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## Intifada Update

### Many shot and wounded

Israeli soldiers shot and killed one Palestinian and injured many others during confrontations in the occupied territories last week. This brings the number of Palestinians killed in the Intifada to 1,053.

A number of Molotovs were thrown at army patrols but there were no reports of injuries. Following is a day by day report on Intifada activities for last week.

see Intifada, page 2

## Round five of peace talks not expected to have anything new

by Imad Musa

The Palestinian peace delegation left the occupied territories April 23 for what is expected to be a tumultuous round of bilateral negotiations with its Israeli counterpart in Washington this week.

Reports said the Israeli delegation would submit a detailed plan for municipal elections in the occupied territories to the Palestinian delegation, while Palestinians said they would refuse to negotiate on such a plan.

"The municipal elections issue is not negotiable and does not have to do with the peace process," said delegation spokeswoman Hanan Ashrawi. She said the Israeli plan was an attempt to dodge the real issues and give the impression that Israel is in the heart of the peace process.

Delegat Sa'eb Erekat said that "The Israelis know perfectly well that the Palestinian delegation submitted a comprehensive proposal that will be discussed in the coming round of bilateral negotiations."

In Tunis, PLO spokesman Ahmad Abdul Rahman said that Palestinians "adamantly refused" municipal elections in the occupied territories, and even any "discussion" on the matter.

"This project is one of the Israeli conspiracies that aim to escape from the bilateral negotiations and the Palestinian

proposals for general elections under U.N. auspices in the occupied territories," he said.

The Palestinian proposal, submitted during the last round of talks, calls for general elections throughout the occupied territories. The aim is to elect a Palestinian interim parliament capable of executing the agreements on interim self-rule that will be hammered out by the Palestinians and Israelis.

The Israelis reject the idea of general elections because of the connotations they give, especially that of Palestinian independence.

With both delegations promising to refuse to discuss the others' proposal, the fifth round of Arab-Israeli peace talks is not expected to be different from its predecessors, especially since the Israeli government is concentrating on fast approaching national elections set for June 23. The round is scheduled to last for one week.

Disregarding its paralysis, Israeli reports said that after the April 27 round finishes, Israel will request a sixth round of bilaterals before elections.

The Palestinian and Arab delegations oppose an additional round before Israeli elections.

The U.S. State Department and Italian Foreign Ministry announced the venue for the sixth round -- Rome -- but a date has not been set yet.

PLO Information Director Yasser Abed Rabbo welcomed

see Round, page 15



Israelis touring a settlement in the occupied territories looking for a good buy.

## Why Israelis go to occupied territories: The inside story

by Duane Boyd  
Special to Al-Fajr

"Bokertov, va hag sama'ach," gushed Yael, the cheerful settler who boarded our bus at the entrance of Shiloh, a "Jewish community" near Nablus in the northern West Bank. After the "good morning and happy holidays" greeting, our bus began the steep climb from the main road to the center of Shiloh, located, like most settlements, on a high hilltop offering a breathtaking view of the surrounding countryside.

Israeli newspapers, radio, and television were filled with advertisements begging Israelis to "Come live in the heartland" as part of a campaign by settler groups and the Housing Ministry to sell homes in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Because I couldn't figure out why any sane person would want to live in a settlement, I joined a settler-sponsored bus tour for a day of not-so-ordinary house shopping.

My compatriots were a mixture of veteran and immi-

grant Israelis, with newcomers from both the West and the former Soviet Union, and there were several reasons why they were looking for a home in the West Bank.

Shlomo, a former New Yorker who has lived in Israel for three years and is a religious school student in Jerusalem, was attracted to the open space offered in the West Bank.

"You just can't get that in Jerusalem, though I love it," he said. "Where else can you walk out your door and have a picnic?"

Another shopper, a former Soviet who came with her husband to Israel eight months ago, said she is tired of paying the high rents of Jerusalem.

"All of our money goes to rent," she said. "We need to buy something, and we can't afford Jerusalem. I may buy here, but I don't know. We're just looking now."

