our uprising and to the national struggle of our people.

The UNLU, in the name of the people of the occupied territories, sends greetings to the leaders of our revolution and our people now meeting in Baghdad. We value their efforts in taking decisions in support of the uprising of our people, reinforcing national unity within the framework of the PLO, and based on the principle of collective leadership and the decisions of the 18th session of the Palestine National Council. We also value their efforts in pressing for the convening of an effective international conference with the participation of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and on an equal footing with other parties.

To Our People: the occupying powers are deluding themselves if they think that by deporting more from your ranks they can contain the uprising. You have proven

over the past eight months that deportations, demolition of homes, torture, economic sanctions, the war on popular committees, the closure of national institutions, and the rumors circulated through collaborators and the media that the uprising has abated, will all fail in the face of your determination. We urge you to continue in this spirit of defiance, and take this opportunity to affirm the following:

- * We must continue to put pressure on collaborators, those who have refused to resign from their posts, those who purvey the products of the enemy, and the circulators of harmful rumors. Work in Israeli settlements must cease, and fines and bail should not be paid.

- * Solidarity activities in support of prisoners must continue, especially in publicizing the conditions at Ansar III. Women's committees have special responsibility in organizing appropriate activities.

- * The UNLU salutes the people fighting for freedom and independence in Namibia, South Africa, and Chile. We call upon all people of conscience in the world to work towards the release of prisoners of conscience, the foremost of whom is the fighter Nelson Mandela.

- * We salute the people of Jerusalem for their defense of the capital of our Palestinian state, and call upon them to continue their presence around the al-Haram, and to prevent the resumption of excavations in the area.

- * We must extend the practice of refusing to obey the orders of the occupation authorities; we should refuse to erase nationalist slogans, answer summonses, take down Palestinian flags, and remove roadblocks. We should also launch collective resistance to attempts at tax collection and house demolition, as occurred in the village of Beit Furik.

- * We must be wary of the attempts of the occupier to create a schism within the unified ranks of the merchants; some have been tempted with offers to waive taxes due in return for their applying for renewal of their trade licenses, thus keeping the links with the enemy alive.

- * We salute the position of the European Economic Community in refusing to renew its trade agreement with Israel, and call upon our growers to refrain from exporting their produce through Agrexco, the Israeli marketing board. We warn against some individuals with suspect links with Agrexco, and call for the formation of a national export and marketing company. The UNLU also calls upon the popular committees to market local produce, and to establish and strengthen existing marketing committees.

- * The UNLU wishes to affirm that the closure of universities and colleges and the premature end of the school year are meant to keep our people ignorant. We therefore have no recourse but to rely on ourselves in educating our youth; popular education must continue, and our universities must find ways to resume education

there, especially for students in their final years. We call upon the Council for Higher Education to shoulder its responsibility and to press for the reopening of the universities and colleges.

* The UNLU salutes those Jewish physicians who refused to obey orders barring them from treating the wounded of the uprising, and those journalists who have been subjected to repressive measures because they spoke out against the occupation. We salute all those who have suffered in support of our cause, and call upon them to intensify their work in enlightening the Israeli public about our rights. A human being who accepts that another be oppressed cannot be free himself.

* The UNLU invites all nationalist and progressive forces beyond the Green Line to end the conflicts among them, and to unify their ranks in the service of the uprising.

* The UNLU views with pride the marches carried out by our youth clothed in the colors of the Palestinian flag in the old city of Nablus. We also salute the resistance of our people in the refugee camps in Gaza, in Nablus, Jenin, Qabatia, Beit Sahour, Ithna, Bethlehem, Beit Jala, Tulkarm, Jalazon, 'Amari, Deheisheh, Jabalya, Shati', Bureij, and other places.

We call upon you to work towards improving the quality of popular organizing and to strengthen popular committees and the striking forces. You are invited to carry out the following activities:

1. To show solidarity with our prisoners, especially those at Ansar III, by organizing activities on 8th August. Women's committees will carry out activities in this regard.

2. To declare a general strike on 9th August to mark the ninth month of the uprising.

3. To devote 10th August to publicizing our cause on the popular and international levels. Journalists are requested to play an active role in this endeavor.

4. To devote 13th August to an evaluation of the popular committees and to drawing plans for the development of their work.

5. To declare a general strike on 17th August in honor of Jerusalem, the capital of our Palestinian state, and to protest the oppressive measures and arrests carried out against the people of the city.

6. To mark the 20th anniversary of the attempt to burn down al-Aqsa Mosque on 21st August by staging demonstrations and engaging the army in clashes. This day will be designated al-Aqsa Day.

7. To declare a general strike on 22nd August to protest against the harassment of merchants by the tax authorities, and in solidarity with the merchants.

May the struggle continue, and may the unity of our people be strengthened.
We shall be victorious!

Announcement: No person is authorized to speak, make a declaration, or issue a statement in the name of the Unified National Leadership without its knowledge or authorization. We warn against all declarations and statements to the press falsely attributed to the UNLU.

The Unified National Leadership of the
Uprising in the Occupied Territories/
The Palestine Liberation Organization
5th August, 1988

THE MERCHANTS STRUGGLE

The Right to Strike

While the Polish strikers hit the headlines in the West, the denial of the right of Palestinian shopkeepers to withhold their labor has received little attention. In a sense this is understandable. Compared with the killings, beatings, arrests and deportations of the past four months, the closure this week of all shops in the West Bank and Gaza for three days does not seem dramatic. The military order was just one more in a long series of measures being taken against the Palestinians.

Throughout the years of occupation Palestinians had often closed their shops as a form of non-violent protest against particular Israeli measures. The army, in turn, had regularly responded to these strikes with a variety of punishments which included welding shops closed, ordering particular shops closed for weeks or months, and fining or imprisonment of shopkeepers.

Since December 1987 there has been a continuing conflict between Palestinian shopkeepers throughout the West Bank and Gaza and the occupation authorities.

Initially, during the early months of the uprising, the army responded to strikes by breaking open shops and forcing the owners to stand inside. This measure, however, failed to prevent the strike as the army could not compel customers to buy from the shops.

During this phase popular committees organized the repair of shops which were being broken open daily. Every evening metalworkers moved down the streets, repairing the broken doors and fixing new locks. Every morning the army returned and broke the doors once again.

In the eyes of the people, the army looked rather foolish: their actions served to emphasize the protest, which they were unable to curtail.

As the daily routine of forcing shops open continued, the army stopped forcing the shopkeepers to stand in their shops. Doors were simply broken open and left open. Perhaps the Israelis thought that this would deter the strikers, because the empty shops would be pilfered if they were left open all day. In fact no pilfering

occurred. Street committees were formed to keep watch on the shops, which ensured that no stealing occurred. In the end the shopkeepers did not bother to lock their shops at all, so that the army could not even break them open every day: they were simply permanently left open.

Next it was decided that shops should be opened for half the day, and closed for half a day, so that protest could be continued without depriving the population of basic necessities.

After a few weeks the army adopted a new tactic-whatever opening hours the Unified Leadership decreed, shopkeepers were ordered to do the opposite. Shops were permitted to open only during official strike periods, and were closed by the army during the periods allocated for opening. The result was that shops remained closed the whole time.

Periodically the Unified Leadership would change the opening times proposed for the shops. Soon after these changes the Israelis would change their own orders for opening and closing so that the shops remained closed. In Jerusalem shopkeepers who kept to the strike were arrested.

The latest measure - declaring all businesses in the West Bank and Gaza closed for three days - is another attempt by the Israelis to exert their authority over the Palestinian shopkeepers. It illustrates, once again, that any expression of protest against the occupation is suppressed by the authorities.

The legal basis for such closure orders is less clear. Will Israel argue that they are being closed for security reasons? If they do so it will be interesting to hear how they argue their case. It may prove difficult to explain how the selling of food presents a threat to public order.

In reality the measures are a form of collective punishment against the population as a whole, depriving the shopkeepers of an income, and depriving the population of basic necessities.

Collective punishments of this kind violate article 33 of the Fourth Geneva Convention which states that:

"no protected person may be punished for an offence he or she has not personally committed."

The action also violates article 23 of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that:

"everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment."

The closure of the shops is denying the shopkeepers this right.

The international community has a responsibility to encourage adherence to these articles. Israel should be challenged to explain on what basis they are denying Palestinian shopkeepers the right to open their shops and sell their products.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 9, May 1st - May 7th, 1988)

Shopkeepers' Struggle in Ramallah

Wednesday 13th January 1988

A leaflet was distributed calling on shopkeepers to open their stores on the following day (Thursday 14th), until 11 o'clock in the morning, to enable people to buy provisions. This call followed a three-week commercial strike, in the last three days becoming a general strike, people only using the roads in cases of emergency. The military governor for Ramallah summoned a number of merchants that evening and threatened to take action against them if they continue to strike.

Thursday 14th January 1988

More than 1000 soldiers were present in the streets of Ramallah and al-Bireh. Among them the officer in command and the head of the Civil Administration, Erez, who was asking people in the streets about the problems they were facing. One of the crowd answered, "You are the problem that we face. Get out of our homeland and this would solve our problems." At around 11am the shop owners began closing up in response to the strike called for by the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising. There was a heavy army presence in both cities and soldiers were intimidating merchants with their weapons in an attempt to force them to remain open. They broke and confiscated the padlocks to prevent the merchants from closing their shops again. Where they were unable to break off the locks, iron bars were used to destroy the shop's shutters. Many soldiers completely lost control and began assaulting people on the street.

In spite of the heavy military presence, some youths responded by throwing stones at the soldiers and their vehicles.

Friday 15th January 1988

800 people demonstrated in al-Bireh, after the Friday prayer. The Israeli army used tear gas, live ammunition and rubber bullets on the crowds of demonstrators, injuring a number of people. At least 15 people were arrested.

Saturday 16th January 1988

A priest, Faisal Hijazeen, was brutally beaten by soldiers in Ramallah when he openly confronted them after he witnessed a group of soldiers chasing a number of young children through the streets.

Sunday 17th January 1988

In response to yesterday's attack on Faisal Hijazeen, 200-250 people took part in a demonstration from the Latin church after the Sunday service. The march was very quickly broken up by at least 70 soldiers who attacked the demonstrators with

tear gas and live ammunition. One woman was severely beaten about the head and four youths were arrested. Another person, as he drove past the scene, was forced out of his car and arrested. While this was happening, soldiers broke the locks, shutters and windows of many local shops.

As has become common practice over the last few weeks, the army, in an attempt to break the general strike, has been forcing shops open by breaking doors and intimidating shopkeepers. That Sunday morning, the bad weather had prevented many shopkeepers from getting to Ramallah. Christian-owned shops that are usually shut on Sundays, were also therefore closed. Nevertheless, these shops were also broken into by the army. Following is a list of 26 of the premises that were attacked. Most had their shutters damaged and many had their shop fronts smashed after the shutters were forced open.

Thursday 21st January 1988

A number of Israeli officers, one of whom was believed to be the deputy to the military governor of Ramallah district, toured the streets of Ramallah and al-Bireh. Their tour followed three consecutive days of heavy military presence in both towns. Over these three days, soldiers physically assaulted shopkeepers and destroyed the shutters, padlocks and shop-fronts in a widespread, indiscriminate and brutal manner. The army then forced shopkeepers to keep their premises open, by threatening them with their guns and batons. The shops remained open but to express their continued commitment to the general strike, shopkeepers stood outside their shops refusing to work. The military officers approached shopkeepers, asking them in a provocative manner, "When will you open up your shops? When will you stop being led by a few inciters?" Shopkeepers determinedly replied, "We will keep our shops closed until you pull out your soldiers who are harassing and insulting us daily - and until you release our children from your detention centers - and until you lift your curfews and sieges on our people in the camps!"

In an attempt to practice their policy of divide and rule, the officers offered to provide shopkeepers protection from the "inciters" who threatened them. The shopkeepers responded immediately and clearly, "We do not need your protection - we are under no threat - all we want from you is to leave us alone. You have been occupying our homeland for twenty years. We have had enough of you!"

(FACTS Press Release No. 3)

Harassment of Shopkeepers

The leadership of the uprising has issued a directive stating that shopkeepers should open for a maximum of three hours per day, the hours to be decided by the local committee. This week the army has attempted to harass this system by trying to close shops during the appointed opening hours, and to open them during the strike period.

In Nablus the opening hours are from 8 am to 10 am. On 18th March there was a heavy army presence in the city from the early morning. When the shops opened soldiers immediately began to force them to close, but as soon as the patrol moved on to the next shop, the one behind re-opened, turning the army's efforts into a farce.

Next the soldiers picked on the street vendors, throwing their produce in the road, and telling them that selling was forbidden before 12.00.

Finally they turned to the shoppers, taking their plastic carrier bags, tearing them open and pouring the contents on the ground, with the message: no shopping before 12.00.

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising for Nablus responded to this harassment by immediately issuing a communique calling for a three-day strike: shops will re-open next Tuesday.

The collection of taxes in Nablus during the past week has proceeded through force rather than agreement. Tax collectors, together with the army, have raided shops and taken all available money from the shop in lieu of taxes due.

In Bethlehem the soldiers ordered all shops to close at 9.00 on March 13th. The shops refused, and the soldiers responded by collecting all the shopkeepers' ID cards (as in South Africa, movement without an ID in the occupied territories is extremely hazardous). Soldiers also stopped taxis in the street and ordered the drivers to stop work until 12.00, when they could resume work. Drivers were forced to leave their cars in the middle of the road.

In response to this harassment a group of young people began to throw stones at the soldiers who answered with tear gas. When the crowd had dispersed the soldiers returned to HQ leaving the shopkeepers and taxi drivers without their IDs.

In Jericho shopkeepers declared a three-day strike after soldiers tried to close their shops during the agreed opening hours. The army also closed down the Jericho wholesale vegetable market, however, farmers improvised by setting up a market in a nearby field and selling their produce without having to pay the usual municipal taxes which the Jericho market charges.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 2, 13th March - 19th March, 1988)

Leaflet from Nablus Merchants

The National Committees of Merchants in Nablus

Struggling people!

We are an inseparable part of the Palestinian people who have sparked off its glorious intifada in order to continue its struggle under the leadership of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of our Palestinian people, towards liberation and the regaining of its sovereignty over its land, Palestine.

The National Committees of Merchants in Nablus are expressing the will of all economic sectors. It is our duty to communicate with the nations of the world and their governments and to remind them that the international principles, laws and conventions concerning the rights of nations and peoples should be applied without exception. We call upon nations of the world to intervene immediately and directly in order to force the Zionist state to abide by international treaties related to the Palestinian people living on its land: all international conventions de-legitimize the occupation of land by force and the domination of one people over another, from a belief in the rights of all nations to self-determination in the context of the principles of peace, security and peaceful co-existence.

The National Committees of Merchants are a concrete national presence representing all commercial and economic sectors. The NCM salute all national merchants, industrialists and craftsmen as well as the rest of the people, and express appreciation for all of the heroic stands which materialized during the Intifada and before it. Our merchants have expressed their heroic positions through the commercial strike.

O our courageous merchants,

In your unity and your determination to continue the national struggle until the defeat of the occupation and until the establishment of our independent state under the leadership of the PLO, you are called upon to declare, in actions as well as words, the following:

No to the policy of occupation, No to Zionist oppression and repression, No to the killing of children, No to the continuation of occupation!

You are also called upon to declare in words and actions that you are represented by the NCM which declare the following:

Yes to the right of return, to self-determination and to the establishment of the independent Palestinian state on the national soil and under the leadership of the PLO.

The NCM further declare their full adherence to the UNLU, the only leadership in the occupied territories as the arm of struggle of the PLO. The NCM vow to

continue the struggle until our legitimate national rights are acknowledged and materialize. In this respect, the NCM proclaim their condemnation of the practices carried out against our people in Lebanon. The committees do not agree to any step which contradicts the national and patriotic interest. The will of our people will remain stronger than any of the attempts which aim at obliterating our Palestinian identity.

The NCM in Nablus call upon all nationalist merchants, industrialists and craftsmen to immediately incorporate themselves into the committees, so that their unity will constitute a solid obstacle to the campaigns carried out by the occupation to collect illegal and arbitrary taxes. The NCM declare their rejection of and resistance against the raids on shops and the imposition of fines, the confiscation of property, the forcible closure of shops and harassment on the bridges. This policy aims to tighten the oppressive measures against our people. Furthermore the NCM warn the people against the attempts of the enemy to attack and to disintegrate the united national stand of our people; this stand which has confronted the policies of taxation.

The NCM affirm their commitment to refrain from paying taxes and fines and to follow the heroic example of many cities, villages and camps, and foremost the courageous city of Beit Sahour.

The enemy and its agents have to realize that our people will overcome all the obstacles which stand in its way. Encouraging national production and boycotting Israeli products for which there is a nationally produced alternative will succeed in hitting the Zionist economy. The NCM also warn against raising the prices of goods and exploiting the masses. This warning is expressed out of concern for national unity and in order to develop the principle and spirit of mass solidarity which has increased during the uprising.

Long Live The PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people!

Long Live UNLU!

The National Committees of Merchants in Nablus

4th August, 1988

(FACTS Weekly Reveiw, 20, 31st July - 6th August, 1988)

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION RESIGNATION

Call for Police Resignation

The following communique was distributed after the mass resignations of Arab policemen in the West Bank and Gaza. Israel had claimed that these resignations would result in a crime wave in the area.

Coordinating Committee for the National and Popular
Committees of the Uprising in Occupied Palestine

Let the popular guardian committees be formed to ensure the security of people and property!

The Israeli occupiers are feigning concern over the resignations of the Arab policemen after the call from the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising. They claim that absence of police will endanger people's security. They suggest that there will be an increase in theft and violence, as if the policemen had been concerned about their prevention!

The occupiers are pretending to forget that it is they who are the major source of danger to the people. They are the ones who are killing, breaking bones, arresting and torturing.

Israeli soldiers were seen stealing from shops during curfews: it was the people who stopped them. It is also the people who have provided defense against the attacks of settlers.

There can be no security under the occupation. It is the occupation which is the real source of danger and insecurity. Only by continuing and escalating the struggle against the occupation until the establishment of a Palestinian state can we achieve real security in our homeland.

The resignation of the Arab policemen is another sign of the isolation and bankruptcy of the occupier's policy of no change in the status quo. The harm which the occupiers are alluding to has no substance. The national and popular committees

will replace the policemen through the organization of neighborhood guardian committees to protect people and property, voluntary committees to ensure that traffic regulations are kept, and committees to deal with any disputes between people. Disputes should have no place among us at this time.

Let us form the guardian committees and the popular justice committees, and prove to the world that we can manage our own affairs without the supervision of others.

Distributed on 20th March 1988

(FACTS Weekly Review, 2, 13th March - 19th March, 1988)

Police Refuse Bribe

Following the directive of the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising for all Arab policemen to resign from their posts, all Arab police in Bethlehem submitted their resignation.

The Military Governor in Bethlehem held a meeting with the sixty who had resigned, and offered them a pay rise of 120 NIS (80\$) per month if they would return to their posts. They unanimously rejected the offer.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 2, 13th March - 19th March, 1988)

Resignations Rejected

On 1st June 1988, the Palestinian employees at the vehicle licensing department in Ramallah, which is affiliated to the Israeli "Civil Administration", submitted their collective resignation. The resignation came as a response to the call issued by the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising. The Israeli authorities immediately responded to the resignation by sending individual orders to the employees summoning them to the Military Governor Headquarters in Ramallah. There, military officers tried to "convince" the employees to withdraw their resignation through intimidation first, and then through bribery.

When both attempts failed, the employees were transported by a military bus, which was guarded by military jeeps, and were taken to the licensing department. There they were ordered by the officers to resume their work, and when the employees refused, the soldiers who had accompanied them, took them into a room and started beating them.

Later, members of the Village Leagues in Ramallah were brought by the military authorities in order to carry on the work that the employees had refused to do. Intimidation of the employees did not stop there: every morning they were forcibly

brought from their houses to the licensing department. There, they were kept in a room until the end of the working hours, they were also beaten, and at the end of the day were taken back to the military headquarters in Ramallah where they were held until late at night. This process went on every day and is still in effect to this date. In addition, three employees have been detained, allegedly for inciting the other employees to resign; one of them has recently been released.

The head of the licensing department is himself under the threat of deportation if the employees persist in their resignation.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 13, 5th June - 11th June, 1988)

DEMONSTRATIONS

Demonstrations

Mass demonstrations against the Israeli occupation have been one of the more publicised and spectacular facets of the uprising. Israel has failed to deter the demonstrators, and Israeli claims that demonstrations were petering out have been proved wishful thinking.

There is no complete and exact record of the number of demonstrations during the uprising. The following data is compiled from reports in the local press. These reported demonstrations represent a clear underestimate of the actual number, as many demonstrations are known to go unreported. Press reports do, however, provide a useful index of the weekly frequency of demonstrations.

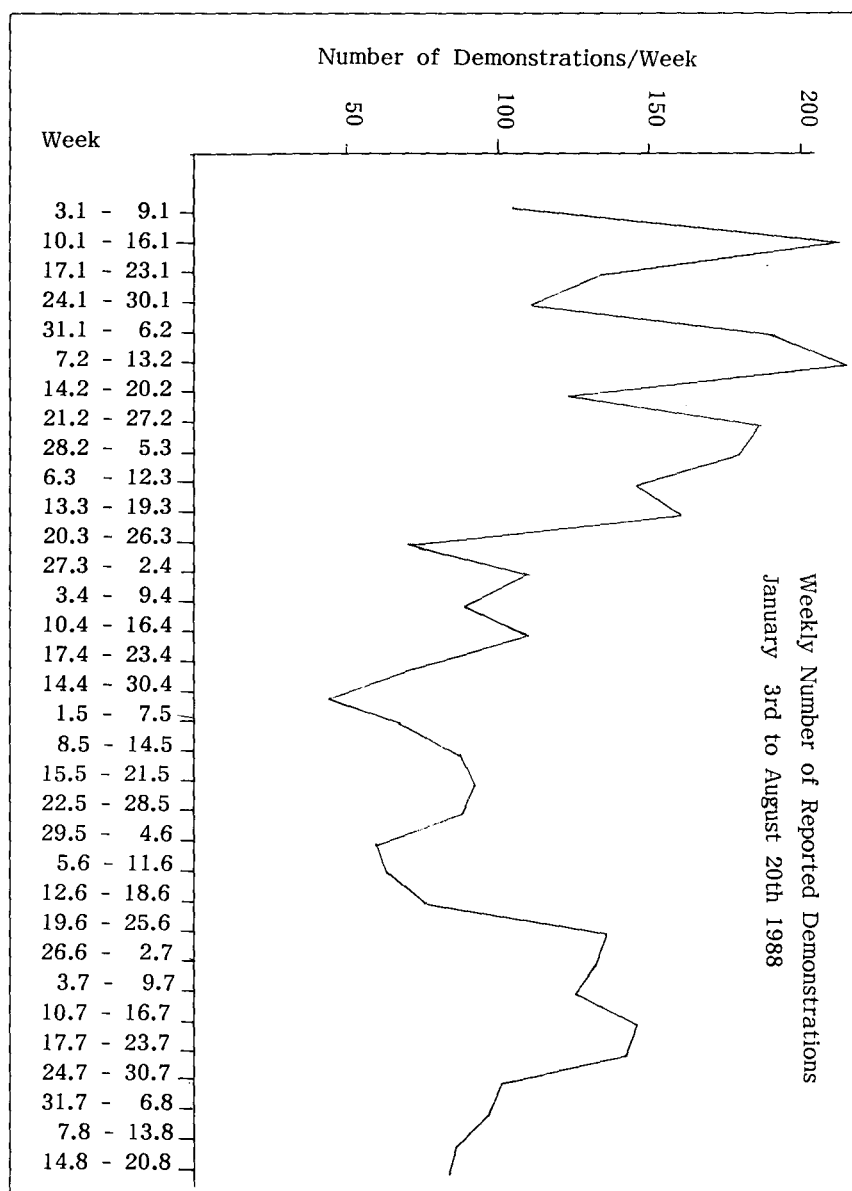
The data presented below covers January 3rd - August 20th. Reports for the last two weeks of December were omitted as press reports were unclear during that period.

Over the 33 weeks there were a total of 3,805 demonstrations reported; an average of 115 per week.

Week	Number of Demonstrations	Week	Number of Demonstrations
3.1 - 9.1	102	1.5 - 7.5	67
10.1 - 16.1	217	8.5 - 14.5	85
17.1 - 23.1	135	15.5 - 21.5	91
24.1 - 30.1	109	22.5 - 28.5	86
31.1 - 6.2	179	29.5 - 4.6	60
7.2 - 13.2	222	5.6 - 11.6	62
14.2 - 20.2	120	12.6 - 18.6	77
21.2 - 27.2	182	19.6 - 25.6	135
28.2 - 5.3	169	26.6 - 2.7	131
6.3 - 12.3	146	3.7 - 9.7	125
13.3 - 19.3	160	10.7 - 16.7	145
20.3 - 26.3	74	17.7 - 23.7	141
27.3 - 2.4	109	24.7 - 30.7	100
3.4 - 9.4	87	31.7 - 6.8	96
10.4 - 16.4	109	7.8 - 13.8	88
17.4 - 23.4	64	14.8 - 20.8	85
14.4 - 30.4	47		

TOTAL 3305 DEMONSTRATIONS
REPORTED IN 33 WEEKS
(AVERAGE = 115 DEMOS/WEEK)

(FACTS Weekly Review, 23, August 21st - 27th, 1988)



3. REPRESSION

ISRAELI REPRESSION

Back to Normal?

"Things are getting back to normal", or so the Israelis tell us; but the uprising has redefined normality.

Israel has lifted two of its punitive measures: elementary schools have re-opened, and shops are no longer being prevented from opening and closing when they choose. The majority of sanctions, however, are still in force:

- * Mass arrests are continuing, with indiscriminate rounding up of young men in the centers of resistance; "administrative" detention without trial is now the norm.

- * 24-hour curfews are routinely imposed for several days in areas where demonstrations occur.

- * Live ammunition is being used routinely against demonstrators, while mass beatings and the indiscriminate use of tear gas continue to fill the hospitals with casualties.

- * Strict media censorship is in force; the Palestine Press Service office, and the al-Awdah English language weekly have both been closed.

- * Travel between the West Bank and Gaza is still forbidden.

- * International phone lines have been cut.

- * A range of economic sanctions are still in force: almost no money is allowed into the country from Jordan, which effectively closes the West Bank and Gaza banking system. Export of agricultural crops through Jordan has been severely restricted.

- * The authorities are exerting maximum pressure against the call not to pay taxes. Any kind of official permit now requires a stamp of approval indicating that all taxes have been paid. Without it, prisoner visits, travel permits, important licences and car licences cannot be obtained.

These measures may have become "normal" but they indicate that the situation is now very different from that before December 1987.

The Israelis have retreated on two fronts: the shops and the schools. They did

so because they presumably realized that the measures were counter-productive.

They were unable to break the strike of shopkeepers, and when they closed the shops permanently people responded by selling from their homes, allowing the people to obtain basic provisions. The Israeli measures simply served to emphasize that the protest strikes could not be broken.

The opening of elementary schools is a response to the formation of alternative neighborhood schools which were established during the closure. Israel is frightened that alternative systems will be formed over which they will have no control, and they have thus been forced to re-open the existing schools.

During this phase, the eyes of the uprising are turned towards the Arab world and the Gorbachev-Reagan summit. The call is for the superpowers and the Arab governments to do something to encourage a just settlement.

Some Arab leaders have done nothing tangible to support the uprising: no pressure has been exerted on the US to restrain Israel's hand. One has the impression that some Arab governments are hoping, with Israel, that the uprising will stop.

The Arab people, however, fully support the Palestine cause, and have watched the heroism of the struggle with admiration: it remains to be seen whether the Arab leaders will take any steps to express the will of their subjects. For many Arabs, the Palestine cause has become a symbol of the shortcomings of their own governments. In the long run it is this factor which the US would do well to consider.

At the superpower level there is hope that the new atmosphere in US-Soviet relations will lead to new developments in the Middle East. One of the main reasons for the US support of Israel has been its military function as a strike force. The US has tended to make policy primarily on the basis of an imagined Soviet threat: Israel is ready to strike against groups or countries which are perceived to be working against US interests (or extending Soviet influence).

The paradigm of the new atmosphere in superpower relations is that negotiated settlements can take the place of military confrontation. Applying this formula to the Middle East, the logical proposal should be the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories in return for the recognition of the sovereignty of all states in the region. This can best be achieved through the convening of an international conference.

The lesson of the uprising is that no other settlement can bring lasting peace. The alternative is to let Israel continue its accelerating slide into unrestrained fascism. It is time for the US to see Israel for what it is and for what it will become, and to act now before it is too late.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 11, 22nd May - 28th May, 1988)

The Tools of Repression

The following measures are currently being used against the population of the West Bank and Gaza, in an attempt to suppress the uprising.

MASS ARRESTS:	There are now more than 7000 prisoners of the uprising, more than 700 under administrative detention.
CURFEWS:	Curfews have been imposed repeatedly. On 16th April more than 750,000 people were placed under curfew, including almost every refugee camp in the territories.
SHOOTINGS:	Live ammunition is now being used routinely against unarmed civilian demonstrators. Since the beginning of the uprising more than 150 civilians have been killed by live ammunition.
TEAR GAS:	Tear gas is now commonly fired into houses as a form of punishment. Tear gas grenades are also fired at civilians, and gas is being sprayed from airplanes onto civilian populations.
COMMUNICATIONS:	International telephone lines have been cut with the occupied territories.
MEDIA CENSORSHIP:	Al-Awdah, a Palestinian English language weekly, has been closed. New legislation has forbidden circulation of press releases without official permission. During army operations closed military areas are routinely declared, preventing press access.
TRAVEL RESTRICTION:	Travel from the West Bank to Gaza or vice versa has been forbidden without a special permit.
ECONOMIC SANCTIONS:	The inflow of money from Jordanian banks has been prevented, effectively cutting off the money supply of the country. Checks cannot be cashed. Wages cannot be paid. The army is also preventing shops from opening, and has closed the fruit and vegetable wholesale markets.
HOUSE DEMOLITIONS:	House demolition, as a form of collective punishment, is being practiced by the authorities. In Beita village, 16 houses were demolished.
DEPORTATIONS:	8 people were recently deported, 12 more expulsion orders

have been issued and many more deportations are reportedly planned.

