

2/7385/5

מס' תיק

משרד

מס' 124

6

מדינת ישראל

משרד המשלה

"ירדן" פ"א פלשטין

1989

10-12

מק"ב הוצאה, מאגזין, יתבת בן שט

10-12-89

מחלקה

מס' תיק מקורי

2/7385/5



שם תיק: סגן השר בנימין נתניהו - "ירדן" היא פלשטין

מזהה פנימי: ג-7385/5

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Jordanie Palestine

"ירדן" היא פלשתיין

- א. אחד הנימוקים העיקריים בהם משתמשים היום בשירות החוץ הישראלי נגד הכרזת מל"פ באלג'יר בדבר הקמת "המדינה הפלשתינית", הוא כי במקום הכרה מפורשת בהחלטת 242 מדובר בהכרזתם בהכרה ב-242, ובכל יתר החלטות או"ם והתוספת של " כל יתר החלטות או"ם " מרוקנת מתוכנה את ההכרה ב-242. השאלה היא: היה ומל"פ/אש"פ יצעדו צעד אחד קדימה ויודיעו כי מכירים ב-242 ללא כל תוספת - האם אז נכיר ב"מדינה פלשתינית"?
- ב. נימוקנו הנ"ל וכל נימוקינו האחרים המושמעים על-ידינו בבירות העולם, נועדו להוכיח כי בניסוח הכרזת אלג'יר טמונה תרמית וכי אין בהכרזה זו לא הכרה מפורשת בישראל, לא הכרה מפורשת ב-242, ולא גינוי מפורש של מעשי טרור אנטי-ישראליים. רובה של דעת הקהל בעולם חולקת עלינו ושותפה לדעת שרי החוץ של ה-12 באירופה כי אכן בהכרזת מל"פ ישנה משום התקדמות לקראת השלום - אם רק גם ישראל תמתן עמדתה.
- ג. בשעה שעלינו לעשות הכל על מנת לחסוף התרמית שבהכרזת אלג'יר, להציגה כצעד במסגרת "תכנית השלבים" הערבית ולהמשיך בשימוש בכל נימוקינו הנ"ל - לא נראה כי יהיה בכוחם של נימוקינו הנ"ל להחליש האהדה הנתונה ל"עם שמולדתו כבושה".
- ד. מדהים ממש שברשימה הארוכה של הנימוקים המוברקים לנציגויות מאז ועידת אלג'יר והמושמעים על-ידינו בארה"ב וברחבי העולם - נעדר הנימוק העיקרי: רוב ערביי פלשתיין נמצא תחת דגל ערבי; אם דגל זה אינו לרוחם - יכולים להחליפו.
- ה. אנחנו לא מנינו את חוסיין כמלכם ולא הכתבנו להם לאמץ שמו של נהר כשם ארצם. אם רצונם בכך - יכולים להחליף את שניהם.
- ו. השם PALESTINA ניתן ליהודה העתיקה ע"י הרומאים בשנת 135 ע"מ למחוק את זהותה היהודית, אחרי דיכוי מרד היהודים. הועדה המיוחדת של האו"ם לנושא פלשתיין (UNSCOP) כתבה בדו"חה ב-1947:
- "NOT SINCE 63 B.C., WHEN POMPEY STORMED JERUSALEM, HAS PALESTINE BEEN AN INDEPENDENT STATE".
- ז. ישראל, בשעה שחידשה את ריבונותה, לא קמה על חורבותיה של ריבונות ערבית אלא באה במקומה של הריבונות האימפריאלית האחרונה בארצנו - הבריטית. הריבונות הילידה האחרונה במקום בו נמצאת ישראל המודרנית היתה זו של ישראל העתיקה; בין ישראל דאז לבין ישראל דהיום שלטו באותה הארץ ריבונויות "מיובאות" שונות, החל מהרומית ועד לבריטית.
- ח. בעקבות סכסוך שנמשך דורות אחדים בין שני המרכיבים העיקריים של אוכלוסית פלשתיין (*) - היהודים והערבים - קמו בפלשתיין שתי ריבונויות: בחלקה הקטן יותר הוקמה מחדש הריבונות היהודית ובחלקה הגדול יותר קמה לראשונה

(*) נשתמש במונח זה כי הדברים נועדו לשימוש בלועזית.

ריבונות ערבית. שמה של זו האחרונה, צורתה התחוקתית, זהות מנהיגה - לא אנו אחראים להם ולא עלינו לקבוע אותם.

ט. השם "PALESTINE" הוכנס לראשונה כמונח של המשפט הבינלאומי בועידת השלום שבתום מלחמת העולם הראשונה. כניסתו של שם זה לטרמינולוגיה הבינלאומית היתה קשורה עם הכרת העולם בזכותו של העם היהודי לבית לאומי משלו, בתקופה הווילסוניאנית של "אביב העמים". (המשפט האחרון לשימוש בארה"ב בלבד). השטח הגיאוגרפי עליו חל המונח "PALESTINE" מוגדר בבירור בהחלטת "הליגה של האומות", לפיה נמסר המאנדט על כל השטח לבריטניה.

י. ב-14 ביוני 1921 בדברו בפני בית הנבחרים בלונדון הגדיר צ'רצ'יל את עבר-הירדן כ- "ONE OF THE MOST VALUABLE PARTS OF PALESTINE".

י"א. לורד בלפור, בהופיעו בפני מועצת "הליגה של האומות" ב-16 בספטמבר 1922, כחודשיים אחרי אישור המאנדט שניתן ע"י הליגה לבריטניה, התייחס למגמת הבריטים לסגור את עבר-הירדן בפני התישבות היהודים בהזכירו כי

"ARTICLE 25 OF THE MANDATE FOR PALESTINE AS APPROVED BY THE COUNCIL IN LONDON ON JULY 24TH, 1922, PROVIDES THAT THE TERRITORIES WHICH LIE EAST OF THE JORDAN SHOULD BE UNDER A SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT REGIME FROM THE REST OF PALESTINE".

י"ב. במסמך מחלקת המדינה של ארה"ב מ-1931 הנקרא "THE MANDATE FOR PALESTINE" מוסבר הפרוש של חלוקת פלסטיין והוצאת חלקה המזרחי ע"י הבריטים מתחום שנועד להקמת הבית הלאומי לעם היהודי. נאמר בו:

"TO THE WEST OF THIS LINE THE TERMS OF THE MANDATE FOR PALESTINE APPLY IN TOTO; TO THE EAST, ONLY SUCH TERMS OF THE MANDATE APPLY AS DO NOT RELATE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT IN PALESTINE OF A JEWISH NATIONAL HOME".

י"ג. בית הדין הבינלאומי בהאג בפסק-דין בנושא דרום-מערב-אפריקה, היא נאמיביה, פסק מפורשות כי מושגי המאנדטים של "הליגה של האומות" הם בעלי תוקף גם לאחר שזו חדלה להתקיים. כאשר הבריטים, מתוך אינטרסים אימפריאליים שלהם, החליטו להפריד בין שתי גדות הירדן וסגרו את 78% של פלשתיין - היא עבר הירדן - בפני התישבות יהודית, הם לא ביטלו את המאנדט על פלשתיין לגבי השטח שהוא מזרחה מהירדן אלא השיגו מן "הליגה של האומות" אישור לכך כי מתוך 28 סעיפי המאנדט יחולו על עבר הירדן 22 סעיפים בלבד (לא יחולו שם אותם הסעיפים שהתייחסו לזכותו של העם היהודי להקים את ביתו הלאומי בפלשתיין). ב-22 הסעיפים שהמשיכו לחול על עבר הירדן כונה שטח זה לפחות 30 פעם כ"פלשתיין".

י"ד. השינוי היחידי בהיקף תחולתו הגיאוגרפית של המאנדט הבריטי חל ב-1923 כאשר, בהסכם בין בריטניה לבין המעצמה שבידיה היה המאנדט על סוריה, הועבר האזור של רמת הגולן משליטת המאנדט הפלשתיני (הבריטי) לשליטת המאנדט הסורי (הצרפתי). פרט לשינוי זה PALESTINE המאנדטורית השתרעה מחוף הים התיכון במערב עד גבול עירק וערב הסעודית, כש-22% משטחה הם מערבה מנהר הירדן ו-78% מזרחה מן הנהר.

ט"ו. לפני כ-50 שנה כתב אחד המומחים האמריקניים הגדולים ביותר למז"ת WILLIAM YALE:

"IN MILLIONS OF BIBLES, IN UNCOUNTED SUNDAY SCHOOLS, AND IN INNUMERABLE GEOGRAPHIES THERE ARE MAPS OF PALESTINE, SO THAT THROUGHOUT CHRISTENDOM THERE HAS EXISTED IN THE MINDS OF MOST PEOPLE A GENERAL IDEA OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL CONFORMATION AND BOUNDARIES OF THE HOLY LAND. THIS CORRESPONDED APPROXIMATELY WITH THE PALESTINE OF THE MANDATE".

ט"ז. גם הערבים היו שותפים להגדרתה הגיאוגרפית של פלשתיין ולכך שהיא כוללת את שתי גדות הירדן. בהסכם שנחתם ב-3 בינואר 1919 בין האמיר פייסל, בשם כל הערבים, לבין דר' חיים וייצמן, בשם העם היהודי, נאמר מפורשות אודות ש"פ בין התנועות הלאומיות הערבית והיהודית:

"IT PLEDGED THE PARTIES TO THE CLOSEST POSSIBLE COOPERATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARAB STATE AND PALESTINE".

"מדינה ערבית ופלשתיין" ולא "מדינה ערבית בפלשתיין".

י"ז. נהגנו לעיתים קרובות להגיד כי רובה של אוכלוסית "ירדן" הם פלשתינים. הדבר איננו נכון: כל אוכלוסית ירדן הם פלשתינים, כולל חוסיין עצמו. העובדה שסבו הגיע ממקום אחר איננה רלבנטית. יהודי שנמלט מן הנאצים לשבדיה והתישב בה - בניו ונכדיו שנולדו שם הם שבדים. אם יושבי "ירדן" (דהיינו יושבי פלשתיין) שהם יושביה רק מספר דורות ושאוכלוסיהם הגיעו מחאג'ז או ממקום אחר, אינם פלשתינים - הרי שרוב יושבי ארה"ב אינם אמריקנים, רוב יושבי קנדה אינם קנדים ורוב יושבי אוסטרליה אינם אוסטרלים. לכן - במקום להגיד כי רוב תושבי "ירדן" הם פלשתינים, מדויק יותר להגיד כי כל תושבי "ירדן" (שהיא פלשתיין) הם פלשתינים, מי מזה דורות אחדים ומי מדורות רבים יותר.

י"ח. ישראל אינה מכירה בזכות ההגדרה העצמית של הפלשתינים? שקר וכזב. היא בהחלט מכירה בזכות ההגדרה העצמית של הפלשתינים ברובה של פלשתיין ובמו"מ לשלום ייקבע הגבול המדיני בין תחום ההגדרה העצמית שלהם לבין תחום ההגדרה העצמית שלנו. גבול-שלום זה ייקבע בחוזה-שלום ולא ניתן לקבוע אותו בטרם הוחל המשא ומתן בין שני העמים השכנים שנועד להביא לחוזה השלום. אשר לפלשתינים שימשיכו לחיות בצדו הישראלי של אותו הגבול - ישראל מציעה להם אוטונומיה, רחבה יותר ומקיפה יותר מאשר זו ממנה נהנים חצי מיליון שבדים החיים בפינלנד, וכו', וכו' (כאן ניתן לתת רשימת דוגמאות).

י"ט. העובדה שבני עם אחד חיים מעבר לגבול, תחת ריבונות מדינתו של העם השכן, היא עובדה המאפיינת את המצב ברוב חלקי תבל. כפי שישנם שבדים בפינלנד, כך גם חיים צ'ילנים בצד הארגנטיני של הגבול, פרוויאנים בצד הצ'ילני, ארמנים באזרביידז'אן, וכו' (ניתן להתאים הדוגמה למדינות אליהן מופנים הדברים). העובדה שהערבים חיים בצד הישראלי של הגבול איננה יוצאת דופן; יוצאת דופן היא העובדה כי המדינה הערבית המשתרעת על 78% של פלשתיין היא JUDENREIN וכי חוקתה קובעת שיהודי אינו יכול להיות נתניה.

מדינה לערבים הפלסטינים ?



★ החומר המופיע בזה לקוח מספרו של ד"ר בן-גד שיתפרסם בשפה האנגלית בניו-יורק במרס 1990. הספר מטפל בתעמולה הערבית: דרכים ושיטות

העובדות:

- ★ "ירדן היא פלסטיין ופלסטיין היא ירדן. יש עם אחד ואדמה אחת, הסטוריה משותפת וגורל משותף" (דברי הנסיך חסן באספה הלאומית הירדנית 2/2/1970)
- ★ "חייב להיות קשר כיוון שהירדנים והפלסטינים נחשבים ע"י אש"ף כעם אחד." (דברי פארוק קדומי, ראש המחלקה המדינית של אש"ף בשבועון ניווויק 4/3/1977)
- ★ "אלה שדגים במים עכורים לא יצליחו לפלג את עמנו אשר נמצא משני צדי נהר הירדן" (יאסר ערפאת לאריק רול)
- ★ "פלסטיין ועבה"י הם אחת כי פלסטיין החוף ואלו עבר הירדן הוא הפנים של אותה מדינה" (המלך עבדאללה דבריו בליגה הערבית 12/4/1948 בקהיר)
- ★ "הבה לא נשכח שעבר הירדן המזרחי (ירדן) היכן ששבעים אחוז מהתושבים הם פלסטינים שייך לעם הפלסטיני" (ג'ורג'י חבש בבטאון אש"ף "שואון פלסטיני" פברואר 1970)
- ★ "הערבים הפלסטינים שולטים על למעלה מ 75% מכלכלת ירדן" (העתון אלאהראם המצרי 5/3/1976)
- ★ "פלסטיין בגבולות המנדט הבריטי משני עברי הירדן היא יחידה אחת שאינה נתנת להפרדה" (האמנה הפלסטינית סעיף 2)
- ★ "שני העמים (הירדני והפלסטיני) הם למעשה אחד - זו עובדה" (דברי המלך חוסיין ב 10/10/1977 בטלוויזיה הירדנית)
- ★ "והעובדות מדברות בעד עצמן ! כ 70% מאוכלוסית ירדן ממוצא פלסטיני. הפלסטינים הם הרוב ברבת עמון הבירה, שולטים על 75% מהכלכלה, מיוצגים בצבא ובממשל ועוד.
- ★ חוסיין, ערפאת, חבש וקדומי צודקים: ירדן היא פלסטיין ופלסטיין היא ירדן. הפתרון הוא ירדן. מי שאינו מאושר ביש"ע כל אשר עליו לעשות הוא לעבור את הירדן. הוא לא צריך ויזה.

המזה"ת זקוק לשלום ולא למדינה פלסטינית שניה

Shin

סוג

אל:

הנדון:

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א/הרון לאהרן

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אמר ה' וצמחתי ים ונאמרו.

מחיר 3.

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אבות אבינו שמה את כל
העם וישראלים ה' יתברך
בברכה.

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מאת: חצב

מז:111289/836/0962/6

מס' נר:0962

מקור:אלראי (ירדן)

חז'ק:08128900000

מל'מ :עחונות פלסטינים אבו-איאד ראיון התקוממות ירדן אש'פ מגעים

מל'מ :ישראל אירופה חמאס בחירות ממעלה-פלסטיניות-גולה ועודות-זהות

הנדון:פלסטינים-ירדן-ישראל-בינערכי / ראיון עם אבו-איאד בנושא הפלסטיני

(חוספת למד 081289/836/720/4)

טלטלטלטלטלטל

להלן קטעים מראיון שנערך בחוניסיה עם אבו-איאד :

השפעת ההתקוממות
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ש. האם ההתקוממות השפיעה על דרכי הפעולה הפלסטינית מחוצ לאדמות הכבוש
ת. ההשפעה הבסיסית היתה בדחיפת ההנהגה הפלסטינית לחשוב ברצינות על
יוזמה מזינית, שיש בה כדי להביא לכך שהתקוממות תילחם למען מטרה מוחשית
ללא ההתקוממות לא היו יכולות ההנהגות הללו להגיש את היוזמה.

ש. האם ישנה השפעה על המבנה של אש'פ .

ת. סבורני כי מה שהתרחש בוועידה הכללית של פת'ח היה בהשפעת ההתקוממות.
ואח בפרט לגבי ההיבט הדמוקרטי וכנ היתה האוירה של ההתקוממות שלטת
בוועידה. מבלי הוא הדין לגבי מה שהתרחש באירגונים הפלסטינים האחרים -
וזאת מבלי להתחשב עם כינוסיהם בדרג של ועידה או פחות. מועידה. אמ, נתבו
נראה, כי ההחלטות היו על רקע האוירה של ההתקוממות, אבל מבנה הפעולה ע
לא נשתנה בהרבה. קיימות קריאות למען רפורמה בדרכי הכיצוע, אבל רפורמה

אמ
וי

פתי
פתי

זו נחקלת בממשולית בירוקרטיים, המעכבים את ביצועה.

השינויים באירופה המזרחית

ש. מהן השפעות השינויים באירופה המזרחית על הבעיה הפלסטינית ?
ת. ישנן חששות שהשינויים יהיו בכיוון העמדה המערב אירופית, אבל קשה עתה לומר אם החששות מוצדקות או לא. עד כה נראה כי השינוי הוא חיוב לגבי ישראל - אבל לגבינו לא היה שינוי שלילי. אנו חוששים כי השינוי - ובכך איננו אני מתכוונ לברה"מ אלא לאירופה המזרחית - יהיה התרחקות מן השקפות המסורתיות שלהן, בתמיכה בזכות ההגדרה העצמית הפלסטינית אפ אם התרחשות הדבר הזה אינה קלה. מכל מקום קשה מאוד להתנבא עתה .
ש. קיים ניתוח אחר, האומר כי השינויים באירופה המזרחית עלולים להקטין את החשיבות האסטרטגית של ישראל.

ת. אם תתבונן אל הנושא מן הבחינה האסטרטגית, הרי ייתכן הדבר הזה, אבל זה אינו מספיק כשלעצמו. זאת כי צריכים להתחולל שינויים נוספים. סבורני שהצלחתו שדל תהליך השלום רק היא תוכל לשנות סופית אם התפיסה הזו ולפיכך דוחה ישראל עד כה את תהליך השלום. זאת כי אם יבוא השלום במה * תצדיק ישראל את היותה מאגר של נשק וציוד צבאי, וכך כל מה שיכול להצדיק את קיומה?

מה היא תאמר לאמריקנים ובאיזו צורה היא תפנה אל העם האמריקני, כאשר כל האזור יהיה אגם של שלום?

מיפגש הדו-שיח הערבי אירופי בשטרסבורג

ש. מה בדבר מיפגש הדו-שיח האירופי-ערבי, שיערך בשטרסבורג בעוד שבועיים?

ת. הדבר החשוב ביותר הוא לדעתנו זה שקיים תפקיד של אירופה בתהליך ההסדר - הנ אמ זהו תפקיד חלקי או כולל, חייב להיות התפקיד הזה. אם תסכים ישראל לדו-שיח הפלסטיני-ישראלי והדו-שיח הזה יצליח, הרי צפוי שאירופה תיכנס לפעולה של חסות בינלאומית. זאת הנ באמצעות מועצת הבטחון או באמצעותה ישירות.

אירופה מסוגלת למלא תפקיד חשוב

הנקודה השניה לגבי אירופה זהו הגשת יוזמה במקרה של כשלון היוזמות הנוכחיות. נכון שאנו אומרים כי יש משקל רב לארה"ב, אבל גם לאירופה יש נשק שאותו תוכל להפעיל. למרות שאין לה כוח נשק כמו זה של וואשינגטון, אבל היא מסוגלת - באמצעות דעת הקהל באירופה וכך הקשרים ההיסטוריים בין

ישראל לבין מערב אירופה - למלא ותפקיד גדול.

היחסים בין אש"פ ל'חמאס'
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ש. מהם הקשרים האמיתיים בין אש"פ לבין 'חמאס'?

ת. מאז וחילת ההתקוממות אנו דוגלים במדיניות שלפיה הכל יהיו בכור
היתוך אחד. איננו קונפליקטים עם שום צד הפועל בשטח. ברם, ישנן כמה
הנהגות ב'חמאס' שניסו להבליט את עצמן בנפרד מן ההנהגות של ההתקוממו

הכוונה להשתלט בתור כוח אלטרנטיבי לאש"פ. הלכה למעשה הם ניסו, לגבי
החלטות מל"פ באלג'יריה והחלטות אחרות, לתבוע מן העם הפלסטיני בתוך
הארץ להתנגד להחלטות. אבל הוא לא נענה להם והם הפסידו בסיבוב המדיני
הזה. הם נוכחו לדעת מהו ערכו המוסרי של אש"פ בקרב העם הפלסטיני, והם
נסוגו. באותו זמן הם החלו לפעול בתיאום עם ההנהגה המאוחדת של ההתקוממו

באמצעות תנועת פת"ח. למרבית הצער עלי לומר כי הקריאות לפיצול וכן
הנסיון למלא תפקיד אלטרנטיבי, עדיין קיימים אצל כמה מן ההנהגות של
'חמאס'. אבל רוב הבסיס של 'חמאס' אינו מושפע מהדבר הזה - משום
שהרוב משוכנע כעשייה הקולקטיבית. הדבר היחיד הוא זה שהנהגת 'חמאס'
מפרסמת לבדה גורמי הכוח ('פעליאח') של ההתקוממות - מבלי להתייחס
לפעמים לגורמי הכוח של ההנהגה הלאומית.

ש. אבל בחודש שעבר (נובמבר '89) נערכו שביתות בתחום זה.

ת. אינני אומר שהעניין הסתיים, אלא אני אומר כי ברוב המקרים קיים תיאום
אבל עדיין יש ב'חמאס' מי שרוצים לפעול בנפרד. הללו חיים עדיין

בדמיון ובאשליה. זוהי מנטליות ידועה - היא נולדה בחו"ל והיא נזונה
מחו"ל. אבל בפנים (הארץ) אנו אומרים כי לפעולה הזו אינן מפיצים. זאת כי
האנשים רואים את הדיכוי ('קהר') והאם אנו נתמודד עמו כשאנו מאוחדים
או חלוקים בדעותנו? לפיכך אנו אומרים, כי תפקיד ההנהגות של האחים

המוסלמים בחו"ל צריך שלא לעשות דעש בעניין הזה ולנסות לכלום אותו. זאת
כי התפקיד הלאומי והדתי הוא לאחד את האנשים - וביפרט כאשר אנו עם אחד.
ש. האם מספרם של אלו בתוך 'חמאס' הולך וגדל בתוך הגדה וברצועה?

ת. למעשה תומכת בהם הגישה הישראלית-אמריקנית זאת כי הקריאה שלהם היא
עכשיו בלתי ידועה. שכנע פעם זה 'מנ הנהר ועד הימ' - שזהו סרוב,
ונשמעות הכרזות סותרות של 'חמאס' על ידי השיח' אחמד יאסין ואחרים.
הן מדברות על שיחרור מלא של האדמה הפלסטינית, ואי קבלת ההצעות
הפוליטיות, וכן הצהרות כי הם מסכימים ליוזמות הפוליטיות ולעריכת

הבחירות מכל מקום, אני אומר כי הדבר החשוב ביותר הוא שהנהגת "חמאס" לא תעמיד עצמה כאלטרנטיבה, ושזושתתפ עם ישראל במקום אחד - וזאת הנ אם היא תרצה או לא תרצה - ובאותו זמן היא אינה מרשה לזרמים האיראניים להיכנס לזירה הפלסטינית, משום שהזרמים הללו יפזרו את הזירה הפלסטינית ואת העם הפלסטיני.

ש. העתונות הישראלית התנבאה בענין תוצאות הבחירות שזערכנה בגרה וברצועה וציינה כי אש"פ ישיג 65 אחוז מן הקולות, "חמאס" - 25 אחוז, והיתר - עצמאיים.

ת. אני סבור כי אם תערכנה בחירות הרי שתוצאותיהן תהיינה פאה אחוזה לאש"פ. זאת כי "חמאס" הוא חלק מאש"פ - שהרי אש"פ מהווה גוף אחד, ואינני מוציא אף אחד מכלל זה פרט לסוכנים.

נושא הפילוגים
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ש. מה בענין המצב החברתי?

ת. כאשר נהיה עצמאיים הרי אין זה חשוב אם יתגלעו מאבקים בין החזיתות השונות אבל עכשיו, בשלב השחרור, אנו לא נסכים לפילוגים אלו. אפילו אם האנשים ירצו להתפלג בינם לבין עצמם, צריך שלא נסכים לפילוגים הללו. עלינו לומר כי החלטתנו היא עם אש"פ. אם יתנהל הדו-שיח הפלסטיני-ישראלי הרי אנו חושבים שבראש המשלחת יעמוד "חמאס". זאת כי הוא הנו הזרם המצוי בתוך העם הפלסטיני.

אין אנו מתיחסים אליהם בתור "חמאס", אלא כחלק מאש"פ. זאת משום שהם ילכו בתור אש"פ ולא בתור "חמאס".

גורמי לחץ נוספים
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השקפת
מחזיק
המפלגה

ש. היו הכרזות פלסטיניות רבות, כי אם לא יימשכ תהליך ההסדר כי אז ישנם אמצעים אחרים, בנוסף להתקוממות, בתור גורמי לחץ מהם האמצעים הללו? ת. ההתקוממות היא דבר עצום והיא צריכה להמשיך בשליחותה המלאה. אבל לצדו צריכים להיות גורמים מסייעים, כדי לשכנע את ישראל כי אין תחליף למדינה הפלסטינית, וכי האוטונומיה והפתרונות שעליהם היא חושבת לא ישכנעו את העם הפלסטיני מהו הדבר שיניע את ישראל נחשוב בצורה נכונה? הרי זוהי השאלה.

