

# **Mideast Politics: Past, Present and Future**

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## **1.0 Introduction**

Once more, the world's attention is drawn towards the bloody conflict in Palestine. The international community has been raged by the unprecedented aggression against the people, cities, villages, and infrastructure of Palestinians by Israel. The attacks against Jewish people in Jerusalem and other cities have brought series of condemnation from a broad spectrum of people worldwide. Amid the roaring sound of tanks, bombs, F-16's, Apaches, and bulldozers rise the sound of women, children, and elderly crying our for protection, safety and relief. From within the skeletons of death, the flow of blood, and the flesh of the killed, rise the voice for peace and an end to the bloodbath. The value of life on both sides seems to be, paradoxically, indispensable and worthless at the same time. With the same motive to protect one's life, there goes a move to end the life of the other.

The irony of this conflict lies in the fact that:

- It has existed throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century and continues today with the same symptoms and momentum (see appendix A)
- It does not represent the interests of neither the Jews nor the Arabs
- It employs religious interpretations for political goals
- It continues to be complicated by regional and international politics

In this lecture, I will touch on these issues, and some others of relevant importance. In particular, this lecture will address the historical background of the conflict, the impact of international politics on the conflict, the role of religion, the notion of terrorism, the proposed solutions, and other issues, if time permits.

## **2.0 Historical Background**

Historians may wish to trace the Palestinian-Israeli issue to pre historical magnitudes. However, political history would trace the current conflict to a line of sequential events, politically and historically concatenated in a manner to formulate one complete characterization of the conflict. If we exclude the First Zionist Congress in Basle, Switzerland in 1897, the current conflict can be traced back to Balfour Declaration in 1917. The text of Balfour declaration is stated below:

## The Balfour Declaration

Foreign Office

November 2nd, 1917

*Dear Lord Rothschild,*

*I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.*

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

*I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.*

*Yours sincerely,*

*Arthur James Balfour*

At the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> world war, the League of Nations adopted Balfour Declaration and incorporated it into the mandate over Palestine. The mandate was granted to Britain in July 1922, see (Appendix B). Article 2 of the mandate, reads

*"The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion".*

Thus, the creation of a homeland for the Jews in Palestine has become the official responsibility of Britain. At the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> world war, the conditions were ripe for the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. The United Nations has become the legal inheritor of the League of Nations. The UN adopted a resolution calling for the creation of two states in Palestine, known as the partition plan. The plan, which was adopted in the UN resolution 181 in November 1947, called for the creation of an Arab state and a Jewish state, see (Appendix C). In May 1948, the state of Israel was created and the British troops left Palestine.

The mandate over Palestine was preceded by the disintegration of the Ottoman Islamic State after the 1<sup>st</sup> world war. The Palestinian people were part of the Muslim nation

including Arabs and non-Arabs who formed the population of the Ottoman State. After the disintegration, the peoples of the area, especially in Palestine, Syria, Iraq, Egypt, and other countries were literally without political status. As such, the mandate over Palestine, including the responsibility of creating a Jewish homeland did not face any challenge from the peoples in that area. The only relevant reference to the Arabs involvement are those correspondence letters between Henry McMahon and Hussein Bin Ali, Sheriff of Mecca in 1915. In fact, it is reported by Weizmann that Hussein Bin Ali did not protest the British offer to the Jews, in exchange for allowing Hussein to become the king of the Arabs.

The conditions, in which the state of Israel was created, continue to be one of the major causes for the complexity of the conflict. These conditions are represented by the fact that the peoples in the post Ottoman State were in a stateless position. The political and ideological impact of those conditions continues to play a major role in today's politics. This is evident from the continuous repetition of phrases like "lack of trust", "trust building" and the like. Evidently, the trust and lack of trust are not related to the rulers in the area, but to the people who were under the colonization for many years, and then under repressive regimes in the post colonial era.

### **3.0 The Impact of International Politics on the Conflict**

The historical background of the conflict is necessary to understand the complexity of the conflict. However, it is not sufficient in itself. It is important to answer a very basic question: **"What were the British motives to offer the Jews a homeland in the land of Palestine?"** Was it really the British keen interest into the Jewish people quest for a homeland? Was it really the deep harmony between the European Christian majority and the Jewish minority? I don't think that Jewish scholars would accept such simplistic explanation. After all, the events in Europe before and during the world wars proved how much concern the Europeans, including Britain have for the Jewish people.

Historical evidences are abundant in lieu of the fact that Britain was pursuing its own national interest, when it decided to create a homeland for the Jews in Palestine. For Britain in particular, and Europe in general, the **question of the East** was one of the most critical issues for centuries. The **Eastern question** simply stated is the existence of an extremely powerful state, the Ottomans, driven and motivated by a powerful Islamic Ideology. The 1<sup>st</sup> world war provided an opportunity to the victorious European Allies to end the Eastern question, and to disintegrate the once powerful and large Ottoman Islamic State. But the question remained, with historical evidence, that the Eastern Question could resurge and pose a threat one more time to the European continent. **The national interest of Britain and its European allies was (and still is) to guard against the return of the question of the East.** The British historian Bernard Lewis stated that "Europe will not allow the return of the (Ottoman) army that once besieged Vienna in 1653".

Britain and Europe have learned that colonization and occupation of Muslim/Arab lands in the East could not last forever. Also, the end of colonization and occupation of Muslim lands will always be followed by the resurgence of new power that may pose a threat to the European security. The crusade and Mogul wars are enough of an evidence for that fact. **The British solution to this dilemma was to create a conflict zone in which the Arabs and the Jews are the main parties to the conflict.**

- A conflict that has enough dimensions and depths that can only get more complex every time some one tries to resolve it!!
- A conflict that will consume the life and blood of both Arabs and Jews, instead of those of the Europeans.
- A conflict that will consume the emotions, resources, and aspirations of all the people involved.
- A conflict that will create an environment of terror and counter terror that subjugates both parties to international condemnation and at sometimes punishment.
- A conflict that will keep all parties involved under continuous scrutiny.

Indeed, the Muslim/Arab – Jewish conflict was (and continues to be) brilliantly used to promote Arab secular nationalism in replacement of Islamic Globalism. The era of Jamal Abdel Naser (1952-1970) marked the peak in Arab nationalistic aspirations. The fuel that Naser used to burn the Arab nationalistic emotions was none but the Arab Israeli conflict. The most repressive regimes in the Arab world today, including Saddam Hussein, Asad and Qadafi, draw sympathy and support of the Arab public by means of the conflict in Palestine.

**As such, Great Britain was creating a tool for its own use when it decided unilaterally to create a homeland for the Jews in Palestine.**

After the Second World War, the US emerged as a new super power in the world arena. **The US inherited much of the old colonial package** from Britain, France and other colonial powers. Part of the heritage that the US inherited was the state of Israel with all the conflicts surrounding its existence and security. As in the case of Britain, the US continued to perceive Israel as vital to the national interest of the US. The US statesmen (presidents, secretary of states, national security advisors) continue to declare time and time again, **that the security of the state of Israel is vital to the American national interest.** Although, this sounds satisfying to many Jews around the world, but the reality remains that the US as a legal inheritor of British power views Israel as a vehicle to its national interest. The national interests of the US in the Middle East are: **stability and continuous flow of oil.** Israel continues to draw support from the US under the main premise that Israel is positioned to help the US achieve its national interests in the area. More recently, some Arab countries like Egypt and Saudi Arabia try to compete with Israel on the same ground.