ASSASSINATION: Khalil al-Wazir, military commander of the PLO, was assassinated in Tunis on April 16th.

(FACTS Weekly Review, 6, April 9th - April 17th, 1988)

The More Things Change, the More They Stay the Same

There can now be no disputing the fact that Israel has completely failed in its brutal attempts to crush the uprising. For eight months they have tried, and for eight months the protest has continued.

For the Israeli politicians this has presented a problem; after all they were supposed to be in control. First they tried brutal violence in the "breaking bones" policy, then they added mass arrests, economic sanctions, curfews, house demolitions and closed a wide range of Palestinian institutions, but the stones continued to fall.

With elections coming up, they want to be seen to be doing something and, if possible, achieving something. But what? Negotiating a peace settlement with the Palestinians (ie the PLO) seems to be off the agenda for the moment, so Rabin has to try something else. He seems to have settled for a policy of massive arrests and deportations; these measures will not stop the demonstrations - indeed they will provoke further anger - but at least they appear to be achieving something. Palestinians can be shown being unloaded in Lebanon or sitting in a vast prison camp, and Israel is seen to be taking the initiative.

Deportations

This week 25 Palestinians were issued with deportation orders, adding to the 32 who have been deported since the uprising began. It was later announced that a list of a further fifteen was being prepared.

Deportation may not sound as bad as the now regular brutal killings and beatings, but most Palestinians would choose long jail sentences rather than permanent exile.

In other countries expatriots are often deported back to their own country, but in the occupied territories the Palestinians face exile from their own homeland. Deportation destroys the lives of the deportees and their families, and is perhaps the cruelest of Israeli measures.

Popular Committees Illegal

In an August 18th speech which read like a FACTS editorial, Rabin stated that

the popular committees were the "moving force behind the uprising", which presented an alternative to the military government, and declared them illegal organizations. He claimed that the 25 Palestinian deportees are "committee activists", despite the fact that at least one of the deportees was arrested before the uprising: perhaps a popular committee had been formed inside the prison.

The banning of the popular committees is indeed ironic: Israel has systematically closed almost all West Bank and Gaza institutions: the schools have been closed indefinitely; few union offices remain open; the municipalities are no longer functional and the Civil Administration is cutting back on its already pitiful service. If a group of teachers decide to provide informal education for their children they now apparently face a jail sentence of up to ten years for cooperating with an illegal organization.

But why did Rabin issue this order? The army already had the power to indiscriminately arrest and detain Palestinians without trial. If Rabin wants to round up thousands of people in some new prison camps, then he has the power to do so. Rather his dramatic statement is intended to give the impression that he is taking the initiative in responding to the Jordanian disengagement from the West Bank and the much publicized risk that the PLO will "take Jordan's place".

In reality, however, the PLO has long since taken the place of Jordan in the occupied territories in the sense which matters: the people are loyal to the PLO, and follow the directives of its local Unified National Leadership. The Israeli strategy before, and throughout the uprising, has been to undermine the power of the PLO with a now routine range of harsh measures, however the strategy has completely failed.

It is not an exaggeration to say that almost every Palestinian in the country is involved in some kind of community-based "popular" organization. Rather than say, "the popular committees are illegal" Rabin might as well have said "being a Palestinian is now illegal". But such a declaration would reveal that, rather than being in charge and in control, Rabin does not know what to do.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 22, 14th - 20th August 1988)

MARTYRS

The Martyrs of the Uprising

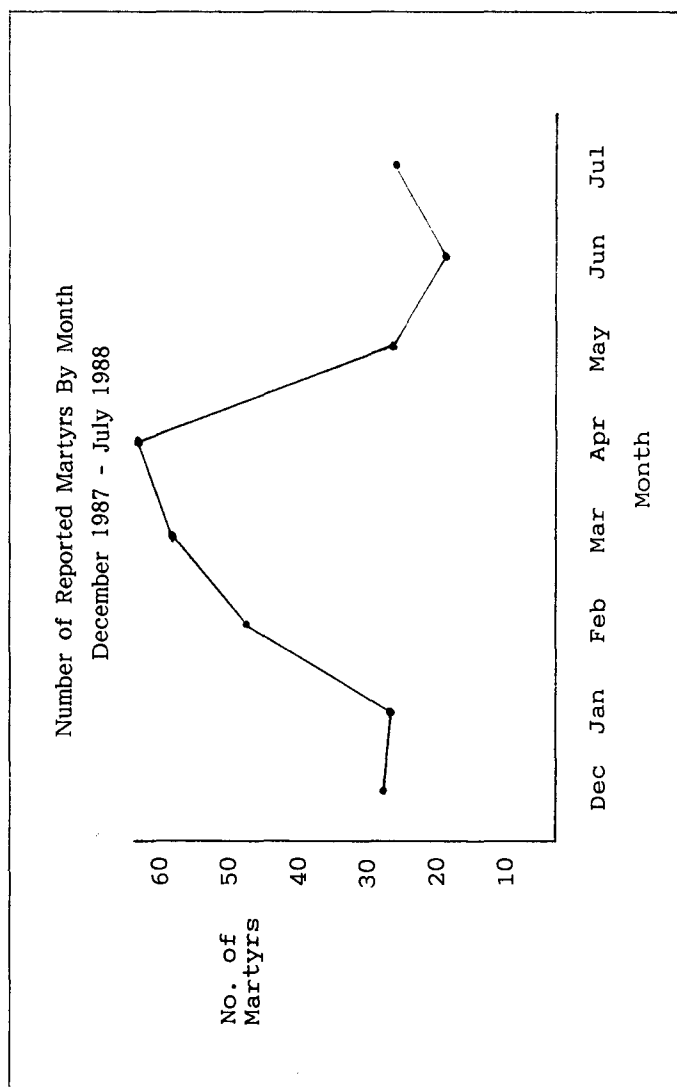
Between the beginning of the uprising and 31st July 1988 FACTS recorded the deaths of 292 Palestinians as a result of the actions of Israeli troops and settlers. We consider this to be an underestimate of the real total, as many deaths go unreported, or unconfirmed.

The majority of the martyrs (77%) were killed by live bullet wounds. The second most frequent cause of death was tear gas poisoning (14%) and then beatings (5%).

67% of the martyrs were between the ages of 15 and 29. 88% of the martyrs were male.

Summary of Martyrs Data

Martyrs by Month		Martyrs by Age		Cause of Death	
December	29	0 - 4 yr	3%	Shot	77%
January	28	5 - 9 yr	1%	Tear Gas	14%
February	48	10-14 yr	5%	Beating	5%
March	57	15-19 yr	31%	Other	4%
April	61	20-24 yr	22%		
May	25	25-29 yr	14%		
June	17	30-34 yr	4%	Male	88%
July	26	35-39 yr	3%	Female	12%
Total	292	>40 yr	16%		



NAME	SEX	AGE	PLACE	DATE	CAUSE	DETAILS
1 Ali Ismael	M	29	Gaza Town	08.12.1987	Car accident	Crushed by army truck; witnesses say deliberately.
2 Issam Hamouda	M	29	Jabalia camp	08.12.1987	Car accident	Crushed by army truck; witnesses say deliberately.
3 Talib Abu Zeid	M	46	Jabalia Town	08.12.1987	Car accident	Crushed by army truck; witnesses say deliberately.
4 Sha'ban Nabhan	M	26	Jabalia Town	08.12.1987	Car accident	Crushed by army truck; witnesses say deliberately.
5 Hatem al-Sisi	M	17	Jabalia Town	09.12.1987	Shot	Shot through the heart during a demonstration.
6 Ibrahim al-Akik	M	17	Nablus	10.12.1987	Shot	Bullet wound in head
7 Walid Abu Salam	M	10	Khan Younis	10.12.1987	Shot	Shot in head during demonstration
8 Syheila Ka'bi	F	57	Balata	11.12.1987	Shot	Shot in chest while watching demonstration
9 Sahar Ahmad al-Jarmi	F	17	Balata	11.12.1987	Shot	Shot in chest while demonstration in progress
10 Ali Ismael Masa'ad	M	14	Balata	11.12.1987	Shot	Shot in the head while demonstration in progress
11 Hasan Jarjoun	M	25	Khan Younis	14.12.1987	Shot	Shot in chest while demonstration in progress
12 Talal al-Hueyhi	M	17	Beit Hanoun	15.12.1987	Shot	Shot in the neck while walking down the street
13 Najwa al-Masri	F	17	Beit Hanoun	15.12.1987	Gas grenade impact	Killed by impact of canister as she rescued Talal
14 Khalid Abu Tageya	M	23	Jabalia Camp	15.12.1987	Shot	Shot in head while demonstration in progress
15 Ibrahim al-Sakhla	M	27	Jabalia Camp	15.12.1987	Shot	Killed while donating blood at al-Shifa Hospital
16 Nafiz Iktifan	M	15	Deir al-Balah	16.12.1987	Shot	Killed while demonstration in progress
17 Abdul Malik Hussein	M	17	Khan Younis	16.12.1987	Shot	Shot in neck on 12.12 while demo in progress
18 Muassara al-Batniji	M	22	Sheja'iyyeh	18.12.1987	Shot	Shot in head, neck and genitals during demo
19 Abdul-Salam Ifteiha	M	19	Bureij Camp	18.12.1987	Shot	Killed while demo occurring
20 Hussein Al-Mahsira	M	85	al-Bireh	18.12.1987	Tear gas poisoning	Died in al-Aksa mosque: gas fired indoors (on TV)
21 Atwa Abu Semehdana	M	18	Rafah	21.12.1987	Shot	Shot in leg; died in hospital
22 Basem Sawafa	M	18	Tubas	21.12.1987	Shot	Shot in chest and arm while demo occurring
23 Nazik Ahmed Sawafa	M	23	Tubas	21.12.1987	Shot	Shot in chest while demo in progress
24 Yusef Ar'awi	M	25	Jenin	21.12.1987	Shot	Shot while in his wheelchair in abdomen; beaten.
25 Raed Abdul Shehadeh	M	20	Beach Camp	21.12.1987	Shot	Died from wound in mouth inflicted on 9.12.1988
26 Khalid Talib Hmaid	M	17	Jabalia Camp	21.12.1987	Shot	Shot in eye and neck by C.Admin head, after threat
27 Mohammed al-Ghul	M		Jenin	22.12.1987	Shot	Died from wounds of 21.12
28 Mahmoud Abu Aziz	M	18	Jenin	22.12.1987	Shot	Shot on 21.12, died next day in hospital
29 Mustafa al-Beik	M	19	Jabalia Camp	30.12.1987	Shot	Died from wounds of 22.12, inflicted during demo
30 Najl Hassan Ali	M	42	Qabatia	01.01.1988	Shot	Shot and beaten: army claim shot crossing border
31 Haniyeh Ghazameh	F	25	Al-Ram	03.01.1988	Shot	Shot in the entrance of her house deliberately

NAME	SEX	AGE	PLACE	DATE	CAUSE	DETAILS
32 `Abe1 Dahlan	M	19	Khan Younis Camp	05.01.1988	Shot	Shot while demo in progress
33 Ismael Mussallam	M	15	Maghazi Camp	07.01.1988	Shot	Shot while demo in progress
34 Khalid al-Awardah	M	21	Bureij Camp	08.01.1988	Shot	Shot while demo in progress
35 Bassam Abu Mussalam	M	28	Khan Younis Camp	09.01.1988	Shot	Shot three times in liver
36 Wajdan Farris	F	35	Khan Younis	10.01.1988	Tear gas poisoning	Tear gas thrown into her house; 7 months pregnant
37 Togan Musabeh	M	35	Sheja'iyeh	10.01.1988	Shot	Close range heart wound: bullets emerged from body
38 Khalil Abu Louli	M	53	Rafah	10.01.1988	Shot	Died from wounds of 14.12, inflicted during demo
39 `Aba Yousef Khader	M	25	Khan Younis	11.01.1988	Beating	Arrested at house, beaten, no treatment in prison
40 Mohammed Fayad	M	65	Khan Younis	11.01.1988	Shot	Died from wounds of 16.12, inflicted during demo
41 Basil al-Yazouri	M	23	Rafah Camp	11.01.1988	Shot	Shot in head during demo on 9.1
42 Rabah Hamad	M		Beiteen	11.01.1988	Shot	Shot during settler attack on village from the road
43 Mohammed al-Yazouri	M	30	Rafah	12.01.1988	Shot	Shot while allegedly trying to stab a soldier
44 Ramadan Sbeih	M	13	Beit Lahiya	13.01.1988	Shot	Shot while food convoy attempted to enter Jabalia
45 Mustafa Harzallah	M	52	Ain Beit al-MaCamp	13.01.1988	Tear gas poisoning	Helicopters dropped massive numbers of canisters
46 Lubna Sweikh	F	13	Deir Ammar	13.01.1988	Tear gas poisoning	Tear gas thrown into house
47 Samer Ali Juma'a	M	4m	Deir Ammar Camp	13.01.1988	Tear gas poisoning	Shot in heart and chest during demo
48 Hussein Ma'ali	M	19	Kufr Na'meh	13.01.1988	Shot	Gas thrown into house
49 Mohammed Tabaza	M	18	Nusseirat Camp	14.01.1988	Tear gas poisoning	Shot while officials confiscated his sheep
50 Ahmad Ali `bhiat	M	45	Kissan	14.01.1988	Shot	Shot repeatedly while on roof of house
51 Ibrahim Abu Nahel	M	31	Gaza	15.01.1988	Shot	
52 Rifa'a Al al-Affifi	F		Gaza	17.01.1988	Tear gas poisoning	
53 Amna Darwish	F	72	Gaza	17.01.1988	Tear gas poisoning	
54 Sbeiha Hashash	F	47	Balata Camp	17.01.1988	Shot	
55 Fatima Rashid Salman	F	55	Beit Safafa	22.01.1988	Tear gas poisoning	Exposed on the street
56 Mohammed Ali Hamdan	M	22	Rafah	28.01.1988	Shot	Shot in chest during demonstration
57 Mourad Hamdallah	M	16	`Anabta	01.02.1988	Shot	Shot in chest during demo
58 Moiyed Sha'aar	M	20	`Anabta	01.02.1988	Shot	Died in office after intensive gas use in area
59 Mohammed al-Blaydeh	M	39	Tulkarm	01.02.1988	Tear gas poisoning	Shot in head on 1.2
60 Asma Shoba	F	25	`Anabta	03.02.1988	Shot	Shot in chest; bled to death during custody
61 Ibrahim Mansour	M	25	Balaa	03.02.1988	Shot	Shot in his home in the stomach and the heart
62 Asma al-Sharif	F	17	al-Atroub Camp	05.02.1988	Shot	

NAME	SEX	AGE	PLACE	DATE	CAUSE	DETAILS
63 Iyad al-Desougi	M	10	Burqa	07.02.1988	Shot	Shot in his home in the heart on 3.2
64 Saleh Noubani	M	80	Qabatia	07.02.1988	Beating	Heart attack after being beaten
65 Raml al-Akluk	M	15	Deir al-Balah Camp	07.02.1988	Beating	Beaten on head in front of house on 6.2
66 `Imad Sabarneh	M	22	Beit Ummar	07.02.1988	Shot	Shot in the heart during demo
67 Mohammed al-Shweitha	M	25	Beit Ummar	07.02.1988	Shot	Shot in chest during demo
68 Tayeir Jarad	M	18	Beit Ummar	07.02.1988	Beit Ummar	Killed by two bullets in the heart during demo
69 Iyad `Agel	M	16	Bureij Camp	07.02.1988	Beaten	Taken from home by soldiers, clubbed on head
70 `Abd `Abdullah	M	27	Kufr Qaddum	08.02.1988	Shot	Shot by settlers in head and neck
71 Nabil Khalil	M	17	`Attill	09.02.1988	Shot	3 bullets in the heart; body found outside village
72 Khader al-Tarazi	M	17	Gaza	09.02.1988	Beaten	Beaten at home, died of head wound
73 `Imad al-Hamlawi	M	20	Maghazi Camp	10.02.1988	Shot	Shot in the neck and paralysed on 10.2
74 Afif al-Darduk	M	60	Nablus	10.02.1988	Beaten	Clubbed by soldiers on 9.2
75 Ahmad Sabeel	M	36	Tulkarem Camp	11.02.1988	Shot	Killed in street, the army claim by accident
76 Bashar al-Ma'adi	M	17	Nablus	12.02.1988	Shot	Shot in the heart during a march from the mosque
77 Bassem al-Jitan	M	14	Nablus	12.02.1988	Shot	12 bullet wounds in head, during march from mosque
78 Mohammed al-Ra'i	M	14	Gaza	14.02.1988	Beaten	Clubbed by soldiers; died later
79 Ismael al-Halaiga	M	22	Shyoukh	17.02.1988	Shot	Bullet in heart during demo
80 Nasrallah Nasrallah	M	12	Tulkarem Camp	19.02.1988	Shot	Shot in the street while curfew in force
81 Abdallah Ateyeh	M	19	Kufr Na'meh	20.02.1988	Shot	3 bullets shot into head from 1m in Ramallah
82 Fatneh al-Darjleh	F	33	Arad	20.02.1988	Tear gas poisoning	Tear gas thrown into house in Bani Na'im
83 Nabil Abu Chorey	M	25	Beach Camp	20.02.1988	Drowning	Body found on beach; not the swimming season
84 Kamel Faris	M	24	Deir Ammar Camp	21.02.1988	Shot	Shot in the back and in an artery
85 Raghib Abu `Amara	M	20	Nablus	21.02.1988	Shot	Shot in heart during demo
86 Ahmed Salhiyeh	M	60	Nablus	21.02.1988	Gas grenade impact	Canister fired directly into his face
87 Radwa Najeeb	F	15	Baga al-Sharqiyyeh	22.02.1988	Shot	Shot in the heart by settlers on doorway of house
88 Mohammed al-Sheikh	M	11	Beir Fajjar	22.02.1988	Tear gas poisoning	Gas fired into house
89 Mahmoud Hoshiyeh	M	14	al-Yamoun	23.02.1988	Shot	Shot during demo
90 `Atif Fayyad	M	30	Khan Yunis	23.02.1988	Shot	Shot on 19.2 during demo
91 Mohammed Kamil	M	7	Qabatia	24.02.1988	Shot	Shot by collaborator
92 `Issam Abu Khalifeh	M	18	Jenin Camp	25.02.1988	Shot	Shot in the face during demonstration
93 Sami al-Dayeh	M	14	Nablus	25.02.1988	Shot	Bullet in heart during demonstration

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94 Yusef al-Kilani	M	23	Ya'abad	25.02.1988	Rammed by car	Army rammed his car when refused to clear stones Overcome by gas dropped by helicopter into crowd Died from head injuries
95 Fou'ad Abu Charbiyeh	M	47	Hebron	26.02.1988	Tear gas poisoning	
96 Iyad al-Ashqar	M	12	Jabalia Camp	26.02.1988	Beaten	
97 Hasan Abu Hayran	M	22	al-Arroub Camp	26.02.1988	Tear gas poisoning	Died after bullet wound in leg Shot in heart during demo Bullets in heart and chest during demo Bullets in heart and stomach during demo Shot in head by settlers during night raid Bullet in the abdomen from settlers night raid Bullet in head on 25.2; died in hospital Bullet in neck during demo Tear gased on 26.2 Died in demo in schoolyard
98 Raahiga Daraghmeb	F	60	Tubas	26.02.1988	Shot	
99 Nihab al-Khamour	M	21	al-Arroub Camp	27.02.1988	Shot	
100 Bakr al-Bau	M	18	Halhoul	27.02.1988	Shot	Bullets in stomach during demo Bullet in chest during demo Bullet in heart during demo Bullet in head Bullet in the abdomen from settlers night raid Bullet in head on 25.2; died in hospital Bullet in neck during demo Tear gased on 26.2 Died in demo in schoolyard
101 Majed al-Atrash	M	18	Halhoul	27.02.1988	Shot	
102 Ahmad al-Barghouti	M	20	'Aboud	28.02.1988	Shot	
103 Raed al-Barghouti	M	17	'Aboud	28.02.1988	Shot	Bullet in head Bullet in the abdomen from settlers night raid Bullet in head on 25.2; died in hospital Bullet in neck during demo Tear gased on 26.2 Died in demo in schoolyard
104 Ahmad Betawi	M	30	Jenin Camp	29.02.1988	Shot	
105 Yasser Da'oud 'Eid	M	18	Boureen	29.02.1988	Shot	
106 Suleiman Taher	M	65	Ba'qa al-Sharqiyyeh	03.03.1988	Tear gas poisoning	Bullet in stomach during demo Bullet in chest during demo Bullet in heart during demo Bullet in heart Bullet in head Bullet wound in thigh on 4.3 Shot by settler
107 Khilam Arram	F	8	Rafah	03.03.1988	Tear gas poisoning	
108 Hassan Ahmed Salah	M	18	Arrabeh	04.03.1988	Shot	
109 Baker Sibani	M	17	Arrabeh	04.03.1988	Shot	Bullet in the heart from settlers Shot in mouth Bullet in heart Shot on 29.1
110 Rasem al-Khadayrat	M	30	Dhahariyeh	05.03.1988	Shot	
111 Mahel Iwreilat	M	28	Dhahariyeh	05.03.1988	Shot	
112 Ayman Abdel Ghani	M	18	al-Mazra'a	05.03.1988	Shot	Bullet in head Bullet wound in thigh on 4.3 Shot by settler
113 Kallid al-Ardeh	M	17	al-Askar Camp	05.03.1988	Shot	
114 Mohammed al-Sa'fin	M	23	al-Bureij Camp	05.03.1988	Shot	
115 Salah al-Naqab	M	33	al-Asker Camp	06.03.1988	Gas grenade impact	Bullet in the heart from settlers Shot in mouth Bullet in heart Shot on 29.1
116 Khader Imadeh	M	37	Mazra'a Sharqiyyeh	07.03.1988	Shot	
117 Yusef Hassuneh	M	3m	Deir al-Balah Camp	08.03.1988	Tear gas poisoning	
118 Shariima A'layan	F	4m	Deir al-Balah Camp	08.03.1988	Tear gas poisoning	Bullet in the heart from settlers Shot in mouth Bullet in heart Shot on 29.1
119 Jamil Ihjaz	M	19	Turmus Aliya	09.03.1988	Shot	
120 Mohammed Hassan	M	18	Silwed	09.03.1988	Shot	
121 Bassam Badarlin	M	25	Samou'a	09.03.1988	Shot	Bullet in the heart from settlers Shot in mouth Bullet in heart Shot on 29.1
122 Sana'a I'beid	F	40	Khan Younis Camp	09.03.1988	Tear gas poisoning	
123 Hassan al-Taite	M	90	Nablus	09.03.1988	Shot	
124 Kamleh Sharaf	M	60	Khan Younis	11.03.1988	Tear gas poisoning	

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125 Yusef Ibrahim Ali	M	23	Biddu	13.03.1988	Shot	Beaten, thrown on burning tyre then shot in eye
126 Yahya al-Mughrabi	M	2m	Gaza Town	13.03.1988	Tear gas poisoning	
127 Arafat Abdul Aziz	M	22	Ain Yabrud	15.03.1988	Shot	Bullet in head during demo in Deir Jrir
128 `Alam Said Mustafa	M	17	`Anza	15.03.1988	Shot	Bullet in stomach
129 Salim al-Yahya	M	60	Tulkarem Camp	16.03.1988	Tear gas poisoning	Tear gas fired into house
130 Ashraf Ibrahim	M	16	Tulkarem Camp	16.03.1988	Shot	
131 Hisham Aloush	M	23	Nazlat Aisa	16.03.1988	Shot	
132 Omar Hamarsheh	M	25	Ya'abad	16.03.1988	Shot	Bullet in chest
133 Sabri Abu Sharar	M	25	Khan Younis	17.03.1988	Shot	Bullet in heart
134 Mohammed Suleiman	M	19	Ain Beit al-Ma Camp	17.03.1988	Shot	
135 Hani Abu Hamam	M	24	Beach Camp	18.03.1988	Shot	
136 Ali Abu Hajjar	M	70	Jabalia Camp	18.03.1988	Tear gas poisoning	
137 Namiq Ahmed Milhem	M	26	Kufr Dan	19.03.1988	Shot	Bullet in head
138 Khalid Taher	M	26	Nazlat Aisa	20.03.1988	Shot	Died from wounds of March 14th
139 Mohammed Hamid	M	25	Silwad	20.03.1988	Beating	Died from internal injuries sustained on 4.2
140 Omar Abu Marahiil	M	27	Beit Hanoun	21.03.1988	Beating	Fractured skull
141 Adel Jaber	M	17	Rafah	21.03.1988	Shot	Bullet in chest
142 Hikmat DaraghmeH	M	26	Tobas	22.03.1988	Shot	3 bullets wounds
143 Hussein al-Kmiil	M	70	Qabatia	22.03.1988	Tear gas poisoning	
144 Majid Sawalmeh	M	25	Balata	24.03.1988	Shot	2 bullets in the chest
145 Mohammed Zoor	M	18	Balata	24.03.1988	Shot	Bullet in neck
146 Walid al-Fatafta	M	18	Tarkoomiya	25.03.1988	Shot	Bullet in chest
147 Khalid al-Maraqtan	M	20	Tarkoomiya	25.03.1988	Shot	Bullet in liver
148 Awad Kaasim	M	30	Qufr Thulth	26.03.1988	Shot	Bullet in chest
149 Majid Dib	M	19	Qufr Thulth	26.03.1988	Shot	Bullet in heart
150 Ayid Turqi	M	21	Zowata	26.03.1988	Shot	Died from wound in heart from 25.3
151 Omar Rabaya'a	M	19	Mayathaloon	27.03.1988	Shot	Bullet in chest
152 Ghassan Inayraat	M	21	Mayathaloon	27.03.1988	Shot	Bullet in neck
153 Fahiin Inayraat	M	27	Mayathaloon	27.03.1988	Shot	Bullet in chest
154 Yasser Ibrahim	M	17	Salfit	27.03.1988	Shot	Bullet in chest
155 Kamal Odeh	M	18	Salfit	28.03.1988	Shot	Died from wounds of 27.3

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156 Wajiha Rabia	F	50	Deir Abu Mishal	30.03.1988	Shot	Shot in the leg and the neck
157 Sukr al-Mlaysa	M	20	Deir Bziy'a	30.03.1988	Shot	Bullet in heart
158 Khalid Qassim	M	22	Burqa	30.03.1988	Shot	Bullet in chest
159 Hussein Shahiin	M	24	Yamoun	30.03.1988	Shot	Bullet in chest
160 Abdel Karim Halayqa	M	25	Shyoukh	30.03.1988	Shot	Bullet in chest
161 Suleiman al-Jundi	M	18	Yatta	31.03.1988	Shot	Bullet in abdomen
162 Mohammed Ziban	M	25	Yamoun	31.03.1988	Shot	Shot on 30.3
163 Jamal Tmayzi	M	22	Idna	01.04.1988	Shot	Bullet in chest
164 Ishac Ahmed	M	23	Idna	01.04.1988	Shot	
165 Salim al-Sha'er	M	23	Bethlehem	02.04.1988	Shot	Bullet in head during demo
166 Khamees Ahmed	M	41	Deir Sudan	02.04.1988	Shot	Bullet in chest and throat
167 Jihad Assi	M	19	Beit Liqiya	02.04.1988	Shot	Shot in stomach and mouth; bled to death
168 Rashid al-Qurdi	M	55	Gaza Town	02.04.1988	Shot	Killed during raid on shop by army
169 Ahmed al-Qurdi	M	40	Gaza Town	02.04.1988	Shot	Killed during army raid on shop
170 Ali al-Qurdi	M	21	Gaza Town	02.04.1988	Shot	Killed during army raid on shop
171 Ali Abu Ali	M	45	Yatta	03.04.1988	Shot	Bullet in neck on 30.3
172 Khalil Hamzaweh	M	18	Askar Camp	03.04.1988	Electrocution	Forced to retrieve flag from electric cable
173 Ma'moun Jarad	M	15	Tulkarem	03.04.1988	Shot	
174 Nasser Abdullah	M	20d	Qabatia	03.04.1988	Tear gas poisoning	Gas thrown into house on 1.4; died in hospital
175 Hamid Azaydaat	M	20	Bani Na'im	04.04.1988	Shot	Killed during demo
176 Hamzeh Ibrahim	M	20	Khan Younis	04.04.1988	Shot	Wounded on 30.3
177 Rajab al-Slaybeh	M	75	Beach Camp	04.04.1988	Tear gas poisoning	
178 Hatim al-Jabar	M	22	Beita	06.04.1988	Shot	Shot through head by settler
179 Musa Abu Shamseh	M	20	Beita	06.04.1988	Shot	Shot through head by settler
180 Issam Shamseh	M	16	Beita	07.04.1988	Shot	Shot in the back by the army while "running away"
181 Subhiyeh Rashid	F	60	Beach Camp	08.04.1988	Tear gas poisoning	Canisters fired into her house
182 Yusef Rabi'a	M	85	Deir Abu Mishaal	09.04.1988	Shot	Died from wounds in abdomen and thigh of 30.3
183 Mohammed Yahya	M	20	Qufr Ra'i	10.04.1988	Shot	Shot in back
184 Jalal Aris	M	21	Qufr Ra'i	10.04.1988	Shot	Bullet in chest
185 Fouad Yosef	M	22	Qufr Ra'i	10.04.1988	Shot	Bled to death from leg wound while in army custody
186 Souad Yosef	F	95	Gaza	12.04.1988	Beating	Beaten in her home; died the same day in hospital