Our tour took us to Shiloh, Eli and Maale Labanah, all in the Nablus area. We spent the day stumping around in various sizes and designs of houses, some of which were only half-finished, as well as given brief-

ings on why we should want to become settlers.

The briefing at Eli was probably the most convincing. We were all herded into a section of the synagogue and confronted with a map of Israel and the West Bank. The lecturer began by showing us where we were -- just 45 minutes from Jerusalem or the outskirts of Tel Aviv, an easy commute for work or a movie in the city.

Next, a multicolored map appeared, with various colors denoting present housing and development plans for the settlement. Currently, 45 families live there, said our lecturer, but 500 additional housing units are planned, with many near completion already.

In order to serve this tenfold population increase, a shopping center, supermarket, restaurants and schools are in the works, and a large sports and recreation center is near completion.

This is all fine and dandy, I thought, but still, why would anyone want to live way out here in the boondocks, 45

see Story, page 7

# An Israeli-Palestinian peace proposal

by George D. Mullen

In a small flat overlooking the hills of Jerusalem, I had the privilege of recording the conversation of an Israeli Jew (Moshe) and a Palestinian Muslim (Hassan) negotiating a peace settlement between their peoples. The views of Moshe and Hassan differ on many issues except one, that the fighting must end. With this goal in mind, the two manage to complete a comprehensive peace settlement. The Moshe-Hassan peace proposal is published here for the first time as a blueprint for achieving an Israeli-Palestinian peace. It is not a one sided proposal as we've so often seen, but a settlement that addresses the views of both sides.

Moshe emigrated to Palestine from Eastern Europe in 1938. He is a former Israel Defense Forces (IDF) colonel with combat experience in the Sinai Campaign (1956), the Six-Day War (1967), and the Yom Kippur War (1973). In 1976 he resigned his IDF position to seek a career in politics. Today, in his mid-50's, he is an official of the Labor Party. He is married, has three children, and resides in the Tel Aviv suburb of Tzahala.

Hassan was born and raised in a small farming village in the coastal plain north of Tel Aviv. In the 1948 war he and his family fled to a refugee camp near Nablus. He was educated in England in political philosophy and is a supporter of Arafat's Fatah faction of the PLO. Currently, he is a university professor in the West Bank. He is 49 years old, married, has five children and two grandchildren.

The names of Moshe and Hassan have been changed to ensure their personal safety.

We have witnessed one unsuccessful attempt after another in the effort to reach a peaceful settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Unfortunately, neither the Israelis or Palestinians have shown the flexibility necessary for a quantitative peace. The Palestinian Arabs have supplied more rhetoric than action, while the Israelis have failed to put forth one proposal aimed at a just settlement. The Fahd Plan (1982) was a one sided Arab proposal that accomplished little more than insult the Israelis. The PLO demands for an independent Palestinian state with its capital as Jerusalem has served only to antagonize Israel. The Reagan Plan (1982) was an American proposal meant to appease the hard-line Israelis while ignoring the Palestinian issues. The subsequent hollow Israeli references to limited Palestinian autonomy have not helped matters. The intransigence of the Israeli and Palestinian leadership has resulted in widespread frustration and the outbreak of the Palestinian Intifada.

To reach a successful Israeli-Palestinian settlement we must initiate a strategy aimed at finding the common ground between both peoples. Three central premises, which I refer to as the "The Steps to Peace," outline the common ground necessary for the peace process to move forward. With an agreed upon common ground, the Israeli and Palestinian diplomats will have the opportunity to craft a mutually acceptable settlement. Without it, the negotiations will end in

an argumentative stalemate as we have repeatedly seen. The goal is to find that common ground and act on it.

First and foremost, the Israeli and Palestinian populace must accept the fact that compromise is a necessity to achieving peace. Lasting peace can only succeed with give and take by both peoples.

Second, the Israelis need to honor the Palestinian people's right to self determination. The overwhelming consensus of the Palestinian populace mandates their right to statehood. Palestinians routinely disagree on the politics of an independent state, but I have yet to meet one Palestinian that does not crave an independent Palestine. A Palestinian state, however small, will provide the Palestinians with what they need — pride, independence, and a homeland to build. The Palestinian focus will shift from subverting Israel to building Palestine.