During the cold war era, the conflict in Palestine was one of the major hot areas for both sides of the cold war: the Soviet Union and the USA. The USA sided with Israel, whereas the Arab countries with direct interface to the conflict (Syria, Egypt, Iraq) were the allies

of the Soviet Union. The US has expressed a serious interest in the Golan Heights, where US troops may be stationed in case Israel withdraws from that area.

The competition between Europe and the US for securing national interest in the Middle East relies on the conflict between Israel and the Arab countries. On Sunday, April 22<sup>nd</sup>, Shimon Perez in a speech in front of AIPAC, granted his gratitude to the US, while blasting Europe for anti-semitism.

In brief, the international politics played a major role in creating a conflict zone in Palestine. International politics continue to play a major role in preventing the resolution of the conflict. More importantly, the Jewish people, as much as the Arabs, are used as vehicles for achieving the national interests of the western powers, at the expense of Jewish and Arab blood and lives.

#### **4.0 The Impact of Religion**

I would like to state without any hesitation that both Islam and Judaism are victims of the political conflict in Palestine. As stated previously, the conflict in Palestine came as a direct result of the disintegration of the Ottoman State. The wars that took place between the Jews and the Arabs were not carried out by Islam or Judaism. However, Islam as well as Judaism has been used to add heat and complexity to the conflict. The migration of Jews to Palestine is quite often encouraged under the slogan of the promised land. On the other hand, the fight against the Jews in Israel is quite often carried out under the umbrella of Jihad in Islam. In reality, the use of Islam in the conflict is more recent relative to the age of the conflict. Since the early 1920's until the mid 1980's, the war has been fought under various Arab nationalistic or Arab socialistic banners. Hizbullah in Lebanon, was actually the first serious attempt to use Islam as a vehicle to fight Israel in south Lebanon. The Islamic revolution in Iran helped in that direction.

In Palestine, the rise of Islamic fighting groups emerged after the Intifadah in 1987. The late Afghan war against the Soviet invasion helped revive the Islamic Jihad concepts in many places in the world including Palestine.

In the absence of an Islamic State, and centralized Islamic governance, it is difficult to control the actions of people, individuals and groups. This is especially true, when Muslim people in Palestine and else where live in severe and desperate conditions. The role of an Islamic State will be to organize the efforts of war as well as peace, such that out of order actions can be easily controlled or dismissed.

Moreover, it should be noted that Islam as an ideology, as a political system, and as a state was ousted from the Muslim world at the same time when the decision to create Israel was taken. In 1924, Mustafa Kamal of Turkey officially abolished the Islamic State of Khilafah in Istanbul. History provides sufficient evidence that Mustafa Kamal had collaborated with the British rule before and after abolishing the post of the Khalifah. Hence, the argument that Islam has had a direct impact on the conflict in Palestine lacks the historical evidence.

Does Islam have a solution to the conflict? The answer is definite yes. But the Islamic solution is not a theoretical one. In other words, the Islamic way to resolve the conflict requires that Islam be in charge of the law of the land. Islam can not provide a solution to be worked by secularist entities that use parts of Islam to suite their goals and ambitions. I will address the Islamic solution to the conflict at the end of this lecture.

## **5.0 The Notion of Terrorism**

I have not seen a term so subjective in its definition as much as the term of terrorism. Within the scope of the Palestinian conflict, the PLO was once called a terrorist group. Then, it was called a peace partner. Arafat was once considered a terrorist; then he was awarded a Noble Prize. Shamir was considered a hero of independence. Then he was called a terrorist by the British forces. The Hagana, Lehi and other Jewish fighting groups are called independence fighters by one side and terrorists by some another side. Hamas and Jihad groups are independence fighters on one side, and terrorists on other side. Before September 11<sup>th</sup>, both groups were called freedom fighters, and now they are called terrorist groups. The same thing applies to almost any group in the world.

In short, the issue of terrorism fluctuates based on whose interest is at stake. The self-explosions that take place in Israel will always be viewed as terrorist attacks by the Israelis, no matter who gets killed and who survives. Similarly, the assault on Palestinians by Israeli army and police will always be viewed as acts of state terrorism, no matter what the motives and the objectives are.

Therefore, the accusation and counter accusation of terrorism will not bring an end to the bloodshed and violence in the area. This is not a game, where the winner is the one who scores more accusations against the other. This is the game, in which every one in the field is a loser. The only winner seems to be is the one who sets the rules of the game. Unfortunately, these rules have been set long time ago, even before this generation that is being price with its own blood and life. The rules have been set in a manner to sustain violence. The rules are such that any solution is either a half solution, or not a solution at all.

## **6.0 Proposed Solutions**

There are basically two proposals to resolve the conflict in Palestine. To begin, I would like to mention that both are temporary solutions and will only put the conflict into sleep for some time. I will address more comprehensive solution in my concluding remarks.

The first proposal is the British proposal. The British proposed the creation of a secular (non religious) democratic state that would include Palestine (Israel and the west Bank and Gaza) and Jordan. The state would have a mixed population (Jews and Arabs – Muslims and Christians). Shimon Perez detailed this proposal in his book “Towards a New Middle East”. Also, this proposal was entertained by the late Tunisian President Bourgaiba, one of the British loyalist in the Middle East. Also, Qadafi recently repeated

this proposal before the summit of the Arab leaders in Beirut in March, 2002. The strength of the proposal is that it can easily hide the refugee problem, because those refugees who currently live in Jordan will essentially be living in the state of Palestine without having to move from their current locations. It also hides the issue of Jerusalem, being the capital of all at the same time.

The main problem with this solution is that it collides with the US vision of the Middle East. The US fears that such a state would have tremendous regional power that it may have a serious impact on the US interests in the area, especially in the Gulf. This problem alone is sufficient to turn the proposal down, at least for the time being.

The second problem with this proposal is that it does not work. The secular democratic state in Palestine will leave the Jews a minority. However, the state has to be designed such that the main governing body has to be Jewish. This means that the seeds of the conflict continue to be there and at one point they will grow into a violent conflict. On the other hand, if the Arabs will control the governance, then the Jewish goal and dream of a Jewish state is compromised. Again, the conflict continues to be there.

The second proposal is the American one. The Americans have, for long time, proposed a two state solutions in Palestine: one state for the Jews, and the other for the Palestinians. The first time, the proposal came out in 1964 during the Arab Summit in Jerusalem. The Arab leaders under the leadership of Abdel Naser proposed the creation of the PLO. The objective of the PLO was to create a Palestinian State in the West Bank (which was under the control of Jordan). It took several wars and many lives on the sides of the Arabs and the Jews to come close to this proposal.

The main advantage to this proposal is that it is backed by the US. The US assures Israel of continuous support and backup. Also, the majority of the Arab countries including Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Syria back the proposal. Officially, the Arab leaders adopted this proposal in their latest summit in Beirut (March 2002). President Bush attained a full recognition for this proposal from British Prime Minister Tony Blair in April 2002.

