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Israel and the occupied territories: An analysis of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

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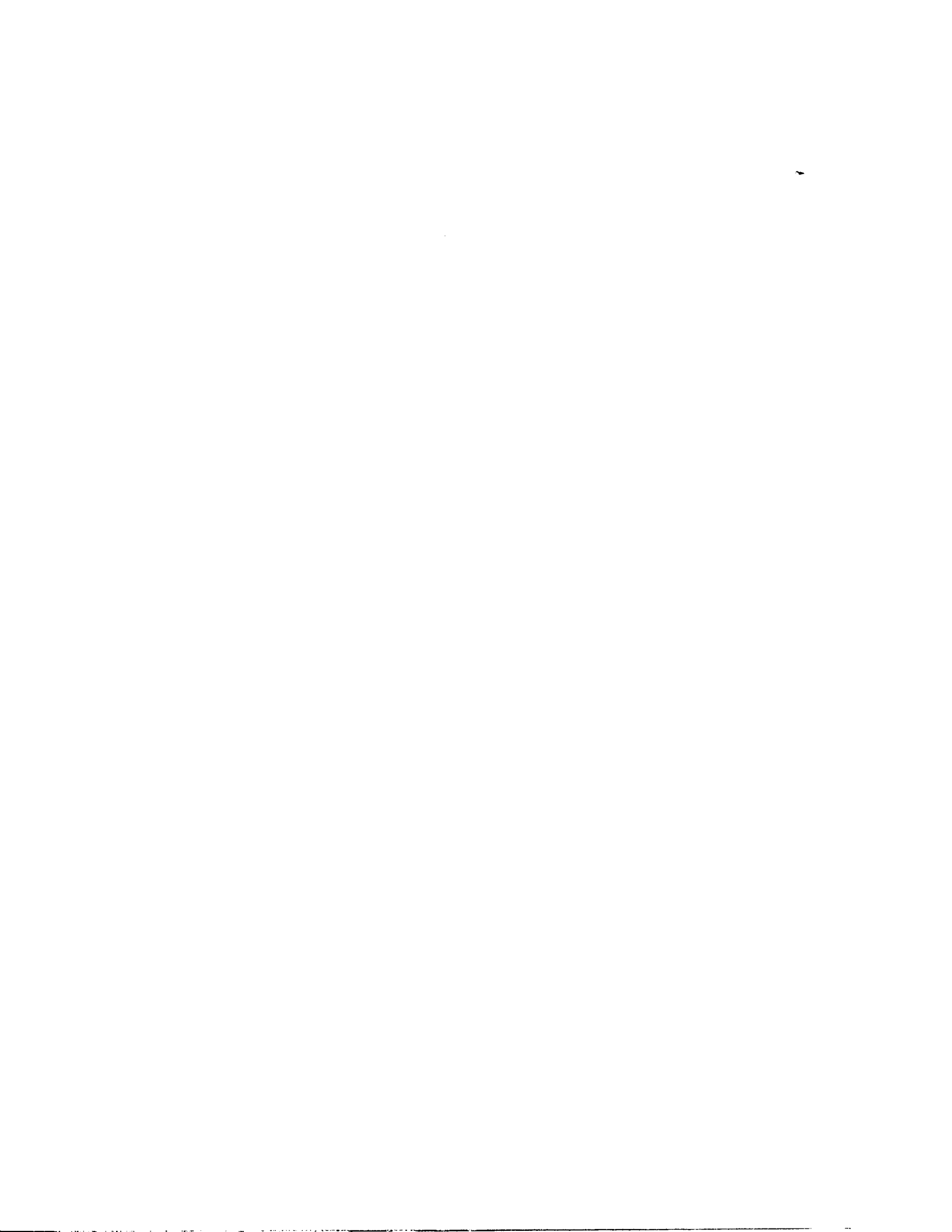
ISRAEL AND THE

OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

An Analysis Of The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict
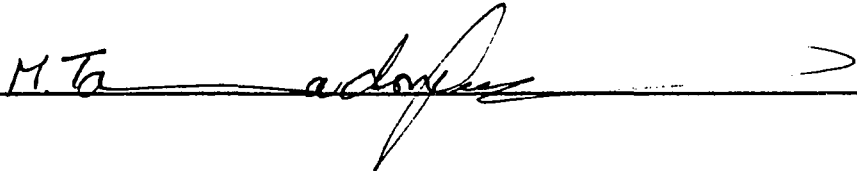
by

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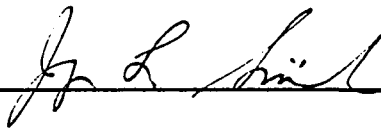
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PREFACE

Since the beginning of recorded history, successive waves of conquerors, including Sumerians and Babylonians, have overrun and occupied the area we know today as the West Bank. Nomadic Semitic groups began to appear in this region in about 2000 B.C. and for the next 1200 years, Hebrew tribes inhabited this area. Next, the region was occupied by nomadic tribesmen who became followers of Islam during the seventh century A.D. And European colonial powers held sway over the land for nearly 30 years in the early twentieth century. Since the end of the colonial era, Jordan ruled the West Bank for 19 years, and for the last 21 years the Jews have ruled the West Bank through the state of Israel. There have been claims and counterclaims on the land by both Jews and Palestinians. Emotions on this issue have run incredibly deep.

From the days of Mohammad to the early part of this century, relations between Moslems and Jews have generally been cordial and at times fraternal. During the Middle Ages, Jews acted as middlemen in financial dealings between Moslems and European Christians. As wars between Arabs and Christians, primarily in Spain, increased following the Berber invasion in A.D. 711 , the Jews generally allied themselves with the

Moslems, as the latter were often more tolerant in allowing them to practice their religion.

Relations later grew strained with the rise of Arab nationalism, which was directed primarily against the Turks and later the European colonial powers. In the twentieth century, the forces of nationalism, colored by Nazi propaganda and the threat of increased Jewish immigration (as a result of Zionism) following World War II, set in motion unprecedented discord between the Arab and Jewish communities. Some policies of the state of Israel, such as moving the capital from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, has also added to the deep divisions which separate Jews and Arabs.

The sustained level of unrest, which has reached a state of rebellion, has shaken the area and made it imperative to develop a fresh understanding of the current problem and to offer practical solutions to it. These solutions may not be easily attainable. Any practical solution will require a degree of mutual cooperation and compromise, by both communities, on a wide range of issues in order to bring lasting peace to this region.

This thesis will consist of six chapters. An introductory chapter will explore various conflict theories and their relevance to the situation which exists in the occupied territories. Chapter two examines the historical dimensions of the West Bank problem by focusing on the Jordanian role in the West Bank prior to the Six Day War. In the third chapter, the present political conditions

under the Israeli Military Government is discussed as well as the positions taken by the Labour party, the Likud coalition and the smaller parties within Israel. The role of the P.L.O. and moderate Palestinian mayors within the occupied territories is addressed in the fourth chapter. Chapter five will consist of an examination of the current socio-economic and political conditions which exist in the West Bank and Gaza. Lastly, I evaluate current policy recommendations for the future of the West Bank and Gaza, and present alternative solutions to the conflict.

CHAPTER I

A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Throughout human history there have been those who have sought to explain why man seeks to engage others of his kind in armed conflict. Some writers have looked to man's anthropological roots to explain such behavior, while others have concentrated on the philosophical or political planes.

Anthropologist Dr. Lewis S.B. Leakey believed that man is the most violent of all animals. Unlike other animals, man fights not only to survive but to establish hierarchy, attract or acquire females, and defend a specific territory. Robert Ardrey, author of <u>African Genesis</u>, following in the footsteps of Austrian naturalist Konrad Lorenz, adhered to the idea that violence is rooted in man's biological nature. Since this capacity for violence is ingrained in man's biological makeup,[1] this tendency will

always be present. However, it can be controlled because man has the mental capability to do so.

Some political theorists, such as Karl Jung, also felt that man's violent nature stems from a primordial level in his distant evolutionary past. In this context, aggression is seen as a "survival-enhancing instinct."[2] According to Jung, the loss of one's individualism is the trigger which activates this aggressive behavior. In other words, men become more hostile when they are in a situation in which they allow themselves to be swept along with a mob. Since aggression is tolerated, or even encouraged by mobs, men feel no remorse in committing these acts.

Sigmund Freud, the father of psychoanalysis, asserted that certain "in" groups, those with the same beliefs, often direct what he called "displaced aggression" towards members of an "out" group in order to maintain internal harmony. For example, members of a particular religion, stressing their common beliefs may direct aggression toward adherents of another faith in order to promote a feeling of cohesion within the group. He also claimed that the greater the differences between the groups, the greater the potential for hostility between them.[3]

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[1]   James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., Contending Theories in International Relations: A Comprehensive Survey (New York: Harper & Row, 1981), p. 2.

[2]   Ted Robert Gurr, Why Men Rebel (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 31.

[3]   Donald M. Taylor and Fathali M. Moghaddam, Theories of Intergroup

The concept that aggression, stems from frustration, was also put forth by Freud. This idea stated that when goal directed behavior is blocked, frustration occurs which leads to aggression. An example of this can be seen as various governments attempt to prevent nationalist groups within their borders from achieving independence from the state.

In 1949, a theory was developed which sought to explain why specific groups rebel, often violently, against others. This view came to be known as the theory of relative deprivation. This hypothesis addressed the concerns of disadvantaged groups, and sought to examine various feelings of discontent which may lead to violence. This line of reasoning assumed that a community's satisfaction is related to its position vis-a-vis another community, rather than the objective situation.

This "image theory", as Kenneth Boulding has described it, may lead to intergroup or international conflict. Their struggles are often "traced to individual states of mind, which are apt to be politically manipulated and where distorted perceptions may be more significant than accurate ones."[4] The group in question compares itself to one which is "better off", and feelings of discontent arise as a result. Relative deprivation may be defined as "an individual's perception of a discrepancy between his or her

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Relations: International Social Psychological Perspectives (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1987), p. 26.

[4]   Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, p. 281.

value expectations and value capabilities."[5] Value expectations meaning anything a person believes he or she is entitled to have, and value capabilities referring to those things which a person feels it is possible to obtain. If value expectation remains constant while value capabilities decline a gap will inevitably develop. For example, people in the middle class may come to expect a lifestyle their income has allowed them to grow accustomed to, but if taxes are perpetually increased, less money would be left for disposable income and the standard of living would decline.[6]

This theory is much more accurate in dealing with events in hindsight, as it is extremely difficult to predict with which class or group the subject group will compare itself.[7] Most theorists emphasize the emotional aspects, including anger and outrage, of relative deprivation. A particular group may feel it has been deprived of economic opportunity or political expression vis-a-vis another group by the central government due to their ethnic background or religious beliefs. In the emotional component the intensity of feeling is the main variable.[8]

Conflicts within society may, and often do, lead to outright war. War is "organized violence carried on by political units against each other."[9] War in the loosest sense of the word

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[5] Taylor and Moghaddam, p. 112.

[6] Ibid. p. 113.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

may be carried out by any political unit, be it a tribe or an ancient kingdom. In the strict sense, international war is waged by sovereign states. In the international system, wars determine when states rise and fall, create or relocate borders between them, and often determine the type of government which will exist within a country.

Individual states use war as an instrument of policy, for example, to curb the expansion, or influence of other powers. According to realist theory, war serves several purposes: it ensures a balance of power among equals, or between stronger and weaker states. It is used to preserve security, to increase power through wars of imperialism, punish criminal nations, or to enforce international law, as was done in Korea in 1950. War may also bring about just change such as wars of independence. Carl von Clausewitz maintained that war is a continuation of a state's policy by military means. The purpose of war is to force one's opponent to submit to one's will, rather than to annihilate the other side's population and lay waste to the cities and countryside. Clausewitz contended that "war is an act of violence intended to compel our opponent to fulfill our will."[10]

War may come about as a result of a combination of factors,

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[9] Hedley Bull, The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics (New York: Columbia Press, 1977), p. 184.

[10] Anatol Rapoport (ed.), Carl von Clausewitz-On War (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1968), p. 101.

as opposed to just one. A country may experience a military imbalance with another state along with economic pressure to go to war, such as the third India-Pakistan war of 1971. There are two main forms of goals which states seek to advance through the use of armed struggle. These include success oriented and conflict oriented goals.[11] Wars fought for economic reasons, such as the desire to acquire raw materials, secure trade routes, and conquer lands in which to settle one's own people fall into the category of success oriented objectives. Political goals are also included under this heading, which encompasses movements to gain independence, or the installation of friendly governments in neighboring countries. The spreading of a people's ideology comes into play as well, history gives many examples of societies which attempted to extend or destroy a religion or economic system. The "punishing" of another state, such as avenging an insult or injury, may also be a factor which leads to war. A final factor which must be included is that of achieving a greater degree of military security for the state.

Conflict oriented goals constitute goals which are achieved not in victory, but rather by the conflict itself. For example, during times of war, a society will generally become more cohesive as the feelings of nationalism and patriotism increase. National honor may be maintained or regained through war. Often

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[11] Dean G. Pruitt and Richard C. Snyder, _Theory and Research on the Causes of War_ (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), p. 16.

jobs are provided in defense industries which would aid a sluggish economy, and the power and influence of the military and governing elite are enhanced during time of conflict as well.[12] The combination of success oriented goals and those which are conflict oriented can be a powerful motivation toward armed conflict.

Some theorists, for example John Hobson, believed that modern imperialism was the direct cause of many wars. Hobson felt that the need to conquer new lands arose from a surplus of both capital and goods in the home country. This imbalance forced businessmen to search the world for new markets. Since these new areas had to be protected, the merchants soon persuaded the government to seize and administer the new lands. To avoid this expansionist tendency, Hobson suggested that the surplus capital be placed in the hands of the people at home who would then use it to purchase the surplus goods. This was to be achieved by the imposition of higher taxes on certain kinds of income, and the redistribution was to be handled by the government.[13]

Vladimir Lenin wrote that imperialism was the inevitable outcome of capitalism as it reached its mature stage. He theorized that:

Imperialism emerged as the development and

[12]   Ibid. p. 17.
[13]   Ibid. p. 18.

direct continuation of the fundamental attributes of capitalism in general. But capitalism only became capitalist imperialism at a definite and very high stage of its development, when certain of its fundamental attributes began to be transformed into their opposites, when the features of a period of transition from capitalism to a higher social and economic system began to take shape and reveal themselves all along the line. Economically, the main thing in this process is the substitution of capitalist monopolies for capitalist free competition.[14]

Lenin proclaimed that there was no cure for imperialism short of the triumph of socialism.[15] He argued that capitalists were so powerful, and had so much influence with their governments that they could effectively block any attempts at reform. Other scholars have suggested that imperialism, and the conflicts it creates, are products of a state's large military machine and political organization. The theory holds that members of these groups seek to encourage expansionist activities as a means of maintaining their positions in the upper echelons of society.

The desire to fill a power vacuum may also lead to military conflict between countries. This term describes a geographical region that is militarily or politically weak and therefore

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[14] C. Wright Mills, The Marxists (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1962), pp. 204-205.

[15] Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, p. 223.

vulnerable to incursions from abroad.[16] States often opt to increase their influence in the unstable area either because control appears easy to establish, or because it is feared that competitor states will attempt to gain control of the land in question. History has shown that competition to fill power vacuums is often the first step in a series of events that lead to larger conflicts.

The perception that another state might pose a threat, either directly or indirectly, to the interests of the first may also provide the basis for war.[17] A country could be seen as constituting a threat if it has both the capability and the intent to interfere with the goals of another.[18] A large standing army is an example of capability, while intent can be found in examining the situation in which a country finds itself at a particular point in time. For instance, during times of instability within a country, states are usually assumed to be more prone to engage in violence against an unstable society. Iraq's invasion of Iran in 1980 serves as a case in point. Saddam Hussein attempted to take advantage of Iran's weakened condition following the Iranian revolution to redefine the border between the two states, as well as to gain control of the Shatt al-Arab river which flows into the Persian Gulf.[19] Unfortunately for Hussein, he

[16] Pruitt and Snyder, p. 29.

[17] Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, p. 331.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Michael D. Wormser (ed.), The Middle East (Washington, D.C.: Congressional

underestimated the strength of Iran's forces. As a result the war ground on for eight years and cost the lives of approximately one million men.

In certain cases, threat perception has led to violence in the form of a pre-emptive attack. For example, the German attack on Belgium and France in 1914, or the Israeli strike against Egypt in 1967. Such an assault is designed to deliver a powerful first blow before the other side has a chance to attack. The success of such an action in quickly winning a war depends to a large extent on the relative strength of the combatants, as well as the relevant circumstances, such as the attitudes expressed by one's allies.

Displaced hostility theory is also cited as a source of aggression between states. There have been instances in which a government searches for a foreign scapegoat on which to blame internal problems, be they political or economic. The choice of a target is usually determined by past relations between the two countries. A tradition of animosity would increase the likelihood that the foreign entity could become the target of misplaced aggression on the part of the general population of the troubled country. The scapegoat may also be of a domestic nature and be selected by national leaders on the basis of past hatred or prejudices. In just such a way, Hitler was able to channel German hostilities onto the Jews of Europe.[20]

Quarterly Inc , 1981), p. 165.

In some instances, world public opinion may act as a deterrent to war. According to this view, a country will refrain from acts of aggression against another if it anticipates disapproval from other states. Obviously, the attitudes of some states will be more salient than those of others, as not all countries would be viewed as having the .same significance by the aggressor state. The effectiveness of world public opinion is due in part to the interdependence among nations. It is well known that contact between countries is measured in many ways: economic, political, and diplomatic relations, military associations and tourism, as well as the almost instantaneous news coverage which the media is capable of providing today. By acting in ways unacceptable to world opinion, states jeopardize the cooperation of other countries by arousing their ire.

A country may show its displeasure with the actions of another in several ways, including: the recall of an ambassador, severance of diplomatic relations, imposition of trade embargos or sanctions, or the threat or actual use of military force.[21] In general, weaker states are more susceptible to influence by foreign governments mainly because many are dependent upon the more powerful states for economic support and/or military protection.

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[20] Pruitt and Snyder, p. 29.

[21] Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, p. 331.

The vigor with which world opinion is organized and put into action depends largely on how citizens of various states interpret the actions of a specific country. Overall, powerful protests against war have increased dramatically in the past fifty years; this shows that today people are very concerned with the devastating effect war can have, especially in the nuclear age.[22]

With regard to Israel and the occupied territories, several of the above mentioned causes of conflict, such as perceived threat theory and that of relative deprivation, apply to Israel's current state of affairs. Originally Israel, perceiving a threat to its security by neighboring countries, assumed control of the West Bank and Gaza in an attempt to increase its defensive position vis-a-vis the surrounding Arab states. Although some countries have gone to war for ideological reasons, this was not the case in 1967, as the overriding factor for Israel was to initiate hostilities as a way to increase the security of the state. Since that time, however, some segments of Israeli society have become convinced that Israel is entitled to these lands because of their historic importance to the Jewish people.

The current uprising, or *intifadah*, in the occupied territories stems from a feeling of frustration on the part of the Palestinian inhabitants of those areas and has proven exceedingly difficult for Israel to quell. Relative deprivation theory may be

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[22]   Pruitt and Snyder, p. 181.

easily applied to the Palestinian's situation. Rather than comparing themselves to their Arab brethren in neighboring states, Palestinians compare themselves to the Israelis who are materially better off and have more political freedom.

A form of elite theory also comes into play. While not part of Israeli society, the lives of the people living in the territories are greatly affected by decisions made by Israeli leaders in Jerusalem. Palestinians are allowed some degree of local autonomy, but all major policies concerning the West Bank and Gaza are formulated by the Israelis. This leaves the population with a feeling of frustration, which has now become aggression. Denied their own state, and blocked from attaining offices which would allow them increased control over their own affairs, Palestinians took to the street in December 1987, the *intifadah* began.

The uprising is both success and conflict oriented. The success orientation focuses on political independence from Israel. As for the conflict oriented objectives, the current unrest has served as a cohesive force within the Palestinian community. Individuals who held moderate views have joined those with more radical ideas in order to present a united front against Israel. Within Israel, the *intifadah* has deepened the divisions between those who believe that the Jewish state should retain the territories and those who feel that the land should be traded for

peace. The views of the latter range from a possible confederation of the occupied territories with Jordan to an independent Palestinian state. The *intifadah* has unmistakably disturbed Israelis' peace of mind. As a professor from Hebrew University in Jerusalem, who requested anonymity, stated, "The *intifadah* has penetrated the core of Israeli society, the accumulation of 19 months of uncertainty and frustration are beginning to show."[23]

World public opinion has condemned Israel for the harsh measures used in an attempt to end the violence in the territories. So far, Israel has found the criticism to be annoying but tolerable since government leaders such as Yitzak Shamir, insist that the *intifadah* is a threat to Israel's national security. In addition, many right wing Knesset members feel that the *intifadah* is only the first step in a Palestinian plan to replace Israel with a Palestinian state. Over time, protests by European governments may have some impact, as Israeli businesses attempt to increase their trade with the European Economic Community. By far the country which has the most influence with Israel is the United States.

Israelis respect U.S. public opinion to a far greater degree than that of any other country. This is due to a history of good relations between the two countries, as well as the large Jewish population in the United States. In addition to these

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[23] Christian Science Monitor June 22, 1989, p. 1.

considerations, the United States provides more financial assistance to Israel than any other state. American shipments of military hardware are also considerable. Currently the United States dispatches nearly two billion dollars a year in military aid to Israel out of total assistance in excess of three and a half billion dollars.[24] The yearly amount of foreign aid which the United States sends to Israel is rivaled only by that which is given to Egypt.[25] If Israel is to be influenced by any foreign power on the ultimate disposition of the occupied territories, it will no doubt be the United States.

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[24] Public Broadcasting Service, " Frontline", 16 May, 1989.
[25] Wormser, p. 53.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

For many Israelis, the West Bank is seen as part of what was once greater Israel. Today most Israeli liberals (including members of the Mojan, Labour, and the Israeli Communist Parties) feel that the West Bank should be returned to Arab control. In contrast, Israeli conservatives believe that Israel has the right to retain the region on ideological, religious, economic and military grounds. Deep rooted feelings for *Eretz Israel* (the land of Israel) may be found in all Israelis, and in Jews around the world, but the debate continues as to whether or not *Eretz Israel* should include the West Bank.

Jewish tradition tells us that the Jews' attachment to the land of Israel began with the covenant between God and Abraham.

It is now generally believed that the ancient Hebrews viewed this covenant as a kind of treaty in which God, as sovereign, promised His subjects land and protection in exchange for their homage and allegiance.[1] The land was called Canaan, or Israel. The golden age of ancient Israel emerged under the reigns of David (1000-960 B.C.) and his son Solomon (960-922 B.C.).[2] David was admired as the quintessential poet-warrior king. He first ruled as king of Judah from Hebron (which is now a' major city in the West Bank) before moving his capital to Jerusalem. This was a logical move because Jerusalem was centrally located and unencumbered by tribal claims.

The construction of Solomon's Temple took place between 957 and 950 B.C. Today the Western Wall is all that remains of this important structure. Upon Solomon's death, the kingdom split apart. During his lifetime, heavy taxes were levied in order to pay for the various construction projects which were undertaken by the king. These taxes were imposed unevenly, and as a result, created a division between the northern and southern tribes.[3] The ten northern tribes broke away and created Israel in 922 B.C. The two tribes, Judah and Benjamin, remained in the southern kingdom of Judah.

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[1]   Abba Eban, _Heritage: Civilization and the Jews_ (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984), p. 17.

[2]   Harry M. Orlinsky, _Ancient Israel_ (London: Cornell University Press, 1960), p. 58.

[3]   _Ibid._ p. 76.

Israel, the stronger of the two militarily, was attacked by the Assyrian Empire in 724 B.C. Her capital of Samaria (currently in the West Bank) fell to King Sargon II in 722 B.C.[4] By 600 B.C., the Egyptians and Babylonians had replaced the Assyrians as the major powers of the region. After a relatively short war, Jerusalem, the capital of Judah, was captured by Babylon in 586 B.C.[5] The city was looted, the Temple destroyed, and the population exiled to Babylon. In 539 B.C., Cyrus the Great, king of Persia, established his own dynasty. After defeating the Babylonians, he issued a decree which allowed the Jews to return to Jerusalem and rebuild their Temple.[6] This decree has been compared to the Balfour Declaration which was to come some 2400 years later.

Alexander the Great began his conquest of Asia in 334 B.C. Judah, which was still under Persian rule, was one of the first territories to fall to the Greeks. After Alexander's death in 323 B.C., Judah was ruled by two successive Hellenistic regimes; the Ptolemaic based in Egypt, and the Seleucid with its capital in Babylonia.[7] While the Jewish upper class adopted Greek ways (in aspects other than religion) the middle and lower classes rejected this foreign influence. In 167 B.C., the Seleucid Antiochus IV, in an attempt to assimilate the Jews, forbade them

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4   Ibid. p. 86.

5   Ibid. p. 97.

6   Eban, p. 66.

7   Ibid. p. 74.

from practicing their faith. The Jews, outraged by the edict, rebelled under the leadership of one of the greatest military heroes in Jewish history, Judah Maccabee (the Hammer).[8]

After three years of guerrilla warfare against the superior forces of the Seleucides the rebels emerged victorious. To this day, Jews celebrate this victory with the holiday of Hannukah.[9] It is interesting to note that in Judaism this is the only holiday associated with a warring event. After the war, Judah Maccabee and his men immediately set about establishing an independent Jewish state. This country remained free from foreign control for close to a century, until the power of Rome swept the Mediterranean world.

By 4 B.C., Judah (then called Judea by the Romans) was firmly in Rome's grip. Although the first Roman emperor, Augustus, treated the Jews leniently, his governors were of a less amiable nature. These procurators, including Pontius Pilate who governed from A.D. 26 to 36, had little tolerance for the Jews and were prepared to execute anyone who showed the slightest sign of resistance to Imperial rule. In addition, they amassed great personal fortunes by levying heavy taxes upon the people of Judea. In A.D. 66, after enduring years of Roman domination, the people of Judea, encouraged by resistance groups known as Zealots revolted against the mighty empire.[10] After four years of war,

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[8] Idem, My People: The Story of the Jews (New York: Random House, 1968), p. 76.

