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Who Dwelt in Palestine?

FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL

The Origins of the Arab-Jewish Conflict Over Palestine.

By Joan Peters.

601 pp. New York: Harper & Row. \$24.95

By John C. Campbell

FROM time immemorial, conflicts between nations over territory have been fought with words and figures as well as with weapons. Those who make the case for one side or the other never fail to appeal to history, to tell the world who was there first and in what numbers, and which peoples' claims have been sanctified by uninterrupted possession or legal recognition. So it has been with Germans and Poles, Hungarians and Rumanians, Greeks and Turks. So it is with Arabs and Jews in their contention over Palestine. The history may be true or distorted, fact or fiction, but because it is adduced to support a cause, it is inevitably suspect.

Joan Peters, a journalist who was a White House consultant on the Middle East in 1977, apparently did not start out with a cause, other than the plight of Arab refugees from Palestine after 1948, whose loss of human rights and subjection to political manipulation were being unconscionably prolonged in miserable camps by a United Nations agency funded predominantly by the United States. In her first two years of investigating the situation, she says in "From Time Immemorial," she was not inclined to challenge the assumptions behind the current conventional wisdom in the West on the Palestine problem — that the Arabs who are now refugees had been settled for centuries on the territory of Palestine; that their displacement by immigrant Jews was a grave injustice, whatever the merits of the Zionist cause; that something should be done to satisfy the legitimate claim of Arab Palestinians to a homeland in Palestine, a "right" publicly recognized in recent years by Presidents Carter and Reagan, not to mention Pope John Paul II; and that this "Palestine question" remains at the heart of the Arab-Israeli problem.

Whether the author correctly defines this conventional wisdom and whether it in fact represents the thinking of academic experts, diplomats and public figures to whom she attributes it, are subjects for a separate extended essay, but let us assume she is right, for the sake of argument. At any rate, as she got into her research she kept running into bits of evidence that threw doubt on that conventional wisdom.

Then one day, a great light burst upon her. She had found vital information, previously unknown or obscured by neglect. If it could be confirmed, it would "alter the very basis of our understanding of the Arab-Israeli conflict and destroy the foundation upon which 'Palestinian' claims have rested." Some five years, 600 pages and 1,792 footnotes later, she rests her case. Precious little is left of the conventional wisdom and nothing but empty propaganda is left of Palestinian claims. That, in any case, is the argument of the book. It is made at great length, with force, conviction and much repetition. Although the thesis involves complex historical situations, perhaps the following list of its major points is not an unfair summary.

- The Palestine Arabs did not live in Palestine "from time immemorial." The inhabitants of that territory from the time of the Arab conquest in the seventh century came from a mixture of religions (Muslims, Christians, Jews) and ethnic groups. Jewish settlements were there long before the Arabs arrived and continued through the centuries of Arab domination.

- By the 19th century, Palestine, under Turkish rule, was only sparsely populated. Many outsiders (Turks, Kurds, Circassians, Druses, Egyptians and others) were moving in and out. This revolving and diverse population could not possibly have constituted a substan-

tial indigenous Arab Palestinian people.

- At the end of the 19th century, according to Ottoman census statistics, Jews and Muslims (not all of the latter were Arabs) were approximately equal in numbers in those areas of Palestine where Jews had settled. Both populations grew in subsequent years. However, Jewish immigration was restricted by the Ottoman government and later by the British government, while the influx of Arabs into those areas was uncontrolled. This injustice loaded the dice in favor of the Arabs and against the Jews.

- Jews did not displace settled Arabs; rather, Arabs were attracted for economic reasons to areas developed by Jews. Consequently, when partition of Palestine, and war, came in 1948, many Arabs who fled the area that became Israel were recent arrivals, not true refugees leaving long-established homes.

- The Arab refugees leaving Israel were more than balanced by the number of Jews pouring into Israel to escape terror and persecution in surrounding Arab



THE NEW YORK TIMES/MICHA BAR-AM

An Arab sits beside an Israeli soldier in Jerusalem.