The main problem with this proposal is that it does not work. The refugee issue will continue to be alive. Israel cannot absorb Palestinians into Israel. The refugees, although they may be turned into citizens in Jordan and Syria, will continue to be a time bomb that can turn into an explosion sooner or later. The other problem is the issue of Jerusalem. Jerusalem continues to be a holy place for all Muslims in the world. Jerusalem can recreate the conflict at any moment. The third problem is that the proposal limits the scope of the Jewish state. The proposal will stir Jewish anger, once the Jews realize that they have been used to advance the American agenda and that they will continue to depend on American support and defense.

All the parties involved know that the two state solutions is only a temporary one. However, the US has decided to go ahead and implement the solution. Israel, out of skepticism and fear that the Palestinian state may pose a threat to its own existence, carried a pre-emptive strike during the last few weeks. The strike's main objective is to

remove the majority of the fighting elements in Palestine. Then, the Palestinian state will be born without a strong collection of warlords. I am not sure how the Israelis under Sharon think, but this approach will grant security for more than few months or years at best.

The other concern that the Jews in Israel must have is the complete dependence on the US for food and security. The dynamics of the world are changing so fast. The economic as well as the political order are shifting rapidly. It is unclear whether the US will continue to enjoy unchallenged power in the next few years. Several more economic collapses like that of Enron and Lucent may shift the American priority altogether and cause a diversion of attention from external affairs to internal ones. Israel will not be given a priority over the American self interest. As long as Israel advances the cause of American agenda, then Israel will enjoy the highest level of support and be given high priority. But, if and when the balance of power begins to shift, and Israel will no longer add a significant value to the American cause, then it can be laid off. That is why the American proposal is a temporary, risky, and has unpleasant future.

Before I end this section, I would like to confirm that the majority of the parties involved in the current Palestinian politics are in tact with the American proposal. That includes the PLO, the Islamic groups of Hamas and Jihad. It will include Syrian backed groups such as Hizbullah and others, once the Syrian part of the solution is implemented.

## **7.0 Is There a Solution?**

I would like to state again that Islam and Judaism as religions have not and still do not call for wars among their followers. Islam contains hundreds of references (in the Quran and the Sunnah) to Jews, Judaism, Christians, and Christianity. Many of the references contain serious criticism to the followers of Judaism and Christianity. The criticism is pure ideological, argumentative, and behavioral. Muslims and Jews continued to live peacefully along each other despite the criticism and arguments in the Quran related to the Jews and Christians. The Muslims are permitted to eat with the Jews, and to marry Jewish and Christian women.

For many centuries, the Muslims and the Jews lived together in the most peaceful manner, including in the land of Palestine and many Arab lands. In Andalusia, Muslims and Jews enjoyed a very peaceful life. When the Muslims rule ended in Spain, the Jews came under direct assault from the new rulers of Spain (Ferdinand and Ezabile). The Jewish people moved along to the land of Islam, where once again they found a safe haven.

Today, I believe that both the Muslims and the Jews have been the victims of international politics for the past century. The Jews have suffered a great deal in Europe because of the rise of nazism and fascism. The Arabs and Muslims also have suffered a great deal because of colonialism and later followed by nationalism.

The Arabs, Muslims, and Jews have experienced the just life under the rule of Islam. There is a long history of evidence to that. The return to the rule of Islam is by far the only guarantee for a peaceful life throughout the Muslim world. Under Islam, all peoples will prosper. The ideological rule will eliminate the hatred that is produced by the rule of nationalism, and the fear of ethnic superiority.

Under the rule of Islam Palestine will no longer be called a Palestinian land, or a Jewish land, or an Arab land. Palestine will be part of a greater pan Islamic land. In this land, the people will move and migrate the way they want, without any restriction. The flow of wealth and money throughout the entire land will facilitate the prosperity and progress.

As far as worship, Islam has a very strong record of protecting and sustaining the places of worship for all. The churches and places of worship in the city of Jerusalem are living evidence through the centuries on how Islam deals with these issues.

### **Conclusion:**

My dear friends:

The image that you may have about Islam today is carefully designed and sketched to frighten and scare you away from something that can indeed be the best for the future of all of us for many generations to come. The image of Islam has been crafted in the absence of Islam or a legal defender of Islam. The image of Islam has been crafted by at best people who are ignorant about it, or at worst enemies of it. Islam does not seek to inflict terror in the hearts of people. Islam in fact seeks to eliminate the environments in which terror grows. Islam does not limit its scope in war against terror to the hands that commit the crime, but it goes beyond that to eliminate that which breeds terror. Islam treats all forms of terrorism – militant, social, political, and economic terrorism.

Under the banner of Islam, Palestine will become one more time the land of peace. Just recall the status of Palestine under the banner of the second Caliph Omar Bin Al-Khattab. Recall the status of Jerusalem under the banner of Saladdin after its liberation from the crusaders.

Thanks you



## Appendix A

- 1897 First Zionist Congress in Basle, Switzerland
- Nov 2, 1917 British issued the [Balfour Declaration](#), promising a "National Home" for the Jews in Palestine.
- Jan. 1919 First Palestinian Congress advocated incorporation of Palestine into greater Syria.
- April, 1920 Arab riots led by Haj Amin El Hussein and Aref El Aref in Hebron and Jerusalem.
- May, 1921 Arab riots in Jaffa against Jewish population.
- July 24, 1922 [British Mandate for Palestine](#); Official establishment of Transjordan as a separate state.
- August, 1929 Arab riots in Hebron, Jerusalem, Safed, Haifa, Motza and elsewhere. The Jews had set up a dividing screen at the Wailing Wall in Yom Kippur of 1928 to separate men and women worshippers, prompting rumors that the Jews wanted to build a synagogue at wall, which were spread deliberately by Haj Amin El-Husseini. Amid heightening tensions, a demonstration by Jews in 1929 and Arab incitement ignited violence and rioting against Jews. Thousands of Jews fled the ancient Jewish quarter in Jerusalem. The Hebron Jewish community was evacuated after 64-67 were killed in riots.
- Oct 21, 1930 British Passfield White Paper proposes to limit Jewish immigration to Palestine.
- 1936-1939 Arab Revolt led by Haj Amin Al-Husseini. Hundreds of Arabs and Jews killed. Hussein fled to Iraq and then to Nazi Germany.
- 1937-1938 [Peel and Woodhead](#) commissions recommend partitioning Palestine into a small Jewish state and a large Arab one.
- May 17, 1939 [1939 White Paper](#) limits Jewish immigration to Palestine to 75,000 in total, restricts Jewish land purchases, envisions an Arab Palestinian state.
- Nov. 29, 1947 [UN Partition Resolution \(GA 181\)](#) - Palestine was to be divided into a Jewish State and an Arab State; Jerusalem was to be internationalized. Arab countries and Arab league refuse to recognize the resolution.
- Dec. 1, 1947 Arab riots in Jerusalem. Beginning of Arab blockade of Jerusalem. The period to May 1948 was characterized by numerous skirmishes, road ambushes, riots, bombings and massacres, whether organized by one of the other sides or spontaneous. [The Haifa riots and massacres](#) were typical.
- April 6-8, 1948 Arab blockade of Jerusalem is broken temporarily by operation Nachshon. Death of Abd-El-Qader Al-Husseini at Kastel - The foremost Palestinian military leader is shot by a Jewish sentry when he wanders into Jewish held Kastel in the Jerusalem corridor thinking it is in Arab hands.
- April 9, 1948 Deir Yassin Massacre - Jewish dissident underground groups - Irgun and Lehi kill over 100 Palestinian civilians in the Jerusalem village of [Deir Yassin](#).
- April 13 Haddajah Convoy Massacre - In retaliation for Deir Yassin, Arabs killed Jewish

