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**LIST OF PALESTINIAN NEGOTIATORS
INCLUDES MANY WHO BACK THE PLO**

By Gil Sedan

JERUSALEM, Oct. 22 (JTA) -- A 14-member Palestinian negotiating team, heavily laden with professionals and academics from the West Bank and Gaza Strip, was made public Tuesday at a news conference at the National Hotel here.

They will go to Madrid for the opening of the Middle East peace conference Oct. 30, and four days later will face the Israeli team across the negotiating table, if all goes according to schedule.

The list, which had been unofficial until now, includes several men who affirm allegiance to Yasir Arafat's Al Fatah faction of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

But as none is a known member of the PLO, the United States was able to affirm to Israel that the PLO would not officially be a party to the peace talks.

The news conference was called by Faisal Husseini, the Palestinian activist who heads a six-member advisory panel that will accompany the negotiating team to Madrid but not participate directly in the negotiations.

Husseini, a dedicated nationalist who has had frequent meetings with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in recent months, is an open supporter of the PLO but not identified as a member.

The chairman of the negotiating team is Dr. Haider Abdel-Shafi, a 72-year-old physician from the Gaza Strip. He chairs the Red Crescent Society there, the Moslem equivalent of the Red Cross, which is headed by Yasir Arafat's brother, Dr. Fathi Arafat, also a physician.

Many Academics On The List

Abdel-Shafi, considered a moderate, was one of the founders of the PLO in 1964 and is still a staunch supporter.

Other members of the team are Samir Abdullah, who is associated with the Communist Party in the territories; Sami Kilani, a writer and lecturer at An-Najah University in Nablus who supports Fatah; and Ghasan Khatib, a professor of economics from Ramallah who is a Communist.

The member whose name may be the most familiar abroad is Mayor Elias Freij of Bethlehem, a Palestinian Christian.

Also on the list are Mustafa Natshe, the former mayor of Hebron who was deposed by the Israeli authorities because of his associations with Fatah; Nabil Ja'abari, chairman of the board of Hebron University; Dr. Nabil Kasis, a Christian who lectures in physics at Bir Zeit University in the West Bank; and Professor Abdul Rahman Hamad, who comes from the Gaza Strip and lectures in engineering at Bir Zeit.

Others are Dr. Zakaria al-Agha, a Gaza physician associated with Fatah who also has met with Baker; Mamdouh Aker, a physician from Nablus; Freh Abu-Mdein, chairman of the Gaza Bar Association; Dr. Saeb Erekat, a political science lecturer from Jericho; and Sameh Canaan, who served 12 years in jail for terrorist activities and was deported but allowed to return to Nablus.

He is the son of a Jewish woman who converted to Islam in the 1940s.

NEWS ANALYSIS:**PLO WILL HAVE BIG OFF-STAGE ROLE
AT MIDEAST PEACE TALKS IN MADRID**

By Gil Sedan

JERUSALEM, Oct. 22 (JTA) -- Israel has succeeded in denying the Palestine Liberation Organization an official role at the Middle East peace conference opening in Madrid next week.

But there are signs that the PLO will have a strong off-stage presence.

Moreover, by successfully excluding the PLO as a negotiating partner, Israel may have elevated the status of the local intifada leadership, which it has been trying to subdue for nearly four years.

The Palestinian negotiating team, selected, at Israel's insistence, exclusively from residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, represents the intellectual, ideological and political underpinnings of the uprising.

Even more so does the six-member advisory council, headed by Faisal Husseini of East Jerusalem, which will go to Madrid to serve as a liaison between the negotiating team and the PLO.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has already expressed annoyance with the United States for that.

Shamir told reporters Monday he had not known that the Americans would issue invitations to the Madrid conference to Faisal Husseini, Hanan Ashrawi and other Palestinian leaders whom Israel disqualified as negotiating partners.

The local Palestinian leaders still acknowledge the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, but that incantation is now often accompanied by a wink.

Not Beholden To Arafat

Yasir Arafat, to be sure, is undergoing rehabilitation in the Arab world since falling into disrepute for his support of Iraq in the Persian Gulf War.