Third, the Palestinians must agree to an independent state that does not include Jerusalem or the other areas of concern to Israeli security. More importantly, the Palestinians must recognize Jerusalem as the capital and sole property of Israel. Though a sore point to all Palestinians, this is a necessity. Israel will never tolerate a Palestinian state that puts Jerusalem in jeopardy. By relinquishing their territorial claim to Jerusalem the Palestinians will allay Israeli fears and open the door to statehood for the West Bank and Gaza. In exchange, the Palestinians will receive Israeli recognition of Palestinian interests in Jerusalem and concessions for Palestinian worship, commerce and tourism to the holy city.

The mutual acceptance of the "Three Steps to Peace" will lead to genuine negotiations and a lasting peace not yet seen in the holy land. It will mark the beginning of a new era in Middle Eastern diplomacy. Furthermore, an Israeli-Palestinian peace will resolve that other struggle known as the Arab-Israeli conflict. No Arab leader will dare make a separate peace with Israel as long as the Palestinian question remains unanswered. The 1979 Israeli-Egyptian peace and the subsequent assassination of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat ensures Arab caution. But a just Israeli settlement with the Palestinians will swiftly clear the path for additional Israeli peace treaties with Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Morocco and many other Arab states. The regimes of Syria, Iraq, and Libya will resist, but would be unlikely to extend overtures of peace under any conditions short of an Israeli withdrawal to Brooklyn, New York.

The Moshe-Hassan peace proposal herein provides the first realistic settlement resulting from compromise based on a common ground. The following outline/maps describe the proposal in detail.

## Outline

I. The creation of an independent Palestinian state in modified borders of the occupied territories is the only option available that will establish the basis for a lasting Israeli-Palestinian peace.

II. The State of Palestine will encompass the majority of the West Bank and Gaza with the exception of:

A. Jerusalem and the surrounding designated areas.

B. Latrun and the adjacent territory reaching to the outskirts of Ramallah and Qalqilya.

C. The section north of Jenin and bordering the Jordan River.

D. Southern region along the border and south of Hebron.

E. The northernmost part of the Gaza Strip.

III. The State of Palestine will be separate and independent from that of Israel.

A. The capital will be Hebron.

B. The population will be 2-5 million people depending on the number of

refugees that return.