- 1948 medical personnel and sick persons on their way to Hadassah hospital.
- May 14, 1948 Gush Etzion Massacre - In retaliation for Deir Yassin Massacre, Arabs killed over 50 Jewish defenders at Gush Etzion, after they had surrendered.
- May 15, 1948 Israel War of Independence (1948 War). Declaration of Israel as the Jewish State; British leave Palestine; Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia declared war on Israel. Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian invasion began.
- Dec. 11, 1948 [UN Resolution 194](#) called for cessation of hostilities, return of refugees who wish to live in peace.
- April 3, 1949 Armistice – Israel and Arab states agree to armistice. Israel gained about 50% more territory than was originally allotted to it by the UN Partition Plan. The war created over 780,000 Palestinian refugees who fled or were evicted from Jewish held areas. Gaza fell under the jurisdiction of Egypt. The West Bank of the Jordan is occupied by Jordan.
- July, 1951 Assassination of Jordan's King Abdulla because of rumored plans for peace with Israel. His grandson Hussein crowned in his place.
- October 1953 IDF paratrooper unit 101 under Ariel Sharon destroyed houses, killing 69 civilians in a reprisal raid in the Jordanian village of Qibieh. The raid was a reprisal for a raid on Tirat Yehuda.
- Oct. 29, 1956 Suez Campaign. In retaliation for a series of escalating border raids as well as the closure of the straits of Tiran and Suez canal to Israeli shipping, and to prevent Egyptian use of newly acquired Soviet arms in a war, Israel invades the Sinai peninsula and occupies it for several months, with French and British backing. Israel withdraws after a UN peace keeping force is placed in Sinai, and US guarantees right of passage for Israeli shipping through the Straits of Tiran.
- 1957 Fatah founded with the aim of destroying Israel.
- May, 1964 PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) founded with the aim of destroying Israel. The [Palestinian National Charter \(1968\)](#) officially called for liquidation of Israel.
- May, 1967 Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser closes the straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping and dismisses UN peacekeeping force. Negotiations with US to reopen the Straits of Tiran fail.
- June 5-11, 1967 6-day war. Israel destroys the Egyptian air force on the ground, conquers and occupies Sinai and Gaza, then conquers the West Bank from Jordan, and Golan Heights from Syria. [UN resolution 242](#) called for Israeli withdrawal, establishment of peace
- March 21, 1968 Battle of Karameh - Jordanian and Palestinian forces inflicted a partial defeat on Israel troops staging a massive retaliatory raid on an Jordanian town that had served as a staging area for guerilla attacks and a base for PLO/Fatah guerillas.. The Fatah declared a great victory and retreated into the hills. The anniversary of Karameh is still celebrated as a victory by Palestinians.
- Sept. 1970 "Black September"- King Hussein of Jordan moves against the increasingly menacing power of the PLO. Palestinian guerillas flee Jordan and take up residence in

Lebanon.

- May 30, 1972 PFLP and Japanese Red Army attack at Lod Airport killed 27.
- Sept 5, 1972 Black September movement massacres Israeli Olympic team in Munich, triggering a systematic manhunt by Israelis for the assassins.
- Oct. 6, 1973 Yom Kippur War (October War) In a surprise attack on the Jewish day of atonement, Egypt retook the Suez canal and a narrow zone on the other side. Syria reconquered the Golan Heights. Following massive US and Soviet resupplying of the sides, Israel succeeded in pushing back the Syrians and threatening Damascus. Ariel Sharon crossed the Suez Canal and cuts off the Egyptian Third Army.
- Oct. 22, 1973 [UN Security Council Resolution 338](#) called for cease fire and negotiations for peace. Following the cease fire, Israel withdrew from part of Sinai in stages, beginning with relief of the Egyptian third army, and likewise withdrew from a small part of the Golan heights.
- May 15, 1974 PLO gunmen took over a school in the northern Israeli village of Ma'alot, killing 25 and wounding many others.
- May 31, 1976 Syria is invited into Lebanon by Maronite Christians.
- June-July 1976 Palestinians hijacked an Air-France Air bus to Entebbe in Uganda. IDF commando units landed in Uganda, stormed the plane and managed to free most of the hostages.
- June 20, 1977 Likud party and Begin government took office in Israel. Israeli settlement of the West Bank and Gaza was intensified following the rise of the Likud to power.
- Nov. 20, 1977 Egyptian President Anwar Sadat came to Jerusalem, spoke in Israeli Knesset (Parliament).
- Mar. 15, 1978 Israel invaded Lebanon (operation Litani) after the PLO hijacked a bus on the main Tel-Aviv to Haifa highway. UN resolution [425 of March 19, 1978](#) called for withdrawal of Israeli forces. Israel did not fulfill the terms of Resolution 425 until May 2000.
- Sept. 17, 1978 Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli PM Menachem Begin, meeting at Camp David under the auspices of US President Jimmy Carter, sign [framework agreements](#) for peace in the Middle East and peace between Egypt and Israel.
- March 26, 1979 [Peace treaty signed](#) between Egypt and Israel.
- June 7, 1981 Israel destroys Iraqi nuclear reactor in daring raid.
- Oct. 6, 1981 Egyptian President Anwar Sadat is assassinated while on the reviewing stand of a victory parade.
- June 6, 1982 Massive Israeli invasion of Lebanon.
- Summer, 1982 Foundation of the Lebanese Shi'ite Hizbulla Islamist terror group.

- Aug. 22, 1982 PLO evacuation of Beirut.
- Sept. 14, 1982 Lebanese President Bashir Jemayeel assassinated by Syrian intelligence.
- Sept. 16-17, 1982 Lebanese Christian Phalange units, allowed by Israeli forces to enter the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatilla, massacre between 400 and 800 Palestinian civilians.
- Feb 8, 1983 Israeli Kahan commission found Ariel Sharon and others indirectly guilty of allowing the massacre in Sabra and Shatilla.
- April 18, 1983 Hizbulla suicide bomber destroyed the American Embassy in Beirut, killing over 60 people.
- Sept.3, 1983 Israel began partial withdrawal from Lebanon.
- Oct. 23, 1983 Hizbulla suicide bomber destroyed the US Marine compound in Beirut, killing 241.
- Sept. 20, 1984 Hizbulla suicide bomber destroyed the rebuilt American Embassy in Beirut, killing 25.
- June 1985 Israel unity government, headed by Shimon Peres, orders withdrawal from most of conquered Lebanese territory.
- 1987 First Intifadeh - Stone-throwing Palestinian teens took on the Israeli occupation.
- Jan. 1988 Foundation of the Hamas Islamic Brotherhood. Hamas published their [Charter in August 1988](#), based on the forged Protocols of the Elders of Zion, and advocating destruction of Israel.
- Nov. 15, 1988 Palestine National Council of the PLO declare a Palestinian state in absentia, recognizing UN resolutions 181 and 242, and implicitly recognizing Israel.
- May 14, 1989 [Israeli Peace Plan of May 14, 1989](#), calls for a negotiating process with the Palestinians very similar to the one actually implemented by the Oslo accords.
- January, 1991 Gulf War. Iraqi missiles fall on Israel as US pushes Iraqi forces out of Kuwait. Palestinians support Saddam Hussein, lose popularity in Gulf states.
- Oct 30, 1991 [Madrid Peace Conference](#) for peaceful resolution of the Middle East Conflict.
- Sept. 13, 1993 [Oslo Declaration of Principles](#) - Israel and PLO agree to mutual recognition, Yasser Arafat and PLO will be allowed to return to Gaza. PLO and Palestinian leadership renounce violence and use of terrorism, and agree to revise the PLO charter to remove chapters referring to destruction of Israel. Over the next, years, Israel withdraws from a small area (Area A) that is given to Palestinian sovereignty, a larger area (Area B) is given to Palestinian civil control only, while a third area of the West Bank and Gaza strip remains under total Israeli control. Israel does not dismantle any settlements, and the number of settlers and new settlements increases considerably.
- May 1994 Yasser Arafat arrived in Gaza.