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187 Mahmoud Qaoud	M	21	Beach Camp	12.04.1988	Gas grenade impact	Hit by tear gas grenade on 11.4
188 Wafta Farjallah	F	75	Jabalia Camp	13.04.1988	Tear gas poisoning	Tear gas fired into her home; died same day
189 Wail al-Asmar	M	24	Nablus	14.04.1988	Shot	Bullet in heart during demo
190 Nasser al-Lidawi	M	22	Nablus	14.04.1988	Shot	
191 Jamal Shehadeh	M	19	Bureij Camp	16.04.1988	Shot	
192 Jamal al-Jamal	M	17	Rafah	16.04.1988	Shot	
193 Taysir al-Bouj	M	16	Rafah	16.04.1988	Shot	
194 Atwah Abu Arad	M	17	Rafah	16.04.1988	Shot	
195 Mohammad Abu Jazr	M	22	Rafah	16.04.1988	Shot	
196 Abdul Mohsin Hasun	M	19	Khan Younis	16.04.1988	Shot	
197 Fikri al-Doughma	M	22	Abasan	16.04.1988	Shot	
198 Bassam al-Harriri	M	25	Jenin	16.04.1988	Shot	
199 Helmi Abdullah	M	23	Jenin	16.04.1988	Shot	
200 Yahyia Sowalmeh	M	20	Qabatia	16.04.1988	Shot	
201 Sa'ada al-Quran	F	40	Jenin Camp	16.04.1988	Shot	
202 Haila Amira	F	20	Habla	16.04.1988	Shot	
203 Farid Abu Daraz	M	25	Khan Younis	16.04.1988	Shot	
204 Awad al-Balbeesi	M	20	Rafah	16.04.1988	Shot	
205 Eman al-Qamari	F	19	Khan Younis	16.04.1988	Shot	
206 Ismael al-Tatari	M	32	Jabalia Camp	16.04.1988	Shot	
207 Ayman Abu Amer	M	19	Khan Younis	16.04.1988	Shot	
208 Abed Suleiman	M	13	Ya'abad	17.04.1988	Shot	Wounded on 16.4
209 Ahmed Sa'adeh	M	40	al-Ubadiyeh	17.04.1988	Shot	Multiple bullet wounds
210 Ahmed Zo'rub	M	19	Rafah	18.04.1988	Shot	
211 Aydeh Toteh	F	30	Gaza	18.04.1988	Shot	
212 Jamal Aqlam	M	7d	Shaufat	18.04.1988	Tear gas poisoning	Canisters fired into house
213 Nizer Massad	M	26	Faqo'a	19.04.1988	Shot	Wounded on 18.4
214 Mohammad Nasser	M	20	Nuseirat Camp	20.04.1988	Shot	
215 Ismael Abu Sheikh	M	48	Qalqiliya	20.04.1988	Tear Gas poisoning	
216 Mohammad Abu Ali	M	25	Bani Suheila	22.04.1988	Shot	
217 Faraj Farjallah	M	25	Idna	22.04.1988	Shot	

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218 Mohammad Abu Zeid	M	20	Qabatia	23.04.1988	Shot	
219 Abu Hassan Amer	M	23	Beit al-Roosh	24.04.1988	Shot	
220 Na'imey al-'Alamey	F	55	Beit Ummar	24.04.1988	Tear gas poisoning	
221 Ahmed Mohammad Zarb	M	19	Rafah	24.04.1988	Shot	Wounded on 18.4
222 Areej Isma'eel	F	15	Kufr al-Deek	25.04.1988	Shot	
223 Sari Hilal	M	35	Kufr Malik	28.04.1988	Shot	
224 Naim Abu Farha	M	22	Faqo'a	01.05.1988	Shot	
225 Abdoh al-Buhiy	M	80	Ain Beit al-Ma Camp	01.05.1988	Rubber Bullet	
226 Omar al-Manasra	M	18	Bani Na'im	03.05.1988	Shot	Bullet in head
227 Nidal Ali Balout	M	19	Bani Na'im	03.05.1988	Shot	2 bullets in head
228 Khalid Amireh	M	23	Balata	03.05.1988	Shot	
229 Jamal al-Madhoun	M	20	Beach Camp	04.05.1988	Shot	Bullet in neck
230 Khalid al-Najjar	M	51	Jabalia	04.05.1988	Tear gas poisoning	
231 Rizak Sabah	M	18	Jabalia	04.05.1988	Shot	Bullet in heart
232 Judeh Awad	M	28	Turmus Aiya	05.05.1988	Shot	
233 Ibrahim Awad	M	34	Dheisheh Camp	09.05.1988	Shot	
234 Abdel Karim Atiyeh	M	21	al-Ta'amreh	11.05.1988	Shot	Wounded on 30.3.1988
235 Musleh Zayid	M	30	Qabatia	13.05.1988	Shot	
236 Ibrahim Abu Aysheh	M	65	Hebron	15.05.1988	Beating	
237 Jihad al-'Abasi	M	17	Jabalia Camp	16.05.1988	Shot	
238 Ala al-Diin Saleh	M	15	Azmout	16.05.1988	Shot	
239 Majdeh Josef Hilal	M	16	Abwein	18.05.1988	Shot	
240 Kawther Maraiy	F		Tulkarm Camp	21.05.1988	Shot	
241 Fatima Rahman	F	26	Abwein	21.05.1988	Shot	Wounded in head on 18.5
242 Mohammad Qiyadan	M	38	Deir al-Ghsoon	22.05.1988	Shot/Burnt	Bodies had been shot before car found burnt
243 Shamsiyeh Qiyadan	F	65	Deir al-Ghsoon	22.05.1988	Shot/Burnt	as 243
244 Sa'adeh al-Lulu	M	52	Bureij Camp	24.05.1988	Shot	Killed by shot during army search of his house
245 Amin Abu Radaha	M	14	Jalazon Camp	26.05.1988	Shot	Wounded on 24.5.1988
246 Eyad Shana'a	M	16	Qalqilia	26.05.1988	Shot	Wounded in February
247 Dina al-Sowafir	F	03	Gaza	27.05.1988	Tear gas poisoning	
248 Inam Rafiq Ghanam	F	25	Jab'a	29.05.1988	Shot	Bullet in heart

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249 Mustafa Halayqa	M	18	Shyoukh	03.06.1988	Shot by settler	Shot in the heart/settler member of Kach
250 Mohammad Ghanem	M	26	Deir Bziy'a	03.06.1988	Shot	Killed in Suffa during destruction of village crop
251 Hussein Abu Jaladi	M	20	Jabalia	08.05.1988	Shot	Wounded on 6.5
252 Emad Howari	M	19	Sabastia	09.06.1988	Shot	
253 Abdullah Khulq	M	25	Abu Dis	08.06.1988	Tear gas poisoning	
254 Sa'id al-Hayek	M	18	Ain al-Sultan	12.06.1988	Shot	Bullet in heart
255 Maysa Howareen	F	40d	Dheisheh Camp	12.06.1988	Tear gas poisoning	Canisters thrown into home
256 Bassam Sabagh	M	21	Jenin Camp	12.06.1988	Shot	
257 Dheeb Hussein	M	43	Abwein	13.06.1988	Shot	Bullet in head
258 Ahmed Shehadeh	M	40d	Jenin Camp	13.06.1988	Tear gas poisoning	
259 Nidal Abu Hassan	M	21	Battir	15.06.1988	Shot	
260 Tayseer Mleitaat	M	24	Beit Furik	17.06.1988	Shot	
261 Ra'ed Haj Yussef	M	17	Khan Younis Camp	18.06.1988	Shot	
262 Sayyed Shirbawi	M	66	Beach Camp	18.06.1988	Tear gas poisoning	
263 Khalil Zaqout	M	17	Rafah	22.06.1988	Shot	Bullet in head
264 Ibrahim Aranki	M	14	Taybeh	29.06.1988	Shot	
265 Mohammad Shajillo	M	35	Nablus	30.06.1988	Tear gas poisoning	Canisters fired into his workshop
266 Arafaat Hanini	M	20	Beit Furik	30.06.1988	Shot	Wounded on 17.6.1988
267 Fatmeh Sihweil	F	28	'Abwein	01.07.1988	Shot	Wounded on 18.5.1988
268 Na'el Khamayseh	M	17	Jenin Camp	02.07.1988	Shot	
269 Ibrahim Labad	M	64	Gaza	09.07.1988	Beating	
270 Abdel Qader Dababat	M	22	Tubas	08.07.1988	Shot	
271 Fayik Hussein	M	25	Jabalia	09.07.1988	Shot	
272 Zuhdi Zreiki	M	17	Askar Camp	10.07.1988	Bled to death	Shot in the leg and left to bleed to death by army
273 Hassan Addis	M	16	Anabta	11.07.1988	Shot	Bullet in chest
274 Faris al-Anabtawi	M	17	Nablus	11.07.1988	Shot	Bullet in chest
275 Amjad Khawajeh	M	17	Nablus	13.07.1988	Shot	Wounded on 12.7.1988
276 Samir Assayih	M	16	Nablus	13.07.1988	Shot	Wounded on 12.7.1988
277 Saber al-Namnam	M	23	Beach Camp	16.07.1988	Beating	Badly beaten in April; died in hospital
278 Admon Ghanam	M	17	Beit Sahour	18.07.1988	Broken skull	Soldier dropped boulder from roof onto his head
279 Jamal al-Qadoumi	M	29	Ain Beit al-Ma Camp	18.07.1988	Shot	Wounded on 8.7

NAME	SEX	AGE	PLACE	DATE	CAUSE	DETAILS
280 Nidal al-Rabadi	M	15	Jerusalem	19.07.1988	Shot	
281 Hashem al-Kilani	M	21	Jenin	20.07.1988	Shot	
282 Fou'ad 'Ourabi	M	16	Jenin	20.07.1988	Shot	
283 Zaki al-Halaih	M	17	al-Shyoukh	20.07.1988	Shot	
284 Hussam Abdel Aziz	M	19	Nablus	21.07.1988	Shot	
285 Maher Abu Ghazaleh	M	24	Nablus	21.07.1988	Shot	
286 Muhanad Seifh	M	17	Thinabeh	21.07.1988	Shot	
287 Jiryes Qunqor	M	40	Beit Jala	24.07.1988	Shot	
288 Yasser Saba'neh	M	17	Qabatia	24.07.1988	Shot	
289 Tha'er Bader	M	1m	Jabalia	24.07.1988	Tear gas poisoning	
290 Suheir 'Afaneh	F	13	Beach Camp	26.07.1988	Shot	Shot by settler
291 Hani al-Turk	M	27	Gaza	28.07.1988	Shot	Wounded on 24.7
292 Abdel Fattah Yusef	M		Deir Abu Deef	29.07.1988	Shot	

Beiteen Martyr

10th January, 1988

On 10th January 1988, the Head of the Regional Council For Israeli Settlements in the West Bank, accompanied by another Israeli settler, was driving past Beiteen, a village 3km east of Ramallah. Suddenly the car stopped, both men got out of the car started to chase a group of young villagers into the village. The settlers opened fire, killing Rabah Hussein Ghanem Hamad, an 18-year-old student of Deir Dubwan Vocational Secondary School.

Ziad Abdel Jalil Hamad (20 years) who was also present in the area, was seriously injured - he was hit by three bullets in the thigh. In a later statement the settlers claimed that their lives had been threatened when stones were thrown at their car by villagers. They also claimed that they had opened fire while they were still near the car.

Accounts from eye-witnesses say the settlers had stopped their car on the main road and approached a group of young Palestinians, pointing their guns at them. When the youths started running away, the settlers chased them and opened fire some 200 metres away from the car. In an interview broadcast on Israeli television with Amram Mitzna (the military officer in command), Mitzna said that he knew the two settlers personally and therefore trusted their claims that they had used their weapons in self-defense. When asked therefore why the shooting had taken place as far as 200 meters from the car, Mitzna awkwardly said that he could not respond to the question until further investigation was carried out.

That evening the Israeli radio and television announced that the police had arrested the settlers - both were released on bail the following day. On the night of 10th January, 25 Israeli soldiers brought Rabah's body back to the village. They gave permission for only ten people to attend the funeral. The martyr was buried just after midnight on 11th January, 1988.

FACTS Press Release No.2

Kufr Na'meh Martyr

14th January, 1988

Kufr Na'meh is a village of 2000 inhabitants, 10km west of Ramallah. For three consecutive days (12th, 13th and 14th January 1988) more than 300 people from Kufr Na'meh demonstrated in the village. The villagers set up roadblocks and burned tyres at the entrance of the village. On the day of 14th January, the army tried to enter Kufr Na'meh. They were unable to get through the roadblocks and clashed with villagers at the entrance of the village, shooting live ammunition and

firing tear gas. During the clash they caught a young woman from the village and brutally beat her on the head and continued even after she had fallen to the ground.

Hassan, a 20-year-old from Kufr Na'meh, working as a day-wage laborer in Israel, tried to rescue her by throwing stones at the soldiers. They responded by firing a tear gas canister at him - which he picked up and threw back in their direction. One soldier, who was positioned behind an olive tree, aimed at Hassan and shot him in the chest and arm. Hassan's sister and a group of young men managed to pick him up off the ground and they carried his bleeding body to a nearby car. As they were leaving the village on route to the hospital, a number of soldiers stopped the car in a search for the injured. Not wanting the soldiers to discover that Hassan was being taken out of the village, they had no alternative but to conceal him, first with their jackets and then by sitting over his body. They eventually managed to get out of the village and on arriving at the general hospital in Ramallah they were confronted by a number of soldiers who appeared to be waiting for them.

Hassan was admitted to the hospital and on examination by Dr Shawqi Harb, was pronounced dead on arrival. The doctor was quoted by Hassan's sister as having said that this was the first time in his life that he had seen a heart so completely destroyed by bullets. Hassan had been hit by six bullets in the chest. His body was taken to the mortuary while his family went through the proceedings with Israeli authorities in order to get the permission to have the body released from the hospital. As in accordance with the usual procedure imposed by the military authorities in such circumstances (in order to limit the number of people attending funerals) Hassan's burial had to take place during the night. Only 15 people attended the funeral, which took place at 3 o'clock in the morning. Following her son's death, Hassan's mother had a nervous breakdown and is still undergoing medical treatment.

Tamam Yusef, Hassan's aunt who also lives in Kufr Na'meh, witnessed the demonstration that evening. The army came to her home demanding to be let in to search for people suspected of participation in the demonstration. She refused to allow the soldiers to enter and in a confrontation at the door of her house she was beaten by a soldier who broke her finger with his baton. She persisted saying that she would rather be killed than allow him to enter her home. She went on arguing with one of the soldiers for 10 minutes, insisting that they did not have the right to enter:

"This is my home, this is our land and our country. You are assaulting us. You get your orders from your leaders but you will see that the stone is stronger than Shamir, Peres and Rabin and that our will is stronger than all of you." Suddenly shots were heard from another part of the village and the soldiers in front of her

house were called on to regroup. The same soldier who had attacked her earlier, shot three rubber bullets at the door before moving away.

FACTS Press Release No.1

Al-Askar Martyr

On Sunday 10th July the army invaded al-Askar refugee camp early in the morning in order to arrest residents. Clashes began immediately, and at 6.45 am Zuhdi Mansour Jaber Zreiki (17 years) was injured with bullet wounds in both thighs.

Residents carried him to a car and attempted to drive him to hospital in Nablus, but at two exits from the camp the road was blocked by an army jeep. On both occasions the soldiers turned the car back despite pleas from the driver that the boy was bleeding profusely and was in urgent need of medical attention.

Finally the car managed to take the camp's back streets into the neighboring "New Askar" camp, but there all the exits were blocked by soil and rubble mounds which had been erected by the army. They finally managed to reach the al-Ittihad Hospital at 10.00 am, more than three hours after the shooting. He was examined by a doctor who said that he had died from loss of blood as a result of the wounds.

When news of his death reached al-Askar, violent demonstrations erupted, and a curfew was imposed on the camp.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 18, 10th - 16th July, 1988)

One Killed in Demonstration Against Municipal Council

20th February 1988, Ramallah

On Saturday 20th February, demonstrators took to the streets of Ramallah in support of one of the demands of the uprising - the resignation of the appointed West Bank municipal councils. Protesters attempted to gather outside the municipality but were faced by large numbers of troops already positioned in the area. The demonstrators moved to two other locations in the city - the main street and the Old City of Ramallah. They shouted slogans calling for the resignation of the appointed councils and condemning Shultz's visit to the area. Since the beginning of the uprising several council members have already responded to the call and have resigned.

Soldiers used tear gas, rubber bullets and live ammunition when they clashed

with demonstrators at both locations. At about 11 o'clock in the morning, in a fierce confrontation between soldiers and demonstrators, `Abdallah `Ataya, a 20-year-old laborer from Kufr Na'meh, was shot dead. Eye-witnesses say that `Abdallah was shot in the head - probably with a dum dum bullet (a soft-nosed bullet that explodes on impact). Cornered in a dead-end street, `Abdallah was shot from a distance of one meter. Fragments of his shattered skull were still in the street hours after his body had been taken to hospital. A number of other youths injured with live ammunition were admitted to Ramallah Hospital.

As soon as the news about `Abdallah's death spread throughout the city, a large number of people gathered in front of the hospital. The crowd expressed their fury clashing with the troops who arrived on the scene. The clashes lasted for some time and tear gas was used extensively outside the hospital before soldiers stormed the building, searching for demonstrators. Other soldiers remained positioned outside and declared the hospital a closed military area. Families of the injured as well as journalists were denied access to the hospital.

NB: Since 1976 no municipal elections have been held in the West Bank. Military orders have been used by the Israeli authorities to indefinitely freeze the terms of the elected councils. The mayors of Hebron and Halhoul were deported in 1980. Both mayors of Nablus and Ramallah were crippled when their cars were booby-trapped by settlers.

Because they refused to deal with the Israeli "Civil Administration" scheme, the mayors of most West Bank cities were dismissed by the authorities by 1982. Currently mayors and members of the West Bank municipal councils are appointed by the Israeli authorities.

FACTS Press Release No.11

Bani Na'im Martyrs

At 11 am on 3rd May, a group of villagers gathered in the Qamar quarter of Bani Na'im and marched towards the center of the village. Youths erected stone barricades at the village entrance, which is located on the main road to Hebron. Other young men set fire to tyres and poured oil on a road near the local boys' school, now used as a camp by the army.

As the demonstrators approached the center of the village, four soldiers began firing tear gas grenades and rubber bullets into the crowd. The demonstrators were dispersed within half an hour.

The soldiers then began to chase young men into the village, shooting live ammunition as they ran. When they spotted 18-year-old Nidal Salem `Ali Ballout behind his house, they ordered him to come out. Nidal fled, and was killed

instantaneously by two bullets in his back and neck fired from a distance of ten meters.

Another young man, Omar Mohammed Abdul-Hamid Manasara, was shot minutes later by a soldier firing a dum-dum bullet from a distance of not more than 30 meters. The bullet cracked his skull and he died immediately.

Village eyewitnesses refute the army spokesman's claim that the soldiers' lives were endangered. They view this as being a justification for premeditated murder committed by the soldiers.

Following the shootings the army moved a bulldozer into the village, demolishing 300m of walls and blocking the entrances of two houses with rubble. Throughout the operation a helicopter hovered over the village, firing tear gas canisters.

In total 13 people were injured, from shootings and beatings, and 7 were arrested, one aged 14.

The village was declared a closed military area and the press were forbidden to enter.

Since then the army has maintained its presence in the village. Foot patrols stop people at random, make them stand against the wall, and beat them. Some soldiers remove their clothing and defecate in full view of villagers. Every evening after the breaking of the fast soldiers break into houses and beat the occupants. Tear gas is often fired into the houses.

Yet despite this, Palestinian flags are still being raised daily, barricades are erected in the roads, and slogans appear on the walls. The uprising continues in Bani Na'im.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 9, June 1st -June 7th, 1988)

One Martyr's Story

On 14th March the father of Mohammed Hamid was summoned to Nablus Military Headquarters and ordered to bring his two sons, Mohammed (19) and Yusef (20). The father returned on 16th March with Yusef and explained that Mohammed was working so could not come, but that he would report later. The officer in charge threatened that if Mohammed did not report, his picture would be distributed to soldiers and he would be killed.

On 18th March the refugee camp where the family live, Ain Beit al-Ma, was woken up at 4.00 am as soldiers invaded the camp. 55 people were arrested on that day. In protest the people went onto their roofs, shouting at the soldiers to stop.

The army replied with tear gas, and clashes continued until 1.00 am the next morning.

Mohammed was arrested during the clashes, after being shot in the shin. Eyewitnesses reported that soldiers dragged him 100m to their jeep, and laid him over the bonnet, beating him all over the body with their truncheons. He was then dumped in the back of the jeep and driven away.

Mohammed was next seen at 8.00 that evening, after the Red Crescent Society received a call from Military Headquarters asking for an ambulance. They were directed to a school which had been commandeered as an interrogation center. Mohammed's body was found lying completely naked on the floor in the school dining-room.

He was taken to al-Ittihad Hospital where the doctors estimated that he had been dead for half an hour. The bullet wound had not been treated.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 3, March 20th - April 2nd, 1988)

Habeas Corpus

Amin Abu Radaha was shot in the head by Israeli troops in Jalazon camp on 24th May. He was transported to the Israeli Hadassah Hospital where he died on 26th May. His family were refused access to the body for burial unless they paid 7,000 dollars for his medical fees.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 11, 22nd May - 28th May, 1988)

Israel's Chemical War

During March and April, when people from al-Amari and al-Jalazon refugee camps entered al-Maqassad Hospital, medical staff reported experiencing eye and skin irritation. During that period the population of these, and many other camps, were being exposed to tear gas on such a scale that they themselves were acting as a source of the gas toxin. Their clothes had become so impregnated with the tiny particles of toxic material that they were continuously discharging small amounts of the particles into the air surrounding them.

For people who have not experienced the effects of tear gas first hand, the reports of the use of tear gas by the Israeli army may not seem very dramatic. After all, tear gas is used by police all over the world to control civil disturbances. It is not always fully appreciated that tear gas is only authorized under very specific environmental conditions: tear gas is meant to be used in open spaces, so that its concentration cannot build up to potentially lethal levels. Its safety relies on the ability of people to get away from the source of the gas.

The use of tear gas in enclosed spaces clearly contravenes these guidelines, as

high and potentially toxic concentrations of gas may build up fast, before the victims have had time to escape. Yet more hazardous is the use of gas indoors where the victims cannot escape. In this situation prolonged exposure to high concentrations is guaranteed.

Short-term exposure to low concentrations of CS or CN gas (the main two types) is not thought to be harmful. Long-term exposure to higher concentrations, however, is known to be highly dangerous and potentially lethal. Laboratory studies on animals have shown that prolonged exposure to high concentrations of these gases causes death, and at lower concentrations damage to the eyes, skin and lungs occurs.

For ethical reasons it is not possible to conduct controlled experiments on humans to establish the precise conditions where death or permanent damage occur. Nevertheless the potentially lethal effects of the gases are well known.

When people die after having been exposed to tear gas, a measure of doubt may remain concerning the extent to which exposure to the gas contributed to the death: other factors may have been involved, and the person might have died anyway. It is perhaps not surprising that, when people die after exposure, the authorities responsible for using the gas tend to concentrate on this area of doubt. Without a scientifically conducted autopsy it is impossible to definitively establish the role of tear gas exposure in a particular death.

Nevertheless, when apparently healthy people are exposed to high concentrations of tear gas and subsequently die, there is a strong scientific basis for attributing death to the exposure. In such a situation, if a person wishes to argue that another factor was the cause of death, then the onus should be on them to demonstrate that such a factor was important.

Since December 1987 there have been consistent reports of the Israeli army firing tear gas into buildings. The army's assault on the Jerusalem al-Aqsa mosque in December was televised showing a tear gas canister being fired into the building. An 80-year-old man who was in the mosque at the time died after being exposed to tear gas in this way.

There are literally hundreds of other reports of tear gas being fired into buildings. It is not an exaggeration to say that the practice has become so routine that it is not considered worth reporting.

A recent study by the US based Physicians for Human Rights stated that "we received frequent and detailed reports that soldiers were deliberately throwing tear gas grenades or firing canisters into the houses of the refugees in the UNRWA camps, particularly during night time raids on sleeping communities, and into small stores, health clinics and even into hospitals, posing a severe respiratory threat to inpatients and requiring the evacuation of some wards. These reports came from such reliable sources as physicians in the camps, UNRWA workers, and neutral

observers. Professor Gene Sharp, Director of the Program on Non-Violent Sanctions at Harvard University described to one of us his own direct observation of soldiers tossing a tear gas grenade through the window of a small apartment in the Old City of Jerusalem, from which there presently emerged five small children, gasping and choking."

Between 9th December and 31st July at least 39 people have died soon after being exposed to high concentrations of gas. Of these cases 7 were under 1 year of age and 17 were over 50 years of age, suggesting that these age groups are more at risk to death from exposure to the gas.

Not all of these deaths were indoors. During demonstrations the army has sometimes fired hundreds of tear gas canisters into a camp or village, from the ground or from helicopters, for periods of half an hour or more. This has meant that the whole of the community is exposed to the gas, there being nowhere to escape to. This is another misuse of the gas, which is meant to disperse a crowd from a specific area. If the whole of a camp is bombed with tear gas, then the whole population is necessarily exposed for a prolonged period.

The precise way in which a person dies during exposure to gas may vary. The toxins effect the respiratory system causing spasms, and suffocation can occur from lack of oxygen. But exposure also leads to intense discomfort and nervous distress which could precipitate a heart attack. Systematic post-mortems would be required to determine the precise cause of death, and these have not been conducted by the military authorities.

UNRWA has spoken out against the use of tear gas by the Israeli authorities. In April John Hiddlestone, UNRWA director of health, accused the Israelis of using a new kind of tear gas against the Palestinians. He said that one kind of gas causes severe abdominal pain, and another immobilizes its victims by weakening the muscles when inhaled.

He also described one incident in which two youths were beaten up and then locked in a room in which a gas aerosol had been sprayed - after an hour two dead bodies were removed from the room.

There is a widespread suspicion that Israel is using new kinds of chemical weapons. UNRWA is currently conducting tests to establish whether gases used are of the normal kinds.

The methods being used to apply the gas have also been a cause for concern. In addition to the use of tear gas grenades, and canisters fired from rifles, toxic gases have been sprayed into communities from the air. This has been reported repeatedly in both the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

Another common mode of gas dispersal was noted in the Physicians for Human Rights report. "In both the West Bank and Gaza Strip, large cylinders of tear gas have been dropped into camps and villages by helicopter. A mechanism within these

cylinders is triggered upon landing and the tear gas is spewed out. We saw one of these spent cylinders, about two and a half feet tall and 18 inches in diameter, in the UNRWA headquarters in Gaza City."

The army has also been using hand-held aerosols which they spray into the faces of demonstrators. In March, during a women's day demonstration in Ramallah, soldiers were televised spraying gas directly into the eyes of women from a distance of less than 1m. The use of CS or CN gas in this way can cause permanent burning and scarring of the eye.

Rifle-fired tear gas canisters have frequently been fired at people from close range. This is highly dangerous and has caused a variety of injuries including the damage of internal organs and the loss of eyes. 2 deaths have also been reported as a result of the impact of canisters in this way. On 21st Feb a 60-year-old man died when a canister was fired directly into his face, and on 6th March a 33-year-old man died after being hit by a canister.

In March 1988 Israeli TV showed soldiers and police being trained in riot control techniques. The television footage showed soldiers shooting canisters directly at targets in the shape of people. It appeared that they were being trained to fire grenades at people.

When challenged, Israel has denied that tear gas is being misused, and has stressed that tear gas is not harmful "under normal circumstances". It is clear, however, that the way in which tear gas is being used is not normal. The reports of death which have occurred following exposure to tear gas are consistent with what is known about the effects of CS and CN gas: if inhaled in high concentrations the gas can be lethal. It remains unclear whether other kinds of chemical weapons are also being used.

If Israel followed correct procedures concerning the use of tear gas for riot control, then these deaths could have been avoided. There is no need to fire tear gas into buildings or to fire hundreds of canisters into a community during a demonstration. Tear gas is being used as a punitive measure against whole communities. If the US government continues to supply Israel with tear gas canisters, it has a minimum responsibility to ensure that these weapons are used correctly.

ISRAELI BRUTALITY

4000 Injured in Gaza

On 5th May UNRWA Gaza released a report detailing casualties in the Gaza Strip between 9.12.1987 and 29.4.1988.

A total of 4,148 casualties (excluding fatalities) were reported, comprising about 1% of the total population.

The actual number of casualties was underestimated, as figures from the government hospitals were not available: in December the military authorities forbade the release of any information from the government health sector. In addition, many of those injured did not seek treatment for fear of being arrested.

The main causes of injury were wounds from live ammunition and rubber bullets, beatings and tear gas poisoning (see figure).

A second report of casualties aged 15 years and under was also released, for the period 9.12.1987 to 25.3.1988. A total of 1,112 children received medical treatment from UNRWA during this period.

TOTAL NUMBER OF CASUALTIES REPORTED TO UNRWA (9.12.1987 - 29.4.1988)

Cause of Injury	Number of Injuries
Live ammunition	392
Rubber bullets	287
Beatings	2181
Tear gas	1020
Others and unknown	269
Total	4148

TOTAL NUMBER OF CASUALTIES OF CHILDREN UNDER 15 YEARS OF AGE
(9.12.1987 - 25.3.1988)

Age	CAUSE OF INJURY			
	Tear Gas	Beatings	Live Ammunition	Rubber Bullets
12m and under	107	—	—	1
1-5 years	139	40	—	9
6-10 years	94	100	4	26
11-15 years	103	389	32	68
Total	443	529	36	104
GRAND TOTAL		1,112		

(FACTS Weekly Review, 12, 29th May - 4th June, 1988)

One More Beating in 'Arroura

The following is an account of a physical assault carried out by Israeli troops on Wajeeh Dhiab Saleh from 'Arroura. His case is an example of the type of incident that took place in the village on 5th April, 1988. This is but one of the thousands of physical assaults on Palestinians that the military have carried out throughout the uprising.