[9] Eban, p. 76.

the rebellion was crushed and the country was once again subjugated. The last bastion to fall to the Roman legions was the rock fortress of Masada, which withstood a siege for over two years.[11]

Following the rebellion, the Romans destroyed the second Temple and banished the Jews to the far corners of the Empire. It would take some two thousand years before Jews would again return to and create a state in the land of their ancestors. Even after the Diaspora, the land was in constant turmoil. Invasions were launched by Islamic warriors, Crusaders, Turks, and British forces. Before the modern state of Israel was created in 1948, the region was conquered and reconquered no less than fourteen times in thirteen centuries.[12]

Each Passover, Jews all over the world have uttered the words "next year in Jerusalem" to end the holiday service. Finally, after two thousand years their dream of returning to the land of their ancestors was fulfilled with the establishment of the state of Israel.

Dr. Theodore Herzl began the Zionist movement in 1897.[13] He believed that the Jews needed a homeland, in part for historical reasons, and as a practical solution to the vicious

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[10]   Ibid. p. 83.

[11]   Eban, p. 92.

[12]   Abraham Joshua Herschel, Israel: An Echo of Eternity (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1969), p. 56.

[13]   Robert Saint John, They Came From Everywhere: Twelve Who Helped Mold Modern Israel (New York: Coward-McCann Inc., 1962), p.41.

anti-semitic pogroms which were sweeping Eastern Europe. After the turn of the century, Zionist organizations collected funds which were used to buy land in Palestine in order to establish Jewish settlements.[14] These parcels were usually purchased from absentee Turkish landlords, with the local population having little or no say in the transaction.

In 1917, an ardent Zionist Chaim Weizmann (who later became Israel's first president) persuaded British Foreign Minister Lord Arthur James Balfour to issue a declaration which gave hope to Jews worldwide that the establishment of a Jewish state was possible.[15] It read:

> His Majesty's Government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.[16]

As one might expect, the Arabs of the region objected strenuously not only to the Balfour declaration, but also to the

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[14] David Hirst, The Gun And The Olive Branch: The Roots of Violence in The Middle East (London: Faber & Faber, 1977) p. 25.

[15] Saint John, p. 41.

[16] John G. Stoessinger, Why Nations Go To War (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1971), p.141.

increased level of immigration on the part of European Jews fleeing Nazi persecution in the mid to late 1930's.

As World War II approached, the British government, caught between their promise to the Jews on the one hand and Arab strategic and oil interests on the other, finally capitulated to the wishes of the Arabs. Despite pleas from Zionist leaders the British imposed a ceiling on Jewish immigration.[17] These restrictions were enforced during as well as immediately following World War II. Despite the British laws, many Jews attempted to run the blockade in order to reach Palestine. Although most were intercepted and sent to internment camps on Cyprus, thousands of immigrants with the help of the Jewish underground (Haganah) arrived in Palestine illegally. The Arabs became more bitter and fighting soon erupted. In 1947, the British government, totally frustrated with the situation, announced that it was giving up its mandate over Palestine and allowing the United Nations to attempt to find a solution to the violence which it could not control. [18]

A committee known as the United Nations Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) was created in order to investigate, and set forth a solution to, the problems of the area. After several months of studying the situation, the committee recommended that Palestine be partitioned into a Jewish and an Arab state.

[17] Maurice Harari, Government and Politics of The Middle East (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1962), p. 138.

[18] Hirst, p. 114.

While the Zionists welcomed the decision, the Arabs rejected it out of hand. The U.N. vote occurred on November 29,1947.[19] With intense lobbying by the Zionists and pressure exerted by the United States, the partition resolution was adopted by a vote of thirty-three countries in favor, thirteen against, and ten abstentions.[20]

On May 14, 1948, as the last British soldiers left Palestine, the modern state of Israel was born. Since the end of the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war, the importance of the West Bank in the politics of the Middle East has far exceeded its past historical significance.[21] For many people in Israel and the Arab world, the West Bank has become a focal point of Arab-Israeli relations. It represents the intransigence of "the other side", and symbolizes the ineffectiveness of the superpowers, as well as the United Nations, to devise and implement a solution to the conflict. Disagreements over the future status of the West Bank have created deep political divisions within Israel, among Jewish communities worldwide, among the various Arab states and within the Palestinian national movement.

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[19] Louis M. Farshee, "The Bernadotte Plan and Zionist Expansion," American-Arab Affairs (Fall 1988, No. 26), p.28.

[20] Harari, p. 139.

[21] Don Peretz, The West Bank: History, Politics, Society and Economy (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986), p. 1.

Arab-Israeli Relations: A Historical Assessment

In the last decades of the 19th century, after centuries of relatively benign coexistence, relations between Jews and Arabs began to deteriorate. Tensions grew as European Jews espoused the idea of their people returning to the land of their ancestors. During the same period, the first sign of Arab nationalism began to appear as Arabs sought to identify fully with the larger Islamic community.[22] Since the establishment of the state of Israel, relations between Israelis and Arabs have consistently been hostile, mainly due to the fact that with the exception of Egypt the surrounding Arab states have never accepted Israel's right to exist; it is seen as a foreign presence, supported by the West, imposed on the Arab world.

The term West Bank is relatively new in the language of international politics. Palestine, as a distinctive political entity, was not widely used until after the establishment of the British mandate following World War I. The West Bank, as we know it today (a distinctive entity between Israel and Jordan), was not known to the world until after the 1948 Israeli war for independence. Borders for Palestine were not clearly defined until the League of Nations created the mandate in 1922. Palestine generally denoted the southern third of Ottoman Syria. The Jordan River was considered the dividing line between

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[22]   Ibid. p.12.

Eastern and Western Palestine. In 1921, while under British administration, the East Bank became Transjordan and the West Bank was designated as Palestine. This was pursuant to an arrangement between Britain and France through which the Hashemite leader Abdullah was made *Amir* (Governor) of Transjordan in exchange for his forces not attacking French Syria. This was in keeping with the Sykes-Picot agreement, which was a secret understanding between Britain and France whereby the bulk of the defeated Ottoman Empire would be divided between the two European powers.[23]

Until recently, Jordan had sought to control the West Bank and its Palestinian population. Although the royal family is not Palestinian, it has long tried to be seen as the representative of the Palestinian people. In an attempt to increase the state's power, King Abdullah moved his forces into the area following the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. The defeat the Arab states suffered as a result of the 1948 war came as a devastating blow to Arab leaders as well as their populations. While the population of the Arab countries involved in the conflict was 40 times larger than that of the Jewish state, the Arabs, embroiled in various rivalries, were unable to unite their armies under one command.[24] The Jews, while vastly outnumbered, benefited from their greater cohesion (as they were fighting for their

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[23] Hirst, p. 37.

[24] Michael D. Wormser(ed.), _The Middle East_ (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1981), p. 15.

state's very survival) as well as from their leaders' experience in paramilitary activities, battling British troops and Palestinian Arabs during the British mandate.[25] The fighting ended on January 7, 1949, and by July the warring Arab states, with the exception of Iraq, had signed an armistice agreement with Israel.[26] When Jordan was driven out of the territory in 1967, it continued to exercise its influence by paying the salaries of thousands of teachers and municipal officials. In the summer of 1988 King Hussein broke with tradition and announced that he was relinquishing all claims to the West Bank. Jordan has been losing credibility among Palestinians since it expelled P.L.O. fighters from its territory in 1970.

The West Bank's History

Prior to the start of the Zionist (return to the land of Zion) movement by Theodore Herzl in the 1890's there were no Jewish agricultural settlements in the West Bank. During the Ottoman era, the population was almost completely Arab, with the exception of a few hundred Jews living in Hebron. By 1914, according to the Ottoman census, the total population of Palestine had increased to 689,272 of whom approximately 60,000 were Jews.[27] The small Christian population was

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[25] Ibid. p.16.

[26] The Iraqi leadership refused to sign a disengagement agreement and simply withdrew from Palestine.

concentrated in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. While Christians and Jews were largely urban, most Moslems remained in rural areas. By the turn of the century, however, more and more Moslems were moving into the towns. These towns and cities began to expand during the 1920's due to increased commerce, as well as migration from over-populated rural areas.[28]

In the West Bank the settled Arabs tended to cluster in the hill country, primarily as a refuge from attacks by Bedouins who roamed the plains. The Ottomans invested little of their own resources in Palestine. Rather, they encouraged local investment in order to stimulate the growth of export crops, such as bananas and olives. The Turks, in an effort to bring order to the area, began to intervene more frequently in village wars and against Bedouin raiders. As a result of these actions the economy was strengthened, and villagers began to move to the plains and valleys.

After World War I, the British occupied the territory of Palestine. The emerging administrative system abided by the old Turkish land laws, but created a new judicial system. By 1924, the Christian Arab population which included 10% of the inhabitants held 30% of the government positions. Jews who made up 15% occupied 20% of the positions, and Moslems who were 75% of the population held only 15% of administrative posts.

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[27] Peretz, p. 7.
[28] Ibid., p. 8.

The Arab revolt of 1936-38 came about as a result of increased Jewish immigration, which the British authorities allowed, coupled with a rise in Arab nationalism.[29] The British were able to end the violence by drastically increasing their military forces in the country and by intensifying their anti-guerrilla campaigns. Many Arabs worried that additional Jewish immigration would lead to increased competition for land and exert added pressure on their fledgling economy. These concerns would not prove to be groundless. In an effort to placate the Arabs of Palestine, the British government issued the famous White Paper of 1939[30] which acted as a counter balance to the Balfour Declaration. Whereas the Balfour Declaration promised the Jews a national homeland in Palestine, the White Paper pledged that that same land would be allowed to become an Arab state. The White Paper promised the Arabs independence within ten years. After five years, they would be allowed to approve or disapprove further Jewish immigration. In addition, it limited Jewish land acquisition within the first five years. London did not live up to the promises made in the White Paper (nor those in the Balfour Declaration), and in fact the paper was never implemented.

The British mandate over Palestine ended in 1948. Under a United Nations plan, following the British withdrawal, the country was to be divided into two states: one Jewish and the

[29]   Hirst, p. 81.
[30]   Harari, p. 140.

other Arab. The new Jewish state in which 32% of the population resided was to include 55% of the land. Included in the state was the coastal plain, the eastern Galilee, and the southern Negev. The Arab state was to consist of the southern coast (the Gaza Strip), Central Galilee, and the mountain district (the West Bank).[31]

The Palestinian Arabs rejected the U.N. Plan, as did the important Arab states of the region. On May 14, 1948, David Ben-Gurion proclaimed the independence of the state of Israel. On the same day, the new country was attacked by the armies of the five neighboring Arab states: Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, Syria and Lebanon.

By 1949, Israel had emerged with it's statehood intact and its borders increased beyond those allotted to it by the United Nations partition plan. Over the next forty years, Israel would fight three major wars with her Arab neighbors. The first of these conflicts occurred in 1956.

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The vote for partition took place on November 29, 1947. Six Arab delegations (Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen) declared that they would not be bound by the decision. The Arab state was to encompass an area of 4500 square miles and include approximately 804,000 Arabs and 10,000 Jews. The Jewish state was to be made up of 5500 square miles with a population of 538,000 Jews and 397,000 Arabs. Jerusalem and its surrounding area (289 square miles) was to be administered by a U.N. trusteeship council. The Plan called for the U.N. to appoint a provisional council of government in each state. This would be followed within two months of the final British withdrawal by elections in which everyone over eighteen years of age would be allowed to vote.

The Suez Crisis of 1956

President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt closed the Suez Canal and the Strait of Tiran to Israeli shipping. France and Great Britain were very unhappy with Nasser's decision to nationalize the Canal and felt their positions in the eastern Mediterranean were being eroded by Nasser's new brand of Arab nationalism.[32]

Together with Israel, the two European powers secretly decided to take military action against Egypt. Israel was to launch the attack and Britain and France would then land troops in an attempt to "separate" the combatants. The Israeli army swiftly captured the Sinai, and British and French forces were deployed.[33]

Unfortunately for British Prime Minister Anthony Eden and French Premier Guy Mollet, the United States failed to endorse their actions. The Eisenhower Administration, outraged that the U.S. had not been consulted prior to the invasion, refused to support the Europeans. Faced with American opposition, and a United Nations resolution which labelled them as aggressors, the British and French withdrew after only one month. Israel also withdrew on the condition that the conquered territories be administered by a U.N. peacekeeping force.

The forced withdrawal of the British, French and Israeli

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[32] Wormser, p. 16.

[33] Ibid., p. 17.

troops was viewed as a triumph for Nasser. Due to its actions, the United States reached an unprecedented height of influence and prestige within the Arab world. Nasser not only remained in power, his popularity increased dramatically.

The events of 1956 only temporarily altered the military balance of power between Israel and Egypt. The large amounts of equipment lost by Egypt in the war were soon replaced by the Soviet Union. Nasser was hailed as a hero in the Arab world for not only standing up to the Israelis but also for defying the former colonial powers. The war increased Arab hostility toward Israel, and Nasser's idea of Arab unity grew at an unprecedented pace.

While the Suez crisis became a diplomatic defeat for Israel, as she was forced to submit to U.S. pressure to withdraw, from a security standpoint, Israel benefitted from the deployment of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) in the Sinai as well as regaining the right of passage through the Gulf of Aqaba and the Suez Canal.

The Six Day War

The third major Arab-Israeli war erupted in the summer of 1967. President Nasser, as he had a decade earlier, was still determined to put pressure on Israel. Other Arab states followed suit with Syria announcing plans to divert the headwaters of the Jordan River, Israel's major source of water, and Jordan shelling Jerusalem from positions in the West Bank.[34]

In 1967, Israel's geographic borders were radically changed as the Jewish state captured lands which became known as the occupied territories. Clashes with the Syrian air force became common over the Golan Heights and northern Israel, and President Nasser again closed the Suez Canal to Israeli ships. This action on the part of Egypt directly precipitated the Six Day War.[35]

Israeli Prime Minister Levi Eshkol decided that Israel had to take action to reopen the Strait of Tiran, and thereby end Egypt's blockade of the port of Elat. At 7:45 a.m. on Monday June 5th, the Six Day War began with a strike by the Israeli air force on Egyptian air bases. After nearly a week of intense fighting the Israeli army found itself in possession of the Sinai Peninsula, the Gaza Strip, the West Bank of the Jordan River, the Golan Heights, and the entire city of Jerusalem.

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[34] Gideon Rafael, "Five Wars, One Peace: What Next?" Middle East Review (Summer 1988, vol. XX, no. 4), p. 8.

[35] Stoessinger, p. 161.

Israel had devastated the armies of Egypt, Syria, and Jordan. The Jewish state had destroyed 430 aircraft, 800 tanks, and had killed or wounded 15,000 Arab troops. In addition, it had taken approximately 5,500 soldiers as prisoners. Israel's losses were 40 aircraft and 676 dead.[36] A study made by the Institute for Strategic Studies in London pointed out some of the reasons behind the stunning success of the Israeli Defense Forces (I.D.F.). It stated, "Like the Campaigns of the younger Napoleon, the Israeli Defense Force provided a textbook illustration for all the classical principles of war: speed, surprise, concentration, security, information, the offensive-above all training and morale."[37] With this victory Israel was elevated from a position of weakness and vulnerability to one in which it stood on an equal footing with the surrounding Arab states.

Jordan and The Six Day War

As hostilities drew near in 1967, King Hussein of Jordan saw war as an impending disaster. He knew his country was outmatched militarily by Israel but he felt he had to participate in order to satisfy his honor as an Arab leader and to protect himself from the condemnation by the Arab world if he failed to act against the Jewish state.[38] Israel's Defense Minister Moshe

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36 Ibid., p. 163.
37 Ibid., p. 163.

Dayan, Chief of Staff Yitzak Rabin, and Foreign Minister Abba Eban wanted to take the Old City of Jerusalem (which had been held by Jordan since 1948) immediately, mainly in order to stop Jordanian shelling which had been coming from that sector. Israeli paratroopers broke through to the Old City at 10 a.m. on Wednesday June 7, forty eight hours after the Jordanians had opened fire in Jerusalem. They swiftly captured this area. Dayan wanted only to push the Jordanians back out of artillery range of Israeli forces and to capture the crest of the Judean- Samarian Hills.

King Hussein ordered a full retreat from the West Bank. After hearing of this command, Moshe Dayan authorized an all-out attack. Soon thereafter, the Harel brigade became the first Israeli unit to proceed to Jericho. Heavy fighting ensued as the Jordanian army pulled back across the River Jordan. The Harel took up positions guarding the Allenby bridge. A frantic appeal for peace was made by the Jordanian government to the American ambassador in Amman, which was transmitted to Israel. To make it clear that Israel had no intention of moving on the Jordanian capital, Dayan ordered the advancing forces to pull back and the four bridges over the Jordan River blown up. As the war ended, Yitzak Rabin asked the Defense Minister, "How do we control a million Arabs?"[39] It is a question that is still being asked

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[38]   Jerusalem Post, 21 May 1988.

[39]   Ibid.

today.

The 1973 War

The 1973 Yom Kippur War found Israel less prepared than it had been six years earlier. The Arab states were eager to avenge their humiliating defeat and regain the lands which had been lost. The man who coordinated the attack against Israel was Egypt's President Anwar Sadat. Sadat had become Egypt's president following Nasser's death in 1970 and soon began to work with Syria and Jordan in an attempt to set the stage for war. Due to its relatively weak position, Jordan provided only a token force in this war with Israel. On Yom Kippur, the Jewish day of atonement, Syria and Egypt launched a combined attack which quickly overwhelmed the Israeli positions on the Golan Heights and in the Sinai.[40]

After a week of savage fighting, including some of the fiercest tank battles since World War II, Israel was able to halt the Arab invasion. However, the myth of the invincible Israeli army, which had emerged after the 1967 victory, was shattered. During the second week of the war, as both sides suffered from the depletion of war materials, the superpowers intervened. The Soviet Union, intent on resupplying its client states in the region, began a massive airlift to Egypt and Syria. In fact, on October 15,

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[40] Wormser, p. 20.

nine days after the war began, Cyprus air traffic control reported that eighteen Soviet Antonov transports were flying over every hour on their way to resupply the two Arab countries.[41]

The United States was determined to match the Soviets in the amount of materials, including aircraft and tanks, which were being delivered to the Middle East. No European country would allow American planes to land and refuel· as they feared an Arab oil embargo if they aided the U.S. President Nixon therefore decided that the United States would complete the task on its own. U.S. Air Force C-5 Galaxies carried between 700-800 tons of supplies daily to Israel via an American air base in the Azores. The size of this airlift was exceeded only by the Berlin airlift of 1948.[42]

As the tide of battle turned in favor of Israel, General Moshe Dayan told a New York Times correspondent that, "We have to show them [the Syrians] that the road leads not only from Damascus to Tel Aviv but from Tel Aviv to Damascus."[43] Dayan was clearly sending a signal to the world that Israel was a power to be reckoned with in the region. He believed that Israel had to remain militarily strong in order to deter any future surprise attack on the part of Egypt or Syria. On October 22, a shaky

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[41] Peter Allen, The Yom Kippur War: The Politics, Tactics, and Individual Actions by which Israel Repelled the Arab Invasion of 1973 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1982), p. 159.

[42] Ibid., p. 162.

[43] New York Times, 21 October 1973.

ceasefire was established and by the 27th, U.N. troops had begun to arrive from Cyprus.

In the years following the Yom Kippur War, relations began to thaw between Israel and her most powerful enemy, Egypt. This improved state of relations culminated in President Sadat's historic visit to Jerusalem in 1977. Sadat broke with the Arab world and made the trip, due mainly to the poor state of Egypt's economy. With Israel no longer considered hostile, Sadat was able to spend less money on the military and thus divert more funds into the private sector. The United States offered increased economic aid as a further incentive for Egypt's participation in the peace process. In addition, Sadat's ideological outlook had softened by 1979. The Egyptian president made it clear that his country no longer challenged Israel's right to exist, but did oppose the Israeli occupation of Arab lands seized in 1967, as well as Tel Aviv's refusal to recognize what he called "Palestinian rights."[44]

At present the two countries remain at peace, albeit an uncertain one. Israel and Syria remain bitter enemies and relations are unlikely to improve as long as President Assad remains in power. Since a peace treaty has never been signed between Israel and Jordan, the two technically remain at war. In reality, however, Israel regards Jordan as a relatively moderate and stable Arab state. In addition, Israel and Jordan actually

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[44] Wormser, p. 22.

cooperate on matters of mutual interest, such as limiting the influence of the P.L.O. in the West Bank.

The West Bank and the Gaza Strip

The West Bank, which was controlled by Jordan prior to 1967, encompasses approximately 2270 square miles. It extends from the central Galilee in the north down the Jordan River, which makes up its eastern border and flows as far as the Dead Sea, to the Negev Desert in the south. Israel surrounds it to the north, south and west while Jordan borders it to the east. The current population of the West Bank stands at 900,000. It has twenty-five cities and towns, Hebron and Nablus being the largest, as well as 324 villages and twenty refugee camps. Approximately 35% of the West Bank's population live in these camps.[45]

Jerusalem, the city which is considered holy by three of the world's major religions, lies at the foot of the Judean Hills, thirty-eight miles east of the Mediterranean, and eighteen miles northwest of the Dead Sea. From 1949 to 1967, the city was

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[45] Lynne R. Franks, Israel and the Occupied Territories (Washington, D.C.: American Asosciation of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers, 1987), p. 175.

divided along the so-called "Green Line" which separated East and West Jerusalem.[46] This term describes the 1949 armistice line, deriving from the green writing instrument used to draw the agreement.[47] West Jerusalem encompasses fifteen square miles and is mainly inhabited by Israeli Jews. East Jerusalem covers twenty-seven square miles including the Old City, and is inhabited by Palestinians including those who choose to carry Jordanian passports.

The other major region which Israel captured in 1967 and whose residents are Palestinian is the Gaza Strip. It is located on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea and borders the Sinai Desert to the south and Israel to the north and east.[48] This territory covers approximately 150 square miles (twenty-seven miles long and five miles wide). Gaza is one of the most densely populated areas in the world, with about 1300 people per square kilometer.

Since the 1967 war, over 50% of the land in the Gaza Strip has been expropriated by the Israeli government.[49] In Gaza, the population, which currently stands at 650,000 is dispersed over seventeen towns, villages and refugee camps. Over two-thirds of Gaza's population live in these camps.

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[46] John Edwin Mroz, Beyond Security: Private Perception Among Arabs and Israelis (New York: Pergamon Press, 1980), p. 208.

[47] Rafik Haladi, The West Bank Story (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1982), p. 29.

[48] Richard Locke and Antony Stewart, Bantustan Gaza (London: Zed Books, 1985), p. 9.

[49] Franks, p. 174.

In 1946, Eastern Palestine, including the West Bank, became known as the Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan, with Abdullah as its first king. Abdullah's family still retains power in Jordan, as his grandson, Hussein, is currently the ruling monarch. In 1949, the country was renamed the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.[50]

One of the most important developments of the 1948 war was the immigration of approximately 500,000 Palestinians into areas controlled by the Jordanian army. To illustrate this point, consider that the number of refugees who poured into the West Bank in one year exceeded the entire population of Transjordan.[51] The West Bank's economy was in a rudimentary state since it lacked a modern industrial base. During the reign of Abdullah, the territory did, however, have an expanding agricultural base which became vital in supporting the new immigrants.

JORDANIAN RULE OF THE WEST BANK

From the beginning, Amman gave preferential treatment to the East Bank and its natives. For example, the East Ghor Canal

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[50] Walter Reich, A Stranger in My House: Jew and Arab in the West Bank (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), p. 3.

[51] Shmuel Sandler and Hillel Frisch, Israel, the Palestinians and the West Bank: A Study in Intercommunal Conflict (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1984), p. 30.

Project, which dramatically increased the amount of irrigated land, was limited to the East Bank. Of the many major governmental projects which were begun in the 1950s, only one in four was located in the West Bank.[52] Jordan's highly profitable mining industry was almost exclusively limited to the East Bank. As for higher education, Jordan's first university was created far from the highly politicized areas of the West Bank.

Urban development proceeded at a modest pace in the first years of Jordanian rule. With the end of the British mandate Jerusalem ceased to be the Palestine-wide seat of administration. In 1948, West Jerusalem fell to the forces of the newly created state of Israel. This led to a massive exodus of both Moslems and Christian Arabs. As they dreaded living under Israeli rule, the Arab elite in particular left Jerusalem especially since the events at Deir Yassin were still fresh in the minds of many.[53] The Arab population of the city reached nearly 70,000 people by the mid 1940s and dropped to approximately 44,000 in the aftermath of the war.[54] The loss of its population and the willingness of such important families as the Nashashibis to cooperate with Jordan made it certain that Arab-East Jerusalem would not return to its previous stature.

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[52] Ibid., p. 32.

[53] On April 9, 1948, members of Menachim Begin's irregular *Irgun* force attacked the Arab village of Deir Yassin killing some 240 men, women and children in an attempt to instill such fear in the Arab population that they would voluntarily leave Palestine.

[54] Sandler and Frisch, p. 35.

A continuous effort on the part of the Jordanian regime was made to downgrade Jerusalem. The government denied the city economic aid and public works projects, and instead concentrated on enhancing Amman. In 1959, long after Amman became preeminent, Jerusalem was officially named Jordan's second capital, but its status was devoid of financial or structural significance. In addition, the Jordanian government, fearing a surge of Palestinian nationalism refused to establish a Palestinian university in Jerusalem. The economy of the city failed to improve, as tourism declined due to the tension in the region and *Fedayeen* (P.L.O. members') raids into Israel.

In contrast to Jerusalem, Amman's population grew spectacularly. Its population increased from 108,304 in 1952 to 277,344 by 1963; an increase of 150%.[55] This was partly due to the fact that the vast majority of Palestinians who had emigrated from Israeli controlled lands resided in Amman. One example of the difference in standing between the two cities may be seen by the fact that in 1946 two of the three banks then operating in Palestine and Transjordan were headquartered in Jerusalem. By 1965, eight out of the nine banks operating in Jordan had established their headquarters in Amman.[56]

The Jordanian strategy, in regard to the West Bank, was to annex the area along with its predominately Palestinian

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[55] Ibid., p. 37.