"The massive research Mrs. Peters did for 'From Time Immemorial' would have daunted Hercules."

states. Those Jewish refugees were welcomed and absorbed by Israel. It is only right, therefore, that the Arab states absorb the Arab refugees. There is, in fact, a Palestinian state already on the map which has taken some Palestinian refugees and could take more. It is called Jordan.

- The Jews have an unassailable right, on the record of history, to the land that is now Israel. The right of a Palestinian Arab nation (there is no such entity, Mrs. Peters says, echoing the former Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir) to a lost homeland now wrongfully occupied by Israel is fiction, a creation of Arab propaganda.

The massive research Mrs. Peters did in support of these conclusions would have daunted Hercules. In the course of it she turned up a great deal of interesting material from Ottoman records, the reports of Western consular officers and observant travelers and other sources. The discoveries and the deductions made from them, however, scarcely alter "the very basis of our understanding of the Arab-Israeli conflict," as she thinks.

John C. Campbell, a former senior fellow and Director of Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, has written extensively on the Middle East and on American foreign policy.

In the first place, the evidence is fragmentary and often inconclusive. Magnitude of research and ingenuity of interpretation do not dispel all the obscurities of the past. Furthermore, even if one accepts all the main points listed above, they do not lead inexorably to all the conclusions Mrs. Peters draws. To the degree that they justify the establishment and permanence of the state of Israel, well and good. But they do not dispose of the fact that Palestine in the period of the British Mandate was peopled by many more Arabs than Jews and that any application of the principle of self-determination would have to take account of the desires of both peoples, as the United Nations recognized in its decision for partition in 1947. Nor do they dispose of the fact of Palestinian nationalism, with which Israel and the world will have to come to terms. That cannot be dismissed just because some Arabs covet all of Palestine, or because Israel now holds all of it and, at least as far as the present government of Israel is concerned, intends to keep it. Whether one is talking about the Arab revolt of the 30's or the violence in the West Bank and Gaza Strip today, Palestinians are not just terrorists and propagandists; they are ordinary people.

The latter part of "From Time Immemorial" is about a more familiar theme than migrations and census statistics. It is a diatribe against British policy on Palestine from the time of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 which committed the British government to support establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine to the end of the Mandate in 1948. The British are condemned for abandoning the obligations of the Balfour Declaration and the terms of their mandate by carving Transjordan out of the Mandate territory and handing it over to the Emir Abdullah, one of the sons of the sheriff of Mecca who had been a British wartime ally; for restricting Jewish immigration, an unjust policy that became inhuman and criminal after Hitler came to power in Germany; for barring the gates of Palestine to Jews during World War II, thus making Britain an accomplice of Hitler in condemning Europe's Jews to persecution and death; for making the Jewish people pay with their lives for a policy of appeasement of Arab sheiks and Moslem effendis; and for the continued exclusion and detention of Jewish refugees after the war, when Palestine was their only hope.

HISTORIANS and publicists have plowed this ground for many years and this author's charges are not particularly novel. With the recent opening of the British archives for the period, scholars have dug up new data on the origins of the Balfour Declaration and on the various deeds and misdeeds of the troubled and controversial times of the Mandate. Mrs. Peters has found, among other things, correspondence between the British government in London and its representatives in Jerusalem, Amman and Damascus, which she uses to document ignorance, willful distortion and anti-Semitic prejudice on the part of British ministers, diplomats and proconsuls. Much of the indictment is justified. Britain's record was anything but exemplary. But Mrs. Peters seems reluctant to recognize that "appeasement" of the Arabs could be explained in terms of British and Commonwealth interests and that the supreme issues during World War II were survival and victory, which took precedence over efforts to mitigate the tragedy of the Jews of Europe or to support Zionist aspirations in Palestine.