הערבים זנחו את האופציה הצבאית
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ש. מה בדבר העמדה הערבית?

ח. מצער הזכר כי העמדה הערבית מן הבחינה המדינית היא עמדה של עומד מן הצד. לא קיימת חזית מדינית ערבית, שכן הערבים הרחיקו מכלל אפשרות (''אסתבעדו'') את האופציה הצבאית שלהם ב''פאס'', תמורת האופציה המדינית. אבל הם לא השקיעו שום מאמצ באופציה המדינית הזו מאז אותו זמן.

הזרמים בישראל בנושא השלום
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ש. אומרים כי ישנם שני ישראלים: ישראל שמיר וישראל פרס. האם זה נכון?
ח. סבורני שבישראל קיימת בעיה אשר צצה והיא מחריפה. ישנו ''הליכוד'' ומה שמייצג ''ליכוד הליכוד'' - שרון ומודעי. הללו בעלי השקפה של ''המולדת האלטרנטיבית''. ישנם צדדים ב''מפלגת העבודה'' שהם לא פחות קיצוניים מן ה''ליכוד''. קיים זרם בתוך ''מפלגת העבודה'' כמו יוסי פלד ברעם ואחרים, שיש להם עמדות מתונות, הקרובות לעמדות של מפ''מ ושל המרכז השמאלי המתקדם. המאבק הזה קיים באמת, ובשנן פנים אינן להתעלם ממנו יש אנשים בישראל החשים כי הבטחון האמיתי טמון בשלום עם העם הפלסטיני ואש''פ וכנן בהקמת מדינה פלסטינית. אבל ההתפתחות ההדרגתית, וכנן הדיבורים על הנושא הזה בתוך ישראל, מתנהלים בסודיות.
לפיכך עלינו, אנו הערבים לראות כאילו יש בישראל שני זרמים: אחד עויין הרואה הכל בשלילה והגורס כי המולדת האלטרנטיבית היא ירדן, וזרם אחר, המתאפיינ בשלבים זהו זרם שבתוכו ישנם זרמים. הוא רוצה שלום עם אש''פ אבל הוא נרתע (''יח'רג' בתיאא'') אני חושב כי ההתקוממות הפלסטינית תרמה רבות ליצירת האוירה הזו. זאת משום שהאזרחים הישראלים כאשר הם ראו את הילד הפלסטיני זורק אבן, הם החלו להרגיש כי הפלסטינים אינם רוצים בכיבוש וכי אכן קיימת בעיה ממשית. זאת לאחר שקודם לכן כלי התקשורת תיארו בפניהם תמונה אחרת. הם החלו להרגיש כי ישנו עם הקיים על האדמה ושמו העם הפלסטיני.

ש. האם לדעתך מערכת הבחירות האחרונה בהסתדרות היא אינדיקטור להתגברות זרמי השלום?

ח. סבורני כי הם אמנם מהווים אינדיקטור. הערכ ממשי של המערכה הזו הוא בכך שהיא נערכה אחרי הבחירות לרשויות המוניציפליות שבהן זכה ''הליכוד לרוב''. העובדה שהבחירות להסתדרות באו אחרי כן, בכך שנתגלה משקלה של ''מפלגת העבודה'' וזה החשוב. אבל דעת הקהל הישראלית לא השתנתה באותו יחס. ההסתדרות מייצגת קבוצה ספציפית בחברה הישראלית ואין היא מהווה אינדיקטור ממשי שלה.

ש. באחרונה פורסם בענין המשלה הפלסטינית הזמנית. האם קיימת כוונה

להקים משלה כזו?

ת. האמת היא שאני הופתעתי מהכרזות אלו. זאת משום שיש לנו עתה נשיא מדיו
פלסטיני והועד הפועל והם צריכים למלא את תפקידי המשלה הפלסטינית. מכאן
שהבעיה באה על פתרונה. כל הנושא הזה לא נדון בהנהגה הפלסטינית, ואין
צורך להיכנס לדיון בדבר לפני שימנהגו הענייני. כלומר, האם ישנו הסדר
או לא? אם תהיה ועידה בינלאומית אפשר כי נחשוב בנושא.

המהלכים הבאים
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ש. מה הנכ צופה בתגובה האמריקנית?

ת. ניסינו להיות גמישים מבלי לעשות ויתורים. עומדת להתפרסם התשובה
הפלסטינית בדבר הסכמה או דחיה (של תכנית בייקר - "חצב") ואנו מקווים
כי תהיה זו הסכמה.

זהו המקסימום שאנו יכולים להגיש והדבר מהווה את קצה גבול הגמישות בעשי
הפלסטינית.

ש. מהם המהלכים הבאים?

ת. יתקיים דו-שיח פלסטיני-ישראלי, ולאחר מכן ידונו בבעיות ובנושאים
השונים. זאת תהיה התקדמות בתהליך השלום, ונוכל להגיע על ידי כך לוועידת
הבינלאומית אלה הם הצעדים המוצעים.

ההתקוממות תימשך גם לאחר הדו-שיח והבחירות
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ש. אם יוחל בתהליך (השלום) ותיפסק ההתקוממות.

ת. (כאן הוא הפסיק את השאלה ואמר:) לדעתי הדו-שיח הפלסטיני-ישראלי לא
יפסיק את ההתקוממות. אפילו הבחירות לא יפסיקו את ההתקוממות זאת כי א
יקבלו הישראלים את הדו-שיח עם הפלסטינים, הרי זהו נצחון להתקוממות.

הבחירות יחזקו את ההתקוממות, משום שאני מאמין שהתוצאות שלהן, תהיינה,
מאה אחוז לטובת אש"פ. הפלסטינים יאמרו ככ: התירוצ של הבחירות כבר

הסתיים, אבל אנו עומדים על כך כי המשלחת תהיה מכפנים (הארצ) ומבחוץ.

מדוע מבחוץ? משום שאין אנו רוצים שבעתיד יאמרו כי אלה שנבחרו הם

נציגי העם הפלסטיני, ואז הבעיה תפוצל והעם יפוצל.

החלטת הניתוק ותפקיד ירדן בתהליך השלום
=====

ו. מה דעוכם על החלטת הניתוק?

ת. סבורני כי זוהי החלטה היסטורית מצד הוד מלכותו המלך חסינ. זאת משום שהיא בפועל חיזקה את אש"פ. והאמריקנים אמרו: "הנה אש"פ לפניכם, קיימו עימו קשר". אילולי החלטת המלך, לא היינו מסוגלים לנקוט את היוזמה הפלסטינית. הדו שיח שנערך עם האמריקנים והישראלים היה אחד היסודות לניתוק. לפיכך שמחתי מאוד כאשר שמעתי את נאום הכתר בפתיחת מוש הפרלמנט, זאת דברי המלך חסינ בנושא הניתוק והקשר הירדני-פלסטיני. אין פירוש הדבר כי לא קיים תפקיד לירדן בתהליך השלום, וזאת באמצעות הועידה הבינלאומית לשלום. שכן השלום לא יושג אלא אם כן ישתתפו בה סוריה, ירדן ואש"פ.

אפילו למצרים צריך להיות תפקיד בועידה משום שאלה הם הצדדים הנוגעים ישירות למאבק באיזור.

ועידה בינלאומית היא היסוד, וכל דו-שיח ישראלי - פלסטיני הוא הקדמה לוועידה בינלאומית אני מסופק אם הדבר יקרה אני מסופק אם יתקיים הדו-שיח הפלסטיני-ישראלי, כל עוד שמיר בשלטון. זאת ביפרט אם הרעיונות ההרסניים של שמיר ימשיכו לשלוט במנטליות הישראלית.

אגב אנו לא מחפשים, באמצעות הדו-שיח הפלסטיני-ישראלי, פתרון נפרד. לב אנו תמיד אומרים כי זהו הקדמה לוועידה הבינלאומית, אשר בה ישתתפו כל הצדדים הנוגעים בזכר. לא ייתכן שנעשה את אותה הטעות של סאדאת. הפתרון שלנו הוא פתרון ערבי.

אם יש צדדים שליליים בהחלטת הניתוק הרי שיתוף הפעולה שלנו עם הממשלה הירדנית מצמצם בהרבה את הצדדים השליליים הללו.

הקשרים בין הפלסטינים לירדן
=====

ו. מה בדבר הקשרים הירדניים - פלסטינים בעתיד?

ת. אני אומר כי ביום הראשון להכרזת המדינה הפלסטינית הרי שמיד ביום השני יהיה האיחוד עם ירדן.

לא איכפת לי איזה סוג של איחוד. זאת משום שאנו עם אחד ויש לנו

היסטוריה אחת. איננו יכול להבחין בין ירדני לפלסטיני. נכון שאנו

קוראים לאיחוד ערבי בין כל שני העמים שהם אבל הקשר בין ירדן לפלסטיני

הוא בעל יחוד ספציפי ברור. כל מי שניסה בעבר ועדיין עכשיו מנסים,

ליצור הפרדה בין הירדנים לפלסטינים - הרי הקריאות שלהם התמוטטו. אנו

ואחרי

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הוא
של

באמת עם אחד וצד אחד. כאשר נערכו הבחירות הירדניות היו שניסו לדרוש כי

הפלסטינים לא ישתתפו בהן אך למרות שידוע בכל המוסדות הממשלתיים והעממיים כי אנו לא השתתפנו בבחירות, הרי אפ פעם - לא בסתר ולא בגלוי לא היו קריאות פלסטיניות שלא להשתתף בבחירות בטענה שהם פלסטינים. כאשר תקום המדינה הפלסטינית והאיחוד הבעיה הזו תיפתר למעשה. זה יביא לכך שירדני הוא הפלסטיני והפלסטיני הוא ירדני. הפתרון לבעיה הזו הוא בתוכנו, משום שאינ לנו בעיה עם ירדן. המאבק היסודי שלנו הוא עם ישראל שאינה חפצה לא בירדן ולא בפלסטינים. לקריאות ההפרדה בין הירדנים לפלסטינים אין סופ והם יוצרות בעיות. אם אינני רוצה לבוא בטענות נגד אחד.

תעודת זהוי פלסטינית
=====

- ו. אמרו שעומדים להוציא דרכון פלסטיני ?
- ת. לא דרכון אלא תעודת זהוי פוסרית ('בטראקת קויה מענויה') המעידה ו מוצאו של בעליה הוא פלסטיני. עכשיו איננו חושבים על דרכון.
- ש. כאשר פלסטיני תחזור - היכן תגור בה?
- ת. בכל מקום שהוא. לא חשוב המקום משום שפלסטיני כולה ארצי.

(הערות חצב: ההדגשות הנ שלל המתרגם/עורכ)

ק. דווח:מ.נאוי
הדפסה:לונניח
הגהה:צחי
מעבירה:מירי 2300

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ת.אני אומר כי ביום הראשון להכרזת המדינה הפלסטינית הרי שמייד ביום

לא איכפת לי איזה סוג של איחוד. זאת משום שאנו עם אחד ויש לנו

ה'יסטוריה אחת. אינך יכול להבחין, בין ירדני לפלסטיני, נכון שאנו

קוראים לאיחוד ערבי בינ כל שני הנמנים שהם אבל הקשר בין ירוני לפלסטיני

הוא בעל יחוד ספציפי ברוד. כל מי שניסה בעבר ועדיין מבטיו מנסיח,

ליצור הפודה בין הירדנים לפלסטינים - הרי הקריאות שלהם התמוטטו. אנו

באמת עם אחד וצד אחד. כאשר נערכו הבחירות הירדניות היו שניסו לדרוש כי

הפלטטיניזם לא ישתתפו בהנ אכ לפדות שידוע בכל המוסדות הממשלתיים

והעממיים כי אנו לא השתתפנו בבחירות, הרי אפ'פנש - לא בסוד ולא בגלוי

לא היו קריאות פלסטיניות שלא להשתתף בבחירות בטענה שהם פלסטיניים.

כאשר תקום המדינה הפלסטינית והאיחוד הבעיה הזו תיפתר למעשה. זה יביא

לכך שירדני הוא הפלסטיני והפלסטיני הוא ירדני. הפתרון לבעיה הזו הוא

במסכתנו, משום שאין לנו בטיה עם ירדני. המאבק היסודי שלנו הוא עם ישראל.

שואינה חפצה לא בירדן ולא כפלסטינים. לקריאות ההפרדה בין הירדנים

לפּלסטשניץ איז סוף וואו יוצרות זענען, און אינאיינעם דאס איז דאס באשטענדע פאר א

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ממנו דת זהו פלסטיות

Year	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015	2020	2025	2030	2035	2040	2045	2050	2055	2060	2065	2070	2075	2080	2085	2090	2095	2100			
Population	17.1	27.0	31.0	33.0	35.0	36.0	37.0	38.0	39.0	40.0	41.0	42.0	43.0	44.0	45.0	46.0	47.0	48.0	49.0	50.0	51.0	52.0	53.0	54.0	55.0	56.0	57.0	58.0	59.0	60.0
GDP	1.0	2.0	3.0	4.0	5.0	6.0	7.0	8.0	9.0	10.0	11.0	12.0	13.0	14.0	15.0	16.0	17.0	18.0	19.0	20.0	21.0	22.0	23.0	24.0	25.0	26.0	27.0	28.0	29.0	30.0

מ. אפרו מעופדיף להוציא דרכון פלסטיני ?

ח. לא דרכנו אלא תעודת זהוי פוסרית (''בטראקת הויה מענויה'') הפעידה ב

מוצאו של בעליה הוא פלסטיני. עכשיו איננו חושבים על דרכו.

נ. באשר פליסטיין תחזור - היכן תגורר בה?

ח. בכל מקום שהוא. לא חשוב המקום משום שפליסטיין כולה ארצי.

(הערות חצב: ההדגשות הנ שלל המתרגם/עורכ)

ק. תרנ"ז:ב. יא' 1

הדפסה: רונ"ז

הגהה: צחי

2300 מעבירה: פירי

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מספר הדולר למי המזל :

1. צוה"צ מ"ר מלמך יפה, ילד קצר 22/11/1971 מלמך יפה

(אברהם אבינו, שהיה מלך, מלך ישראל, מלך העולם).

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3. רצו, להלחם בטרור'צרים ולקח את האחריות

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THE UNITED STATES AND THE NOVEMBER 1988 ALGIERS
DECLARATION OF THE PLO: A LEGAL ANALYSIS

Shlomo Slonim
Hebrew University of Jerusalem

On November 15, 1988 the Palestine National Committee meeting in Algiers adopted a resolution labelled "The Palestinian Declaration of Independence." The declaration was widely hailed as confirmation that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) had abandoned the path of terrorist violence and was prepared to enter into a dialogue with Israel looking toward a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute. The PLO, it was said, was prepared to accept Israel's right to exist as a sovereign independent state and would be content with the creation of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza.¹

In refutation of the ostensible peaceful character of the Algiers Declaration Israel pointed out that the PLO never suspended its terrorist activities, which continued unabated against Israel and against Israelis. Furthermore, it was said, the PLO Declaration should be examined not only in light of the English or French statements issuing forth from Algiers but in light of Arabic statements made in Arab capitals. These gave the lie to the ostensible peaceful intentions of the Palestine National Council Committee. And finally, it was pointed out that even in the wake of the PLO Declaration any attempt by indigenous Palestinian Arabs to suspend violence in the territories and engage in a peaceful dialogue with Israeli authorities was met with assassinations or threatened assassinations. All of these, Israel maintained, demonstrated that the Algiers

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Declaration was nothing more than a propaganda gimmick in a continuing relentless war designed to bring about the destruction of Israel and the establishment of a Palestinian state on its ruins.

The foregoing evidence of the continuing terrorist character of the PLO was brought to the attention of the US government by Israel.² Notwithstanding this evidence, the Reagan Administration on December 14, 1988, accepted the Algiers Declaration, subject to a supplementary gloss by PLO leader Yasir Arafat, as a sign that the Palestine National Committee had indeed changed its character and was now a suitable party with whom the US government could enter into a dialogue. Prior to this date Washington had steadfastly refused to negotiate with the PLO on the grounds that the organization was dedicated to terror and violence. On the same day the US government appointed the American ambassador to Tunisia, Robert H. Pelletreau Jr., to serve as Washington's liaison with the PLO.³ The question arises - to what extent does the decision to open a dialogue with the PLO conform with the treaty and statutory obligations of the US government? The purpose of the present paper is to seek an answer to this question.

1975 US-Israeli Agreement

In September 1975 US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Israeli Foreign Minister Yigal Allon signed a Memorandum of Agreement on behalf of their two governments in which the United States pledged to "continue to adhere to its present policy" of not recognizing or negotiating with the PLO until two conditions were met. These were: 1) PLO recognition of

Israel's right to exist; and 2) PLO acceptance of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.⁴ These two resolutions, it will be recalled, called for the establishment of "a just and lasting peace in the Middle East" which, inter alia, would entail "respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force."⁵

The rationale which underlay the US policy of not recognizing or negotiating with the PLO was provided by Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Harold H. Saunders in a statement before the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on the Middle East on November 12, 1975. "We cannot envision or urge a negotiation between two parties as long as one professed to hold the objective of eliminating the other -- rather than the objective of negotiating peace with it. There is one other aspect to this problem. Elements of the PLO have used terrorism to gain attention for their cause."⁶ Since the PLO was committed to the destruction of Israel and employed terrorism to secure that goal, the United States found it pointless to urge Israel to accept the PLO as an interlocutor. The United States thus pledged itself to refrain from negotiating with the PLO so long as the latter remained committed to the destruction of Israel and refused to acknowledge its right to exist in peace.

The US position with regard to the PLO was premised implicitly both on the provisions of the United Nations Charter and general principles of international law. Article 2(1) of the Charter stipulates that: "The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members."

Article 2(4) declares: "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations." And finally Article 2(6) provides: "The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security." The upshot of these provisions is that "the personality of the state...[be] respected, as well as its territorial integrity and political independence."⁷ Members of the United Nations are obligated to refrain from supporting any state or organization which is destructive of the aims and principles upon which the world body is based. A group committed to international violence and terror with the aim of destroying a member state of the United Nations is *ipso facto* engaged in action which contravenes the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations and, as such, is an outlaw organization. If its aim is also the banishment or annihilation of population then it is also intent on committing genocide. The PLO, by its founding Covenant, is committed to the destruction of the state of Israel and the removal or elimination of its Jewish population. Manifestly then, the PLO is an international criminal organization. It is committed to the destruction of a member state of the United Nations and the dispersal or destruction of its population. As such, it is engaged in action violative of the UN Charter and crimes against humanity. Its Covenant stamps it as a group analogous to a band of pirates, subject to all the international condemnation and countermeasures to which piracy in international law is

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subject. As Justice Story said in *United States v. Smith*, piracy is "an offence against the law of nations. . . an offence against the universal law of society, a pirate being deemed an enemy of the human race."⁸ The obliteration of a state is manifestly an act of genocide under the Genocide Convention and destruction of a "national group" as such, a crime under international law. States, parties to the Convention undertake "to prevent and punish" all those engaged in this crime against humanity.⁹

The international criminal character of the PLO is manifest by the terms of its founding Covenant.¹⁰

Art. 1. Palestine is the homeland of the Palestinian people...

Art. 2. Palestine, with the boundaries it had during the British Mandate, is an indivisible territorial unit.

Art. 5. The Palestinians are those Arab nationals who, until 1947, normally resided in Palestine....

Art. 6. The Jews who had normally resided in Palestine until the beginning of the Zionist invasion will be considered Palestinians.

Art. 9. Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine...

Art. 10. Commando action constitutes the nucleus of the Palestinian popular liberation war...

Art. 15. The liberation of Palestine... aims at the elimination of Zionism in Palestine.

Art. 19. The partition of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of the State of Israel are entirely illegal...

Art. 20. The Balfour Declaration, the Mandate for Palestine, and everything that has been based upon them, are deemed null and void...

Art. 21. The Arab Palestinian people, expressing themselves by the armed Palestinian revolution, reject all solutions which are substitutes for the total liberation of Palestine.

Art. 22. Zionism is a political movement organically associated with international imperialism... It is racist and fanatic in its nature, aggressive, expansionist and colonial in its aims, and fascist in its methods. Israel is the instrument of the Zionist movement, and a geographical base for world imperialism placed strategically in the midst of the Arab homeland... [t]he liberation of Palestine will destroy the Zionist and imperialist presence.

Art. 33. This Charter shall not be amended save by [vote of] a majority of two thirds of the total membership of the National Congress of the Palestine Liberation Organization (taken) at a special session convened for that purpose.

From its inception, therefore, the PLO has been an organization dedicated to international violence and terror in pursuit of an illegal goal, the destruction of a sovereign member state of the United Nations. The PLO therefore, is an outlaw organization against which all the members of the organized international community are duty bound to act to contain its violent action and to extirpate its criminal syndicalism from the international community.

This was the underlying rationale of the pledge of the US

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Administration in 1975 to refrain from recognizing or negotiating with the PLO until the latter recognized Israel's right to exist in peace and accepted UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338. In 1985 this pledge received statutory confirmation when Congress added a rider to the Foreign Assistance Act to the effect that

"no employee of or individual acting on behalf of the United States Government shall recognize or negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization so long as the Palestine Liberation Organization does not recognize Israel's right to exist, does not accept Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and does not renounce the use of terrorism."¹¹

The last condition was entirely new, not being found in the 1975 US-Israeli memorandum of agreement, but it broke no new ground. It merely spelled out in greater detail the factors millitating against any US contact with an organization bent on destroying a sovereign state. The decade that had elapsed since 1975 demonstrated the degree to which this outlaw organization had resorted to international terror in pursuing its deadly aim. Congress therefore felt it appropriate to stipulate that the abandonment of terror was an additional *sine qua non* for any American contact with the PLO. The United States was thus barred both by force of treaty and its own domestic legislation from having any contact with the international criminal syndicate that was the PLO.

In accordance with these commitments throughout the 1980's the US government rejected all suggestions for opening a dialogue with the PLO. In November 1988 the PLO took a step designed to pave the way for making such a dialogue legally

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feasible for the US government. The central question is whether the Algiers November 1988 Declaration indeed reflected any essential change in the character and purposes of the PLO. It is proposed to examine this question, in the first instance, not in terms of extraneous materials - such as subsequent PLO pronouncements in Arabic or in light of Arafat's personal involvement in terrorist activities - but rather in terms of the text of the Algiers Declaration itself. Before proceeding to an analysis of the Algiers Declaration it is essential to refer to an earlier Palestine National Committee document, that of the Cairo decision of June 9, 1974, popularly known as the Phased Plan. The following are excerpts from this document:

Committee or Council?

The Palestinian National Council:

...it is impossible for a permanent and just peace to be established in the area unless our Palestinian people recover all their national rights and, first and foremost, their rights to return and to self-determination on the whole of the soil of their homeland;...

The Liberation Organization will employ all means, and first and foremost armed struggle to liberate Palestinian territory and to establish the independent combatant national authority for the people over every part of Palestinian territory that is liberated....

Any step taken towards liberation is a step towards the realization of the Liberation Organization's strategy of establishing the democratic Palestinian state specified in the resolutions of previous Palestinian National Councils....

Once it is established, the Palestinian national

authority will strive to achieve a union of the confrontation countries, with the aim of completing the liberation of all Palestinian territory, and as a step along the road to comprehensive Arab unity....

In the light of this programme the leadership of the revolution will determine the tactics which will serve and make possible the realization of these objectives.¹²

The upshot of the 1974 PLO document is that the PLO will accept part of the territory of Palestine as a first step in the phased liquidation of the Zionist state and its replacement by the Palestinian entity throughout the territory of mandatory Palestine. The tactics for achieving the ultimate goal would be left for the "leadership of the revolution" to determine. This document is particularly important for the light it sheds on the aims of the 1988 Declaration.

The November 1988 Algiers Declaration

Perhaps the first, and most important thing to note is that the 1988 Declaration in no way repudiates the PLO Covenant, either expressly or even implicitly. Nor does it even attempt to suggest that the program outlined in the Covenant is being abandoned. (The relevance of Arafat's supplementary commentary will be considered below.) Nor is there any suggestion that the PLO is content to accept the partition of Palestine and the sovereignty of the state of Israel as a permanent arrangement for the territory of "Palestine". On the contrary, the entire Declaration is suffused with hints that Israel must perish if the Palestinian goal is to be achieved. Nowhere is there a reference to Israel

as an accepted or acceptable fact, as a state with a legitimate right of existence. There is no concession to Israel's sovereign statehood.

The Algiers Declaration is composed of two parts. The first is labelled Palestine National Council, "Palestinian Declaration of Independence," and the second, Palestine National Council "Political Communiqué."¹³ One document is meant to supplement and elaborate on the other. The terminology is often grandiose and even noble-sounding but this in no way disguises the intent and design of the Declaration. It is especially important to appreciate that when the term "Palestine" is used it means the entire territory of mandatory Palestine. In the Arabic text of the Communiqué every time the Palestinian rights for self-determination is invoked it is to be implemented not *in* but *over* (fawqa) the land of Palestine, i.e. *its entirety*. The English version speaks of self-determination in Palestine, leaving the suspicion that the change is deliberate.¹⁴ The West Bank and Gaza are not referred to, as such, anywhere in the entire document. The following are excerpts from the Declaration of Independence, juxtaposed with commentary by this writer.