[56] Ibid., p. 38.

population. To achieve this end, Palestinians were appointed as cabinet ministers and senior officials, or elected to the Jordanian Chamber of Deputies, which consisted of twenty members (ten from the West Bank and ten from the East). Despite the king's apparent sincerity, West Bank Palestinians were denied key political and military positions within the government, and the real power continued to be centralized in the hands of Jordanians in Amman.

The Jordanian government had several mechanism with which to control the Palestinian people. The first of which was symbolic integration. This was achieved through the representation of Palestinians in national institutions. The government sought to strengthen the hand of the traditional pro-Hashemite families within the West Bank, including the offering of material rewards. Representation in parliament was meant to foster support for the regime. The government, unofficially, tended to deny West Bankers' appointments to key government posts. For the most part, Palestinians were not considered for the positions of prime minister, and senior posts in the military, police force and intelligence services. For security reasons, these sensitive ranks were reserved for East Bank residents only.

To reach the goal of integration, Jordan offered citizenship to the Palestinians of the West Bank. Despite this measure, the regime was never seen as legitimate in the eyes of most Palestinians.

The monarchy exercised control over the Palestinians by several means. The king was the supreme commander of the army and controlled the police force, thereby ensuring that the means of coercion were entirely in his hands. Jordan's friendship with Britain proved equally valuable as the modernization of the military was financed in large part by the United Kingdom. Lastly, Amman had complete control of the economic resources of the area, which gave the government unparalleled power over the people of the West Bank.

In 1948, the first stirrings of Palestinian nationalism directed against the Jordanian monarchy began to be felt. Palestinians demanded a curtailment of the king's powers and that the cabinet be made more responsible to parliament rather than to the king. In addition, West Bank Palestinians were greatly upset by the king's moderate stance toward Israel.

Violence soon erupted as Jordan was rocked by the assassination of King Abdullah, who was killed at the hands of a Palestinian on July 20, 1951, as he entered the al-Aksa Mosque in Jerusalem.[57] His grandson, Prince Hussein, was also a target, but the assassin's bullet was deflected by a medal on the boy's chest.[58] Abdullah's son, Tala, ascended to the throne and during his short reign, he succeeded in making the cabinet responsible to the parliament. Soon thereafter, he was found to be mentally ill

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[57] Anne Sinai and Allen Pollack, The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the West Bank (New York: American Academic Association for Peace in the Middle East, 1977), p. 28.

[58] Ibid., p. 28.

and was declared unfit to rule. His son, Hussein, was crowned king in May of 1953 at the age of eighteen.[59]

In 1950, the West Bank members of the Chamber of Deputies walked out in protest over the debate to formally create a union of the West Bank and Jordan. It was clear that Palestinian nationalism was alive and flourishing. Despite this dramatic rejection of the plan, Jordan formally annexed the West Bank in that year.[60]

Many West Bank Palestinians found an outlet for their frustrations by joining one of the various political parties, including the Communist Party. This party was the only major political group which opposed annexation and instead called for the creation of a separate Palestinian state on the West Bank, in compliance with the 1947 U.N. Partition Plan.

The Palestinian Communist Party changed its name to the Jordanian Communist Party in 1951. Although it was well structured, its membership remained small due to the fact that most Moslems could not accept a party which denied the existence of a supreme being.

The rightist Islamic Liberal Party recruited many Palestinians into its ranks. While it did criticize many Jordanian policies, it did not call for the overthrow of the regime, as did the more radical Ba'ath Party. However, both parties called for

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[59]   Ibid.

[60]   Wormser, p. 173.

the destruction of Israel, as did other Palestinian nationalist groups.

Amman refused to share power with the Palestinians of the West Bank by strengthening the local municipalities, as this would create rival power centers. Since political unity had not been firmly established, decentralization was discouraged.

In 1958, the government created three administrative centers in the West Bank. These centers, which included Jerusalem, Nablus and Hebron, served as the headquarters for the *Nuhafizas* (district governors), who controlled the general administration in the territory as well as security matters. Should the local city councils go against the wishes of the central government, Amman had the power to dismiss the councils, and in their places, appoint a committee to conduct city affairs. This occurred in Jerusalem in 1950, in Nablus in 1951, and Hebron and Bethlehem in 1962.[61]

The Ministry of the Interior had the power to approve town budgets annually. The central government also controlled local taxation and the Minister of the Interior fixed the total sum of money that could be in the municipal coffers at any one time. The government official responsible for supervising municipal finances was the town accountant, which often brought him into conflict with the mayor, who sought to preserve local autonomy

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[61] Moshe Ma'oz, *Palestinian Leadership on the West Bank: The Changing Role of the Arab Mayors Under Jordan and Israel* (London: Frank Cass and Company, 1984), p. 33.

in this matter as far as possible.

The regime failed to establish a legal or administrative foundation for the development of a strong municipal government in the West Bank. This policy was created out of a fear of regional Palestinian nationalism and led to tight control over the local authorities. During the period of Jordanian rule, mayors and municipal councils were essentially part of the governmental structure, they were neither institutions of local autonomy; nor a vehicle for Palestinian political expression.

As a result of the early Jordanian policies, when Israel captured the territory of the West Bank, it found an area poor in leadership and organizational life. This state of affairs was of great value to Israel, as organized opposition to Israeli rule was almost nonexistent. The region was predominately rural, agricultural and had a conservative elite which was accustomed to accommodating the powers that be. In total, the Palestinians of the West Bank identified only partially with the Jordanian center, as they were never fully integrated into Jordanian society.

CHAPTER III

THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION

On the first day of the 1967 War, Israel sent word to King
Hussein that if he refrained from joining Egypt and Syria in the
fighting, Israel would not attack the territory controlled by the
Jordanian army.[1] The king refused to remain neutral and Israel
responded. Within three days, the IDF had succeeded in taking
control of East Jerusalem and the West Bank, both of which
Jordan had occupied since the end of the 1948-49 Arab-Israeli
War.[2]

On June 7, Israel issued a proclamation which read in part,
"Israeli defense forces entered this region today and assumed

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[1]   Walter Reich, A Stranger in My House: Jews and Arabs in the West Bank
      (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), p. 5.
[2]   Ibid.

control of the rule and preservation of security and public order in the region."[3] A second military proclamation was issued shortly after the end of the hostilities in 1967. It declared that the IDF assumed the powers of government within the territory: section three states,

> every governmental, .legislative, appointive and administrative power in respect of the region or its inhabitants shall henceforth be vested in me [the West Bank area commander] alone, and shall only be exercised by me or persons appointed by me or acting on my behalf.[4]

The second military order went on to say that in compliance with international conventions on military occupation, the laws in force in the area would continue to be applicable. To this day, Jordanian law is still in force in the West Bank, although it has been amended by Israeli military orders. Israeli law has never been applied to the territories (although Moshe Dayan briefly considered implementing it in 1970). This would have been tantamount to annexation, something which the Labour governments were not ready to undertake. The decision was made

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3   Moshe Ma'oz, Palestinian Leadership on the West Bank: The Changing Role of the Arab Mayors Under Jordan and Israel (London: Frank Cass and Company, 1984), p. 62.

4   Raja Shehadeh and Jonathon Kuttab, The West Bank and the Rule of Law (London: The International Commission of Jurists, 1980), p. 101.

to leave Jordanian law in place and simply allow the area commander to make substantial amendments to it.

To avoid problems connected with annexation, such as the extension of Israeli citizenship to over one and a half million Arabs, the area commander was given full legislative power. To date, over one thousand military orders have been issued; each being equivalent to a new law. Currently, the number of orders dealing with security-related matters is small, as most deal with property, legal, educational and banking matters. The military commander is free to implement large numbers of laws,[5] far exceeding the number passed by the Jordanian parliament prior to 1967, because he does not have to legislate through an elected parliament.

Since orders are not made available to the public, they are not routinely subject to discussion or debate. They are not expressed by the press or on radio; however, they are distributed among practicing lawyers, albeit in very limited numbers. No public library in the West Bank is allowed to carry a set of military orders. In addition, Arabs affected by orders dealing with land expropriation, are notified about the Military Government's plans only on an oral basis.

Although security is still an important concern in the West Bank, it is no longer given as the sole justification for issuing new orders. Whereas the preamble to an order used to be, "for

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[5]   Michael D. Wormser (ed.), The Middle East (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1981), p. 37.

preserving the security and public order", today, orders often begin with, "in my capacity as area commander" or "pursuant to the powers given to me by virtue of (a certain Jordanian law)."[6] This change in style indicates that many in the Israeli military see themselves not as occupiers, but rather as administrators of the territories.

The principles of Israeli policy in the West Bank as well as the Golan Heights, Gaza and Sinai were defined by General Shlomo Gazit to be that firstly, these territories had been occupied as the result of a crucially defensive war and serve as defensive outposts.[7] They would be held in order to alter any hostile intentions of any Arab state. Secondly, Arab national and cultural life would continue without Israeli interference. Thirdly, Israel would assume responsibility for the socio-economic welfare of the people of the territories and would assure normalization in the daily conduct of local affairs. The Military Government was predominately concerned with the security of the state of Israel. This goal was pursued by the establishment of military outposts and barracks as well as civilian settlements in strategic positions, located mainly outside the populated Arab areas.[8] Army patrols in major cities, the border police and the General

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[6]   Shehadeh and Kuttab, p. 105.

[7]   Ma'oz, p. 63.

[8]   Anne Sinai and Allen Pollack (eds.), The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the West Bank (New York: American Academic Association for Peace in the Middle East, 1977), p. 260.

Security Service (*Shin Bet*) were concerned with P.L.O. activities in the region, while the daily maintenance of law and order was assigned to local Arab police under the command of Israeli officers. Israel allowed local councils and municipalities to run the affairs of the local population with a minimum of Israeli supervision.[9] Educational and cultural activities were allowed to be conducted with limited interference on the part of the military authorities.

Israel's economic policies (including Moshe Dayan's "Open Bridges" policy whereby the bridges were reopened across the Jordan River to allow economic trade to resume) were designed to achieve normalization of life in the West Bank. Israel attempted to create full employment, raise the standard of living and strengthen various sectors of the economic infrastructure. In addition, these policies were implemented in order to prevent the unemployed from joining the armed Palestinian organizations, and to develop among the population a vested interest in co-existing with Israel. With this in mind, Israel set about linking the West Bank economy to its own. This was achieved by attracting Arab labor to Israel, and by opening Israel and the West Bank to one another's products.

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9   Meron Benvenisti, The West Bank Data Project: A Survey of Israel's Policies (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Policy Research, 1984), p. 45.

Israeli Control Over Gaza

As in the West Bank, many Palestinians fled the Gaza Strip in 1967 for Arab regions outside of Israel's reach. By the end of 1968, some 60,000 people had moved to Jordan, the gulf states or Egypt.[10] Unlike the West Bank, the Israelis have never allowed an election to take place in the Gaza Strip; from the beginning it has been ruled by an Israeli military governor. Municipal elections were scheduled in 1972 but were cancelled after a conservative candidate, sponsored by Israel was assassinated and several others resigned fearing for their own safety.[11]

Following the war, the municipality of Gaza City, the largest population center in the territory, was run by employees of the Interior Department. After three years, the authorities appointed a moderate, Rashad al-Shawwa, as mayor. The Israeli government apparently believed that it looked better to the outside world to have a local Arab as head of the city of Gaza.[12]

Prior to the Six Day War, Egypt governed the Gaza Strip. Political life under Egyptian rule was tightly controlled, and the actions of the few nationalist organization that emerged after 1967 (such as the Palestinian Red Crescent Society) were

[10]   Sara Roy, The Gaza Strip Survey (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Post, 1986), P. 5.

[11]   Richard Locke & Antony Steward, Bantustan Gaza (London: Zed Books Ltd. 1985), p. 12.

[12]   Ibid., p. 13.

severely restricted by the military governor. As a result, the Gaza Strip lacks a strong local leadership and popular organizations are almost non-existent.[13]

The Military Government and the West Bank

Initially Israel maintained the legal framework for the West Bank inherited from Jordan, with the only substantial changes being the introduction of the names "Judea" and "Samaria" to take the place of the term "West Bank". The adoption of these terms was brought about by the government in an effort to placate right wing parties that insisted the historic names be used when referring to the captured territory. This occurred on September 23, 1967.

In an attempt to maintain a degree of continuity, the powers formally vested in the Jordanian Minister of the Interior were transferred to the military commander. It was, and still is, common to the military governor to resort to Jordanian laws regarding the West Bank in deciding questions related to town administration. Unlike Jordan, however, Israel, rather than annexing the newly seized land outright, established, a central military authority for the West Bank. The military governor was assisted by seven regional governors and served as the executive

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[13] Ibid., p. 17.

arm of the Israeli government.

Although control was military in nature, preparations were made in late June 1967 for the creation of a civilian administration within the framework of the army's rule.[14] Israeli leaders apparently believed that a new bureocracy was needed to address the concerns of the Palestinian population. This organ was designed to deal with non-security related matters. Nevertheless, it was directly controlled by the Ministry of Defense. Civilian staff officers worked in one of the two major departments of the newly organized civilian administration: Administration and Services (A and S) which supervised Arab municipalities, or Economics and Finances.

In the first few years of occupation, the Military Government gained a reputation as being a benign occupier.[15] Although some Palestinians were expelled from the West Bank, these actions were for the most part overlooked because of Israeli liberal policies which included lack of political censorship, and the reopening of universities (which had been closed immediately following the war).[16]

The Military Government kept a low profile in the early years, as councils met and decided issues under the leadership of the mayor and Israel rarely intervened. This was in sharp contrast to the period of Jordanian rule when municipal councils were

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[14]   Benvenisti, p. 45.

[15]   Ibid.

[16]   Ibid.

occasionally dismissed by officials in Amman. This lack of involvement strengthened the position of the mayor, as he was allowed to act in full accord with his legal powers.

As important as money is to city governments, initially many Arab towns refused to accept Israeli financial assistance either because of genuine Arab nationalist feelings or because they did not wish to be seen as collaborators with Israel. Many municipalities tried to secure money from Jordan, which was only too happy to oblige. Israel soon outlawed loans from Jordan, although some money was lent covertly. As time went on, many towns began to accept Israeli money due to the increased demand for improved public services, such as those which existed in Israel.

The Military Government's policy was to avoid financing entire projects, rather it contributed only part of the required sum and had municipalities participate in the projects. This was done due to the limited financial resources available to the Military Government and the desire to leave a degree of financial responsibility in the hands of the local authorities. This is illustrated by the fact that in 1969, Bethlehem received a I£600,000 loan from the military authorities for the construction of a commercial center, while the municipality itself contributed I£200,000.[17]

By the early 1970s, Israel had lifted restrictions, and

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[17] Ma'oz, p. 77.

allowed the West Bank municipalities to obtain donations from Arab sources (other than the P.L.O.). Each donation which came from the Gulf States or wealthy Palestinians abroad had to be cleared by the Military Government. In order to increase their funds, many towns raised taxes, some by extending boundaries to include inhabitants previously not subjected to local taxation. Economic conditions in the West Bank began to improve under Israeli administration and some towns, although reluctantly, even joined the Israeli Electric Grid.

The first to do so were Hebron in 1972 and Tulkarm in 1973. As the income of West Bank municipalities began to grow, from both external and internal sources, the share of Israeli participation in the annual budget gradually diminished, decreasing from approximately forty percent in 1968 to thirty percent in 1972 and to a mere seven percent by 1980.[18] This new development allowed Arab mayors to decrease their dependence on the Israeli authorities and adopt a more politically independent stance vis-a-vis the Israeli Military Government.

While the P.L.O. engaged in sporadic acts of terrorist attacks against Israel, civilian disobedience occurred only for short periods of time. General strikes and demonstrations took place occasionally, mainly in reaction to Israeli measures against suspected P.L.O. members, such as the demolition of houses, as a protest against the anniversary of the establishment of Israel (May 14) or the beginning of the Six Day War (June 5). Palestinian

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[18]   Ibid., p. 79.

organizations were prevented from creating and maintaining active opposition to Israeli rule between 1967-1973 due largely to Israel's punitive and preventative measures. These measures included curfews, the expulsion of instigators, and the closing of schools or the bridges to Jordan for specific periods of time.

The Military Government has sweeping powers, including the authority to implement the Jordanian and British Defense (emergency) Regulations of 1935 and 1945 respectively, as well as the capacity to issue new military orders. The Defense (emergency) Regulations of 1945 include a wide range of actions which may be taken against those suspected of criminal activities.[19] These include the powers to search homes, arrest suspects, and prohibit membership in illegal organizations, which are broadly defined.[20] The Military Government has consistently sought to alter existing Jordanian law to meet its needs, rather than issue new orders. One example of this occurred when Israel introduced the Value Added Tax (VAT) into the West Bank. The Military Government found a Jordanian law on taxing local products (Jordanian Law #16 of 1963). It was then altered by Military Order #658 which left the first and last articles in the law, but deleted the entire body and inserted the Israeli VAT Law in its place.[21]

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[19]   David Hirst, The Gun and the Olive Branch: The Roots of Violence in the Middle East (London: Faber and Faber, 1984), p. 185.

[20]   Ibid.

[21]   Jonathon Kuttab and Raja Shehadeh, Civilian Administration in the Occupied

In order to counter guerrilla attacks, the Military Government has the power to extend curfews to towns or villages. It has become routine to impose curfews in areas where guerrilla activity has taken place.[22] This serves a security function, restores order, and aids in the apprehension of suspects. There have been occasions where it has been used over a long period of time (several weeks) to inflict a collective punishment upon the people of a community for allegedly aiding and abetting terrorists.

Another restrictive measure is the road block. Road blocks are set up between towns in the West Bank in order to control the movement of residents and allow the army to search cars for security violations. Additional measures include house arrest of suspects or the issuance of an order which forbids an individual to leave his village or town. The most effective means of control, however, is the identity card which residents must have on their person whenever they leave their homes. This card includes their name, address and religion. Soldiers may confiscate cards of people involved in a demonstration or rally. These cards are then returned at the discretion of the police or military interrogators.

Despite the fact that the Fourth Geneva Convention on the treatment of civilians in occupied territories prohibits the

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West Bank: An Analysis of Israeli Military Order No. 947 (Geneva: The International Commission of Jurists, 1982), p. 83.

22 Ibid., p. 73.

imposition of collective punishment, Israel employs this tactic from time to time.[23] The goal is to intimidate whole sectors of the population, and by punishing the whole community for the acts of a few individuals, pressure will be brought to bear upon the perpetrators.[24] Israel claims that this method is necessary to maintain security within the occupied territories. A whole family at times must pay the price for· the acts of one of its members. If a child is found guilty of throwing a stone, the fine is usually quite large, which means the head of the household must pay the penalty. Other family members may be called in for interrogation, denied employment, or denied travel passes by the Military Government.

Punishment may range from the mild, including the denial of permits for development projects, to the extreme, such as imprisonment. An example of the latter may be seen in the response to a guerrilla attack which occurred on May 2, 1980 on a bus carrying Israeli settlers in Hebron. The attack resulted in numerous casualties among Israelis including some fatalities.

Israel retaliated by imposing a month long curfew over the entire city of Hebron, which had a population of approximately 60,000.[25] The curfew had a devastating effect on the

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[23] Ibid. p. 77

[24] Ibid.

[25] Lynne R. Franks, Israel and The Occupied Territories (Washington, D.C." American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers, 1987) p. 175.

agriculture, heavy losses ensued since agricultural workers were not allowed to tend their fields. Telephone lines were disconnected for forty-five days and merchants were not allowed to export produce to Jordan until the curfew was lifted. All male residents of the town were forced to endure long hours of detention and questioning, the inhabitants were also forced to submit to house to house searches.

People are denied freedom to assemble by Military Order #101. Palestinians must apply for a permit for ten or more people to gather for a meeting, a march or to hear a speaker. A violation of this order carries with it a maximum sentence of ten years in prison and a fine of 750,000 Israeli Shekeks ($15,000 U.S.).[26] No appeal is allowed once a military court has ruled. This serves to intimidate the population, thereby keeping political assemblies to a minimum.

As for economics, commercial strikes occur occasionally as the public seeks to express its political views. In order to end a commercial strike, soldiers are allowed to break locks and open doors thereby forcing merchants to remain in their stores to prevent looting, or paint an "X" on closed doors, returning later to levy fines on the store keeper.[27] In some cases, soldiers even escort merchants to their stores and force them to reopen for business at gunpoint.

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[26] Shehadeh and Kuttab, p. 83.

[27] Ibid., p. 84.

Israeli Political Parties and Their Views Toward the Occupied Territories

David Ben Gurion was a major force in early Israeli politics.[28] Ben Gurion led Mapai, the dominant pre-1948 party which became the major component of the Labour coalition. He faced many threats, particularly from the Revisionists on the right (including the *Irgun*) and Mapam on the left (along with its military wing, the *Palmach*). Eventually, he was able to integrate the *Palmach* into the IDF.

Ben Gurion believed that King Abdullah should assume control of the West Bank, as he saw Jordan as a status quo state. He also thought that the Jewish state should avoid having to govern a large number of Arabs.

Only after Mapam, which sought closer ties to the communist countries, split into two smaller parties did Ben Gurion accept the factions into the new government that he was forming in 1955. He chose partners from the moderate left and right, thereby positioning himself in the middle of the political spectrum.

Ben Gurion saw three goals of Zionism. Firstly, the ingathering of Jews. Secondly, the settlement of the land and

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[28] Robert Saint John, *They Came from Everywhere: Twelve Who Helped Mold Modern Israel* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1962), p. 218.

thirdly, security for the new state. He encouraged cooperation between Mapai and the National Religious Party (NRP). The NRP held power in all religious affairs while Mapai dominated the *Histadrut* (the Israeli Federation of Trade Unions) which has always had a strong voice in Israeli politics.[29]

From the beginning, the Labour government, led by Prime Minister Levi Eshkol, was undecided as to what to do with the territories. Abba Eban wanted the territories to remain under Israeli control. He stated that "we need a better security map, a more spacious frontier, a lesser vulnerability."[30]

During the first weeks after the war, Foreign Minister Eban declared that the map of the region, prior to June 5, had been "destroyed irrevocably" but that the government was willing to negotiate new frontiers with its Arab neighbors. Jerusalem was an exception, however, and within a month, it had been incorporated into the Israeli West Jerusalem municipality. This included not only East Jerusalem, but also an area of the West Bank between Bethlehem and Ramallah, including Kalandia airport and several Arab villages. In July 1980, the Knesset passed the "Jerusalem Law" which established the city as the capital of Israel.[31]

Approximately 65,000 Arab inhabitants of the "greater

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[29] Ibid., p. 212.

[30] Geoffrey Aaronson, Creating Facts: Israel, the Palestinians and the West Bank (Washington, D.C.: The Institute for Palestine Studies, 1987), p. 42.

[31] Wormser, p. 43.

Jerusalem" area were thereafter considered residents of Israel. These people could vote in municipal elections, but by retaining their Jordanian passports, they were not allowed to vote in national elections. Very few Arabs took advantage of the offer to become naturalized Israeli citizens.

From the beginning of the occupation, the future of the West Bank was a subject of controversy within the government and the public. There is no doubt that this area was an integral part of *Eretz Israel*[32] and contained some of the most revered sites in Jewish tradition, such as the tomb of Rachel in Bethlehem and the tomb of the prophets in Hebron. Formal annexation, however, was out of the question since Israeli society was deeply divided on the issue.

Between 1948 and 1967, only Menachem Begin's Herut Party openly called for annexation of the West Bank as well as much of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Soon, increasing numbers of religiously oriented Jews joined the Herut Party in calling for the "liberation" of Judea and Samaria as official policy. The party encouraged Jewish settlement and pushed for the ultimate incorporation of the West Bank into the Jewish state.

Unlike Begin's stance, which was clear and unambiguous, the Labour alignment, a coalition of center and leftist parties, was factionalized along several lines and had many diverse views toward the occupied territories. The left wing Mapam faction, rooted in the early *Kibbutz* movement, has a policy of quasi-

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[32] Ibid., p. 39.

withdrawal or peace without the territories. Other factions voiced reservations about withdrawal, citing security considerations. Since the Labour Party needed the NRP to maintain its majority coalition in the Knesset, it had to make certain compromises with the religious party and therefore allowed settlers to begin to move into the West Bank.[33]

Jewish settlements in the occupied territories were organized according to a plan proposed by Deputy Prime Minister Yigal Allon.[34] Technically, however, this plan was never officially adopted, due to divisions within the cabinet. It envisioned a ring of Jewish settlements around the Arab inhabited areas of the West Bank. The basic concept of the Allon plan was to permit the Palestinians to govern themselves, with as little interference as possible from Israel, while leaving all the strategic points in the West Bank under Israeli military control.[35]

Until the Likud coalition came to power in 1977, the Allon plan was the official guide to the establishment of Israeli settlements in the West Bank. It consisted of a security belt approximately 15 kilometers wide which ran the length of the Jordan Rift Valley, including as few of the Palestinian population as possible, as well as a small strip of land north of the

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[33] Rafik Halabi, The West Bank Story (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1982), p. 139.

[34] Aaronson, p. 14.

[35] Sinai and Pollack, p. 260.

Jerusalem-Jericho Road. The entire Judean desert from Mount Hebron to the Dead Sea, as well as the Negev region, which was sparsely populated, were open to Jewish settlement. Jerusalem, the Golan Heights and Sinai would remain in Israeli hands according to this plan.

Jewish colonies would be established in specific areas in order to separate Arab communities between the East and West Banks, Jerusalem and the West Bank, and Gaza and Egypt. Deputy Prime Minister Allon believed that this would help to secure Israel's borders in the future. He felt that Israel had to act quickly in implementing this plan before international pressure mounted and forced Israel to withdraw from the newly captured lands. This plan was acceptable to dovish members of the government, such as Abba Eban and Finance Minister Pinchas Sapir, as they believed that the territories could be used as bargaining chips in the future.