C. Palestine will have access to the Jordan River, Mediterranean Sea, an the Dead Sea.

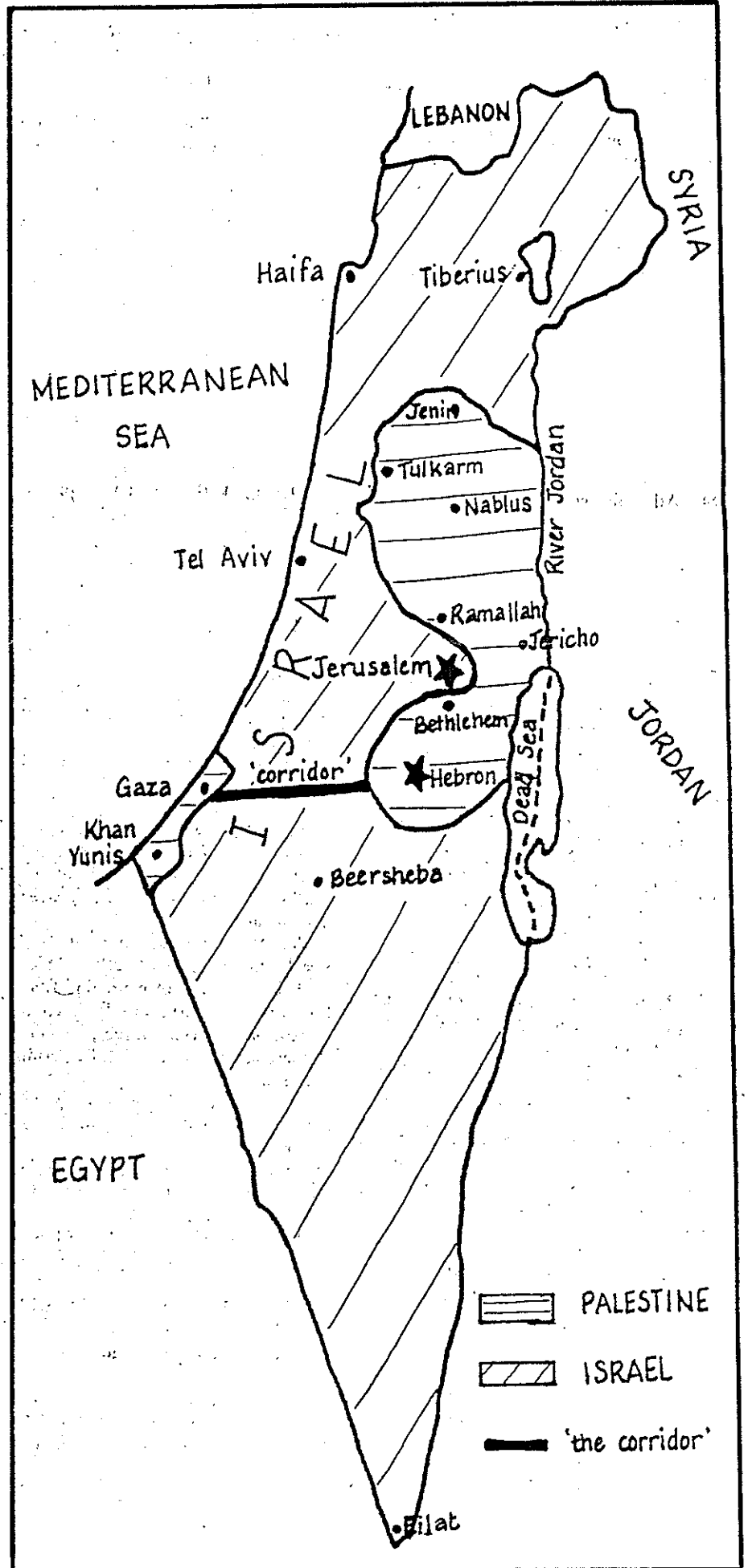
D. International borders will be shared with Israel, Jordan, an Egypt.