- Oct. 26,  
1994 Peace treaty between Jordan and Israel.
- Nov. 4,  
1995 Israeli PM Yitzhak Rabin assassinated by right-wing Israeli fanatic.
- May 2000 Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon to international border is completed after many years of harassment by Hizbullah guerillas. UN declares Israel is compliant with [Resolution 425](#), but the Hizbullah continues to harrass Israeli positions, kidnapping three Israeli soldiers later in the summer.
- July, 2000 Israeli PM Barak, US President Clinton and Palestinian Chairman Yasser Arafat meet at [Camp David](#) in a failed attempt to hammer out a final settlement.
- Sept. 28,  
2000 Palestinians initiated riots after Israeli opposition leader Ariel Sharon visited the Temple Mount, which is also the location of the Haram as Sharif holy to Muslims. Violence escalated rapidly from rock throwing to machine gun and mortar fire, suicide bombings and lethal road ambushes, including some instigated by settlers against Palestinians. Israelis killed 15 Israeli Arabs in riots in September/October 2000, and over 500 Palestinians in retaliatory raids thereafter. Palestinians kill over 100 Israelis. Violence continues for over a year [to present - March 2002].
- April, 2001 [Mitchell commission](#) recommendations for restoration of peace, return to the negotiating table.
- Sept. 11,  
2001 Terror attacks on World Trade Center in NYC and the Pentagon carried out by fanatic Islamic Al-Qaiada group headed by [Osama Bin Laden](#). Initiates US war on terror. Israel and Palestinians agree to cease fire, but it is not implemented.
- Oct., 17,  
2001 Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine assassinates Israeli tourism minister Rehav'am Ze'evi, known for extreme right-wing views. After Palestine National Authority refuses to take effective action, Israeli troops enter Palestinian areas in the West Bank
- Jan 3, 2002 Israel captures boatload of illegal arms bound for Palestinian Authority as US envoy Anthony Zinni arrives to try to mediate a settlement.
- March 2002 Midst mounting violence, Saudi Prince Abdullah announces a peace plan, according to which Israel would withdraw from the occupied territories in return for Arab recognition.

## **Appendix (B)**

### **The Palestine Mandate**

#### **The Council of the League of Nations:**

July 24, 1922

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have agreed, for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to entrust to a Mandatory selected by the said Powers the administration of the territory of Palestine, which formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire, within such boundaries as may be fixed by them; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2nd, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and

Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have selected His Britannic Majesty as the Mandatory for Palestine; and

Whereas the mandate in respect of Palestine has been formulated in the following terms and submitted to the Council of the League for approval; and

Whereas His Britannic Majesty has accepted the mandate in respect of Palestine and undertaken to exercise it on behalf of the League of Nations in conformity with the following provisions; and

Whereas by the afore-mentioned Article 22 (paragraph 8), it is provided that the degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory, not having been previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, shall be explicitly defined by the Council of the League Of Nations; confirming the said Mandate, defines its terms as follows:

ARTICLE 1. The Mandatory shall have full powers of legislation and of administration, save as they may be limited by the terms of this mandate.

ART. 2. The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing

institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion.

ART. 3. The Mandatory shall, so far as circumstances permit, encourage local autonomy.

ART. 4. An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognised as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist organization, so long as its organization and constitution are in the opinion of the Mandatory appropriate, shall be recognised as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home.

ART. 5. The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that no Palestine territory shall be ceded or leased to, or in any way placed under the control of the Government of any foreign Power.

ART. 6. The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.

ART. 7. The Administration of Palestine shall be responsible for enacting a nationality law. There shall be included in this law provisions framed so as to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up their permanent residence in Palestine.

ART. 8. The privileges and immunities of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection as formerly enjoyed by Capitulation or usage in the Ottoman Empire, shall not be applicable in Palestine.

Unless the Powers whose nationals enjoyed the afore-mentioned privileges and immunities on August 1st, 1914, shall have previously renounced the right to their re-establishment, or shall have agreed to their non-application for a specified period, these privileges and immunities shall, at the expiration of the mandate, be immediately reestablished in their entirety or with such modifications as may have been agreed upon between the Powers concerned.

ART. 9. The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that the judicial system established in Palestine shall assure to foreigners, as well as to natives, a complete guarantee of their rights.

Respect for the personal status of the various peoples and communities and for their religious interests shall be fully guaranteed. In particular, the control and administration

of Wakfs shall be exercised in accordance with religious law and the dispositions of the founders.

ART. 10. Pending the making of special extradition agreements relating to Palestine, the extradition treaties in force between the Mandatory and other foreign Powers shall apply to Palestine.

ART. 11. The Administration of Palestine shall take all necessary measures to safeguard the interests of the community in connection with the development of the country, and, subject to any international obligations accepted by the Mandatory, shall have full power to provide for public ownership or control of any of the natural resources of the country or of the public works, services and utilities established or to be established therein. It shall introduce a land system appropriate to the needs of the country, having regard, among other things, to the desirability of promoting the close settlement and intensive cultivation of the land.

The Administration may arrange with the Jewish agency mentioned in Article 4 to construct or operate, upon fair and equitable terms, any public works, services and utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country, in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the Administration. Any such arrangements shall provide that no profits distributed by such agency, directly or indirectly, shall exceed a reasonable rate of interest on the capital, and any further profits shall be utilised by it for the benefit of the country in a manner approved by the Administration.

ART. 12. The Mandatory shall be entrusted with the control of the foreign relations of Palestine and the right to issue exequaturs to consuls appointed by foreign Powers. He shall also be entitled to afford diplomatic and consular protection to citizens of Palestine when outside its territorial limits.

ART. 13. All responsibility in connection with the Holy Places and religious buildings or sites in Palestine, including that of preserving existing rights and of securing free access to the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites and the free exercise of worship, while ensuring the requirements of public order and decorum, is assumed by the Mandatory, who shall be responsible solely to the League of Nations in all matters connected herewith, provided that nothing in this article shall prevent the Mandatory from entering into such arrangements as he may deem reasonable with the Administration for the purpose of carrying the provisions of this article into effect; and provided also that nothing in this mandate shall be construed as conferring upon the Mandatory authority to interfere with the fabric or the management of purely Moslem sacred shrines, the immunities of which are guaranteed.