The Labour government encouraged Israeli investment as well as business and commercial operations in the West Bank. It began to extend the road network and set about establishing military bases and outposts in the newly acquired lands. Despite the objections of Finance Minister Sapir, the two economies began to merge. Sapir was concerned about Israel's growing dependence on unskilled and semi-skilled Arab labor from the territories.

While Palestinians from the territories comprised only five

percent of Israel's total labor force, twenty percent of the workers in such vital sectors of the economy as construction and agriculture were Palestinians by 1969.[36] Most Palestinians sought work in Israel because of the higher wages to be found there. By accepting jobs in Israel, the Palestinians moved to the bottom of the Israeli economic ladder. In so doing, they displaced the *Sefardim* (Oriental Jews) who then moved up the social scale.

While the Palestinians did benefit economically from Israel's control of the territories, Sapir warned the cabinet that it was no substitute for political freedom. He stated that neither the allure of higher wages, nor better working conditions and social services would diminish the anti-Zionism or the growth of Arab militant nationalism. Should the country be faced with economic recession, nearly a quarter of the work force would become embittered, as they would be the first to lose their jobs. The Minister of Finance believed that in order to preserve Israel as a Jewish state, it would be necessary not only to maintain political separation, but to sever the economic bonds that were rapidly binding the two peoples together.[37] Sapir saw Moshe Dayan's "open bridges" program as essentially destructive in nature. He perceived it as an opening wedge to "de-Zionization". Eventually, Sapir softened his opposition to Dayan's program,

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[36] Don Peretz, The West Bank: History, Society and Economy (Boulder: Praeger Publishing, 1986), p. 46.

[37] Ibid., p. 47.

mainly out of loyalty to Prime Minister Golda Meir.[38]

As the years wore on, the indecisiveness within the Labour leadership continued. In 1973, the party proposed a four year scheme for the West Bank called the Gallili plan. It advocated programs for extensive investment in the West Bank infrastructure and assistance to Israeli businesses within the territories. As part of this plan, the Israeli Land Authority was empowered to acquire land in the territories for settlement and development. Certain Zionist institutions which had been established before 1948 to settle the land and build the Jewish state were also interested in the newly acquired lands.

These organizations included the Jewish National Fund, which concentrated on land acquisitions and development;[39] the Jewish Agency, which centered its efforts on immigration and settlement construction;[40] and various cooperative settlements (*Kibbutzim*). These organizations saw the new territories as fertile ground for expanding their activities. The acquisition of these territories revived the pioneering zeal that had marked these groups prior to 1948. These organizations also became a strong pressure group for settlement and, in some cases, favored the annexation of the West Bank, regardless of the political objectives of the Labour leadership.

With the implementation of the Allon plan, the Jordan River

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[38] Ibid.

[39] Hirst, p. 25.

[40] Ibid., p. 111.

was defined as the eastern frontier. The plan, as mentioned earlier, sought to insure Israel's security by establishing a string of military settlements in the Jordan River Valley, the Golan Heights and Gaza. Jerusalem, the holiest city in Judaism, was annexed outright. Security concerns aside, the government continued to debate over what to do with the territories. Moshe Dayan in an interview with the New York Times on June 21, 1969 stated that:

> Israel's greatest problem is to find the means of being able to live with the Arabs. There are 2.5 million of us and 100 million of them. We can fight them, kill them, and they can kill us, but in the final analysis we will have to live with them...
> Occupation is not the final word.[41]

Israeli leaders viewed Jordan as more or less a partner in the governing of the territories. They believed that any future agreement on the status of the West Bank would have to include this Arab state. Israel therefore initiated a plan of cooperation with Jordan by which Israel concentrated on the administration and economic aspects of the region, and Jordan exercised socio-political influence over the Palestinians. Joint control never fully materialized, as the king was constrained by the rising military power of the P.L.O. in Jordan until 1970. In addition, he undercut cooperation with Israel by continuing to pay the salaries

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[41] Amos Perlmutter, "Unilateral Withdrawal: Israel's Security Option" Foreign Affairs (Vol. 64 No. 1), p. 148.

of municipal employees, [42] lawyers, teachers, and judges who had gone out on strike after the Israeli occupation began.

The king also supported the Palestinian concept of passive resistance (*Samud*), in an attempt to expand his influence. As a means to lure moderate Palestinians away from the Jordanian line, Israel allowed the reemergence of the local Palestinian press which had been severely curtailed by Jordan in 1965-66. This action was seen as a positive step in the eyes of most Palestinians.

As the right wing parties continued to clamor for annexation, the Labour camp declared that Israel must remain a state with a predominately Jewish majority.[43] Labour Party members argued that annexation would threaten this character and the moral fiber of the state. The West Bank was seen as a bargaining card to be exchanged for a lasting peace in the future; in the interim however, it would provide a strategic buffer zone that would contribute to the security of the state.[44]

Under the Labour governments of the late 1960s, the number of settlements in the occupied territories slowly increased. This by no means foreshadowed the explosion in the number of settlements which were erected after the Likud coalition took

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[42] John Edwin Mroz, Beyond Security: Private Perceptions Among Arabs & Israelis (New York: Pergamon Press, 1980), p. 64.

[43] Shmuel Sandler & Hillel Frisch, Israel, The Palestinians and The West Bank: A Study in Intercommunal Conflict (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1984), p.106.

[44] Ibid.

power in 1977. By May 1976, 17 settlements in the Jordan River Valley had been established, 9 in the Gush etzion and Jerusalem area, 25 on the Golan Heights, 14 in Gaza and 3 in the Sinai. The total cost was approximately $500 million .

These outposts followed the pattern of the early settlements which were erected in pre-state days. The Labour governments' principal objectives with regard to the occupied territories were firstly, the maintenance of the status quo with emphasis on security. Secondly, economic integration of the West Bank with Israel through the use of Arab labor, the marketing of Israeli products in the West Bank and the joining of the infrastructure with that of Israel. Thirdly, the West Bank was used as an opening wedge to the Arab world, exporting products from Israel across the bridges to Jordan, and from there to other Arabs countries. Finally, Jewish settlements were established in selected areas of the West Bank to be used as security outposts. By the time of Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in 1977, Labour had been displaced by a new coalition for the first time in the history of the state.

The May 1977 elections marked a major turning point for Israel.[45] Corruption in the Labour ranks, as well as the deterioration of the economy, led to Labour's downfall. Earlier that year, Abraham Ofer, the Labour Minister of Housing, caused a national scandal as he was brought under investigation for the

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[45]   Aaronson, p. 42.

misappropriation of funds. Labour's problems continued as the rivalry between hardliners such as Yitzak Rabin and moderates like Shimon Peres split the party. The election results showed that the Likud coalition received 33% of the vote and controlled 43 seats in the Knesset. Labour won only 24% and held only 31 seats.[46] The Likud era began in 1977. The charismatic leader of the coalition was Menachem Begin. He had been the leader of the *Irgun*, during the struggle for Israel's independence and was determined to see that Israel remained strong at all costs. Begin's Herut Party was determined to bring the occupied territories further under Israeli sovereignty, thereby creating a greater Israel with a Jewish majority and a substantial Arab minority whose future as the Arabs of the Land of Israel (*Aravei Eretz Yisrael*) was unclear.[47] The Likud coalition eagerly adopted the previous government's policies of limited Jewish settlement and economic integration; however, unlike the Labour Party, Likud was prepared to dramatically expand these programs to fit its own agenda.

Menachem Begin has scarcely changed his views since the 1940s. In a 1947 memorandum to the United Nations General Assembly from the *Irgun*, (a Jewish extremist organization dedicated to the establishment of a Jewish state) he clearly defined his ideology. It stated:

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[46]   Ibid., p. 42.

[47]   Ibid., p. 61.

> The partition of the land of Israel is an illegal act. This country, the eternal homeland of our people, is historically, geographically, and economically one unit. Is it not absurd that the administration of Judea, Samaria and the Galilee should be in the hands of non-Jews? The very names of these territories indicate their true owners. And is it anything less than absurd that Jerusalem-the city of David-will not be the capital of our state?...Our people will wage a battle until every square inch of our land is liberated...[48]

Although he concentrated on Judea and Samaria (as he disliked the term West Bank), the Sinai peninsula was apparently not part of his vision, for in 1979 he agreed in principle to give the area back to Egypt in return for a peace treaty.[49]

In 1977, Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon, who would later become Begin's Defense Minister, saw eye to eye with the Prime Minister on the Palestinian issue. Begin and Sharon wanted to induce large scale Palestinian emigration from the West Bank and Gaza. Systematic economic discrimination was implemented in order to achieve this objective. As a result of this policy, over 100,000 people have left the West Bank since 1967.[50] While expulsion has never been public policy, many Palestinians (especially public figures openly opposed to Israeli policies) have

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[48] Ibid., p. 62.
[49] Eban, p. 332
[50] Hirst, p. 378.

been forced to leave the region. In the words of a retired general, Sharon was totally committed to reducing the population of the occupied territories "by a variety of measures which will fall short of forcible deportation or open atrocities." [51]

In order to attract Israelis to the West Bank, the Government offered subsidies to upwardly mobile young people. In 1977, the average home in a settlement in the occupied territories was I£270,000 ($27,000). A family that did not already own an apartment in Israel was eligible for a loan of I£100,000. The family could also receive a "conditional grant" of I£30,000. Thus the already subsidized price of I£270,000 was reduced by I£155,000 leaving the sum of only I£15,000 ($11,500) to be paid.[52] These bedroom communities were within a 30-40 minute traveling time to Tel Aviv or Jerusalem. Comparable housing in Tel Aviv at that time cost between I£500,000 and I£1,000,000 ($50,000-100,000). For such non-subsidized housing, loans were tied to the inflation rate and large down payments were required. It is therefore easy to see why young Israeli professionals would be attracted to the West Bank.

The Begin government was as firm in its commitment to incorporate the West Bank into Israel as the previous Labour governments under Eshkol, Meir, and Rabin had been indecisive. The Herut Party made no attempt to conceal its hopes of annexing the West Bank. The territorial unity of the "Whole Land of Israel"

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[51] Ibid., p. 387.

[52] Aaronson, p. 74.

was the basis of the party's ideology and as such was not open for compromise. Herut had been heavily influenced by its predecessor, the Revisionist Zionist movement which had been founded in the 1920s and led by Vladimir Jabotiniski.[53] It had espoused as its goal the unification of historical Israel within the borders of a Jewish state.[54] The basic objective of the Begin governments of 1977 and 1981 was to eliminate all options for the future of the occupied territories except permanent incorporation into Israel. All policy decisions relating to the West Bank after 1977 were based on this goal. Begin pushed hard for the establishment of new settlements, as he knew many Israelis did not share his point of view. By increasing the number of settlements the Likud coalition could, in a relatively short period of time, reach a point of no return.[55] The government began a policy of creating new Jewish settlements in, and near, heavily populated Arab areas of the West Bank, in a deliberate attempt to nullify the possibility of a return to the Allon plan.

Begin's policies circumvented the legal restrictions placed by the Israeli Supreme Court upon Jewish settlement and land acquisition. These included greatly increased government subsidies which were offered to West Bank settlements; the initiating of vast West Bank housing projects near Jerusalem

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[53] Saint John, p. 110.

[54] Ibid.

[55] World Press Review: News and Views From The Foreign Press (No Title) (Vol. 30, No. 3, March 1983), p. 31.

which were open to middle class Israelis regardless of political persuasion; and the promulgation, through Israel's national education system, the media, and the army, of the image of Israel rightfully and necessarily stretching from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan River. The central theme of Likud's West Bank program was its desire to undermine the Allon Plan by broadening the area of permissible Jewish settlement from a handful of *Kibbutzim* and *Moshavim* which ran through the Jordan Valley, to the entire West Bank.

By 1983, the number of Jewish settlements in the territories grew to 106 (98 situated in the West Bank and 8 in the Gaza Strip).[56] The number of settlers increased dramatically from 5000 to more than 30,000 during this period. Religious Jews, devoted to settling the land, no longer regarded the government as an adversary, but as a partner in achieving their goals. As more and more settlers moved into the area, tensions between the Palestinians and Israelis grew. The military was often called upon to suppress Arab disturbances and render assistance to Jewish settlers.

In May of 1980, Ezer Weizmann, the Minister of Defense, resigned in disagreement with Begin over the policy in the West Bank. He was replace by Ariel Sharon, who, along with Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan, openly advocated annexation and a tough occupation policy.[57]

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[56] Benvenisti, p. 49.

[57] Ibid., p. 46.

In the first 2 1/2 years of the Begin government, 29 of the 36 settlements which had been established were located in areas that went directly against the Allon plan. These new communities were located in the northern hill country, near Jericho, and in the Hebron region. To illustrate Likud's commitment to the settling of the West Bank, consider that in 1980 approximately 13% of Israel's entire development budget was spent on settlement efforts.[58] Today, there are approximately 80,000 settlers in the occupied territories. Since the election of a National Unity government in 1984, the pace of settlement activity has decreased, due, in great part, to the lack of enthusiasm by the Labour members of government.

Approximately 60% of the land could be used for exclusive Jewish settlement, as it has been expropriated by the Israeli government, closed on security grounds by the military, or purchased outright.[59] There are many groups involved in coordinating settlement activities, these organizations include: government agencies(those affiliated with the World Zionist Organization), ideologically motivated settlement organizations and private commercial firms. Until the establishment of the National Unity government in 1984, the Interministerial Committee on Settlement oversaw and approved activities

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[58] Peretz, p. 53.

[59] World Press Review: News and Views From The Foreign Press (No Title) (Vol. 30, No. 3, March 1983), p. 31.

dealing with settlement; however, after 1984, this committee was dissolved. The ministries most involved in creating settlements are: Agriculture, Housing and Construction, Commerce and Industry, and Defense. The Ministry of Housing and Construction divided the land into various zones. The farther the zone lay away from major Israeli metropolitan areas, the greater the cost; in some cases the subsidy reached as high as 40% of the total cost.[60]

The most important government agency involved in the settlement process is by far the Military Government. Under Defense Minister Ezer Weizmann (1977-1980), the Military Government refused to fully cooperate with other agencies, but under the leadership of Ariel Sharon, it played an active role in the wholesale transfer of West Bank land from Arab to Israeli control. The military issued orders closing areas for security reasons;[61] these lands were then set aside to be used as sites for future settlements.[62]

Non-governmental agencies were also involved in the resettling of Israelis into the occupied territories. The Jewish Agency Land Settlements Department usually handled the smaller settlement, while the larger kibbutzim were the responsibility of the Housing and Construction Ministry. The Land Settlement Department's functions included the attraction of settlers to the

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[60] Benvenisti, p. 50.

[61] Under Israeli law, the military is required to offer the owner compensation for the "use" of the land.

[62] Benvenisti, p. 50.

area, as well as aiding in their social and economic adjustment to the new area.

Until 1977, the most important organizations to aid in the settlement of the land were the various federations of the *Kibbutzim* (collective settlements) and *Moshavim*(cooperative settlements), but these groups have since been overshadowed by newer organizations such as the *Gush Emmunim* movement.

It is interesting to note that Jewish residents of the West Bank are not subject to Jordanian law nor to Military Government orders, but fall instead under the jurisdiction of the Israeli legal system. It is clear that a dual system has emerged in the territories; Military Government orders for the Palestinian inhabitants and the laws of Israel for the Jewish settlers.

During the Labour era, settlements viewed themselves as "pioneer outposts," much as had existed in the pre-state days. These settlements were oriented toward agriculture and needed arable land. Under the Likud government, however, the emphasis switched to urban settlements. These communities, which could be constructed on barren land, were meant to be bedroom communities for Israeli urban centers, especially Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. These bedroom communities proved to be very expensive to Israel. By 1984, the government had spent the equivalent of $1.5 billion on the new settlements. This cost included $700 million for housing construction, and $75 million for the development of roads to connect the West Bank

settlements.[63]

Israel's urban planners have divided the areas of Jewish settlement in the West Bank into four main zones: the Jordan Valley, the Samaria and Judea mountain range, the extended urban hinterland around Tel Aviv, and the greater Jerusalem urban hinterland. The zones are labeled high, intermediate or low according to their demand. The Jordan ·Valley and the Samaria-Judea mountain range are, and will remain, in low demand with less than 25% of Jewish settlers in these areas. The highest demand is, and will continue to be, for settlements which are within 20 to 30 minutes commuting time from Tel Aviv or Jerusalem.[64] Within the greater Jerusalem area approximately 25% of the population is Jewish and 44% Arab. Within the greater Tel Aviv area, the Jewish population comprises 67%, while that of the Arabs stands at 33%.

Religious Jews who have moved to the West Bank have always insisted that they are entitled to live anywhere in the historic land of Israel, and that they are following in the footsteps of the early Zionist settlers. Important archeological news came from the West Bank in October of 1983, which further hardened the settler's resolve to stay. An altar was found at the very spot where the Bible claims Joshua built his alter after leading the Israelites into the Promised Land. The settlers were

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[63]   Ibid., p. 68.

[64]   Benvenisti, p. 31.

ecstatic, this was more proof that they had, indeed, returned to the land of Israel. The discovery was of a stone alter which measured 27 X 21 feet near the top of Mount Ebal. Near the alter, scientists also found sheep bones and ashes. A dark substance was found on the alter and is thought to be blood from animal sacrifices.[65] Based on Carbon-14 testing, the site was dated back to the 12th century B.C., the time when the Israelites are thought to have crossed into Israel.[66]

In addition to Likud's belief that Jews should be allowed to settle anywhere in what was once Ancient Israel, the West Bank was also seen as a security zone against attack, much as it had been under the Labour government. The theory was that Jewish settlements would act as an early warning system against attack; a physical buffer. This argument is not valid, however, since a buffer zone is no longer a buffer when it is occupied by one's own citizens. A 1984 study by the former Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem Meron Benvenisti found that only 15% of the 98 settlements then in the West Bank were paramilitary outposts.[67] Moreover, in the 1973 Yom Kippur War, civilians on the Golan Heights failed to deter the Syrian army. In fact, they had to be evacuated before Israel could begin a counterattack. One could argue that in an age of long range artillery and rockets, buffer zones are of minimal importance; and when they are populated, they are of no security

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[65] Reich, p. 51.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Benvenisti, p. 49.

value whatsoever.

Once in office, Ariel Sharon began adding a new chain of settlements in Western Samaria beginning with *Hallamish*(established in 1977), *Shave Shomeron* (1977) and *Reichan*(1981). These settlement were located in the Samarian mountains overlooking Israel's coastal plain. Sharon also advocated the establishment of settlements along the Trans-Samarian Road which was designed to cut through Samaria and connect the Jordan Valley and the coastal plain. These settlements included *Kefar Tappuoh*(1978) and *Ariel* (1978). Sharon also planned to surround Jerusalem (as a security measure) with four clusters of settlements and towns.

At the end of Likud's first four years, 50 new settlements had been built in the West Bank. Of these, 44 were established in the Judea and Samaria area, compared to only 10 under the Labour government. Today, settlements are so wide spread that any agreement over the future status of the West Bank, whether it be granted independent status or confederated with Jordan, would necessitate the removal (undoubtedly by force) of the settlements.

The Civilian Administration

The Civilian Administration which governs the West Bank

and Gaza came into being on November 1, 1981.[68] The military commander of the Israeli forces in the West Bank appointed Dr. Menahem Milson as the first head of the new administration. Milson had previously distinguished himself as an advisor to the government on Arab affairs.   Since 1967, all legislative powers had been vested in the area commander.   Military Order #947 created the Civilian Administration (which was civilian in name only).

A corresponding Civilian Administration was created in the Gaza Strip, although an Israeli army officer was appointed to head this entity.   This government branch combined Egyptian law and military orders in order to govern the Palestinians of the territory.[69]

Until 1981, the Military Government was divided into two sections.   The military division supervised political and security considerations while the other section, called the "civilian administration" had authority over all other internal matters. The latter was administered by Israeli officers who represented government ministers in Israel.   Although Jordanian law, as amended by military orders, was still in force in the West Bank, these officers reported to the area commander, who in turn was responsible to the Israeli Minister of Defense.

The head of the Civilian Administration is empowered by

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[68]   Locke and Stewart, p. 16.
[69]   Kuttab and Shehadeh, p. 7.

Article 4 of Military Order #947 to delegate powers and appoint officials to carry out military orders. In 1981, the Israeli government formally divided the military and civilian functions of the Military Government, which in fact had been separated since 1967.

One major effect of the establishment of the Civilian Administration was that it elevated the military orders from that of temporary security measures to the level of permanent laws.[70] This administration is charged with regulating, among other things, the economic activities of the West Bank including: imports, exports, taxes, banks, and customs duties. Other aspects include the control of land, water, electricity, telephone and postal services, as well as the licensing of professionals and the supervision of movies, plays, publications, and textbooks.

The political goal of the Begin government in introducing the Civilian Administration was to create irreversible legal and administrative conditions in the territories which would make any future Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank that much more difficult and ,therefore, less likely.[71]

The divisions of the administration are: the head, his assistants and spokesmen, as well as staff officers for finance, legal council, and controller; an economic branch comprised of staff officers for agriculture, transportation, customs and mines (Israel depends on building stone from West Bank quarries); an

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[70]   Roy, p. 127.

[71]   Hirst, p. 389.

infrastructure branch including public works, government and abandoned properties, surveying, national parks, archeology, and land registration; and a welfare branch including education, health, welfare, and housing.

Since its creation, some changes have occurred. These include the appointment of a military officer to head the administration and closer cooperation between the military and civilian branches. The creation of this entity represented the passage from ad hoc military control to a permanent system of Israeli rule over the local Arab population. After years of military government, which was theoretically designed as a stop-gap measure pending a political settlement, Israel has now established a permanent governing system for the West Bank and Gaza.

Menahem Milson believed, as did Begin, that Labour's ambiguous policies had strengthened the P.L.O. in the territories. This influence had to be stamped out. He put forth a plan which was composed of three elements: 1) The promotion of village leagues, which were composed of moderate Palestinians friendly to Israel,[72] the idea being that the extension of their influence would offset the power of the P.L.O.; 2) the dismissal of pro-P.L.O. mayors in the West Bank; and 3) the government was to place pressure on other nationalist institutions in order to create a more moderate atmosphere.

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[72] Ibid.

Israel allocated a multitude of powers to the newly formed village leagues. These included control over funds for village improvements, the power to accept or reject requests for family reunions, and the issuing of licenses for summer visits by Palestinian family members coming from Arab countries.

The P.L.O. reaction to the leagues was swift and dramatic. The head of the Ramallah village league, Yusuf al-Khatib, was assassinated by the P.L.O. on November 17, 1981. The P.L.O. also made attempts on the lives of other village league members.

Jordan was also upset over the establishment of these pro-Israeli leagues. Amman issued a statement in early 1982 which declared that those who supported the leagues were collaborators and traitors to the Palestinian cause. In an unprecedented response, Israel armed and trained village league members in self defense.[73]

The Role of Religious Jewish Organizations

Traditionally, the National Religious Party (NRP) has had close ties to the Labour Party. This was especially true when the NRP was under the leadership of M.H. Shapira. With the death of Shapira in 1970, a new younger leadership took control and questioned these ties. The NRP objected strenuously to the new mergers which occurred between Labour and smaller parties to

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[73] Ibid., p. 391.

the left.   Following the 1973 Yom Kippur War, the number of Labour Party seats declined from fifty-six to fifty-one, as parties on the right increased their seats from thirty-two to thirty-nine.   The Labour Party still held a plurality, but its flexibility in domestic, as well as foreign, affairs was thereafter limited.   As a result, the NRP's influence vis-a-vis Labour grew tremendously.

In May 1977, the Labour Party was defeated. This resulted from internal struggles within the coalition as well as a failure to address economic problems. It was a surprise to many, since this party had been a powerful force since the days of the British mandate. It had dealt successfully with the economic hardships of the 1950s, the absorption of one million immigrants, the recessions of the mid-1960s, and the misjudgements, early failures and ultimate victory during the Yom Kippur War. Voters switched allegiance because of issues such as inflation, corruption, and failures in foreign policy.[74] The Labour Party (Mapai), which had been the party of partition and held power since 1935, now found itself replaced by a coalition which included the Herut (the heir to the Revisionists), and the NRP. This union established a religious-nationalist coalition which replaced the former alliance of the center-left. Although the religious camp has always been a minority in Israel, it has held significant power when it has been asked to join in support of a

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[74]   Sandler and Frisch, p. 117.

major party to form a coalition government.[75] An example is the general elections of 1988; in addition to the NRP, *Agudat Israel*, and *T'nuat Masoret Israel* (this party represents primarily *Sephardic* Jews) also wielded significant power within the Likud coalition.

In 1984, Israel again held Knesset elections. When no party emerged with a clear majority, a National Unity government was formed. Arrangements were made by which Labour leader Shimon Peres would assume the position of Prime Minister for the first two years and then relinquish the post to Likud leader Yitzak Shamir. As a result, some of the more rigid policies of the previous Likud government toward the West Bank were modified. Peres allowed increased outside investment in the territories, in order to improve the quality of life for the Palestinian people. He also replaced some of the Military Government's officers with approved West Bank Arab officials at the local level.

The Orthodox Viewpoint and *Gush Emunim*

In general, orthodox Jewry was ambivalent toward the establishment of a Jewish state. Many believed that the return to Zion would be a manifestation of divine intervention, not a task to be accomplished by man. This led to a split in the orthodox

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[75] Halabi, p. 142.

ranks between the Zionists, non-Zionists and even anti-Zionist factions. Some orthodox Jews believed, as did Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook, the first chief rabbi of Palestine, that non-religious Zionists were really motivated by an inner divine desire of which they were not consciously aware. To this end, religious Jews should cooperate with secular Jews and the latter would eventually discover this inner motivation. This close cooperation began in the pre-state (*Yishuv*) period. Kook wrote that: "We cannot fulfill our all-embracing mission unless we settle in the Holy Land, for only there can the spirit of our people develop and become a light for the world."[76]

Once Israel was founded, it seemed that both parties realized that if they did not work together, the Jewish community would be permanently split along religious-secular lines. In the spirit of cooperation, the NRP was allowed to direct its own schools within the educational system and hold veto power over religious legislation. These separate schools were to become more important in later years as many of their students provided the basis for the settler movement known as *Gush Emunim*. The NRP's rabbinical colleges (*Yeshivot Hesder*) combined military service (a year and a half) and Talmudic studies (three years) rather than allowing the students to serve full time in the armed forces.