TEXT:

"Palestine. . . is where the Palestinian Arab people ensured for itself an everlasting union between itself, its land, and its history. By stages, the occupation of Palestine. . . by Israeli forces. . . was achieved by organized terror; those Palestinians who remained as a vestige subjugated in its homeland, were persecuted and forced to endure the destruction of their national life. Thus were the principles of

international legitimacy violated . . . The struggle of the Palestinian Arab people achieved unique prominence among the world's liberation movements in the modern era."

COMMENT:

The establishment of Israel is deemed an act of "organized terror". Israel, by means of "official terror" succeeded in conquering Palestine, all of the territory of mandatory Palestine, in stages - first 1948 and then 1967. The reference to "Palestinians who remained" obviously applies both to Arab Israelis after 1948 and to the Arabs in the territories after 1967. Both were forced "to endure the destruction of their national life".

TEXT:

"The Palestine National Council. . . hereby proclaims the establishment of the State of Palestine on our Palestinian territory with its capital Jerusalem...

Without prejudice to its natural right to defend its territorial integrity and independence, it. . . rejects the threat or use of force, violence, and terrorism against its territorial integrity, or political independence, as it also rejects their use against the territorial integrity of other states."

COMMENT:

The state of Palestine is not limited to the West Bank and Gaza; rather it extends throughout "our Palestinian territory". The capital of the state is Jerusalem. With the dissolution of Israel, Jerusalem will no longer serve as the capital of any state other than the capital of the successor state, Palestine. The "territorial integrity" referred to is

presumably that of "all of Palestine". Apparently, the PLO does not reject threats or the use of force against the "independence" of other states although it reserves to itself "its natural right" to defend Palestine against "threats or use of force" directed against Palestinian independence.

TEXT:

The Political Communiqué elaborates in the following terms:

"Our people have proved their. . . total adherence to the nationalistic principles of the Palestine Liberation Organization and its goals of ending the Israeli occupation and achieving the Palestinian people's inalienable right to repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of the independent Palestinian state.

The crimes of the occupation and its savage, inhuman practices have exposed the Zionist lie about the democracy of the Zionist entity that has managed to deceive the world for forty years, revealing Israel in its true light - a fascist, racist, colonialist state built on the usurpation of the Palestinian land and the annihilation of the Palestinian people."

COMMENT:

Given the fact that the Palestine National Council in this very same document had already proclaimed the "independent Palestinian state", the "independent Palestinian state" to be achieved after "repatriation and self-determination" must mean something else. Presumably, it refers to the Palestinian state to emerge *after* the repatriation of millions of exiled Palestinians help put an end to the Jewish identity of the state of Israel.

Israel is not referred to by name but as "the Zionist entity". It is not even classed as a state. Its democracy is "a Zionist lie" - regardless of the fact that it is the only democratic state amongst all those composing the Middle East.

The purpose of defining Israel as "a fascist, racist, colonialist state" is a critical step in stamping Israel in the light of UN resolutions as an outlaw state, to be marked for extirpation. This represents a crucial link in the PLO campaign of national liberation - to endeavour to legitimate unlimited warfare and violence against an entity which itself is entirely illegitimate. This illegitimacy is confirmed by the fact that this state is built on the "usurpation of Palestinian land and the annihilation of the Palestinian people" since 1948. In accordance with the "new" international law arising from General Assembly resolutions the prohibition in Article 2(4) of the UN Charter against the threat or use of force against a sovereign state is thus "superseded" or made irrelevant. This was the strategy and design which underlay Arab initiatives for the Assembly in 1975 to adopt the "Zionism is racism" resolution which has been so widely condemned as little less than a license to commit genocide.

Most significant of all is the fact that the alleged crimes of Israel have extended for "forty years," i.e. since the Mandate ended. This demonstrates clearer than anything else that the PLO references to "the Palestinian homeland" are not limited to the West Bank and Gaza strip, which came under Israeli control in 1967, but extend as noted above, to the entire area of mandatory Palestine. The illegitimacy of the state of Israel arises from its very birth in 1948 and stamps it as a suitable target for elimination. Upon its ruins the

"legitimate" state of Palestine is to arise in the total area of Palestine.

TEXT:

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 "The Palestine National Council. . . affirms the determination of the Palestine Liberation Organization to arrive at a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and its core, which is the question of Palestine, within the framework of the United Nations Charter, the principles and provisions of international legality, the norms of international law, and the resolutions of the United Nations, the latest of which are Security Council resolutions 605, 607 and 608, and the resolutions of the Arab summits, in such a manner that safeguards the Palestinian Arab people's rights to return, to self-determination, and the establishment of their independent national state on their national soil, and that institutes arrangements for the security and peace of all states in the region."

COMMENT:

Postulating a settlement of the Palestinian question in accordance with "the principles and provisions of international law" relates back to the earlier reference where it was said that "the principles of international legitimacy" were "violated" when "the occupation of Palestine" took place "by stages", by Israel. Rectification of that "international illegality" would entail restoration of Palestine to the Palestinians.

It is to be noted that the PLO standardly predicates a solution of the question of Palestine upon fulfillment of "all" the resolutions of the United Nations. These include all the

General Assembly resolutions adopted by the automatic, overwhelming majorities provided by the Soviet, Arab and Third World blocs, condemning Israel and demanding restoration of the "rights" of the Palestinians. These "rights" include the right of return for all exiled Palestinians — regardless of the impact this would have on Israeli nationhood and all of this is preparatory for the establishment of their independent national state on their national soil and regardless of whether those returning intend fulfilling the original Assembly requirement of living "at peace with their neighbours" (General Assembly Resolution 194(III), December 11, 1948. (The latter requirement was regularly omitted from PLO promoted resolutions on Palestine.)

Furthermore, the proposed settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict is to be concluded inter alia "within the framework of. . . the resolutions of the Arab summits". It has been correctly pointed out¹⁴ that these include the Khartoum summit of 1967 which postulated three no's in Arab relations with Israel. "No recognition. No negotiations. No concessions." None of the Arab summits ever accorded recognition to Israel. Progressively they have endorsed the maximalist demands of the PLO calling for the liquidation of Israel and its replacement by a Palestinian state.

TEXT:

The Palestine National Council affirms:

"1. The necessity of convening the effective international conference on the issue of the Middle East and its core, the question of Palestine, . . . and that the international peace conference be convened on the basis of United Nations Security

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Council resolutions 242 and 338 and the attainment of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people foremost among which is the right to self-determination and in accordance with the principles and provisions of the United Nations Charter concerning the right of peoples to self-determination, and by the inadmissibility of the acquisition of the territory of others by force or military conquest, and in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions on the question of Palestine."

COMMENT:

Nowhere in the Algiers Declaration does the PLO accept, as such, Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. The most that it does is, as in the present paragraph, call for the convening of an international peace conference "on the basis" of these two UN resolutions. The difference is quite significant. The conference may be convened on the basis of the resolutions but this in no way implies acceptance of their substantive terms. This fact is fully confirmed in the present paragraph by also qualifying the convening of the international conference on, inter alia, attainment of "the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people" and in accord with "relevant UN resolutions on the question of Palestine." Since the PLO has its own definition of "the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people" and since the "relelvant UN resolutions on Palestine" adopted by the automatic UN majorities reflect that definition, it is clear that even the acceptance of UN Resolutions 242 and 338 as "a basis" for an international conference is fully qualified on the substantive level. As noted, UN resolutions on Palestine in recent years regularly reflect the philosophy and aims of the PLO, as endorsed by the

Arab, Moslem, third world and communist blocs. In effect, linking UN Resolutions 242 and 338 with other UN resolutions on the rights of the Palestinians which, in effect, deligitimize Israel's right to exist means that 242 and 338 are emptied of all content as vehicles of instituting peace in the Middle East.

TEXT:

"The settlement of the question of the Palestinian refugees in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions."

COMMENT:

The relevant UN General Assembly resolutions on the Palestinian refugees, as noted, call for their repatriation regardless of the affect this would have on Israel's sovereignty as a Jewish state and regardless of whether the refugees were intent on living "at peace with their neighbours" as called for by the original General Assembly resolution on refugees, Resolution 194(III), adopted on December 11, 1948. The demographic implications for Israel of an additional million and a half Arabs is self-evident.

TEXT:

"The National Council also renews its commitment to the United Nations resolutions that affirm the right of peoples to resist foreign occupation, colonialism, and racial discrimination, and their right to struggle for their independence, and reiterates its rejection of terrorism in all its forms, including state terrorism, affirming its commitment to previous resolutions in this respect and the resolution of the Arab summit in Algiers in 1988, and to UN resolutions 42/195 of 1987, and 40/61 of

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1985, and that contained in the Cairo declaration of 1985 in this respect."

COMMENT:

On the surface, this paragraph would seem to juxtapose two entirely different subjects: 1) resistance to foreign occupation, colonialism and racial discrimination and the right of national liberation movements to struggle for national independence; and 2) rejection of terrorism "in all its forms, including state terrorism". Upon closer examination, however, it becomes clear that the juxtaposition is deliberate and intentional. One part of the paragraph is meant to define and qualify the other part. In this respect it follows the pattern set in UN Resolutions 42/159 of 1987 and 40/61 of 1985 which upheld the legitimacy of the struggle of national liberation movements even while they condemned international terrorism.¹⁶ Thus, the 1988 Algiers Declaration of the PLO adheres to a two-standard policy - endorsing the struggle of national liberation movements, which, by definition, is not terrorism and rejecting all forms of terrorism especially "state terrorism". What qualifies as "state terrorism" and what qualifies as "a national liberation movement" is revealed by the text of the 1988 November PLO Declaration itself. The occupation of Palestine by Israeli forces was achieved by "organized terror". Israel, in suppressing the Intifada "have used terrorism". According to the Declaration it is "terrorism with which Israel is lashing [sic] the Palestinian people in the occupied Palestinian territories". On the other hand the PLO-led campaign for Palestine is proclaimed "as the struggle of the Palestinian Arab people [which has] achieved unique prominence among the world's liberation movements in the modern era."

The upshot of this is that the only terror which the PLO rejected is that of "Israeli state terror." Israel's response to the violence of the Intifada is classified as "state terror." The actions of the PLO in attacking Israel and Israeli citizens both before and during the Intifada is by definition not "terror"; it is part of a "struggle for national liberation". Only Israel is, and has been, engaged in terror since its inception. The PLO has never engaged in terror and is not currently engaged in terror.

In accordance with this dichotomy the Algiers Declaration noted "with considerable concern the growth of the Israeli forces of fascism and extremism" and called for "intensified efforts in all arenas to confront this fascist peril". The Palestine National Council called on "all free and honorable people worldwide to stand by our people, our revolution . . . against the Israeli occupation, the repression and the organized, fascist, official terrorism."

In sum, therefore, not only did the Algiers Declaration deny the PLO had ever engaged in terrorism, it also issued a call for international support of its "national liberation struggle" in its confrontation with "the organized fascist official terrorism" of Israel.

The foregoing review demonstrates that the November 1988 Algiers Declaration of the PLO completely failed to meet the conditions laid down by the United States for opening a dialogue with the PLO. The first thing to note is that the Algiers Declaration in no way conceded Israel's right to exist in peace. In fact, Israel is not even regarded as a state; it

is labelled as the "Zionist entity." By this means, even the PLO rejection of "the threat or use of force, violence and terrorism against the territorial integrity of other states" is made meaningless. It simply does not apply to Israel, since Israel in the PLO lexicon does not qualify as a state.

The second condition was, likewise, not met. There was no formal acceptance of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 — certainly not their substantive elements. These resolutions were only obliquely referred to and then only in a procedural form, as serving as a *basis* for the *convening* of an international conference — which conference was to be devoted "to the attainment of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people." The legitimate national rights of the Jewish people are nowhere acknowledged and by no means conceded.

The third condition, that of the renunciation of the use of terrorism, was completely emasculated. The PLO, it was said had never resorted to terrorism, its *raison d'etre* being a national liberation struggle. Only Israel was engaged in using terror, state terror, in suppressing the Palestinian uprising. The PLO denounced, not renounced, terror — the "terror" of those whose who would dare oppose their terror!

From the foregoing review it is abundantly clear that the PLO Algiers Declaration did not fulfill the three conditions stipulated by Congress for opening a US-PLO dialogue. In fact, the Declaration failed to fulfill a single one of the conditions precedent. Upon examination of the text itself it is evident that the Algiers Declaration is not an offer of peace to Israel; it is more akin to a summons to arms to "all free and honorable people worldwide" to rally to the terrorist

cause of the PLO in combatting "Israeli terrorism". A fair and even superficial reading of the text demonstrates how far removed from a peace offer the Algiers Declaration really was.

All this, as noted, emerges from scrutinizing the text alone. If recourse is had to amplifying comments of PLO and Arab leaders, the foregoing interpretation of the text is more than borne out. It is first necessary to take account of the supplementary remarks of PLO leader, Yasir Arafat, delivered at various occasions after the Algiers Declaration was issued.

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America's reaction to the November 15 Algiers Declaration of Palestinian independence was distinctly negative. On November 16, State Department spokesman Charles Redman declared that the results of the Palestine National Council session "fall short" of meeting US requirements for the opening of a dialogue.¹⁷ The reference to Resolutions 242 and 338 while being "an advance over previous efforts" was "nevertheless ambiguous both in its placement in the text and in its meaning." The PLO statement on terrorism was simply "a restatement of previous positions." And finally, the "possibly implied or indirect reference to Israel's right to exist is not sufficient; recognition must be clear and unambiguous." The Department spokesman also noted that the United States was not prepared to recognize the Palestine National Council declaration of Palestinian independence. "The status of the West Bank and Gaza cannot be determined by unilateral acts of either side, but only through a process of negotiations."

America's dismissal of the Algiers Declaration as a sign of the peaceful character of the "new" PLO was vividly illustrated ten days later when Washington refused a visa to Yasir Arafat.¹⁸ The PLO chairman had sought entry into the

United States in order to address the General Assembly of the United Nations. In rejecting the application the State Department confirmed its long-standing classification of the PLO as "an organization which engages in terror" and Mr. Arafat as "an accessory to such terrorism" since he knows of, condones, and lends support to such acts."¹⁹ Terrorism and those involved in it were deemed a threat to the national security of the United States and on the basis of Public Law 80-357, which incorporated the UN Headquarters agreement, the US government was entitled to deny entry to people engaged in acts of terror. No clearer sign could be forthcoming that the United States remained unconvinced about the change of heart of the PLO and its leadership.

As a result of the US action in denying Arafat a visa, the General Assembly resolved to convene in Geneva in order to provide Arafat with a forum for delivery of his remarks.²⁰ In the meantime, on December 7, 1988 Arafat met with a group of American Jews in Stockholm from which a joint statement emerged "clarifying" the Palestine National Council Declaration issued in Algiers on November 15.²¹ According to the "clarification" the existence of Israel as a state in the region was accepted and "terrorism, in all its forms, including state terrorism" was renounced. Arafat's address to the General Assembly in Geneva on December 13 did not, however, even as much as repeat the Stockholm terminology.²² Moreover, in a revealing paragraph Arafat condemned "terrorism in all its forms". "At the same time [I] salute those sitting before me in this hall who, in the days when they fought to free their countries from the yoke of colonialism, were accused of terrorism by their oppressors."²² The implied message in relation to the Arab-

Israeli conflict was not lost on Arafat's world-wide audience. Not surprisingly, therefore, US policy continued to spurn any contact with the PLO. It was only at a press conference the next day, December 14, 1988 that Arafat, after much tortuous diplomatic maneuvering, was induced to recite "the magic words" affirming the right of all parties "to exist in peace and security, including the state of Palestine, Israel and their neighbors."²³ This announcement apparently did the trick. Within hours secretary of State George Schultz announced a dramatic turnabout in American policy by designating the US Ambassador to Tunisia, Robert Pelletreau, as Washington's representative for entering into "a substantive dialogue with PLO representatives."²³

The whole episode - with its stops and starts, public queries and answers about magic formulas, incantations of ambiguous terminology designed to disarm everybody and fool nobody - was little less than a charade. As one writer has said, it represented "an exercise in circumvention and double meaning." One can only assume that the Reagan administration in its final hours had resolved upon entering into a dialogue with the PLO at any price. The administration needed some sort of formulation by the PLO which could pass muster and which would not expose the administration to the charge that it had flagrantly evaded its international obligations. Arafat and the PLO were not very cooperative, but in the end the trap was sprung.

For one thing, by no stretch of the imagination can the November 15 Algiers Declaration be twisted into an offer of peace. As demonstrated, it reveals no retreat whatsoever from the long-standing policy objectives of the PLO to bring about,

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either directly or in stages, the destruction of Israel and the dispersal or annihilation of its Jewish population. There was no attempt to nullify or even qualify the 1964 Covenant of the PLO which spelled out these goals most explicitly. Yasir Arafat, even if he had wanted to, was not authorized to amend, modify, or in any way revise, any of the Palestine National Council decisions - either that of 1964, 1974, or November 1988. Arafat's supplementary remarks, extracted in dribs and drabs after much arduous diplomatic haggling, were, in a legal sense, utterly meaningless, and of no significance whatsoever. He had no authority to commit the PNC to change, nor did he presume to do so. Article 33 of the Covenant states quite categorically: "This Charter shall not be amended save by vote of a majority of two-thirds of the total membership of the National Council of the PLO taken at a special session convened for that purpose." When asked at a Paris news conference about the tenability of the PLO Covenant, Arafat on April , 1989 replied that the Algiers Declaration had "superseded" the Covenant. This writer had occasion on March 9, 1989 to hear the chief spokesman of the PLO in the United States, Hasas Abdel Rahman, use the same term to describe the connection between the PLO Covenant of 1964 and the 1988 Algiers Declaration. I pointed out that the term "superseded" was ambiguous and I invited him to tell me and the audience that the Covenant was "null and void." He studiously avoided making any such declaration. Arafat has likewise refrained from announcing the end of the Covenant despite numerous invitations to do so. In constitutional terms, it should be recognized that for the PLO "it is as misleading and untrue to say that Mr. Arafat's declarations have in fact replaced the PLO Charter

as it would be ludicrous to claim that a particular statement by the President of the United States could abrogate any of the clauses of the US Constitution."²⁴

The terrorist, absolute goals of the PLO remained quite unmodified. The PLO had not moved one inch closer to recognizing Israel's right to live in peace and security, nor had the PLO in any way renounced violent terrorism in its unremitting war of "national liberation" against Israel. As noted, all this becomes abundantly clear to anyone who cares to peruse the text of the Algiers Declaration itself. If one takes the trouble to review statements made in Arabic by PLO officials and supporters contemporary to the issuance of the Algiers Declaration, the strategy and design of this artful exercise in international diplomacy become crystal clear.

Farouk Kaddoumi, PLO Foreign Minister:

"Sure there is bargaining, but we must definitely and clearly stress that the recovery of but a part of our soil will not cause us to forsake our Palestinian land."

Q. "All Palestinian land including that of 1948?"

A. "It is clear that we will plant our tent in those places where our bullets can reach. It is the range of the power at the Palestinian people's disposal that determines the site of its tent, which in turn acts as a base from which it will deal within its next phase." *Interview with BBC Arabic Service, Qatar, April 5, 1989.*

Sheikh Abd Al-Hamid El-Sayekh, Chairman of the PNC - the PLO "Parliament" as reported in various Arabic newspapers:

"If the PLO succeeds in establishing a state in the West

Bank and Gaza, it would not prevent the continuation of the struggle until the liberation of all of Palestine is achieved... We are working to achieve what is possible in the present phase, and afterwards we will demand more."

"Al-Siyasa," Kuwait, 21 Dec. 1988

"The PNC has accepted an interim solution, implying that we will accept whatever territories we can get. Then we will demand the rest of Palestine. We do not reject the idea of a state on a quarter or half of our territory, but we will demand the other parts later."

"A-Shira," Beirut, 22 Aug. 1988

"Everything we do is intended to achieve a temporary solution. We shall accept anything possible without conceding a thing.... If asked to define the boundaries of Palestine, I would have to respond candidly that all of Palestine is ours."

"Al-Ma'akiff Al'Arabi," Nicosia, 12 Dec. 1988

Nayif Hawatmeh, Chairman of The Democratic Front For the Liberation of Palestine - A Constituent PLO Organization:

"The Palestinian struggle should now be aimed at creating a state in the West Bank and Gaza. This will not prevent us from achieving our final aim of liberating all of Palestine."

Agence France Presse, Abu Dhabi, Jan. 1989

Ahmed Sidki Al-Dejani, Member of PLO Executive Committee:

"We in the PLO make a clear distinction between the Charter and the political programs. The first includes the permanent political objective, and the second includes the step-by-step approach."

"Ukaz," Saudi Arabia, 22 Nov. 1988

Haj Sa'ad Al-Din Al-Alami, Mufti of Jerusalem:

"The uprising has one goal, and that is to expel and the Jews from the land. I oppose the existence of Israel in any form."

"Al-Qabas," Kuwait, 22 Dec. 1988

Abu Iyad, First Deputy to Yasir Arafat:

"The PNC decisions [in Algiers, 1988] are a refinement of the Palestinian position as adopted in the Phased Plan in Cairo 14 years ago. As the years passed, this plan remained undeveloped and without a mechanism for its implementation. The PNC session in Algiers in 1988 was meant to revitalize this program and to create a mechanism to get it moving."

PLO Journal "Al-Yom Al-Sabah," Paris, 28 Nov. 1988

"There should not be any illusions as to the solution, whether through the United States or through an international conference. According to the 'Phased Plan' we will establish a Palestinian state on any part of Palestine that the enemy will retreat from. The Palestinian state will be a stage in our prolonged struggle for the liberation of Palestine and the establishment of a democratic state on all of its territory. We cannot achieve the strategic goal of a Palestinian state in all of Palestine without first establishing a Palestinian state [on part of its territory]. That is why there is no contradiction between the slogan of a Palestinian state and the slogan of liberation. The state will be a solid base for the revolution."

Al-Safir, Lebanon, Jan. 1988

Nabil Sha'ath, Chairman of PNC's Political Committee:

"The support of the world cannot be gained by saying that you want to cast the Jews into the sea...You will gain world support if you say that we are struggling for peace....The strategic basis is as clear as day, I want to liberate a portion of the Arab land and that cannot be done by war. It is a struggle for generations, and it will remain for us to liberate the rest."

"Al Auba" (Kuwait), March 28 1989

In summation, the Algiers Declaration of the Palestine National Council represented no break with its terrorist past. Its policy goals of bringing about the destruction of Israel, dispersal or annihilation of its Jewish population, and the erection of a Palestinian state in all of Palestine, remained unchanged. Read carefully, the Algiers Declaration constituted not an offer of peace but a clarion call to arms in a war of "national liberation" against Israel. It is hardly surprising that the Israeli government totally denied that the Algiers Declaration signified any change in the genocide goals of the PLO.²⁵ By the same token, Israel is entitled to question the *bona fides* of the US government in entering into a dialogue, and maintaining that dialogue, with the PLO. The doctrine of *rebus sic stantibus*, if it were to apply to the issue of a dialogue with the PLO, would at least require a fundamental change in the essential circumstances which brought about the conclusion of the original international agreement prohibiting such a dialogue. The foregoing legal analysis regrettably demonstrates that no fundamental change in the character or schemes of the PLO have emerged.

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FOOTNOTES

- 1 See *N.Y. Times*, Nov. 16, 1988; *Facts on File*, Nov. 18, 1988, pp. 849-851.
- 2 See *Jerusalem Post*, Dec. 9, 1988.
- 3 See *N.Y. Times*, Dec. 15, 1988; *Facts on File*, Dec. 16, 1988, pp. 925-926.
- 4 Yehuda LuKacs (ed.), *Documents on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, 1967-1983* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 19), pp. 23-24.
- 5 For the text of these two UN resolutions see *ibid.*, pp. 1-2.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 27.
- 7 Leland M. Goodrich and Edvard Hambro, *Charter of the United Nations: Commentary and Documents*, (2nd rev. ed.) (Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1949), pp. 102-104.
- 8 S. Wheat, 153, 161-162 (US 1820).
- 9 For the text of the Genocide Convention see
- 10 For the full text see LuKacs, *Documents*, pp. 139-143.
- 11 *International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985*. Public Law 99-83, Aug. 8, 1985, 99 Stat. 280.

The rider was regularly added to subsequent *Foreign Assistance Acts*. See *Foreign Aid Appropriations Act 1989*, Public Law 100-461, Oct. 1, 1988, 102 Stat. 2268-27.
- 12 The text is reproduced in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, vol. 3 (1974), p. 224. It appears that the PLO, especially after Abu Iyyad's visit to Vietnam in 1970, was deeply impressed by the War by Stages waged by the Vietnamese against the Americans; "first to accept part of the territory as a base for Socialist Vietnam, then to

use it as a launching pad for the final onslaught to reunify the entire land." Raphael

13 The text is reproduced in *Journal of Palestine Studies*,
vol. 18 No. 2, Issue 70 (1989), pp. 213-223. p. 6 v'
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14 See on this point Raphael Israeli, "The PLO After Algiers,
Stockholm, Geneva: Rhetoric and Substance,"

15 *Ibid.*

16 See Michla Pomerance, *Self-Determination in Law and Practice: The New Doctrine in the United Nations* (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1982) and Michla Pomerance, "Self-Determination Today: The Metamorphosis of an Ideal," *Israel Law Review*, vol. 19 (1984), pp. 310-339.

17 State Department Press Release.

18 See *State Dept. Bulletin*, vol. 89, No. 2143, Feb 1989, p. 53.

19 *Ibid.*

20 See *N.Y. Times*, Dec. 3, 1988 and *Facts on File*, Dec. 2, 1988, p. 888.

21 *Facts on File*, Dec. 9, 1988, pp. 906-907.