This story is being recounted now, two and a half months after it took place, to demonstrate that these brutal attacks have long, and sometimes life-long effects on the victims.

23-year-old Wajeeh Saleh is married, with three children, and the breadwinner of his family. At 4am on 5th April, Wajeeh was woken up by the noise of Israeli military jeeps in the village, and a loud voice blasting over a loudspeaker, swearing at people and ordering them to give themselves up. All this was accompanied by the sound of shooting, the sound of bombs exploding and a low-flying helicopter overhead.

Wajeeh got up from his bed and tried to see what was happening from the door of his home. Youths from his neighborhood, realizing that the army were making another raid to round up the young men, were running out of their houses into the fields to escape arrest. Wajeeh followed them as he knew that such raids are always followed by indiscriminate arrest. He started to run but was confronted by a large number of soldiers on foot patrol who were approaching the village. He tried to turn back in the opposite direction but was shot at from every direction and was disoriented by the flashes of light from the flare canisters which were being

thrown at him. He tripped and fell to the ground and was immediately encircled by four soldiers.

They pinned Wajeesh down, tied his feet together, cuffed his hands and started to beat him with their batons all over his body. They concentrated their blows on his head, knees and hands using their batons, boots and fists. He was severely beaten around the eyes and nose, and at the same time one of the soldiers pounded his chest and back with the butt of his gun. He was turned onto his stomach, face down, and the soldiers stamped on his head and back. Wajeesh could feel that his head, nose, ears and legs were bleeding profusely.

Half an hour after the soldiers had first started their assault, one of the soldiers tied Wajeesh to the rope handle of his baton and started to drag Wajeesh's bleeding body over the ground while the other soldiers continued to beat him and order him to stand up on his feet and walk. Wajeesh could not even get up, let alone walk, so the soldiers ordered him to walk on his knees. He tried, but his brutalized body could not hold him upright. When the soldiers then ordered him to crawl, he managed to move a couple of meters until he reached a wall of stone terracing in front of him.

The soldiers pushed him over onto the lower terrace and again ordered him to crawl. Wajeesh could still hardly move, so one of the soldiers broke a branch off an almond tree and suggested to Wajeesh that he use it as a support. But his legs were inflamed and bleeding, and when he tried to crawl over the rocks and the thorny ground he completely collapsed. One of the soldiers got hold of a donkey that had been grazing on a terrace nearby, and Wajeesh was picked up and thrown face down onto the back of the animal. The soldiers then led the donkey from the hillside into the village.

On reaching the center of the village where Israeli soldiers and intelligence officers were gathered, Wajeesh was pulled off the animal. One of the intelligence officers shouted at Wajeesh, "Don't you know that the army has arrived in the village? Why did you run away?" Wajeesh could not answer as the words were more or less unintelligible to him - the only thing he understood in the end was that he was being ordered to go home. He was again thrown on the back of the donkey and taken by soldiers to the first house they came across where they dumped him.

As the house was empty, and as none of the villagers had seen where they had taken him, he was left alone on the ground for two hours, still bleeding badly. It was not until around 10.30 am that he was found by accident, and villagers were able to call for an ambulance to get him to hospital Ramallah.

Two and a half months later, Wajeesh is still unable to work as a result of the injuries sustained during the beating.

(FACTS Weekly Review, 15, 19th June - 26th June, 1988)

Scorpion Summer Camp

For the last two weeks, soldiers from the self-named "Black Scorpion" unit of the Israeli army have been terrorizing the inhabitants of the city of Jericho.

Eighteen-year-old Mohammed from Jericho has reported how he was brutally beaten up by two soldiers while a third shouted triumphantly, "We are the ones who broke your friends' bones in Nablus! We are the ones you saw on television." The soldier was obviously referring to the infamous incident filmed by the American television network CBS of four soldiers trying to break the bones of two Palestinian youths with rocks. As Mohammed was being beaten he was ordered to repeat, "Long live the black scorpions - death to Yasser 'Arafat" .

Mou'awya, a 19-year-old youth also from Jericho, recounts how he was walking with his friends on the main street of Jericho on 2nd June when an army jeep stopped in front of them. They were ordered to get into the jeep where they were handcuffed and their heads were pushed against the searing hot metal sides of the jeep. They were driven to a remote area where they were both severely beaten by soldiers using their fists and batons. Mou'awya described how the soldier who was beating him was saying, "We are not soft like the other soldiers who dealt with you previously. We are very strict and understand nothing but beating you up."

Mou'awya's friend was also badly beaten up, especially around his ears. By the time the soldiers left him, he was bleeding profusely from the ears. Before leaving, the soldiers of the "Black Scorpion" unit threatened that they would be back within half an hour and that they would kill the two youths if they were still there when they returned.

Mou'awya said that his friend, whose ears were still bleeding, had to carry him to his house. Dozens of inhabitants from Jericho have accused members of the "Black Scorpion" army unit of stopping people on the streets, beating them up and tearing their ID's for no reason at all. Every time an ID is torn up, its holder has to apply for a new one which costs NIS 100 (about \$ 50).

The elderly community especially has been targets of attacks by the "Black Scorpions". One woman said, "They come to the houses late at night, storm in, break up all the furniture, insult and terrorize us". An elderly man said that members of the unit used to stand at night in front of his house and shout, "You cowards, come out and face the Black Scorpions if you are really men."

So far the official response from the Israeli army has been that these practices are under investigation.

The Israeli magazine 'Koteret Rashiit' reported an interview with soldiers who admitted that they were members of the same army unit filmed by the CBS. The soldiers also said that they had arrived recently in Jericho and that the situation there was like a summer camp compared to the situation they had left in Nablus.

(FACTS Weekly Review, 15, 19th June - 26th June, 1988)

The Salem Burial

Friday 5th February 1988

Soldiers and settlers clashed with villagers demonstrating after the Friday prayer. Roadblocks and burning tyres had been set up on the road to the nearby Elon Moreh settlement. Five youths were shot with live ammunition in the clashes.

The injured could not be taken to hospital because of the roadblocks and continuing clashes in the village. They were carried accross fields to the nearest clinic in Beit Furik where they received first aid. An ambulance was called from Nablus which eventually arrived to take the injured five to Ittihad Hospital.

After the demonstration was dispersed, soldiers and settlers entered houses and took five youths away. All five were severely beaten with metal spiked batons and forced to remove the barricades and burning tyres from the road. Zakariyah Hamdan, seriously injured and bleeding from the ear, was released. His hand was fractured and he required ten stitches in his ear.

The other four youths were taken to a field 50 meters from the front of the village and there laid out on the ground, unable to resist owing to their physical state.

Two soldiers held the four down by standing on their heads. Their bodies were then buried with wet soil, dropped from a bulldozer. The machine had previously been used to create an earth roadblock at the entrance to the village and it was soil from this block that was used to bury the youths.

Only when the youths were almost completely buried did the soldiers step off their heads. Three of the four were totally covered and the other had only his head showing above ground. One soldier, injured earlier in the village clash, ordered the driver of the bulldozer to drive over their bodies. The driver refused to do so saying, "If you want to do it come and do it yourself, I won't."

Nassim Hafa, an Elon Moreh settler well known to the villagers, was seen laughing, shouting and applauding the soldiers' actions.

Villagers who had witnessed all these events taking place, sent out a group of women to shout at the soldiers. The men of the village followed as the soldiers and settlers left.

The villagers cleared the mud off the youths' faces, believing them to be dead. When they were actually found to be alive, they were dug out and taken by car towards Nablus' Ittihad Hospital. However, owing to the curfew on Nablus, their car was not allowed into the city and they had no option but to travel the long distance to Jericho government hospital instead.

'Essam, Mohsen and `Abdel Latif were discharged the next day, but at the time of writing, Mustafa remains in a critical condition in hospital (9th Feb 1988).

An hour after the youths had been rescued, an Israeli military patrol came to the village, checked the ground where the four had been buried, and left.

An incredulous Kol Ha'ir reporter was taken to the site several days later where, upon digging, one of the youths' shoes was unearthed.

FACTS Press Release No. 8

Beita

Beita is a small Palestinian village near the Israeli settlement of Elon Moreh with a population of about 2000 inhabitants. Before this week's incident there had been a history of conflict between the village and the settlement. In previous weeks the main road to the village had been blocked by the army following demonstrations.

On 6th April, at 10.00 am, a group of about 20 settlers were making a walking tour to a spring near the village. Their presence attracted the attention of some farmers who were ploughing their fields near the spring, as the settlers were on land which belonged to the village. Indeed it was some of the most fertile land which the village owned. The farmers feared that the group might be planning to establish a new settlement, as previous settlements had begun by settlers starting a small camp, after which tents and fences were erected.

A group of farmers approached the group and asked them, peacefully, what they were doing on the land of the village. The settlers replied angrily, and the farmers went away without having their questions answered.

The farmers thought that there might have been some misunderstanding because they did not speak Hebrew, so they returned with two people from the village who spoke adequate Hebrew (Yusef Khraywesh and Mohammed Awad). When they approached the settlers, asking them in Hebrew about the reason for their presence on village land, the guards answered by shooting them. Both were wounded in the abdomen and were taken to hospital in a serious condition.

At this point the farmers feared that there would be further trouble, and suggested to the settlers that it would be better if they left as soon as possible, proposing a road which leads to the main road without going through the center of the village.

Meanwhile people in the village had heard shots, and when news came that the settlers would not explain why they were on village land, and that two people had been shot, they assumed that the settlers had come to attack the village (the village had been attacked by settlers from Elon Moreh many times before). A

number of villagers approached the group, throwing stones, and the settlers responded by spraying live ammunition in all directions. Immediately two villagers were killed: Hatim Fayaz al-Jabar (22 yrs) and Musa Saleh Abu Shamsheh were both shot in the head. 14 settlers were injured by stones during the exchange.

At a certain point in the clash, villagers grabbed hold of one the guards' guns, and while they struggled he continued to fire the gun, in the middle of a crowd of settlers. The villagers believe that it was during this struggle that a bullet hit the settler girl who was killed. When the gun ran out of ammunition they managed to wrestle it from the settler and immediately dismantled it.

A gun was also taken from the second guard, with 8 bullets still in the magazine. When the army arrived the magazine still contained the bullets.

Once the guards had been disarmed, and their weapons dismantled, women from the village looked after injured settlers, taking them into their homes and tending to their wounds until a Palestinian ambulance arrived, summoned by the villagers, which took the settlers to a Nablus hospital.

Following the killings, the village was placed under curfew. All males above the age of thirteen were rounded up in the school courtyard, where they were subjected to interrogation.

The following day another villager, Issam Bani Shamsa, age 14, was shot dead as he tried to escape from a soldier.

An Israeli army report confirmed that the settler was almost certainly killed by the Israeli guard, and not by a Palestinian. In spite of this, brutal measures against the village have been implemented by the army, as if in retaliation for an actual killing.

At least fourteen houses in the village have now been demolished of persons who "were suspected of having physically participated in the attack, or who led and incited the attack."

What emerges from the story is that the violence was initiated by the settlers, who shot at villagers who were making legitimate enquiries as to the settlers' business on their land. The settler who opened fire, Roman Aldubi, had previously been banned from the Nablus area after shooting at Palestinians in Balata refugee camp. His reported behaviour in this incident was consistent with this previous history.

In addition, the behavior of the villagers was in no way consistent with that of a murderous mob. After the clash wounded settlers were taken into the homes of the villagers and transport was arranged to hospital.

If the intention was to kill settlers, then why did the villagers not fire the eight bullets which remained in the magazine of the gun which they confiscated?

But other questions remain. Why was a hike being conducted next to the village, at a time of such extraordinary tension? The settlers must have known that

their presence on the land of the village would be treated with suspicion.

And on what basis is the Israeli army carrying out brutal reprisals in the village, when the settler was not even killed by a Palestinian?

It is clear that Israeli politicians are concerned lest the settlers embark on a wild orgy of destruction. What is less clear is why the army, having cleared the settlers out of the village, should do much the same thing themselves.

(FACTS Weekly Review, 5, April 3rd - April 9th, 1988).

Sadism in 'Arroura

'Arroura and 'Abwein are two small villages north of Ramallah in the West Bank. Monday 16th April 1988 was the first day of the 'Eid al-Fitr feast which marks the end of the Muslim fasting month of Ramadan. It was on that day that Israeli troops attempted to invade these two villages. They failed to get in to the villages due to the brave resistance of the villagers.

Troops had made previous attempts to enter both 'Arroura and 'Abwein, and on each occasion there had been serious casualties. Riziq 'Abed Qandeel was badly injured in the eye, and Wajeih Thiab is still paralysed two months after being injured. On the second day of the feast, 17th April, a large number of troops again attacked in the hope of gaining control.

At one o'clock in the morning of Tuesday 17th April, the villagers were aware of army movements. A number of military buses took up positions just outside the southern entrance to 'Arroura, army vehicles dropped off large numbers of soldiers who walked up towards the village. A military helicopter landed two more squads, one to the south and another to the west: the villages were completely surrounded. At four o'clock the vehicles positioned to the south of the village (it was estimated that there were 35-40 vehicles) started moving, one in the direction of 'Arroura, the other to the nearby village of 'Abwein.

'Abwein

Villagers gathered to face the advancing troops and stood behind stone blockades they had set up to defend the village. As the soldiers approached the roadblocks, they shot live bullets directly at the villagers.

16-year-old Majdi Yusef Hilal was being carried on the shoulders of another youth, waving a Palestinian flag in the air when he was shot in the heart. He died immediately. 17 other youths were shot and injured with live bullets.

The most serious casualty was 24-year-old Fatima Yusef Qassem who was shot in the head inside her home. Relatives managed to put her into a car and tried to take her to hospital but they were stopped just outside the village by soldiers. One

female relative shouted in desperation, "She's going to die in our hands". The soldier's reply was, "Let her bleed to death". The driver's identity card was confiscated and after a long delay, Fatima was driven to hospital. She underwent major head surgery and is still lying in a coma in the intensive care unit.

'Arroua

The army had the whole village surrounded, making it impossible for any of the youth to escape from the village. A number who tried to leave the village were chased by soldiers in a helicopter. Some villagers who were working on the land just outside the village were attacked by soldiers from the helicopter. One of them, Musa Salameh, was viciously beaten on the face and eye, then thrown to the ground. Soldiers took it in turns to step on his chest and abdomen, breaking his bones and causing severe internal bleeding.

Meanwhile inside the village, the army had imposed a curfew and soldiers were breaking into houses and attacking villagers. Women were beaten and soldiers insulted them by shouting obscene words at them. All the male villagers between the ages of 14 and 50 years were summoned to the village schoolyard. As they made their way to the yard, many were beaten in the courtyards of their homes and in the streets.

In the schoolyard the villagers were ordered to lie flat, face down on the ground. Soldiers kicked them and walked over their bodies. Mohammed al-'Awad was grabbed by his hair and soldiers smashed his head and face against the ground. Anwar Sa'id Shehadeh and his sons were caught hold of just outside their house and all were kicked and beaten with batons, and butts of guns. One soldier stole Anwar's watch during the beating.

His eldest son, Ihab, was beaten until his whole face was swollen and then ordered to go to the schoolyard. When he got there he was ordered to lie on the ground like the other villagers, then one soldier stubbed his cigarette out in Ihab's swollen face. His face was so numb after being so brutally beaten that he could not even feel the pain. This infuriated the soldier who then took another cigarette and stubbed it out inside Ihab's ear. Ihab was later arrested and is still in detention. Other soldiers in the yard ordered the villagers to repeat sentences insulting Palestinian leaders.

After carrying out these barbaric acts, the soldiers dragged dozens of the injured from the schoolyard and literally dumped them as if they were sacks, one on top of the other, inside military vehicles. On the 30-minute journey to Ramallah detention center, the villagers were continually beaten with batons and butts of guns. Hassan Baker and Kamal Qandeel suffered from convulsions as a result of the constant beating.

During the chase soldiers caught two young men, Musa Hamdan and Ra'ed

Daoud. The two were trying to hide from the soldiers when they were caught.

Musa and Ra'ed were led to the schoolyard where they were forced to lie face down. Shortly after, an intelligence officer arrived and recognised Musa who had been arrested earlier on in the uprising. The officer gave his orders to a group of soldiers who dragged Musa behind an army jeep and viciously beat him until his eye bled profusely. He received no treatment for the injury. His shirt was stripped off his body and used to tie his hands together before he was thrown to the ground. Two soldiers stood some meters away from him and using slingshots, fired stones at his bare body. Ra'ed was taken to where an army jeep was parked and soldiers used their metal helmets to beat him so brutally that they split his head open. Ra'ed lost consciousness and was taken to a detention tent outside the military headquarters in Ramallah. He remained there for seven hours before any medical treatment was offered.

In the attack on the village, soldiers were equipped with cans of paint. The painted marks on people's bodies and these were the sign for the other soldiers to give "special beatings" to those marked people. The paint was also used to paint Israeli flags and the star of David all over the walls of the villages. Soldiers shouted proudly "We are from the Golan Unit" as they terrorized the villagers.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 10, 8th May - 21st May, 1988)

Examples of Settler Violence in the West Bank

Israeli settler violence against Palestinians is not a new phenomenon in the occupied territories. Over the last fortnight, however, there has been an increasing number of violent incidents involving Israeli settlers in the West Bank. Settler attacks on towns, villages and camps have escalated, settlers operating both with and without the presence of the army.

It is clear that settlers' actions are supported at the highest levels of the military and Israeli government. Yitzhak Shamir, visiting the West Bank settlement of Nili earlier this month, urged settlers to "be strong" and Palestinians "to be quiet" (Jerusalem Post 4/2/88). Settlers have already joined the army in attacks on villages and refugee camps on numerous occasions. The army reported that settlers at al-'Arroub camp in Hebron, had come to "provide refreshments to troops near the camp entrance" when news was released that there had been "a fatal clash... reportedly involving settlers" in al-'Arroub refugee camp (Jerusalem Post 4/2/88).

Settlers have been responsible for deaths and many injuries in the occupied territories. During the uprising, settler harassment has commonly taken the form of beatings, vandalizing property and abduction of children. In al-Judeira village near

Ramallah, settlers attacked the village with dogs, while in 'Aboud settlers forced the villagers out of their homes to remove barricades from the streets.

Not only do settlers 'take the law into their own hands'; they can also take advantage of the dual legal system which operates, ensuring that they are rarely brought to justice. The futility of lodging complaints against settler actions discourages victims from registering incidents. In addition to the physical violence, there is the fear that settler groups engender amongst Palestinian communities. Settlers provoke confrontation and have been an important factor in intensifying levels of tension in the occupied territories. There is understandably mounting fear about rumored settler attacks and it is not surprising that people are mobilizing to defend their communities. This has been the case in many villages and refugee camps as al-'Amari, Qalandia and Shu'fat camps.

In al-'Amari, during the evening of 6th February 1988, fearing that settlers were going to attack the camp, residents prepared to defend themselves. Many stayed outdoors, switched off the lights and shouted messages of support to each other across the camps. The activity inside the camp attracted the attention of the army, who stormed the camp using tear gas and flares and placed the camp under curfew.

Examples of incidents of recent settler violence in the West Bank are recorded in this press release.

Qabatia

On Thursday 4th February 1988, the village of Qabatia near Jenin was attacked by soldiers and settlers. During the day's clashes, a total of 22 people were injured and 30 cars were destroyed.

Huwara

In Huwara village, south of Nablus, on Friday 5th February 1988, 9-year-old Hamad Ahmed Suleiman was chased and caught by settlers. When people from the village saw what was happening, they tried to rescue him. Hamad's 19-year-old sister, Wafa', was shot in the leg by settlers. Villagers took her to the Ittihad Hospital in Nablus for treatment.

Dhahariyeh

In Dhahariyeh, 30km south of Hebron, on Wednesday 3rd February, a group of settlers accompanied soldiers in launching an attack on the girls school in the village. Tear gas was thrown inside classrooms and a number of girls were injured. A group of young pupils who managed to escape from the school were chased, caught by the hair and beaten by the settlers. Villagers clashed with the settlers in an attempt to defend the children.

The next morning, Thursday 4th February, settlers attacked five cars belonging to villagers breaking the windscreens and windows. When the car owners went to the military governor to protest these actions, his response was simply, "an eye for an eye". The villagers' protests were completely ignored.

Ramallah

Five schoolgirls were abducted from the entrance of their school - the Khowla Bint El-Azwar School - in Ramallah on Wednesday 3rd February. Two of the girls were beaten and then released while the other three were taken to the military authorities in Ramallah.

'Atara

On Saturday 6th February, settlers abducted a 10-year-old boy from 'Atara village. The boy, Ayman Hussein Atari, was taken about 30km from his village and dumped near Jiljliya that evening. He was later discovered by villagers from Jiljliya in a state of shock, completely traumatized by the experience.

'Aboud

Settlers from the settlement of Halamish attacked the village of 'Aboud, and forced villagers out of their homes to clear barricades and roadblocks from the roads in and around the village.

Al-Judeira

On 6th February, settlers attacked this small village near Ramallah, with dogs. Soldiers soon arrived in the village and intervened.

Ein Yabroud

At midnight on Saturday 6th February, settlers attempted an arson attack on the village mosque. Villagers chased the settlers out before the army arrived and surrounded the village. The following day villagers demonstrated and clashed with the army.

Sinjli

Hatem Jaber Karakra was shot in the hand with live ammunition when soldiers and settlers clashed with demonstrators in the village on Sunday 7th February.

Ras Karkar

Soldiers and settlers attacked Ras Karkar on Sunday 7th February following a demonstration in the village. Tear gas and rubber bullets were fired at demonstrators, doors of windows and houses were broken and three youths were

arrested. In an effort to intimidate the whole community, settlers shot at the village generator for the second time in two weeks, completely cutting off the electricity

Hebron

Dunring the night of 6th February, large numbers of settlers from Qiryat Arba (the settlement overlooking Hebron) entered Hebron, vandalizing cars and other vehicles, slashing tyres and breaking vehicle windows.

Maqassad Hospital, Jerusalem

Settlers tried to enter Maqassad on 8th February 1988. They were prevented but remained in the al-Tur area of the Mount of Olives, shooting into the air until 4 am, disturbing patients and staff throughout the night.

Beitunia

Resident of Beitunia village, 5km from Ramallah, were woken during the night of 8th February with the noise of settlers attacking cars in the streets. People immediately gathered and the loudspeaker of the mosque was used to call on the villagers to prepare to defend themselves. A number of cars were found with slashed tyres.

Deir Ibzeah

Settlers from the settlement Doleb attacked the village on 8th February. They smashed verandah windows with stones and smashed windscreens and windows of cars with batons.

Jalazon Refugee Camp

A boy was abducted from Jalazon camp on 8th February after settlers unsuccessfully tried to enter the camp.

Ein Musbah, Ramallah

During the night of 7th February, 12 cars in the Ein Musbah area of Ramallah were vandalized. Local residents who had woken up because of the disturbance in the street, saw settlers' cars leaving the area. The damaged cars were dented and some of the windows were broken.

FACTS Press Release No. 9

CURFEWS

The Pattern of Curfews: Dec 1987 - July 1988

The following data relating to curfews is taken from reports in the local press. Each curfew-day recorded signifies that a curfew was reported during that day in that place. Curfews are normally, but not always, for periods of 24 hours, during which people are forbidden to leave their homes.

FACTS does not consider that this record of curfews is complete, as many curfews go unreported in the local press: the data does, however, serve to give a minimum indication of the extent to which curfews have been imposed throughout the period of the uprising.

Summary

Total number reported curfew in 8 months = 1560

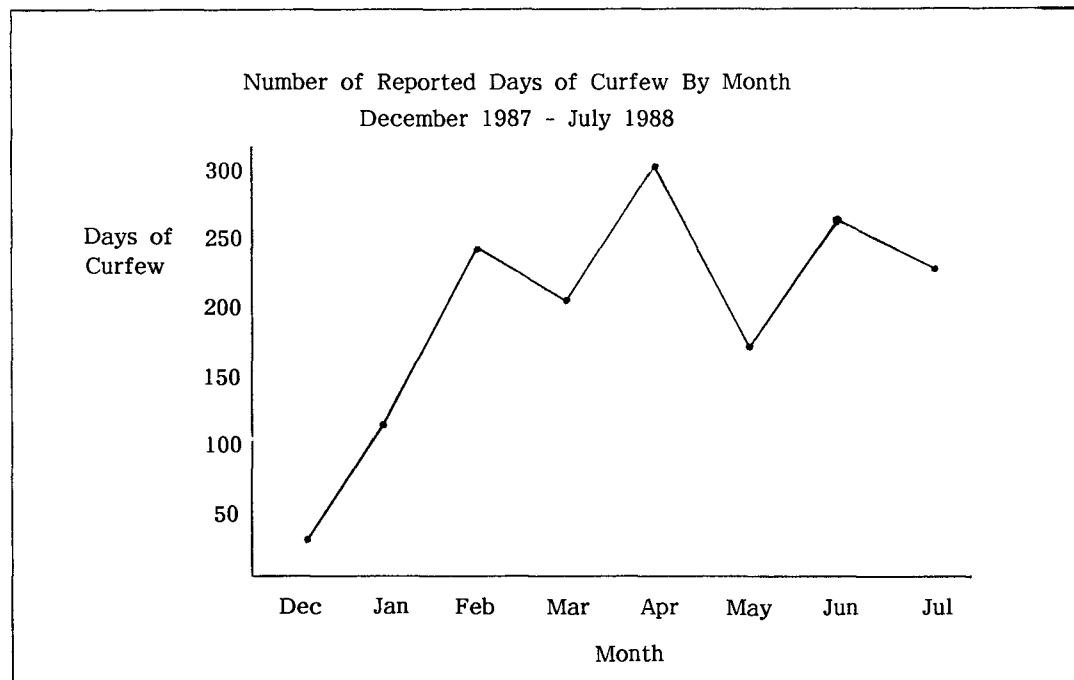
Total number of places where curfews reported = 123

Monthly totals:

December	:	36 days
January	:	112 days
February	:	246 days
March	:	206 days
April	:	299 days
May	:	166 days
June	:	276 days
July	:	219 days

Total reported curfew days in refugee camps:

Aida	:	17 days
al-'Amari	:	44 days
Aqbat Jaber	:	3 days
Arroub	:	7 days
Askar	:	83 days
Azza	:	9 days
Balata	:	95 days
Beach	:	75 days
Bureij	:	52 days
Deir al-Balah	:	31 days
Dheisheh	:	26 days
al-Far'a	:	6 days
al-Fowar	:	4 days
Jabalia	:	72 days
Jalazon	:	90 days
Jenin	:	24 days
Khan Younis	:	15 days
Mughazi	:	23 days
Nur Shams	:	28 days
Nusseirat	:	52 days
Qalandia	:	17 days
Rafah	:	25 days
Shaufat	:	4 days
Tulkarm	:	50 days
TOTAL	:	814 days



Days Under Curfew by Place and Month
December 1987 - July 1988

Place	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Total
Abassan					1	1			2
Aboud			1						1
Abwein				1					1
Abu Dis			1						1
Aida camp			4		3			10	17
Ain Arik				2					2
Ain Beit al-Ma	3	8			11	6		5	33
Ain Sinia								1	1
Ain Yabroud		2						3	5
al-'Amari		2	11	4	23			4	44
Anabta			11		15	8	14	8	56
Aqbat Jaber			1	1			1		3
Arrabeh		1							1
Arroub			4	2				1	7
Arroub camp		1	2	4					7
Arroura						1			1
Artas						3			3
Askar camp	5	11	8	18	23	6		10	81
Asswiye			1						1
Attil								1	1
Azza Camp	1	4	4						9
Azzoun				2	5		11	4	22
Balata camp	8	11	9	19	23	15	2	8	95
Bani Hassan							2		2
Bani Naim		1	10	8	4				23
Bani Suheileh						1			1
Battir							5		5
Beach Camp		1	12	12	12	17	9	12	75
Bethlehem				1					1
Beita			2						2
Beit Annan								1	1
Beit 'Awwa							1		1
Beiteen								2	2
Beit Fajjar			3						3
Beit Furik							7	4	11
Beit Hanoun			1			3		2	6

Place	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Total
Beit Lahiyeh				1	1		1	2	5
Beit Lid							1		1
Beit Laqiyeh					1	2			3
Beit Sahour								13	13
Beit Ummar			10	2	3		2		17
Beit 'Ur al-Fowqa			1				1		2
Beit 'Ur al-Tahta		3	8				4		15
Bidia				1			1	1	3
Bureen			1						1
Bureij camp	4	3	4	5	11	4	13	8	52
Burqa		1	1				2		4
Deir Abu Misha'al				1		3			4
Deir Ammar		2						1	3
Deir al-Balah camp		2	6	6	11		2	4	31
Deir al-Hatab							1		1
Deir Samit							1		1
Deir al-Sudan				1		3			4
Dhahariyeh		1							1
Dheisheh camp		1	1		6	8	6	4	26
al-Far'a camp	1	2	1		1		1		6
al-Fowar camp					4				4
Gaza town		1	1			4	6	2	14
Halhoul			1						1
Hebron	1								1
Hussan								3	3
Idna		2	7	5	4	2	2	1	23
Irtah							3		3
Jabalia camp	4	10	2	3	10	18	11	14	72
Jalazon camp		6	15	20	30	4	3	12	90
Jamain						1			1
al-Janiyeh							5	1	6
Jayous							2	1	3
Jenin camp		1	1	2	4		10	6	24
Jenin town			1	1	4	4	5	4	19
Jericho							1		1
Jerusalem		1						1	2
al-Khader		5		2					7
Khan Younis Camp	1			8	2	1	3		15
Khan Younis town			1	9		1	3	3	17

Place	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Total
Kharbatha							2		2
Khirbit Bani Harith							1		1
Kufr Haris							4		4
Kufr Diik						1			1
Kufr Qalil							5	2	7
Kufr Malik			1	1					2
Kufr Na'meh			1						1
Kufr Thulth							2		2
Lubban al-Sharqiyeh		1							1
Manfa				1					1
Maythaloona					9				9
Mughazi camp		3		10	8		1	1	23
Mazra'a al-Sharqiyeh		2		1		1			4
Nablus	1	1	9		8	6	2	9	36
Nahaleen				1					1
Nur Shams camp			2	3	15	5	3		28
Nusseirat camp	6	5	4	10	9	6	6	6	52
al-'Oja						3			3
Qabatia		1	11	4			2	7	25
Qadura			1						1
Qalandia	1	3	2	1	7	3			17
Qalqilia	1	3	16	10	2	10	17	15	74
Qarawa							2		2
Rafah		1			2	1	6		10
Rafah camp	2			5	8	4	5	1	25
Ras karkar							3	1	4
Rujeeb								2	2
Sair		5	3		1			1	10
Salfit		1		2					3
Salem			1				3		4
Shaufat camp			3	1					4
Shyoukh		1		2	3				6
Shweikeh			2			6	8	1	17
Silet al-Harthiyeh			2	2	9			3	16
Silwad				1					1
Tarqumia			1						1
Tel			1						1
Thinabeh						1	17	5	23
Tego'a			1						1

Place	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Total
Tubas			5	1				1	7
Tulkarm		2	12	2	1		24	3	44
Tulkarm camp		5	10	3	2	4	21	5	50
Ubadiyeh			1						1
Ya'abad			2						2
Yamoun			1	3	3				7
Yatta					1				1
Za'atara			1						1
Zayta								1	1

The Beit Fajjar Curfew

Saturday 16th January, 1988

Following a demonstration that took place in Beit Fajjar (a small village to the south of Bethlehem) earlier in the day, the Israeli army imposed a curfew on the village, forbidding anyone to either enter or leave. While the village was under curfew, the soldiers stormed houses, viciously attacked villagers and destroyed property throughout the village.