As a result of this mixed form of education, many religious

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[76] Saint John, p. 163.

students were not fully involved in army life during their short tenure nor were they as accomplished as full time Talmud students. The students, feeling caught in the middle, looked for an issue which would combine religion and nationalism. The conquest of Judea and Samaria became that issue and the cause for which they strove. By embracing this cause, the frustration and alienation have been partially alleviated. They criticize secular and religious Jews alike for not fulfilling the traditional idea of settling the "whole" land of Israel, including much of what is now Jordan.

Although the extremist settler movement, *Gush Emunim* (Bloc of the Faithful), is not technically a political party, it has nevertheless had a dramatic impact on Israeli society. The *Gush's* ideology has, in recent years, been responsible for the creation of many new settlements in the West Bank,[77] the extent of which may prove irreversible even under a future Labour government. The formal establishment of *Gush Emunim* took place in February of 1974, in the aftermath of the Yom Kippur War of the previous October. The movement was attempting to bring to life an ideology which existed, although at the time was dormant within the national religious community. The long term aim of the group was to establish Israeli sovereignty over all of what was once ancient Israel. To achieve this goal the movement has established both legal, and illegal, settlements in the occupied territories.[78]

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[77] Benvenisti, p. 52.

The *Gush* has now become a powerful force in Israeli politics. The movement was given legitimacy in 1977 by coming to power with the right wing of the Likud government's coalition. *Gush Emunim* has consistently refused to transform itself into a political party or support one specific party.[79] Since a variety of religious and right wing parties represent the interests of the *Gush*, this action is unnecessary. For the most part, however, members tend to support candidates put forward by the NRP, *Tehiya* (Renaissance) and the Herut Parties.[80] *Gush Emunim* supporters represent many in the national religious community, and see themselves as continuing the work of the original Zionist pioneers. These new settlers are diametrically opposed to such groups as Peace Now, which is associated with the secular left and *Netivot Shalom* (Paths of Peace).

Peace Now see the *Gush* as negating the humane values of Judaism, since it views all Arabs as enemies and favors the deportation of Palestinians from the occupied territories. *Netivot Shalom*, for its part, emphasizes the supremacy of the moral values of Judaism rather than the territorial aspirations of the *Gush*.

In order to distinguish themselves from other Israelis, *Gush* settlers wear knitted skullcaps (whereas most secular

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78   Ibid.

79   Peretz, p. 50.

80   Ibid.

Israelis do not wear hats and orthodox Jews usually cover their heads with black or fur hats). While the majority of *Gush* settlements are religious in nature, a few were created as non-religious in order to close the gap between religious and secular elements in Israeli society.

As many Gush members living in the West Bank are allowed to carry weapons, violent incidents involving Palestinians have become commonplace in recent years.[81] When such incidents do occur, *Gush* adherents are rarely punished by Israeli courts. In addressing this point, several Israeli journalists have stated that, "It looks as if Israel's Military Governors in the occupied West Bank have received instructions to turn a blind eye whenever *Gush Emunim* fanatics break the law, but to stamp out all political opposition by Palestinians."[82]

The *Gush* believes that since *Eretz Israel* belongs to the Jews by Divine Command, any Palestinian demand for self-determination or independence is therefore meaningless. These settlers see Palestinian nationalism as part of Arab nationalism in general, rather than as a separate movement. For them, the question of how to handle the Palestinians of the territories is simple. Palestinians are not seen as a distinct people, as opposed to other Arabs, but rather are viewed as individuals, and more precisely *"gerim"* (a non-Jewish resident of Israel) who,

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[81] Hirst, p. 380.

[82] Mark Heller, "Begin's False Autonomy," Foreign Policy (Winter 1979-80, no. 37), p. 123.

according to the Torah, are to be treated with tolerance and respect, but nothing more. Many members have even gone so far as to openly advocate expulsion of Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza.[83]

Gush leaders recognize the legitimacy of the Israeli government, but when barred from establishing new settlements, members reply that the legal framework. does not represent the true spirit of the state. Since the *Gush* is supported, to a large extent, by the NRP, it has a great deal of influence within any government, whether it be a Labour or a Likud coalition. *Gush* tactics, which are designed to present the case that Judea and Samaria rightfully belong to the Jewish people, include demonstrations, protests and the creation of unauthorized settlements. So far, these efforts have been effective. The strategy dictates that the demonstrations coincide with school holidays to ensure that a large contingent of religiously oriented youth participate. To date, *Gush* members have not adopted the philosophy of Meir Kahane's *Kach* Movement (that of using Jewish terrorism to offset Arab terrorism), although the group has become more violent in recent years.

The thousands of members of NRP's youth movement, *Bnei Akiva*, along with students in the army-affiliated religious seminaries, form the political base for the *Gush Emunim*, and push for the policy of annexation. In the early 1970s, leaders of

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[83]   Hirst, p. 378.

the religious youth movement held the balance of power in the NRP, and threatened to leave the coalition should Labour's West Bank policies block their goal of integrating Judea and Samaria into the Jewish state. They believed that Israel's leaders had betrayed their holy mission by compromising the nation's historical destiny by adopting, what they considered to be, a weak policy of territorial concessions to the Arabs.

As mentioned earlier, some ten thousand West Bank settlers make up the core of *Gush* supporters. *Gush Emunim's* small departments include: Amana, a body which specializes in organization and the establishment of settlements and the Fund of Land Redemption which was created to expand Jewish ownership of land in the West Bank through purchases. Currently, there is suspicion, as well as growing evidence, that *Gush* settlers (if not the organization itself) have ties to Jewish extremists who use violence against West Bank Arabs as well as Israeli Jews active in the peace movement.[84]

It is clear that *Gush Emunim* sees itself as the vanguard of the Jewish people. It would like to have the people of Israel become more religious as well as more nationalistic. *Gush* members were the first to settle the West Bank but they know that if current trends continue, including the suburbinization of the West Bank, they will become a minority among settlers.

In the long run, the movement will probably be torn between two trends. It may stress the religious aspect and become of

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[84] Ibid., p. 382.

marginal importance on the political scene, or it could emphasize the political aspect and move to form its own political party. One thing is certain, however, as long as the status of the territories remains unclear, the *Gush* will continue to attract non-religious territorialists, and in the foreseeable future, *Gush Emunim* will continue to be a strong pressure group in Israeli politics.

One of the most extreme right wing parties on the Israeli political spectrum is the *Kach* movement. This ultra-nationalist group, which was founded by Meir Kahane, a New York Rabbi, is determined to implement its plan of expelling all Palestinians from the occupied territories,[85] as well as all Arabs in Israel proper (even though these people are Israeli citizens and have the right to vote in national elections). Kahane's message was made perfectly clear in a speech given in Ramallah on April 28, 1980. He stated that "the Arabs of Eretz Israel constitute a time bomb for the Jewish state. The only solution is for the Arabs to be sent out of here to Arab states...and for the Jews of the World to be brought to Israel--this is the only way."[86]

It is clear that most Israelis are appalled by Rabbi Kahane's blatant racism. Ephraim Urbach, president of the Israeli Academy of Sciences and Humanities, summed up his feelings by stating that, "what worries me is their totalitarian approach-a clearly nationalistic, chauvinistic approach in the guise of religion, as if

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[85] Ibid.

[86] Raja Shehadeh, The Third Way: A Journal of Life in the West Bank (London: Quartet Books, 1982), p. 44.

they know exactly what the intentions of God are, as if they stand above the law; any law that doesn't suit their opinions doesn't obligate them."[87] It is also interesting to note that recently, in an unprecedented move, the Israeli Supreme Court ruled that the *Kach* movement was indeed a racist organization and as such was forbidden to participate in the 1988 Knesset elections.

Several groups have emerged in·recent years in partial response to the success of *Gush Emunim*. These groups, some are secular such as Peace Now, while others are national-religious in nature including *Oz Ve-Shalom* (Courage and Peace) have sought to offset the rightist policies supported by the *Gush*. In Israeli politics, peace movements have been gaining popularity and political clout in recent years, especially in the wake of the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Several peace groups have come together, and then separated, in a series of continually changing coalitions. These groups advocate a peaceful and total withdrawal from the occupied territories. One movement known as *Siah* espouses a predominately leftist ideology, including the recognition of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, as well as seeking to establish more of a socialist rather than a capitalist system within Israel proper. Members believe that the establishment of Israel fulfilled the Messianic dream, and that it was unethical to disregard the equal rights of the Palestinians

[87]   David K. Shipler, Arab and Jew: Wounded Spirits in a Promised Land (New York: Penguin Books, 1986), p. 156.

and to occupy their soil (the West Bank and Gaza).[88]

The various peace movements stress the fact that Israel must eventually withdraw from the territories due to the disproportionately large Arab birthrate compared to that of the Jews. This argument states that if Israel retains or annexes the territories, the Arab population will outnumber the Jews of Israel in the near future. Should annexation occur, Israel would be forced to choose between two courses of action. It would either have to become an Arab state if true democracy prevailed, or a state with some form of apartheid policy in order to insure that political power remains in the hands of the Jews. One peace movement which has made the transition to a political party is the Dash. This party believes that Israel will have to abandon the territories in order to make peace with the Arabs and retain internal cohesion. Dash reached its zenith in 1977 when it joined the Likud coalition.[89] It favors an economic program of limited government intervention in the economy, lower taxation to encourage private investment in private enterprise and a program of slightly increased welfare services; all of which are designed to strengthen Israel's economy.

In the summer of 1980, the P.L.O. attacked a bus-load of Jews in Hebron, which resulted in six deaths. In retaliation, Jewish extremists, belonging to the *Kach* Movement, set off

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[88] Reich, p. 74.

[89] David Newman, ed., The Impact of the Gush Emunim: Politics and Settlement in the West Bank (New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1985), p. 79.

bombs in the cars of three radical Palestinian mayors in the West Bank. After the bombings, which the more zealous settlers applauded, the terrorist organization reluctantly suspended its operations for some time out of fear of strong government reaction.[90] These Jewish extremists claim to be defending Jews, but by inciting violence, they are only perpetuating a cycle of more violence. *Kach* members, as well as their supporters among the settlers, believe that by intimidating Palestinians they will be able to show them "who's boss."[91]

In response to these extremists, many Palestinian villagers, lacking sophisticated weapons, resort to the throwing of rocks. Stone-throwing in the territories is intended not only to kill or injure Israelis but also to make life abnormal and unsettled for the settlers.

In a two-year period, between 1978 and 1980, four Israeli soldiers were killed and thirty-eight wounded at the hands of Palestinian civilians, while sixteen Israeli civilians were killed and one hundred fifteen injured. Fearing for their safety and that of their families, settlers often take matters into their own hands. Militant settlers have lobbied to have tough measures used against Palestinians who disturb the peace, such as those employed by Shimon Peres when he was the Labour government's

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[90] Shipler, p. 106.

[91] Hyman Bookbinder and James G. Abourezk, Through Different Eyes: Two Leading Americans, A Jew and An Arab, Debate US Policy in the Middle East (Bethesda: Adler and Adler, 1987), p. 156.

Minister of Defense. These measures, which included the heavy fining of fathers of stone-throwing youths and the deportation of offenders to Jordan, were deemed too harsh by Begin's Minister of Defense, Ezer Weizman, and were severely restricted. Recently, however, this attitude has changed. Since the beginning of the *intifadah*, which began in December 1987, in an attempt to end the Israeli occupation, many of these measures have been reinstituted by the Israeli authorities.[92]

The Attitudes of Smaller Parties in Israel

In October 1979, members of *Gush Emunim* and Likud extremists founded the *Tehiya* (Renaissance) Party. This party, which split from Herut, declared its opposition to the Camp David Accords and sought to extend formal Israeli sovereignty over all the lands captured in the Six Day War.[93] It did not distinguish between Arab citizens of Israel and those in the territories. The organization called for Arabs to be given three choices: 1) full Israeli citizenship, 2) residency status or, 3) state assisted emigration (a euphemism for expulsion). This party's platform also called for Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza to be given

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92   Michael Curtis, "The Uprising's Impact on the Options for Peace," Middle East Review (Winter 1988-89, vol. XXI, no. 2), p. 3.

93   Hirst, p. 385.

full political rights, including the right to vote, provided they accept Israel as a Jewish state, become citizens, and agree to perform national service. It is safe to assume, however, that this offer is not sincere, as no one believes that the Palestinians would agree to the conditions set forth by the *Tehiya* Party.

Many other parties are included in the Israeli political spectrum. Among these are the Civil Rights Movement and Mapam. These movements, which were founded by liberal leaders,[94] call for a Palestinian state along side Israel (in the territories). A few small parties of the left even go so far as to support the P.L.O. leadership of such a state, provided the P.L.O. accepts certain conditions. *Rahah*, the Israeli Communist Party, as well as the Progressive List for Peace, advocate total withdrawal from the territories and also support the idea of a Palestinian state. In spite of the wide differences between the two major blocs in Israeli politics, recent surveys have shown that 88% of the public agrees with either the Likud or Labour position.[95]

The rift over what to do with the occupied territories often corresponds to class and ethnic differences within Israeli society. Those with a liberal viewpoint (doves) are usually those Jews whose forefathers came from Europe (*Ashkenazim*).[96] The majority of these people are non-religious, upper middle class,

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[94] Ibid., p. 202.

[95] Peretz, p. 71.

[96] Calvin Goldscheider, "The Democratic Embeddedness of the Arab-Jewish Conflict in Israeli Society," Middle East Review (Summer 1988, vol. XXI, no. #), p. 18.

and well educated. They are willing to trade parts of the West Bank for peace.

Israelis who take the hardline toward Palestinians (hawks) advocate permanent control of the territories as the best way to ensure peace. Many of these people are descendants of those who came from Arab countries (*Sephardim*).[97] They are predominantly very religious, lower class, and less educated than their *Ashkenazi* countrymen. These hardliners vehemently oppose any proposal which would trade land for peace. The *Sephardim* now comprise the majority of the Israeli electorate. In 1948, 15% of Israeli Jews were *Sephardim*; by 1985, that number had increased to 55%.[98] Their hardline views have been consistent over time; in 1969, public opinion showed that half of these Oriental Jews, as opposed to one-third of *Ashkenazim*, supported an aggressive policy toward the Arabs.[99]

Their tough stance toward Arabs stems from the fact that, traditionally, they came from Arab lands in which they were categorized as *Dhimmis* (second class citizens). Life was very difficult for these people, as occupational opportunities were strictly controlled, and they were often subjected to verbal abuse. Despite these hardships, many of the Jews of Iraq,

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[97] Ibid.

[98] Ibid., 16.

[99] Ofira Seliktar, "Stratification and Foreign Policy in Israel: The Attitudes of Oriental Jews towards the Arabs and the Arab-Israeli Conflict," Middle East Journal (Winter 1983, vol. 61, no. 5), p. 35.

Tunisia, Iran and Morocco achieved middle class status. Since they lacked the skills of European Jews, they became the bottom of the immigrant society when Israel was created.[100] This caused a great deal of resentment, which was directed at those who were competing for their jobs-the Arabs.

As time passed, *Sephardi* resentment of the Palestinian labor force which worked in Israel diminished. This change in attitude occurred mainly due to the fact that as Palestinians entered Israeli society at the bottom, taking the lowest paying jobs, the children of the local poor were allowed to move up the social scale to white collar occupations. While retaining the territories is important to most Oriental Jews, they realized that hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent in the West Bank (mainly to encourage Israelis to move into the territory) while very little has been spent on the *Sephardi* poor in Israel proper.[101]

In summarizing the past performance of the Israeli government, we can see distinctive trends which have emerged. From 1967 to 1977, the Labour government's policies toward the territories were neither decisive nor clearcut. One exception was the legislation which came about soon after the war which incorporated the entire city of Jerusalem into Israel. Internal divisions within the government, as well as concern about

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[100] Sammy Smooha, "Internal Divisions in Israel at Forty," Middle East Review (Summer 1988, vol. XX, no. 4), p. 27.

[101] Arthur Hertzberg, "Israel and the West Bank: The Implication of Permanent Control," Foreign Affairs (Summer 1983, vol. 61, no. 5), p. 1069.

integrating a large Arab population into the Jewish state, restrained movement toward annexation. Labour did, however, renounce a return to the pre-1967 borders, as security was uppermost in the minds of Israel's leaders. The Labour government encouraged limited Jewish settlement in the West Bank (in areas approved by the government), took control of scarce resources including water and land, and began to integrate the economic infrastructure of the region with that of Israel. To permit the normalization of life for the Palestinian population of the West Bank, they were allowed access to Jordan through the "open bridges" policy. Assistance was given to restore the economy and public functions at the local level, but region wide political activity was banned. Labour's ambiguous policies led, in part, to the establishment of militant groups, such as *Gush Emunim*, which sought to establish illegal settlements which the government found difficult to control or remove.[102]

In contrast to Labour's indecisiveness, between 1977 and 1984, Likud advocated a clearcut policy of rapid incorporation of the territories into Israel. In line with the ideology of the Herut Party, the Likud bloc stressed the territorial unification of the Land of Israel. In addition, security considerations were of primary importance.[103] In the territories, the government actively supported the settlement of the land by Israelis. It

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[102] David J. Schnall, *Beyond the Green Line: Israeli Settlements West of the Jordan* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1984), p. 54.

[103] Wormser, p. 39.

lifted restrictions on where Jews could settle as well as offering financial assistance to those who were willing to live in the area. The Begin government initiated measures designed to integrate the West Bank infrastructure, such as the water systems, electrical grids and road networks into those of Israel. The Likud government dealt much more severely with Arab opponents of integration than had the previous government and implemented various programs to sever ties between residents and Palestinian nationalist groups. An attempt was also made to counter the attractiveness of the P.L.O. by establishing rural-based village leagues, but this plan met with limited success since it was seen as an Israeli creation. As for the Camp David Accords, Prime Minister Begin supported limited autonomy for the Palestinians as individuals, but rejected an independent Palestinian state.[104]

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[104] Hertzberg, p. 1065.

CHAPTER IV

THE PALESTINIAN VIEWPOINTS

One hundred years ago, the first signs of patriotic
consciousness began to appear among the Arabs of Palestine.
This nationalism on the part of the local elite was centered in the
areas surrounding Jerusalem, Nablus and Hebron.[1] This feeling
later developed into a patriotic and intellectual reaction to
Jewish immigration to, and settlement of, various sections of the
region. This feeling occurred in great part because the new
immigration threatened the economic opportunities of the Moslem
and Christian (most of whom were Greek Orthodox) elite of the
area. The growing opposition to Zionism can be clearly seen by
the rejection of the U.N. Partition Plan of 1947, and war with

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[1]   Moshe Ma'oz, Palestinian Leadership on the West Bank: The Changing Role of
       Arab Mayors Under Jordan and Israel (London: Frank Cass and Company,
       Ltd., 1984), p. 2.

Israel in 1948. Once the war ended, much of the Palestinian population became fragmented as some people remained in the new state of Israel as citizens, while others fled to the West Bank, Gaza, Jordan and Egypt. Unfortunately for the Palestinians, since 1948, they have been used as pawns by the Arab states of the area as a tool against Israel, as well as in inter-Arab conflicts.

In an interview in 1969 with the Sunday Times, Golda Meir stated that, "there is no such thing as a Palestinian...it was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself a Palestinian people."[2] Today, many right-wing Israelis still cling to this belief. This argument stresses the fact that while there was a Palestinian nationalist movement, historically Palestine was never an independent state. To acknowledge the existence of a Palestinian people in the early years of Zionism would have been tantamount to admitting they had a valid claim to the same land that was coveted by the Jews. Today, Israelis must accept the fact that the Palestinians are a distinct people within the Arab world. In order for a people to have a national identity, they must have, above all else, a sense of common history. This is clearly apparent in the case of the Palestinians. In addition, Palestinians have a common language and religion which undoubtedly reinforces their sense of identity. Although this feeling did not evolve until this century, it is now part of

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[2]   Kathleen Christison, "Myths About Palestinians," Foreign Policy (Spring 1987, no. 66), p. 109.

modern life in the Middle East and Israel must come to terms with it.

Israel must now deal with Palestinian nationalism because recent history has shown in such places as Northern Ireland, South Africa, and Lebanon that suppressed nationalism can be a powerful revolutionary force. In addition to these examples, nationalism played an indispensable part in the establishment of the state of Israel. Some Israelis contend that nationalist feelings on the part of Palestinians were fairly weak before Israel's birth in 1948. They feel that this nationalism which came after the fact will eventually fade away. This ignores the rise in nationalism throughout the Arab world, including Palestine, during and immediately after World War I. Palestinians thought of themselves as Syrians after the turn of the century (since under the Ottoman Empire, Palestine was part of Syria). Palestinian nationalism was unquestionably galvanized by Zionism and the influx of Jewish immigrants. Many early Zionists tended to ignore the presence of the Palestinian population, and soon the catch phrase "the land without a people waiting for a people without a land" emerged and clearly reflected their feelings.

One must remember that never has a state the size of Israel snuffed out the nationalistic impulses of a people as numerous as its own population.[3] The question must be posed, what is to stop the Palestinians once they are given full rights in the West

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[3]   Ibid., p. 113.

Bank and Gaza from then taking all of Israel as a homeland? The answer is that Israel physically exists. Its right to exist is recognized by most of the world, and in addition it is strong enough to survive any future Palestinian attack. All but the most radical Palestinians have accepted this fact. Today, even most Arab regimes have accepted, albeit grudgingly, Israel's presence within the pre-1967 borders.[4] Palestinian nationalism contains a great deal of anti-Israeli feeling, but this is to be expected as the dissatisfaction with living conditions as well as a lack of political rights (compared to those of Israel) have greatly added to this feeling on the part of Palestinians in the territories.

Palestinians make up two separate communities with very different goals. The majority of Palestinians living outside the territories are themselves descendants of people who lost their lands during the 1948 war. They have remained, and have been encouraged by Arab states to remain, refugees in the surrounding Arab countries. Their goal has never changed; it is to return to their homes and their land which were lost at the time of Israel's creation. This aim is reflected in the fact that these Palestinians created the P.L.O. in an attempt to achieve this dream, namely a Palestinian state in all of Palestine. The majority of West Bank Palestinians, however, were born there and their families have lived there for decades. Most would be

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[4]   Aaron David Miller, The Arab States and the Palestine Question: Between Ideology and Self-Interest (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1986), p. 22.

amenable to the creation of an independent state alongside Israel.

Several factors have aroused anti-Israeli feeling among the West Bank population. These include: the prolonged Israeli occupation, coupled with harsh security measures taken by the Military Government;[5] certain provocative actions on the part of *Gush Emunim* and Jewish settlers; as well as the emergence of the P.L.O. after 1973 as a major player in the inter-Arab and international arenas. Since its establishment in 1964, the P.L.O. has not succeeded, despite constant efforts, in establishing its military and political headquarters in the West Bank. The organization has had to operate from neighboring states; including Egypt, Syria and Lebanon. The main disadvantage for the P.L.O. in striking at Israel from these countries is that it is subject to numerous political and military constraints on the part of the host countries.[6]

The P.L.O. was created at the Arab summit conference in Cairo in January 1964 under the chairmanship of Akmad Shuqayri.[7] Initially, Jordan allowed P.L.O. headquarters to be located in East Jerusalem. However, the king soon viewed the P.L.O. as a threat to his rule over the West Bank and adopted harsh measures against the organization, which eventually led to the closure of P.L.O. headquarters in January 1967. The P.L.O. then

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5   Clovis Maksoud, "The Implications of the Palestinian Uprising-Where From Here?" American-Arab Affairs (Fall 1988, no. 26), p. 54.

6   Miller, p. 2.

7   John Laffin, The P.L.O. Connections (London: Corgi Books, 1982), p. 17.

moved its main office to Cairo.

Soon after its creation, the P.L.O. adopted a national covenant. This document defined the Palestinian community, declared the need to destroy Israel and establish a democratic-secular state in its place, and detailed the means by which this goal was to be accomplished-the preferred means being armed struggle.[8]

The largest group in the P.L.O. organization is Fatah, which was established in the late 1950s and joined the organization in 1968. In 1974, the P.L.O. executive committee was increased from nine to fourteen members in an attempt to unite the various factions. Within this committee, Fatah was represented by two men, while the following groups have one representative each: The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the PFLP General Command, *al-Saika*, the Arab Liberation Army, and the Arab Liberation Front. Independents have two members and exiles from the West Bank have four.[9]

The P.L.O. is, in effect, a government in exile. It has a parliamentary body, the Palestinian National Council (PNC), an executive body, the Executive Committee with eight departments,

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[8]   Hyman Bookbinder and James G. Abourezk, Through Different Eyes: Two Leading Americans, a Jew and an Arab, Debate U.S. Policy in the Middle East (Bethesda: Adler and Adler, 1987), p. 297.

[9]   Shmuel Sandler and Hillel Frisch, Israel, the Palestinians and the West Bank: A Study in Intercommunal Conflict (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1984), p. 81.

an army, the Palestine Liberation Army, and supporting bodies such as research, planning, and information centers.

The major factor that brought the P.L.O. prestige and appeal in the West Bank was its ascendance in the international arena. The dramatic breakthrough occurred in 1974. In October of that year, the P.L.O. was recognized by all Arab states present at the Rabat Arab summit conference as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.[10] Also in 1974, due in part to the increased Arab oil power, the United Nations General Assembly passed Resolutions #3236 and #3237 which reiterated the findings of the Rabat conference, and granted the P.L.O. observer status in the United Nations.[11] In August 1975, the P.L.O. was granted membership in the nonaligned group, as well as the "Group of 77" developing countries.