22 *Ibid.*, Dec. 16, 1988, pp. 925-926.

23 *Ibid.*

24 Raphael Israeli, "The PLO After Algiers."

25 *Facts on File*, Nov. 18, 1988, p. 850 and Dec. 16, 1988, p. 926.



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סודי ביותר
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סמנכ"ל צפ"א ופר"ן
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אל : שה"ח
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מאת : סמנכ"ל צפ"א ופר"ן

הנדון : ירדן היא פלשתינא

אבקש להעיר על הסוגיה מההיבט האמריקאי בלבד.

- א. ההתבטאויות האחרונות של רה"מ, שה"ח וס/שה"ח על ש"ירדן היא פלשתינא", בגירסה זו או אחרת חזקה עליהן שבמוקדם או מאוחר תגרורנה תגובה אמריקאית חריפה - בממשל ובדעת הקהל.
- ב. בתקופת רייגן - כשיחסי ישראל-ארה"ב ידעו אחת מתקופות השיא - כאשר פרץ הויכוח בסוגיה הנ"ל סביב התיזה של השר שרון שירדן היא מולדת הפלשתינאים גרם הדבר לתגובה אמריקאית במישורים הבאים: תגובה כלפי ישראל, הצהרה נשיאותית על מחויבות ארה"ב לשלמות גבולותיה של ירדן, ועל היות ירדן זכאית להגנתה של ארה"ב.
- ג. אנו יודעים שהמלך חוסיין נמצא בקשר הדוק עם הנשיא בוש (חילופי איגרות תדירים, קשר טלפוני).
- אין ספק שהמלך פועל להציל עתה מארה"ב התגובה אותה חילץ בזמנו מממשל רייגן.
- ד. מתבקשת לדעתי הבהרה ראויה הן לממשל והן למלך שאין בהצהרות הנ"ל כוונות לפגוע בריבונות הירדנית וכו'.

בברכה,
איתן בנצור

העתק: מנכ"ל
יועץ מדיני לשה"ח

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EMIRATES-ANNIVERSARY

LEADER LABELS U.S. ENEMY OF THE ARABS

BY ALY MAHMOUD=

ASSOCIATED PRESS WRITER=

ABU DHABI, UNITED ARAB EMIRATES (AP) - UNITED ARAB EMIRATES PRESIDENT SHEIK ZAYED BIN SULTAN AL NAHYAN ON SUNDAY DENOUNCED THE UNITED STATES AS THE "ARABS' NO. 2 ENEMY" FOR ITS SUPPORT OF ISRAEL AT THE EXPENSE OF THE PALESTINIANS.

"ISRAEL IS OUR NO. 1 ENEMY, AND AMERICA IS OUR NO. 2 ENEMY," HE TOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE CULMINATION OF NATIONWIDE CELEBRATIONS MARKING THE 18TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE U.A.E.

"AMERICA SUPPORTS ISRAEL IN ITS INTRANSIGENCE AGAINST THE RIGHTFUL CAUSE OF THE PALESTINIANS," SHEIK ZAYED SAID.

HE SAID THE UNITED STATES STANDS TO LOSE THE FRIENDSHIP OF 21 ARAB POWERS BY "EXAGGERATING ITS SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL."

OTHERWISE, HE SAID, THE U.A.E. "HAS WARM AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH AMERICA."

ANSWERING A WIDE RANGE OF QUESTIONS BY ARAB AND FOREIGN REPORTERS, THE BEARDED, CLOAKED SHEIK LAUDED SOVIET LEADER MIKHAIL GORBACHEV FOR INTRODUCING "APPRECIABLE CHANGES" FOR HIS PEOPLE.

BUT HE CAUTIONED THE ARABS AGAINST HINGING ANY HOPES ON THE U.S.-SOVIET SUMMIT TALKS, CONTENDING THAT "THE TWO SUPERPOWERS CARE MORE ABOUT THEIR OWN INTERESTS AND LESS ABOUT EVERYTHING ELSE."

THE 71-YEAR-OLD PRESIDENT REJECTED THE CONCEPT OF ARAB UNITY AS A "MEANINGLESS HALLUCINATION." HE STRESSED THAT IDEAS OF INTEGRATION OR COOPERATION ARE FAR MORE MEANINGFUL.

"I HAVE BEEN HEARING THE TERM UNITY FOR 40 YEARS NOW BUT HAVE SEEN NOTHING REAL, NOTHING TANGIBLE, OF IT," HE SAID. "WE HAVE OPTED FOR COOPERATION, AS OPPOSED TO UNITY IN THE COMMON SENSE OF THE TERM IN OUR PARLANCE."

HE WAS REFERRING TO THE CREATION OF THE GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL, A SIX-NATION ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AND COLLECTIVE DEFENSE PACT GROUPING SAUDI ARABIA, KUWAIT, BAHRAIN, OMAN, QATAR AND THE U.A.E.

"I ONCE TOLD THE SYRIANS 'YOU SQUANDERED UNITY ONCE AND SHOULDN'T ASK FOR A SECOND CHANCE TO SQUANDER IT AGAIN,'" HE SAID, ALLUDING TO SYRIA'S BREAKAWAY FROM ITS UNION WITH EGYPT IN 1961.

HE INSISTED THAT THE ARABS WILL "DEAL WITH EAST AND WEST ON BASIS OF THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE ARABS ... IT IS ESSENTIALLY A QUESTION OF RECIPROCATION IN KIND. IF THE AMERICANS OR ANY OTHER POWER IS GOOD TO US, THEN WE WILL BE GOOD, OR BETTER, IN REPAYING THIS. IF SHE IS BAD, THEN WE KNOW HOW TO RESPOND."

THE U.A.E. IN RECENT YEARS JOINED OMAN AND QATAR IN FOLLOWING KUWAIT'S EXAMPLE AND ESTABLISHED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. OF THE MEMBERS OF THE GCC PACT, ONLY SAUDI ARABIA AND BAHRAIN CONTINUE TO REFUSE TO HAVE DIPLOMATIC TIES WITH MOSCOW.

"WE HAVE TRIED THE SOVIET UNION AND FOUND THAT THEY BUILD THEIR TIES WITH OTHER POWERS ON MUTUAL RESPECT," HE SAID. "WHAT WE HATE MOST IS MEDDLING OF ANY POWER IN OUR COUNTRY'S DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. THE SOVIETS DON'T DO THAT."

THE SHEIK HEADED PRAISE ON BRITAIN AND, CONTRARY TO WIDESPREAD ARAB SENTIMENTS, INSISTED THAT "THE BRITISH NEVER COLONIZED US."

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EMIRATES-ANNIVERSARY, 1ST ADD

ABU DHABI: COLONIZED US."

"WHEN THE BRITISH (OCCUPATION FORCES) WERE HERE, WE HAD NO FOOD TO EAT," HE CONTENDED. "WHAT WOULD THEY COLONIZE US FOR? IN FACT, WHEN THE BRITISH WANTED TO EVACUATE OUR LAND WE ASKED THEM TO STAY ON. BRITAIN IS THE ONE EUROPEAN POWER CLOSEST TO US, A POWER WITHOUT DRAWBACKS, A POWER WORTHY OF RESPECT."

HE ALSO PAID HIGH TRIBUTE TO FRANCE, TELLING A FRENCH REPORTER "YOUR COUNTRY BUILDS GOOD WARPLANES AND, GENERALLY, DOES MANY GOOD THINGS TO US AND THE REST OF THE WORLD." HE WAS REFERRING TO A 2.2-BILLION-DOLLAR ARMS DEAL INVOLVING MAINLY 36 MIRAGE 2000 JET FIGHTERS. THE FIRST BATCH OF THESE MIRAGES WAS DELIVERED LAST WEEK AND DISPLAYED TO THE PUBLIC HERE AT A MILITARY PARADE ON SATURDAY.

THE PARADE CLIMAXED TWO DAYS OF FESTIVITIES MARKING THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1971 MERGER OF SEVEN OF THE FORMER BRITISH-CONTROLLED TRUCIAL COAST SHEIKDOMS -- ABU DHABI, DUBAI, SHARJAH, UMM AL-QUWAIN, FUJAIRAH, AJMAN AND RAS AL-KHAIMAH -- INTO THE U.A.E.

HE CONCEDED THAT THE U.A.E. AT THE START WAS A LOOSE FEDERATION, WITH DUBAI A RECALCITRANT AND UNWILLING PARTNER. ACCORDING TO ARAB DIPLOMATIC SOURCES, ABU DHABI HAS BEEN PUTTING UP MORE THAN 90 PERCENT OF THE FEDERAL BUDGET, WITH DUBAI REFUSING TO CONTRIBUTE A REASONABLE SHARE.

DUBAI, THE SECOND LARGEST OF THE SEVEN EMIRATES, HAS ALSO BEEN IGNORING ABU DHABI'S COMMITMENT TO THE OPEC-DECREED OIL PRODUCTION QUOTA FOR THE U.A.E. AS A RESULT, THESE SOURCES SAID, THE U.A.E. HAS BEEN PRODUCING OIL AT A DAILY AVERAGE RATE OF 2.6 MILLION BARRELS, 1.5 MILLION BARRELS MORE THAN ITS 1.095 MILLION DAILY QUOTA.

"THE LAYMAN HERE IS WELL AWARE OF THE VIRTUES OF THE FEDERATION," SHEIK ZAYED SAID. "THE FEDERATION HAS ACHIEVED PLENTY OF GOOD THINGS FOR THE WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE. IT TOOK DUBAI TWO YEARS OF RECALCITRANCE AND, AFTERWARD, IT BECAME ONE OF THE STAUNCHEST SUPPORTERS OF THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES."

IN ALL SEVEN EMIRATE, PEOPLE TOOK TO THE STREETS AND PUBLIC PARKS TO CELEBRATE WITH TRIBAL MUSIC AND FOLK DANCING. ABU DHABI, CAPITAL OF THE U.A.E., WAS GLEAMING BENEATH FLOODLIGHTS, FIREWORKS AND LUMINOUS BULBS DISPLAYIN THE NATIONAL COLORS.

END

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GULF-GHOST SHIP

NEW JERSEY ALMOST UNNOTICED DURING GULF VISIT

BY RICHARD PYLE=

ASSOCIATED PRESS WRITER=

MANAMA, BAHRAIN (AP) - IRAN HAS BRANDED THE ARRIVAL OF THE U.S.

BATTLESHIP NEW JERSEY IN THE GULF A PROVOCATION, BUT THE MOST POWERFUL WARSHIP EVER TO ENTER THE WATERWAY MIGHT AS WELL HAVE BEEN A GHOST SHIP AS FAR AS OTHER GULF STATES WERE CONCERNED.

ARAB SENSITIVITY TO FOREIGN INTRUSIONS, U.S. POLICY TOWARD ISRAEL, AND THE NEW JERSEY'S FEARSOME FIREPOWER PROBABLY COMBINED TO KEEP THE VISIT FROM MAKING THE PUBLIC RELATIONS SPLASH THAT U.S. OFFICIALS EVIDENTLY HAD HOPED FOR, DIPLOMATIC SOURCES SAID MONDAY.

SAUDI ARABIA, DESPITE FRIENDLY TIES WITH THE UNITED STATES, DENIED THE NEW JERSEY PERMISSION TO ENTER DHARAN, A PORT THAT IS HOME FOR ABOUT 8,000 AMERICANS, OIL WORKERS AND THEIR FAMILIES, AND IS FREQUENTLY VISITED BY OTHER U.S. SHIPS.

AS THE BATTLESHIP NEARED THE END OF ITS VISIT, DIPLOMATS SAID THE SAUDI ACTION HAD POSSIBLY ENCOURAGED OTHER GULF ARAB STATES TO SOFT-PEDAL AN EVENT THAT WAS INTENDED BY U.S. OFFICIALS TO DEMONSTRATE WHAT A PENTAGON SPOKESMAN CALLED "THE CONTINUING U.S. COMMITMENT TO THE REGION" SINCE THE END OF THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR LAST YEAR.

THE NEW JERSEY, A 45-YEAR-OLD WARSHIP UPDATED WITH MISSILES AND OTHER WEAPONRY TO COMPLEMENT IT WORLD WAR II-VINTAGE, 16-INCH (406MM) GUNS, RECENTLY ARRIVED FOR A THREE-MONTH PATROL TOUR IN THE INDIAN OCEAN.

ITS SIDE TRIP INTO THE GULF WAS THE FIRST FOR A U.S. BATTLESHIP IN "MODERN TIMES," THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT SAID.

U.S. NAVY RECORDS HERE SHOW IT TO BE THE BIGGEST WARSHIP OF ANY NATION EVER TO SAIL INTO THE CRAMPED AND BUSY OIL WATERWAY.

YET IN ANCHORING FAR OFFSHORE AND ATTRACTING ONLY LIMITED NEWS COVERAGE, THE 58,000-TON VESSEL HAS BEEN ALMOST UNNOTICED SINCE IT ENTERED THE STRAIT OF HORMUZ LAST THURSDAY.

PREDICTABLY, THE STRONGEST REACTION TO THE NEW JERSEY'S ARRIVAL CAME FROM IRAN, WHICH ACCUSED THE UNITED STATES OF A "PROVOCATION" AND "HEIGHTENING FRICTION."

TEHRAN RADIO, MONITORED IN CYPRUS, QUOTED HOSSEIN HASHEMIAN, A DEPUTY SPEAKER OF PARLIAMENT, AS SAYING THE MOVE "WILL NOT AUGUR WELL FOR THE UNITED STATES."

HE REPEATED IRAN'S oft-stated demand that foreign navies should get out, leaving the security of the oil waterway to the countries around it.

THE ARAB GULF STATES, WHICH TEND TO FOLLOW THE SAUDI EXAMPLE IN DEALINGS WITH WASHINGTON, PRIVATELY APPROVE OF THE U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE GULF WHILE PUBLICLY OPPOSING FOREIGN INTRUSIONS AND CONDEMNING AMERICA'S SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL.

WHILE U.S. OFFICIALS WERE EXPECTED TO CALL THE NEW JERSEY'S VISIT A SUCCESS, SOME AMERICANS HAD EARLIER QUESTIONED THE WISDOM OF TIMING SUCH A VISIT ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE PALESTINIAN UPRISING AGAINST ISRAEL, OR BRINGING INTO ARAB WATERS A WARSHIP REMEMBERED BY SOME FOR MISDIRECTED SHELLING THAT KILLED CIVILIANS IN LEBANON IN EARLY 1984.

MORE

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GULF-GHOST SHIP, 1ST ADD

MANAMA: EARLY 1984

A NAVAL SOURCE, ASKING NOT TO BE NAMED, SAID THE ONLY REPORTED COMPLAINT WAS BY AN AMERICAN DIPLOMAT WHO CRITICIZED THE PENTAGON'S DISCLOSURE OF THE VISIT.

"I DON'T KNOW HOW WE'RE EXPECTED TO HIDE A BATTLESHIP," THE SOURCE SAID.

U.S. EMBASSY OFFICIALS IN RIYADH CONFIRMED THAT SAUDI ARABIA HAD "ASKED THAT A PROPOSED VISIT (BY THE NEW JERSEY) BE DEFERRED."

THERE WAS NO COMMENT FROM THE SAUDIS. BUT WESTERN DIPLOMATS, SPEAKING ON CONDITION OF ANONYMITY, SAID RIYADH'S REFUSAL TO LET THE NEW JERSEY ENTER THE OIL PORT AT DHAHRAN PROBABLY INFLUENCED THE LOW-KEY HANDLING BY OTHER ARAB STATES.

AT BAHRAIN, WHICH PROVIDES SHORE FACILITIES FOR U.S. NAVY SHIPS PERMANENTLY BASED IN THE GULF, THE NEW JERSEY ANCHORED 2 MILES (3.2 KM) OFFSHORE.

EXCEPT FOR SOME DIGNITARIES INVITED TO TOUR THE SHIP, PROBABLY NOT MORE THAN A HANDFUL OF RESIDENTS EVEN NOTICED THE LEAN GRAY SILHOUETTE ON THE HORIZON AS THEY DROVE ALONG SEASIDE HIGHWAYS.

GULF NEWSPAPERS AND TELEVISION STATIONS THAT ROUTINELY COVER MARITIME EVENTS, INCLUDING PORT CALLS BY FOREIGN WARSHIPS, IGNORED THE NEW JERSEY'S OVERNIGHT VISIT.

THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE GULF DAILY NEWS CARRIED A SMALL STORY SAYING THE SHIP HAD ENTERED THE GULF, BUT NOTHING ABOUT IT BEING AT BAHRAIN.

CLIVE JAQUES, THE NEWSPAPER'S EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, SAID: "NAVAL SHIPS FROM A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES REGULARLY VISIT THE GULF AND BAHRAIN AT TIMES IS AMONG THE PORTS OF CALL.

"WE RECORDED THE FACT THAT THE USS NEW JERSEY WAS IN THE GULF, BUT IT'S NOT THE NEWSPAPER'S POLICY, AS A BAHRAIN PUBLICATION, TO REPORT EXTENSIVELY ON SUCH MATTERS."

AT DUBAI, THE NEW JERSEY AGAIN STAYED OFFSHORE, AWAY FROM ONLOOKERS.

NEWSPAPERS IN THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES REPORTED THE SHIP'S GULF ARRIVAL, BUT NOT ITS PLANNED VISIT TO DUBAI. ONLY THE APPEARANCE OF UNUSUAL NUMBERS OF AMERICAN SAILORS -- IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES -- MIGHT HAVE OFFERED A CLUE TO THE SHIP'S PRESENCE.

SOME NEWSPAPERS IN SAUDI ARABIA AND KUWAIT CARRIED STORIES ON THE NEW JERSEY'S VISIT, BUT MADE NO MENTION OF ITS PORTS OF CALL.

END

TO KEEP THE SHIP FROM MAKING THE LOGIC REVELATIONS BY THE INDIAN
ISRAELI AND THE NEW JERSEY'S LEADERSHIP LIKELY TO COMBINE
WAS SPECIFICALLY TO REVEAL THE SHIP'S PRESENCE IN THE
A GHOST SHIP AS WAS AS OTHER GULF STATES WERE CONCERNED
BOMBING OF SHIPS WOULD BE THE MAIN REASON WHY AS BEST HAVE BEEN
BATTLESHIP NEW JERSEY IN THE GULF A RECOGNITION FOR THE MOST
PARTICULAR REASON (AS) - FROM HAS RECORDED THE PRESENCE OF THE SHIP
ASSOCIATED PRESS WRITERS
BY MICHAEL LATE

NEW JERSEY MEMOIR COMPLETED DURING 1984-1985

GULF-GHOST SHIP

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12/12

היום 180 שנה
למלכות ישראל

ביום ארבעים
היום חמש עשרה
למלכות ישראל
למלכות ישראל

180 שנה

מל"מ : עראק מאמרי-מערכת סיקור-יומי

הנדון: עראק/ מאמרי-מערכת בכלי-התקשורת העראקים ב-10.12.

מלמלמלמלמלמל

ביקורת על הדאגה האמריקאית לשיגור לוויינים של עראק.

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'אלג' מהוריה' (סעי' 10 0900 דצמ') מונח ביקורת על הצהרות סגן הדובר הרשמי של משה'ח האמריקאית שהכיע את דאגתו מכך שכרשות עראק מערכת טילים לשיגור לוויינים.

העיתון מוסיף כי דאגה אמריקאית זו אינה לגיטימית ואינה לה שום צידוקים ענייניים מציאותיים והיא מונעת בחובה כוונות לפגוע בשאיפה העראקית להשיג התקדמות תרבותית בת זמננו גדולה יותר.

העיתון מדגיש כי, דאגה זו לא יכולה להפחית משמחת העראקים והערבים על ההישג הגדול והיא אינה יכולה למנוע מעראק להמשיך לשאוף להשגת יכולת מדעית ולנצל יכולת זו למטרות שלום ובראשן, יכולת עצמית להגן על הריבונות הלאומית נגד כל תוקפנות וזה מבלי להזדקק לסיוע חיצוני בעל אופי של ניצול וסחיטה.

העיתון תמה היכן היתה הדאגה האמריקאית כשהישגות הציונות התוקפניות שיגרה בספט' 88 טיל שפיץ נושא לוויין למטרות תוקפניות נגד המדינות השכנות.

כ"כ תוהה העיתון איזה חוק או אמנה בינ"ל יכולים להפלות בין עראק לבין מספר גדול של מדינות בעולם שברשותן יכולת מדעית מתקדמת ולומר שמוגזם שערך מנסה להצטרף להתקדמות המדעית.

העיתון מוסיף: הפליה זו צריכה להיות לטובת עראק, מה גם שלא עראק היא זו שייצרה פצצה גרעינית למטרות התקפה ולא היא שהשליכה פצצה כזו על ערים מרובות אוכלוסיין.

הפליה זו צריכה להיות לטובת עראק כיון שערך מדגישה בנסיבות רבות שהשגיה המדעיים הם לטובת השלום בגבולות ריבונותה הלאומית, בגבולות בטחון האזור ויציבותו, בגבולות ההגנה הלאומית והכלל ערבים וכדי לשרת את ההתקדמות בשטח המדע.

העיתון מוסיף כי ההישג הגדול שהשיגו אנשי התעשייה הצבאית העראקית היה הישג מדעי טכנולוגי נוסף שכל שוחררי הקדמה בעולם צריכים לשמוח בו.

בסוף דמי 90 ש"ח

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הופצ על ידי: חצב אל:

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משרד החוצ - (שפ)
מאת: חצב
מגול
חוק: 11/12/89 12:19
מקור: סיצ-עראק
מד: 11/12/89/836/8494

ש"ח חבור: 11/12/89 13:29
ש"ח המוסר: חצב/דיווח

מלפ: עראק טילימ חלל ישראל איום
הנדון: עראק-ישראל/עראק מזהירה את ישראל לבל חנסה להגוע במתקני שיגור
הטילים
מלמלמל
שלה.

היומון העראקי אל-קאסיה, כטאון משרד ההגנה, הזהיר ב-11/12 את ישראל
מפני התקפה

אורית על המתקנים שבאמצעותם שוגר, ב-5/12, הטיל התלת שליבי
אלעאבד.

העתון ציינ כי "אל-עכאר פתח תקופה חושה עבוד עראק והאומה
הערבית (...)" פעולת איבה

דוגמה זו שהביאה להריסת הכור-האטומי כתבון, שנבנה למטרות שלום, לא
חובל להישנות

היות ועראק יכולה לגדוע את היד אשר חנסה לחזור לגבולותיה.

על פי העתון, "יכניס הערבים לעידן החלל גישורה על הפיגור הטכנולוגי
ש"ישראל

ומעצמות עולמיות מסוימות, רצו להשאיר בו את העולם הערבי, במיוחד
לאחר שיגורו

(בספטמבר 88) של הטיל הישראלי אופק."

יוכל/אילניח/משה

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יוצא **

סודי

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יבן חיו פלסט
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סודי/בהול להזעיה

אל: הציר. ההיר

דברי שה'ח. לשלר בנושא

1. בנוסף לאמור בשלר על דברי עזאזי במפגשר אתו אמר לנו גם בסיוני (13) במהלך שיחה טלפונית בנושא אחר את הדברים הבאים (הוא. אגב. היה מודע לזימוןר לעזאזי):
'לא יאמנו דברי שה'ח לפיהם ירדן היא פלסטיו וכי מצרים לא תוכל למלא תפקיד בתהליך השלום אם תהיה רק דוור. דברים אלו הם המשר של הו 'ירדן היא פלסטיו'. שווה בנפשר כיצד נעמוד למול מדינות ערב האחרות אותו אנו מנסים לשכנע להצטרף לתהליך. לנוכח דברים אלו. התבקשתי ע'י ההיר להעביר הטקסט המלא של דברי שה'ח בנושאים אלו ואני בפניה מאד השה'.

2. דהכוו הנושא רלוורח הוור ומסדרו והמנור לרסיוני רי דרריו של השר בתהשורת הוצאו מההשרם והטקסט המדוייק של הדברים בוועדת חו'ב הוא כדלקמן:

א. 'ירדן היא פלסטיו' - ירדן היא מדינה פלסטינית לכל דבר רריו לשמה. היא מהווה את 3/4 המודט הפלסטיני מימי חבר הלאומים. רוב האוכלוסיה מורכבת מצאצאי הערבים שחיו בא'י המנדטורית. אינני מדיר על מדיניות אלא על עובדות גיאוגרפיות, שהרי אותם פלסטינים חיים משני עברי הירדן. לנו אין כל השפעה

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

על המשטר בירדן, אין זה מתפקידנו לעסוק ברעיונות
באשר למשטר זה. אנחנו מאמינים ביחסים טובים עם
ממלכת ירדן במידה וחוסין ניתק סופית מיהודה
ושומרון, לכאורה אין בינינו חילוקי דעות
טריטוריאליים. אולם מאז אותה הודעה אנו שומעים
מהמלך דברים קיצוניים יותר ויותר ביחס לישראל.

ב. - תפקידה של מצרים בתהליך - צעדנו צעד מסויים
קדימה, הרבה יהיה תלוי במידת העצמאות של עמדת
מצרים. מצרים יכולה וצריכה למלא תפקיד חשוב. אני
משוכנע שנשיא מצרים, מובארק רוצה למלא תפקיד כזה,
אבל אם יתברר שהמצרים אינם מוכנים לעשות יותר מאשר
להעביר מסרים מאש'ף לארה'ב, במסלול הזה לא תוכל
להגיע אתו רחוק.

3. לידעתך ולשימושך כלפי משה'ח המצרי.