Recorded here are some examples of what happened on that day.

Khalid Ahmed Abdel-Rahman Taqatqa, a 20-year-old student at Birzeit University, was severely beaten up when soldiers, armed with weapons and batons, stormed his house, broke furniture and assaulted his family. When Khalid's mother tried to rescue her son from the soldiers, she was brutally beaten on the chest, shoulders and legs until she fell to the floor and fainted. Khalid was dragged outside where soldiers continued to beat him, then they left him lying on the ground in the heavy rain.

The army had locked the door of Khalid's family's house to prevent any of his family from rescuing him. When he had lost consciousness, the soldiers stretched him out in the street and an Israeli military jeep was driven over his body, breaking his right leg. Khalid remained unconscious for three hours.

Soldiers continued their assault on his family - his 15- year-old sister was physically assaulted and tear gas was thrown into their house, causing three young children and Khalid's sister-in-law, who was seven months pregnant, to faint. She is still suffering from the effects of tear gas.

Soldiers forced their way into Mahmoud Abdel-Rahman Taqatqa's house, by breaking his front door. They smashed windows and attacked Mahmoud and his 16 children with their batons. When he tried to defend himself and his family, a

soldier picked up a hoe and hit Mahmoud at waist-level, severely damaging his left kidney. Mahmoud immediately collapsed and when his wife tried to get him from the soldiers, she too was beaten and then fainted. Tear gas was thrown into the house and two of their children, Hussein and Jihad, were taken for detention. As the soldiers left, they threw tear gas into the cave where the family keep their livestock. 24 of their sheep and goat have since aborted.

75-year-old Hind Taqatqa still bears marks on both of her arms where she was beaten by the soldiers. She and 85-year-old 'Aisha Taqatqa, who is confined to bed due to poor health, were both at home when the soldiers stormed their house. Both of the old women were assaulted and tear gas was thrown inside their home.

Intissar Issa al-Qawasmeh (40 years old), a mother of seven children, pregnant with her next child, was shot with rubber bullets on the forehead and on her left leg. She was hit as she tried to get to her cousin who was lying on the ground after having been beaten unconscious by soldiers.

Eyewitnesses from the village have described how soldiers attacked Ruqiya Abdullah Abu Ghaith and destroyed her shop in the village. Soldiers used batons to beat her brutally, as a punishment, the soldiers said, for not having given them kerosene to remove graffiti from the walls in the village.

Ghassan Farhan al-Qawasmeh (16 years old), fainted at his mother's feet after being beaten on the head and body. When she tried to help him, she was beaten and shot with rubber bullets.

Members of Walid Yunis Taqatqa's family had been asleep until the soldiers stormed their house. Soldiers rushed into their home and trampled over people where they lay. The army began brutally beating Walid inside the house with the intention of terrorizing his family. Neighbors who saw what had happened, say that Walid's face was completely swollen and that he appeared to be unconscious when the soldiers dragged him from his house.

The last time that anyone in the village saw 24-year-old Jamal Abdel Rahman al-Thawabteh, was when soldiers carried his bleeding body out of his house. The army had begun their assault by storming his house, breaking the front door, smashing windows and destroying furniture. Soldiers used batons and butts of their guns to beat Jamal and a woman who was also inside the house. Jamal's nose was broken by the beating.

Mohammed Ibrahim Taqatqa and his brother, Mahmoud, are only another two of the many who were taken by the army that day. It has not yet been possible to document the names of all the villagers who were detained that day in Beit Fajjar. Eyewitnesses have described how soldiers dragged people - many of them beaten unconscious - from their homes, and detained them. It is still not known whether these people are alive or dead, let alone in what prison or detention center they are being held.

People assure that it is no exaggeration when it is said that the puddles and the streams of water made by the heavy rain that day in Beit Fajjar, were red from the blood of the villagers who were so viciously attacked.

FACTS Press Release No. 5

Nablus Under Curfew

The most extensive curfew in the history of Israeli occupation was imposed on 135,000 people living in the city of Nablus and its surrounding refugee camps of Balata, 'Askar (old and new) and Beit al-Ma (since exceeded [eds]).

Fierce resistance from the residents of the area meant that the curfew, declared on Saturday 30th January 1988, could only be imposed block by block, with the last pocket of resistance in the Old City of Nablus, holding out until the early hours of 1st February. During this period the curfew was lifted for short periods, and even then movement inside the area was restricted. Throughout the curfew there was a virtual news blackout and it is only now that details of the siege are coming out.

One resident of the Old City described the siege: "The soldiers were uncontrolled - they were assaulting people in their homes, throwing tear gas, thrashing iron bars until late at night and stoning young children playing in the courtyards of their homes". Many people have described how soldiers vandalized cars and private property. Municipal and sanitation workers described how they were harassed by soldiers, despite having special permission from the military authorities to carry on working. There are hundreds of accounts of army brutality and details of some of the incidents that took place during the siege are documented here.

Friday 29th January

Following Friday prayers there were demonstrations throughout the city of Nablus. Clashes between soldiers and demonstrators lasted until the next morning. The army tried unsuccessfully to disperse demonstrators and to enter the Old City, which was considered the key to controlling Nablus.

Saturday 30th January

There was a general strike in the city. At 10 am the military authorities declared a curfew and, in an attempt to control the city, the army brutally attacked demonstrators, who continued regardless. Demonstrators attacked the El-Khaldonieh school (used as a military base since late last year) and stoned the military headquarters. Unable to contain the situation using tear gas and rubber

bullets, the army resorted to using snipers and a number of people were shot with live ammunition.

A 20-year-old youth, 'Abdel-Nasr al-Thaher was taken from the entrance of his house in the Old City by soldiers. He was tied with a rope to a military jeep and openly dragged about 300 meters to the city center. From there he was taken to the military headquarters where he was viciously beaten. The authorities then ordered an ambulance from Ittihad Hospital where he was treated for his injuries.

Sunday 31st January

Women dressed in black and white and carrying Palestinian flags demonstrated through the city shouting nationalist slogans. Most parts of Nablus were under curfew except for upper Nablus and the Old City. Ras al-Ain was surrounded by troops who moved in from the city and others who were dropped by helicopter on the Jerzeem mountain. By evening the curfew had been enforced on all parts of Nablus except the Old City, where fierce resistance continued until troops finally managed to enter in the early hours of Monday morning.

Monday 1st - Monday 8th February

135,000 people were now under curfew in both the city and its camps and access into and out of the area was prohibited except for a small number of health and municipal workers. Reports from the Old City described how soldiers systematically entered and searched houses, beating, arresting and terrorizing people. Soldiers smashed the windows of a mosque in the Old City with stones and attacked a Greek Orthodox monastery, breaking down the front door and searching inside. Iron gates were put up across the four main entrances to the Old City, more or less turning the whole area with its 50,000 residents into a closed prison.

Reinforcements were brought into Nablus and El-Amariyeh School was occupied and turned into a military center. The road in front of the school was closed and an army camp set up there.

On the evening of Thursday 4th, soldiers searching for Ibrahim Sa'ed (20 years old) stormed his house. Unable to find him, they destroyed everything in sight including windows and pot plants. Then they entered the kitchen and emptied out supplies of sugar, salt, rice and other provisions, mixed them all together and rendered them useless. They left, instructing Ibrahim's mother to make sure that he be in the house on Friday. When they returned the next day, Ibrahim was blindfolded in front of his mother and arrested.

On Saturday 6th at 6 o'clock in the evening, the army stormed the Suq el-Basl area and assaulted people inside their homes. Shaker 'Abdel-Haq and his wife were both beaten and soldiers destroyed their furniture. When a child's bicycle accidentally fell off 'Abdel-Karim Sa'ed's verandah, soldiers stormed his house via

the roof, broke windows and beat 'Abdel-Karim and his children.

Soldiers forced people out of their homes to remove roadblocks and barricades set up by demonstrators. When doors were not opened immediately, soldiers broke windows and threw tear gas canisters indoors as happened to Dr Mahmoud 'Abdel-Karim Saleh and his neighbor. Another doctor who was opening his garage door was approached by two soldiers and ordered to rub slogans off the wall. When he refused he was beaten on the back and arms with batons.

Thursday 4th February

13-year-old Nasser 'Arafat was shot with live ammunition and injured in the neck and leg. Yusef Hannoun (20) was also shot with live bullets and injured in the right leg.

On 6th and 7th February, while under curfew, a military bulldozer was brought into the camp to widen the narrow streets in order to facilitate the army's movement. In the process, verandahs of several houses and the sides of shops were demolished. A number of roof water tanks were shot at and destroyed.

Throughout the curfew, provisions and food supplies were not allowed into Nablus and there were growing shortages of foodstuffs, in particular milk, eggs, flour, fresh fruits and vegetables.

Hospitals

98 injured cases were admitted to Ittihad Hospital alone, in the three days between Friday 28th and Sunday 31st January. 35 of these were gunshot wounds. Three were critically injured - Nassimeh Mohammed Anwar (65 years old), Ali Mabrouk (17), shot in the groin, and 'Ammar al-Jeiussi (17), shot in the eye and blinded.

Ittihad Hospital was overwhelmed by the casualty load and had to treat some patients on mattresses in the corridors. Many wounded patients, fearing arrest in the hospital, left without being fully treated. Many others were even afraid to seek medical attention and with good reason. Detailed reports on all wounded patients were to be submitted immediately to the military authorities according to an order, circulated to all hospitals from the Israeli officer in charge of Health Administration, Yitzhak Sever. On 30th January, 6 people had been arrested from inside Ittihad Hospital and on the same day tear gas was used inside the building.

Since the start of the uprising there have been a number of army attacks on hospitals. Ittihad was attacked on two occasions. In one incident soldiers broke through barricades set up outside the hospital and stormed the building, fired shots at the wall inside and tried to arrest wounded patients. On another occasion, soldiers entered the government hospital in Nablus, sniffing the hands of people they suspected of throwing petrol bombs.

Obstruction of the work of health institutions and their staff took several forms. Doctors and nurses were often harassed and prevented from going to work despite the fact that they had been issued with special permits to allow them to get to the hospital. An Ittihad ambulance was denied entry to Ain Beit al-Ma take out casualties and private cars carrying injured people to hospital were not allowed into Nablus during the curfew.

Among the many victims of beatings admitted to Ittihad earlier in January were two farmers from the village of al-Luban al-Sharqieh, Majid Samieh 'Abdullah (17 years old) and Rizq Mohammed Daraghmeh (26). On 24th January, the two were outside working when a helicopter landed in the field. Soldiers chased and assaulted them with the sharp edges of the tools that they had been using to thin out their onion crop. Both men were hospitalized with 5cm deep gashes and fractured arms and legs.

The curfew was finally lifted on Monday 8th February. Shopkeepers resumed the general strike, closing daily at 10am when demonstrators once again took to the streets.

Two more Palestinians were shot that day and another two, Bashaar Ahmed al-Musri (17) and Basil Tayseer al-Jetaan (14) were shot dead on 12th February.

10 days of curfew had obviously not dampened the spirit of resistance in the city of Nablus.

FACTS Press Release No.10

The Gaza Curfew

This week the whole of the Gaza Strip was declared a closed military area and placed under 24-hour curfew for three days, from 29th March to 31st March. These measures were intended to prevent the eruption of popular demonstration in commemoration of Land Day. Despite an enormous military presence, the Israeli army was unable to enforce the curfew. Protest continued throughout the three days.

On Tuesday, 29th March, the smoke from burning tyres could be seen in almost all residential areas of the Gaza Strip, from Rafah in the south to Beit Hanoun in the north.

Soldiers responded in various areas by entering houses near the tyres, and attempting to force the owners to extinguish them.

In Block 13 of Jabalia camp, soldiers entered a house and forced two young men out into the street. One of the men, Saber, was ordered to open the door of his garage and he complied. Inside was his car. The soldiers ordered him to carry the burning tyre into the garage and place it under the car. He refused saying that

the car cost a lot of money.

One of the soldiers pushed him from behind, and he fell face first into the molten rubber of the blazing tyre. His arms and face were severely burned, and his eyes were covered by boiling molten rubber. He began running and screaming, mad with pain, until he finally lost consciousness, waking up later in al-Ahli Hospital.

When Saber was asked why he had opened the door to the soldiers he replied that the week before they had knocked on his door, and when he refused to open they had fired five tear gas grenades into his house, leaving several of his children hospitalized with tear gas poisoning.

On Wednesday the leadership had called for mass demonstrations. There were burning tyres and roadblocks in every section of Gaza town from early morning on. On Fowayreh Street three Israeli jeeps arrived. The soldiers ordered the inhabitants of the street out of their houses to remove the barricades and blazing tyres. All refused, so the soldiers pushed the burning tyres up against the gates of two houses and doused them with petrol. The resulting blaze set fire to both the gates and the surrounding trees.

At the sight of the blaze, people flocked into the street and rushed to the houses, helping to put out the fire. The soldiers, seeing this mass violation of the curfew order, called for reinforcements. Four more jeeps of soldiers came, and large quantities of tear gas were fired into the assembled crowd.

Issac Abu Shauban died of suffocation from tear gas poisoning during the clash.

In Nuseirat camp, Land Day began with roadblocks and burning tyres throughout the camp. Clashes between the army and the demonstrators occurred throughout the day.

At the house of the al-Nowas family, 5 soldiers broke in, attempting to abduct one member of the household. The neighbors joined the household to resist the attempt, and drove the soldiers away with iron bars and sticks.

Five minutes later the army returned with reinforcements and fired dozens of tear gas grenades into the house. Once again the people resisted, attacking the soldiers, who began to fire randomly into the crowd. 25 people reported to hospital with live bullet wounds as a result of this clash. Other bullet wounds were not recorded in hospitals, and there were many other injuries from beating and tear gas.

When the people heard the shooting, they broke the curfew throughout the camp, and violent clashes continued throughout the day. The army called for reinforcements, including the new gravel-shooting vehicle, but demonstrations continued.

Amer Hassan Emad (20 yrs) was one who broke the curfew when he heard the noise of shooting. He was captured by four soldiers, who beat him brutally, breaking his right leg and leaving him unconscious.

Similar events occurred in every camp and town in the Gaza Strip during Land Day.

Between 30th March and 1st April a total of 167 people were treated in Gaza hospitals and clinics for injuries inflicted by the army.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 3, March 20th - April 2nd, 1988)

The Jalazon Curfew

The majority of refugee camps in the West Bank and Gaza have been in and out of curfews for most of the uprising. The following are a few recent stories from Jalazon, a camp near Ramallah.

The army stormed the camp and imposed a curfew on 5th March. Soldiers searched house-to-house, terrifying children, smashing doors and breaking furniture and television sets.

One woman claimed that, during the search, they stole her gold necklace; another that they took money. People also reported that the soldiers poisoned the water supply by firing tear gas canisters into the water tanks.

About 70 youths and men were arrested and assembled in the camp school which had been commandeered. Interrogation and torture proceeded throughout the day.

For example, Nasser Sa'ad al-Qatami was blindfolded, handcuffed, and tied to the back of a jeep. The jeep drove around, accelerating and then stopping suddenly so that Nasser's head hit the body of the jeep.

In the evening the soldiers broadcast a statement in the name of the "Civil Administration", saying that they were protecting the people of the camp from an irresponsible minority.

Next morning camp residents answered with a massive demonstration; curfews continued over the next two weeks. Electricity was cut off at night, presumably to stop people watching TV. At times people were being forbidden to buy food, and UNRWA was prevented from entering the camp. Many water supplies were cut off, either by pollution of the tank or by firing bullets into the tank.

Soldiers patrolled the camp shouting obscenities at the camp women. They broke into shops stealing the contents, and smashed windows and car windscreens.

The northern entrance to the camp was blocked by a bulldozed earth mound.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 3, March 20th - April 2nd, 1988)

ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

A Growing Problem

The prevention of farming activities and the destruction of crops by the army has occurred throughout the uprising. Below are some recent examples of Israeli practices. While fires which have damaged crops inside Israel have been greeted by hysteria in the Israeli press, these practices, which have been occurring regularly since December, have received little attention.

* For the 13th consecutive day, Tulkarm city and camp and the village of Thinnabeh have been under curfew. 'Anabta, a town in the Tulkarm area, has been under curfew for the eighth day in a row. Throughout these periods the inhabitants have been forbidden to irrigate their fields. There is no doubt that they have now lost most of this year's crop, estimated to be worth thousands of dollars.

* 'Azzoun, a village in the Qalqilia area, was under curfew for 15 consecutive days. On several occasions the village's fields were set on fire. Some villagers broke the curfew, risking their lives, in a desperate effort to extinguish the blazes, despite the army's repeated attempts to prevent them from doing so. Villagers from different parts of the village said that the fires in their fields were started deliberately. Fifty dunams of wheat and barley and 200 olive trees were burned in the village.

In addition, the military has closed off the only artesian well in the village which is the sole source of water for irrigation of the citrus trees. Between 500-700 dunams of citrus-cultivated land have been destroyed. Sheep and goats are wasted and in poor health as the military have imposed severe restrictions limiting their access to food and water. One villager, Mahmoud 'Odwan, has already lost five of his sheep when they died as a result of these measures.

* On 24th June, 55 dunams of olive and fruit trees were destroyed by fire in the village of Beit Anis.

* Eyewitnesses in Hussan say they saw settlers set light to olive trees in the village on 24th June; 48 trees were destroyed.

* Olive trees were also uprooted by an army bulldozer in Mashah on 24th June.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 15, 19th June - 26th June, 1988)

Agricultural Developments

During the months of May and June 1988, Israeli troops and settlers have uprooted and/or burned thousands of trees and dunams of crops in the occupied territories. This policy is a form of collective punishment which also aims to undermine independent Palestinian agricultural production.

Olive trees

A total of 3,690 olive trees have been destroyed in: Beit 'Iba, Hija, Salfit, 'Azzoun, Phar'on, Jbarah, Tulkarm, 'Aqbet Za'tara, Shweikeh, al-Rassi, Baqa al-Sharqiyeh, Qalqilia, Jit, Sourra, Bal'a, Ras Karkar, Deir Abu Misha'al and Beit 'Ur al-Tahta.

Fruit and nut trees

A total of 4,175 trees were destroyed in: al-Batha'an, Tallouza, al-Far'a, al-Fandouqawmiyeh, al-Rassi and Qufeen.

Wheat fields

At least 4,000 dunams have been destroyed in: Bal'a, Nur Shams, Qufeen, Jabara, al-Bireh, Beitillo, Deir Samet, al-Ghbata, Bazaaria, Jenin, Beit Hanoun, Deir al-Balah and Ijnisniah.

(Ijnisniah alone suffered an estimated loss of US\$ 60,000 worth of grain and wheat.)

Citrus trees

A total of 450 trees were destroyed in: Tulkarm, Qalqilia and Jericho.

These figures are by no means comprehensive as it has not yet been possible to document all attacks in all places.

The following records of incidents show that the destruction is being carried out by soldiers and settlers with the full authorization and blessing of the Israeli government.

- * In Qufeen, Tallouza, Ijnisniah, and Beitillo, villagers witnessed settlers setting fire to their trees and fields.

- * In Qufeen, soldiers threw burning tyres into wheat fields.

- * A considerable number of trees were uprooted by a military bulldozer under the pretext that trees are used as hiding places by stone and molotov cocktail throwers.

Diary of Destruction

- * *23rd June:* Israeli soldiers uprooted 100 olive trees belonging to Mohammed

'Ayad form Khan Yunis in the Gaza Strip. The army claimed that the trees were "all" used as hiding places for demonstrators running away from soldiers and stone-throwers.

* *1st May*: Military bulldozers arrived in al-Ram to remove stone barricades set up across the streets. The bulldozers removed the stones and dumped them indiscriminately in front of and into houses as well as onto cultivated land, thus destroying the crops.

* *3rd May*: In Kissan (Bethlehem), a large number of Israeli troops supervised the ploughing up of land by a bulldozer, under the pretext that the land was close to an area where an Israeli vehicle had been stoned.

* *4th May*: 40 olive trees were uprooted in Sourra in the Nablus area.

* *7th May*: In Jabal al-Mukaber (Jerusalem), Israelis sprayed chemicals onto kitchen gardens, destroying the plants.

* *9th May*: Troops stormed Sawahreh al-Sharqiyeh (Bethlehem), bulldozed stone walls and piled the stones up in front of houses. The soldiers then uprooted olive trees and started a fire after shooting live ammunition and tear gas canisters into village fields.

* *10th May*: Troops uprooted olive trees in Beiteen (Ramallah).

* *15th May*: 200 hundred dunams of agricultural land in al-Rashaydeh (Bethlehem) were ploughed up by a military bulldozer under the pretext of extending water pipes to a nearby army camp.

* *20th May*: Villagers in al-Mghayyer saw smoke coming from their fields and spotted a car hastily leaving the burning area. The villagers have suffered repeated arson attacks on their crops which have resulted in serious economic losses.

While the village was under curfew, troops attacked Basem Hanoun's chicken farm. They dismantled the plastic water hoses, which were used for the chickens, and set them on fire. When women tried to extinguish the fire, soldiers fired tear gas canisters at them and attacked them. Troops also destroyed 50 cartons of eggs and teargassed the shed, suffocating 100 chickens[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 16, 27th June - 2nd July, 1988)

Economic Sanctions and Collective Punishments

Collective punishments are currently being given more attention, even in the Israeli press, as the ways in which military orders and laws are being used to intensify repressive measures.

As Dani Rubenstein noted in 'Davar' recently, if the Israeli authorities maintain their momentum in implementing these laws, then they will end up

demolishing thousands of houses in Palestinian villages.

In the village of Idna there are presently 114 houses threatened with demolition. Rubenstein noted that "Residents of such a village will respond by resisting more since this can be the only immediate response to such a policy". He ended his article by drawing attention to an objection presented by Dan Meridor, a Likud MK, who asked for an end to these collective punishments and to the oppressive measures being carried out, as he believes that they have not succeeded in restoring 'peace' and that Israel stands to benefit very little from them.

Recent Examples

Demolitions and confiscations

* Mohammed Abu Rayam's house in the town of Halhoul in the Hebron area has been taken over by the Israeli authorities. On 24th July 1988, the expulsion of the residents from the house was approved by the Israeli Supreme Court, in order for it to be used as a military center. This practice obviously falls under the category of collective punishment since the need for the army to have an army center in the town cannot justify the expulsion of the owners and residents of that house. Senior officers in the military governor's office in Hebron had said earlier, in an affidavit from the mayor of Halhoul, that the intention was not to take over the house but rather to teach the residents a lesson.

* On 20th July three houses were demolished in Sa'ir in the Hebron area.

* The military governor of Bethlehem issued a military order to two Palestinian residents, prohibiting them from rebuilding at the same location as their last houses which had been demolished. This military order contradicted building permits which had been issued to the two residents by the Bethlehem municipality.

* In Jalazon camp, five houses (30 rooms) in which 40 people lived were demolished on 3rd August. The houses belong to families of four youths who were detained two months ago and charged with throwing molotov cocktails at patrols. The youths were between 15 and 16 years old.

Since the beginning of the uprising, 65 houses have been completely demolished in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and a further 19 have been partially destroyed. In addition, 13 houses have been sealed up.

These demolitions are carried out according to the illegal administrative procedures, i.e. without any legal proof being required that a member of the household has committed an offence before the house is demolished.

Telephone Sanctions

Electricity and telephone lines were cut from al-Essawiyeh, Jerusalem, on 23rd July 1988, as collective punishment for the continuation of demonstrations and

protests organised by the residents.

The Israeli telephone company, Bezek, has threatened residents in different locations in the Gaza Strip that it would disconnect their telephone lines if they did not pay their bills. Ironically enough, telephone lines in these locations have already been disconnected by a military order for the last four months.

In Beit Jala, the same company has sent warrants for the payment of astronomical telephone bills. The Frere School in the city, for example, has received a bill for the sum of 650 IS (approx. US\$300), despite the fact that it has been closed for the last six months.

Residents are wondering whether the company has become an accomplice of the military government in persecuting and robbing Palestinian residents.

Destruction of Trees

* In Bidia in the Nablus area, the army has for some months now been imposing a night curfew on the village. From 7 pm until 4 am, it is forbidden to be outside the house. During these hours, eyewitnesses from the village have seen armed Israelis cutting down the village's olive trees with electric saws. During the month of July, 715 trees were destroyed causing an economic loss of around 28,000 JD (US\$80,000).

* In another village, Tel, also in the Nablus area, 415 olive trees have already been cut down by armed Israeli civilians.

* In Hussam in the Bethlehem area, following the stoning of a settler's car, a military bulldozer uprooted five dunams of vines, olive and fig trees.

* Palestinian farmers in the occupied territories were optimistic about the prospect of a bumper olive harvest this year after the poor harvest of 1987 as olive trees have high yields on alternate years.

One farmer had 120 of his olive trees destroyed. Fifty of his trees had been growing since 1918. All the branches of his trees had been cut off leaving only the trunks as bare tree stumps. This caused a loss of at least 4800 JD. In an interview with a local newspaper the farmer was quoted as saying, "these are invaluable... the olive tree runs in our veins and our blood".

* During a one-week period between the end of July and the beginning of August, around 2,200 fruit trees have been destroyed or burned in the Jenin area. In addition, dozens of dunams of wood land have been set alight. It is ironic that the fabricated media campaign concerning arson in Israel did not reach or even report any of the protests about what has been happening in the occupied territories.

Setting fire to trees and uprooting trees in the occupied territories takes place in broad daylight, executed through military orders or carried out by armed Israeli settlers.

Villagers have not been able to defend their trees or to stop the assaults.

Destruction of this kind usually takes place while the villages are under curfew, when the villagers are under the threat of being shot if they leave their homes.

In other cases, armed Israelis carry out these criminal acts. No serious investigation has ever been carried out to reveal the identity of the perpetrators of these crimes.

Economic Sanctions in Qabatia

Residents of Qabatia have appealed to public opinion to protest against the measures which the Israelis are implementing there.

- * For the last 18 consecutive days (25th July until 11th August), the residents of Qabatia have been under a strict military siege. This has resulted in an acute shortage of food and medical supplies.

- * On several occasions curfews have been imposed during which farmers who have tried to pick their crops, have been followed and punished. Thirty-five farmers from Qabatia have been detained and later forced to bring their agricultural equipment and tractors to the schoolyard which is presently being used as a military center for impounded property.

- * The 17,000 residents of Qabatia do not only suffer from these military sieges, but in addition are the victims of economic sanctions and collective punishments which have been in effect in the town since 24th February.

The economic sanctions include the following:

- * Electricity generators belonging to Qabatia municipality have been switched off, together with all privately owned generators. Thus the residents have been without electricity for the last five months.

- * Residents have been banned from exporting building stones or agricultural produce across the borders to Jordan. Qabatia's livelihood depends on these two sectors - 2,000 families are economically dependent on their work in the quarries.

- * During the most recent military siege, three artesian wells used for irrigation and drinking-water supplies have been closed.

- * Any person who was found breaking the curfew was issued a fine of 150 JD (approx. US\$450).

- * Israeli tax employees were given a carte blanche by the military authorities to harass residents and impose bills ranging between US\$3,000-9,000.

- * All residents of the town have been banned from travelling abroad.

- * In several incidents, Israeli troops drove their jeeps over land planted with vegetable crops.

- * Women have been punished for baking bread in the communal ovens. Soldiers have arrested women while they were working at the ovens, forced them inside military jeeps and driven them through the town streets and alleys to parade their might in front of residents of the town.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 21, 7th August - 13th August, 1988)

The Beit Ummar Bulldozer

In April, after three days of demonstrations in Beit Ummar, soldiers stormed the village. First they shot into the electricity generator, cutting power off from the village. Next they smashed the mosque loudspeakers.

Skirmishes occurred in which four villagers were injured with live bullets.

The army captured Hussein Barghith, beat him and broke his right hand. They then dropped him into the blade of a bulldozer, which lifted him up to an electricity cable where a Palestinian flag was hanging, and ordered him to remove it. He refused, saying that it was too dangerous.