E. A highway/railroad corridor will be built from the West Bank area of Hebron to Gaza.

F. Palestine will maintain two international airports.

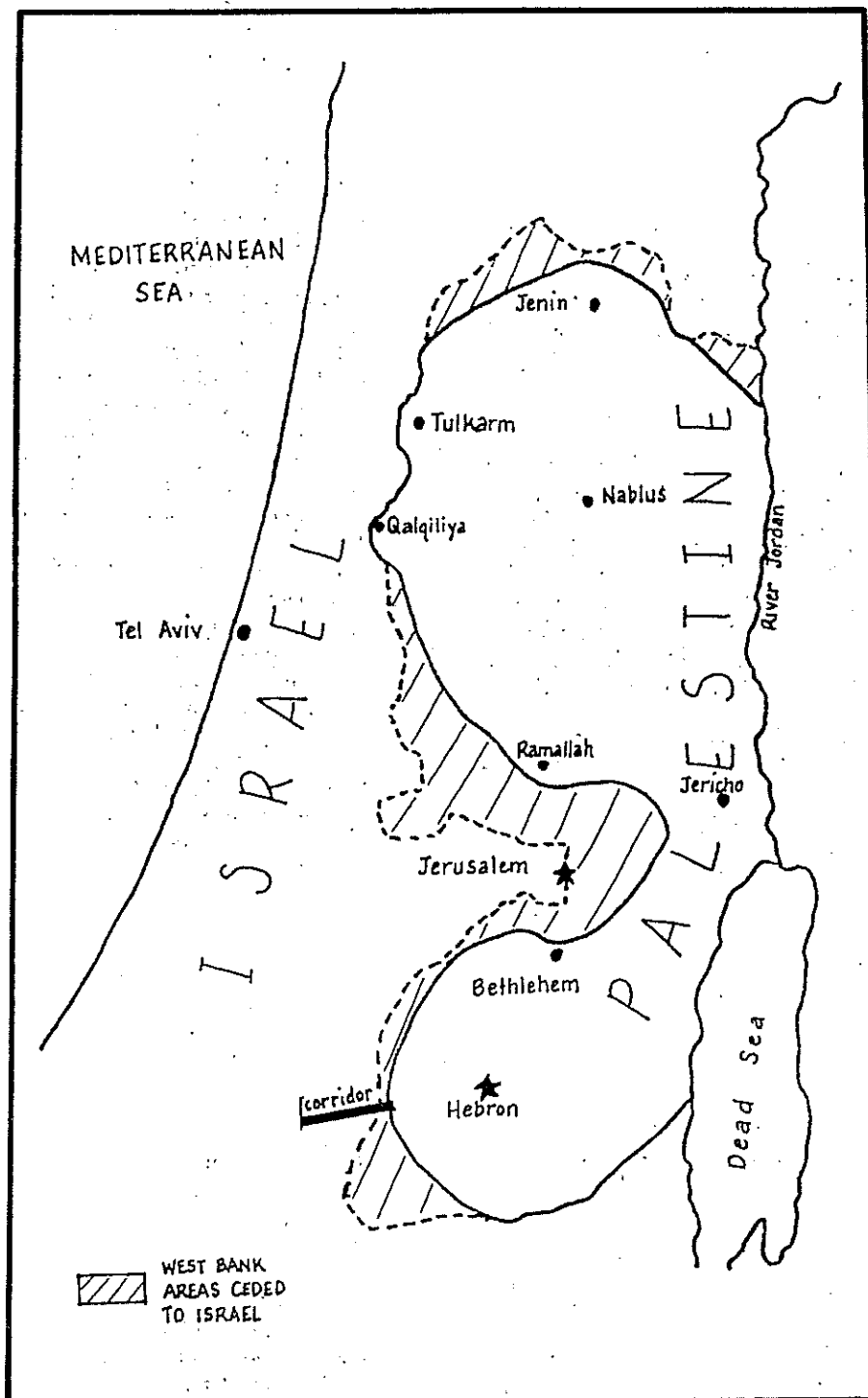
1. Airports will be located along the Dead Sea an on the coast of Gaza.

2. A joint Israeli-Palestinian commission will be established to route commercial flight paths.



- G. A large man-made harbor facility will be built in Gaza.
- H. Railroad/mass transit system will be built connecting all of Palestine.
- IV. Palestine will cede all territorial rights to Jerusalem, while the Palestinian people maintain their historical ties to the holy city.
- A. Citizens of Palestine will be granted easy access to East Jerusalem and all the holy sites.
- B. Palestine will honor Jerusalem as the capital and sole property of Israel.
- C. Israel will honor the Palestinian religious, family and commercial interests in Jerusalem.
- D. East Jerusalem Palestinians will maintain full Israeli citizenship and equal protection under Israeli law.
- E. East Jerusalem Palestinians will be permitted to carry joint citizenship.
- F. Citizens of Palestine will be allowed to work in East Jerusalem without Israeli citizenship or work visas.
- G. Jerusalem will never be represented in the government of Palestine.
- H. Palestinians from Jerusalem or Israel proper will be forbidden to hold political office in Palestine.
- I. Palestine will not tax the East Jerusalem Palestinians.
- J. The Muslim holy sites of Jerusalem (Dome of the Rock, Al-Aqsa Mosque, etc.) will continue to be administered and protected by the Islamic Waqf (Trust).
- K. A commission of three Jews, three Muslims, and three Christians will be formed to oversee the protection of religious freedom in Jerusalem.
- L. Freedom of religious practice will be protected under Israeli law.
- M. All holy sites in Jerusalem will remain open to both the public and tourists.
- V. The transitional government of Palestine will be formed under Israeli occupation.
- A. General Palestinian elections will be held six months from today to elect a transitional government consisting of a President, Vice President, and a 100 member Congress:
  1. The election will be democratic.
  2. United Nations advisors will monitor the election for fairness.
- B. All Palestinians will be permitted to vote, with the exception of:
  1. Officials of the PLO.
  2. Jailed or detained Palestinians.
  3. Palestinians from the diaspora.
  4. Palestinians from Jerusalem or Israel.
  5. Jewish Israeli citizens.
- C. The transitional government will last for four years with the responsibility of establishing a constitution, a bill of rights, a judiciary, laws, peace treaties, and so forth.
- D. Palestine will be a democratic state modeled on that of the United States.
- E. Elections will occur every four years for President, Vice President, and Congress, with a limit of two successive terms for each.
- F. Six months after the transitional government is established the Israeli Civil Administration will begin the transfer of civil affairs to the new government.
  1. Month 7 - Schools and University administration.
  2. Month 8 - Public works and repair.
  3. Month 9 - Water, electricity and sewage.
  4. Month 10 - Food distribution and mail service.
  5. Month 11 - Hospitals, health care and welfare.