The P.L.O.'s goals in the territories have been firstly, to politically organize the population under its leadership, secondly, to step up guerrilla activities against the Israelis and thirdly, to create a state of civil disobedience and opposition to Israeli rule. This last aim has been achieved with the current uprising in the West Bank and Gaza.

In the first years of Israeli occupation, the P.L.O. tried to use the territories as a base of operations. Following the

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[10] Mark A. Heller, A Palestinian State: The Implications for Israel (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 54.

[11] Richard J. Ward, Don Peretz, and Evan M. Wilson, The Palestine State: A Rational Approach (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press Corp., 1977), p. 136.

example set in Vietnam, they attempted to create a situation whereby guerrillas and civilians would combine forces, the latter using demonstrations and strikes while the former attempted to wear down the enemy by military means. This strategy, however well conceived, failed due to an effective anti-P.L.O. campaign on the part of Israel and a lack of support to Israeli military reprisals and material benefits which Israel offered. Many people within the territories cooperated with Israel on a day-to-day basis, due in part to the ineffectiveness of the P.L.O. militarily and the growth in economic prosperity which resulted from Israel's policies. In an attempt to politically organize the people of the territories, the P.L.O. created the Palestine National Front (PNF), which became a framework which included all Palestinian groups opposed to the occupation. In 1973, the PNF declared its loyalty to the P.L.O., but it was dominated by the Palestinian Communist Party, which had a superior organizational structure. Although the communists were loyal to Moscow, they enjoyed good relations with the P.L.O. However, P.L.O. leaders decided that they could not afford to have PNF activities coordinated by a group which was loyal to another entity. Therefore, the PNF lost much of its stature within the Palestinian community.

The Palestinian Mayors of the West Bank and Gaza

Historically, there have been two types of Palestinian mayors, nationalists and the moderates. The Palestinian nationalist mayors have tended to be very militant and supportive of the P.L.O. and its aims. During the period of the British mandate (1922-1948), an example of this form of mayor could be seen in the person of Amin al-Husani, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem.[12] This leadership has traditionally been cohesive, highly ideological, antagonistic toward both the British and Hashemite governments, and above all, anti-Zionist and anti-Israel. The goals of these men have been the establishment of a Palestinian state in all of Palestine and the elimination of the state of Israel.

In contrast to this type of Palestinian leader, stood the moderate-conservative mayors. These men usually cooperated with the British and Jordanian authorities.[13] They adopted a conciliatory, pragmatic position toward the Zionists and were prepared to tolerate a Jewish community and later a Jewish state in part of Palestine. Unfortunately for those who wished to see Arabs and Jews living together peacefully, this leadership was fragmented and many of the mayors were intimidated by the

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[12]   David Hirst, _The Gun and the Olive Branch_ (London: Faber and Faber, 1984), p. 88.

[13]   Ma'oz, p. 4.

militant leaders who achieved hegemony during the period of the British mandate. After the 1948 war, the Palestinian nationalist leaders were dispersed, as they fled to surrounding Arab states.[14] In their place, the moderates became the instruments through which the Hashemite regime governed the West Bank.

Until the municipal elections of 1976, most West Bank mayors were from the local conservative elite. These men included Sheikh Mohammad al-Ja'bari of Hebron and Elias Freij of Bethlehem. While publically they praised the P.L.O. and criticized both Israel and Jordan, privately they opposed the P.L.O. and developed political and economic interests in cooperation with the two surrounding states. Many young radicals were alienated from these leaders, mainly due to their cooperation with Israel, as well as the continued Israeli occupation, which was accompanied by arrests, deportations, and the demolition of houses belonging to suspected P.L.O. members.[15] The new radical mayors, who were elected in 1976, worked in conjunction with the P.L.O. to establish a new national identity in the West Bank.

These men strove to crystallize Palestinian nationalist feelings, organize and carry out the struggle against Israeli occupation and prepare the political infrastructure for a future Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. Many of these nationalist mayors were seen as a threat by the Israeli government, and were forced out of office in March, 1982. In

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14   Ibid., p. 6.

15   The Christian Science Monitor, 28 June 1989.

their places, the government either appointed Israeli army officers to carry out the functions of mayors or allowed "acceptable" Palestinians (moderates) to occupy the vacant positions. By invoking the municipal law of 1934, Israel has enabled the military to dismiss mayors in Gaza whose political views are deemed "unacceptable."[16]

The 1976 municipal elections marked a clear victory for the P.L.O. Several pro-P.L.O. mayors were elected throughout the territories. These mayors included Bassam Shaka of Nablus, Fahd al-Kawasneh of Hebron, and Karim Khalaf of Ramallah.[17] Only one pro-Jordanian mayor was elected in a major town, he was Elias Freij (a Christian) in Bethlehem. This year marked the end of power for several moderate mayors including Sheik Ali al-Jabari of Hebron. Unlike their predecessors, the new mayors worked in concert, and placed ideological commitments before municipal loyalties. Predictably, relations with Israeli authorities, which until that point had been cordial, although strained at times, soured.

The new mayors began to openly criticize Israeli policies, especially that of establishing new settlements in the West Bank, and the harsh treatment afforded Palestinian prisoners. In response to these critical statements and the alleged secret meetings between mayors and the P.L.O. representatives, the Israeli authorities warned the mayors to stop engaging in

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[16]   Sara Roy, The Gaza Strip Survey (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Post, 1986),p. 131.

[17]   Hirst, p. 381.

"political matters" and to concentrate instead on municipal affairs. Encouraged by the new mayors, riots erupted in many West Bank towns in protest against the establishment of *Gush Emunim* settlements, such as that at Sebastisa near Nablus. Resentment of the *Gush* had been rising among Palestinians since the organization established its first settlement in 1975 at Ofra near Ramallah.[18] As a result of these demonstrations, the Israeli government removed, or transferred, several of the settlements to new locations. Civil unrest spread during that year in reaction to an Israeli magistrate's ruling on January 28, that held that Jews had the right to pray on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem (which is the site of the al-Aqsa Mosque, and the Dome of the Rock). The Israeli Supreme Court subsequently abrogated the ruling and the Minister of Police declared that any Jews found praying on the Temple Mount would be arrested. Although this statement was intended to placate the Palestinians, strikes and demonstrations continued throughout the spring of 1976. The few moderate mayors who remained in office had all they could do to keep the peace in their towns. They found it increasingly difficult to withstand the powerful wave of Palestinian nationalist sentiment, especially since it was coupled with P.L.O. threats of violence against them if they did not accept P.L.O. leadership of the Palestinian community.[19] The moderate

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[18] "Report Uber Israels Siedlungsexpansion Auf Dem Jordan-West Ufer," Der Spiegel 17 January 1983, p. 107.

[19] Michael D. Wormser (ed.), The Middle East (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1981), p. 174.

mayors had to either resign or adjust to the nationalist tide in order to protect their political careers and, in some cases, their lives.

In 1978, the P.L.O. again tried to rally Palestinian nationalism behind an organization which it created. The National Guidance Committee was composed of twenty-three members, including the mayors of the six largest towns in the West Bank. This organization, which was soon outlawed by Israel, coordinated protest activities against the Military Government's occupation policies. In addition, it promoted university protests at Bir Zeit, Bethlehem, and al-Najah in Nablus.[20] Under this committee a wave of demonstrations again swept the West Bank to protest President Carter's trip to Israel in the winter of 1979.

Over the years, the P.L.O. has attempted to remain on good terms with Jordan for two main reasons. Firstly, in order to ensure that King Hussein would not strike a separate deal with Israel[21] and, secondly, to use Jordan's influence with moderate mayors in order to prevent a strong Palestinian leadership from emerging in the West Bank which would rival the P.L.O.'s power in the territories.

The more radical factions within the P.L.O., such as the PFLP (which has ties to Syria) and the PDFLP (which is supported by Libya), strongly objected to close P.L.O.-Jordanian cooperation since they felt that Hussein had traditionally worked against the

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[20]   Ibid.

[21]   Ibid., p. 175.

establishment of an independent Palestinian state. Since Jordan had lost much of its influence after the 1976 elections, moderate mayors rarely expressed their views in public because the more militant line prevailed in the occupied territories.

Conflicts within the P.L.O., such as the schism between Fatah and the more radical groups within the organization also had a dramatic effect on West Bank mayors. Pro-Fatah mayors, such as Elias Freij of Bethlehem, were often at odds with their more radical colleagues, and this conflict prevented the Palestinians from forming a united front against the Israeli occupiers.

Israeli fears as to what the P.L.O. would do should the West Bank become an independent state are not without some foundation. Farouk Kadoumi, the head of the P.L.O.'s political department has stated that "there are two phases to our return. The first phase to the 1967 lines and the second to the 1948 lines." In addition, George Habash, one of the most radical leaders in the P.L.O., and head of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, is quoted as declaring that "yes, we will accept part of Palestine in the beginning, but under no circumstances will we agree to stop there. We will fight until we take every last corner of it."[22] At the same time, most Israelis understand that Habash represents only the most radical and uncompromising position within the P.L.O.

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22 Walter Reich, A Stranger in my House: Jew and Arab in the West Bank (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), p. 97.

The vast majority of Palestinians wholeheartedly support the P.L.O. A 1987 poll, conducted by the Australian Broadcasting Company found that 93% of Palestinians viewed the P.L.O. as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The survey also discovered that 85% of those polled felt that the United States played a negative role in peace-making and 60% believed armed struggle was the most effective tactic in achieving Palestinian goals. Only 3% saw King Hussein of Jordan as the leader of choice.[23]

Prior to 1987, Palestinian organizations were unable to move the population to full-scale rebellion. The closest the population came to achieving this goal was in the Gaza Strip in 1971. A guerrilla movement, armed with weapons left behind by the Egyptian army and based in the refugee camps (in which three fourths of the population of Gaza live), launched attacks against Israeli troops in the territory. Israel moved against this threat in early 1971 with an "iron fist" policy directed by Ariel Sharon.[24] Round-the-clock curfews were imposed and arrests and interrogations increased. The Israeli army rounded up about 12,000 relatives of suspected guerrillas and destroyed fruit orchards and crops in the fields. By the end of that year, 742 Fedayeen were either killed or captured and the population, for the most part, was subdued.[25]

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[23]   Mary Wilson, "Jordan's Malaise," Current History: World Affairs Journal (February 1987, vol. 86), p. 75.

[24]   Richard Locke and Antony Stewart, Bantustan Gaza (London: Zed Books, 1985), p. 11.

Black September

In 1970, the P.L.O. lost a great deal of power and prestige when it was forced out of Jordan during what came to be known as "Black September". Across the river, in the West Bank, the P.L.O.'s defeat was seen by the population as a sever blow to the organization, and led to a loss of stature in the eyes of many Palestinians. In February 1970, thirty people were killed or wounded in clashes between the Fedayeen and Jordanian troops. The violence was brought on by Palestinian violations of government decrees which restricted their activities. These orders banned unauthorized Palestinian demonstrations and the spreading of propaganda. The P.L.O. had moved into Jordan in force in 1968 and 1969, and soon controlled the Palestinian refugee camps. After establishing their power base, Palestinian fighters began to move into the streets of Jordan's cities, fully armed.

Yassir Arafat began to spread anti-Hussein propaganda, with the intent of ousting the king and establishing a government which would allow the Fedayeen more freedom of movement within the country.[26] Tensions between the Jordanian government and the Palestinians reached a critical point in early

25 Geoffrey Aaronson, Creating Facts: Israel, the Palestinians and the West Bank (Washington, D.C.: The Institute for Palestine Studies, 1987), p. 47.

26 Anne Sinai and Allen Pollack (eds.), The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the West Bank (New York: American Academic Association for Peace in the Middle East, 1977), p. 61.

September, when the king survived an assassination attempt in Amman by radical Palestinians. The situation reached its climax on September 6, when three airliners were hijacked by members of the PFLP and flown to an airstrip north of Amman.[27] The airplanes were traveling to New York from Europe when they were commandeered. A fourth hijacking was attempted in Amsterdam, but was foiled by El Al security agents. The three commandeered airliners (TWA, Pan Am, and Swiss Air), with a total of 458 passengers and crew, were held hostage for three days as Jordanian troops surrounded the hijackers.

On the 9th of September, the passengers were gradually freed and the airplanes blown up. By this point, Hussein was determined to crack down on the Fedayeen which, in his view, had grown far too powerful in his country. The violence slowly escalated into civil war. After two weeks of sporadic but heavy fighting, the king installed a military government which was headed by Brigadier General Muhammad Daiuud and included five generals and two colonels. Fighting spread rapidly throughout the country, with the fiercest clashes occurring in and around the capital. During the conflict, Jordanian infantry units attacked both the al-Husseini and Wahdat refugee camps. Both Baghdad and Damascus radios declared their support for the Fedayeen. Vicious house to house fighting continued in Amman throughout

September. At this point, Syria seriously considered intervening

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[27] Wormser, p. 174.

on behalf of the P.L.O.[28]   On September 23, a column of Syrian tanks was turned back across the border by continued assaults by the Jordanian air force. The Syrian air force under Hafiz al-Assad did not intervene as Assad probably hoped to embarrass the government, thereby increasing his chances of assuming power. In fact, Assad did succeed in seizing power soon after the events of September subsided.

On Monday, September 21, a plan had been worked out through Washington, whereby Israel would intervene on behalf of King Hussein should Syria attempt to cross the Syrian-Jordanian border in force.   The plan called for Prime Minister Meir to send two hundred tanks toward the city of Irbid, combined with Israeli air strikes.[29]   Israel agreed that her forces would be withdrawn as soon as the operations were over.   The king preferred that the United States also be involved, as he did not want to depend solely on Israel.   President Nixon and Secretary of State Kissinger were hesitant about involving U.S. forces directly.   They knew that aircraft from the Sixth Fleet could carry out two hundred sorties a day against Jordan (although impressive, this was minute compared to Israeli capabilities).   U.S. forces in West Germany were placed on alert and additional carrier forces were routed to the Mediterranean in case reinforcements were necessary.[30]   Nixon saw Hussein as a fairly stable force in the

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[28]   Ibid.

[29]   William Quandt, Decade of Decisions: American Policy Toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict 1967-1976 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), p. 117.

Arab world and a necessary component in any lasting Middle East peace agreement.

Actual outside intervention became unnecessary as Jordan's armed forces halted Syria's advance. Sporadic clashes continued throughout the country well into 1971, as the Jordanian army struggled to gain the upper hand. On June 2, 1971, the king gave orders for a "final crackdown" on the Fedayeen. He charged the Palestinian fighters with attempting "to establish a separate Palestinian state and destroy the unity of the Jordanian and Palestinian people."[31] By the middle of July, the main Palestinian resistance had been crushed. As unlikely as it seems, approximately 70 Palestinian guerrillas actually crossed the Jordan River in order to surrender to their sworn enemy, Israel, rather than fall into the hands of Hussein's bedouin troops. This marked the end of Palestinian military power in Jordan. After 1971, the majority of P.L.O. operations directed at Israel were launched from the organization's new base of operations, Lebanon.[32] Following the events of September 1971, King Hussein's popularity among Palestinians, which was already waning, reached a new low. The king would never again be seen as a defender of Palestinian rights. Those Palestinians who were expelled from Jordan immediately sought sanctuary in Lebanon. Although the Lebanese government was not happy about this turn of events, it was too weak to stop such an influx.[33]

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[30] Ibid., p. 114.

[31] Sinai and Pollack, p. 61.

[32] Hirst, p. 349.

In 1973, the United States set certain conditions under which it would talk directly to the P.L.O. Paramount among these was the P.L.O.'s acceptance of Israel's right to exist as stated in U.N. Resolution #242. Until 1988, this was something the P.L.O. leadership was not prepared to do. This change in attitude came about as the result of several developments. First, was the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, on June 6, 1982 which was undertaken to place "the whole population of Galilee out of the range of the terrorists who have concentrated their base and headquarters in Lebanon."[34] In fact, this operation was designed to smash the P.L.O.'s military strength in Fatahland (Israel's term for the area controlled by the P.L.O. in southern Lebanon). The IDF soon accomplished this mission. Arafat was forced to leave Beirut and eventually flee to Tunisia. Although it did not totally destroy the P.L.O. militarily the Israeli invasion,did manage to severely limit its ability to launch attacks on Israel from Lebanon. A split within the P.L.O. occurred in 1983 which further threatened Arafat's position of leadership[35] and may

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[33] Rafik Halabi, The West Bank Story (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1982), p. 93.

[34] Hirst, p. 408.

[35] The schism occurred within Fatah itself in Lebanon. Rebels, led by Abu Musa, opposed to what they perceived as Arafat's excessive moderation in not rejecting out of hand President Reagan's initiative, as well as the rumor that Arafat was planning to renounce the "armed struggle" altogether, physically attacked Arafat supporters. With Syria's aid, the rebels soon controlled most of the Beka Valley, leaving Arafat loyalists in control of a small area around the northern Lebanese city of Tripoli.

have influenced his decision to adopt a new position vis a vis Israel. The main reason, however, that the P.L.O. chairman moderated his stance may be attributed to the *intifadah*. In an attempt to reassert his leadership of the Palestinian cause (which had been stolen by the spontaneous rebellion in the territories), Arafat decided that a new tack was in order.

In a dramatic development, Arafat, in a speech to the U.N. General Assembly on December 13, 1988, suggested an entirely new course of action on the part of his organization. For the first time in history, the P.L.O. declared that all parties involved in the conflict had the right to exist in peace and security (including the Palestinians and Israel). In addition, the P.L.O. called for an international peace conference based on U.N. Resolutions #242 and #338. Arafat also asked that a U.N. peacekeeping force be sent to the West Bank and Gaza to replace the Israeli troops stationed there.

Shortly after this speech, the United States and Israel agreed that the P.L.O.'s position was too vague and did not openly recognize Israel's right to exist or renounce terrorism in all its forms. In reaction to this criticism, the next day, Arafat clarified his statement by claiming that he recognized Israel's right to exist within secure borders. In response to this show of moderation by the P.L.O., the United States initiated face-to-face talks with the organization for the first time in over a decade.

On December 16, 1988, a P.L.O. representative met with the U.S. Ambassador to Tunisia in Tunis for talks centering on the

future of the Palestinians. Many Israelis were taken aback by the new relationship between Washington and the P.L.O. The former Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations, Benjamin Netanyahu, stated that "the P.L.O. is not interested in the liberation of Palestine but the liquidation of Israel."[36] To date, the P.L.O. Charter still calls for the destruction of Israel, and the liquidation of the "Zionist presence in Palestine."[37] Despite Arafat's word, many on the Israeli right do not trust the statements of the P.L.O. They remember that as recently as October 26, 1986, Arafat declared in Khartoum that "Palestinian armed struggle will continue to escalate quantitatively...the revolution will forge ahead to achieve all the aims and legitimate rights of our people."[38] Israelis also remember that this speech came only six days after P.L.O. members attacked a group of Jews at the Wailing Wall in the Old City of Jerusalem. The attack resulted in sixty-nine Israeli casualties, many of whom were women and children. If Arafat is truly interested in establishing good relations with the United States and Israel, the recent diplomatic overtures have been a positive first step in that direction. If nothing else, they provide a basis upon which the parties involved can build a meaningful dialogue.

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[36] ABC, "Nightline," 14 December 1988.

[37] Bookbinder and Abourezk, p. 298.

[38] Ibid., p. 87.

CHAPTER V

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS
IN THE TERRITORIES

For years the Israeli government has claimed that the economy of the West Bank has expanded, and that the standard of living has risen due to the interaction of the economy with that of Israel. Some critics, such as Meron Benvenisti, refute this assertion, claiming that since 1967 there have been only minor improvements in the living standards. These men claim that Israel's high inflation rate has been exported to the territories and that the cost of living has increased due to the equalization of prices with those in Israel. Most Palestinian economists define the relationship between the two economies as "imperial

colonial interaction."[1] They correctly point out that since the West Bank and Gaza are "protected outlets for Israeli manufactured goods" as well as providing a cheap source of unskilled labor, these areas therefore fit the classical colonial patterns.[2]

When Israel took over the West Bank in 1967, it found an economy primarily based on agriculture, as Jordan had developed little industry in the region.[3] As the territories could not hope to compete with Israel's strong economy (much of Israeli industry was highly developed and protected by high tariffs), they became ideal markets for Israeli products. Within five years, the West Bank became a huge market for exported Israeli goods, second only to the United States. Since access to foreign markets, including Jordan was severely limited by Israel, the Palestinians found themselves having to deal with Israel on an economic level in order to prevent a stagnation of their economy. By 1977 Israeli exports constituted 91% of West Bank imports; exports to Israel reached 61% by that same year.[4] The main commodity the territories had to offer was cheap labor.[5] Israeli

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[1]   Meron Benvenisti, The West Bank Data Project: A Survey of Israel's Policies (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Post, 1986), p. 8.

[2]   Ibid.

[3]   Ibid., p. 9.

[4]   Shmuel Sandler and Hillel Frisch, Israel, the Palestinians and the West Bank: A Study in Intercommunal Conflict (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1984), p. 51.

[5]   Rafik Halabi, The West Bank Story (New York: Harcourt, Brace and

industries that required low technological skills, such as the construction sector, hired a large number of Palestinian workers. By 1974 export labor accounted for 27% of the West Bank's G.N.P.

The two economies continued to move along specialized lines. The West Bank, for the most part, exported manpower to Israel and Israel exported mainly sophisticated technological goods. Between 1968 and 1978, the per capita G.N.P. in the West Bank grew by 11% annually.[6] The increase in personal income came primarily as a result of higher paying jobs in Israel. The higher incomes increased the level of consumer consumption, which in turn stimulated economic activity. Israel's economic policies have benefitted Palestinians in the occupied lands. In the West Bank, the gap between their disposable income and that of Israelis has narrowed in recent years by approximately 50%. Although the West Bank lagged far behind the East in 1967, by 1980 their average personal income equalled that of the Jordanians.[7] The contact with Israel's superior technology provided for innovations in many sectors, including advances in medicine and agriculture. In early 1968 there was an influx of Israeli agriculture experts into the territories with advice on improving plant varieties and cultivation methods. As a result, the agricultural sector expanded as Palestinian farmers introduced new crop strains and the use of chemical fertilizers.

Jovanovich, 1982), p. 268.

[6] Ibid., p. 113.

[7] Benvenisti, p. 9.

In order to reduce their dependence on Jordanian markets, farmers in the West Bank were encouraged to grow preservable crops such as beans, sesame and cotton which could then be exported through the Israeli Agriculture Export Company (Agrexco). Israeli authorities wanted to integrate the West Bank's agricultural sector with that of Israel. Early efforts included education and training programs and the extension of agricultural services. By the mid 1970's when Israel's economy began to deteriorate, many of these programs were scaled down.

By far the most important product grown in the West Bank is the olive crop. Approximately one-third of the cultivated land in the occupied territories is composed of olive trees. The olive yield is a major factor in the volume of industrial, as well as, agricultural production. Both industrial employment and production tend to fluctuate with the two-year cycle of olive production. The volume of olives cultivated depends on the amount of rainfall, and the demand for the product in Israel and, to a lesser extent, Jordan. In Gaza, the main agricultural export is citrus. This product accounts for one-third of the land under production and makes up 70% of agricultural exports.[8] The fruit is sold either to Jordan (and then exported to other Arab countries) or to Israel to make up for shortages in their domestic supply.[9] Although Israel restricts the importation of many

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[8]   Richard Locke and Antony Stewart, Bantustan Gaza (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1985), p. 25.

[9]   Ibid.

Gazan fruits and vegetables, in order to avoid direct competition with Israeli products, certain products are allowed to freely enter Israel, such as zucchini and strawberries as they pose no threat to Israeli crops.[10]

Industrial production in the territories is largely geared to the supply of essential goods, such as food processing, beverages, textiles, clothing and furniture. For the most part, production is centered around small workshops with modest capital. Owners and family members provide most of the necessary labor for these fledgling companies in the West Bank. In recent years women have increased their numbers in these cottage industries, especially in textiles, in an attempt to augment their family's income.[11] The merging of small economic units into larger ones, a common characteristic of growth, has not occurred in the West Bank. While the number of enterprises has increased, their size has not; a survey of some 2,587 businesses revealed that 1,487 workshops and factories employed fewer than 3 people, while only seven plants had more than 100 employees. This situation indicates a lack of capital, as well as Israeli government restrictions on infrastructure development that could lead to further industrialization.[12]

After 1967, as Israeli settlers moved into the West Bank,

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[10] Sara Roy, The Gaza Strip Survey (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Post, 1986), p. 49.

[11] Ibid., p. 27.

[12] Don Peretz, The West Bank: History, Politics, Society and Economy (Boulder: Praeger Publishers, 1986), p. 112.

Israel extended its power supply in order to meet the needs of these people. The Palestinians have also benefited from the extension of this service. Currently, 80% of all West Bank households have electricity. Electricity, formerly provided by small local generators, is now supplied by Israel's national power grid in many areas. There has also been a substantial increase in ownership of durable goods. In 1968 there were 7500 automobiles in the West Bank; today this number has increased to 38,000. The ownership of electric or gas ranges has risen from 5% in 1967 to 75.3% by 1981. There has also been a dramatic rise in the ownership of refrigerators (from 5% to 51.1%) and television sets (from 2% to 60.7%).[13] Some analysts attribute the increased use of household durables to investment patterns. The theory holds that people tend to invest in these items rather than in the more erratic small industrial and agricultural firms.[14]

Companies have had difficulty expanding in part due to the limited banking industry in the territories. Immediately after the Six Day War the Jordanian government closed all its bank branches in the West Bank. Since that time there has been a banking vacuum in the area, as Jordanian banks refused to reopen under Israeli occupation despite invitations to do so from the Military Government. Two Israeli banks, the Bank of Israel and

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13   Ibid., p. 78.