ART. 14. A special commission shall be appointed by the Mandatory to study, define and determine the rights and claims in connection with the Holy Places and the rights and claims relating to the different religious communities in Palestine. The method of nomination, the composition and the functions of this Commission shall be submitted to the Council of the League for its approval, and the Commission shall not be appointed or enter upon its functions without the approval of the Council.

ART. 15. The Mandatory shall see that complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, are ensured to all. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion or language. No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the Administration may impose, shall not be denied or impaired.

ART. 16. The Mandatory shall be responsible for exercising such supervision over religious or eleemosynary bodies of all faiths in Palestine as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government. Subject to such supervision, no measures shall be taken in Palestine to obstruct or interfere with the enterprise of such bodies or to discriminate against any representative or member of them on the ground of his religion or nationality.

ART. 17. The Administration of Palestine may organise on a voluntary basis the forces necessary for the preservation of peace and order, and also for the defence of the country, subject, however, to the supervision of the Mandatory, but shall not use them for purposes other than those above specified save with the consent of the Mandatory. Except for such purposes, no military, naval or air forces shall be raised or maintained by the Administration of Palestine.

Nothing in this article shall preclude the Administration of Palestine from contributing to the cost of the maintenance of the forces of the Mandatory in Palestine.

The Mandatory shall be entitled at all times to use the roads, railways and ports of Palestine for the movement of armed forces and the carriage of fuel and supplies.

ART. 18. The Mandatory shall see that there is no discrimination in Palestine against the nationals of any State Member of the League of Nations (including companies incorporated under its laws) as compared with those of the Mandatory or of any foreign State in matters concerning taxation, commerce or navigation, the exercise of industries or professions, or in the treatment of merchant vessels or civil aircraft. Similarly, there shall be no discrimination in Palestine against goods originating in or destined for any of the said States, and there shall be freedom of transit under equitable conditions across the mandated area.

Subject as aforesaid and to the other provisions of this mandate, the Administration of Palestine may, on the advice of the Mandatory, impose such taxes and customs duties as it may consider necessary, and take such steps as it may think best to promote the development of the natural resources of the country and to safeguard the interests of the population. It may also, on the advice of the Mandatory, conclude a special customs agreement with any State the territory of which in 1914 was wholly included in Asiatic Turkey or Arabia.

ART. 19. The Mandatory shall adhere on behalf of the Administration of Palestine to any general international conventions already existing, or which may be concluded hereafter

with the approval of the League of Nations, respecting the slave traffic, the traffic in arms and ammunition, or the traffic in drugs, or relating to commercial equality, freedom of transit and navigation, aerial navigation and postal, telegraphic and wireless communication or literary, artistic or industrial property.

ART. 20. The Mandatory shall co-operate on behalf of the Administration of Palestine, so far as religious, social and other conditions may permit, in the execution of any common policy adopted by the League of Nations for preventing and combating disease, including diseases of plants and animals.

ART. 21. The Mandatory shall secure the enactment within twelve months from this date, and shall ensure the execution of a Law of Antiquities based on the following rules. This law shall ensure equality of treatment in the matter of excavations and archaeological research to the nationals of all States Members of the League of Nations.

(1) "Antiquity" means any construction or any product of human activity earlier than the year 1700 A. D.

(2) The law for the protection of antiquities shall proceed by encouragement rather than by threat.

Any person who, having discovered an antiquity without being furnished with the authorization referred to in paragraph 5, reports the same to an official of the competent Department, shall be rewarded according to the value of the discovery.

(3) No antiquity may be disposed of except to the competent Department, unless this Department renounces the acquisition of any such antiquity.

No antiquity may leave the country without an export licence from the said Department.

(4) Any person who maliciously or negligently destroys or damages an antiquity shall be liable to a penalty to be fixed.

(5) No clearing of ground or digging with the object of finding antiquities shall be permitted, under penalty of fine, except to persons authorised by the competent Department.

(6) Equitable terms shall be fixed for expropriation, temporary or permanent, of lands which might be of historical or archaeological interest.

(7) Authorization to excavate shall only be granted to persons who show sufficient guarantees of archaeological experience. The Administration of Palestine shall not, in granting these authorizations, act in such a way as to exclude scholars of any nation without good grounds.

(8) The proceeds of excavations may be divided between the excavator and the competent Department in a proportion fixed by that Department. If division seems impossible for scientific reasons, the excavator shall receive a fair indemnity in lieu of a part of the find.

ART. 22. English, Arabic and Hebrew shall be the official languages of Palestine. Any statement or inscription in Arabic on stamps or money in Palestine shall be repeated in Hebrew and any statement or inscription in Hebrew shall be repeated in Arabic.

ART. 23. The Administration of Palestine shall recognise the holy days of the respective communities in Palestine as legal days of rest for the members of such communities.

ART. 24. The Mandatory shall make to the Council of the League of Nations an annual report to the satisfaction of the Council as to the measures taken during the year to carry out the provisions of the mandate. Copies of all laws and regulations promulgated or issued during the year shall be communicated with the report.

ART. 25. In the territories lying between the Jordan and the eastern boundary of Palestine as ultimately determined, the Mandatory shall be entitled, with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations, to postpone or withhold application of such provisions of this mandate as he may consider inapplicable to the existing local conditions, and to make such provision for the administration of the territories as he may consider suitable to those conditions, provided that no action shall be taken which is inconsistent with the provisions of Articles 15, 16 and 18.

ART. 26. The Mandatory agrees that, if any dispute whatever should arise between the Mandatory and another member of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation or the application of the provisions of the mandate, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

ART. 27. The consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of this mandate.

ART. 28. In the event of the termination of the mandate hereby conferred upon the Mandatory, the Council of the League of Nations shall make such arrangements as may be deemed necessary for safeguarding in perpetuity, under guarantee of the League, the rights secured by Articles 13 and 14, and shall use its influence for securing, under the guarantee of the League, that the Government of Palestine will fully honour the financial obligations legitimately incurred by the Administration of Palestine during the period of the mandate, including the rights of public servants to pensions or gratuities.

The present instrument shall be deposited in original in the archives of the League of Nations and certified copies shall be forwarded by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to all members of the League.

Done at London the twenty-fourth day of July, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two.

## Appendix C

### **UN General Assembly Resolution 181**

**November 29, 1947**

#### **Document**

The General Assembly,

Having met in special session at the request of the mandatory Power to constitute and instruct a Special Committee to prepare for the consideration of the question of the future Government of Palestine at the second regular session;

Having constituted a Special Committee and instructed it to investigate all questions and issues relevant to the problem of Palestine, and to prepare proposals for the solution of the problem, and

Having received and examined the report of the Special Committee (document A/364)(1) including a number of unanimous recommendations and a plan of partition with economic union approved by the majority of the Special Committee,

Considers that the present situation in Palestine is one which is likely to impair the general welfare and friendly relations among nations;

Takes note of the declaration by the mandatory Power that it plans to complete its evacuation of Palestine by 1 August 1948;

Recommends to the United Kingdom, as the mandatory Power for Palestine, and to all other Members of the United Nations the adoption and implementation, with regard to the future Government of Palestine, of the Plan of Partition with Economic Union set out below;

Requests that

The Security Council take the necessary measures as provided for in the plan for its implementation;