מצרים

פא

תפ: שהח, סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, סולטן, מצרים



INTERNATIONAL NEWS UP • DATE

INTERNATIONAL "JORDAN IS PALESTINE" COMMITTEE

SPRING-SUMMER 1989

זכויות יוצרים

UNITED WE STAND

Pictured at a House of Commons reception recently, of the Jordan is Palestine (JIP) Committee are the Earl of Balfour (Centre) and MPs Harry Greenway (Ealing N) and John Marshall (Hendon S) right.

The reception, co-sponsored by the MP's, marked the inauguration of Lord Balfour as President of JIP.

In his speech, Lord Balfour said: "Until Israel has full diplomatic relations with all her neighbouring countries, I would advise politicians to have nothing to do with the PLO. I am sure none of us wants another Black September. Israel must keep her present boundaries because they can be defended."



שבו בנים לגבולם
יובל להצהרת בalfour
1917-1967
ישראל
YOUR CHILDREN SHALL COME BACK
TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY
18 MARCH 21 27



שבו בנים לגבולם
יובל להצהרת בalfour
1917-1967
ישראל
YOUR CHILDREN SHALL COME BACK
TO THEIR OWN COUNTRY
18 MARCH 21 27

J. I. P.
P.O. BOX 7136
NETANYA

JORDAN IS PALESTINE NEWS UPDATE

Lord Balfour says "Don't deal with the PLO until Israel has full diplomatic relations with her neighbours."

With junior Foreign Office Minister William Waldegrave currently visiting Israel and later, Jordan, Lord Balfour's advice is timely.

He warned: "Politicians can be misled from time to time. My advice is, Israel must keep her present boundaries...."

Speaking at a House of Commons reception, President of the Jordan is Palestine Committee, Lord Balfour declared that he was glad to have the opportunity to separate fact from fiction.

"The first fact is that there has never been an independent Palestinian state, in the last two millenium, until the kingdom of Jordan was established in 1946." He said "The promise made to the Arabs during World War I was that they would rule over whatever land they took trouble to wrestle from the Turks. I have found no evidence that any Arab west of the Jordan river or rift valley. In my opinion, the Arabs have no claim or rights over any part of that territory."

NEWS SCENE



23rd February 1989.....

Mia Silver and David Jacobs of the Jordan is Palestine Committee showed a video to the Oxford University Israel Society entitled "Are the Palestinian Arabs a Homeless People? Among the audience were three members of the Palestinian Society. Their spokesman proposed that Israel as a Jewish State should disappear and there should be a new, Secular State with a Majority Arab population. But he conceded that a minority of Jews should be allowed to reman. HOW GENEROUS!

The J.I.P Committee has written to King Hussein asking him to instruct his Ambassador to the United Nations to inform the General Assembly that the Palestinian Arab sare not homeless. He rightly restated, in a television interview, on Channel 4 (14th January) that Jordan is Palestine

As he has repeatedly said: Palestinian and Jordanian Arabs are one people, his concern and acknowledgement will alleviate the uncertainty and suffering of his subjects.



JORDAN IS PALESTINE

Committee

176 New Kings Road, London SW6 4NE
Tel: 01-584 1844 / 01-460 4412

President:

The Earl of Balfour

Vice-Presidents:

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Dr. John Blackburn M.P.

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Mr. Harry Greenway M.P.

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Mr. John Marshall M.P.

Mr. Derek Prag M.E.P.

Cllr. Mrs. Lois Peltz

National Chairman:

Mrs. Rita Horowitz

National Director:

Mrs. Mia Silver

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

To show that the Palestinian Arabs are not a homeless people.

To show that Israel is only one-fifth of Mandated Palestine.

To show that Jordan, in other words, is Arab Palestine.

To show that the real problem is the continuing rejection, by most Arab states, of Israel - in any part of former Palestine.

To help advance the peace process by making these facts widely known.

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Jordan is Palestine ... and so is Israel

Philologos, writing in the Sept. 23 issue of *The Nation* about the "Place Where We Live", suggests that Israelis unabashedly join the rest of the world in using the name "Palestine" to denote the area between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River. The name, he says, has been avoided by Israelis because "it has come to sound as nationalistically Arab to our ears as jihad or intifada." But he goes on to point out, quite correctly, that "it was not always so. Until 1948, Palestine was a perfectly neutral word, acceptable to Jews and Arabs alike. Indeed, for many English-speaking Jews it was more than that; it was our word, charged with proud emotion and hope" and "there was really no reason to have let Palestine become an enemy word."

Peter Manfred

Absolutely right. If Philologos is to be faulted, it is for apparently not realizing—and not making his readers realize—just how important his finding is, particularly in these days when the entire Palestinian issue has once again come to the forefront and Israelis face the most crucial national election, mainly on this very issue, since Israel became independent in 1948. His finding is important because the systematic and persistent use of the name "Palestinians" in exclusive reference to Arab Palestinians is tantamount to the constant reinforcement of the false and inherently anti-Israel notion that "Palestinian" belongs to the "Palestinians"—that is, to the Arabs. The implication is clear: Israel has no place in this equation.

The fact that—as Philologos points out "Israelis systematically boycott the term 'Palestine' is really meaningless, because most Israelis cheerfully and unthinkingly join the rest of the world in using the term 'Palestinians' when they mean 'Palestinian Arabs.' If there are 'Palestinians,' they obviously relate to an area called 'Palestine'—and why should this 'Palestine' be regarded, by the people who are constantly fed these words, as any less Arab in its inherent character than its 'Palestinians?'"

When UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, after meeting a few weeks ago with PLO chief Yasser Arafat, made reference to "the situation in Palestine," he was asked by one shocked reporter whether he meant to refer

to the Israeli-occupied territories as "Palestine." It was "only normal," de Cuellar replied, not without some logic, for UN officials to use this terminology. "We call them Palestinians, and they belong to a land which is called Palestine." Makes sense.

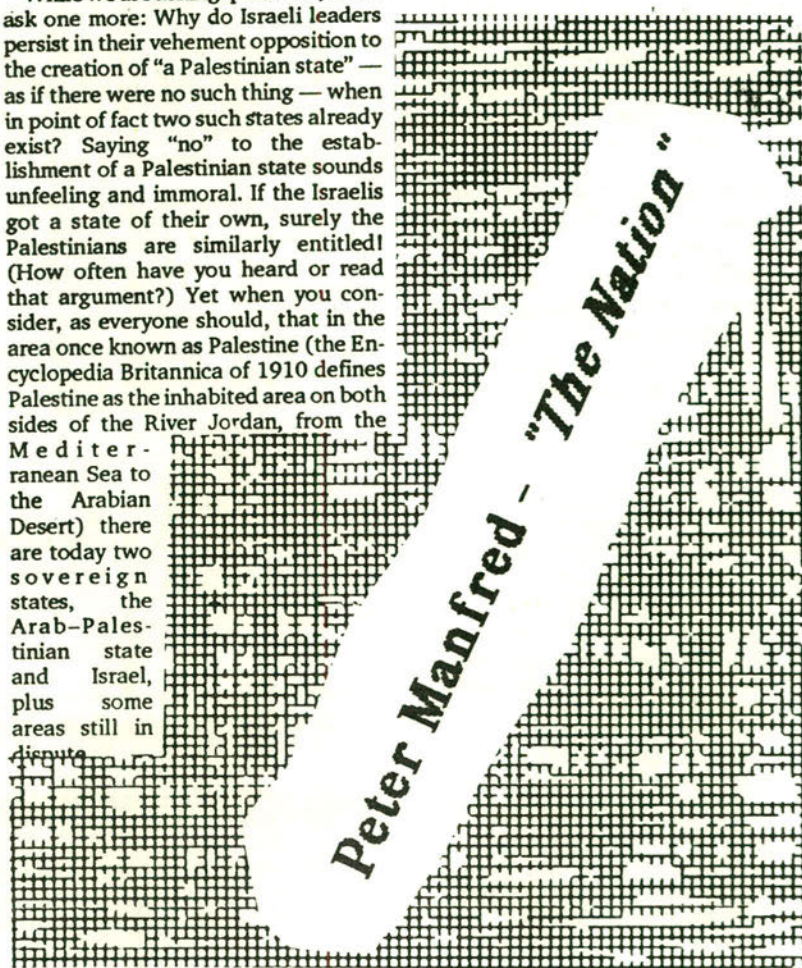
Why are so many of us—and I refer here to Israeli journalists, writers and scholars—so mindless and so careless in the words and names we use? Why, when faced with the analysis just presented, do so many of these people dismiss it as "mere semantics"? If the use of a name that, in the way it is used, precludes the idea of sharing a piece of land between two human communities by making it appear to be the exclusive property of one of these communities—if this is to be dismissed as semantics, what meaning is there to words altogether? Do we not use words to convey ideas and to influence others? Are ideas in the political realm not important—important enough, at times, to affect the destinies of nations?

While we are asking questions, let us ask one more: Why do Israeli leaders persist in their vehement opposition to the creation of "a Palestinian state"—as if there were no such thing—when in point of fact two such states already exist? Saying "no" to the establishment of a Palestinian state sounds unfeeling and immoral. If the Israelis got a state of their own, surely the Palestinians are similarly entitled! (How often have you heard or read that argument?) Yet when you consider, as everyone should, that in the area once known as Palestine (the *Encyclopedia Britannica* of 1910 defines Palestine as the inhabited area on both sides of the River Jordan, from the Mediterranean Sea to the Arabian Desert) there are today two sovereign states, the Arab-Palestinian state and Israel, plus some areas still in dispute.

then the whole issue takes on an entirely different complexion. Then, suddenly, it is no longer a case of some poor, God-forsaken people desperately looking for a homeland—but, rather, a case of two national problems that have been partially but imperfectly resolved, a normal territorial dispute that, to be resolved, requires good faith negotiations among all the parties concerned—namely, representatives of the two existing states in the area and representatives of the areas still in dispute.

That, in fact, is the Camp David formula. It is the only formula that will work, (1) because it is predicated on the only technique that has ever produced international agreements, the technique of direct talks between the parties directly concerned; and (2) because it is based on an honest definition of the issues and does not blur the truth through the mindless (not to say malicious) misuse of the English language.

Peter Manfred is a writer, journalist and expert on Middle East affairs.



The Nation

**Left Right
& Center**

OPINION & EDITORIAL PAGE

זכויות יוצרים

INTERNATIONAL "JORDAN IS PALESTINE" COMMITTEE

This new definition, greeted warmly by the PLO, was not historically accurate nor diplomatically proper. Heir to the legacy of the League of Nations, the U.N.'s de Cuellar certainly should have known better.

When the League gave Great Britain the Mandate for Palestine in 1920, the territory stretched from the Mediterranean across the Jordan River to the territories which later became Saudi Arabia and Iraq. In 1921, Britain lopped off two-thirds of Mandatory Palestine to create an emirate for the Hashemite dynasty driven out of Saudi Arabia by the Saud clan and named the area Transjordan. (The country's independence was proclaimed in 1946.)

In 1947, Arab leaders rejected a U.N. resolution which would have partitioned the land to the west of the Jordan into Arab and Jewish states. Following the declaration of the State of Israel in 1948, Transjordan and five other Arab countries invaded Israel in an effort to eradicate the Jewish state. Hashemite King Abdullah conquered the West Bank, and proclaimed himself king of "All Palestine." Now astride both banks of the Jordan River, he renamed his country Jordan. In 1950, Jor-

dan to serve Israel, not to promote the Palestinians.

Palestine was not restricted to a narrow strip of land between the Jordan River and the 1948 disengagement lines. Palestine started at the Mediterranean and ended in the arid Jordanian plateau. It embraced Israel, Jordan and what became known as the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The new, increasingly popular use of the word Palestine as a synonym for the territories is a Trojan horse concealing a threat to sovereign states on both banks of the Jordan River. Israelis, Jordanians and Palestinian Arabs know it. And so should Perez de Cuellar.

J.R. □

CORRECTION:

On page 3 of the Autumn issue of JIP/NEWS UPDATE, we erroneously referred to Emir Abdullah as "the uncle of the present King Hussein." It should have correctly read "the grandfather of the present King Hussein."

OPINION & EDITORIAL PAGE

The birth of Transjordan

THE JERUSALEM POST

On the centenary of the birth of Lawrence of Arabia, David Horovitz examines his part in the creation of the state of Transjordan

זכויות יוצרים

was keen to minimize French influence in the vacuum being created by the demise of the Ottoman Empire, and the best means of doing this was by promoting Arab claims. Initially, in return for an alliance with Arab leaders, Britain's High Commissioner in Cairo had promised recognition of Arab independence within specified territories. Later, in June 1918, the British pledged to recognize the "complete and sovereign independence of any Arab area emancipated from Turkish control by the action of the Ar-

conquest. But France's claims to Syria had been accepted by the British under the 1915 Sykes-Picot agreement, and the French refused to back down. At the San Remo Conference of 1920, Syria-Lebanon was made into a French mandate, and that summer they ordered Feisal to give up the throne and leave the country. The British offered him Iraq instead, and in August he was duly crowned the following year. Feisal's installation left the British with something of a problem, for they had apparently earmarked

duty as Mandatory is to make Jewish Palestine not a struggling state but one that is capable of a vigorous and independent national life."

These considerations, however, were ignored by Churchill's advisers, who reminded him in February 1921 that the Balfour Declaration had made no mention of specific boundaries. There would thus be no conflict, they asserted, between an Arab state east of the Jordan and a Jewish national home to the west.

anti-Zionism, had played a key role in the exclusion of Eastern Palestine from the provisions for a Jewish homeland.

August 19, '88

INTERNATIONAL "JORDAN IS PALESTINE" COMMITTEE

With kind permission of the JIP

PLO dishonest over Jordan

6

THURSDAY MARCH 30 1989

ALI Kazak (Letters, 23/3) would earn more respect if he did not try to misrepresent the PLO's aims and actions to suit Western audiences.

Article 2 of both the 1964 and the current version of the Palestine National Covenant (the central document of the PLO) declare that "Palestine, with the boundaries it had during the British Mandate, is an indivisible territorial unit".

It is inconceivable that the PLO does not know that article 25 of the Mandate for Palestine makes it quite clear that territories east of the Jordan River (now the Kingdom of Jordan) were part of this "indivisible territorial unit" and it is dishonest for the PLO's representative to pretend that Jordan should not legitimately be part of any discussion on the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict which, of course, includes the issue of the Palestinians.

PLO leaders and Jordan have been inconsistent in the public presentation of their mutual desires to rule all the territory of the Mandate, but it is undeniable

that the 8th Palestine National Council meeting (1971) passed a resolution stating "Jordan is linked to Palestine by a national relationship and a national unity forged by history and culture from the earliest times."

"The creation of one political entity in Transjordan and another in Palestine would have no basis either in legality or as to the elements universally accepted as fundamental to a political entity . . . in raising this slogan of the Liberation of Palestine and presenting the problem of the Palestine revolution it was not the intention of the Palestine revolution to separate the east of the river from the west . . ."

More recently Yasser Arafat's political adviser Hanni al Hassan has spoken of "the permanent historical union" of Palestinians and Jordanians, while King Hussein has at various times declared that Jordan and Palestine are only regarded as separate by "traitors". In 1970, in "Black September" we saw the way in which both sought to enforce this "union".

If the PLO wants Aus-

tralian to believe it is not aiming to destroy Jordan and Israel it should follow the advice offered to it by the Socialist International last year to amend its National Covenant and to cease sponsoring and endorsing terrorism.

If the PLO wants Israelis to believe it, rather than pretend a majority of Israelis already back its claims, it could look at the opinion polls in Israel which show that most of the Israelis who want to test the PLO by talking with it say this can come only after the PLO ceases to conduct terrorist raids against Israel and bring the violent rioting to an end.

ALI Kazak began his letter by accusing another correspondent of acting "without any respect for history, facts and people's intelligence".

Readers can judge for themselves the attitude of the PLO to "history, facts and people's intelligence" in the light of Mr Kazak's latest contribution to your pages.

JEREMY JONES
Australia/Israel Publications
Darlinghurst, NSW

Trading in peace

Sir, — Mr William Waldegrave's honesty, integrity and sincerity are refreshing, but he is delightfully vague and unintentionally misleading in his advice to Israel to "trade land for peace" (April 14).

So far as trade is concerned, Britain's undoubted influence in Arab countries has so far failed to put an end to the Arab economic boycott of Israel. Has Britain tried, and what advice has Britain given to the Arab countries on this issue?

So far as land is concerned (1) Which hostile Arab states have unequivocally declared that in return for pieces of land they will upgrade the old armistice agreements into full peace treaties?

(2) Which pieces of land are of interest to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, the Gulf States, Iran and Libya, and how would they have access?

(3) Jordan, already occupying 78 per cent of the land of Palestine (thanks to Britain), and its King, having abdicated claims to "any part of the land of Palestine," are obviously not

interested in the proposition.

(4) When and through whom did Syria ever declare: "give us back the Golan Heights, that is all we want, and henceforth we will be your friends for ever"?

Apart from states which have never been at war, peace exists between previously warring states only on the signing of a peace treaty (e.g. Egypt and Israel). There cannot be a war and subsequent peace between a sovereign state and a group of people or an organisation. For that reason Britain cannot talk to and make "peace" with the IRA and similarly Israel cannot talk to and make peace with the PLO. The *intifada* is not new and it is not war, and therefore its end, however desirable, cannot be peace. Furthermore no Arab country is in the least concerned about the welfare of the Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and Gaza. They all voted at the UN (in company sadly with the UK) in opposing any improvement in their living conditions. Harold E. Stock,
55 Stamford Street, Mossley,
Greater Manchester.

1. For over 3,000 years, the one common demographic denominator in Palestine/Israel has been the Jews.

2. For over 3,000 years, neither Arabs nor any other ethnic or national community — except the Jews — related to or claimed Palestine/Israel as their distinctive home.

Jewish
Chronicle
APRIL '89

By mid-1948, two independent sovereign states existed in the area once known as Palestine: the Arab-Palestinian state of Jordan and the Jewish-Palestinian state of Israel.

זכויות יוצרים

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Media distortion of Middle East history

Sir, — Having recently spent some weeks in Britain, I had an opportunity to view several television programmes dealing with the Arab-Israel conflict.

It is a characteristic of all these programmes that they treat this complex and grave subject in a shallow and propagandist way, liberally omitting and even falsifying essential historical facts. Here are a few instances.

In 1967, the Israelis, if they wanted to survive and avoid the openly-declared Arab aim of driving them into the sea, had to defeat the Arab armies. This, of course, they could do only by "occupying" the "territories."

The producers of the programmes, by "forgetting" the Arab threat to Israel's survival and remembering only the "occupation," succeeded — as so many times in the past — in presenting the Israelis as expansionist aggressors and the Arabs as innocent victims.

By this well-proven procedure (followed by the media in general), they further strengthened an already well-established pro-Arab, anti-Israel prejudice, which, according to the definition of many experienced observers (academic and otherwise), is nothing less than the fashionable, rationalised form of antisemitism of the post-Holocaust era.

None of the programmes mentioned the crucial facts that for over 1,500 years, Palestine was the national home of the Jews, who, during all the centuries of tormented exile, wanted — and were legally entitled — to return to it. But they were never allowed to return to the land to which practically all gentiles of previous generations diligently urged all Jews to go.

None of the programmes mentioned the essential fact that well over half Israel's population are Arab Jews — refugees or their descendants from various Arab countries which they were obliged to leave, without means, if they wanted to avoid persecutions and pogroms.

None of the programmes mentioned the crucial fact that, almost without exception, the Arab exodus from Palestine-Israel was voluntary. Indeed, one programme falsified this fact by suggesting that the exodus was enforced by Israeli bayonets.

Its main "evidence" appeared to be an alleged hand gesture by Ben-Gurion at a time when the great bulk of the refugees had already left!

There are innumerable Arab and other documents proving the falsehood of the programme's contention. A few examples: "The Times," May 5, 1948 (i.e., before the Arab armies invaded nascent Israel): "The Arab streets are curiously deserted and, evidently following the poor example of the more monied class, there has been an exodus from Jerusalem too, though not to the same extent as in Jaffa and Haifa."

The Jordanian "Falastin," March 19, 1949: "The Arab states urged the Palestine Arabs to leave the country temporarily not to be in the way of the invading Arab armies."

Nimur el Havarari, in his book, "Secret-behind the Disaster," quotes Nuri Said, the Prime Minister of Iraq: "We shall smother every nook where the Jews will try to find refuge. The Arabs should take their wives and children to safe areas until the fighting subsides."

The "New York Herald Tribune," June 30, 1949: "The Arabs of Haifa ... fled in spite of the fact that the Jewish authorities guaranteed their safety and rights as citizens of Israel."

One could quote indefinitely. No trace here of Israeli bayonets.

To attribute the exodus to Arab fears after Dir Yassin is not only contradictory to the programme's assertion that they were forced out by Israeli bayonets, but a very lame argument indeed.

The Jews suffered quite a number of Dir Yassins at the hands of the Arabs, but never thought of abandoning their homes — not to mention the fact that at the time (late April, 1948) the exodus was well under way.

Dir Yassin and Castel were two Arab villages from which (owing to their geographical position) the Arabs organised murderous ambushes against Jewish convoys trying to take food and medical aid to their besieged brethren in the Jerusalem area.

To safeguard the road to Jerusalem was a matter of life or death. But it was typical of the programme's "objectivity" that it accepted lock, stock and barrel the Arab version of events there without listening to the statements of those who actually took part in them on the Jewish side.

None of the programmes mentioned the crucially relevant fact that there would never have been an Arab-Israel conflict or a refugee problem had the Arabs accepted the UN partition resolution and had they not attacked the emerging tiny Jewish State with the openly-declared aim of "driving the Jews into the sea."

None of the programmes mentioned that the Arabs would now be in full possession of Judea and Samaria (which the media now call the "West Bank" — a recent term invented to falsify history and make the public forget that Judea and Samaria, the correct historical and geographical terminology, comprise the heartland of the ancient Jewish homeland) and Gaza had they not repeated in 1967 their folly of 1948, with, again, the same openly-declared murderous intentions.

And, of course, all the programmes omitted to mention that, contrary to the terms of the Mandate, in 1922 the British prohibited Jewish settlement in 75 per cent of Palestine (subsequently Transjordan and now Jordan) and

handed it over not to the local Palestinian Arab population, but to the imported Hashemite puppets — who were rather inimical to the locals — thereby creating the Palestinian Arab "homelessness."

It is now demanded of the Israelis that, to the peril of their own safety, they compensate the Arabs from the remaining quarter of Palestine.

The programme makers pretend that they are motivated by humanitarian considerations. But this is just pretence. If they really had such considerations, they would have devoted a little time to the terrible plight of the 16 million Kurds.

But they have no time for them. They apparently prefer to shed tears in the Middle East only for the Palestinians — one suspects because, via the Palestinians, they can hit the Israelis.

It is difficult to explain their Palestinian obsession otherwise. And this also explains their indifference to the Kurdish disaster.

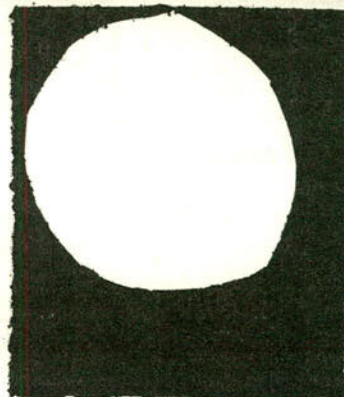
If their motivations were really humanitarian, they would have expressed some anxiety that the vast majority of the Arabs deny the Jewish right to statehood and that there is virulent anti-Israel and anti-Jewish propaganda in the Arab countries.

Both these facts, combined with the Arab propensity to ignore civilised standards (Arab massacres of Arabs; Black September in Jordan; the Hom massacre of the opposition in Syria; the Sabra, Shatilla and other repeated refugee camp massacres in Lebanon; the massacre in Zahle in Lebanon; the use of mustard gas by Iraq) raise the spectre of a new — and not so mini — Auschwitz-type tragedy if the Arabs ever succeed in their real political aim of destroying Israel.

This is what the "humanitarianism" of these programme makers might, willy nilly, help to achieve.

(Professor) Paul Lazarus,
10/A/7 Shderot Nizza,
Netanya,
Israel.

JEWISH CHRONICLE



palestine is jordan

jordan is palestine



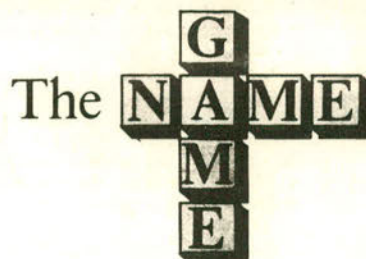
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(Any PR experience?) ()
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Both "Jordan" and "West Bank" are recently-coined names aimed at replacing the existing names of the areas in question, for obvious political reasons.

In 1948, King Abdullah of Transjordan (eastern Palestine) wanted to call his country "Palestine" but was dissuaded by his British advisers, who suggested that the name "Jordan" would emphasize the King's rule over both banks of that river. Had the name "Palestine" been retained, the "homeland-for-the-Palestinians" issue could never have arisen.

At the same time, in an attempt to lend legitimacy to their rule over Judea and Samaria (Britain and Pakistan were the only countries in the world to recognize Jordan's annexation of those two districts), and to obliterate the Jewish connection evoked by the names Judea and Samaria, the Jordanians invented the name "West Bank." Up to that time, both British Mandatory and United Nations records show the regular use of the names Judea and Samaria.

THE JERUSALEM POST

Vol. LVII, No. 1786 Monday, March 20, 1989 • Adar II 13, 5749 • Shaanun 12, 1409 NIS 1.40 (Eilat NIS 1.20)

Memo: Solidarity Conference

Shamir, Hussein, Peres and Arafat
all agree that... the Palestinians have a state.