14   Ibid., p. 113.

the Israel Discount Bank, have opened branches in the West Bank and Gaza. Since they are not authorized to operate with the Jordanian dinar, however, which is still legal tender in the West Bank, patronage by Palestinians is very limited. As a result of this situation local money changers have set up a "shadow" banking system in dinars in order to serve the Palestinian population. Prior to 1967, several Arab countries established branches of banks in the Gaza Strip. These included Alexandria Bank (Egypt) and the Arab Bank Ltd. (Jordan). Needless to say these branches did not reopen after the 1967 War. Before the war, Gaza had only one locally controlled financial institution, that being the Bank of Palestine.[15] In 1981, The Bank of Palestine was allowed to reopen.[16] It exists alongside branches of Israel's Bank Hapoalim, but unlike the Israeli bank, the indigenous bank is not permitted to work with foreign currency.

In order to claim large segments of West Bank land, the Military Government passed Military Order #58 (1967) on absentee property.[17] This order defined an absentee as one who left the West Bank prior to, during, or following the Six Day War. The order allows an individual to be appointed to act as a trustee for the owner; in fact the custodian usually controls and has the

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[15] Roy, p. 78.

[16] During the period in which the bank was closed, the Israeli government appealed to the Supreme Court to have the Bank of Palestine's name changed. The government was unsuccessful, as the Court ruled that the bank could retain its name.

[17] Benvenisti, p. 30.

right to sell the land as if he were the legitimate owner. This order was based on the Israeli absentee property law of 1951. The difference, however, is that the 1951 law defined an absentee in Israel as a person who, on a specific date, was in an Arab country with which Israel was at war. The order categorizes an absentee as anyone who has left the West Bank for an extended period of time, whether or not the owner of the property journeyed to an Arab state.

Land expropriation was carried out prior to 1967, but at that time the Jordanian government had to pay fair compensation and publish its intention to expropriate in local newspapers. Military Order #321 removed the need to publish this intention, although the Military Government is still expected to pay an equitable price for the property, and notify the owner or trustee orally of its plans. The burden of proof of land ownership falls squarely on the shoulders of the Palestinian landholder. If he fails to show proper ownership, his property is treated as state land which Israel claims it has the right to as the successor to the Jordanian government.[18] Landowners may appeal a military appropriation order by bringing their case before an Objection Committee; however, this committee rarely rules against the Military Government as it is composed entirely of military personnel.

Academic freedom is very limited in the West Bank and

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[18] Raja Shehadeh and Jonathon Kuttab, The West Bank and the Rule of Law (London: International Commission of Jurists, 1980), p. 62

Gaza. Since the beginning of the occupation there has been a great deal of animosity between the Military Government and Palestinian schools. The authorities have often described the universities as "hotbeds of radicalism,"[19] since the students, at numerous times, have resorted to demonstrations protesting various Israeli policies. Following such outbursts, the military authorities rapidly move to close the institutions as punishment for the student's political activism.

Education is compulsory for the first nine years and is free through the secondary level. In the Gaza Strip, the Egyptian curriculum is employed,[20] while all schools in the West Bank use the Jordanian curriculum. Initially, Israeli authorities wanted to introduce textbooks used by Israel's Arab school system, but after West Bank teachers refused to accept the plan the Jordanian curriculum was retained. School standards and policies are coordinated by a centralized (Arab) committee. Funds allocated for education are provided by the Military Government, while the Israeli Ministry of Education has the power to approve or deny the use of textbooks (as well as the right to expunge all passages deemed inflammatory).[21] In addition, the Ministry of Education appoints, dismisses, and transfers teachers, as well as controls the budgets of the various schools.

As of 1967, there were no universities in the West Bank,

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[19]   Ibid., p. 89.

[20]   Locke and Stewart, p. 35.

[21]   Ibid.

although the area did have two vocational training centers. Today, the Israeli government has allowed the establishment of four universities in the region. In 1973, the authorities granted Bir Zeit College, near Ramallah, the right to seek accreditation in Arab countries as a university. Accreditation soon occurred, and the following year, Bethlehem University was created and accepted by the Association of Arab States. Two other universities, Al Najah University near Nablus and the Islamic College of Hebron, are currently awaiting accreditation. Most Christians in the West Bank attend either Bir Zeit (secular) or Bethlehem University (Freres-Catholic), while only Moslems attend the Islamic College of Hebron. There has been a dramatic increase in student enrollment in the past few years. As of 1980, the total enrollment in the universities of the West Bank stood at 6,000.[22] Since the *intifadah* began, however, these universities have been closed much of the year, either by students protesting the Israeli occupation,[23] or by the Military Government which fears these institutions act as rallying points for radical Palestinian youths.

As one might expect, no instructor is allowed to teach once convicted of a security violation. Teachers whose views differ from those of the Israeli authorities are often punished by being dismissed or transferred to position far from the area in which

[22] Sandler and Frisch, p. 64.

[23] Don Peretz, "Intifadah-The Palestinian Uprising," Foreign Affairs (Summer 1988, vol. 66), p. 967.

they live. During times of disturbances, the Military Government often attempts to recruit students as informers. This is accomplished through a combination of threats and promises of assistance on the part of the government. A favorite method has been to find a student who is interested in studying abroad and threaten to deny his travel permit if he refuses to cooperate. The technique of using informers is designed to create a feeling of fear and lack of trust within the academic institutions.[24]

Students suspected of anti-Israeli activities may be called in for questioning at any time. This can be especially unsettling if this occurs at examination time. Matriculation examinations are held only once a year; if the student fails to take the exam, even if he is being detained by the military authorities, he is forced to repeat the entire academic year.

Overall health conditions in the occupied territories have improved dramatically since 1967. This is partially reflected in a decrease in epidemics and a lower infant mortality rate (IMR) in the West Bank (approximately 28.3 per 1000 live births as of 1980, while in Gaza the IMR was 71 per 1000 live births).[25] Israeli government sources assert that while services do not meet demand, access to health care is approaching that available in Israel. Critics charge that Gaza's health care is a product of

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[24] David Grossman, The Yellow Wind (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1988), p. 64.

[25] Locke and Stewart, p. 44.

Israeli "discriminatory health practices" which result in poorly equipped and understaffed hospitals, as well as a consistent lack of medicines.[26] One-half of all health services are provided by local charitable organizations, while the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (U.N.R.W.A.) and the Military Government account for the balance of services provided.[27] Israel has consistently improved sanitation systems, expanded health training for nurses and paramedical technicians, and has extended immunization programs. In addition, a health care insurance plan was introduced in 1978.[28] By 1981, nearly 300,000 West Bank residents were covered by health insurance. Many local charitable organizations, including the Arab Women's Federation with branches in Bethlehem and Nablus, the Islamic Charitable Society located in Hebron, and the Red Crescent Society with offices in Jerusalem and Hebron, sponsor programs designed to aid people living in the refugee camps. These groups concentrate on creating self-help projects such as road and school maintenance and teacher training institutes. Other organizations active in the region include: the International Committee of the Red Cross, CARE, American Near East Refugee Aid, and the United Nations Development program (U.N.D.P.).

As stated earlier, military orders constitute laws which

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[26] Roy, p. 101.

[27] Locke and Stewart, p. 43.

[28] Roy, p. 106.

must be obeyed by the Palestinian population, while Israeli settlers are subject to the laws of Israel proper. No local policeman may charge any Israeli citizen with a crime, including minor traffic violations. It is interesting to note that the Israeli Supreme Court considers itself competent to pass judgement on the actions of the Israeli government in the territories, even though, technically, its judicial authority is limited to the state of Israel.[29] The application of Israeli laws to the West Bank and Gaza is achieved either directly, through legislation enacted by the Knesset, or indirectly, through the issuance of military orders which are copies of existing Israeli laws. An example of the former may be found in Israel's election laws. Originally, Israeli election laws enfranchised only citizens of Israel residing within the country; Israeli residents of the territories were therefore not entitled to vote since their permanent place of residence was not in Israel. Consequently, the election law was amended by the Knesset to allow any Israeli citizen who was listed in the registry of residents and living in an area controlled by the I.D.F. the right to vote.

The second way in which Israeli law is applied is the issuance of military orders which are identical to Israeli law.[30] An example of this occurred when in 1981 local councils were established according to orders which are word for word copies

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[29] David Hirst, The Gun and the Olive Branch (London: Faber and Faber, 1984), p. 190.

[30] Benvenisti, p. 40.

of Israeli municipal laws.[31]   Similarly local courts have been set up in some Israeli settlements by means of military orders and function according to Israeli law.   Jewish religious councils have been established in the West Bank by the same means.

Under Jordanian law, three types of courts existed in the West Bank.   These included regular courts, Sharia (religious) courts, and special tribunals.   After 1967, only the Sharia courts were retained.   Israeli courts in the West Bank and Gaza are empowered to try only Israeli citizens and tourists; Palestinians are tried in local courts.   There are three types of courts in the occupied territories: a court of appeal, district courts, and magistrate courts.   The court of appeal sits in Ramallah and hears all appeals on judgements made in district courts and magistrate courts.   Israel has granted it powers which were once held by courts in Amman.   Its decisions are final.   There are three district courts in the region, located in Nablus, Hebron, and Ramallah.   These courts hear all civil and criminal cases not under the jurisdiction of the magistrate courts.   Finally, magistrate courts rule on civil suits in which the damages claimed are no higher than 250 dinars, and in criminal cases in which the maximum penalty is no more than three years imprisonment.   There are nine magistrate courts in the West Bank, centered in Hebron, Bethlehem, Jericho, Ramallah, Nablus, Salfit, Jenin, Tulkarm, and Kalikila.

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[31]   Ibid.

Local Palestinian courts in the West Bank have no authority
to review decisions made by the military commander on the need
for new legislation or changes in existing laws. Following
government policy, all important matters were removed form the
jurisdiction of local courts and vested in Israeli military
courts.[32] In Gaza, the laws in force have been derived from
many sources: British military regulations, Egyptian law and
military orders. As in the West Bank, civil courts have lost
power in the area due to decisions made by the Israeli
government. For example, jurisdiction over such areas as tax
assessment and customs was removed from Arab courts following
the Six Day War.[33]

Soon after Israeli forces entered the West Bank in 1967, the
military commander issued a special order which stated that
I.D.F. authorities may not be sued before local courts since they
are not within the jurisdiction of these bodies. In effect, this
eliminates any possibility of the local courts judging the Military
Government or its actions. Whereas the Jordanian constitution
guaranteed the right of any citizen to bring a case in court
(criminal or civil) against the government or any of its
departments, this right was denied by Military Order #164. This
order forbade local courts to hear any case brought against the
state of Israel, the I.D.F., or any authorities appointed by the
military commander with specific duties in the region, without

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[32]   Ibid., p. 44.
[33]   Locke and Stewart, p. 47.

first procuring a permit from the military commander to hold such a hearing.[34]

The Military Government has the power to close any file, and halt any procedure on cases already begun by transferring them to a military court or by ruling that the proceedings are not in the public interest. Military courts have the power to try residents of the territories for criminal offenses, as well as security violations as defined in Military Government legislation.[35] These tribunals are also empowered to pass judgement on offenses committed outside the region, if the acts directly threaten the security of the area. Military courts differ in several ways from their Israeli counterparts. For example, in a military court if the accused is eighteen years or older, the court may hand down the death penalty on condition that the sentence is unanimous and that two of the judges are trained lawyers. Military court rulings cannot be appealed, although convictions and sentences require the approval of the military commander. The commander may cancel the verdict, declare the accused innocent, reduce his sentence, pardon him outright, or on the recommendation of the chief military prosecutor, order a retrial.

Unlike courts in Israel in which a prisoner's right to an attorney is a matter of course, Article 11 of Military Order #29 gives the military the right to refuse a prisoner's request for a

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[34] Shehadeh and Kuttab, p. 35.

[35] Roy, p. 127.

lawyer. Attorneys are often frustrated in trying these cases; since the court's authority is final there is no appeal.[36] The counselors also object to the fact that many convictions are made on the basis of signed confessions, which their clients claim were extracted by coercion and intimidation.[37]

With the annexation of Jerusalem after the Six Day War, a large number of lawyers went on strike. Today, many of them work in fields other than the law. Many Palestinian lawyers refused to appear before military courts, as they perceived this act as legitimizing the military's authority. The military commander responded with Order #145, which allowed Israeli lawyers to practice in West Bank courts. Although the order was originally meant to last only six months, it was extended until such time as the military commander determined that it was no longer needed; it is still in effect.[38] To date, there has been no serious attempt to end the lawyers strike. Since there is no bar association in the West Bank, as a result of the ongoing strike, the regulations concerning the training and admission of new lawyers into the profession, which was once controlled by the Jordanian Bar Association, is now in the hands of the Israeli officer in charge of the judiciary.

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[36]   Ibid.

[37]   Locke and Stewart, p. 48.

[38]   Shehadeh and Kuttab, p. 46.

The Palestinian Press

Censorship of newspapers, books, publications, and public performances is based on the British (Defense) Emergency Regulations of 1945.[39] Censorship is imposed on all newspapers in Israel, but according to an agreement between the Committee of Editors of *Hebrew Newspapers* and the Israeli government censor, the papers are allowed to carry out self-censorship. Only items relating to security matters (as determined by the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee of the Knesset) are submitted to the censor for review.

The Arabic newspapers published in East Jerusalem are not part of this "gentlemen's agreement". The entire contents of these newspapers must undergo examination by the censor. Representatives from the papers must appear at the censor's office twice daily to receive the approved, banned, or corrected material. It is not permitted to leave a blank space in place of a banned article. Items on public disturbances, demonstrations, land expropriation in the territories and death notices for P.L.O. members are all closely scrutinized by the Israeli censor. If editors fail to cooperate with the Israeli government, district commissioners have the power to revoke publication licenses, thereby closing newspaper offices.

In spite of the difficulties imposed on the Palestinian press

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[39] Ibid., p. 86.

by the censor, all Arabic newspapers, which are primarily read in the West Bank and Gaza, prefer to publish in Jerusalem since Israeli law is much more lenient than the censorship laws in the West Bank. By locating their operations in Jerusalem, editors have access to Israeli courts which occasionally rule in their favor and offer some protection from the military censor (in addition to civilians, the military reviews all news items distributed in the territories). The Arab press serves as a political voice for many Palestinians. At present, there are three major papers which are directed at Palestinians, these include: *Al Quds* (Jerusalem), *Al Fajir-Al Arabi* (the Arab Dawn), and *A-Sha'ab* (the People).[40] *Al Quds* primarily champions the Jordanian point of view, while *Al Fajir-Al Arabi* supports the Fatah group of the P.L.O.. In addition to the dailies there are six weekly papers, five bi-weeklies, and a few monthly magazines.

Approximately 65% of items in the Palestinian press deal with Palestinian issues, 20% is devoted to international news, while only 15% is coverage of Israeli affairs.[41] Only 30% of the total daily copy in West Bank newspapers is supplied by their reporters; this in part is due to restrictions imposed on correspondents by the Israeli government, as well as the lack of adequate training most reporters receive. This is in sharp

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[40] Don Shinar and Danny Rubinstein, *The Palestinian Press in the West Bank: The Political Dimension* (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Post, 1987), p. 1.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

contrast to the Israeli press in which nearly 80% of the items published come from the newspaper's staff.[42] West Bank reporters gain about 20% of their material from Israeli sources, 10% from the Arab press abroad, and 40% from international wire services.[43]

In line with the idea of a mobilized press, Palestinian newspapers have adopted a militant style and language in an attempt to foster Palestinian nationalism. To this end, little priority has been given to objective reporting and impartiality. The attitudes of the papers are products of the local social climate, the major characteristic of which is, of course, to gain political independence from Israel. Overall, items portraying positive relations between Palestinians and Israelis were 12.7% in 1987, whereas those promoting negative interaction stood at 87.3%.[44] Few favorable reports are circulated about Israeli actions. Papers abstain from reporting on treatment of West Bank residents in Israeli hospitals, or the specialized medical training acquired by Palestinian physicians in Israel. An example of reporting designed to maintain anti-Israeli sentiment occurred when a Yeshiva student was killed in Jerusalem. Even though an Israeli was the victim, Palestinian papers repeatedly emphasized Israeli vigilante's violent reaction to the murder.

Even with Israeli censorship, many Arab journalists contend

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[42] Ibid., p. 10.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid., p. 60.

that these newspapers have more freedom today than they had prior to 1967, and indeed have more independence than almost all newspapers in the Arab world, including Palestinian papers in Jordan.[45] Most books are allowed to be imported into, or published in, the West Bank. In 1981, 21,342 books were approved for distribution, while approximately 2000 were banned.[46] This quantitative approach may be misleading, however, since censored books make up 3-4% of all imported books, but constitute 100% of the literature expressing Palestinian national aspirations.

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[45] Walter Reich, A Stranger in My House: Arab and Jew in the West Bank (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), p. 60.

[46] Meron Benvenisti, The West Bank Handbook: A Political Lexicon (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Post, 1986), p. 21.

CHAPTER VI

PEACE PROPOSALS OF THE PAST
AND OPTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Since 1967, there have been numerous plans developed by Israel, the United States, Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia which have addressed the situation in the occupied territories. These proposals, each designed to further the interests of their framers, have not been adopted, as each has failed to satisfy the needs of one or more of the parties involved. One of the first initiatives came from Jordan.

The Jordanian Plan of 1972

On March 15, 1972, King Hussein, broadcasting on Amman Home Service Radio, announced his "United Arab Kingdom" plan.[1]

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[1] Mark A. Heller, _A Palestinian State: The Implications for Israel_ (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 52.

The proposal was designed to combine the West Bank and the East Bank (Jordan), thereby formally creating a new state. This new entity was to consist of two regions; a Palestinian region (the West Bank) along with "any other territories.... whose inhabitants wished to join it."[2] This was, of course, a clear reference to the Gaza Strip. The second area was to be a Jordanian region (Jordan). Amman was to be the capital of the kingdom, as well as that of the Jordanian area. The king was to remain the head of state and govern in conjunction with the legislative assembly. On the local level, each region was to elect its own governor-general who would manage day to day affairs along with a regional cabinet.[3] All matters which were not defined by the constitution as coming under the jurisdiction of the central government were to be allocated to the regional authorities. From Israel's point of view, the most objectionable part of the plan was that which called for Jerusalem to be the capital of the Palestinian region.

The Israeli response came swiftly. In an address to the Knesset on March 16, 1972, Prime Minister Meir objected to the fact that the word "peace" did not appear anywhere in the body of the plan. The point was also made that this proposal was unilateral in nature and had not been developed as a result of joint negotiations between the two states. The Knesset

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[2] Anne Sinai and Allen Pollack, The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the West Bank (New York: American Academic Association for Peace in the Middle East, 1977), p. 133.

[3] Heller, p. 53.

authorized the government to continue its policies toward the West Bank, including that of limited settlement. It also reiterated the principles it expressed on December 15, 1969, which stated:

> The government will steadfastly strive to achieve a durable peace with Israel's neighbors founded on peace treaties achieved by direct negotiation between parties. Agreed, secure and recognized borders will be laid down through peace treaties...Israel will continue to negotiate-without prior conditions from either side-with any of the neighboring states for the conclusion of the peace treaty. Without a peace treaty, Israel will continue to maintain in full the situation as established by the ceasefire and will consolidate its position in accordance with the vital requirements of its security and developments.[4]

Israel refused to withdraw its forces from the West Bank and due to strong opposition to it, the United Arab Kingdom plan was never implemented.

Camp David

The next substantial proposal for the occupied territories came in the aftermath of President Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in 1977. Israel, Egypt, and the United States began negotiations on the Camp David Accords in September 1978. The primary

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[4]   Sinai and Pollack, p. 135.

objective of this agreement was to establish a lasting peace between Israel and her neighbor to the south, however, sections were included which were designed to resolve the conflict between the Palestinians and Israel.[5] The accords called for the Israeli Military Government and the Civilian Administration to be withdrawn as soon as a "self-governing authority" had been elected by the population of the West Bank and Gaza. The transition period was not to exceed five years.[6] The plan went on to say that Israel should withdraw the bulk of its armed forces from the territories; those units which remained were to be redeployed into specified security locations. A strong local police force was to be created in order to keep the peace as Israel withdrew its troops. After the self-governing authority had been inaugurated, negotiations were to begin in order to determine the final status of the West Bank and Gaza. The participants in these talks were to be Israel, Egypt, Jordan and elected representatives from the territories.[7] These negotiations were to be based on principles outlined in U. N. Security Council Resolution #242. The conference would set boundaries and establish security arrangements. The Palestinians would participate in determining their future through discussions with Israel, Egypt, and Jordan, as well as by submitting the agreement to a vote by the elected

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5   Hyman Bookbinder and James G. Abourezk, Through Different Eyes: Two Leading Americans. A Jew and an Arab. Debate U.S. Policy in the Middle East (Bethesda: Adler and Adler Publishers, 1987), p. 46.

6   David Hirst, The Gun and the Olive Branch (London: Faber and Faber, 1984), p. 362-3.

7   Bookbinder and Abourezk, p. 46.

representatives of the West Bank and Gaza.

The Camp David agreement provided a basis for peace between Israel and Egypt, however, its sections dealing with the occupied territories were never put into practice.[8] Although the accords left the future of the territories in question, the intent of the agreement was to create a Palestinian state. This was something which Prime Minister Begin could not accept. Begin put forth the idea that the Palestinian population should be granted the right of self rule, which had first been promulgated in December 1977. He proposed that the Palestinians be given "personal-communal" autonomy (as opposed to territorial autonomy).[9] Palestinians would be allowed to exercise more personal and municipal freedom while Israel retained control of the land, water sources and internal security. Many liberal Israelis, as well as most Palestinians rejected Begin's plan as they viewed it as an attempt to undermine the Camp David Accords.

Labour Party leader Abba Eban stated that the Likud plan flew in the face of traditional Zionist goals, some of which included the "establishment of a Jewish state with a permanently assured Jewish majority and a sufficient measure of world recognition to enable the new state to function within the international system."[10] Eban argued that Israel should separate

8   Ibid., p. 50.
9   Don Peretz, The West Bank: History, Politics, Society and Economy (Boulder: Praeger Publishers, 1986), p. 55.
10   Ibid.

itself from the West Bank and Gaza with their large number of non-Jews. He stressed the fact that the people of the territories, excluding the Jewish settlers, had no memory, experience or dream in common with those of the state of Israel. Despite this fact, and because of Begin's uncompromising opposition to the formula proposed for the occupied territories in the Camp David Accords, the Israeli government failed to act upon any section of the agreement.

The Fahd Plan

On August 8, 1981 Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Fahd announced an eight point peace plan which was aimed at resolving the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians of the territories. The Saudi proposal called for the Israeli withdrawal from the territories captured during the 1967 War and the removal of Jewish settlements from those areas; guarantees of freedom of religious worship for all religions at Jerusalem shrines, allowing for Palestinian repatriation or compensation for property lost to those who do not wish to return to Israel; establishment of a U. N. trusteeship in the West Bank and Gaza (which was not to exceed a few months), the creation of an independent Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its capital, a declaration that all states of the region have the right to live in peace, and guaranteed implementation of these points by the

entire U. N. or some of its members (apparently a reference to the U.S.).[11]

Israel's Prime Minister Begin was quick to reject the plan, believing that if such a proposal was implemented it would lead to the liquidation of Israel in stages.[12] Labour Party leader Shimon Peres joined the government in pronouncing the plan unacceptable. He declared that it was "a new version of old extreme Arab positions with some lip service to world opinion."[13]

Yassir Arafat expressed the opinion that the Saudi plan offered a good basis for negotiations. A short time later, however, a spokesman for the P.L.O., obviously referring to point seven of the proposal which asserts the right of all countries in the region to live in peace, emphasized the organization's refusal to recognize Israel under any circumstances.[14] Israeli leaders and members of the P.L.O. were not the only people to reject Crown Prince Fahd's agenda. The Arab League summit conference which was held in Fez, Morocco in December 1981 was boycotted by several Arab states as a way of expressing their opposition to the plan. Libyan leader Muammer Qaddafi announced that he would not journey to the summit. He stated that "those about to attend are not entrusted by the Arab people to sell the Palestinian cause and sit with those who have already recognized the enemy."[15] In

[11] Michael D. Wormser (ed.), The Middle East (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1981), p. 44.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Facts on File 1981, p. 802.

[14] Ibid., p. 884.

[15] Ibid.

addition to Qaddafi, Syrian President Assad, and President Hussein of Iraq also failed to attend the meeting. Due to the unyielding opposition which came from the primary participants - Israel and the P.L.O. - as well as from many Arab states, the Fahd Plan failed to be implemented. It did offer hope, however, in that another moderate Arab state was prepared to follow the path taken by Egypt and recognize Israel's right to exist.

The Reagan Plan

In 1982, the United States again took the lead in proposing a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.[16] On September 1, 1982, President Reagan announced a plan which stated that "self-government by the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza in association with Jordan offers the best chance for a durable, just and lasting peace."[17] The proposal called for negotiations between Israel, Jordan, and the Palestinians, with the talks to be based on the idea of an exchange of land for peace. The Reagan Administration believed that a confederation between the occupied territories and Jordan would ensure peace in the region, as the moderate regime of King Hussein would offset the radical elements of the P.L.O.[18] A five year transition period was

[16] Bookbinder and Abourezk, p. 56.

[17] United States Department of State, The Price of Peace: U.S. Middle East Policy, Bureau of Public Affairs Policy No. 524 (1983), p. 3.

[18] Melvin A. Freidlander, "Ronald Reagan's Flirtation with the West Bank,

proposed during which the Palestinians would elect their own representatives, and Israeli settlement activity would cease entirely. The President made it clear that ". . . the United States will not support the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, and we will not support annexation or permanent control by Israel."[19] The initiative left Jerusalem's status undecided, stating that its ultimate position should be settled in future negotiations.[20]

The Likud government was not convinced that this proposal would improve the situation. As the government was still committed to the policy of retaining the occupied lands, it viewed Reagan's plan as an unwelcome and an unnecessary nuisance. Many Palestinians also objected to the Reagan plan. The official Palestinian response came at the Arab summit conference which was held in Fez from September 6-9, 1982.[21] The Arab states in attendance called for the withdrawal of all Israeli forces from lands occupied in 1967, including East Jerusalem, and the dismantling of Israeli settlements in the territories. The statement re-affirmed the right of the Palestinians to self-determination under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization.[22] It also declared that the territories should be placed under United Nations supervision during a transition period, which was not to exceed a few months, until an

1982-1988," American Arab Affairs (Summer 1988, no. 25), p. 18.