They lowered the blade, and set light to one end of a piece of sackcloth while stuffing the other end into Hussein's mouth. He began to vomit copiously, so they tipped him from the blade onto the ground and drove away.

The bulldozer drove around the village, "clearing rubble from the roads". In doing so the walls and fronts of 22 houses and shops were demolished.

For example, the front room of the al-Omari shop was completely demolished, and all the foodstuffs inside were ruined, at an estimated total damage of 4,500JD.

The bulldozer also tipped a bladeful of soil into the well of Ali Ghiad.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 3, March 20th - April 2nd, 1988)

Recurring Raids on Burqa

Burqa, a village in the Nablus region with a population of 3,000 people, has been one of the many villages in the West Bank which have been subjected to numerous oppressive measures during the intifada.

During this current period there has been an escalation in the "raids" carried out by Israeli troops under the pretext of "punishing" stone-throwers in order to set an example to the whole population through collective punishments. In other cases, the raids are carried out with the intention of detaining a list of youths who are wanted by the Israeli authorities.

During the last week of June, Burqa was raided three times. The ugliest and most vicious attack took place on 21st June.

Burning Tyres in the Crowd

That day, at 10.15 am, three helicopters, an army bulldozer and a huge number of army tanks and vehicles entered the village. An eyewitness from Burqa said that all males between the ages 15 and above were summoned and forced to gather in the center of the village. An Israeli officer, calling himself Roni, stood in front of the crowd and gave a "lecture" which he started by saying: "Here we meet again with the thugs of Burqa". Falah 'Awayess (65 years old), who was in the crowd shouted back, "We are not thugs!" The captain disregarded what was said and

continued with a threatening tone, "We are here to get the wanted youths. Hand them over to me and you will be left in peace". Another elderly from the crowd answered, "We are not a government, and if your government is incapable of finding the wanted then how do you want us to do it". The captain scolded the man and ordered him to sit on the ground. Then Captain Roni carried on with his speech saying that he had brought over with him a sniper who was capable of shooting a bird on a tree! The captain's last sentence was, "If you allow me to sleep, then you'll be able to sleep".

Seif, who was in the crowd, and who was later brutally beaten along with his brother in front of their families, said that while the villagers were gathered under the heat of the sun, an army jeep approached them and one soldier got off. The soldier took out 4 large tyres which he placed a couple of meters from the crowd, then he brought a can filled with gasoline and poured its contents on the tyres and set them on fire. In the process, the fire caught at his hand and machine gun: the other soldiers, who were watching him, got confused and were at a complete loss when finally they managed to extinguish the "burning" soldier and his gun.

Bankruptcy of the Army's Oppression

It was through such collective oppressive measures that the Israeli authorities were hoping to "discipline" the inhabitants of Burqa. Other measures included destroying the villagers' property as well as relieving the soldiers' frustrations through insulting the people with obscene words:

Hashem Khalil (51 years) recounted the following:

"The soldiers shouted at my wife using such obscene words and expressions that I cannot repeat. They also destroyed my three ploughs, broke my tractor and threw the pieces in the courtyard. They then proceeded to uproot 35 olive seedlings in my field".

That day's raid yielded serious damage to the property of many villagers including:

- * 'Omar Hasan - Troops broke his front door, the door of a closet, and terrorized the six members of his family.

- * Dr Naser Mu'allem - Troops demolished the wall around his garden.

- * Ragheb al-Sa'ed - Troops demolished the wall around his garden.

- * Shaker al-Hussein - The windows of his house were broken.

The army bulldozer, which accompanied the troops, seriously damaged the water pipes in the village.

Meanwhile 35-year-old 'Aziz Bayada, a father of 8 children, got burned in his buttock when soldiers forced him and two youths who were on their way to the

village to sit on the hood of the army jeep, close to the radiator, hand-cuffed with the jeep driving from the nearby settlement Hamesh into the center of Burqa.

In addition, settlers living near Burqa have been constantly harassing and terrorizing the villagers. Fawzi Shbeib and his family reported: "On Thursday 23rd June, at 10.15 pm, an Israeli settler stopped his car and shot 10 gunshots in the air just outside our house. When we stepped out of the house, we found him pouring gasoline on the wall surrounding the house then setting it on fire and adding more gasoline every time the fire waned. Then he quickly left in his car". Fawzi's 70-year-old sister was not intimidated by what had happened. She quickly ran to the fire and put it out.

"Massacring" Olive Trees

Mohammed Barqawi (65 years old) recounted that the army "massacred" olive trees in Burqa over the month of June.

"Tens of dunams of land cultivated with olive trees alongside the main street have been turned into a cemetery of olive tree trunks while a few days ago there were green fields of olive trees".

Barqawi was one of the 120 villagers whose 456 olive trees were uprooted by army bulldozers. It was estimated that 10% of the uprooted trees were of the "Roman" kind considered to be of the best quality and aging between 50 and more than 100 years.

The Israeli authorities do not hesitate to justify these barbaric acts by claiming that they are done for "security" reasons. Their logic is that:

1- The main streets where army vehicles and settlers' cars drive, should be clear of trees which serve as hiding places for stone-throwers.

2- The Israeli authorities have discovered, six months following the onset of the Palestinian uprising, that "destroying and confiscating cultivated lands is one of the most effective methods to curb the Arabs' demonstrations and protests" (Jerusalem Post).

However, what has been observed throughout the occupied territories, contradicts the Israeli authorities' expectations. In Burqa, for example, Barqawi speaks in high spirits and does not seem to have collapsed or resigned as a result of the tragedy inflicted on his olive trees. He proudly remembers how he fought and struggled in 1948 and how he lost two fingers planting a mine in the Golan. Then he said, "I have lived through four governments, the Ottoman, the British, the Jordanian and now the Israeli, but I never imagined that a government could carry out such acts. The Israeli government in fact benefits from those trees that it uproots, we pay over a dollar for every can of olive oil that we export".

Olive trees in Burqa have not only been uprooted or bulldozed. In addition, there have several incidents of troops and settlers setting fire to trees. The most

serious incident was on 22nd June, when villagers saw a cloud of smoke coming from the olive fields, after which they heard gunshots. But that did not intimidate the villagers who all ran to the fields and finally managed to stop the fires from destroying more trees. Primitive methods were used such as burying the fire with soil and using branches to contain. Later on a fire brigade from Nablus arrived and extinguished the fire.

Conclusion

The recurring raids carried out by Israeli troops and settlers against the villagers in Burqa have not "disciplined" them as the occupying forces desire. On the contrary, these oppressive actions have reinforced people's steadfastness and rendered them more tenacious in their fight against the occupation. The following two examples are cited here to reflect this spirit.

* Five-year-old Mu'tassem picked up a stone and threw it at an armed Israeli soldier who was standing facing him. The soldier did not respond to this "provocation" and instead joined his fellow troops. The soldier continued to disregard Mu'tassem who uncovered his chest and shouted "shoot me".

* A number of children between the ages of six and ten years were playing a game which they call "Golani and the Intifada". The rules of the game are that the children would split into two groups. The first group plays the Golani Unit, its members have to carry thick sticks which look like guns and have to wear helmets, the substitute for which are old aluminium plates and pots. The second group plays the role of youths covering their heads with kuffeyas (traditional Palestinian headdress) and armed with stones and slingshots. The two groups clash and the rule is that the game always ends with the victory of the "intifada group". The children then sing:

O Golani, shout shout.

Send your soldiers for repair,

O Golani, run run.

Burqa has become Beirut.

(n.b. Golani is an army unit that has been responsible for some of the most vicious acts of brutality against Palestinians during the uprising. They were the first to implement Rabin's bone-breaking directives throughout the occupied territories. It is thus that they have earned their infamous reputation.)[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 16, 27th June - 2nd July, 1988)

Collective Punishment in Idna

Article 33 of the Fourth Geneva Convention states that "no protected person may be punished for an offence he or she has not personally committed ... reprisals against protected persons and their property are prohibited".

Since the onset of the occupation the Israeli authorities have practiced collective punishment as a matter of policy, causing whole communities to suffer for the acts of individuals.

This article outlines the forms of collective harassment which are being taken against the community of Idna. The story is not unusual; similar events are occurring in villages and camps throughout the West Bank and Gaza, as the Israelis try to batter the population into submission. For more details about the struggles in Idna, (see FACTS 7).

Several days before the Muslim feast 'Eid al-Fitr, the military governor of Hebron summoned the mukhtars of Idna and threatened that his troops would raid the town and put it under siege for a full month if the youths who they wanted to arrest did not give themselves up.

On 17th May, the day of the feast, a march took place in the village. Israeli troops entered the town and took up positions on the roofs of the houses while a military helicopter followed and monitored the march. When the march ended, the soldiers on the rooftops started shooting live ammunition and tear gas at the crowd. Two people were poisoned from tear gas and four were injured with live bullets. Some time later, the soldiers pulled out of the town only to be replaced by around 1000 other soldiers who closed in from different entrances. They went directly to the village school which they occupied and turned into an army center. Next they cut off the water and electricity supply to the whole village and forbade the inhabitants to work on their land or to use their agricultural machinery. Many tractors and vehicles were later confiscated and transported outside the village - even those which had been loaded with crops. Many people were arrested and were forced to stand all night near the confiscated machines, under armed guard. Whenever one of them was found asleep, he was brutally beaten.

Until today, 26th May, the town has been under siege. It is forbidden for the inhabitants to leave or enter Idna except in health emergencies and only with a special permit.

Two houses have already been demolished under the pretext that molotov cocktails had been thrown from their vicinity.

Houses have been raided almost every night, the residents have been provoked and young men found in the house have been interrogated, beaten up and detained in the town school.

In addition to cutting off the water from the town, the soldiers shot at many

water tanks on the roofs of houses destroying them completely.

Other collective punishments have included forbidding the farmers from picking their crops. One night a farmer managed to sneak out of his house and reach his land where he picked 13 cases of courgettes. He was discovered by the soldiers who confiscated the crop and destroyed it in front of him.

Over the past fortnight, and since Idna has been under siege, a serious shortage of flour and milk has occurred. In addition, most of the fruits and vegetables have been destroyed by troops who destroyed the crops which they found in the streets. All that is available now is potatoes and onions.

(FACTS Weekly Review, 11, 22nd May - 28th May 1988)

Tax Collection in Beit Furik

The Israeli authorities continue to implement their illegal policy of tax collection throughout the occupied territories. Many different measures have been used in order to force people to pay taxes. For example, travelling abroad or renewing vehicle licenses is conditional upon the payment of astronomical amounts. Cars have been impounded at roadblocks, merchants' stores have been raided with the intention of confiscating goods, and homes have been raided and television sets and valuable belongings have been confiscated. The most striking example of raids on homes has been in Beit Sahour while the city was under curfew. The following is an example of the types of measures which have been widely carried out by the authorities in an attempt to exert their rapidly diminishing authority over the everyday life of the Palestinians.

A Liberated Zone

Beit Furik residents have been active throughout the intifada. For the first couple of months the residents tasted the flavour of what has come to be known as "liberation". During that period, Palestinian flags proudly flew throughout the town and the residents frequently demonstrated with women and children chanting slogans, condemning the occupation and calling for national liberation.

In accordance with the directives of the Unified National Leadership, the residents of Beit Furik refrained from paying taxes to the occupying authorities. An elaborate system of 24-hour guarding of the town was created early in the intifada. Popular committees were formed, which blocked the main entrances to the town with stone roadblocks; guarding posts were established in strategic locations, and communication between the posts was successful in preventing night raids on the town. The authorities were obviously enraged by the success of such guarding committees which are highly organized and widespread in villages and refugee

camps. Several attempts have been made by the troops to break through into Beit Furik, and there have been violent clashes which resulted in casualties amongst the guarding committees. Shukri al-Tawil was one such casualty. He was shot in the back with a live bullet.

Tax Collection

On 8th June, during the early hours of the morning, hundreds of troops, tens of military vehicles and armored personnel carriers in addition to two helicopters and one army bulldozer stormed the town. The residents woke up to the sound of loudspeakers announcing that Beit Furik was under curfew. Stone roadblocks were removed and troops spread throughout the town, stormed houses and arrested 80 youths. Following the arrests, fines were given out to 23 residents on the grounds that they had refrained from paying taxes. The fines ranged from US\$2,000 to US\$10,000 per person. Radwan Suleiman and Mohammed Jaber were both fined US\$10,000. In another case a fine of US\$30,000 carried the name of Mohammed Fellah, who had been dead for a year. In another case, Ahmed Johar was asked to pay a fine for having outstanding taxes from a business which he closed down 15 years ago. The driving licenses of 17 residents were withdrawn under the pretext that they had not paid taxes. Once the arrests were made and the fines had been given out, the curfew was lifted and half of the troops left the town.

Clashes and Casualties

When the residents left their houses and realized what had happened during the curfew, a huge demonstration condemning the measures marched towards the remaining soldiers who were stoned by the demonstrators. Clashes ensued and many youths were forced to flee the town through the hills, chased by a helicopter. Another was showering the town with tear gas.

At one point, a canister dropped onto a burning tyre and a child, Nassar Issa, who was standing in front of his house, was severely burned when the canister exploded. His mother managed to put out the fire on his body and he was later taken to hospital with third degree burns.

Troops stormed the union workers' center, destroyed most of its property, broke the furniture and confiscated books and files. By the end of the day, 19 people including three women had been injured with live ammunition. 'Abed Abu Hait (23 years, a laborer) suffered serious injury when a bullet penetrated his liver and right lung. Zahriyeh Ibrahim (20 years old) was shot in the hand, Mohammed Saleh was shot in the leg, and Ibrahim Imleitat (24) suffered a broken rib after being shot in the chest.

Siege Sanctions

Since that day, and because of the resistance shown by the residents to the measures of the occupying authorities, farmers in Beit Furik have been forbidden from harvesting wheat, pulses and other crops which constitute an important and vital source of income for the residents. These economic sanctions were also imposed on three adjacent villages, Beit Dajan, Deir al-Hatab and Salim. These measures however were not successful in weakening the residents' resistance, who continued to participate in the intifada.

The soldiers did not cease their attempts to suppress the revolutionary spirit in Beit Furik. On Friday 17th June, army forces surrounded the village and attempted to enter with the aim of demolishing one of the houses in the town. The residents persisted in preventing this attack, they barricaded the road with stone roadblocks and clashed with the troops, throwing stones and empty bottles at them. The soldiers responded by firing tear gas and live ammunition.

24-year-old Tayseer Imleitat was shot in the chest and later died. Twenty-two other residents were injured with live ammunition and were taken to Ittihad Hospital in Nablus where a state of emergency was declared because of the shortage of blood for the injured. Hundreds of residents of Nasblus queued to donate blood. Two army officers were wounded during the clashes, dozens of residents were arrested and a curfew was imposed for the next few days. Once the curfew was lifted, an economic siege was imposed on the town, under which residents were not allowed to enter or leave, laborers were not allowed to go to work, and farmers were prevented from harvesting their crops, with disastrous consequences for the economy of the village.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 19, July 17th - July 30th, 1988)

THE PRISONS

Prisoners of the Uprising

Due to the mass arrests since the beginning of the uprising, there are now more than 7000 Palestinians in Israeli prisons, more than 700 of whom are under administrative detention. For a population as small as that of the occupied territories, this figure represents an enormous proportion. It can be estimated that more than 2.5% of the total male population between the ages of 15 and 30 years are currently in prison (assuming that 5000 of the prisoners are males in this age group, which has a total population of 200,000).

If the number of people who have been arrested and released during the uprising is included then the proportion exceeds 5%.

In order to accommodate this massive influx of detainees, Israel has opened several new prisons, and expanded existing facilities. "Ansar 3" in the Negev is the largest new prison, with about 2000 detainees at present. New prisons have also been opened in Beitunia (180 detainees) and Tulkarm (100 detainees). The Dhahariyeh prison near Nablus had absorbed 640 prisoners, while an estimated 800 are in "Ansar 2" in Gaza and 450 in al-Far'a near Hebron. The Atleet prison near Haifa, which had been designed predominantly for Israelis, now contains 690 prisoners from the uprising. Figures for the other prisons are not currently available.

The testimonies of those who have been released after a period of detention are strikingly similar. Most of them report severe beatings during and after arrest, when attempts are made to obtain a confession. Some are then brought before summary courts during which they are convicted on the basis of the testimony of a soldier. Others are served with administrative detention orders which require no court proceedings. Many are simply detained for a period and then released with no formal charges of any kind.

Once the period of initial beating and interrogation is over, most detainees are moved to centers where a strict prison routine is enforced.

Cells or tents are very crowded, usually allowing for 1-2 square meters per person. A bucket for excreta collection is kept in most cells and emptied once a day in the morning. The smell permeates the cell throughout the day.

Sleeping hours are normally restricted to 4-6 hours per night. For the rest of the time, mattresses must be stored away. Guards must be addressed in the prescribed formal manner, or punishments ensue. Prisoners are permitted to wash once every one or two weeks.

Food is insufficient and of poor quality, and medical treatment usually consists of no more than the provision of aspirins by the prison doctor.

Any transgression of prison regulations results in punishments, which vary from camp to camp. In some camps, prisoners are made to stand with a sack over their heads for hours at a time. The sack often contains residues of the vomit from previous punishments. In others, prisoners are tied and beaten.

The following personal testimonies provide examples of the conditions which thousands of Palestinians are currently experiencing.

Hazim Abu Hassan

"The first few hours of my detention were the harshest. I was arrested at 3.00 am from my house in the Old City of Nablus during a house-to-house search and arrest raid by the army. I was handcuffed and blindfolded, and taken to a military bus. Two hours later I found myself at the Nablus Military HQ, and was led to a tent in the yard. There I joined a group of 26 detainees, one of whom was a man of 55 years who had been arrested when the soldiers had failed to find his son.

We were ordered to kneel, and a group of soldiers came into the tent, introducing themselves as the "Golani Brigade", an army unit which is famous for its brutality.

They began kicking us with their heavy army boots. They were manic and excited as they attacked, kicking us on all parts of our bodies, shouting things like:

"We aren't scared of your uprising!";

"Palestine is for us, we will make you leave, you are foreigners here now!";

"Your stones don't scare us!".

The kicking and beating continued for a long period until one of the detainees fell unconscious onto the floor.

Later they chose one of the detainees and ordered him to stand next to the excreta bucket in the tent. He was made to take each prisoner in turn, remove their trousers, then to hold their penis while the prisoners urinated into the bucket.

(Previous FACTS reported events in the same tent, where soldiers forced open the mouths of detainees and spat into them, and attempted to force prisoners to perform anal intercourse [eds].

At 8.00 that morning we were all moved to a larger tent where we stayed for

three days before being moved to Atleet prison near Haifa, where I stayed for 5 days before being moved again to the "Ansar 3" prison in the Negev desert.

This prison is 150 km south of Beersheba, close to the Sinai border. Accommodation is in tents and there are no buildings. There are two sections, one for the West Bank prisoners, and one for Gaza prisoners. Each section is about 5 square kilometers and is enclosed by a barbed wire fence. The two sections are four kilometers apart.

The West Bank section was divided into four parts, each part consisting of 8 tents, and each tent containing 28-30 people. The tents were 5m wide and 10m long.

When we arrived we were made to stand for hours with our heads enclosed in a sack before being shown to our tent. Each of us was given a number, and from then on our names were never used.

At night we slept on foam mattresses with five blankets; in the freezing desert nights these were not enough and it was hard to sleep. Our tent was supplied with four barrels of water per day which were used for drinking and washing. There was an outdoor latrine which could be used during the day, and a bucket in the tent for the nights.

The food was the same every day:

Breakfast: 5 olives, a spoonful of jam, a slice of margarine, a slice of bread and half a cup of tea.

Lunch: a cup of thin soup and half an orange.

Dinner: as breakfast.

The worst thing was that the food was normally full of sand, blown in by the desert wind.

Medical treatment was provided once a week by a visiting military doctor. He normally didn't have time to see everybody asking for treatment, and anyway, he only prescribed Acamol for most cases.

Prisoner counts were conducted four times a day, during which prisoners had to sit on the floor of their tents with their hands on their heads. When the officer read out their number (in Hebrew), they had to stand up, turn their face away from the officer, and state their name.

Any prisoner who broke camp regulations was tied to a post and beaten severely.

After 5 days, at seven in the evening, they took a group of us to a place in the desert several kilometers away from Rahat, and left us to walk to the town where we stayed the night. The next day I travelled back to Nablus."

Another ex-detainee described conditions in Atleet prison during February:

Atleet

"Before the uprising Atleet prison, near Haifa, had been used mainly for Israeli prisoners.

Atleet is known to be a strict prison. At all times except when in your cell, your hands must be on your head and your eyes on the floor.

When you enter, all your possessions and clothes are taken, then you are examined by a doctor, and sprayed with a chemical on the hair, genitals and anus.

When the guards enter your cell, you have to face the wall with your hands on your head and say, in unison "We are ready, Offendi". When a guard addresses you, you have to say "Yes, Offendi", and when the guard leaves, you have to say "Thank you, Offendi".

The main punishment for those who break the rules in Atleet is to stand outside for hours with your hands on the head.

Dhahariyeh

"Dhahariyeh prison is an old British military HQ which was opened, in 1982, as a prison. There are six main rooms, the largest being 10m by 10m, which house 160 prisoners. They also have solitary confinement cells, known as "cupboards", areas 1m by 1.5m, with no light. There is a single sewage bucket in each cell which is emptied once a day.

Sleeping is only allowed between 1am and 5am. The rest of the time mattresses must be stored away, in a special way. Prisoners who do not organize their mattresses and blankets in the right way are punished by being beaten, and being made to stand for hours with a hood over their face. Prisoners can wash once every 10 days."

(The following testimony is from a 16-year-old student from Sa'ir near Hebron.)

"I was arrested on 14th January from my village and bundled into a helicopter where I was beaten continuously until arrival at Hebron Military HQ.

There they ordered me to sign a confession admitting that I had participated in a demonstration, throwing stones and burning tyres. I refused, saying the statement was in Hebrew, which I could not read, so they began to beat me again. I continued to refuse, and finally they pressed my thumbprint on the paper by force.

The next morning I was taken to Dhaharieyh prison, where I was beaten again for 2 or 3 hours, and then dumped into a cell measuring 10m by 5m, which contained 39 people. There were three windows, 6cm by 6cm, in the cell, and a small gap under the door where air could get in. The cell contained a bucket for a toilet which was emptied daily, and filled the cell with a disgusting smell.

After a few days I was taken to Ramallah Military HQ and brought before a court where a soldier claimed that he had watched me from a helicopter, burning

tyres and throwing stones in a demonstration. This was not true, but the judge accepted his testimony and I was fined 500 IS (\$320) and released after 23 days in prison."[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 5, April 3rd - April 9th)

Appeal from the "Camp of Slow Death"

Since the beginning of the uprising the authorities have conducted a policy of mass arrests in an attempt to suppress the resistance. They have carried out this policy despite the continued demonstrations, which have shown that the uprising cannot be stifled by the arrest of a few "troublemakers": the movement has a broad mass base, and many have remained to continue the struggle.

According to Israeli figures, approximately 10,000 people have been arrested during the uprising, 1,900 of whom are under administrative detention and 3,100 of whom are awaiting trial. Palestinian sources estimate that a total of about 17,000 people have been arrested.

To cope with the new influx of political prisoners the Israelis have opened five new "uprising prisons" in Dhahariyeh, Beitunia, Atleet, Gaza and the Negev (Ansar 3). (See FACTS Weekly Review 5 and 6 for more details.)

The letter below was smuggled out of the Ansar 3 camp in May, written on toilet paper. The camp is in the Negev close to the border with Egypt. The letter describes the appalling conditions in the camp. The use of the camp for West Bank and Gaza prisoners violates the Fourth Geneva Convention which forbids the transfer of the population out of occupied territory.

To All People of Conscience

To All Defenders of Human Rights

We Call upon You to Rescue Us from The Camp of Slow Death

ANSAR 3, THE NEGEV

We, the thousands of Palestinian prisoners in Ansar 3, have been detained without any judicial formalities whatsoever. We have not even been told the charges which have been levelled against us. We are kept in the inhuman conditions of the desert, where the daytime temperature reaches 45 degrees centigrade and drops below zero at night, in an area teeming with lizards, insects and rats.

But this hardship is nothing compared with the cruelty and arbitrary brutality of the soldiers. A physical and mental war is being conducted against us by starvation, thirst, humiliation and physical and psychological torture. Their behavior breaks all international conventions governing the treatment of prisoners, and reflects a lack of even the most basic moral or human values.

We are forced to keep our tents open from 5.00 am to midnight, exposed to the searing heat of the sun and the sandstorms of the desert. Two or three times a day we are made to sit outside, under the scorching sun, for periods of up to half an hour, under the muzzles of our captors' guns. No consideration is given to the sick and the elderly.

Water is scarce, and is cut off for many hours each day. When there is water it is barely sufficient for drinking, washing, and baths twice a month in this suffocating heat. We have only one change of clothing, and we are forbidden from receiving clothes or other necessities from our families. Neither are we provided with items for washing clothes.

Our health is deteriorating and we are suffering physical deterioration and disease; health care is virtually non-existent.

In addition, we are totally isolated: our families are not allowed to visit us, we are not allowed to send or receive letters, and we are forbidden radios, newspapers, magazines, books, writing paper and pencils.

We are being subjected to punitive measures which aim to crush our human spirit and deny our social selves. We are not even given those rights contained in the law of administrative detention.

We call upon you to stand by us, and to call for an end to the organized violence and humiliation which is leading us to a slow death. The peace and justice which the people of the Holy Land long for is being strangled in this evil place.

We urge you to organize humanitarian groups to visit this murderous detention center, and to work for its closure.

We call upon you to stand on the side of humanity

May the world hear our voice

May 1988

THE PALESTINIAN DETAINEES AT
THE CAMP OF SLOW DEATH
ANSAR 3/THE NEGEV

(FACTS Weekly Review, 12, 29th May - 4th June, 1988)

Hunger in Ansar 2, Hunger Strike in Ansar 3

On 2nd August, three children from Jabalia were released from Ansar 2 detention center in the Gaza Strip. The children, Ramzi 'Odwan (7 years), Ra'ed Odwan (11 years) and Mohammed Naser (15 years) were arrested on 30th July. They were held for three days without any food. Immediately after their release, they were taken to an UNRWA clinic for medical treatment.

On 10th August 1988, prisoners in Ansar 3 detention camp in the Negev declared a one-day hunger strike in protest against their detention and the abominable conditions of the camp.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 21, 7th August - 13th August, 1988)

Open Letter from Ansar 3

"To all people of conscience, to all those who are concerned about the rights of human beings, to all those who are mindful that the international laws and conventions adopted by the United Nations should be implemented, to all legal and humanitarian institutions - to world opinion:

We, the detainees in Ansar 3 (Negev detention camp), are sending out an appeal from the 4,000 prisoners living in sub-human conditions in this ugly, isolated exile in the desert just on the edge of the Sinai desert and just off the highway between Bir Saba' and Eilat.

* All those present in Ansar 3 are being held under administrative detention without any clear charges except that they have been the victims of the Israeli occupation's computer, and it is that which has led them to this exile. This exile is surrounded by barbed wires and troops, armed to the teeth with batons, tear gas and sub-machine guns.

* We do not exaggerate when we say that we live under a modern form of nazism, where Israeli military personnel step with their military boots all over international conventions and protocols and the basic principles of human rights, and do not concern themselves with the issue of why we are here or with the conditions in which we are living. All they concern themselves with are the instructions and directives that they receive from their government; directives meant to humiliate and dehumanize us, by using their arsenal against civilians who are guilty only of being Palestinians.

* The purpose of throwing thousands of detainees into this exile is to deny the Palestinian people their legitimate rights, rights acknowledged by the United Nations, and thus constituting an infringement of Article Four of the Geneva Conventions which prohibit the occupation of any land by force.

* We know of no reason for our detention except that it is part of the campaign of exemplary punishment against the Palestinian people. Consequently several hundreds have recently been killed as a result of reckless decisions and the policy of occupation, both of which have additionally resulted in: the deportatin of dozens of Palestinians; the implementation of the British Emergency Regulations against detainees; the extension of the illegal administrative detention; and exile of detainees which contravenes international laws and conventions and basic human

rights. The barbaric measures that we are subjected to are obviously crude infringements on anything human.

* All of the detainees in this desert exile are from the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Arab Jerusalem, and all are subjugated to these measures without there being legal evidence and without any clear charges except for the secretive and fabricated reports and files of the Israeli Intelligence. And this is the Intelligence which has been found more than once to lie, as has been confirmed by more than one Israeli investigation committee.

* We are living the heat, dust and sand of the desert, in an environment that lacks even the most basic facilities for living - water is scarce and is brought to detainees in tanks, according to the whims of the jailer, who, if he wishes, can completely cut off the supply. We are living under tents which afford us no protection from the searing heat of the desert and the howling storms. We are suffering from emaciation. Our bodies are wasting as a result of malnutrition and the spread of intestinal and skin infections, and from the enormous numbers of insects that spread diseases. We suffer from the disease-causing open sewers as well as from scorpions and rats.

* We are left under the sun for hours. We are also staked out under the sun for the most trivial of reasons. Even those who are asked for by their lawyers are staked out for hours before and after seeing their lawyers. Late at night, different kinds of bombs go off as military maneuvers are carried out near the detention camp. On one occasion, one of the detainees' blankets was burned after it was hit by a shell. During these training exercises the detainees are forced to sit on the ground with their hands behind their backs and their heads bent forwards. We are living, wearing unfit clothes and without having seen our faces for months. None of us has seen his family, we are not allowed books or papers.

We hereby appeal to all live consciences and the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights as well as the social organizations fighting for humanity and all the democratic forces to work for the closure of Ansar 3. We appeal to you with this urgent request to support us and to protest against this campaign of collective punishments and savage torture, and to expose the existing inhuman practices against us. The Palestinian people who are living the days of the uprising, which aims to end the occupation, do not bear any crime except that they are demanding their just rights to self-determination and an independent state.