One final point, which has to do with the general tone and thrust of Mrs. Peters's book. It is a polemic, with never a qualifying word to temper either its denunciations of Moslems and Arabs or its defense of Jews. Such history is too one-sided to be true. The converted to whom the author is preaching will applaud. Those whom she scorns and condemns will naturally be tempted to intemperate response. As for those Israelis, Arabs, Americans, Europeans and others who are in neither category but who are concerned with seeing progress toward settlement of the Arab-Israeli problem by negotiation and conciliation — including the Pope and, although it may be hard to see the signs of it in an election year, the President of the United States — they can only regret that a book with such scholarly pretensions, and with much real scholarship, will contribute nothing to that end. □



THE AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

AIPAC MEMORANDUM

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AIPAC

THE PLO IS NOT READY TO MAKE PEACE WITH ISRAEL

August 6, 1985

Is the PLO ready to make peace with Israel?

According to King Hussein, the Arafat-led wing of the PLO is now committed to negotiations with Israel on the basis of UN Resolution 242.

But since the convening of the Palestine National Council in Amman in November 1984 and the subsequent signing of the Jordan-PLO Accord on February 11, 1985, the PLO's actions and statements belie the peaceful image that King Hussein is propagating.

Far from committing the PLO to a peaceful solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict, Arafat and his lieutenants have instead committed the PLO to four principles:

1. REJECTION of UN Resolution 242
2. REJECTION of direct negotiations with Israel
3. REJECTION of all American peace proposals
4. PROMOTION of terrorism against Israel

The attached record of PLO statements all occurred after the convening of the PNC. The attached record of PLO terrorist actions all occurred after the Jordan-PLO Accord.

The statements were all made by members of Arafat's clique. The terrorist acts were all planned, perpetrated or claimed by Arafat's people. They say far more about the PLO's 'peaceful' intentions than the claims made on the PLO's behalf by King Hussein.

1. REJECTION OF 242

Hani al-Hasan - Fatah Central Committee Member and close personal advisor to Yasir Arafat: "I say here and now to the Palestinian people that we will not accept as the price for U.S. recognition of the PLO the PLO's recognition of Resolution 242." (Radio Monte Carlo, July 19, 1985)

Khalid al-Hasan - Fatah Central Committee Member and close personal advisor to Yasir Arafat reiterated that "the organization (PLO) has rejected Resolution 242 and still is and will continue to reject it as a basis for a political solution of the conflict in the Middle East." (KUNA, July 3, 1985)

Al-Za'nun: "None of the forbidden things have been accepted: Camp David agreement, Resolution 242, and the Reagan Plan..." (AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, April 10, 1985)

Hani al-Hasan - Fatah Central Committee Member and close personal advisor to Yasir Arafat: "The PLO will continue to reject UN Security Council Resolution 242." (AFP, January 1, 1985)

Resolutions of the Palestine National Council - Voice of Palestine: "The PLO reaffirms its previous sessions' resolutions on the international level which reject 242 and negotiations at the Arab and international level based on this resolution." (November 11, 1984)

Salah Khalaf - Fatah Central Committee Member and Security Head of PLO: "We as Palestinians must point out again that we reject Security Council Resolution 242, which is not in harmony with our aspirations." (Voice of PLO, November 25, 1984)

2. REJECTION OF DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WITH ISRAEL

Shaykh 'Abd al-Hamid al-Sa'ih - PNC Speaker affirmed that "there will be no direct talks with Israel..." (SAWT AL-SH'AB, June 17, 1985)

Mohammad Milhim - Member of the PLO Executive Committee stated that "force is the only language the Israelis understand." (Washington Times, June 13, 1985)

Mohammad Milhim reiterated the PLO's rejection of any direct Jordanian-Palestinian-Israeli talks as envisaged by Mr. Peres' proposal." (Jordan Times, June 12, 1985)

Abd al-Hamid al-Sa'ih : "The U.S. must abandon such a request because I will not participate in any direct negotiations with Israel." (AL-SIYASAH, June 10, 1985)