JORDAN IS ARAB PALESTINE

Who could wish for greater solidarity?

For further information, contact the Jordan is Palestine Committee:

Australia	P.O.B. 190, Lindfield 2070, NSW
Canada	P.O.B. 8756 (10 Gateway Blvd.) Don Mills, Ont.
Israel	P.O.B. 7136, Netanya
USA	P.O.B. 7557, New York, NY 10163
England	176 New King's Rd., London SW6

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SELIG STRAX, M.D.
Director, Guttman
diagnostic Institute
York, Aug. 7, 1989

Jordan Is Jordan, and Palestine Is Palestine

To the Editor:

"Jordan, the Next Middle East Crisis?" by David H. Halevy and Neil C. Livingstone (Op-Ed, Aug. 13) creates a false scenario based on the perhaps wishful supposition that King Hussein is in failing health. On His Majesty's medical checkup last month, the royal palace stated that the King is in very good physical condition. Trying to forecast the destiny of Jordan and the Middle East in the event of the "departure of Hussein" obviously lends a helping hand to Israel's campaign to destabilize Jordan.

To say Jordan's power base is Bedouin is incorrect and indicates lack of knowledge about sociopolitical changes in Jordan. Jordanian citizens, regardless of their origin, have shared in the benefits of progress, and all have an equal stake in the stability of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and are equally loyal to its leadership.

Jordan cannot be run by an individual or a military "troika." King Hussein has worked to establish government institutions that can function according to the democratic principles

Britain Paved Over

To the Editor:

I read in The Sunday Times of London that you urge the British Government to allow Hong Kong residents unrestricted right of entry to Britain (editorial, July 29). This small country is so unpleasantly overcrowded that many formerly attractive areas are being turned into concrete jungles, quality of life is suffering, and we can cope hardly adequately with the number of people (of almost all races) we already have. Why don't you suggest that the United States open its gates to the people of Hong Kong?

RUSSELL G. DAVIES
Weybridge, England, Aug. 3, 1989

in the Constitution. Parliamentary elections — suspended because of Israel's 1967 military occupation of the West Bank — will be held Nov. 8.

King Hussein has faced the economic situation with the knowledgeable help of Crown Prince Hassan and Government financial experts. He has identified the causes of "the mounting crisis" and dealt with them swiftly. The country's cash reserves have more than tripled in the last two months, and the International Monetary Fund has expressed confidence in Jordan's ability to surmount its economic problems. The Jordanian dinar was devalued by 50 percent, not 500 percent; Jordan's national debt totals \$7 billion, not \$10 billion. Furthermore, Israel's manipulation of Jordanian currency, the legal tender in the occupied territories, contributed to the dinar's devaluation.

The gravest distortion in the article concerns the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians. "The 20-month-old intifada is creeping into Jordan," the writers say, suggesting that what the Palestinians want is a land, any land, for their state. It also makes a false and misleading comparison between the uprising of the Palestinians against Israeli military occupation and the reaction of Jordanians to the consequences of economic difficulties.

The Palestinian goal is national identity and statehood in the land of Palestine; that is, in the West Bank and Gaza, and nowhere else. This is what the Arab-Israeli conflict is about. To deny this is to preclude any prospect for peace in the Middle East.

An Israeli-devised "Jordan is Palestine" formula cannot solve the Palestinian problem. Jordan is Jordan, and Palestine is Palestine. The road to stability in the Middle East will not be opened through "a Jordan without Hussein."

ABDULLAH SALAH
Representative of Jordan to the U.N.
New York, Aug. 16, 1989

ize Health Services for Poor Children

the New York City
Commission (news
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f New York City, in-
date.

irector of the Chil-
ety. I am especially

Public awareness of the problems and demands that progress be made toward immediate and long-term goals is imperative. In a July 26 editorial you suggest that "the health of children ought not be politicized, but in this case politics may be doing some good."

Perhaps so, but in the process the report's impact on the future health of New York City's children and their families may be weakened. Certainly, the promises of easy solutions that are made by mayoral candidates for political gain are seriously misleading.

HENRY L. BARNETT, M.D.
Medical Director, Children's Aid
Society of New York City
New York, Aug. 2, 1989



The New York Times
Company

229 West 43d St., N.Y. 10036

When Innocent People Are Sentenced to Die

To the Editor:

I have read many letters in your columns on capital punishment. I'm a death-sentenced citizen, so you might expect me to say I am against the death penalty. However, no matter what your views on capital punishment, I haven't heard anyone advocating it for innocent citizens. Those who favor it would not favor it for themselves or any member of their own families.

I have written to New Jersey politicians (State Senators John F. Russo and Chuck Hardwick, and Assemblymen Thomas J. Shusted and Dennis L. Riley) and asked them to consider compensating the innocent citizens who are wrongly sentenced to die.

If you favor capital punishment for the guilty, you should also favor capital compensation for the innocent. If you don't, you're a hypocrite!

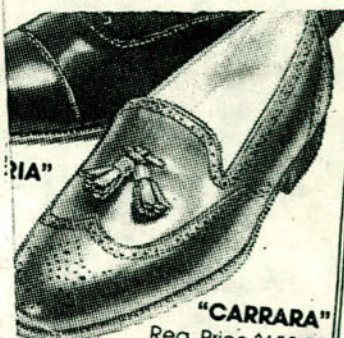
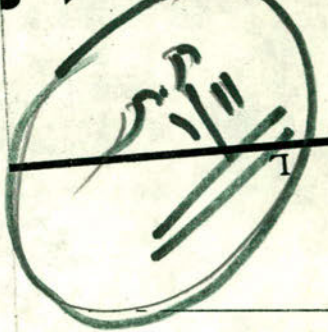
If New York State does bring back the death penalty, I hope that the Legislature considers a clause to compensate wrongly convicted innocent citizens. Remember Isadore

That was when the Soviets, sure
Wales, the Solidarity leader.
Defense. "Stop rocking the boat," res
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and its natural desire for democracy,
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Under the "Brezhnev Doctrine," the
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this week defies Western imagination.
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khail Gorbachev's startling changes in
founder. The West has grown accusom
tides recede ever further and old as
By the day, almost by the hour, the

Before Our Eye

JORDAN IS PALESTINE
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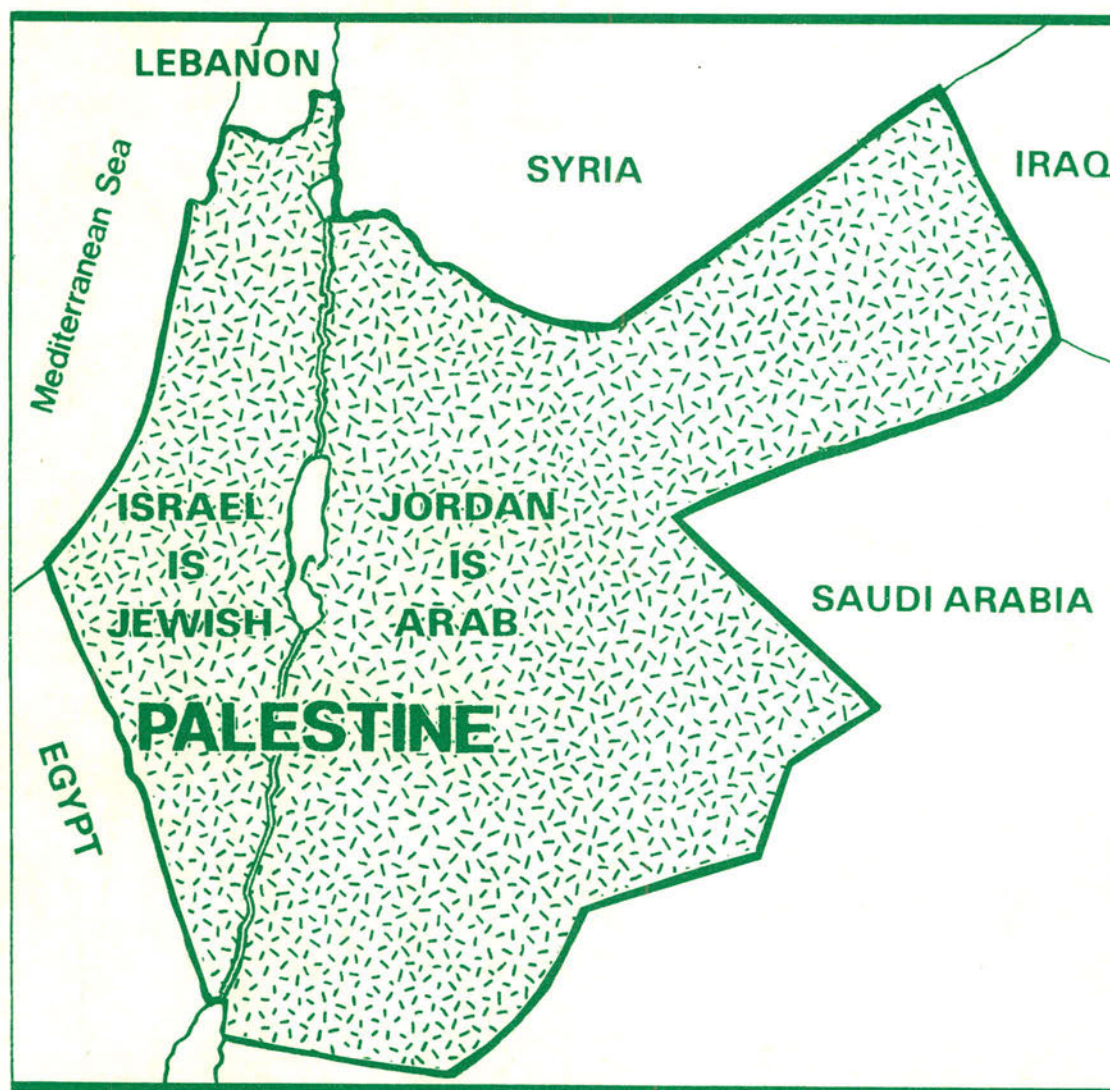
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Jordan Is Jordan, and Palestine Is Palestine

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To say Jordan's power base is Bedouin is incorrect and indicates lack of knowledge about sociopolitical changes in Jordan. Jordanian citizens, regardless of their origin, have shared in the benefits of progress, and all have an equal stake in the stability of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and are equally loyal to its leadership.

Jordan cannot be run by an individual or a military "troika." King Hussein has worked to establish government institutions that can function according to the democratic principles

in the Constitution. Parliamentary elections — suspended because of Israel's 1967 military occupation of the West Bank — will be held Nov. 8.

King Hussein has faced the economic situation with the knowledgeable help of Crown Prince Hassan and Government financial experts. He has identified the causes of "the mounting crisis" and dealt with them swiftly. The country's cash reserves have more than tripled in the last two months, and the International Monetary Fund has expressed confidence in Jordan's ability to surmount its economic problems. The Jordanian dinar was devalued by 50 percent, not 500 percent; Jordan's national debt totals \$7 billion, not \$10 billion. Furthermore, Israel's manipulation of Jordanian currency, the legal tender in the occupied territories, contributed to the dinar's devaluation.

The gravest distortion in the article concerns the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians. "The 20-month-old intifada is creeping into Jordan," the writers say, suggesting that what the Palestinians want is a land, any land, for their state. It also makes a false and misleading comparison between the uprising of the Palestinians against Israeli military occupation and the reaction of Jordanians to the consequences of economic difficulties.

The Palestinian goal is national identity and statehood in the land of Palestine; that is, in the West Bank and Gaza, and nowhere else. This is what the Arab-Israeli conflict is about. To deny this is to preclude any prospect for peace in the Middle East.

An Israeli-devised "Jordan is Palestine" formula cannot solve the Palestinian problem. Jordan is Jordan, and Palestine is Palestine. The road to stability in the Middle East will not be opened through "a Jordan without Hussein."

ABDULLAH SALAH
Representative of Jordan to the U.N.
New York, Aug. 16, 1989

Britain Paved Over

To the Editor:

I read in The Sunday Times of London that you urge the British Government to allow Hong Kong residents unrestricted right of entry to Britain (editorial, July 29). This small country is so unpleasantly overcrowded that many formerly attractive areas are being turned into concrete jungles, quality of life is suffering, and we can cope hardly adequately with the number of people (of almost all races) we already have. Why don't you suggest that the United States open its gates to the people of Hong Kong?

RUSSELL G. DAVIES
Weybridge, England, Aug. 3, 1989

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A. THE PALESTINIAN COMPONENTS OF JORDAN

⑥ "Those fishing in troubled waters will not succeed in dividing our people, which extends to both sides of the (River) Jordan, in spite of the artificial boundaries established by the Colonial Office and Winston Churchill half a century ago." Yasir Arafat to Eric Roleau

✓ "Palestine is Jordan and Jordan is Palestine; there is one people and one land, with one history and one and the same fate."

Prince Hassan
Jordanian National
Assembly
February 2, 1970

"There should be a kind of linkage because Jordanians and Palestinians are considered by the PLO as one people."

Farouk Kadoumi - head of
PLO Political Dept.
"Newsweek"
March 14, 1977

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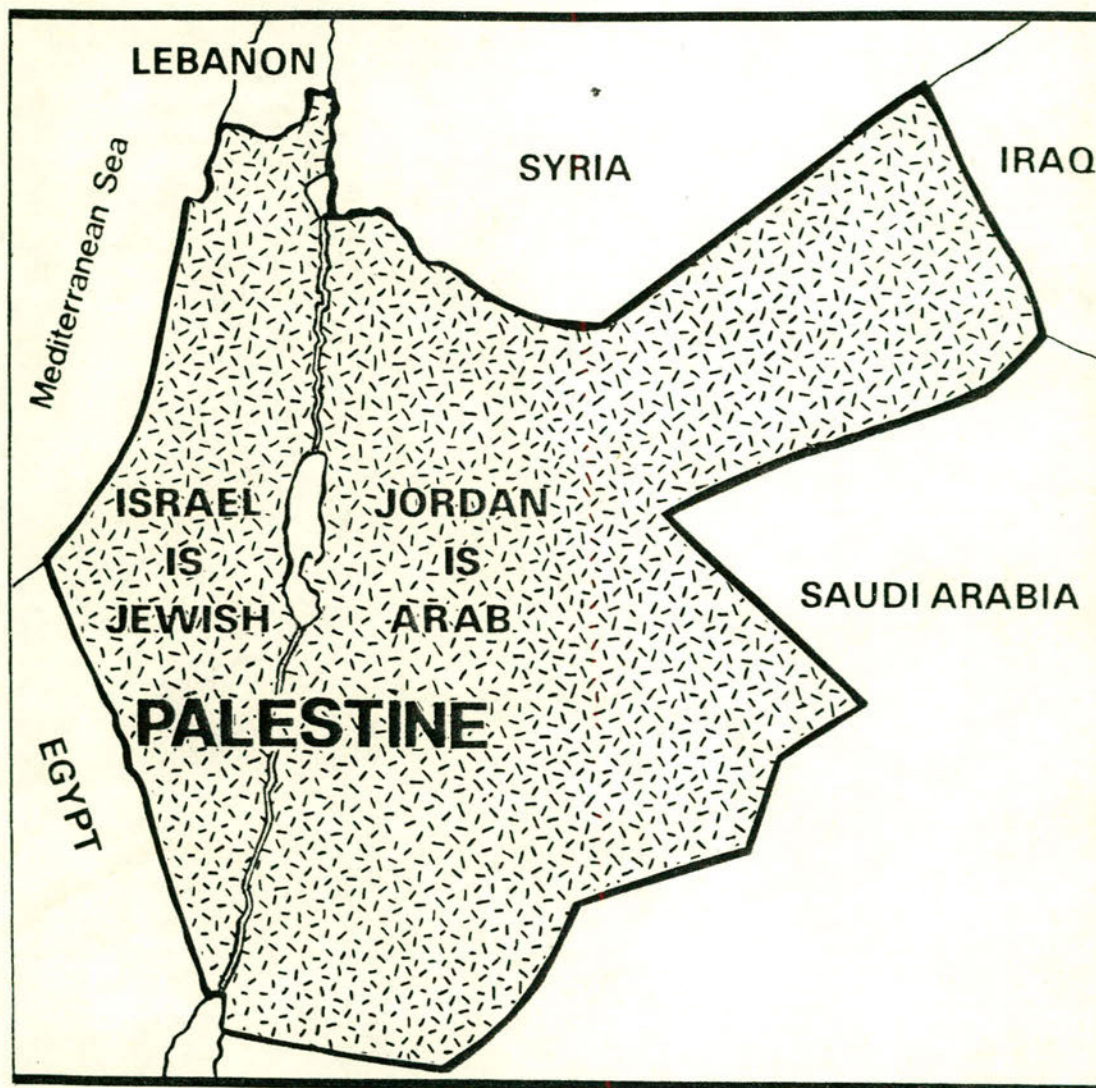
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INTERNATIONAL "JORDAN IS PALESTINE" COMMITTEE

SPRING-SUMMER 1989

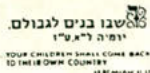
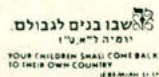
זכויות יוצרים

UNITED WE STAND

Pictured at a House of Commons reception recently, of the Jordan is Palestine (JIP) Committee are the Earl of Balfour (Centre) and MPs Harry Greenway (Ealing N) and John Marshall (Hendon S) right.

The reception, co-sponsored by the MP's, marked the inauguration of Lord Balfour as President of JIP.

In his speech, Lord Balfour said: "Until Israel has full diplomatic relations with all her neighbouring countries, I would advise politicians to have nothing to do with the PLO. I am sure none of us wants another Black September. Israel must keep her present boundaries because they can be defended."



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Mr. Tim Janman M.P.

Mr. John Marshall M.P.

Mr. Derek Prag M.E.P.

Cllr. Mrs. Lois Peltz

National Chairman:

Mrs. Rita Horowitz

National Director:

Mrs. Mia Silver

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

To show that the Palestinian Arabs are not a homeless people.

To show that Israel is only one-fifth of Mandated Palestine.

To show that Jordan, in other words, is Arab Palestine.

To show that the real problem is the continuing rejection, by most Arab states, of Israel - in any part of former Palestine.

To help advance the peace process by making these facts widely known.

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I enclose a cheque for £10.00.

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JORDAN IS PALESTINE NEWS UPDATE

Lord Balfour says "Don't deal with the PLO until Israel has full diplomatic relations with her neighbours."

With junior Foreign Office Minister William Waldegrave currently visiting Israel and later, Jordan, Lord Balfour's advice is timely.

He warned: "Politicians can be misled from time to time. My advice is, Israel must keep her present boundaries...."

Speaking at a House of Commons reception, President of the Jordan is Palestine Committee, Lord Balfour declared that he was glad to have the opportunity to separate fact from fiction.

The first fact is that there has never been an independent Palestinian state, in the last two millenium, until the kingdom of Jordan was established in 1946." He said "The promise made to the Arabs during World War I was that they would rule over whatever land they took trouble to wrestle from the Turks. I have found no evidence that any Arab west of the Jordan river or rift valley. In my opinion, the Arabs have no claim or rights over any part of that territory."

NEWS SCENE



23rd February 1989.....

Mia Silver and David Jacobs of the Jordan is Palestine Committee showed a video to the Oxford University Israel Society entitled "Are the Palestinian Arabs a Homeless People? Among the audience were three members of the Palestinian Society. Their spokesman proposed that Israel as a Jewish State should disappear and there should be a new, Secular State with a Majority Arab population. But he conceded that a minority of Jews should be allowed to remain. HOW GENEROUS!

The J.I.P Committee has written to King Hussein asking him to instruct his Ambassador to the United Nations to inform the General Assembly that the Palestinian Arab are not homeless. He rightly restated, in a television interview, on Channel 4 (14th January) that Jordan is Palestine

As he has repeatedly said: Palestinian and Jordanian Arabs are one people, his concern and acknowledgement will alleviate the uncertainty and suffering of his subjects.

Jordan is Palestine ... and so is Israel

Philologos, writing in the Sept. 23 issue of *The Nation* about the "Place Where We Live", suggests that Israelis unabashedly join the rest of the world in using the name "Palestine" to denote the area between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River. The name, he says, has been avoided by Israelis because "it has come to sound as nationalistically Arab to our ears as jihad or intifada." But he goes on to point out, quite correctly, that "it was not always so. Until 1948, Palestine was a perfectly neutral word, acceptable to Jews and Arabs alike. Indeed, for many English-speaking Jews it was more than that; It was our word, charged with proud emotion and hope" and "there was really no reason to have let Palestine become an enemy word."

Peter Manfred

Absolutely right. If Philologos is to be faulted, it is for apparently not realizing—and not making his readers realize—just how important his finding is, particularly in these days when the entire Palestinian issue has once again come to the forefront and Israelis face the most crucial national election, mainly on this very issue, since Israel became independent in 1948. His finding is important because the systematic and persistent use of the name "Palestinians" in exclusive reference to Arab Palestinians is tantamount to the constant reinforcement of the false and inherently anti-Israel notion that "Palestinian" belongs to the "Palestinians"—that is, to the Arabs. The implication is clear: Israel has no place in this equation.

The fact that—as Philologos points out "Israelis systematically boycott the term 'Palestine' is really meaningless, because most Israelis cheerfully and unthinkingly join the rest of the world in using the term 'Palestinians' when they mean 'Palestinian Arabs.' If there are 'Palestinians,' they obviously relate to an area called 'Palestine'—and why should this 'Palestine' be regarded, by the people who are constantly fed these words, as any less Arab in its inherent character than its 'Palestinians?'"

When UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, after meeting a few weeks ago with PLO chief Yasser Arafat, made reference to "the situation in Palestine," he was asked by one shocked reporter whether he meant to refer

to the Israeli-occupied territories as "Palestine." It was "only normal," de Cuellar replied, not without some logic, for UN officials to use this terminology. "We call them Palestinians, and they belong to a land which is called Palestine." Makes sense.

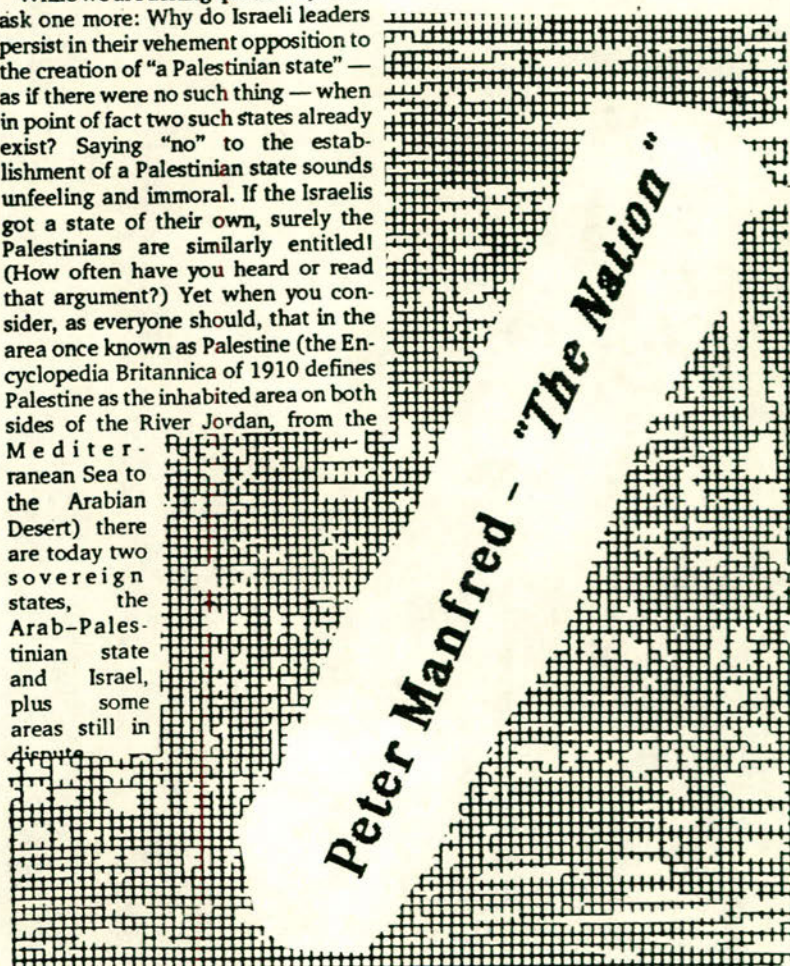
Why are so many of us—and I refer here to Israeli journalists, writers and scholars—so mindless and so careless in the words and names we use? Why, when faced with the analysis just presented, do so many of these people dismiss it as "mere semantics"? If the use of a name that, in the way it is used, precludes the idea of sharing a piece of land between two human communities by making it appear to be the exclusive property of one of these communities—if this is to be dismissed as semantics, what meaning is there to words altogether? Do we not use words to convey ideas and to influence others? Are ideas in the political realm not important—important enough, at times, to affect the destinies of nations?

While we are asking questions, let us ask one more: Why do Israeli leaders persist in their vehement opposition to the creation of "a Palestinian state"—as if there were no such thing—when in point of fact two such states already exist? Saying "no" to the establishment of a Palestinian state sounds unfeeling and immoral. If the Israelis got a state of their own, surely the Palestinians are similarly entitled! (How often have you heard or read that argument?) Yet when you consider, as everyone should, that in the area once known as Palestine (the *Encyclopedia Britannica* of 1910 defines Palestine as the inhabited area on both sides of the River Jordan, from the Mediterranean Sea to the Arabian Desert) there are today two sovereign states, the Arab-Palestinian state and Israel, plus some areas still in dispute

then the whole issue takes on an entirely different complexion. Then, suddenly, it is no longer a case of some poor, God-forsaken people desperately looking for a homeland—but, rather, a case of two national problems that have been partially but imperfectly resolved, a normal territorial dispute that, to be resolved, requires good faith negotiations among all the parties concerned—namely, representatives of the two existing states in the area and representatives of the areas still in dispute.