[19] Ibid., p. 3.

[20] Ibid., p. 18.

[21] Ibid., p. 19.

[22] Ibid.

independent Palestinian state, with Jerusalem as its capital, could be established.[23] Once this had been achieved, the U. N. Security Council was to establish peace guarantees for all the states in the region, including the independent Palestinian state.

Having met with a cool reception in Israel, and rejected by the P.L.O. and many of its Arab state supporters, the Reagan plan failed to make any headway in the debate over what to do with the occupied territories. President Reagan's initiative, although well meaning, failed to take into account the attitude of the majority of Palestinians in the territories as well as that of Israeli hardliners.[24] By the early 1980's, most Palestinians had developed the idea that an independent Palestinian state would be the best way to fulfill their national aspirations; for them a confederation with Jordan was simply unacceptable.

The Shultz Initiative

To date, the United States has continued to cling to the principles of the Reagan Plan. In 1988, Secretary of State George Shultz attempted to update and expand Reagan's proposal as he shuttled between Israel, Jordan, Syria, and Egypt. Shultz proclaimed that "the status quo between Arabs and Israelis does not work. It is not viable. It is dangerous. It contains the seeds of a worsening conflict that threatens to inflict even greater

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Bookbinder and Abourezk, p. 58.

losses on all sides in the future."[25]   Shultz stressed that direct negotiations between Israel and a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation offered the best chance for peace as the Reagan Administration refused to include the P.L.O. in the proposed peace talks.   The Secretary hinted that a properly structured international conference might be needed to encourage some of the more resistant Palestinian factions to come to the bargaining table, although he was not specific on this point.   The Shultz Initiative stressed that negotiations must be based on U. N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.   It also stated that the status of the territories could not be determined by unilateral acts on the part of either side (such as the P.L.O. proclamation of an independent state in the West Bank and Gaza).   Shultz assured Israelis concerned with security considerations that the U.S. commitment to Israel was ironclad.   On March 4, 1988, in a speech designed to appeal to the largest possible segment of Israeli society, he declared that "The road we are suggesting is not without risks, but we have always known that there is no risk-free road to peace".   He went on to say that "I can assure you, however, that the United States will not allow Israel's security to be undermined.   We believe that the real risk for Israel lies not in a process of seeking a peaceful future but in a future without peace."[26]

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[25]   United States Department of State, The Administration's Approach to Middle East Peacemaking. Bureau of Public Affairs Policy #1104 (1988), p. 1.

[26]   United States Department of State, U.S. Policy in the Middle East. Bureau of Public Affairs Selected Documents #27 (1988), p. 3.

The Shultz Initiative faired little better that did the Reagan Administration's previous plan. The P.L.O. made no attempt to embrace Secretary Shultz's plan. Within Israel, the Likud government rejected the American plan as they saw little difference between the Reagan and Shultz versions. In addition, since elections were drawing near, the Likud coalition attempted to present a hard line when it came to the status of the territories. Prime Minister Shamir refused to cooperate with Shultz, as he believed that by doing so he would damage his party's chances for reelection. On the other hand, Labour leader Peres favored opening direct discussions with the Palestinians (although not with the P.L.O.) along the lines of Shultz's proposal. The national elections of 1988 showed that Israelis are almost equally divided between the Labour and Likud positions.

The *Intifadah*

Both Israeli and Palestinian casualties have mounted since the *intifadah* began in the territories in December 1987.[27] As a result, the Israeli government has found itself increasingly under pressure, both internally and from foreign governments, to initiate a dialogue with Palestinians which will finally decide the status of the occupied territories.

While the ongoing Palestinian uprising poses no military threat to Israel, it has disturbed many Israelis' peace of mind and

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[27] Jerome Segal, Creating the Palestinian State (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 1989), p. 8.

forced them to question their government's policies in the territories.[28] The uprising shocked people in Israel since it was not a revolt inspired and led by the P.L.O., but rather a grassroots attempt on the part of Palestinian youths, if not to expel the Israeli army, then at least to make it extremely difficult for it to rule the West Bank and Gaza. The uprising was born out of a sense of frustration and rage directed against Israeli rule [29] and propelled by the force of its own momentum. Brigadier General Ephraim Sneh, a former head of the Civilian Administration, observed:

> The Palestinians feeling of despair and frustration grew because all the avenues for negotiation were blocked. Another element is their economic hopelessness. The West Bank has 12,000 university students, but when they graduate there are no appropriate jobs. So the personal despair is superimposed on the national.[30]

The *intifadah* differs from riots of the past by its intensity, leadership and pervasiveness.[31] The leadership is thought to be both young and well educated.[32] Their demands

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[28] The Christian Science Monitor 22 June, 1989, p. 2.

[29] Kenneth W. Stein, "The Palestinian Uprising and the Schultz Initiative," Middle East Review (Winter 1988-89, vol. XXI, no. 2), p. 16.

[30] Jewish Journal of Greater Los Angeles, 4 February 1988.

[31] Don Peretz, "Intifadeh-The Palestinian Uprising," Foreign Affairs (Summer 1988), p. 965.

[32] Approximately 40% of the West Bank's population is between the ages of 10 and 30.

include Palestinian self-determination and an end to the Israeli occupation. The *intifadah* may be traced back to the Palestinian perception that their situation was being ignored by the Arab states and the international community. In addition, economics have played an important role in the current unrest. The decline in the price of oil, which began in the early 1980's, has led to more Palestinian unemployment in the gulf states, resulting in less money being sent to relatives in the occupied territories.[33]

The uprising has taken a tremendous toll, both physically and emotionally, on the Palestinians of the territories. To date, over 450 Palestinians have been killed and 20,000 injured. In addition, about 10,000 people have been arrested by the Israeli army and 100 homes of suspected leaders of the uprising have been destroyed. There has also been loss of life among Israelis, as 29 have been killed and 18 injured since the rebellion began.

In an attempt to quell the violence, Israel has adopted harsh measures, including that of breaking the bones of Palestinians caught throwing stones or fire bombs at Israeli troops. These tactics have drawn international condemnation as well as criticism from many American Jewish leaders. Rabbi Alexander Schindler, President of the American Union of Hebrew Congregations, cabled President Chaim Herzog to express his opposition to the measures being employed in the West Bank and Gaza. He sent word that he found the policy of beating Palestinians rather than shooting them to be "an offense to the Jewish spirit, one which violates every principle of human

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[33] Stein, p. 16.

decency and betrays the Zionist dream."[34]   In response to such criticism, members of the Knesset have reacted strongly, often citing the fact that American Jewish leaders, whose sons are not on the front lines, can afford to be aloof and in some cases self-serving.   Likud member Ehud Olmert, a member of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, has stated, "I'm not happy about innocent people getting hurt, but when you are fighting against a mob that adopts brutal tactics, innocent people sometimes do get hurt."   He went on to say that "The sight of soldiers using force against civilians upsets a lot of people and generates concern and protests . . . but I don't believe that Israel has a strikingly different option at the moment."[35]   Despite Israel's stringent measures, the uprising is still smoldering in the occupied territories.   Although, it has not spread to Arabs in Israel proper, by the same token it has not been entirely stamped out.   In the long run, Israel will be forced to make concessions to the Palestinians, such as a reduction in the number of troops deployed in the West Bank and Gaza, if the violence is to be ended.

The Future of the Occupied Territories

The future possibilities for the West Bank and Gaza ranges from formal annexation by Israel, to the creation of an independent Palestinian state.   Other possible options include:

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[34]   Jewish Journal of Greater Los Angeles, 4 February 1988.

[35]   Ibid.

federation with Jordan, shared rule between Israel and Jordan, and an international trusteeship. Annexation of the occupied territories is, of course, preferred by the Likud coalition, ideological settler movements, and extreme right wing parties which are represented in the National Unity government.[36] Programs calling for Jewish settlement in the West Bank are vital to the party platforms of both Herut and Tehiya.[37] Although, the creation of Jewish settlements has been suspended under the government of National Unity, the policy has not been reversed. Liberals argue that should this option be exercised, the addition of 1.5 million Arabs would substantially weaken Israel's uniquely Jewish character. Members of Peace Now have declared that "Peace is greater than greater Israel."[38] The organization has repeatedly called for a two state solution with mutual recognition by both Israel and the Palestinian state. Conservatives contend that many Palestinians would leave the area should the territories become part of Israel, thereby alleviating the problem of absorbing a large number of non-Jewish citizens. They also believe that because of Likud policies between 1977 and 1984, a point of no return has already been reached. These people feel that the large number of settlements, the integration of the economy of the territories with that of Israel, and the emotional attachment many Israelis feel for the

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[36] David J. Schnall, Beyond the Green Line: Israeli Settlements West of the Jordan (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1984), p. 12.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Heller, p. 35.

West Bank make it unlikely that annexationist policies will be reversed. What these politicians fail to see is that by annexing the territories, Israel would not only be contradicting the wishes of the original Zionists, but rather than easing tensions between Israel and Palestinians, it would lead to a never-ending conflict between the two peoples.

For all intents and purposes, King Hussein's United Kingdom proposal of 1972 is dead. With the king's public announcement in 1988 that he intended to sever ties to the West Bank, the plan was rendered obsolete. Federation with Jordan may have been acceptable had it been introduced before the 1967 war, since it would have been seen by many West Bank inhabitants as an offer to share power on the part of the Hashemite monarchy. Since 1967, however, strong opposition has developed in the West Bank toward the Jordanian regime. This was especially true during King Hussein's repression of the P.L.O. in 1970-71. As a result of that action, Jordanian influence declined in the West Bank, and many Palestinian supporters of Jordan failed to be reelected to office in the local elections of 1976.

A Palestinian-Jordanian federation would conform to American objectives, since it would place the West Bank and Gaza under the control of a moderate Arab regime, while providing the Palestinians with a large measure of self-rule. The plan would also end the uncertainties created by Israel's rule of a large nationalistic Arab population. Within Israel, the Likud government rejected Jordan's plan in the past, as it was clearly

inconsistent with its goal of maintaining a formal Israeli presence in the West Bank. Prior to 1977, the Labour government also dismissed the plan, as it would have deprived Israel of control of areas deemed vital to national security.[39]

One option proposed by Israeli intellectuals is that of shared rule of the territories by Israel and Jordan. The main idea is to allow Palestinians a large degree of local autonomy within a framework of Israeli-Jordanian governance. This plan calls for a five-year transition period to allow a new form of local government to arise. Both major parties in Israel have rejected this proposal as too vague and general. An unusual amount of trust would be needed on the part of both states to cooperate in governing this region. In addition, Jordan would undoubtedly be criticized in the Arab world for cooperating too closely with Israel. Although the running of day-to-day affairs would be problematic, since jurisdictional disputes would arise, the primary drawback to this idea is that it would not fulfill the national aspirations of the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza.[40]

A fourth option involves placing the occupied territories under a United Nations trusteeship. Under this plan, Israel would relinquish control over the land and withdraw its forces from the region. Although most Palestinians favor the replacement of Israeli troops with U.N. peacekeeping forces for a short time, over the long run, most residents would probably resent it as "foreign

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[39] Peretz, West Bank, p. 128.

[40] Richard J. Ward, Don Peretz and Evan M. Wilson, The Palestine State: A Rational Approach (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press Copr., 1977), p. 90.

rule", a modified form of occupation. This plan would, of course, remove Israeli political and security control from the West Bank and Gaza. There is little hope for the implementation of this proposal since Israel traditionally tends to distrust international, and especially U.N., operations in the Middle East.

Although none of the options mentioned above can provide a formula which would allow the West Bank and Gaza to absorb the entire Palestinian population living abroad, an area to which Palestinians could return is essential for achieving peace between Israelis and Palestinians. A Palestinian homeland free of Israeli control would, as the creation of Israel did for Jews, diminish the feeling of powerlessness that has pervaded Palestinian consciousness since 1948. Any plan concerning the future of the West Bank and Gaza must address Israel's quest for security as well as the Palestinian's search for a state to call their own. The option which will best achieve these goals and contribute to peace and stability in the region is that which allows the establishment of an independent Palestinian state (albeit with a multitude of conditions).

There are several arguments in favor of the creation of a Palestinian state. A move of this nature would not only benefit the Palestinians, but add to Israel's security as well. A two-state solution would be widely applauded by the Arab world including, of course, the Palestinians, and would thereby contribute to peace in the region. An Israeli withdrawal from the territories and subsequent creation of a new state would relieve

Israel of the "demographic problem" (that of ruling a large Arab population) and would allow Palestinians the opportunity to channel their energies into building their new country rather than focusing their attentions on Israel.[41] Many Israelis on the political left have come to the conclusion that the fate of the occupied territories must be resolved, and soon. Professor Ben Porah of the Hebrew University has stated:

> The risks of staying the course we are following are greater than the risks of allowing the establishment of a Palestinian state. I don't want twenty years from now to see here a South Africa...If Israel continues to hold onto the West Bank, it will be affected internally- it will become less democratic. And will be less accepted, both by its own people and by others.[42]

A well structured international conference would have to be set up in which direct negotiations, based on U.N. Security Council Resolutions #242 and #338, could take place. These talks, sponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union, would involve Israel and Palestinian representatives living in the territories (although these men would no doubt be controlled by the P.L.O., they would not in fact be P.L.O. leaders; this would allow Israel to save face as it still refuses to negotiate with

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[41] Segal, p. 150.

[42] Walter Reich, A Stranger in my House: Jew and Arab in the West Bank (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984), p. 91.

that organization). A few small neutral states may also be included in the conference: Sweden, Switzerland and perhaps a non-aligned nation such as India could be invited to participate in these talks. The conference would establish a timetable for Israeli withdrawal, perhaps five years, as well as the form the new Palestinian government would take once it came into being.

A democratic government, based either on the British or American model, would by far be the most beneficial to the new state, as its people would be represented in a parliament, and because democracies tend to be more stable than other forms of government. The status of the approximately 80,000 Israeli settlers would also have to be addressed.[43] The Palestinian government, in conjunction with that of Israel, could purchase land from settlers who wish to return to Israel. As for those who choose to stay, they could be given the status of "resident aliens", as almost all would refuse to become citizens of a Palestinian state. The Israeli authorities would have to take action to restrain some of the more militant settler movements. These extremists would no doubt reject , as they have in the past, any attempt to give land to Arabs in return for peace. In referring to the evacuation of Yamit in the Sinai,[44] settlers defiantly contend that "nothing like that could happen here, because this is where the roots of our history are planted."[45] As many settlers

[43] Christian Science Monitor, 30 June, 1989, p. 3.

[44] Yamit was the largest Israeli settlement dismantled when the Sinai was returned to Egypt under the Camp David Accords. The 6000 inhabitants were evacuated, and financially compensated by the Israeli government for their trouble and loss of property.

are armed, they could conceivably cause substantial problems for the new government, as well as sour relations between Israel and the new Palestinian state.

It is clearly in Israel's interest, on many levels, to withdraw from the West Bank and Gaza. On the economic plane, there is considerable cost associated with maintaining soldiers in the territories. Since the uprising began, no taxes have been collected in the area and the violence has disrupted the exchange of goods between Israel and the West Bank.[46] Additionally, tourism in Israel is down due to the unrest in the territories. Withdrawal would raise morale within the Israeli army, which is at an all-time low. Israeli soldiers, unquestionably among the best in the world, have been trained to fight Arab armies, swiftly capture land, and ultimately return to Israel. The day-to-day suppression of the Palestinian uprising has severely eroded morale within this elite force.[47]

A country must possess certain characteristics to be recognized by other states as legitimate. These include: a specific territory, a fixed population, a functioning government, and the capacity to enter into relations with other countries.[48] A Palestinian state composed of the West Bank and Gaza could satisfy all these conditions.

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[45] "Report Uber Israels Siedlungsexpansion Auf Dem Jordan-West Ufer," Der Spiegel 17 January, 1983, p. 105.

[46] Peretz, p. 967.

[47] Segal, p. 99.

[48] Francis A. Boyle, "Create the State of Palestine!" American-Arab Affairs (Summer 1988, no. 25), p. 94.

Once a Palestinian state has been proclaimed, national elections, supervised by the United Nations, should be held as soon as possible. P.L.O. members would, in all probability, assume the top offices of the new state. The first action of the Palestinian government would have to be the abolition of the P.L.O. This would send a signal to the world that the new state was prepared to live in peace with Israel. The leader of the new country would also have to be prepared to bring the full force of the state to bear upon individuals or guerrilla groups which attempt to continue the conflict with Israel.[49] The P.L.O. Charter, which calls for the elimination of Israel, would have to be formally replaced with a constitution which states that the country is willing to remain at peace with all neighboring states.

The newly created Palestinian state should have no standing army, as this would be seen as a threat by both Israel and Jordan. It would, however, need to have a strong police force and a home guard, numbering a few thousand, to defend the borders and provide people with a sense of security.[50] The Palestinian state could follow the example set by Costa Rica, which has become one of the most stable and profitable countries in Central America. The state would pose no military or economic threat to Israel. Should a threat arise in the future, Israel's leaders would undoubtedly move swiftly, and if necessary, ruthlessly, to protect the security of the Jewish state. An agreement to limit the size of the new state's military is crucial to the success of any peace

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[49] Walid Khaliki, "Thinking the Unthinkable: A Sovereign Palestinian State," Foreign Affairs (July 1978, no. 56), p. 703.

[50] Segal, p. 104.

proposal. As Israeli officials constantly point out, there are only eight miles between the West Bank hills north of Tel Aviv and the sea (between the Israeli towns of Netanya and Hadera). Currently over 90% of Israel's civilian population and virtually all of its industrial infrastructure would be vulnerable to bombardment from the West Bank and Gaza.[51] A demilitarized Palestinian state should be acceptable to Israel since if war with other Arab countries were to occur, Israeli forces could rapidly secure positions in the West Bank.

Palestinians may argue that an army would be necessary to defend their land against certain hostile neighbors, such as Syria, which might attempt to subvert, or openly invade the moderate Palestinian state. Unlike other Arab states, Syria does not recognize the Palestinians as a separate and distinct people. In April 1976, President Hafez el-Assad stated to Yassir Arafat "never forget this one point; there is no such thing as the Palestinian people, there is no Palestinian entity, there is only Syria! You are an integral part of the Syrian people, Palestine is an integral part of Syria."[52]

A Palestinian army would be unnecessary for two main reasons: firstly, as the West Bank does not physically border Syria, that country's forces would first have to cross either Jordan or northern Israel in order to reach the new state. This

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[51] John Edwin Mroz, Beyond Security: Private Perceptions Among Arabs and Israelis (New York: Pergamon Press, 1980), p. 53.

[52] Mordechi Nisan, "The P.L.O. and the Palestinian Issue," Middle East Review (Winter 1985-86, vol. XVIII, no. 2), p. 53.

would, of course, cause those states to become involved on the side of the Palestinians. In the past, as now, Israel has demonstrated its commitment to seeing that moderate Arab regimes remain in power in the region (for example, the secret plan to help King Hussein defend his country against Syria in 1970). As long as a benign government, making no territorial claims within Israel, rules the new state, there is little chance of blatant Israeli aggression. Secondly, an army would not be needed to deter Jordan from invading and annexing a full fledged state. The Hashemites would undoubtedly realize that by taking such an action, they would soon be ousted from power by their own people, as sixty percent of Jordan's population is Palestinian, and the absorption of the new state would increase that number substantially.

The Palestinian state should, by all means, establish an embassy in Israel, appoint a moderate statesman as ambassador, and invite the Jewish state to reciprocate. This would clearly demonstrate that the vast majority of Palestinians accept a two-state solution.

The new country's capital could be located in either of the two largest cities of the West Bank, Nablus, with its population of 75,000, or Hebron, with its 60,000 inhabitants.[53] Jerusalem, which has long been sought by the Palestinians, is out of the question, as very few Israelis are prepared to withdraw from the city which is so revered in Jewish history. This would also not

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[53] Raja Shehadeh, Occupier's Law: Israel and the West Bank (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1988), p. 185.

be practical, as Jerusalem now serves as Israel's capital.

A corridor between Gaza and the West Bank would have to be established in order to link the two sections of the new state together. The plan could be based on the German model by which West Berlin is connected to West Germany by a series of highways and rail lines.

The new state should be integrated into the world community as soon as possible. To this end, it should apply for membership in several international organizations including, of course, the United Nations. As for economics, the Palestinian state would be well advised not to completely sever economic ties to Israel. Currently, one-third of Palestinian workers are employed in Israel.[54] In Gaza alone, estimates of the percentage of the total labor force (14 years and older)[55] employed in Israel, range as high as 43%.[56] The money earned by these laborers could be used to help build the new country. United Nations aid, as well as financial assistance provided by other moderate Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan would help the Palestinian government invest in industry and agriculture, thus providing the basis for a stable economy.

The current conditions which exist in the occupied territories cannot be permitted to continue. The people, at present, are citizens of no state and the land is claimed by both

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[54] Roberta L. Coles, "Economic Development in the Occupied Territories," American-Arab Affairs (Summer 1988, no. 25), p. 83.

[55] Ann M. Lesch, "Gaza: Forgotton Corner of Palestine," Journal of Palestine Studies (Autumn 1985, vol. XV, no. 1), p. 48.

[56] Roy, p. 4.

Palestinians and Israelis. The Palestinian uprising, which has now entered its second year, has focused world attention on the continuing conflict. Unless an agreement is reached which will satisfy the Palestinian desire for a homeland and the Israeli need for security, there will be no end to the cycle of violence and bloodshed on both sides. The creation of an independent Palestinian state, with the provisos listed above, is by far the best strategy with which to achieve these goals. Once established, only through a policy of peace with Israel could the new state hope to grow and prosper.

Eventually, Israel will have to withdraw from the occupied territories if it is to remain a Jewish state in spirit, as well as in name. In the words of Israel's first president, Dr. Chaim Weitzmann, "The difference between the Arabs and the Israelis is not a difference between right and wrong but between right and right."[57] The question remains as to whether Israelis and Palestinians will accept a two state solution, and come to realize that there is enough room for both to live peacefully in the region. We can only hope that someday the answer will be yes.

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[57] Robert G. Newmann, "The Middle East in the Next Decade," American-Arab Affairs (Summer 1988, no. 25), p. 3.
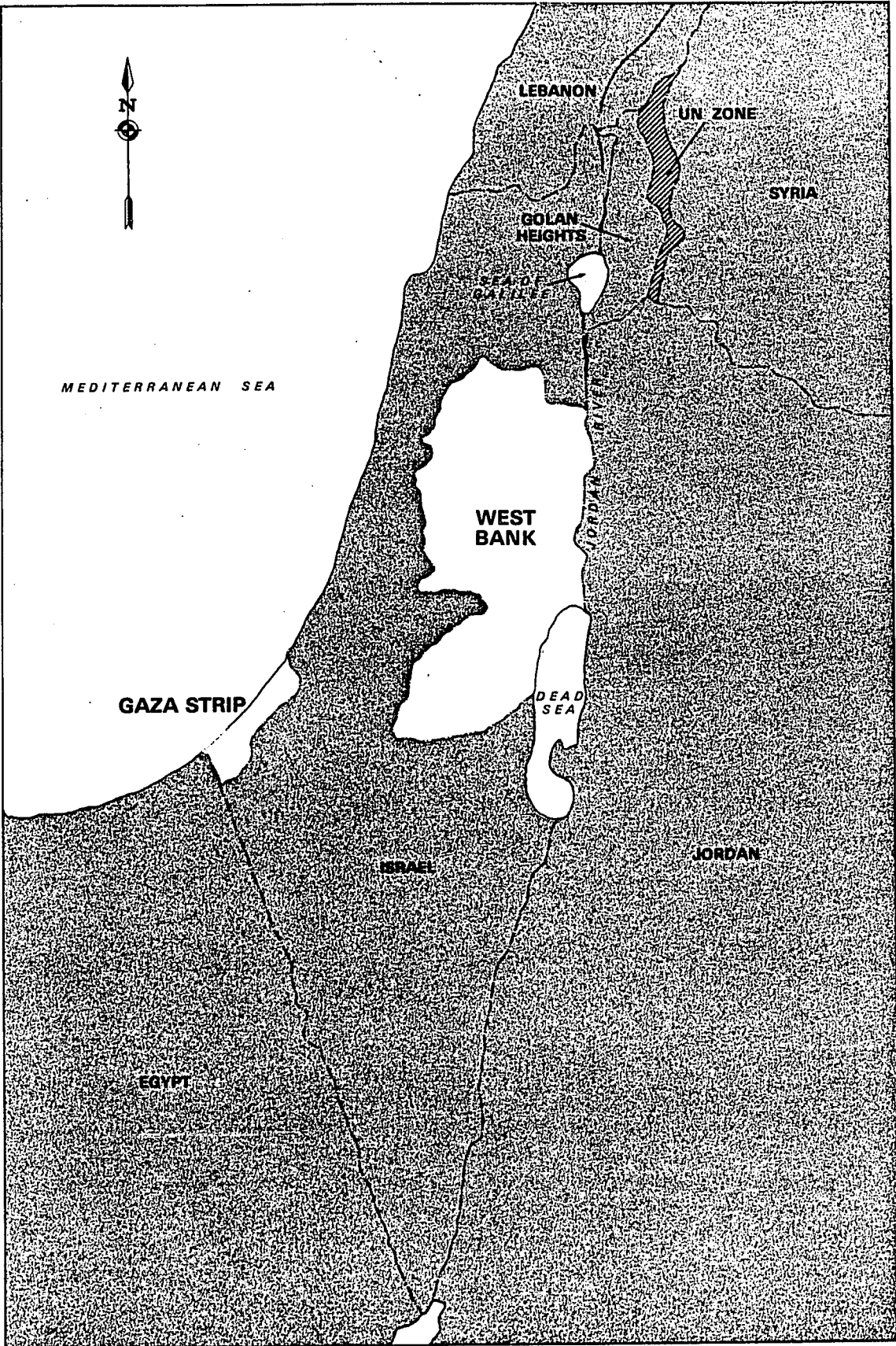
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