* We ask that you act immediately and send fact-finding delegations, send letters and telegrams to express your condemnation to the Israeli government, and demonstrate in front of the Israeli embassies throughout the world, and carry out any other form of protest that you deem appropriate.

Detainees of Ansar 3/ June 1988

(FACTS Weekly Review, 15, 19th June - 26th June, 1988)

Detention in Nablus

The following are excerpts from an account of the extreme brutality experienced by those in detention, as described by one ex-detainee. He began his testimony with these words:

"I would have preferred to have been shot dead rather than go through that experience and witnessing the things that went on during those eight days - it haunts me to this day."

'Anan Tahseen Meccawey (29 years old) was arrested from his home at midnight on 1st February 1988. He, along with a number of others arrested that night, were taken to the military headquarters in Nablus. 'Anan recognized two of the others in the back of the vehicle with him. Both were bleeding, one with head wounds and the other with an injury in his left eye. Although one was unconscious, soldiers hit him with batons and long metal rods like aerials. When they arrived at the headquarters, the men were taken to a corrugated iron room where they were handcuffed and beaten by soldiers in turn.

"An officer came and ordered me to repeat, "My name is Rocky the crazy." He insisted that I repeat the word 'crazy' so I did, then he began to beat me in a crazy way. He then ordered other soldiers to beat me, and one forced my mouth open, spat into my mouth and then put the barrel of an M16 machine gun into my mouth."

After 2 hours the men were ordered to walk in single file to a tent guarded by 2 soldiers and a dog in the yard of the headquarters. Golani Unit soldiers were in another tent just two meters away. When they got to the tent, the 12 youths already inside were woken up by soldiers beating them with batons. The group that 'Anan was with were left in the tent, handcuffed for the rest of the night.

"In the morning an officer calling himself Captain Yusef came to the tent, allocated each detainee a number, and then gave the following instructions in Hebrew:

- 1) You are forbidden to talk to each other.
- 2) You are to remain standing for a quarter of an hour every hour.
- 3) When any officer or soldier enters the tent you are all to stand up. Anyone who causes trouble or breaks these regulations will be handed over to the Golani Unit.
- 4) These regulations are to be obeyed 24 hours of the day.

After giving these orders they brought the breakfast which was two small pieces of bread, half a spoonful of jam and a little piece of margarine. This is all we got for breakfast, lunch and dinner for eight days."

The toilet facility for the men was a plastic bucket outside the tent which could be used only once a day and only under the supervision of two guards.

"The next day several more people were brought to the tent, including Qais Awayis, Naser Abu Zanit and Radi al-Ma'ani. They were all unconscious and their faces were bleeding: they were in a terrible state. They transferred Radi to Rafidiyah Hospital.

The others were all lying on the ground and soldiers threw water into their faces to bring them round - only in order to beat them up again. One officer beat Naser on the head with the butt of his gun. He split his head open and he started to bleed profusely. Qais was brutally beaten with batons on his back, legs and genitals until he lost consciousness again.

Soldiers then tried to force two of them to have anal intercourse with each other. When they refused, they beat them again using their batons and boots. They beat them for two hours in front of us then they carried them away. I don't know where they were taken. It was the soldiers from the Golani Unit who did it."

On the third day an officer called Nasim came to the tent, recorded the men's names and started a primary interrogation. "He declared that he didn't care if all Palestinians were killed and said that they would bring tanks to smash all of us. Another officer calling himself Captain Yussi then came and interrogated us. At the same time he swore at us and kicked and beat us with the help of 5-6 soldiers."

Abu Jawad Abu Kishik (54), his nephew and two sons, Khalid and Mithaq were brought to the tent on the 7th of February. "They were unconscious and soldiers threw water on them to wake them up. They beat them relentlessly and we could hear them shouting and crying out all night."

During another night, Nasim Haba, the settler who was involved in the burying of the 4 youths in the village of Salem, visited the detainees. He, along with soldiers, beat Hasan Sa'id (28), a barber from Beit al-Ma camp. "They beat him for about two hours, taking short breaks. We could hear him screaming. When they had finished with him, they took him and threw him just outside our tent. The soldiers ordered us to pick him up, but we refused, saying that he had to see a doctor. Two soldiers then took him to their tent, threw water in his face and beat him. He was delirious - the things he was saying didn't make sense. They beat him again and then threw him inside our tent."

"They brought Abu Jamal Abu Haniyeh (55) from 'Ein Beit al-Ma camp. They beat him so much that when the doctor came to examine him, he immediately sent him to Rafidiyah Hospital."

"The soldiers used to force us to carry the injured persons to the ambulance when an officer who called himself a doctor advised that someone should be transferred to hospital. They used to force me and Ramzi Haza'a to carry the injured to the ambulance and every time we did, they would beat us again."

'Anan was transferred after 8 days to al-Far'a detention center from where he was released on 26th February.

There are many other accounts of brutality. Youths from villages and camps in the Nablus area were brought to the tent injured, often unconscious, beaten and then taken away, some to Rafidiyah Hospital, some to al-Far'a and others it is not known where to. What is here is only parts of one person's experience in detention and he is ready to stand by his words and testify on any legal or humanitarian platform.

(FACTS Press Release No. 15)

2 March 1988

Letter from Beitunia Prison

The following letter was written by an inmate of Beitunia prison. The prison was opened on 12th March to accommodate prisoners of the uprising, and consists of an extension to an existing military camp, built on the land of the village of Rahat. The letter provides some insight into the process of organization and education which occurs within the prisons. There are 200 detainees in the camp, living in 8 tents of 25 prisoners each.

"From the beginning we began our struggle to improve our situation by electing a committee to represent each tent. We insisted that the authorities negotiate with these committees and they agreed. We also formed an education committee, which organized lectures, study groups, and question and answer quizzes.

Secondly we decided, as a group, to refuse to negotiate any plea-bargaining deals with the authorities, where they would offer us a reduced punishment if we admitted to their charges. We persuaded all the prisoners that this was not in their interest, as the authorities often had no evidence to back up their charges. Several prisoners have, after refusing plea-bargaining, been released for lack of evidence.

Thirdly we requested the right for religious Muslims in the camp to pray together on Fridays. This was initially resisted by the authorities, but they subsequently conceded.

Now we are fighting to change certain prison regulations which we feel are insulting. All soldiers, whatever their rank, must be addressed with the title "captain", and we are required to say "Yes captain" in Hebrew when we are being counted. We consider this rule unnecessary and degrading and are pressing for it to be rescinded. We are also pressing for the abysmal quality and quantity of food to be improved.

For us, our time in prison is not spent passively. Within the confines of imprisonment we organize to improve our situation and to educate ourselves. The army can imprison our bodies, but they cannot rob us of our dignity."[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 6, April 9th - April 17th 1988)

Detainees in Dhahariyeh Form a Special Committee

Dhahariyeh detention center in the Hebron region holds about 500 detainees. The administration of the center is still carrying out its harsh and oppressive measures against the detainees. These measures are practiced daily and include staking out the detainees for long and endless hours, beating them up and cursing at them.

As a result of the poor sanitary conditions, poor aeration of the cells, overcrowding and the inhumane treatment, diseases such as colds, influenza and cases of asphyxia have spread rapidly among the detainees. Despite this, the administration refuses to provide required medical care. Therefore, the detainees have organized for a hunger strike and have decided to refuse to comply with orders from the army police in the detention center.

Examples of such orders are: standing up for long hours, prisoners turning their faces to the wall every time a guard opens the cell door, and repeating "Thank you, captain", "We're ready, captain" every time they see one of the detention center staff, regardless of their military rank.

The prisoners' committee was formed and called "Committee of the Detainees of the Intifada", and it has been agreed that all of the detainees should abide by the committee's directives which are related to their struggle to improve their conditions. The committee has agreed on the following demands:

- 1- Two baths per week for every detainee.
- 2- The improvement in the quality and quantity of food.
- 3- Granting the detainees half an hour every day outside their cells.
- 4- Putting an end to the beatings and abusive behavior of prison guards.

(FACTS Weekly Review, 16, 27th June - 2nd July, 19880)

No Excitement over Four Prisoner Deaths in 3 Days

On 14th August the death of 21-year-old Ata Yusef Artoufi was reported to his parents. Artoufi, a resident of Kalandia refugee camp, was arrested on 23rd June, and had been detained in Dhahariyeh prison. No official explanation has been given for his death.

On 16th August Nabil Ibdeh, from Beit Hanina, was reported to have been found dead in his cell in Musqobiya prison. Ibdeh had been arrested the week before on suspicion of having thrown a petrol bomb. The authorities claim that he

hanged himself.

The same day (16th August) Ali Smoudi (Yamoun) and Assad Shawwa (Gaza) were shot dead in Ansar 3 camp. The circumstances of the deaths remain unclear as no lawyers or journalists have been permitted to visit the camp since the shootings, and there has been complete silence from the authorities concerning the events.

The only source of information is from a Red Cross official who had been visiting the camp that day. He reported that, in conversations with some of the prisoners, he had mentioned the killing of three Gazans in an arson attack near Tel Aviv. On 9th August three laborers were burned to death while locked inside the shack in which they were sleeping. The police are treating the attack as murder.

Apparently news of the murder angered the inmates and a demonstration ensued, but the official was unable to observe further details as the army quickly confined him to a room once trouble began.

It is clear, however, that the shooting was not confined to a small section of the camp. Gaza prisoners are kept in a separate camp from West Bankers; one martyr was from Gaza and the other from the West Bank.

It is obvious that something happened in the camp on a large scale, and the total press blackout suggests that it is something which the Israelis are keen to play down. Presumably they feel that if they delay the release of the details, then when the truth finally emerges it will no longer be news.

The lack of Israeli or international interest in these four deaths suggests that the authorities are probably right.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 22, 14th - 20th August, 1988)

4. RESOLUTION ?

JORDAN

The Jordanian Option

In the current Shultz plan a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation is suggested to conduct negotiations at an international conference. This proposal has been firmly rejected by the Palestinians, who insist that the PLO must be represented by an independent delegate.

On the surface, the reason for insisting on independent PLO representation is clear. The PLO has been chosen by the Palestinians to be their sole representative; it is thus the only organization which can legitimately conduct negotiations on their behalf.

Beneath this principle, however, there are political processes which make the issue of central significance to the struggle for an independent nation.

In the aftermath of the Camp David accords the word "autonomy" crept into the vocabulary of Israeli politicians. Autonomy offered limited powers of self-government to the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza for a period, pending further negotiations concerning a final settlement.

In the late 1970s, when these slogans were first aired, they left many Palestinians confused. What exactly was being offered? Was it a step in the right direction? A vigorous internal debate followed which was all but ignored by the international media who hailed the "breakthrough for peace" of the Camp David accords.

The conclusion of the local debate was that the idea of autonomy was a political device with the aims of marginalizing the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, and legitimizing the continued Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. According to this analysis Israel would claim to be delegating some aspects of governmental authority to the Palestinians while opening direct negotiations with other Arab countries, beginning with Jordan.

The linguistic device of autonomy would allow Israel and its allies to claim that things were moving in the right direction, without any significant change in the existing situation. In practice the occupation would continue.

For Israel the strategic aim was normalization of relations with surrounding Arab countries without giving up control of the occupied territories. The PLO was to be excluded from the process as being an unacceptable "terrorist" organization. This was, and still is, the main thrust of Israel's conception of the peace process.

Part of the scheme involves the division of administrative responsibility for the West Bank and Gaza between Israel and Jordan. Jordan would take over some aspects of civilian rule and policing while Israel would retain its military presence.

The idea of any kind of Jordanian rule is firmly opposed by the people in the territories, who still remember the harsh political repression they experienced when under Jordanian rule before 1967; the same repression which Palestinians living in Jordan face today.

Black September, when Hussein unleashed his troops on the Palestinians in Jordan, is still a recent memory.

The stance of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to the autonomy plan has reflected the various pressures on the monarchy. On the one hand, as a strong Western ally, Hussein was under pressure to comply with some aspects of the plan. In addition, his own regime had little to gain from a strengthened PLO, given that the majority of his own subjects are Palestinians, potentially disloyal to the throne.

At the same time, open compliance with the plan held dangers for the King. Open co-operation with Israel could lead to dissent from his own citizens, while at the level of the Arab world he could be rejected as having deserted the Arab cause.

Thus in practice Hussein has walked a tightrope between open collaboration with Israel on the one hand, and support for the PLO on the other.

And what is true for Hussein is, to an extent, true for many other Arab leaders who do nothing to jeopardize their alliances with the US, the country which is openly financing and supporting the Israeli state.

The Palestinian struggle is for a democratic nation. If successful, such a state would contrast with the political structure of other Arab countries, adding a potentially unwelcome new factor to the balance of Middle East forces.

The pro-Palestinian rhetoric of many Arab leaders should thus be understood, first and foremost, as being aimed at confusing and obscuring these contradictions.

Many consider that a strategy of unsuccessful peace initiatives has been pursued by the US administration, who appears to be trying to make peace while, in practice, allowing the status quo of occupation to continue.

The uprising has added a new factor to the equation. Continuing popular protest is certainly placing a strain on Israeli resources. Equally important, however, are the ripples being sent throughout the Arab world, where the people watch as their leaders do nothing to support the Palestinian cause. In many Arab countries pro-Palestinian demonstrations are vigorously suppressed as being

subversive and implicitly critical of the regime in question.

Thus, when Palestinians reject the idea of a joint Jordanian/Palestinian delegation, they are objecting to what they see as being the same basic plan which Begin proposed to Sadat: a plan to bypass the PLO and normalize relations between Israel and surrounding countries.

Mr Shultz has recently noted that "the status quo is not stable". The uprising has a simple message: nothing less than a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip can "stabilize" the situation. Anything less, and the popular demonstrations will continue.

What remains to be seen is how long it will take before the US will judge that an independent Palestinian state is preferable to the continued escalation of the uprising.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 2, 13th March - 19th March, 1988)

Palestinian Moderates - A Guide

For some time now Mr Shultz has been searching for Palestinian moderates from the West Bank and Gaza with whom to discuss his peace proposals. This appears to be a reasonable idea; after all, the alternative would presumably be to hold discussions with extremists! Before the uprising, American diplomats would regularly meet with certain Palestinians. Now, however, nobody will meet them. Does this mean that all Palestinians have become extremists? To an outsider the whole thing seems very confusing. Perhaps now is therefore a useful moment to enquire into the nature of the moderation which Mr Shultz is searching for.

For many years now the Western press has utilized the phrase "Palestinian moderate" to describe certain Palestinians: the two most popular candidates for this position have been Elias Freij (mayor of Bethlehem) and Rashad al-Shawwa (ex-mayor of Gaza). We might therefore begin our enquiry by asking what these two have in common which makes them moderate.

The Pocket Oxford English Dictionary defines the word as describing one "not given to extremes of action, views or expression", while extreme is defined as "situated at the end, farthest from the center". One might therefore presume that the views of these two moderates would be towards the center of some political spectrum. If they are Palestinian moderates, then should their views not be towards the center of the Palestinian political spectrum?

The Palestinian political arena, though diverse, can be divided into left, center and right wing. Freij and Shawwa belong to the "pro-Jordanian" category within this group, meaning that they support the rule of the Hashemite court in the occupied territories through some form of confederation with Jordan. This position is at the

extreme right wing of the Palestinian political spectrum, and is thus not really "moderate" from the Palestinian point of view. Indeed, advocating the absolute power of the monarchy is not really moderate within the political spectrum of Israel or the US either. These Palestinian "moderates", as supporters of the rather undemocratic Hashemite system, would be classified as extremists within the Israeli political spectrum, too: the majority of Israelis advocate at least some form of democracy.

When Mr Shultz hunts out the "moderates", he says that he is doing so to encourage the peace process: to encourage people to "get along with each other a little better" as he puts it. Moderation within this context seems to refer not to the support of a particular domestic political philosophy but rather to a specific attitude to the Palestine-Israel conflict.

Solutions advocated within the Palestinian spectrum range from those advocating a secular democratic or Islamic state in (or beyond) the whole of Palestine, through support for an independent state in the West Bank and Gaza, to those supporting a non-independent state connected, one way or another, to Jordan and Israel. Once again our pro-Jordanian "moderates" are at the extreme of this political spectrum.

The spectrum of Israeli attitudes towards the Palestine problem, however, ranges from those advocating a West Bank and Gaza state, through those supporting some form of autonomy or continued occupation of the population, to those supporting mass expulsions of the Palestinian population. Within this spectrum the autonomy plan is at the center, flanked by independence on one side, and expulsion on the other. Mr Shultz also backs the autonomy tendency. It is therefore noteworthy that both Israel and the US, while supporting democracy for their own citizens, do not advocate democracy for the Palestinians.

It would seem, then, that a Palestinian moderate is one who agrees with the foreign policies which are advocated by the Israeli and US governments towards the occupied territories, policies which are rejected by the vast majority of Palestinians. It is not surprising that politicians resort to using such words to describe their allies or potential allies. But if journalists are claiming to present a neutral description of the conflict, then the word "moderate" is clearly misleading within this context, simply reflecting the Israeli and US point of view.

A better word would be monarchist.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 5. April 3rd - April 9th, 1988)

The King's Gambit

More than a week has now passed since King Hussein announced the severance

of "legal and administrative" ties with the West Bank. While the full operational meaning of this seemingly dramatic step has yet to unfold, official Palestinian reaction has so far been positive and welcoming.

In Israel, the King's move had evidently created fresh electioneering possibilities. A few days after the King made his speech, Tehiya party's luminary, MK Geula Cohen, declared that the King's move has now created a "vacuum" which should be filled by Israel's extension of its own law to the occupied territories. Even some cabinet ministers rallied around her demand, while she proceeded to try to convince the prime minister of the need to take such a step.

Commenting on the King's speech the prime minister of Israel concluded in contorted logic that the Jordanian move cast doubt on the very existence of a Palestinian nation. And the venerable Mr Eban, now out of the heat of the fray and in the shadow of impending political retirement, finally found it in himself to admonish the Labor party to consider seriously a "Palestinian option".

Still, from a Palestinian perspective, serious thought should be given to the Jordanian move. And while the details of the various practical steps which the Jordanian regime will take are not yet fully known, it should be possible to view these steps within the framework of long-term Jordanian interests, first among which is the preservation of the Hashemite regime. This, in turn, may help explain the import of the severance of "legal and administrative" relations with the West Bank.

Despite the fact that various commentators and politicians in Israel were quick to pronounce the "Jordanian option" dead, and even spoke of a possible Palestinian option, it is far from clear whether the severance of ties with the West Bank will prove to be in any way permanent. On the contrary, it is entirely possible to view this move as a last ditch effort to bring the Jordanian option back through the back door after it had been kicked out of the front door by the uprising.

True, initial Palestinian public response welcomed the move. It was seen as a belated but final Jordanian acceptance of the existence of a distinct Palestinian national identity. It was also seen as a necessary and significant step on the road to the removal of Jordanian tutelage over the West Bank. Nevertheless, as it stands, the Jordanian move is a mixed blessing. From a Palestinian point of view a preferable step would have been the removal of Jordanian tutelage over the West Bank without any accompanying measures meant to highlight the expected difficulty that the PLO is presumed to face in "meeting its responsibilities" (in the words of some Jordanian officials).

It is not clear whether the PLO will be able to issue accredited passports in the event that Jordanian passports for West Bank Palestinians are not renewed, as has been intimated by some spokesmen in Amman. Nor is it clear whether it will be especially easy to bring in funds to the West Bank to support those whose salaries

will now be cut. Nor is it possible at present for the PLO to provide an outlet for exports from the West Bank and Gaza other than through Jordan.

The Jordanian move aims in part at showing that the PLO will not succeed in substituting completely for Jordan in the occupied territories at the present juncture: Jordan hopes that this will translate into political capital.

The initiative comes in the wake of a series of failed attempts by Jordan to bolster its influence in the occupied territories. Following the temporary setback suffered by the PLO as a result of Israel's invasion of Lebanon, Jordan attempted to avail itself of this opportunity to lay a claim, yet again, to the West Bank. In early 1984 the King revived the Jordanian parliament with representatives from both the East and West Bank. In March 1986 the Jordanian parliament passed a law meant to increase Palestinian representation, and in November 1986 Jordan started its "development plan" for the West Bank.

Throughout this period Jordan's efforts were hardly the success that the King had hoped for, and this became especially clear with the onset of the uprising. The intifada posed the immediate danger of delivering a knockout punch to the Jordanian option, even in view of some Israeli support.

Lest all be lost, it became imperative for the King to keep the Jordanian option at least half alive (it must have been beyond his expectations to breathe full life back into it). It was especially important for Jordan to put a foot back in the political arena before the beginning of any new political initiatives following the Israeli and American elections. Jordan's re-entry would also serve to stunt the growth of a clear and viable Palestinian option.

The King therefore responded to the uprising by making it clear to the Palestinians that the Palestinian option meant, from Jordan's point of view, that the West Bankers would stand to lose privileges they had acquired as a result of their historic association with Jordan. The hope was presumably that this step would help create a base of support for Jordan in the occupied territories among those who stand to lose as the specific Jordanian measures unfold.

Yet the translation of this response into a political gain by having Palestinians in the occupied territories open the door to a Jordanian option is a risky business and has to be handled with care. This makes it essential that Jordan does not sever all "legal and administrative" links with the West Bank permanently and irrevocably. How is this to be done?

The Jordanian regime need not re-invent the wheel. Standard approach in such a situation is to let your enemy lose something but not everything. Total and irrevocable loss, in this context, translates into a gain for the Palestinian option. If Jordan were, for example, to withdraw all Jordanian passports from the inhabitants of the occupied territories and consider them foreign nationals, or officially regard the River Jordan as the ceasefire line, or establish a parliament for the East Bank

alone and hold elections for it, such measures would be definitive and difficult to revoke. In such a situation Jordan would lose its bargaining power with the inhabitants of the occupied territories. Hence the practical measures which will be taken by King Hussein will be less radical. He will attempt to tighten the noose and make life difficult for the Palestinians under occupation, but will keep the door open for "review" and "reassessment". Such a reassessment will take place in conjunction with any political developments that may infuse life into the Jordanian option or any of its constituents.

Jordan's strategic aim remains the prevention of the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza since it perceives in it an implicit or explicit threat to the Hashemite regime in Jordan. And contrary to the King's pious declarations about "complying with the wishes of the PLO", and that "only the PLO is the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people", the Jordanian regime will do its best to remain in the Palestinian political arena.

The King's move is a gambit fraught with risks. But the King has few choices: the intifada has made the stakes very high indeed.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 20, 31st July - 6th August, 1988)

A Change in the Weather

Intense speculation has followed King Hussein's dramatic announcement that he will "cut ties" between Jordan and the West Bank. Release of information by the monarch has been through a series of disclosures which have guaranteed prolonged publicity and debate:

- * rumors were circulated concerning some kind of administrative break;
- * the "Five-Year Plan" was abolished and the parliament dissolved;
- * a dramatic speech announced the cutting of "administrative and legal ties" with the occupied territories;
- * it was declared that the salaries of government officials would no longer be funded.
- * finally the replacement of the Jordanian Ministry for the Occupied Territories by a new department in the Foreign Ministry was announced.

Following King Hussein's speech, Jordanian TV stopped giving weather forecasts for the occupied territories.

Irrespective of the King's real motives, these developments represent a clear new victory for the uprising. The Unified National Leadership has consistently declared that the PLO alone can represent the Palestinians, and that nothing less than an independent Palestinian state can be accepted as a solution to the Palestine/Israel conflict. The King's words now echo those of the uprising, and his

affirmation of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people has been welcomed in the West Bank and Gaza.

But why did he do it? In his speech, Hussien gave the impression that he was concerned about those Palestinians living in Jordan, emphasizing their "obligations and responsibilities as Jordanian citizens." His priority has always been to maintain control on the East Bank. His fear of the uprising spreading has doubtless encouraged his apparent retreat from the autonomy/confederation schemes which are opposed by the majority of Palestinians on both banks of the river.

But Hussein has gone much further than simply affirming the PLO. By cutting the salaries of government employees in the West Bank, he has made it clear that he is prepared to inflict material suffering on the occupied territories as he steps aside, as a kind of punishment for lack of loyalty to the patron.

And he has made a clear challenge for the PLO to "take Jordan's place", while saying that if the PLO needs him, he will be happy to help. The King knows fully well, however, that Israel is unlikely to permit direct funding of West Bank and Gaza institutions by the PLO.

In his speech, the King gave the impression that he would like the PLO to come and ask him to co-operate in affairs related to the West Bank. If this was to occur then his role in the occupied territories would have the seal of approval which he clearly desires. Hussein may feel that such overtures would diffuse opposition to his activities in the territories. They would also be hailed internationally as an indication that "the PLO cannot do it alone."

But if this is Hussein's intention, then once again he has misread the mood in the occupied territories. When in 1986 he announced his Five-Year Plan, he clearly believed that he could buy support from the Palestinians, yet his initiative was promptly and widely condemned, apparently to his surprise. Now he may be trying the opposite, courting support by threatening the occupied territories with various economic sanctions. He has already cut salaries, and may yet restrict travel and other economic ties.

In practice, however, the uprising has given priority to the struggle for independence. Great material sacrifices have and will be made until the goal has been attained, and neither sticks nor carrots can divert this commitment.

Another scenario is that the Plo will say "thank you very much" to Hussein, and renew relations with Jordan on the new basis. In this respect, many international commentators have asked, rhetorically, "Can the PLO do it alone? Are they well enough organized? Will Israel allow it?" Implicit in these kinds of questions is the assumption that the PLO is something outside the occupied territories. But the people of the West Bank and Gaza are also the PLO; the question is not simply whether or not finance can be channelled from Tunis; the crucial question is how the people of the occupied territories will respond to

Hussein's challenge.

The communiques of the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising have consistently called for the formation of independent popular structures, giving popular organization a priority as a basis for continuing the struggle. For the uprising, the apparatus of the "Civil Administration" is a vehicle through which both Jordan and Israel can manipulate and control the population. The response to the decline of this apparatus will be to develop and consolidate the independent alternatives.

The PLO outside the occupied territories should not "fill the gap" left by Jordan by duplicating its work, which was based on the principle of patronage through corruption. The challenge is to find ways to support the existing popular structures.

If Hussein is attentive to the message of the uprising, then let him step aside once and for all by abrogating the constitutional link between the two banks. Then Palestinians can be left to determine their own future without Jordanian interference, while the King will have his hands full sustaining his own monarchy in the East.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 20, July 31st - August 6th, 1988)

THE USA

The Three Noes

The last round of shuttle talks conducted by US Secretary of State Shultz is now completed. From the US perspective his achievements have been rather modest: he has not succeeded in diffusing the uprising; he was ignored by the Palestinians and rebuffed by Shamir, while King Hussein was finally prompted to make a clearer statement in favor of independent PLO representation.

From the Palestinian point of view these same events represent significant advances. The national unanimity over boycotting Shultz was crucial in thwarting any US political maneuvers with "Palestinian moderates", while pressure within Jordan has forced King Hussein to distance himself, for the moment at least, from any initiatives to take the place of the PLO at the negotiating table. The US autonomy plan looks further away than ever.

When Prime Minister Shamir visited Washington, he publicly promised Shultz that the uprising would be over within two weeks, before his next visit.

On Shamir's return, new draconian measures were immediately enforced: mass arrests, closure of shops and markets, preventing the entry of food into major towns, cutting off the money supply, cutting off international phone lines, declaring a 3-day curfew in Gaza and closing off the West Bank for three days. All of these measures have completely failed to diffuse the uprising, which has continued, and indeed escalated despite the Israeli claim that the people are "getting tired".

It may well be the case that journalists are getting tired of travelling around the country in search of news, that editors are getting tired of printing the stories of killings, demonstrations and beatings. The uprising may not be "news" at the moment, but the momentum of popular protest has nonetheless been sustained. The daily toll of martyrs has continued, and demonstrations are still occurring throughout the country.

It is the uprising which thwarted the Shultz initiative, the clear intention of which was to start a negotiation process which would exclude the PLO. Hussein was unable to acquiesce to these overtures, given the current mood of the Palestinians

he rules over. His greatest fear must be that the uprising might prove infectious.

Meanwhile Shultz has continued to repeat his three noes: no to a Palestinian state; no to negotiations with the PLO; and no to an Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders.

On Israeli TV this week he commented that just as he was first and foremost a Californian, yet also an American, so one could be Palestinian and yet form part of some "greater political entity with shared cultural values".

Given his complete failure to implement such a plan, a more rational evaluation of his initiative would be to conclude that his autonomy plan is now quite unworkable.

It is time for the US to recognize the new political conditions which the uprising has created, and to re-formulate policy accordingly. Only an initiative which addresses the national aspirations of the Palestinians can now be successful. Until then, the uprising - with all its regional consequences - will continue.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 5, April 3rd - April 9th)

Editorial: The Shultz Plan

This week marked the beginning of the fourth month of the uprising. More than 100 Palestinians have been killed; several thousand have been wounded. Official Israeli sources report that 2,600 Palestinians who have been arrested during the uprising are currently in Israeli prisons.

The main developments in the struggle during this week included mass demonstrations on International Women's Day, and two days of general strike of all sectors in the West Bank and Gaza.

Mass resignations of Arab police and taxation officials represented a new challenge to the "Civil Administration", while the economic campaign to boycott Israeli produce continued with renewed calls to buy Palestinian goods whenever possible. Economic pressure was also exerted on Israel through the refusal of the EEC to ratify a new favored trading status agreement with Israel.

The initiative of U.S. Secretary of State Shultz has dominated the press during this week. His intentions have been presented in a positive light by many of the Western media, yet have been unanimously condemned both by popular Palestinian protest and by the latest communique from the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising.

It is important to understand the reasons behind the Palestinians' rejection of the Shultz initiative. The main points in the attitude of the uprising to the initiative are as follows.