That, in fact, is the Camp David formula. It is the only formula that will work, (1) because it is predicated on the only technique that has ever produced international agreements, the technique of direct talks between the parties directly concerned; and (2) because it is based on an honest definition of the issues and does not blur the truth through the mindless (not to say malicious) misuse of the English language.

Peter Manfred is a writer, journalist and expert on Middle East affairs.



The Nation

Left
Right
& Center

OPINION & EDITORIAL PAGE

זכויות יוצרים

INTERNATIONAL "JORDAN IS PALESTINE" COMMITTEE

Mandate for Palestine in 1920, the territory stretched from the Mediterranean across the Jordan River to the territories which later became Saudi Arabia and Iraq. In 1921, Britain lopped off two-thirds of Mandatory Palestine to create an emirate for the Hashemite dynasty driven out of Saudi Arabia by the Saud clan and named the area Transjordan. (The country's independence was proclaimed in 1946.)

In 1947, Arab leaders rejected a U.N. resolution which would have partitioned the land to the west of the Jordan into Arab and Jewish states. Following the declaration of the State of Israel in 1948, Transjordan and five other Arab countries invaded Israel in an effort to eradicate the Jewish state. Hashemite King Abdullah conquered the West Bank, and proclaimed himself king of "All Palestine." Now astride both banks of the Jordan River, he renamed his country Jordan. In 1950, Jor-

West Bank and Gaza Strip. The new, increasingly popular use of the word Palestine as a synonym for the territories is a Trojan horse concealing a threat to sovereign states on both banks of the Jordan River. Israelis, Jordanians and Palestinian Arabs know it. And so should Perez de Cuellar. J.R. ☐

CORRECTION:

On page 3 of the Autumn issue of JIP/NEWS UPDATE, we erroneously referred to Emir Abdullah as "the uncle of the present King Hussein." It should have correctly read "the grandfather of the present King Hussein."

OPINION & EDITORIAL PAGE

The birth of Transjordan

THE JERUSALEM POST

On the centenary of the birth of Lawrence of Arabia, David Horovitz examines his part in the creation of the state of Transjordan

זכויות יוצרים

and sovereign independence of any Arab area emancipated from Turkish control by the action of the Ar-

guy crowned the following year. Feisal's installation left the British with something of a problem, for they had apparently earmarked

an Arab state east of the Jordan and a Jewish national home to the west.

INTERNATIONAL "JORDAN IS PALESTINE" COMMITTEE

With kind permission of the JIP (JIP)

PLO dishonest over Jordan

ALI Kazak (Letters, 23/3) would earn more respect if he did not try to misrepresent the PLO's aims and actions to suit Western audiences.

Article 2 of both the 1964 and the current version of the Palestine National Covenant (the central document of the PLO) declare that "Palestine, with the boundaries it had during the British Mandate, is an indivisible territorial unit".

It is inconceivable that the PLO does not know that article 25 of the Mandate for Palestine makes it quite clear that territories east of the Jordan River (now the Kingdom of Jordan) were part of this "indivisible territorial unit" and it is dishonest for the PLO's representative to pretend that Jordan should not legitimately be part of any discussion on the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict which, of course, includes the issue of the Palestinians.

PLO leaders and Jordan have been inconsistent in the public presentation of their mutual desires to rule all the territory of the Mandate, but it is undeniable

that the 8th Palestine National Council meeting (1971) passed a resolution stating "Jordan is linked to Palestine by a national relationship and a national unity forged by history and culture from the earliest times."

"The creation of one political entity in Transjordan and another in Palestine would have no basis either in legality or as to the elements universally accepted as fundamental to a political entity... in raising this slogan of the Liberation of Palestine and presenting the problem of the Palestine revolution it was not the intention of the Palestine revolution to separate the east of the river from the west..."

More recently Yasser Arafat's political adviser Hanni al Hassan has spoken of "the permanent historical union" of Palestinians and Jordanians, while King Hussein has at various times declared that Jordan and Palestine are only regarded as separate by "traitors". In 1970, in "Black September" we saw the way in which both sought to enforce this "union".

If the PLO wants Aus-

tralian to believe it is not aiming to destroy Jordan and Israel it should follow the advice offered to it by the Socialist International last year to amend its National Covenant and to cease sponsoring and endorsing terrorism.

If the PLO wants Israelis to believe it, rather than pretend a majority of Israelis already back its claims, it could look at the opinion polls in Israel which show that most of the Israelis who want to test the PLO by talking with it say this can come only after the PLO ceases to conduct terrorist raids against Israel and bring the violent rioting to an end.

Ali Kazak began his letter by accusing another correspondent of acting "without any respect for history, facts and people's intelligence".

Readers can judge for themselves the attitude of the PLO to "history, facts and people's intelligence" in the light of Mr Kazak's latest contribution to your pages.

JEREMY JONES

Australia/Israel Publications
Darlinghurst, NSW

THURSDAY MARCH 30 1983

Trading in peace

Sir, — Mr William Waldegrave's honesty, integrity and sincerity are refreshing, but he is delightfully vague and unintentionally misleading in his advice to Israel to "trade land for peace" (April 14).

So far as trade is concerned, Britain's undoubted influence in Arab countries has so far failed to put an end to the Arab economic boycott of Israel. Has Britain tried, and what advice has Britain given to the Arab countries on this issue?

So far as land is concerned (1) Which hostile Arab states have unequivocally declared that in return for pieces of land they will upgrade the old armistice agreements into full peace treaties?

(2) Which pieces of land are of interest to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, the Gulf States, Iran and Libya, and how would they have access?

(3) Jordan, already occupying 78 per cent of the land of Palestine (thanks to Britain), and its King, having abdicated claims to "any part of the land of Palestine," are obviously not

interested in the proposition.

(4) When and through whom did Syria ever declare: "give us back the Golan Heights, that is all we want, and henceforth we will be your friends for ever"?

Apart from states which have never been at war, peace exists between previously warring states only on the signing of a peace treaty (e.g. Egypt and Israel). There cannot be a war and subsequent peace between a sovereign state and a group of people or an organisation. For that reason Britain cannot talk to and make "peace" with the IRA and similarly Israel cannot talk to and make peace with the PLO. The *intifada* is not new and it is not war, and therefore its end, however desirable, cannot be peace. Furthermore no Arab country is in the least concerned about the welfare of the Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and Gaza. They all voted at the UN (in company sadly with the UK) in opposing any improvement in their living conditions. Harold E. Stock,
56 Stamford Street, Mossley,
Greater Manchester.

1. For over 3,000 years, the one common demographic denominator in Palestine/Israel has been the Jews.

2. For over 3,000 years, neither Arabs nor any other ethnic or national community — except the Jews — related to or claimed Palestine/Israel as their distinctive home.

'Jewish
Chronicle'
APRIL '89

By mid-1948, two independent sovereign states existed in the area once known as Palestine: the Arab-Palestine and the Jewish-Israeli.

זכויות יוצרים

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Media distortion of Middle East history

Sir, — Having recently spent some weeks in Britain, I had an opportunity to view several television programmes dealing with the Arab-Israel conflict.

It is a characteristic of all these programmes that they treat this complex and grave subject in a shallow and propagandist way, liberally omitting and even falsifying essential historical facts. Here are a few instances.

In 1967, the Israelis, if they wanted to survive and avoid the openly-declared Arab aim of driving them into the sea, had to defeat the Arab armies. This, of course, they could do only by "occupying" the "territories."

The producers of the programmes, by "forgetting" the Arab threat to Israel's survival and remembering only the "occupation," succeeded — as so many times in the past — in presenting the Israelis as expansionist aggressors and the Arabs as innocent victims.

By this well-proven procedure (followed by the media in general), they further strengthened an already well-established pro-Arab, anti-Israel prejudice, which, according to the definition of many experienced observers (academic and otherwise), is nothing less than the fashionable, rationalised form of antisemitism of the post-Holocaust era.

None of the programmes mentioned the crucial facts that for over 1,500 years, Palestine was the national home of the Jews, who, during all the centuries of tormented exile, wanted — and were legally entitled — to return to it. But they were never allowed to return to the land to which practically all gentiles of previous generations diligently urged all Jews to go.

None of the programmes mentioned the essential fact that well over half Israel's population are Arab Jews — refugees or their descendants from various Arab countries which they were obliged to leave, without means, if they wanted to avoid persecutions and pogroms.

None of the programmes mentioned the crucial fact that, almost without exception, the Arab exodus from Palestine-Israel was voluntary. Indeed, one programme falsified this fact by suggesting that the exodus was enforced by Israeli bayonets.

Its main "evidence" appeared to be an alleged hand gesture by Ben-Gurion at a time when the great bulk of the refugees had already left!

There are innumerable Arab and other documents proving the falsehood of the programme's contention. A few examples: "The Times," May 5, 1948 (i.e., before the Arab armies invaded nascent Israel): "The Arab streets are curiously deserted and, evidently following the poor example of the more monied class, there has been an exodus from Jerusalem too, though not to the same extent as in Jaffa and Haifa."

The Jordanian "Falastin," March 19, 1949: "The Arab states urged the Palestine Arabs to leave the country temporarily not to be in the way of the invading Arab armies."

Nimur el Havarari, in his book, "Secret behind the Disaster," quotes Nuri Said, the Prime Minister of Iraq: "We shall smother every nook where the Jews will try to find refuge. The Arabs should take their wives and children to safe areas until the fighting subsides."

The "New York Herald Tribune," June 30, 1949: "The Arabs of Haifa ... fled in spite of the fact that the Jewish authorities guaranteed their safety and rights as citizens of Israel."

One could quote indefinitely. No trace here of Israeli bayonets.

To attribute the exodus to Arab fears after Dir Yassin is not only contradictory to the programme's assertion that they were forced out by Israeli bayonets, but a very lame argument indeed.

The Jews suffered quite a number of Dir Yassin at the hands of the Arabs, but never thought of abandoning their homes — not to mention the fact that at the time (late April, 1948) the exodus was well under way.

Dir Yassin and Castel were two Arab villages from which (owing to their geographical position) the Arabs organised murderous ambushes against Jewish convoys trying to take food and medical aid to their besieged brethren in the Jerusalem area.

To safeguard the road to Jerusalem was a matter of life or death. But it was typical of the programme's "objectivity" that it accepted lock, stock and barrel the Arab version of events there without listening to the statements of those who actually took part in them on the Jewish side.

None of the programmes mentioned the crucially relevant fact that there would never have been an Arab-Israel conflict or a refugee problem had the Arabs accepted the UN partition resolution and had they not attacked the emerging tiny Jewish State with the openly-declared aim of "driving the Jews into the sea."

None of the programmes mentioned that the Arabs would now be in full possession of Judea and Samaria (which the media now call the "West Bank" — a recent term invented to falsify history and make the public forget that Judea and Samaria, the correct historical and geographical terminology, comprise the heartland of the ancient Jewish homeland) and Gaza had they not repeated in 1967 their folly of 1948, with, again, the same openly-declared murderous intentions.

And, of course, all the programmes omitted to mention that, contrary to the terms of the Mandate, in 1922 the British prohibited Jewish settlement in 75 per cent of Palestine (subsequently Transjordan and now Jordan) and

handed it over not to the local Palestinian Arab population, but to the imported Hashemite puppets — who were rather inimical to the locals — thereby creating the Palestinian Arab "homelessness."

It is now demanded of the Israelis that, to the peril of their own safety, they compensate the Arabs from the remaining quarter of Palestine.

The programme makers pretend that they are motivated by humanitarian considerations. But this is just pretence. If they really had such considerations, they would have devoted a little time to the terrible plight of the 16 million Kurds.

But they have no time for them. They apparently prefer to shed tears in the Middle East only for the Palestinians — one suspects because, via the Palestinians, they can hit the Israelis.

It is difficult to explain their Palestinian obsession otherwise. And this also explains their indifference to the Kurdish disaster.

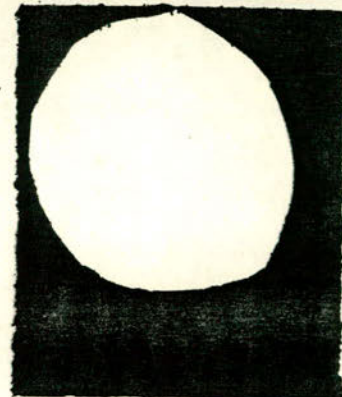
If their motivations were really humanitarian, they would have expressed some anxiety that the vast majority of the Arabs deny the Jewish right to statehood and that there is virulent anti-Israel and anti-Jewish propaganda in the Arab countries.

Both these facts, combined with the Arab propensity to ignore civilised standards (Arab massacres of Arabs; Black September in Jordan; the Hom massacre of the opposition in Syria; the Sabra, Shatilla and other repeated refugee camp massacres in Lebanon; the massacre in Zahle in Lebanon; the use of mustard gas by Iraq) raise the spectre of a new — and not so mini — Auschwitz-type tragedy if the Arabs ever succeed in their real political aim of destroying Israel.

This is what the "humanitarianism" of these programme makers might, willy nilly, help to achieve.

(Professor) Paul Lazarus,
10/A/7 Shderot Nizza,
Netanya,
Israel.

JEWISH CHRONICLE



palestine is jordan

jordan is palestine



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I am able to offer the following help:
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- . Supply cuttings to JIP HQ. ()
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- . Speaking to other Groups ()
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 - . Non-Jewish ()
- . Monitoring political group meetings ()
 - . and report back to HQ ()
 - . speak from the floor ()
- . Give office admin help ()
- . Publicity sub-committee ()
- . (Any PR experience?)
- . Lobbying ()
 - . Local MP's ()
 - . Foreign Office ()
 - . Central Govt Depts ()
 - . House of Lords ()
 - . Local Govt ()
 - . Other Opinion Formers ()

The **CROSS** NAME

Both "Jordan" and "West Bank" are recently-coined names aimed at replacing the existing names of the areas in question, for obvious political reasons.

In 1948, King Abdullah of Transjordan (eastern Palestine) wanted to call his country "Palestine" but was dissuaded by his British advisers, who suggested that the name "Jordan" would emphasize the King's rule over both banks of that river. Had the name "Palestine" been retained, the "homeland-for-the-Palestinians" issue could never have arisen.

At the same time, in an attempt to lend legitimacy to their rule over Judea and Samaria (Britain and Pakistan were the only countries in the world to recognize Jordan's annexation of those two districts), and to obliterate the Jewish connection evoked by the names Judea and Samaria, the Jordanians invented the name "West Bank." Up to that time, both British Mandatory and United Nations records show the regular use of the names Judea and Samaria.

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Memo: Solidarity Conference

Shamir, Hussein, Peres and Arafat
all agree that... the Palestinians have a state.

JORDAN IS ARAB PALESTINE

Who could wish for greater solidarity?

For further information, contact the Jordan is Palestine Committee:

Australia	P.O.B. 190, Lindfield 2070, NSW
Canada	P.O.B. 8756 (10 Gateway Blvd.) Don Mills, Ont.
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England	176 New King's Rd., London SW6

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EMBAJADA DE ISRAEL

כ"ו בתשרי תש"ן
25 באוקטובר 1989

שגרירות ישראל

מקסיקו

739

הנכח: דב שמורק, סגן ש"ח - א ש י
מאת: דב שמורק, מכסיקו

ג' ב' ת"ק

הנדון: "ירדן" היא פלשתינה.

Jordan is Palestine

בשיחתנו בארץ ספרת לי על הרצאתך הצפויה במפגש שיערך בנובמבר ש"ז בנושא זה ובקשת שאשלח לך תרגום של הראיון הארוך אותו הענקתי בזמנו באותו הנושא ליומון השמאלני בעל היוקרה הרבה "UNO MAS UNO". על מנת לחסוך מעצמנו מלאכת התרגום, הנני מעביר לך תזכיר הערוך בעברית; יתרונו בכך כי הנו קצר יותר מן הראיון ואינו מקיף נושאים אחרים אלא מתרכז אך ורק בנושא פלשתיניותה של "ירדן".

ערכתי בזמנו את התזכיר בחפזון רב - לפי בקשתו של יוסי בן אהרן - והוא אינו ראוי לפרסום בצורתו הנוכחית אך אני מקווה שתוכל למצוא בו, בנוסף לטעונו הידועים, נתונים ומובאות ממסמכים היסטוריים הראויים לצטוט בהרצאתך.

ישנם בתזכיר המצורף מספר נמוקים שאנו חייבים לחזור עליהם בכל הזדמנות. כך, למשל, ראוי לשמוש הנמוק שבסעיף י"ז שבתזכיר המצורף וראויה להדגשה מיוחדת העובדה כי מאנדט פלשתינה של "הליגה של האומות" כלל את שטח "ירדן" וכי בית הדין הבין-לאומי בהאג בפסק-דינו בנושא נאמיביה פסק כי מושגי המאנדטים של "הליגה של האומות" הם בעלי תוקף גם לאחר שזו חדלה להתקיים.

בברכה רבה,

דב ב. שמורק

"ירדן" היא פלשתיין

- א. אחד הנימוקים העיקריים בהם משתמשים היום בשירות החוץ הישראלי נגד הכרזת מל"פ באלג'יר בדבר הקמת "המדינה הפלשתינית", הוא כי במקום הכרה מפורשת בהחלטת 242 מדובר בהכרזתם בהכרה ב-242 ובכל יתר החלטות או"ם והתוספת של " כל יתר החלטות או"ם " מרוקנת מתוכנה את ההכרה ב-242. השאלה היא: היה ומל"פ/אש"פ יצעדו צעד אחד קדימה ויודיעו כי מכירים ב-242 ללא כל תוספת - האם אז נכיר ב"מדינה פלשתינית"?
- ב. נימוקנו הנ"ל וכל נימוקינו האחרים המושמעים על-ידינו בבירות העולם, נועדו להוכיח כי בניסוח הכרזת אלג'יר טמונה תרמית וכי אין בהכרזה זו לא הכרה מפורשת בישראל, לא הכרה מפורשת ב-242, ולא גינוי מפורש של מעשי טרור אנטי-ישראליים. רובה של דעת הקהל בעולם חולקת עלינו ושותפה לדעת שרי החוץ של ה-12 באירופה כי אכן בהכרזת מל"פ ישנה משום התקדמות לקראת השלום - אם רק גם ישראל תמתן עמדתה.
- ג. בשעה שעלינו לעשות הכל על מנת לחסוף התרמית שבהכרזת אלג'יר, להציגה כצעד במסגרת "תכנית השלבים" הערבית ולהמשיך בשימוש בכל נימוקינו הנ"ל - לא נראה כי יהיה בכוחם של נימוקינו הנ"ל להחליש האהדה הנתונה ל"עם שמולדתו כבושה".
- ד. מדהים ממש שברשימה הארוכה של הנימוקים המוכרקים לנציגויות מאז ועידת אלג'יר והמושמעים על-ידינו בארה"ב וברחבי העולם - נעדר הנימוק העיקרי: רוב ערביי פלשתיין נמצא תחת דגל ערבי; אם דגל זה אינו לרוחם - יכולים להחליפו.
- ה. אנחנו לא מנינו את חוסיין כמלכם ולא הכתבנו להם לאמץ שמו של נהר כשם ארצם. אם רצונם בכך - יכולים להחליף את שניהם.
- ו. השם PALESTINA ניתן ליהודה העתיקה ע"י הרומאים בשנת 135 ע"מ למחוק את זהותה היהודית, אחרי דיכוי מרד היהודים. הועדה המיוחדת של האו"ם לנושא פלשתיין (UNSCOP) כתבה בדו"חה ב-1947:
- "NOT SINCE 63 B.C., WHEN POMPEY STORMED JERUSALEM, HAS PALESTINE BEEN AN INDEPENDENT STATE".
- ז. ישראל, בשעה שחידשה את ריבונותה, לא קמה על חורבותיה של ריבונות ערבית אלא באה במקומה של הריבונות האימפריאלית האחרונה בארצנו - הבריטית. הריבונות הילידה האחרונה במקום בו נמצאת ישראל המודרנית היתה זו של ישראל העתיקה; בין ישראל דאז לבין ישראל דהיום שלטו אותה הארץ ריבונויות "מיובאות" שונות, החל מהרומית ועד לבריטית.
- ח. בעקבות סכסוך שנמשך דורות אחדים בין שני המרכיבים העיקריים של אוכלוסית פלשתיין (*) - היהודים והערבים - קמו בפלשתיין שתי ריבונויות: בחלקה הקטן יותר הוקמה מחדש הריבונות היהודית ובחלקה הגדול יותר קמה לראשונה
- (*) נשתמש במונח זה כי הדברים נועדו לשימוש בלועזית.

ריבונות ערבית. שמה של זו האחרונה, צורתה התחוקתית, זהות מנהיגה - לא אנו אחראים להם ולא עלינו לקבוע אותם.

ט. השם "PALESTINE" הוכנס לראשונה כמונח של המשפט הבינלאומי בוועידת השלום שבתום מלחמת העולם הראשונה. כניסתו של שם זה לטרמינולוגיה הבינלאומית היתה קשורה עם הכרת העולם בזכותו של העם היהודי לבית לאומי משלו, בתקופה הווילסוניאנית של "אביב העמים". (המשפט האחרון לשימוש בארה"ב בלבד). השטח הגיאוגרפי עליו חל המונח "PALESTINE" מוגדר בבירור בהחלטת "הליגה של האומות", לפיה נמסר המאנדט על כל השטח לבריטניה.

י. ב-14 ביוני 1921 בדברו בפני בית הנבחרים בלונדון הגדיר צ'רצ'יל את עבר-הירדן כ- "ONE OF THE MOST VALUABLE PARTS OF PALESTINE".

יא. לורד בלפור, בהופיעו בפני מועצת "הליגה של האומות" ב-16 בספטמבר 1922, כחודשיים אחרי אישור המאנדט שניתן ע"י הליגה לבריטניה, התייחס למגמת הבריטים לסגור את עבר-הירדן בפני התישבות היהודים בהזכירו כי

"ARTICLE 25 OF THE MANDATE FOR PALESTINE AS APPROVED BY THE COUNCIL IN LONDON ON JULY 24TH, 1922, PROVIDES THAT THE TERRITORIES WHICH LIE EAST OF THE JORDAN SHOULD BE UNDER A SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT REGIME FROM THE REST OF PALESTINE".

יב. במסמך מחלקת המדינה של ארה"ב מ-1931 הנקרא "THE MANDATE FOR PALESTINE" מוסבר הפרוש של חלוקת פלסטיין והוצאת חלקה המזרחי ע"י הבריטים מתחום שנועד להקמת הבית הלאומי לעם היהודי. נאמר בו:

"TO THE WEST OF THIS LINE THE TERMS OF THE MANDATE FOR PALESTINE APPLY IN TOTO; TO THE EAST, ONLY SUCH TERMS OF THE MANDATE APPLY AS DO NOT RELATE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT IN PALESTINE OF A JEWISH NATIONAL HOME".

יג. בית הדין הבינלאומי בהאג בפסק-דינו בנושא דרום-מערב-אפריקה, היא נאמיביה, פסק מפורשות כי מושגי המאנדטים של "הליגה של האומות" הם בעלי תוקף גם לאחר שזו חדלה להתקיים. כאשר הבריטים, מתוך אינטרסים אימפריאליים שלהם, החליטו להפריד בין שתי גדות הירדן וסגרו את 78% של פלשתיין - היא עבר הירדן - בפני התישבות יהודית, הם לא ביטלו את המאנדט על פלשתיין לגבי השטח שהוא מזרחה מהירדן אלא השיגו מן "הליגה של האומות" אישור לכך כי מתוך 28 סעיפי המאנדט יחולו על עבר הירדן 22 סעיפים בלבד (לא יחולו שם אותם הסעיפים שהתייחסו לזכותו של העם היהודי להקים את ביתו הלאומי בפלשתיין). ב-22 הסעיפים שהמשיכו לחול על עבר הירדן כונה שטח זה לפחות 30 פעם כ"פלשתיין".

יד. השינוי היחידי בהיקף תחולתו הגיאוגרפית של המאנדט הבריטי חל ב-1923 כאשר, בהסכם בין בריטניה לבין המעצמה שבידיה היה המאנדט על סוריה, הועבר האזור של רמת הגולן משליטת המאנדט הפלשתיני (הבריטי) לשליטת המאנדט הסורי (הצרפתי). פרט לשינוי זה PALESTINE המאנדטורית השתרעה מחוף הים התיכון במערב עד גבול עירק וערב הסעודית, כש-22% משטחה הם מערבה מנהר הירדן ו-78% מזרחה מן הנהר.

ט"ו. לפני כ-50 שנה כתב אחד המומחים האמריקניים הגדולים ביותר למז"ת WILLIAM YALE:

"IN MILLIONS OF BIBLES, IN UNCOUNTED SUNDAY SCHOOLS, AND IN INNUMERABLE GEOGRAPHIES THERE ARE MAPS OF PALESTINE, SO THAT THROUGHOUT CHRISTENDOM THERE HAS EXISTED IN THE MINDS OF MOST PEOPLE A GENERAL IDEA OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL CONFORMATION AND BOUNDARIES OF THE HOLY LAND. THIS CORRESPONDED APPROXIMATELY WITH THE PALESTINE OF THE MANDATE".

ט"ז. גם הערבים היו שותפים להגדרתה הגיאוגרפית של פלשתיין ולכך שהיא כוללת את שתי גדות הירדן. בהסכם שנחתם ב-3 בינואר 1919 בין האמיר פייסל, בשם כל הערבים, לבין דר' חיים וייצמן, בשם העם היהודי, נאמר מפורשות אודות ש"פ בין התנועות הלאומיות הערבית והיהודית:

"IT PLEDGED THE PARTIES TO THE CLOSEST POSSIBLE COOPERATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARAB STATE AND PALESTINE".