Yasir Arafat: "We reject a direct dialogue or direct negotiations, and we reject any solution that is not achieved through an international conference." (AL-QABAS, June 6, 1985)

Hani al-Hasan - Fatah Central Committee Member and close personal advisor to Yasir Arafat: "We reject direct negotiations with the Zionist enemy." (AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, March 1, 1985)

3. REJECTION OF U.S. PEACE PROPOSALS

Yasir Arafat: "...under the leadership of the PLO, the Palestinian people in Lebanon, have clung to their choice to struggle against the new plots of Camp Murphy..." (Voice of Palestine, May 21, 1985)

Salah Khalaf - Fatah Central Committee Member and Security Head of the PLO: "We do not under any circumstance accept a "West Bank and Gaza ruled by the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan or any Arab state." (Christian Science Monitor, May 9, 1985)

Khalil al-Wazir - Deputy commander in chief of Palestine Revolution Forces reaffirmed "the PLO's rejection of the Camp David agreements and any settlements or peaceful solutions based on these agreements..." (AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, April 27, 1985)

Salah Khalaf: "Our people inside [the occupied territory] have rejected Murphy's mission. We also say that Murphy's mission has nothing to do with either the PLO or Palestinian rights." (Radio Monte Carlo, April 21, 1985)

Salah Khalaf: "The Jordanian-Palestinian delegation will not announce that it represents the PLO and the PLO will not say that the delegation represents it." (Radio Monte Carlo, April 21, 1985)

Yasir Arafat: "As for me, my objective is to defy the Americans and resist their policies." (AFP, January 29, 1985)

PNC Political Report: "The PNC emphasizes its rejection of the Camp David accords, autonomy and U.S. President Ronald Reagan's plan..." (VOP, November 30, 1984)

4. PROMOTION OF TERRORISM

Yasir Arafat: "At the heart of this comes armed struggle... The weak do not have peace. This struggle has been our conviction since the beginning and so it will remain until victory." (SAWT AL-SH'AB, June 28, 1985)

Fatah Central Committee Statement: "There has been enough killing among the one Arab nation. Let all rifles be united against the Zionist enemy..." (June 21, 1985)

Khalid Al-Hasan - Fatah Central Committee Member and close personal advisor to Yasir Arafat emphasized "the need to escalate the Palestinian military struggle." (WAKH, June 17, 1985)

Khalid al-Hasan: "The PLO is currently seeking to bring about U.S. recognition of Palestinian national rights, consolidating the steadfastness of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and escalating their struggle in parallel with the PLO's political action." (WAKH, June 17, 1985)

Yasir Arafat: "This revolution will not stop until its banner is raised over the minarets of Jerusalem and its charges." (Radio Monte Carlo, June 7, 1985)

Yasir Arafat: "As I have said, our agreement (the Jordanian-Palestinian Accord of Feb. 11, 1985) is a joint agreement on action, joint steps and joint efforts so that we can together liberate our land and liberate Jerusalem, God willing." (AL-QABAS, June 6, 1985)

Yasir Arafat: "...20 Palestinian fighters of those who participated in the naval operation which Israel recently announced it had discovered, are currently working in occupied Palestine and are carrying out military operations against Zionist targets.: (SAWT AL-SAWB, June 4, 1985)

Salah Khalaf: "Your principled and brave stance had a great effect on the morale of our people everywhere and on the morale of all the leaders who believe in the liberation of Palestine and the continuation of the armed struggle." (in a cable to Qadaffi - Tripoli - Voice of Greater Arab Homeland, June 1, 1985)

Khalil al-Wazir - Deputy commander in chief of Palestine Revolution Forces: "The main option for the revolution is armed struggle." (KUNA, May 17, 1985)

Khalil al-Wazir: "...political movements were never an alternative for armed struggle." (KUNA, May 17, 1985)