The Security Council consider, if circumstances during the transitional period require such consideration, whether the situation in Palestine constitutes a threat to the peace. If it decides that such a threat exists, and in order to maintain international peace and security, the Security Council should supplement the authorization of the General Assembly by taking measures, under Articles 39 and 41 of the Charter, to empower the United Nations Commission, as provided in this resolution, to exercise in Palestine the functions which are assigned to it by this resolution;

The Security Council determine as a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression, in accordance with Article 39 of the Charter, any attempt to alter by force the settlement envisaged by this resolution;

The Trusteeship Council be informed of the responsibilities envisaged for it in this plan;

Calls upon the inhabitants of Palestine to take such steps as may be necessary on their part to put this plan into effect;

Appeals to all Governments and all peoples to refrain from taking any action which might hamper or delay the carrying out of these recommendations, and

Authorizes the Secretary-General to reimburse travel and subsistence expenses of the members of the Commission referred to in Part 1, Section B, Paragraph I below, on such basis and in such form as he may determine most appropriate in the circumstances, and to provide the Commission with the necessary staff to assist in carrying out the functions assigned to the Commission by the General Assembly.\*

The General Assembly,

Authorizes the Secretary-General to draw from the Working Capital Fund a sum not to exceed 2,000,000 dollars for the purposes set forth in the last paragraph of the resolution on the future government of Palestine.

## PLAN OF PARTITION WITH ECONOMIC UNION

### Part I. - Future Constitution and Government of Palestine

#### A. TERMINATION OF MANDATE, PARTITION AND INDEPENDENCE

The Mandate for Palestine shall terminate as soon as possible but in any case not later than 1 August 1948.

The armed forces of the mandatory Power shall be progressively withdrawn from Palestine, the withdrawal to be completed as soon as possible but in any case not later than 1 August 1948.

The mandatory Power shall advise the Commission, as far in advance as possible, of its intention to terminate the mandate and to evacuate each area. The mandatory Power shall use its best endeavours to ensure that an area situated in the territory of the Jewish State, including a seaport and hinterland adequate to provide facilities for a substantial immigration, shall be evacuated at the earliest possible date and in any event not later than 1 February 1948.

Independent Arab and Jewish States and the Special International Regime for the City of Jerusalem, set forth in Part III of this Plan, shall come into existence in Palestine two months after the evacuation of the armed forces of the mandatory Power has been completed but in any case not later than 1 October 1948. The boundaries of the Arab State, the Jewish State, and the City of Jerusalem shall be as described in Parts II and III below.

The period between the adoption by the General Assembly of its recommendation on the question of Palestine and the establishment of the independence of the Arab and Jewish States shall be a transitional period.

#### B. STEPS PREPARATORY TO INDEPENDENCE

A Commission shall be set up consisting of one representative of each of five Member States. The Members represented on the Commission shall be elected by the General Assembly on as broad a basis, geographically and otherwise, as possible.

The administration of Palestine shall, as the mandatory Power withdraws its armed forces, be progressively turned over to the Commission, which shall act in conformity with the recommendations of the General Assembly, under the guidance of the Security Council. The mandatory Power shall to the fullest possible extent coordinate its plans for withdrawal with the plans of the Commission to take over and administer areas which have been evacuated. In the discharge of this administrative responsibility the Commission shall have authority to issue necessary regulations and take other measures as required. The mandatory Power shall not take any action to prevent, obstruct or delay the implementation by the Commission of the measures recommended by the General Assembly.

On its arrival in Palestine the Commission shall proceed to carry out measures for the establishment of the frontiers of the Arab and Jewish States and the City of Jerusalem in accordance with the general lines of the recommendations of the General Assembly on the partition of Palestine. Nevertheless, the boundaries as described in Part II of this Plan are to be modified in such a way that village areas as a rule will not be divided by state boundaries unless pressing reasons make that necessary.

The Commission, after consultation with the democratic parties and other public organizations of the Arab and

Jewish States, shall select and establish in each State as rapidly as possible a Provisional Council of Government. The activities of both the Arab and Jewish Provisional Councils of Government shall be carried out under the general direction of the Commission.

If by 1 April 1948 a Provisional Council of Government cannot be selected for either of the States, or, if selected, cannot carry out its functions, the Commission shall communicate that fact to the Security Council for such action with respect to that State as the Security Council may deem proper, and to the Secretary-General for communication to the Members of the United Nations.

Subject to the provisions of these recommendations, during the transitional period the Provisional Councils of Government, acting under the Commission, shall have full authority in the areas under their control including authority over matters of immigration and land regulation.

The Provisional Council of Government of each State, acting under the Commission, shall progressively receive from the Commission full responsibility for the administration of that State in the period between the termination of the Mandate and the establishment of the State's independence.

The Commission shall instruct the Provisional Councils of Government of both the Arab and Jewish States, after their formation, to proceed to the establishment of administrative organs of government, central and local.

The Provisional Council of Government of each State shall, within the shortest time possible, recruit an armed militia from the residents of that State, sufficient in number to maintain internal order and to prevent frontier clashes. This armed militia in each State shall, for operational purposes, be under the command of Jewish or Arab officers resident in that State, but general political and military control, including the choice of the militia's High Command, shall be exercised by the Commission.

The Provisional Council of Government of each State shall, not later than two months after the withdrawal of the armed forces of the mandatory Power, hold elections to the Constituent Assembly which shall be conducted on democratic lines.

The election regulations in each State shall be drawn up by the Provisional Council of Government and approved by

the Commission. Qualified voters for each State for this election shall be persons over eighteen years of age who are (a) Palestinian citizens residing in that State; and (b) Arabs and Jews residing in the State, although not Palestinian citizens, who, before voting, have signed a notice of intention to become citizens of such State.

Arabs and Jews residing in the City of Jerusalem who have signed a notice of intention to become citizens, the Arabs of the Arab State and the Jews of the Jewish State, shall be entitled to vote in the Arab and Jewish States respectively. Women may vote and be elected to the Constituent Assemblies.

During the transitional period no Jew shall be permitted to establish residence in the area of the proposed Arab State, and no Arab shall be permitted to establish residence in the area of the proposed Jewish State, except by special leave of the Commission.

The Constituent Assembly of each State shall draft a democratic constitution for its State and choose a provisional government to succeed the Provisional Council of Government appointed by the Commission. The Constitutions of the States shall embody Chapters 1 and 2 of the Declaration provided for in section C below and include, inter alia, provisions for:

Establishing in each State a legislative body elected by universal suffrage and by secret ballot on the basis of proportional representation, and an executive body responsible to the legislature;

Settling all international disputes in which the State may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered;

Accepting the obligation of the State to refrain in its international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purpose of the United Nations;

Guaranteeing to all persons equal and non-discriminatory rights in civil, political, economic and religious matters and the

enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of religion, language, speech and publication, education, assembly and association;

Preserving freedom of transit and visit for all residents and citizens of the other State in Palestine and the City of Jerusalem, subject to considerations of national security, provided that each State shall control residence within its borders.

The Commission shall appoint a preparatory economic commission of three members to make whatever arrangements are possible for economic co-operation, with a view to establishing, as soon as practicable, the Economic Union and the Joint Economic Board, as provided in section D below.