He was received warmly in Damascus this week after years of being persona non grata in Syria. He has also patched up differences with King Hussein of Jordan and President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt.

But the PLO leader no longer commands unquestioned obedience from his Palestinian constituency. The nationalists and activists in the territories possess greater legitimacy as representatives of the Palestinian population under Israeli rule than Arafat's PLO in far-off Tunis.

Israeli policy-makers, no less than Arafat, may be affected by the new dynamics emerging from the peace process.

The Israelis boast that they won every point in their long negotiations with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker over the composition of the Palestinian delegation.

They excluded residents of East Jerusalem and "the Palestinian diaspora," as well as anyone with known PLO connections.

The United States assured Israel it would not have to talk to anyone it found unacceptable.

Without showing them an official list, the United States assured Israel that the Palestinian team meets its criteria.

Yet if the list of names released to the

media Tuesday is correct, Israel's Palestinian partners at the peace talk are at least unofficially representatives of the PLO.

Arafat boasted in Cairo this week that he appointed Faisal Husseini as his personal representative in the preparatory talks with Secretary Baker and that the East Jerusalem activist was, in all but name, the head of the Palestinian negotiating team.

3 Layers Of Representation

If that is true, the official chairman of the delegation, Dr. Haider Abdel-Shafi, a 72-year-old physician from the Gaza Strip, is a figurehead. But Shafi told Israel Radio on Monday that if necessary, he and his colleagues were prepared to declare openly that they are PLO members.

Since the PLO intends to send its own team of observers to Madrid, it will have three layers of representation there, the innermost of which will be sitting face to face with the Israelis.

But that does not necessarily translate into a pervasive PLO influence. Husseini and his colleagues have constantly consulted with Tunis, but they have not always agreed to its decrees.

The very fact that the PLO will not participate in the peace conference officially is due as much to the emerging power of the local Palestinian leadership as to Israel's objections.

The local leaders are impatient to get the political process started, regardless of formalities. They are aiming for its substance: the right of Palestinian self-determination.

Husseini could not have operated independently of the PLO had he not been backed by a cadre of young Palestinian activists who enjoy considerable influence in the Palestinian "street."

Many, like himself, are former inmates of Israeli prisons. A large number are professors at the Arab universities in the territories or are trade union leaders.

The list of Palestinian delegates reveals strong representation from Bir Zeit University near Ramallah, which the Israeli authorities have kept closed since the early days of the intifada because it was a hotbed of Palestinian nationalism.

In short, the clandestine command of the intifada has emerged from the closet and achieved the status of legitimate negotiating partners.

Palestinians Are Optimistic

Small wonder, then, that in contrast to Israeli misgivings, a wave of optimism has swept the Palestinian political community since the Madrid conference was announced last Friday.

For the first time since Israel conquered the West Bank and Gaza Strip 24 years ago, the Palestinians have their own representatives enjoying de facto immunity from Israeli power.

Husseini and his compatriots no longer need fear Israeli reprisals. Having conferred repeatedly with Baker, they are free under the American umbrella to roam the world, attend nationalist forums, such as the Palestine National Council meeting in Algiers, and send delegates to meet the Israelis as equals.

By accepting the U.S.-Soviet invitation to the peace conference, the Shamir government essentially handed the Palestinians their first slice of autonomy.

And the Palestinians going to Madrid hope for much more. They believe the conference bodes well for them, especially as they have little to lose and much to gain.

SHAMIR OFFERS NO CONCESSIONS IN REMARKS TO E.C. PARLIAMENT By Yossi Lempkowicz

STRASBOURG, France, Oct. 22 (JTA) -- Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir used a visit here Tuesday to lay out to members of the European Parliament the positions on which Israel hopes to negotiate peace with its Arab neighbors and the Palestinians.

He offered no concessions.

Because only heads of state can address the plenary, Shamir spoke behind closed doors to an informal group of more than 100 members of the Parliament, which serves as the European Community's legislative body.

While he clearly hoped to convince them of the merits of Israel's case, he was adamant on the pivotal issues over which the Middle East peace conference opening in Madrid next week might succeed or fail.