- 6. Month 12 - Transportation systems.
- 7. Month 13 - Police, fire and other emergency units.
- G. All Israeli settlers in the territories will be removed by the IDF and the settlement housing will be preserved for Palestinian use.
- H. The Israeli occupation will end after month 24 of the existence of transitional government.
- I. After the Israeli withdrawal Palestine will take control of immigration/border affairs and all other responsibilities.
- VI. A formal peace treaty between Israel and Palestine will be signed and ratified by both governments. Terms include:
  - A. Both states agree to affirm the borders arrangements.
    1. Palestine will recognize Israel's borders including Jerusalem, the Golan Heights, and the annexed areas of the occupied territories.
    2. Israel will honor the new borders of Palestine.
  - B. Israel and Palestine will never attempt to redraw the borders or occupy the other.
  - C. Palestine will remain neutral in Middle Eastern affairs and act as the Switzerland of the Middle East.
  - D. A mutual defense pact will be enacted that contains a commitment to aid the other in the event of attack.
  - E. Terrorism and all terrorist organizations will be outlawed, including the PLO and the Temple Mount Faithful.
  - F. A formal renouncement will be signed that negates all claims the state or individuals hold on the other regarding property or financial compensation.
  - G. Palestine will be the sole representative of the Palestinian people, thus ending the legitimacy of the PLO.
  - H. Israel agrees to recognize the Palestinian religious and ancestral links to East Jerusalem.
  - I. Israel will maintain an easy access policy to Jerusalem for all citizens of Palestine.
  - J. A mutual agreement for the freedom of religious practice in Jerusalem will be signed into law.
  - K. Both states will endorse a policy promoting tourist and commercial exchange.
  - L. Both states will establish mandatory secondary school educational programs on the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the subsequent peace arrangements.
- VII. Security arrangements in the Israel-Palestine peace treaty include:
  - A. Palestine will not maintain offensive forces or weaponry, strictly defensive.
  - B. No foreign armed forces, except that of the United Nations, will be permitted access to Palestine.
  - C. No foreign air-force or navy will be permitted to enter Palestinian air or water space.
  - D. No nuclear, atomic, or chemical weapons are ever to enter or be developed in Palestine.
  - E. Palestine will patrol all borders systematically to deter terrorist activity against Israel.
  - F. The Hebron-Gaza corridor will be fenced, mined and patrolled. Terrorist infiltration from the corridor may result in its closure.
  - G. A three kilometer dead zone will be maintained along all the borders of Israel-Palestine with fencing, mines and surveillance equipment.
  - H. Four border crossing points will be established in the vicinities of Jenin, Jerusalem, Hebron, and Gaza City.
  - I. Ten kilometers of Palestinian territory



- bordering Israel will be a demilitarized zone.
- J. Fifteen kilometers of Palestinian airspace bordering Israel will be Israeli airspace.
- K. Palestinian shipping will not come within 20 kilometers of Israeli waterspace, except for the Gaza where it will be 10 kilometers.
- L. Palestine will assist Israel in its peace effort with the surrounding Arab states.
- M. Israel and Palestine will agree to semi-annual United Nations inspections of all borders.
- VIII. The development of the Palestinian economy will be a central focus for the new government.
  - A. The goal is to transfer the Palestinian dependence on the Israeli economy to a dependence on a new, vibrant Palestinian economy.
  - B. The economic system of Palestine will be decided by the transitional government as either a market oriented or a centrally planned system.
  - C. The transitional government will form the Palestine Economic Council (PEC) to oversee the development and protection of the economy.
    1. The PEC will be an appointed board of 11.
    2. The PEC will recommend initiatives such as the establishment of a treasury, federal reserve, a tariff system, and so forth.
  - D. Palestine will initiate a series of public and private work programs to