Yasir Arafat: "...military operations are presently being stepped up inside occupied Palestine and in southern Lebanon where Palestinian and Lebanese combatants are waging a war of attrition against the Israeli enemy." (Luanda Domestic Service - Portugal, May 14, 1985)

Khalil al-Wazir: "It was part of our policy to escalate the struggle with all our capabilities and in all arenas." (Voice of PLO, May 14, 1985)

Khalil al-Wazir: "That operation was an expression of our determination to continue our armed struggle...Indeed, we are following this course and we will not hesitate. This is the

will of our revolution which will not stop." (regarding the failed terrorist attack from the sea, Voice of PLO, May 14, 1985)

Khalil al-Wazir: "...All this is for the purpose of continuing the struggle. Therefore, every struggler should rest assured. There is no room for doubt about this revolution's determination and insistence upon continuing this path." (Voice of PLO, May 14, 1985)

Yasir Arafat: "The armed option is the Palestinian revolution's option..." (Voice of Palestine, May 13, 1985)

Khalil al-Wazir: "We are determined to struggle and sacrifice ourselves without any hesitation for our homeland's independence." (EL MOUDJAHID - Algiers, May 12, 1985)

Khalil al-Wazir: "Palestinian armed struggle continues despite the siege in all its forms...We are also stepping up the struggle on every inch of our occupied Palestinian land." (Voice of Palestine, May 9, 1985)

Khalil al-Wazir: "The Palestinian people are determined to continue armed struggle to confront Zionist plots." (Voice of PLO, April 29, 1985)

Hani al-Hasan - Fatah Central Committee Member and political advisor to Yasir Arafat: "We in Fatah believe in a rule, namely, what armed struggle plants, political struggle reaps." (Radio Monte Carlo, April 26, 1985)

Hani al-Hasan: "What is important is that there is armed struggle and that we have begun to prepare ourselves for an armed confrontation with the Israelis in all arenas." (Radio Monte Carlo, April 26, 1985)

Hani al-Hasan: "We can achieve victory for the Palestinians through armed struggle." (Radio Monte Carlo, April 26, 1985)

Yasir Arafat: "The recent fedayeen naval operation against the entity as asserted the Palestinian determination to wage armed struggle to regain their homeland." (Voice of PLO, April 24, 1985)

Joint PLO Executive Committee and Fatah Central Committee Statement: "The Palestinian leadership adopted several decisions which emphasize the continuation of Palestinian armed struggle against the Zionist occupation forces." (INA, April 17, 1985)

Al-Za'nun: "If armed struggle in the occupied territories is less than 50 percent of our actions in general we are not worthy of leading the Palestinian people." (AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, April 10, 1985)

TERRORIST INCIDENTS SINCE FEBRUARY 11, 1985

DATE	INCIDENT	RESPONSIBILITY CLAIMED BY	CONFIRMED BY ISRAEL
2/11	Incendiary bomb attack on an Israeli bus on the West Bank	PLO General Command(1)	Yes
2/14	Molotov cocktail thrown at an Israeli bus on road to Jerusalem	PLO General Command	
2/14	Molotov cocktails thrown at a bus carrying Israeli settlers on the West Bank	PLO General Command	
2/14	Derailment of a train between Haifa and Tel Aviv	PLO General Command	
2/19	Attack on a military vehicle on Gaza strip	PLO General Command	Yes
2/19	Israeli bus hijacked near Hebron	PLO General Command	
2/22	Israeli bus hijacked on West Bank	PLO General Command	
2/24	Molotov cocktails thrown at an Israeli bus near Bethlehem	PLO General Command	
2/26	Bomb attack on a shop in Ashdod	PLO General Command	Yes
2/26	Molotov cocktail thrown at an Israeli military vehicle in Gaza	PLO General Command	Yes
2/26	Explosive charges in Ashqelon	PLO General Command	
2/26	Hand grenades thrown at a Tel Aviv restaurant	PLO General Command	
3/7	Remote control devise set off under an Israeli patrol near Hebron	PLO General Command	