Shamir flatly excluded a freeze on Jewish settlement-building in the administered territories and ruled out territorial concessions.

He made clear that as far as he is concerned, the territories "belong to the historic heritage of the Jewish people" and that "solving the Palestinian problem is another issue."

He insisted that to relinquish the West Bank would be "an invitation to war." Later he told reporters, in reply to a question, that the same applied to the Gaza Strip and Golan Heights.

He also told the E.C. lawmakers that while he understood their concern, "Europe will not have an important part" in the Middle East peace talks.

Shamir was invited to speak here by the Parliament's chairman, the Socialist Enrique Baron Crespo of Spain. Asked later if the Israeli leader had persuaded anybody, Baron Crespo replied that "the opinions were split."

Undecided About Going To Madrid

Shamir repeated his basic points at a news conference and at a breakfast meeting with the Europe-Israel group of the European assembly.

For that audience, Shamir revived the Camp David formula, which would give the Palestinians autonomous self-government for five years. After three years, negotiations on a permanent solution would begin, he said.

Shamir also suggested that Palestinians living in Arab countries should be given citizenship of the country where they live.

He observed in that connection that many Palestinians in the Persian Gulf states hold Jordanian passports. "Why couldn't they also have Jordanian-Lebanese or Jordanian-Kuwaiti citizenship?" he asked.

At a dinner hosted by Jean Kahn, president of the European Jewish Congress, Shamir met the leaders of 15 Jewish communities in Europe, including Michael Chlenov, head of the Vaad, the federation of Jewish groups in the Soviet Union.

Shamir spoke at length of the problems of absorbing Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union. Israel "needs investments, which would create jobs," he said.

Shamir said at his news conference that he was undecided whether to personally attend the Madrid ceremonies, at which Presidents Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev will preside.

Rumor has it that President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and President Hafez Assad of Syria may show up.

BEHIND THE HEADLINES:

LACK OF CONSENSUS ON GOALS MAY DOOM PEACE TALKS, SAYS PALESTINIAN THINKER
By Debra Nussbaum Cohen

NEW YORK, Oct. 22 (JTA) -- Next week's Middle East peace conference in Madrid is unlikely to resolve the decades-old Arab-Israeli conflict because of the way it was structured, according to a leading Palestinian thinker who has been involved in the protracted negotiations to bring the peace talks about.

"The likelihood of its failure is very high," Sari Nusseibeh told the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in an interview last week, before the United States and Soviet Union announced that the conference would open Oct. 30 in Madrid.

Nusseibeh, a Palestinian activist and philosophy professor who lives in East Jerusalem, was one of four Palestinians who met with Secretary of State James Baker in Washington on Oct. 11.

He believes the way the peace conference was structured is inherently flawed. Any attempt by Israelis, Palestinians and other Arabs to come together without first committing to the principle of peace and security for Israel, and independence for the Palestinians, is likely to fail to result in any substantive change, he said.

"The approach being adopted by the Americans today is that you can't get the two sides to agree in advance to anything, so the least you can do is bring them to sit at the table, and then, having gotten there, maybe things will work out," Nusseibeh explained.

"But because there's no agreement in principle on what you're going to discuss, they're going to find it very hard to make any compromises on any of the issues that are going to be brought up," he said.

He said that Israel and the Palestinian delegates must agree in advance on the essence of what they're trying to attain if there is to be any concrete progress.

Element Of Good Will Needed

"If you bring two sides together who are more or less in agreement on the principle, trying to get them to discuss the details or the issues one by one is going to be much easier," he said.

"There will be that element of good will, of confidence in the general framework, that will enable each side to give way in negotiating the different issues," he said.

Without that confidence, "each and every issue is going to be magnified in the negotiating process to become a major issue over which there will be very little room to compromise.

"You want to create a settlement that will create good will in the future," he said. "To do that, you have to make sure that the two sides are really prepared to accept the general structure, that they want to make that kind of deal."

