

ey share a common
ing with their mil-
of refugee cousins for
ee and independent
stine. But while the
ees have simply wait-
6 years, Palestinian
essmen, doctors, law-
educators and civil
nts have honed their
ssional skills and
adjustments.

ey have carved a
ortable niche for
selves in trading cen-
universities, offices
government ministries
hing from Beirut to
it. Their ideas on a
anent settlement with
ews tend to be more
ctic than idealistic.

ey have to forget the
and start building
," says Hikmat Mas-
e head of a large and
ful family in Israeli-
Nablus, "the guerril-
ure just a passing
."

Masri family owns
and match factories,
oking firm and a veg-
e oil company.

mat is a former Jor-
n government minis-
his nephew Taher
s in King Hussein's
nt cabinet in Am-
his brother, Zafer,
he Chamber of Com-
e.

mat Masri says there
e peace in the Middle
if Israel withdraws
the west bank of Jor-
and the Gaza Strip
it captured in 1967.
envisions a five-year
ition period" of in-
ional supervision in

the only structure viable
to represent us, but we
have plenty of leaders to
choose from when the time
comes."

Not so, says his Ameri-
can-educated nephew Tah-
er, who administers the
west bank in exile as Jor-
dan's "minister of occu-
pied territories."

"We have no leaders,
only followers. I have to
accept Yasir Arafat be-
cause the PLO is all that's
available. If the guerrillas
go to Geneva the most im-
portant issues will be de-
cided before we Palestini-
ans can elect any other
representatives."

His reference to Geneva
was to an upcoming con-
ference of Arab and Israeli
representatives to discuss
ways of achieving a per-
manent peace in the Mid-
dle East. This was a condi-
tion of recent troop disen-
gagement arrangement
worked out with U.S. Sec-
retary of State Henry A.
Kissinger.

The future of the Pales-
tinians and the possibility
of an independent Pales-
tinian state may be dis-
cussed at Geneva.

The younger Masri
agrees with his uncle that
a truncated Palestinian
state in the west bank and
Gaza would not be eco-
nomically, politically and
militarily viable. Both feel
there would have to be
some form of federation
with Jordan after an initial
period of independence —
"long enough to give the
Palestinians an entity and
make them feel they can

the superpowers impose
will be accepted by the
Palestinians and Jordan.
The United States can easi-
ly topple King Hussein if
they want to form a Pales-
tinian-Jordanian state.

"Palestinians already
own half of Amman. Why
should we separate?"

Zafer Mazri, the busi-
nessman, and his brother
the mayor of Mazzoz, both
noted that their company's
profits are inexorably
linked to trade with Jor-
dan.

"Our factories here are
existing because we can
sell our products in Jor-
dan," said Zafer. "Israeli
currency fluctuations have
cut into our profits. They
say I can sell in Israel but
no Jew would buy my
matches if he can get
them from one of his own.

"The Israelis have
curbed investment in the
west bank, they have re-
fused to build roads and
they have not even given
us direct-dial telephones. I
bank my money in Am-
man and I see my future
in ties with the east bank."

The Masris' power base
in Nablus contrasts with
that of Sheikh Jaffar al Ja-
biri in Hebron. He runs his
city like a Chinese war-
lord, receiving supplicants
in his mayor's office, set-
tling local squabbles and
trying to remain on good
terms with Israeli occupa-

said Yussuf Sayegh, a pro-
fessor of the American
University of Beirut, "I
want to dynamite the Ge-
neva peace talks.

"I do not envision any-
thing except a military so-
lution — not total defeat
for Israel but enough to
make them reassess the
whole Palestinian ques-
tion. We can do this with
Arab support, but gradual-
ism makes it more compli-
cated, more costly."

Sayegh was one of the
few independent members
of the PLO executive com-
mittee before he resigned
earlier this year, largely
because his views were not
shared by Arafat. He has
been replaced on the com-
mittee by three moderate
west bankers, of whom the
most prominent is Mohsen
Abu Maizer.

Often touted as the fu-
ture "premier of Pales-
tine," Abu Maizer was a
west bank lawyer before
his expulsion by Israeli au-
thorities last December
because of illegal under-
ground political activity.
He is a member of the So-
cialist Baath party and
one of the founders of a
clandestine Palestine Na-
tional Front — PNF —
which emerged in the oc-
cupied territories after the
October war in 1973.

Abu Maizer now lives in
Damascus, Syria. He sup-
ports Arafat's desire to ne-

is not important."

Hadj Rashad Shawa, the
de facto ruler of the Gaza
Strip, points to Israel's
paramilitary settlements
in the occupied territories
as a clear indication that
Israel will not withdraw.

"The real aim of the Is-
raelis is to take over every
inch of land here," he said.
"Anything short of a real
partition similar to 1947
will lead us to another
war. I doubt that there will
be peace for 150 years.

"Giving us the west
bank and Gaza would de-
lay another war for 10
years at the most. The tide
has changed in favor of
the Arabs. It will take us
two or three more genera-
tions to eliminate Israel
and liberate Palestine, but
eventually the Jews will
have to assimilate.

"They cannot set up a
European state in an Arab
society."

Shawa has survived two
assassination attempts by
Palestinian guerrilla
groups who felt he was col-
laborating with the Israel-
is.

before that comes about."