(1) Palestine Revolutionary Forces General Command is the
military spokesman for Yasir Arafat

Fatah Revolutionary Council Meeting Statement: "Armed struggle is the primary form of the Palestinian struggle and is the firm strategy for realizing the national objective of our people." (Voice of Palestine, April 7, 1985)

Voice of PLO - Commentary: "The PLO will not give up its role in leading the Palestinian people's struggle, no matter how long and rough course is. This struggle will continue until the independent Palestinian state is established. This is the logic of justice, history, and peoples who are struggling against occupation and Nazi Zionism." (March 19, 1985)

Yasir Arafat: "With our armed resistance we restored to our commitment the image of a struggle against an invader, of a struggle against the Israeli military junta." (Madrid - EL PAIS, March 4, 1985)

Ali Halimah - PLO Ambassador to Kuwait: "The agreement between Jordan and the PLO does not entail that the PLO abandons armed struggle." (KUNA, March 4, 1985)

Yasir Arafat: "In accordance with the revolution command's policy and in compliance with its decision to escalated armed struggle inside the occupied homeland...our heroic revolution continues to inflict further losses against the Zionist occupation forces." (Voice of PLO, February 25, 1985)

Yasir Arafat explained that "military pressure on the Zionist entity must be an escalation of armed struggle in the occupied Arab territories." (Voice of PLO, February 21, 1985)

Salah Khalaf: "The PLO will continue to struggle to end the Israeli occupation of Arab territories including Jerusalem." (Xinhua Wire Service, February 16, 1985)

3/12	Explosive charge near Israeli settlement in West Bank	PLO General Command	Yes
3/12	Incendiary bomb thrown at a military patrol in Hebron	PLO General Command	Yes
3/13	Molotov cocktail thrown at branch of Bank Leumi in Jerusalem	PLO General Command	
3/22	Shelling of Metulla	PLO General Command	
4/8	Incendiary bomb thrown at an Israeli bus on West Bank	PLO General Command	
4/9	Incendiary bomb thrown at an Israeli vehicle near Bethlehem	PLO General Command	
4/10	Molotov cocktails thrown at an Israeli patrol in Janin	PLO General Command	
4/10	Molotov cocktails thrown at an Israeli patrol near Al-Khadir	PLO General Command	
4/14	Hand grenade attack on an Israeli bus near Hebron	PLO General Command	
4/14	Attack on an Israeli vehicle near Hebron	PLO General Command	
4/22	Fedayeen naval operation - attempt to launch an attack from the sea against the center of Israel	PLO General Command	Yes
4/26	Explosion at Qiryat Milakhi	PLO General Command	Yes
4/28	Hand grenade attack on an Israeli vehicle in Nabulus	PLO General Command	
4/28	Incendiary bomb attack on an Israeli vehicle on the Beersheva - Jerusalem road	PLO General Command	
5/1	Grenade attack on an Israeli bus	PLO General Command	Yes

5/2	Grad missile attack in Bat Yam	PLO General Command	Yes
5/6	High explosive charge planted on the road to Betah	PLO General Command	
5/8	Israeli navy sinks a rubber dingy off the coast of Tyre carrying Palestinian guerrillas heading for the Israeli coast	PLO General Command	Yes
5/12	Explosions at: * bus stop near Shaare Tzedek hospital in Jerusalem * Shimshon road near Bet Shemesh * Giva't Sharet near Bet Shemesh * Liberty Bell Park in Jerusalem	PLO General Command	Yes Yes Yes Yes
5/13	Machine gun and grenade attack against an Israeli vehicle on West Bank	PLO General Command	
5/14	Hand grenade attack on an Israeli vehicle in West Bank	PLO General Command	
5/16	Machine gun attack against an Israeli bus on West Bank	PLO General Command	
5/26	Detonation of a remote - controlled explosive charge in Haifa	PLO General Command	Yes
5/29 & 5/31	Detonation of a remote - controlled explosive charge in Afula	PLO General Command	Yes
5/31	Machine gun ambush of an Israeli patrol in Jerusalem	PLO General Command	
6/6	Hand grenade thrown at an Israeli military patrol in Gaza	PLO General Command	Yes
6/6	Incendiary bomb attack on the military governor in Janin	PLO General Command	
6/6	Grenade thrown at border guards near Hebron	PLO General Command	