Good will between Israelis and Palestinians is the foundation for future co-existence in the separate, but intimately involved, states that Nusseibeh proposes in his new book, "No Trumpets, No Drums: A Two-State Settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," which he co-authored with Israeli political analyst Mark Heller.

Together they devised a blueprint for the existence of two independent, secure and economically viable states, an idea that is unthinkable for the vast majority of Israeli citizens.

Despite the fact that there is near-complete unanimity among the Israeli government, Israeli

people and Diaspora Jews that Jerusalem must remain united as one city under Jewish rule, Nusseibeh believes the complex problem of achieving Middle East peace will not be resolved if Palestinians do not share some control of Jerusalem.

It would be "impossible, not only from the point of view of the Palestinians, but in the wider context, from the point of view of the Arabs and the Moslems," to end the conflict without Israel sharing sovereignty over Jerusalem, he said in the interview.

He added that he thinks it is possible to arrive at a workable arrangement on Jerusalem.

A 'Real Hunger' For Peace

With the mutual fear and suspicion that has settled over much of Jerusalem since the intifada began, it is difficult to imagine that decisions affecting the lives of Palestinians and Israelis could be made jointly, that cooperation could exist on such an intimate scale in a city so divided.

Nusseibeh admits he even had deep suspicions of collaborating with Heller when they first sat down to discuss their ideas. In a personal statement that prefaces the book, Nusseibeh recalls fearing Heller was trying to "play politics" or "gain advantage" by demanding that certain elements be incorporated into the blueprint.

But he overcame his doubts when he saw, during the course of their discussions, that Heller was indeed dedicated to a just resolution of the problems at hand.

It was his confidence in his adversary's commitment to the goal that enabled them to reach a settlement, he said, a confidence which will also be needed by Palestinians and Israelis when they sit down to negotiate.

Despite the bitterness that could come out of the peace conference if it fails to produce any substantive change, Nusseibeh has faith that the two-state vision that he and his Jewish co-author proposed will someday become a reality.

Looking "beyond the positions of the leaders in Israel," one finds "a real hunger" for peace on both sides, he said. He is optimistic, because he sees "an increasing readiness on the part of Israelis and in the Palestinian community to recognize the other side and make compromises."

ALL PALESTINIANS ARE PLO, SAYS ARAFAT
By Michel Di Paz

PARIS, Oct. 22 (JTA) -- Palestine Liberation Organization chief Yasir Arafat, hobnobbing with the diplomatic elite here Tuesday, made clear that whoever represents the Palestinians at the peace conference in Madrid next week will be representing the PLO.

"No one can hide the sun with his fingers," Arafat said. "Any Palestinian anywhere is a member of the PLO."

Arafat had meetings here with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas and Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin. The Soviet Union will co-host the peace conference with the United States.

Speaking on television, the PLO leader said he was ready to meet with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. Shamir was in the country Tuesday addressing members of the European Parliament in Strasbourg.

"Like Charles de Gaulle said, one has at the end to make peace, the peace of the brave. But there are no de Gaulles in Israel," Arafat said, adding that he is willing to make the best of what there is.

**ISLAMIC PARTY'S STRONG SHOWING
IN TURKISH ELECTION WORRIES JEWS**
By Aliza Marcus

ISTANBUL, Turkey, Oct. 22 (JTA) -- Turkey's Islamic fundamentalist Welfare Party has emerged as a strong candidate for the coalition government that will be formed by the conservative True Path Party in the wake of Sunday's upset elections here.

The True Path Party edged out Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz's Motherland Party, which has been in power for eight years.

The Welfare Party, which believes the United States and "Zionists" are involved in a plot to rule the world and dominate Moslems, received about 17 percent of the national vote.

The party, led by Necmettin Erbakan, will send about 62 deputies to the 450-seat Parliament, making it the fourth-largest party. While the True Path Party came out ahead with 181 seats and 27 percent of the vote, it did not win enough votes to form a government on its own.

Whether or not Erbakan is invited to join a coalition, he is expected to exert a loud and charismatic presence in Turkey's third parliamentary government since the 1980 military coup.

The success of Erbakan, who has rarely polled more than 10 percent in his many decades of political involvement, has surprised political commentators and worried Turkey's tiny Jewish community of 22,000 people.