- build an effective infrastructure.
  1. A large man-made harbor facility will be built in Gaza to encourage export/import business.
  2. International airports will be constructed near the Dead Sea and the coast of Gaza to promote easy travel.
  3. A railroad/mass transit network will be established to connect all of Palestine for easy travel and the quick transport of products for export.
  4. Palestine will promote and assist in the development of an industrial base.
  5. Agricultural products will be promoted as a key Palestinian export to the Arab nations.
- E. Palestine will issue a separate currency called the Palestinian Dinar.
  1. Palestine will not honor the Israeli shekel.
  2. Israel will permit the use of both the Dinar and Shekel in East Jerusalem.
- F. Palestinian labor may continue to work in Israel for one year after the formation of the transitional government.
  1. Palestinian labor must shift its focus toward the building of Palestine's economy and infrastructure.
  2. Israel needs to integrate the Russian immigrants into their labor force.
- G. Economic assistance and investment from abroad will be encouraged, but monitored for destabilizing influences.
- H. No Jewish or Israeli investment will be permitted in Palestine for a 50 year

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**Round**

*continued from front page*

the idea of moving talks from Washington to Rome, saying, "Italy is a friendly nation and we believe that it is an appropriate place to continue the talks."

He added that "We agree that the move to Rome is final. Any other move will be back toward Washington, and not to the Middle East."

Israeli officials welcomed the move to Rome because the city is closer to the Middle East than Washington.

Meanwhile, Palestinian preparations for the multilateral working committees began to take shape.

Unofficial sources in Jerusalem said that the Palestinian delegations to the multilaterals will be formed along the same lines as the bilateral delegation: Each one will have its own Guidance Committee and spokesperson.

Although no one has received invitations to the coming multilateral committees yet, the United States is expected to grant permission to diaspora Palestinians to participate in two of them: economic development, which will be held in Brussels, Belgium, from May 11 to 12, and refugee affairs, which will be held in Ottawa, Canada from May 13 to 15.

PLO sources in Tunis reportedly said they will not appoint high PLO officials to any of those committees in order to avoid a showdown with Israel and the United States.

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has said that Israel will boycott any committees that have diaspora Palestinians in them.

As for the committees dealing with the environment (Tokyo, May 18-19) and water (Vienna, May 13-14), Palestinians are expected to participate according to the Madrid formation: no Jerusalemites, no diaspora Palestinians.

Neither Jordan nor the Palestinians are expected to receive invitations to the committee on arms control, to be held in Washington between May 11 and 14.

Damascus and Beirut announced that they will not be attending any of the multilateral committees until progress is achieved in the bilateral negotiations.

Other countries not involved in the bilateral peace process, such as the Arab Gulf states, are expected to participate in various multilateral working committees.

**Proposal**

*continued from page 9*

period, subject to extension.

I. Joint business ventures will be promoted between Palestinian and Israeli industries.

IX. Israel and Palestine will sponsor an annual conference on regional water and mineral disputes.

A. Israel and Palestine agree not to alter, pollute, or halt the flow of rivers and streams.

B. Israel and Palestine will sell/trade water and mineral rights at fair market prices.

X. A series of goodwill agreements will be enacted to create a peaceful

atmosphere between Israel and Palestine.

A. Israel and Palestine will be referred to as the "brother states of the holy land."

B. Israel will provide technical assistance to Palestine on the building of harbors and airports.

C. Palestine will host a series of cultural/economic educational programs.

XI. Peace, justice and security will be a reality for the Israelis and Palestin-

ians once they agree to the terms of this proposal.

A. Israel will realize peace, but also a high level of security with the creation of Palestine in this manner.

B. Palestinians will finally have their peace with Israel, but justice more importantly with the fulfillment of Palestinian self determination.