6/20	Explosion near an industrial plant in Kir'yat Ga't	PLO General Command	
6/20	Detonation of a mine in the Golan Heights	PLO General Command	
6/20	Civilian guard stabbed in Jerusalem	PLO General Command	
6/21	Hand grenade attack on an Israeli patrol in Gaza	PLO General Command	
6/22	Incendiary bomb attack on an Israeli patrol on West Bank	PLO General Command	
6/22	Hand grenade thrown at a foot patrol near Nabulus	PLO General Command	
6/23	Hand grenade attack in Nabulus	PLO General Command	
6/23	Incendiary bomb thrown at Israeli bus on West Bank	PLO General Command	
6/24	Explosion at a bus stop in Nev'e Ya'acov section of Jerusalem	PLO General Command	Yes
6/26	Attack on a patrol in Gaza	PLO General Command	
6/26	Deputy director of Ramleh prison attacked	PLO General Command	
6/27	High explosive charge detonated on the Tel Aviv beach near the U.S. Embassy	PLO General Command	Yes
7/2	Hand grenade attack on an Israeli patrol in Gaza	PLO General Command	
7/7	Bomb explosion at a bus stop near Holon, injuring 5 Israelis	PLO General Command	Yes
7/7	Bomb explosion near a soldier's hitchhiking station east of Tel Aviv	PLO General Command	Yes
7/7	2 Israeli army grenades thrown at a historic mosque north of Jaffa	PLO General Command	Yes

6/6	Detonation of a remote - controlled devise in Tammun	PLO General Command	
6/8	Machine gun attack on a military truck in Gaza	PLO General Command	Yes
6/8	Incendiary bomb attack against patrols on West Bank	PLO General Command	Yes
6/8	Incendiary bomb attack on a gas station in Hebron	PLO General Command	Yes
6/9	Machine gun attack against an Israeli truck in Gaza	PLO General Command	
6/10	Incendiary bombs hurled an Israeli bus near Nabulus	PLO General Command	
6/10	Hand grenade attack on an Israeli vehicle in Nabulus	PLO General Command	
6/10	Attack on an Israeli bus with incendiary bombs on West Bank	PLO General Command	
6/12	Explosive charge detonated in Ashqelon	PLO General Command	
6/17	Attack on an Israeli vehicle near Bethlehem	PLO General Command	
6/17	Incendiary bomb thrown at an Israeli vehicle near Hebron	PLO General Command	
6/17	Explosive charge detonated at a bus stop in Ramot (Jerusalem)	PLO General Command	Yes
6/17	Explosive charge detonated at a bus stop on French Hill (Jerusalem)	PLO General Command	Yes
6/17	Explosive charges planted near a warehouse in Tel Aviv	PLO General Command	
6/17	Timed explosion at a timber factory in Ashqelon	PLO General Command	
6/17	Incendiary bomb thrown at a patrol in Gaza	PLO General Command	
6/19	Several mines planted on roads in the Golan Heights	PLO General Command	

7/9	Incendiary bomb attack against military governor's headquarters in Janin	PLO General Command
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7/9	Hand grenade attack on an Israeli vehicle in Hebron	PLO General Command
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7/9	Explosion in Haifa	PLO General Command
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7/11	Explosion in main square of Nazereth	PLO General Command
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7/11	Explosion in King Saul Hotel in Ashqelon	PLO General Command
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