"מדינה ערבית ופלשתיין" ולא "מדינה ערבית בפלשתיין".

י"ז. נהגנו לעיתים קרובות להגיד כי רובה של אוכלוסית "ירדן" הם פלשתינים. הדבר איננו נכון: כל אוכלוסית ירדן הם פלשתינים, כולל חוסיין עצמו. העובדה שסבו הגיע ממקום אחר איננה רלבנטית. יהודי שנמלט מן הנאצים לשבדיה והתישב בה - בניו ונכדיו שנולדו שם הם שבדים. אם יושבי "ירדן" (דהיינו יושבי פלשתיין) שהם יושביה רק מספר דורות ושאלות אבותיהם הגיעו מחאג'ז או ממקום אחר, אינם פלשתינים - הרי שרוב יושבי ארה"ב אינם אמריקנים, רוב יושבי קנדה אינם קנדים ורוב יושבי אוסטרליה אינם אוסטרלים. לכן - במקום להגיד כי רוב תושבי "ירדן" הם פלשתינים, מדויק יותר להגיד כי כל תושבי "ירדן" (שהיא פלשתיין) הם פלשתינים, מי מזה דורות אחדים ומי מדורות רבים יותר.

י"ח. ישראל אינה מכירה בזכות ההגדרה העצמית של הפלשתינים? שקר וכזב. היא בהחלט מכירה בזכות ההגדרה העצמית של הפלשתינים ברובה של פלשתיין ובמו"מ לשלום ייקבע הגבול המדיני בין תחום ההגדרה העצמית שלהם לבין תחום ההגדרה העצמית שלנו. גבול-שלום זה ייקבע בחוזה-שלום ולא ניתן לקבוע אותו בטרם הוחל המשא ומתן בין שני העמים השכנים שנועד להביא לחוזה השלום. אשר לפלשתינים שימשיכו לחיות בצדו הישראלי של אותו הגבול - ישראל מציעה להם אוטונומיה, רחבה יותר ומקיפה יותר מאשר זו ממנה נהנים חצי מיליון שבדים החיים בפינלנד, וכו', וכו' (כאן ניתן לתת רשימת דוגמאות).

י"ט. העובדה שבני עם אחד חיים מעבר לגבול, תחת ריבונות מדינתו של העם השכן, היא עובדה המאפיינת את המצב ברוב חלקי תבל. כפי שישנם שבדים בפינלנד, כך גם חיים צ'ילנים בצד הארגנטיני של הגבול, פרוויאנים בצד הצ'ילני, ארמנים באזרביידז'אן, וכו' (ניתן להתאים הדוגמה למדינות אליהן מופנים הדברים). העובדה שהערבים חיים בצד הישראלי של הגבול איננה יוצאת דופן; יוצאת דופן היא העובדה כי המדינה הערבית המשתרעת על 78% של פלשתיין היא JUDENREIN וכי חוקתה קובעת שיהודי אינו יכול להיות נתינה.



EMBAJADA DE ISRAEL

כ"ו בתשרי תש"ן
25 באוקטובר 1989

שגרירות ישראל

מכסיקו

739

Handwritten notes in Hebrew:
לפני
הנני מודיע לך
באמצעות מכתב זה
על פנייתך להגיש
מכתב

אל: מר ב. נתניהו, סגן שה"ח - א ש י
מאת: דב שמורק, מכסיקו

Handwritten: ג' ב' תיקר

הנדון: "ירדן" היא פלשתינ.

Handwritten: Jordan is Palestine

בשיחתנו בארץ ספרת לי על הרצאתך הצפויה במפגש שיערך בנובמבר ש"ז בנושא זה ובקשת שאשלח לך תרגום של הראיון הארוך אותו הענקתי בזמנו באותו הנושא ליומון השמאלני בעל היוקרה הרבה "UNO MAS UNO". על מנת לחסוך מעצמנו מלאכת התרגום, הנני מעביר לך תזכיר הערוך בעברית; יתרונו בכך כי הנו קצר יותר מן הראיון ואינו מקיף נושאים אחרים אלא מתרכז אך ורק בנושא פלשתיניותה של "ירדן".

ערכתי בזמנו את התזכיר בחפזון רב - לפי בקשתו של יוסי בן אהרן - והוא אינו ראוי לפרסום בצורתו הנוכחית אך אני מקווה שתוכל למצוא בו, בנוסף לטעונוניו הידועים, נתונים ומובאות ממסמכים היסטוריים הראויים לצטוט בהרצאתך.

ישנם בתזכיר המצורף מספר נמוקים שאנו חייבים לחזור עליהם בכל הזדמנות. כך, למשל, ראוי לשמוש הנמוק שבסעיף י"ז שבתזכיר המצורף וראויה להדגשה מיוחדת העובדה כי מאנדט פלשתינ של "הליגה של האומות" כלל את שטח "ירדן" וכי בית הדין הבין-לאומי בהאג בפסק-דינו בנושא נאמיביה פסק כי מושגי המאנדטים של "הליגה של האומות" הם בעלי תוקף גם לאחר שזו חדלה להתקיים.

בברכה רבה,

Handwritten signature: דב ב. שמורק

"ירדן" היא פלשתינ

א. אחד הנימוקים העיקריים בהם משתמשים היום בשירות החוץ הישראלי נגד הכרזת מל"פ באלג'יר בדבר הקמת "המדינה הפלשתינית", הוא כי במקום הכרה מפורשת בהחלטת 242 מדובר בהכרזתם בהכרה ב-242 ובכל יתר החלטות או"ם והתוספת של " כל יתר החלטות או"ם " מרוקנת מתוכנה את ההכרה ב-242. השאלה היא: היה ומל"פ/אש"פ יצעדו צעד אחד קדימה ויודיעו כי מכירים ב-242 ללא כל תוספת - האם אז נכיר ב"מדינה פלשתינית"?

ב. נימוקנו הנ"ל וכל נימוקינו האחרים המושמעים על-ידינו בבירות העולם, נועדו להוכיח כי בניסוח הכרזת אלג'יר טמונה תרמית וכי אין בהכרזה זו לא הכרה מפורשת בישראל, לא הכרה מפורשת ב-242, ולא גינוי מפורש של מעשי טרור אנטי-ישראליים. רובה של דעת הקהל בעולם חולקת עלינו ושותפה לדעת שרי החוץ של ה-12 באירופה כי אכן בהכרזת מל"פ ישנה משום התקדמות לקראת השלום - אם רק גם ישראל תמתן עמדתה.

ג. בשעה שעלינו לעשות הכל על מנת לחסוף התרמית שבהכרזת אלג'יר, להציגה כצעד במסגרת "תכנית השלבים" הערבית ולהמשיך בשימוש בכל נימוקינו הנ"ל - לא נראה כי יהיה בכוחם של נימוקינו הנ"ל להחליש האהדה הנתונה ל"עם שמולדתו כבושה".

ד. מדהים ממש שברשימה הארוכה של הנימוקים המוברקים לנציגויות מאז ועידת אלג'יר והמושמעים על-ידינו בארה"ב וברחבי העולם - נעדר הנימוק העיקרי: רוב ערביי פלשתינ נמצא תחת דגל ערבי; אם דגל זה אינו לרוחם - יכולים להחליפו.

ה. אנחנו לא מנינו את חוסיין כמלכם ולא הכתבנו להם לאמץ שמו של נהר כשם ארצם. אם רצונם בכך - יכולים להחליף את שניהם.

ו. השם PALESTINA ניתן ליהודה העתיקה ע"י הרומאים בשנת 135 ע"מ למחוק את זהותה היהודית, אחרי דיכוי מרד היהודים. הועדה המיוחדת של האו"ם לנושא פלשתינ (UNSCOP) כתבה בדו"חה ב-1947:

"NOT SINCE 63 B.C., WHEN POMPEY STORMED JERUSALEM, HAS PALESTINE BEEN AN INDEPENDENT STATE".

ז. ישראל, בשעה שחידשה את ריבונותה, לא קמה על חורבותיה של ריבונות ערבית אלא באה במקומה של הריבונות האימפריאלית האחרונה בארצנו - הבריטית. הריבונות הילידה האחרונה במקום בו נמצאת ישראל המודרנית היתה זו של ישראל העתיקה; בין ישראל דאז לבין ישראל דהיום שלטו באותה הארץ ריבונויות "מיובאות" שונות, החל מהרומית ועד לבריטית.

ח. בעקבות סכסוך שנמשך דורות אחדים בין שני המרכיבים העיקריים של אוכלוסית פלשתינ (*) - היהודים והערבים - קמו בפלשתינ שתי ריבונויות: בחלקה הקטן יותר הוקמה מחדש הריבונות היהודית ובחלקה הגדול יותר קמה לראשונה

(*) נשתמש במונח זה כי הדברים נועדו לשימוש בלועזית.

ריבונות ערבית. שמה של זו האחרונה, צורתה התחוקתית, זהות מנהיגה - לא אנו אחראים להם ולא עלינו לקבוע אותם.

ט. השם "PALESTINE" הוכנס לראשונה כמונח של המשפט הבינלאומי בוועידת השלום שבתום מלחמת העולם הראשונה. כניסתו של שם זה לטרמינולוגיה הבינלאומית היתה קשורה עם הכרת העולם בזכותו של העם היהודי לבית לאומי משלו, בתקופה הווילסוניאנית של "אביב העמים". (המשפט האחרון לשימוש בארה"ב בלבד). השטח הגיאוגרפי עליו חל המונח "PALESTINE" מוגדר בבירור בהחלטת "הליגה של האומות", לפיה נמסר המאנדט על כל השטח לבריטניה.

י. ב-14 ביוני 1921 בדברו בפני בית הנבחרים בלונדון הגדיר צ'רצ'יל את עבר-הירדן כ- "ONE OF THE MOST VALUABLE PARTS OF PALESTINE".

יא. לורד בלפור, בהופיעו בפני מועצת "הליגה של האומות" ב-16 בספטמבר 1922, כחודשים אחרי אישור המאנדט שניתן ע"י הליגה לבריטניה, התייחס למגמת הבריטים לסגור את עבר-הירדן בפני התישבות היהודים בהזכירו כי

"ARTICLE 25 OF THE MANDATE FOR PALESTINE AS APPROVED BY THE COUNCIL IN LONDON ON JULY 24TH, 1922, PROVIDES THAT THE TERRITORIES WHICH LIE EAST OF THE JORDAN SHOULD BE UNDER A SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT REGIME FROM THE REST OF PALESTINE".

יב. במסמך מחלקת המדינה של ארה"ב מ-1931 הנקרא "THE MANDATE FOR PALESTINE" מוסבר הפרוש של חלוקת פלסטיין והוצאת חלקה המזרחי ע"י הבריטים מתחום שנועד להקמת הבית הלאומי לעם היהודי. נאמר בו:

"TO THE WEST OF THIS LINE THE TERMS OF THE MANDATE FOR PALESTINE APPLY IN TOTO; TO THE EAST, ONLY SUCH TERMS OF THE MANDATE APPLY AS DO NOT RELATE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT IN PALESTINE OF A JEWISH NATIONAL HOME".

יג. בית הדין הבינלאומי בהאג בפסק-דינו בנושא דרום-מערב-אפריקה, היא נאמיביה, פסק מפורשות כי מושגי המאנדטים של "הליגה של האומות" הם בעלי תוקף גם לאחר שזו חדלה להתקיים. כאשר הבריטים, מתוך אינטרסים אימפריאליים שלהם, החליטו להפריד בין שתי גדות הירדן וסגרו את 78% של פלשתיין - היא עבר הירדן - בפני התישבות יהודית, הם לא ביטלו את המאנדט על פלשתיין לגבי השטח שהוא מזרחה מהירדן אלא השיגו מן "הליגה של האומות" אישור לכך כי מתוך 28 סעיפי המאנדט יחולו על עבר הירדן 22 סעיפים בלבד (לא יחולו שם אותם הסעיפים שהתייחסו לזכותו של העם היהודי להקים את ביתו הלאומי בפלשתיין). ב-22 הסעיפים שהמשיכו לחול על עבר הירדן כונה שטח זה לפחות 30 פעם כ"פלשתיין".

יד. השינוי היחיד בהיקף תחולתו הגיאוגרפית של המאנדט הבריטי חל ב-1923 כאשר, בהסכם בין בריטניה לבין המעצמה שבידיה היה המאנדט על סוריה, הועבר האזור של רמת הגולן משליטת המאנדט הפלשתיני (הבריטי) לשליטת המאנדט הסורי (הצרפתי). פרט לשינוי זה PALESTINE המאנדטורית השתרעה מחוף הים התיכון במערב עד גבול עירק וערב הסעודית, כש-22% משטחה הם מערבה מנהר הירדן ו-78% מזרחה מן הנהר.

ט"ו. לפני כ-50 שנה כתב אחד המומחים האמריקניים הגדולים ביותר למז"ת WILLIAM YALE:

"IN MILLIONS OF BIBLES, IN UNCOUNTED SUNDAY SCHOOLS, AND IN INNUMERABLE GEOGRAPHIES THERE ARE MAPS OF PALESTINE, SO THAT THROUGHOUT CHRISTENDOM THERE HAS EXISTED IN THE MINDS OF MOST PEOPLE A GENERAL IDEA OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL CONFORMATION AND BOUNDARIES OF THE HOLY LAND. THIS CORRESPONDED APPROXIMATELY WITH THE PALESTINE OF THE MANDATE".

ט"ז. גם הערבים היו שותפים להגדרתה הגיאוגרפית של פלשתיין ולכך שהיא כוללת את שתי גדות הירדן. בהסכם שנחתם ב-3 בינואר 1919 בין האמיר פייסל, בשם כל הערבים, לבין דר' חיים וייצמן, בשם העם היהודי, נאמר מפורשות אודות ש"פ בין התנועות הלאומיות הערבית והיהודית:

"IT PLEDGED THE PARTIES TO THE CLOSEST POSSIBLE COOPERATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARAB STATE AND PALESTINE".

"מדינה ערבית ופלשתיין" ולא "מדינה ערבית בפלשתיין".

י"ז. נהגנו לעיתים קרובות להגיד כי רובה של אוכלוסית "ירדן" הם פלשתינים. הדבר איננו נכון: כל אוכלוסית ירדן הם פלשתינים, כולל חוסיין עצמו. העובדה שסבו הגיע ממקום אחר איננה רלבנטית. יהודי שנמלט מן הנאצים לשבדיה והתישב בה - בניו ונכדיו שנולדו שם הם שבדים. אם יושבי "ירדן" (דהיינו יושבי פלשתיין) שהם יושביה רק מספר דורות ושאלות אבותיהם הגיעו מחאג'ז או ממקום אחר, אינם פלשתינים - הרי שרוב יושבי ארה"ב אינם אמריקנים, רוב יושבי קנדה אינם קנדים ורוב יושבי אוסטרליה אינם אוסטרלים. לכן - במקום להגיד כי רוב תושבי "ירדן" הם פלשתינים, מדויק יותר להגיד כי כל תושבי "ירדן" (שהיא פלשתיין) הם פלשתינים, מי מזה דורות אחדים ומי מדורות רבים יותר.

י"ח. ישראל אינה מכירה בזכות ההגדרה העצמית של הפלשתינים? שקר וכזב. היא בהחלט מכירה בזכות ההגדרה העצמית של הפלשתינים ברובה של פלשתיין ובמו"מ לשלום ייקבע הגבול המדיני בין תחום ההגדרה העצמית שלהם לבין תחום ההגדרה העצמית שלנו. גבול-שלום זה ייקבע בחוזה-שלום ולא ניתן לקבוע אותו בטרם הוחל המשא ומתן בין שני העמים השכנים שנועד להביא לחוזה השלום. אשר לפלשתינים שימשיכו לחיות בצדו הישראלי של אותו הגבול - ישראל מציעה להם אוטונומיה, רחבה יותר ומקיפה יותר מאשר זו ממנה נהנים חצי מיליון שבדים החיים בפינלנד, וכו', וכו' (כאן ניתן לתת רשימת דוגמאות).

י"ט. העובדה שבני עם אחד חיים מעבר לגבול, תחת ריבונות מדינתו של העם השכן, היא עובדה המאפינת את המצב ברוב חלקי תבל. כפי שישנם שבדים בפינלנד, כך גם חיים צ'ילנים בצד הארגנטיני של הגבול, פרוויאנים בצד הצ'ילני, ארמנים באזרביידז'אן, וכו' (ניתן להתאים הדוגמה למדינות אליהן מופנים הדברים). העובדה שהערבים חיים בצד הישראלי של הגבול איננה יוצאת דופן; יוצאת דופן היא העובדה כי המדינה הערבית המשתרעת על 78% של פלשתיין היא JUDENREIN וכי חוקתה קובעת שיהודי אינו יכול להיות נתינה.

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ת.ד. 7837

להחמור מזה ו.א.מ.ק. / דתת בוא

בפקסמיל יח 303367

1. 1. 2.

נתבקשתי ע"י מארגני חנוכה הנ"ל לחודיעך כי ביום 1.11.89 בשעות חבוקר המוקדמות ביטל בית המשפט העליון את צו חמניעה, ואפשר למארגנים לקיים את חנוכה כפי שתוכנן.

רצ"ב צילום מאושר מחלטתו של כבוד השופט לוין, שופט בית המשפט העליון.

בית
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הוא
הוא
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הוא

1987/11/1

בכח הד רב

י. ביקיע, עו"ד

יגדן

17001

1/11/89

10:30 am

URGENT

FOR THE ATTENTION
OF MR. B. NETANYAHU
MR. AYAL ARAD

Please find attached judgement
anvling the injunction against
JIP (N.Y. INC), which you requested.

We are looking forward to
your participation.

Yael Amishaw
Program Co-Ordinator

טָרָם חִלְפָה תִּקְוַת הַהִגְבָּלָה

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111

משרד החוץ

ירושלים.

29.10.59

תאריך

אל: מנהל מחלקת תביעות

מאת: מנהל מחלקת תביעות

הגורן: מנהל מחלקת תביעות

מנהל מחלקת תביעות

הגורן: מנהל מחלקת תביעות

מנהל מחלקת תביעות

וקי

בברכה,

3. חזק - גז

משרד החוץ

ירושלים.
תאריך 29.10.87

סוג

אל: מ/ה מ-10

מאת: לשכת סגן השר

הנדון: א כ

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כ ט י כ כ - א / 1

כ י כ .

בברכה,

י' כה

טָרָם חִלְפָה תִּקְוַפַּת הַהִגְבָּלָה

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JORDAN IS PALESTINE COMMITTEE

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Canada	PO Box 1391, Station B, Downsview, Ont M3H 5W3
England	176 New King's Rd, London SW6
South Africa	PO Box 52705, Saxonwold 2132, Johannesburg
Israel	PO Box 52705, Jerusalem 91052

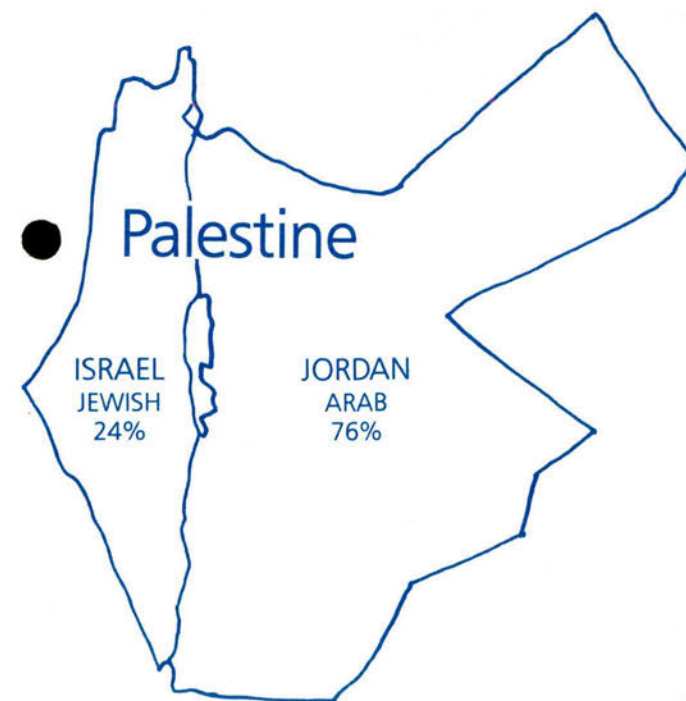


Second
International
Seminar

JORDAN IS PALESTINE INTERNATIONAL

Jerusalem • November 1-2 1989

Ramada Renaissance Hotel



Back to the Balfour Declaration

In 1917 the Balfour Declaration recognised the right of the Jews to regain their historical and rightful homeland.

Palestine, as defined by the League of Nations Mandate, covered the area which is now Jordan and Israel.

An Arab State and a Jewish State already exists in the area which was promised to the Jews in the Balfour Declaration, therefore there is no room for a third State in Palestine.

With this historical background in mind the Conference will examine the contemporary Arab/Israel conflict.

PROGRAM

Day 1 Wednesday 1st November, 1989

- 8.30am – Registration
- 9.00 – Chairman: Mr. David Singer, JIP (Australia)
Welcome Address
- 10.00 – Opening Session "Jordan is Palestine"
and the Balfour Declaration
Mr. Ronni Milo, Minister for the Environment
- 10.30 – The Earl of Balfour
- 11.15 – Prof. Paul Ribbenfeld
- 12.00 – Panel Discussion
- 1.00pm – Chairman: Mr. Cyril Stein
Guest of Honour: Mr. Binyamin Netanyahu,
Deputy Minister, Foreign Affairs

Afternoon Session: "Strategic Implications"

- 2.30 – Chairman: Mr. Dan Schueftan,
Truman Institute
"Jordan and Palestine"
- 3.15 – Brig. General of Reserves, Aharon Levan
"Strategic Implications for Israel of
Palestinian state in Judea, Samaria
and Azza"
- 4.00 – Panel Discussion

Day 2 Thursday 2nd November, 1989

Morning Session: "From Theory to Practice"

- 9.30 – Policy Implementation
Chairman: Mr. David Singer
Panelists: M.K. Motta Gur
Yedidia Beer (JIP, T.A.)
Susan Hattis-Rolef, Editor of 'Spectrum'
Dr. Shlomo Tadmor
- 10.30 – Coffee Break
- 10.45 – Hasbara and the Media
Panelists: Mr. Rafi Horowitz, Foreign Press Office
Journalists
Mr. Harry Bornstein (U.S.A.)
Mrs. Mia Silver
- 1.00 – Lunch – Guest of Honour: Mr. Zalman Shoval, M.K.
- 2.30 – Afternoon Session: Political Implications
Chairman: Mr. Anthony Stanton (U.K.)
Mr. Moshe Shamir, Author
"Israel, The Land And The People"
- 3.15 – Prof. Rafi Israeli
"The New Jordanian Option"
- 4.00 – Prof. Mordechai Nisan
"Political Implications of JIP"
- 4.45 – Conclusion



2nd International Seminar 1-2 November 1989

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Best Wishes

|||

Dr. Mirelman



JERUSALEM TEKNOLAM FOUNDATION
Policy Management Studies

October 6, 1989

POB 8581 JERUSALEM 93554-ISRAEL Tel. 02-721123

Mr. Binyamin Netanyahu,
Deputy Minister,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
JERUSALEM.

1/11

Dear Mr. Netanyahu,

SUBJECT : "JORDAN IS PALESTINE" CONFERENCE

We are finalizing the program for the "Jordan is Palestine" Conference to be held in Jerusalem on 12. We are very happy that you have accepted to be our guest speaker at the luncheon on Day 1 of the Conference, that is Monday, 12. However, would you consider the possibility of being our opening speaker, just before the Earl of Balfour? I believe that the Conference should be opened by a representative of the Israeli Government, and moreover, I think that this would give your audience a better chance to hear you than, say, between salad and ice-cream.

I would be very grateful if you ^{would be} so kind as to give us your response as soon as possible in order to finalise the program.

I think that this conference is most timely, and I would very much like to have your advice as to how we can make the best possible use of it to contribute to the overall Masbara effort.

May I suggest that the Ministry reissue some of the publications on the subject. And perhaps an additional article entitled "The Palestinian State of Jordan".

Shana Tova, and my best regards.

Yael Amishav
Yael Amishav,
Program Co-Ordinator.

5.5
1/11



176 New Kings Road, London SW6 4NE
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Cllr. Mrs. Lois Peltz

National Chairman:

Mrs. Rita Horowitz

National Director:

Mrs. Mia Silver

8th September 1989

Mr. Benjamin Netanyahu
Deputy Foreign Minister
Foreign Ministry
JERUSALEM

OK
13/9
727 18.108
10.9.89

Dear Mr. Netanyahu,

Further to my letter asking you to be one of the principle speakers at our forthcoming Balfour Day Conference at the Ramada Renaissance Hotel in Jerusalem November 1 and 2. I do hope I can very soon receive your positive reply. Lord Balfour joins me in this request.

I am now arranging to print and send out the invitations before I am leaving for London in 10 days and accordingly I will phone you just after you receive this letter.

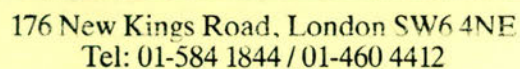
With best wishes,

Yours Sincerely

Mia Silver
National Director

my telephone N2
053 28670

Lord Balfour



Mr. Bibi Natanyahu
Deputy Foreign Minister
Foreign Ministry
Jerusalem.

Yours Sincerely

Mia Silver
National Director

My number in Isra el is 053 28670

National Director:
Mrs. Mia Silver