In the first place, it remains to be seen whether Mr Shultz will find it

worthwhile to make another trip to Israel and some of the adjoining Arab countries. In part, this will depend on his ability to extract "concessions" from Israel's prime minister during the latter's stay in Washington. One of the more curious results of the visit of the secretary of state to Israel is that he now believes (if press reports are to be trusted) that the prime minister of Israel is one of the main obstacles facing the acceptance of his plan for the region.

There is no doubt that Mr Shamir and those behind him who advocate a Greater Israel are an obstacle to peace, and perhaps in more ways than the Secretary has dreamt of. But the fact that his plan does not call for official Palestinian representation in a context acceptable to the Palestinians does not seem to weigh heavily on his mind. He seems to be content to leave the small matter of Palestinian representation to the ingenuity of the Jordanians and the Egyptians. The Secretary has yet to explain how his "peace initiative" will bring about any peace without the participation of one of the main parties to the conflict.

This could hardly be an oversight on the part of the Secretary. Indeed, it dramatizes rather starkly the central feature of his initiative. Mr Shultz crossed all the way over to the American Colony Hotel in East Jerusalem to meet Palestinians and found none waiting. If the irony in the name of the hotel is not enough to explain their absence, it must be said that his attempt to meet "Palestinians" is a fig leaf which cannot disguise the absence of the PLO from his plan.

The Palestinians believe that Mr Shultz has nothing new to offer. What he has brought with him is an updated version of the autonomy plan that leaves the original essentially intact. It promises Palestinians elections for a local leadership to administer - in complete autonomy and freedom - matters such as sewage disposal and health care. This is presented as being for a temporary period, after which the status of the land is - in some undefined way - to be renegotiated. Mr Shultz has yet to convince Mr Shamir that this stage should be anything other than a permanent settlement.

Meanwhile the Palestinian land will remain occupied, settlements will proliferate with generous government support. Israel's army will continue to patrol the streets of Palestinian towns, villages and camps whenever they decide that it is in the interest of the security of Israel. This is supposed to occur under the complete "autonomy" of a local Palestinian leadership.

The real point is not whether to meet or not to meet Mr Shultz. In principle there is no objection to meeting Mr Shultz at the negotiating table of an international conference. The condition for the conference is that it should be attended by all members of the UN Security Council, with the PLO present as an independent party representing the Palestinian people.

It is ironic that the country which, for so long, has preached the "virtues" of realism and pragmatism to Arabs in general and Palestinians in particular is unable

to see any wisdom for itself in the virtues that it advocated to others.

Had the Secretary undertaken a similar initiative before the uprising, he might possibly have been excused, although he would not have been commended. But Mr Shultz has been unable to learn from the uprising which propelled his administration into action. Even the wayward and lone Palestinian souls who would have rushed to meet the Secretary under different circumstances drew the correct conclusions from the uprising and stayed home.

Even if Mr Shultz were to have been taken to see the ubiquitous wall slogans in Palestinian towns and villages in the occupied territories, he could not have read the writing on the wall. But the writing is clear and there to see for those with a realistic vision. It says: Yes to national self-determination. Yes to the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Yes to the international conference as an instrument of peace. Yes to peace with justice.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 1, 5th March - 12th March)

Reporting Shultz: The Need for Context

Last week I spoke to an American friend who has, for many years, been a supporter of the Palestinian cause. He knows about the refugee question, and he supports the idea of Palestinian self-determination. It is not the main issue in his life, but he is a supporter. He had been following, in the press, the latest "peace initiative" of Mr Shultz, and was confused about why the Palestinians should refuse to meet him. After all, his proposals sounded quite sensible: an interim period of autonomy leading to a final settlement. What was wrong with that?

Of course, the Palestinian objection is that Mr Shultz is quite openly against an independent Palestinian state, against negotiations with the PLO, and against the return to the 1967 borders. But why, after reading the daily press and watching the daily news, did my friend not understand this simple point?

There has not been a conspiracy of silence from the press against the Palestinians. Indeed, during the uprising, the contrary would seem to have been true. The papers and the TV screens have been packed with images which have provoked widespread sympathy for the Palestinians and legitimacy for their cause. Rather the answer lies in the way that the Shultz initiative has been covered.

A succession of meetings have been reported in which Mr Shultz has made "peace proposals" to various Middle East leaders. Shamir, in rejecting these proposals, has appeared to be against peace. Peres, by welcoming the proposals, has appeared to be in favor of peace. Mr Shultz has succeeded in projecting, to the Western world, the image of the well-meaning "peacemaker".

In order to achieve this image, it has not been necessary for journalists to actively pay Mr Shultz compliments. By simply reporting the series of talks as a "peace initiative", and by omitting adequate political commentary, the Western audience is simply left with this impression.

In fact the Palestine-Israel conflict is an arena for competing proposals on what a "peace settlement" should consist of. The Palestinians have a different set of proposals from Israel and the Americans. In practical terms all Mr Shultz has done is repeat the same basic formulas which both the US and Israel have supported since the Camp David accords: some kind of "autonomy" which does not give the Palestinians political independence, and which does not give them the right to determine their own leadership, which would clearly be the PLO.

The Palestinians are proposing an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza under the leadership of the PLO. Their "peace proposal" has been firmly rejected by both Israel and the US. Yet when Palestinians present this proposal it is not reported as a peace initiative. When Palestinians refused to meet Mr Shultz in East Jerusalem this was the proposal they were making. The Western audience, however, was left with the impression that the Palestinians were rather rude and uncooperative for not meeting the US Secretary of State. There was no suggestion that, perhaps, Mr Shultz might be a little rude and uncooperative for categorically rejecting the Palestinian proposals.

It may not be the job of journalists to take sides. But if it is their job to educate the public, then the real issues need to be presented. The apparently objective reporting of a series of meetings can, unless properly placed in context, serve to publicize the point of view of one party to the conflict.

By giving Mr Shultz center stage, he has been able to present himself as a well-meaning peacemaker because his language sounds very peaceful, and because the real political issues have not been emphasized sufficiently for the reader or viewer to grasp the underlying meaning of his proposals.

If the competing political proposals are explained objectively, then the audience can judge for themselves. But simply reporting "peace initiatives" without adequate commentary allows those politicians who are given the limelight to peddle their slogans which serve, not to inform, but rather to confuse.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 6, April 9th - April 17th, 1988)

THE SOVIET UNION

The Soviet Position

While the Shultz "peace initiative" has been widely covered in the international press, the Soviet position has received relatively little attention. The following statement was read by the Soviet ambassador in Washington to Shimon Peres, the Israeli foreign minister, during his recent visit to the US:

"The current Soviet approach towards an international conference and the Arab-Israeli conflict is based on the principles of ensuring the balance of interests of all the sides and searching for a constructive and mutually acceptable resolution of all aspects of the conflict. This approach is the result of intensive diplomatic contact recently held by the USSR.

We proceed from the premise that there are principles of the Middle East conflict from which one cannot escape. As to how to approach these principles and translate them into reality, in this field flexibility could be exercised.

Durable peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved unless the sides of the conflict consistently adhere to the principles of equality, equal security, non-interference in the domestic affairs of each other, respect for political independence and sovereignty, and non-use of force in resolving disputable issues. The territorial basis of the settlement is defined by the UN resolution which envisages the withdrawal of Israeli troops from territories occupied in the course of the 1967 military conflict: the West Bank of Jordan, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights. It is necessary to ensure the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. How the Palestinians will exercise this is up to them; to live in their own state or to enter into confederation with any of their neighbors must be decided by them only by means of their free volition.

An international conference under the auspices of the UN is the generally

recognised mechanism to search for mutually acceptable solutions of all aspects of the Middle East conflict. The legal basis of the conference must be the recognition by all its participants of resolutions 242 and 338 of the UN Security Council and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people including the right to self-determination. An international conference is a universal forum which presupposes most diverse forms of participants' interaction - none of them has the right to impose decisions upon other participants. The conference can be attended by representatives of all the sides involved in the conflict, including the Arab people of Palestine as well as permanent members of the UN Security Council. We proceed from the fact that the legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine is the PLO.

As to the role of the permanent members of the UN Security Council, it would be to create a constructive atmosphere for conduct of negotiations at the conference. For this purpose in particular, they could collectively or individually table proposals and recommendations which could provide the achievement of a mutually acceptable agreement. The invitations to all participants in the conference are to be issued by the UN Secretary General. The work of the conference can be conducted in three basic forums: plenary meetings convened with one or another degree of regularity, as well as on the basis of requests from direct participants of the conference, multilateral working groups on issues which concern the interests of all or of the majority of the sides to the conflict, geographical working groups on a bi-lateral basis which would consider questions directly related to one or other Arab side and Israel in such a way of course that the interests of third parties would not be infringed upon as a matter of principle. We are not against intermediate measures and stages on the way to a comprehensive settlement, however, such measures and stages should be considered and realized in the framework of the conference and in a linkage with the final solution. []

(FACTS Weekly Review, 13, 5th June - 11th June, 1988)

THE ARAB SUMMIT

Summit Resolution

This week eyes were turned to the Arab summit. That this summit was convened at all is in itself an achievement of the uprising, as certain Arab leaders appeared to be hoping to delay the summit until the uprising had subsided.

The statements made at the summit reflected some of the demands of the Palestinians: the PLO was re-affirmed as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and the right of the Palestinians to be represented by the PLO as an independent delegation at the proposed international conference was endorsed.

The significance of these statements lies in the suspicion that certain Arab leaders were maneuvering to encourage some form of Palestinian delegation which would amount to less than full and independent PLO representation. The popular Arab support for the heroism of the uprising has created conditions where these leaders are now unable to support such an option.

While most Palestinians feel that the overall results of the summit are positive, there remains a general suspicion of the intentions of some of the Arab regimes: there is always a gap between their rhetoric and their actions.

In their letter to the summit (see previous issue) the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising included a clear demand that Arab countries should release all Palestinian political prisoners, and that they should allow the Palestinians to establish their organizations in the Arab countries, as a practical demonstration of their support for the Palestinian cause. It seems rather unlikely that this demand will be accepted.

The behavior of the Arab leaders towards their own people is also of significance: while they continue to deny their own people basic human and political rights, it is difficult to lend credibility to their pronounced support of the rights of

the Palestinians.

The rhetorical statements, then, are not enough. The Arab world will be judged, not by its rhetoric, but by its actions.

At the superpower level, the US/Soviet summit did not lead to any clear new positions on the Middle East. The statement made by the Soviet ambassador in Washington to the Israeli foreign minister, however, re-iterates clearly Soviet support for the Palestinian position (see this issue). As relations between the superpowers improve, it is to be hoped that the option of withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories will be placed on the negotiating table. This would be an essential component of a plan for regional stabilization which would have any chance of success.

Of course, in an election year US politicians are unlikely to do anything that might bruise the sensitivities of the Zionist lobby, but the next administration will surely have an interest in continuing the thawing of relations with the Soviet Union.

The Palestinians understand that these processes will take time to bring an independent state to fruition. There is a clear commitment, however, to continue the escalation of protest for years to come, so that pressure on the Arab world and the US can be maintained. Today Israel and the US are saying no, but as the economic and social cost of the uprising increases for Israel, and as the legitimacy of the Palestinian struggle grows in the eyes of the world, so pressure will grow in favor of a settlement.

In the long run it must be recognized that true peace - peace with justice - is being sought by the PLO. It will no longer be credible to dismiss the PLO as a "terrorist organization".

It is time for the nation which claims to promote the ideals of democracy, freedom and justice to realize that applying these principles in its Middle East policy will serve, not only its own interests, but also those of all peoples of the Middle East, and, indeed, the world. []

(FACTS Weekly Review, 13, 5th June - 11th June, 1988)

Summit Letter

The following open letter was released by the Unified Leadership of the Uprising, in anticipation of the forthcoming Arab summit:

"To Shathili Qulaybi, General Secretary of the Arab League, and the Presidents and Kings of the Arab countries.

From the main front of confrontation with the enemies of our people and from Jerusalem, the midst of suffering for thousands of detainees and wounded, we ask

you to bear your national responsibilities in supporting the uprising.

Our people, children, women, the elderly and the youth, are intent on continuing their struggle under the leadership of the PLO. The struggle will carry on until the fulfillment of the rights of the Palestinian people, foremost the right of return and self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO.

The masses of the uprising are waiting for you to fulfill your responsibilities through political, financial and moral support of the uprising and the PLO, in order to enable the Palestinian people to fulfill the aims of its struggle: the defense of our holy places and our dignity so that our people may live in freedom, in an independent state on the nation's soil. We proclaim to you that the aims of our struggle for which we seek your support are the following:

- 1) The provision of international protection for the masses of our people against the massacres of the Zionist occupation as a step towards ending the occupation and establishing the independence and freedom of our people.

- 2) The abolition of emergency laws and the withdrawal of the Israeli army from cities, villages and camps.

- 3) The rejection of all the fraudulent proposals which deny our people's rights, starting with Camp David autonomy and ending with Shultz's proposals.

- 4) The convening of an international conference with full decision-making authority and the participation of the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, and with the participation of the PLO as an independent and equal party to the other participants. This conference should be considered the only framework for the achievement of a peaceful and just settlement.

- 5) The establishment of our independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO.

We thus demand the following from your conference:

- 1) The media coverage of the uprising should be intensified in order to expose the practices of the occupation against our people.

- 2) There should be constant and permanent co-ordination with our sole legitimate representative, the PLO, on the basis of equity and independence.

- 3) Palestinian detainees in Arab countries should be released.

- 4) Palestinians in the host Arab countries should be allowed to establish institutions and unions, to be incorporated into the ongoing struggle against the Zionist enemy.

- 5) PLO support funds should be established for the channelling of Arab assistance.

- 6) The Arab masses should be allowed to support our uprising and so consolidate Arab unity.

7) Arab borders with Israel should be opened for guerrilla struggle.

The struggle of our people over the past 70 years has been crowned by this uprising. This struggle has achieved many goals for our nation and for the Arab nations. Your support for us in the establishment of our independent state is fundamental for the unification of the Arab masses.

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising in the West Bank and Gaza Strip

5th June 1988

(FACTS Weekly Review, 12, 29.5 - 4th July, 1988)

THE UNITED NATIONS

A Role for the UN

One of the major aims of the United Nations is to encourage the peaceful resolution of international conflicts. Over the Palestinian issue the organization has attempted to exert its influence through numerous resolutions which have, by and large, been ignored by Israel. As the uprising continues, and pressure grows for a solution, so there may be a constructive role for a new level of UN involvement.

If Israel were to agree to the proposed international peace conference under UN auspices, then the organization could facilitate conflict resolution by supervising negotiations. But for the moment Israel is refusing to come to the negotiating table with the representatives of the Palestinians, the PLO. Until there is a change of heart, the uprising and the specter of escalating Israeli violence will remain.

The UN has a mandate to encourage the observance of international laws, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Fourth Geneva Convention. Both have been systematically violated by Israel since the beginning of occupation, however the scale and intensity of these violations have escalated dramatically during the uprising.

The Fourth Geneva Convention

The 4th Geneva Convention concerns the protection of civilians in time of war. Article 33 forbids collective punishment (see insert) which comprises one of the main planks of Israel's strategy for deterring resistance. Collective punishments include house demolition, curfews, crop destruction, permit refusal, mass beatings and cutting off of water, electricity and communications.

Deportation (article 49) is also forbidden, yet Israel continues this policy, and also flouts the convention by moving detainees from the occupied territories into prisons in Israel.

Destruction of property (article 53) is also forbidden: the Israeli army routinely destroys crops, smashes furniture and machinery and demolishes houses.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights comprises 30 articles, the majority of which are openly flouted by Israel. For example, article 5 prohibits torture and cruel or degrading treatment - these practices are routine in the West Bank and Gaza.

The right to protection before the law is asserted in articles 6,7,8,10 and 11: in the occupied territories there is no longer even the pretense of the rule of law. In the streets the army is the law, practising unrestrained thuggery without any possibility of legal redress for the victims. (Occasional charges, for public relations purposes, are brought against soldiers who are careless enough to be filmed while committing atrocities.)

When the army brings charges against Palestinians, courts are rubber stamps which are less than a parody of justice; even this formality of court proceedings is currently avoided through administrative detention without trial.

Articles 13 and 15 assert the right to nationality and freedom of movement respectively. Israel denies the Palestinians the right to a nationality, and the right of refugees to return to their homeland. On a day-to-day basis travel within the occupied territories and abroad is severely restricted.

The Declaration also contains the right to freedom of expression (19), peaceful assembly (20), and the right to take part in government (21): the Palestinians do not enjoy any of these rights.

The international community and the United Nations have formally undertaken to promote adherence to the preceding articles. The EEC has attempted to exert influence through avoiding the ratification of trade protocols with Israel, in protest against Israel's behavior in the West Bank and Gaza. More comprehensive economic sanctions from the international community, however, are perhaps unrealistic at this stage.

The UN, however, does have several options which it could pursue:

Observer Force

If an observer force was permanently stationed in the occupied territories with the express purpose of monitoring the rights of the population, then a new channel of information flow would be created which might help to restrain the violence of the occupier.

Many of the worst abuses are committed by the army during curfews and in closed military areas when journalists are not permitted to enter, while censorship further restricts release of information. A neutral observer force would provide the

UN with a detailed and reliable source of information, which would also help bring the real picture of life under military occupation to the world's attention.

Peacekeeping Troops

One of the requested demands of the Unified Leadership of the Uprising has been for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the population centers of the West Bank and Gaza. Israel justifies its presence as being to "protect" the population and maintain order, while in reality the army is both a cause of protest, and a source of deep insecurity for the population.

International pressure could be mounted to persuade Israel to withdraw from the towns, villages and camps pending a negotiated settlement. A UN peacekeeping force could be stationed which would "maintain order" and would, in reality, insulate the Palestinians from the attacks of the army.

The UN could also fulfil several other useful functions including:

- a. Expanding the provision of UNRWA services.
- b. Broadening the mandate of UNRWA to include publicizing the plight of the refugees under occupation.
- c. Encouraging member states to exert diplomatic pressure on Israel to abide by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 4th Geneva Convention.

In the long run, the UN will have a key role to play in supervising negotiations for the creation of an independent Palestinian state. In the interim much can be done to create conditions which can bring the negotiating process nearer.[]

(FACTS Weekly Review, 18, 10th - 16th July, 1988)

Excerpts from the Fourth Geneva Convention

ARTICLE 49

"Individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportations of protected persons from the occupied territory to the territory of the occupying power or that of any other country, occupied or not, are prohibited, regardless of their motive."

ARTICLE 53

"Any destruction by the occupying power of real or personal property ... is prohibited, except where such destruction is rendered absolutely necessary by military operations."

ARTICLE 33

"No protected person may be punished for an offence he or she has not personally committed ... Reprisals against protected persons and their property are prohibited."

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Article 5.

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6.

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7.

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8.

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by constitution of by law.

Article 10.

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11.

(1) Everyone charged with a penal offense has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has all guarantees necessary for his defense.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 13.

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the

borders of each state.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 15.

(1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

(2) No one shall be deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 19.

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any medium and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20.

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21.

(1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed by periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

(FACTS Weekly Review, 18, 10th July - 16th July, 1988)

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Why an International Conference?

One of the demands of the uprising is that the Palestine/Israel conflict should be resolved through the medium of an international conference. Shamir has rejected the idea of any kind of international conference, and has been presented as being obstructive by the Western media. Both Shultz, and Shimon Peres, have also proposed some kind of conference.

There are, however, substantive differences between the kind of conference which the Palestinians are proposing, and that supported by Shultz and Peres. The issue of Palestinian representation is the most straightforward difference. The Palestinians demand that they be represented by the PLO, whereas Shultz/Peres envisage some other form of Palestinian representation (for example a "joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation"). This would seem rather undemocratic, as there is no disputing the fact that the overwhelming majority of Palestinians consider the PLO to be their sole legitimate representative. If you want to make peace with the Palestinians you have to make peace with the PLO.

They say that they will not negotiate with a "terrorist organization", but this is a tactic rather than an absolute principle. If the principle of not negotiating with terrorist organizations was taken to its logical conclusion then the US should refuse to negotiate with Shamir: his terrorist past before 1948 is well known.

The point is that Shamir considers that his pre-Israeli terrorist past was a legitimate form of struggle in the Zionist national liberation movement. The Palestinian national liberation movement is not afforded this same legitimacy. Israel is not interested in a form of peace settlement which addresses the aspirations of the Palestinians themselves.

The other question concerns the objectives of the international conference. The Palestinians are saying that the conference should have full decision-making authority. What they mean is that the conference should be a forum for negotiating

a peace settlement, rather than one where all parties air their views and then go home. It is no secret that the Palestinians want an independent state, and it is also well known that Israel rejects this. A conference of this kind, which had no commitment to negotiating a settlement, would serve no practical purpose, and would hold a danger: the Shultz/Peres conception of the conference is that it would be a first step towards direct negotiations between Israel and its neighbors. After an airing of views Israel would begin direct negotiations with Jordan.

The Palestinians oppose this idea because they believe that a just resolution of the Palestine question should be the first step towards peace in the region. Israel, on the other hand, would like to normalize its relations with its Arab neighbors without addressing the Palestine question. They want normal relations with the Arab world but they do not want a Palestinian state.

Thus the Palestinians see the idea of an international conference without the PLO and without decision-making authority as being a device to normalize relations with the Arab world while ignoring the aspirations of the Palestinian people.

Shamir has opposed the idea of any kind of international conference on the grounds that Israel would be forced to do something against its will. This is not correct. The conference would be a forum for negotiation. All parties would have to agree to a settlement for it to be workable; if Israel did not agree then it could not be forced to implement anything (unless there was an extraordinary change in US policy). The conference would merely ensure a framework for negotiations in which the main parties in the conflict - both Israel and the Palestinians - would be represented.

Israel has tried to show that the Palestinians do not want peace. In reality the Palestinians have a clear and reasonable peace proposal: an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel is a clearly stated national objective. Of course Israelis also want peace, but under different conditions. They want peace with their Arab neighbors without conceding a state for the Palestinians. This is the issue at the heart of the conflict; despite Israeli attempts to confuse and obscure this fact, real peace - peace with justice - can only be achieved when this question is faced directly. []

(FACTS Weekly Review, 11, 22nd May - 28th May, 1988)

TOWARDS A SOLUTION

Towards a Solution

One of the consequences of the uprising has been to increase the political weight of public opinion in the West Bank and Gaza. In some respects the leadership in the diaspora had tended to take the initiative in political decision-making, with the population of the occupied territories taking a secondary and more passive role. Since the uprising the views of the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza have been listened to with new attentiveness in the diaspora.

This phenomenon was clearly illustrated during the series of visits which Shultz made to the area: the people of the occupied territories took the initiative in unequivocally rejecting the plan; this line was subsequently followed by the outside leadership.

The recent statement by Bassam Abu Sharif, advisor to PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, has stimulated fierce debate in the Palestinian diaspora. His statement calls for a two-state solution to the Palestine/Israel conflict through the medium of bi-lateral negotiations with Israel, through a UN-sponsored international conference, with international guarantees for the security of both states. The statement is distinguished by the clear and unambiguous nature of its proposals.

Prior to the circulation of this paper, the two-state solution enjoyed wide support in the occupied territories as the political basis for a solution to the Palestine/Israel conflict. For example, on 13th June a group of Palestinian and Israeli writers, artists and academics published a "treaty" (see overleaf) calling for a two-state solution, with a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Since the release of Abu Sharif's statement, all major daily and weekly Palestinian newspapers in the occupied territories have publicly supported his position. On July 4th the editorial of al-Quds daily stated that:

"... a detailed analysis of Abu Sharif's document shows that its contents

contradict neither the resolutions of the 18th Palestine National Council, nor the resolutions of the last Arab Summit conference..".

On 5th July the al-Fajr editorial noted that:

"... Abu Sharif's document is one of the clearest recent documents which deals with the Palestinian cause, based on the resolutions of the last PNC and the Arab Summit in Algiers..."

Al-Bayader al-Siyassi commented on 2nd July that:

"... the US administration is trying to escape from facing the Palestinian peace initiative as it has done with other peace initiatives such as the Fez peace initiative and the Brejznev proposals..."

In addition, the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising in Nablus has recently published a communique which explicitly supports the objective of the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza (see below).

These, and other indications of support for a two-state solution from the population of the West Bank and Gaza, together with the increased weight now accorded to public opinion in the occupied territories, have created conditions which make it easier for Palestinians in the diaspora to declare their support for this position in a clear and unambiguous manner.

These political developments stand as one of the achievements of the uprising: new political contours have been created which have brought closer the prospect of a just and lasting peace. []

(FACTS Weekly Review, 17, 3rd July - 9th July 1988)

The Israeli and Palestinian Writers', Artists' and
Academics' Committee Against the Occupation
and for Peace and Freedom to Create.

An Israel-Falastin Peace Treaty

We the undersigned, Jewish and Arab writers, artists and academics in the state of Israel and Palestinians in the occupied territories, hereby accept and adopt the following peace treaty between the state of Israel and that of Falastin, the principles of which are as follows:

1. The creation of a sovereign and independent Palestinian state in all the territories occupied by Israel since the War of 1967 in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.
2. The sovereign Palestinian State acknowledges and recognizes the right of

the State of Israel to live in peace and security within its borders preceding 5th June 1967. Concurrently, the State of Israel acknowledges and recognizes the right of the Palestinian State of Falastin to live in peace and security within its own borders.

3. The two sovereign states, Israel and Falastin, will sign a peace treaty and a non-aggression accord between themselves. Proper international guarantees will be required to ensure the sovereignty and peaceful existence of the two states within their recognized borders.

4. A demilitarized Jerusalem with open borders, in which citizens of both States live side by side in peace, is the capital of the State of Israel as well as the capital of the sovereign State of Falastin.

5. A just solution will be found to the refugee problem within the framework of the peace treaty.

6. All the stages, processes and procedures leading to the creation of the State of Falastin will take place under international supervision.

We hereby call upon the government of the state of Israel to enter immediately into negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization with the intent of realizing the above outlined peace treaty within the framework of an international conference or any other framework acceptable to both parties involved. All the parties involved undertake to cease all acts of violence against each other immediately upon the beginning of the peace negotiations.

(FACTS Weekly Review, 17, 3rd July - 9th July, 1988)

Nablus Communique

Issued by the National Unified Leadership of the Uprising in Nablus
No Voices Rises Above the Voice of the Uprising

O masses of our heroic people, you who have recorded through your heroic struggle an epic of steadfastness and defiance in the face of the fascist occupation authorities, those authorities who had misled themselves to believe that by the use of their might, force and power they are able to end your mighty uprising. But here is your almighty uprising at the doors of its eighth month while constantly accomplishing more victories and thus destroying the myth of the unconquerable enemy. Our struggling people has accomplished with its firm determination and persistence, and through its confrontations with the occupation, great gains which have forced the fascist enemy to reconsider its calculations, and which have firmly rooted an international conviction in the justice of our cause: the cause of an

occupied population struggling for its right to self-determination and the establishment of its independent state.

The uprising of our heroic people has taken precedence in all international circles and has thus re-affirmed the nationalist and liberationist nature of the struggle of our people. It has also re-affirmed the clear objectives of the uprising in ending the occupation and in establishing an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip with Jerusalem as its capital.

The uprising of our people has participated in opening new horizons which are widening day after day on the road to the convening of an international conference with full authority.

The mighty uprising of our people has swept aside all of the Zionist and imperialist proposals and plans, and has revealed beyond any question or misinterpretation that the accomplishment of a just and permanent peace in the Middle East will not come true except with the end of the occupation and the right to self-determination for the Palestinian people including its right to return and to establish its independent state. The practical mechanism to this end lies in the convening of an international conference with full authority and with the participation of all parties in the conflict including the PLO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and on equal footing.

Such a conference will form the international cover (umbrella) needed to arrange for international guarantees which provide security and settlement for all the countries in the region including the forthcoming Palestinian state.

Our struggling people strongly condemns and denounces the fighting among the Palestinian groups in Lebanon. This bloodshed, the destruction of camps and the expulsion of their populations, are grave matters which our people, the people of the uprising, cannot accept since they are outside the national consensus and are against the nationalist ethics and the eminent principles that our people has been raised on. Our people cannot accept any of the justifications given for this mad fighting from any group including those given by the dissidents of Fatah under the leadership of Abu Musa.

The methods that the Israeli occupation has recently resorted to in an attempt to divide and rule the people of the uprising, through spreading rumors and raising factional disputes, have all failed because our people is conscious and aware enough to discover any plot aimed to divide it.

The latest events of burning cars, shops and stores are the acts of the enemy and its collaborators. The secret police will always fail to disguise its acts behind different faces of names, faced with our awareness and maturity.

The National Unified Leadership in Nablus salutes the courageous merchants who continue to refuse to be intimidated by the enemy's oppressive measures. We call on those merchants to continue opening their shops until eleven o'clock and to

stand up against the repeated attempts of the tax collectors. A firm collective stand is the key to success, and the threats of the occupation authorities to confiscate your identity cards reflect their state of loss and confusion. The uniformity of the merchants' stand will force the authorities to return your identity cards the way it happened in Ramallah.

The UNLU salutes those who have resigned from the Civil Administration offices and calls upon the few who have not yet resigned to do so immediately.

The UNLU salutes our students who are abiding by the directives, and we call on them to form unified committees amongst the students. The educational process should go hand in hand with the revolutionary process and we should all stand up against any attempt to disrupt the educational process. Our students' maturity and political awareness are instrumental in defeating the occupation.

Long live the mighty uprising of our people!

Long live the heroic struggle of our people!

Long live the PLO, the sole and legitimate representative of our people!

The National Unified Leadership in Nablus

4th July, 1988

(FACTS Weekly Review, 17, 3rd July - 9th July, 1988)

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TOWARDS A STATE OF INDEPENDENCE

is a collection of articles published by the FACTS Information Committee. The collection provides detailed accounts of the first 8 months of the Palestinian uprising, including form of resistance, Israeli repression, and the hope for a just resolution.

Published in the West Bank and Gaza, the collection provides an account of the uprising from the perspective of the Palestinians under occupation.