*George D. Mullen is from San Diego, California.*

**Jitters**

*continued from page 5*

Gandhi understood better than anyone else the potency and the relevance of "moral justice." At the height of his struggle to free India from British colonialism over 50 years ago, Gandhi both foresaw and condemned the attempt to render the Palestinian people landless and homeless. His words, reported in the Christian Science Monitor March 3, 1939, ring just as true today as they did when he first uttered them: "What is going on in Palestine today cannot be justified by any moral code of conduct. It would be a crime against humanity to reduce the proud Arabs so that Palestine

can be restored to the Jews, partly or wholly as their national home."

Finally, it is extremely important for Palestinians (who actually appreciate the fact that theirs is a land that has been constantly coveted by invaders and conquerors throughout history) to place this present difficult phase in its proper historical and political perspective.

Also, it is helpful to remember that the current feeling of helplessness and despair has prevailed over the region many times before as well, only to be supplanted in each case by a good deal of determination and hope. Certainly such was the condition during the Crusades (1099-1187) and during the four-century Ottoman dominance of the Arab region (1517-1918), not to mention the more recent history of colonization by the British, the French, and the Italians,

among others.

In view of all this, Palestinians must capitalize on their strength as a people with a natural geographic and cultural extension. They are an integral part of a culturally and linguistically cohesive Arab world, numbering over 200 million, which is constantly improving in numbers, resources, and influence on the world stage.

Most Arabs, regardless of their location or political orientation, deeply resent Israel's continued oppression of the Palestinians and its military dominance of their region. Most of all, they strongly deplore the western powers' initial conspiratorial role and complicity in displacing the Palestinians from their homes (partly as a way of deflecting blame for the persecution of European Jews in the first-half of this century) and

their silence in the face of Israel's continued occupation and torment of the very people it has exiled and replaced. Nonetheless, the Arabs realize that Israel (with a population of approximately four million people) cannot possibly continue forever to disenfranchise the Palestinians and dominate all the Arabs militarily if it chooses to coexist with them peacefully in the region.

In addition, many Palestinians like to remind whoever cares to listen that they are the heirs of a proud history and a rich heritage that will undoubtedly assure them once again of a much more hopeful future. To paraphrase one of Palestine's better-known modern poets, Mahmoud Darwish: "Our land, my friend, is not infertile. Each land gives birth in due time, And each dawn has its own date with freedom."

**Hospital**

*continued from page 11*

hospital beds for the Palestinian refugees, and the Lutheran World Federation, which owns the hospital, contributed U.S.\$554,000 and an added U.S.\$83,000 during the Arab Gulf crisis. The hospital also received U.S.\$169,000 in local income.

"From the point of L.W.F., the real issue in the 1990s is adequate assurance

of operating funding," said the Rev. David L. Johnson, a senior staff representative at L.W.F.'s central office in Jerusalem. "In the late 1980s, redevelopment was funded, creating quite a different hospital with new and sophisticated equipment. The biggest concern is to be able to operate the hospital through funding."

Augusta Victoria Hospital was the center of "Operation Smile," a recent mission by volunteer doctors from the United States. The well-publicized effort was almost canceled by the Israeli Health Ministry, which was refusing to grant temporary licenses to the visiting American doctors.

Israeli officials claimed that Augusta Victoria Hospital is not a recognized hospital, though it is licensed. It wasn't until three hours before the operations were scheduled to begin that approval came through.

Augusta Victoria Hospital doesn't foresee any restrictions by the Israeli government on its growth or ability to bear an even greater burden in the future. "The obstacles that came up were very understandable," said Johnson. "A very highly visible group of surgeons were coming. The visibility of the hospital increased, so a close monitoring can be expected. We intend to have a straight-forward program. We are very

transparent with this project, transparency is generally considered to be an advantage."

A burgeoning Palestinian population combined with an inadequate health care system makes the role of the hospital a vital one, and a dedicated staff will be an important base for reaching new levels of service.

According to an interim hospital administrator, today's staff is solid as a rock.

"I find doctors and nurses here who are willing to work more hours for less salary; they do it for the hospital and for the Palestinian people, out of their love for their country and their hope for a better future."