"There is some concern because Erbakan does not hide his anti-Semitic and anti-Israel feelings," said Sami Kohen, a veteran political columnist for the daily Milliyet newspaper.

Erbakan is against Turkey's effort to join the European Community, which he sees as an Israeli-run body, though Israel is not a member.

In his campaign speeches, Erbakan often warned that the elections were a choice between "Greater Israel and Greater Turkey."

"If you don't want your sons, when they are soldiers, to be ruled by Solomon in Tel Aviv, you must vote for our party," he said in a nationally televised speech last week.

"If you are not careful, Turkey and Israel will become one state," he added.

A Rise In Islamic Activity

Political commentators warned against assuming that the success of Erbakan meant a resurgence of pro-Islamic feelings in this secular nation.

Since the founding of the republic in 1923, a certain tension has always existed between the state's secular underpinnings and its almost 100 percent Moslem population.

Over the decades, successive governments have eased restrictions on some Islamic practices and organizations. Islamic banks now function, Islamic schools are flourishing, and last year the country was rocked by the Islamic-inspired assassinations of four prominent secularists.

But it remains a crime to advocate an end to Turkey's secularism. And in the streets of major cities, miniskirts are more prevalent than chadors, the garb worn by devout Moslem women.

The Welfare Party's ascendancy is "not serious, perhaps, but there is some concern in the Jewish community, because it reminds many people of what has happened in other Islamic countries, where pro-fundamentalist leaders have taken a lead or power," said Kohen, the columnist.

But he and others pointed out Erbakan has never attacked the Turkish Jewish community.

**SUN IS SETTING ON BRITAIN'S
MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD ORTHODOXY**
By Julian Kossoff
London Jewish Chronicle

LONDON (JTA) -- Mainstream Orthodox Judaism, although still the largest denomination of British Jewry, is rapidly losing membership to right-wing Orthodoxy and, to a lesser extent, Progressive -- including Reform and Liberal -- Judaism.

The erosion was revealed in a survey of synagogue membership in Britain, recently released by the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

The survey also found a significant diminution of synagogue affiliation in the United Kingdom.

According to the study, which collected data from the U.K.'s 356 congregations, the mainstream Orthodox movement accounts for 65 percent of male synagogue membership today, down from just over 70 percent in 1983, when the last survey was conducted.

By contrast, right-wing groups recorded an 89 percent increase of membership, and now account for 6.9 percent of the national total.

The "predominance of central Orthodoxy is being seriously eroded," said Marlana Schmoor, co-author of the report and executive director of the board's community research unit.

While as many as 80 percent of British Jews are Orthodox, central Orthodoxy, most of which is under the authority of the chief rabbi through the United Synagogue, has more in common with Conservative Judaism in the United States than it has with the American brand of modern Orthodoxy.

Its losses to right-wing Orthodoxy mirror a similar trend in the United States, where so-called modern Orthodoxy is losing ground to the right wing.

Growth In The Reform Movement

The Board of Deputies survey found that the Reform Synagogue of Great Britain registered 23 percent growth between 1983 and 1990.

A quarter of affiliated British Jews belong to a Progressive congregation, 17 percent to the Reform Synagogue and the rest to congregations aligned with the Union of Liberal and Progressive Synagogues.

But fewer Jews countrywide are affiliated with any congregation, the survey found. It counted 101,239 household memberships, down by 8,000 from 1983.

The decrease of synagogue membership was 7.5 percent nationwide. The biggest attrition was among Scottish Jewry, which lost 41 percent of its membership.

The only regions showing an increase were the southeast, outside Greater London and the southwest.

But Sidney Frosh, president of the United Synagogue, was optimistic. He said the latest statistics did not take account of the series of educational initiatives, "an investment in the future" for young and old, undertaken by the movement.

He believed they would boost the numbers and commitment of United Synagogue members.

Rabbi Hugo Gryn, head of the Reform Synagogue, said the names and numbers in a membership file were far less important than the actual level of synagogue attendance, educational activity and communal involvement.