During the period between the adoption of the recommendations on the question of Palestine by the General Assembly and the termination of the Mandate, the mandatory Power in Palestine shall maintain full responsibility for administration in areas from which it has not withdrawn its armed forces. The Commission shall assist the mandatory Power in the carrying out of these functions. Similarly the mandatory Power shall co-operate with the Commission in the execution of its functions. With a view to ensuring that there shall be continuity in the functioning of administrative services and that, on the withdrawal of the armed forces of the mandatory Power, the whole administration shall be in the charge of the Provisional Councils and the Joint Economic Board, respectively, acting under the Commission, there shall be a progressive transfer, from the mandatory Power to the Commission, of responsibility for all the functions of government, including that of maintaining law and order in the areas from which the forces of the mandatory Power have been withdrawn.

The Commission shall be guided in its activities by the recommendations of the General Assembly and by such instructions as the Security Council may consider necessary to issue.

The measures taken by the Commission, within the recommendations of the General Assembly, shall become immediately effective unless the Commission has previously received contrary instructions from the Security Council.

The Commission shall render periodic monthly progress reports, or more frequently if desirable, to the Security Council.

The Commission shall make its final report to the next regular session of the General Assembly and to the Security Council simultaneously.

### C. DECLARATION

A declaration shall be made to the United Nations by the Provisional Government of each proposed State before independence. It shall contain, inter alia, the following clauses:

#### General Provision

The stipulations contained in the Declaration are recognized as fundamental laws of the State and no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

#### Chapter I: Holy Places, Religious Buildings and Sites

Existing rights in respect of Holy Places and religious buildings or sites shall not be denied or impaired.

In so far as Holy Places are concerned, the liberty of access, visit, and transit shall be guaranteed, in conformity with existing rights, to all residents and citizen of the other State and of the City of Jerusalem, as well as to aliens, without distinction as to nationality, subject to requirements of national security, public order and decorum.

Similarly, freedom of worship shall be guaranteed in conformity with existing rights, subject to the maintenance of public order and decorum.

Holy Places and religious buildings or sites shall be preserved. No act shall be permitted which may in any way impair their sacred character. If at any time it appears to the Government that any particular Holy Place, religious, building or site is in need of urgent repair, the Government may call upon the community or communities concerned to carry out such repair. The Government may carry it out itself at the expense of the community or community concerned if no action is taken within a reasonable time.

No taxation shall be levied in respect of any Holy Place, religious building or site which was exempt from taxation on the date of the creation of the State.

No change in the incidence of such taxation shall be made which would either discriminate between the owners or occupiers of Holy Places, religious buildings or sites, or would place such owners or occupiers in a position less favourable in relation to the general incidence of taxation

than existed at the time of the adoption of the Assembly's recommendations.

The Governor of the City of Jerusalem shall have the right to determine whether the provisions of the Constitution of the State in relation to Holy Places, religious buildings and sites within the borders of the State and the religious rights appertaining thereto, are being properly applied and respected, and to make decisions on the basis of existing rights in cases of disputes which may arise between the different religious communities or the rites of a religious community with respect to such places, buildings and sites. He shall receive full co-operation and such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the exercise of his functions in the State.

## Chapter 2: Religious and Minority Rights

Freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, shall be ensured to all.

No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants on the ground of race, religion, language or sex.

All persons within the jurisdiction of the State shall be entitled to equal protection of the laws.

The family law and personal status of the various minorities and their religious interests, including endowments, shall be respected.

Except as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government, no measure shall be taken to obstruct or interfere with the enterprise of religious or charitable bodies of all faiths or to discriminate against any representative or member of these bodies on the ground of his religion or nationality.

The State shall ensure adequate primary and secondary education for the Arab and Jewish minority, respectively, in its own language and its cultural traditions.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the State may impose, shall not be denied or impaired. Foreign educational establishments shall continue their activity on the basis of their existing rights.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any citizen of the State of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the Press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.(3)

No expropriation of land owned by an Arab in the Jewish State (by a Jew in the Arab State)(4) shall be allowed except for public purposes. In all cases of expropriation full compensation as fixed by the Supreme Court shall be said previous to dispossession.

### Chapter 3: Citizenship, International Conventions and Financial Obligations

1. Citizenship Palestinian citizens residing in Palestine outside the City of Jerusalem, as well as Arabs and Jews who, not holding Palestinian citizenship, reside in Palestine outside the City of Jerusalem shall, upon the recognition of independence, become citizens of the State in which they are resident and enjoy full civil and political rights. Persons over the age of eighteen years may opt, within one year from the date of recognition of independence of the State in which they reside, for citizenship of the other State, providing that no Arab residing in the area of the proposed Arab State shall have the right to opt for citizenship in the proposed Jewish State and no Jew residing in the proposed Jewish State shall have the right to opt for citizenship in the proposed Arab State. The exercise of this right of option will be taken to include the wives and children under eighteen years of age of persons so opting.

Arabs residing in the area of the proposed Jewish State and Jews residing in the area of the proposed Arab State who have signed a notice of intention to opt for citizenship of the other State shall be eligible to vote in the elections to the Constituent Assembly of that State, but not in the elections to the Constituent Assembly of the State in which they reside.

#### 2. International conventions

The State shall be bound by all the international agreements and conventions, both general and special, to which Palestine has become a party. Subject to any right of denunciation provided for therein, such agreements and conventions shall be respected by the State throughout the period for which they were concluded.

Any dispute about the applicability and continued validity of international conventions or treaties signed or adhered to by the mandatory Power on behalf of Palestine shall be referred to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court.

#### 3. Financial obligations

The State shall respect and fulfil all financial obligations of whatever nature assumed on behalf of Palestine by the

mandatory Power during the exercise of the Mandate and recognized by the State. This provision includes the right of public servants to pensions, compensation or gratuities.

These obligations shall be fulfilled through participation in the Joint Economic Board in respect of those obligations applicable to Palestine as a whole, and individually in respect of those applicable to, and fairly apportionable between, the States.

A Court of Claims, affiliated with the Joint Economic Board, and composed of one member appointed by the United Nations, one representative of the United Kingdom and one representative of the State concerned, should be established. Any dispute between the United Kingdom and the State respecting claims not recognized by the latter should be referred to that Court.

Commercial concessions granted in respect of any part of Palestine prior to the adoption of the resolution by the General Assembly shall continue to be valid according to their terms, unless modified by agreement between the concession-holders and the State.

#### Chapter 4: Miscellaneous Provisions

The provisions of chapters 1 and 2 of the declaration shall be under the guarantee of the United Nations, and no modifications shall be made in them without the assent of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Any Member of the United Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the General Assembly any infraction or danger of infraction of any of these stipulations, and the General Assembly may thereupon make such recommendations as it may deem proper in the circumstances.

Any dispute relating to the application or interpretation of this declaration shall be referred, at the request of either party, to the International Court of Justice, unless the parties agree to another mode of settlement.

#### D. ECONOMIC UNION AND TRANSIT

The Provisional Council of Government of each State shall enter into an undertaking with respect to Economic Union and Transit. This undertaking shall be drafted by the Commission provided for in section B, paragraph 1, utilizing to the greatest possible extent the advice and cooperation of representative organizations and bodies from each of the proposed States. It shall contain provisions

to establish the Economic Union of Palestine and provide for other matters of common interest. If by 1 April 1948 the Provisional Councils of Government have not entered into the undertaking, the undertaking shall be put into force by the Commission.

#### The Economic Union of Palestine

The objectives of the Economic Union of Palestine shall be:

A customs union;

A joint currency system providing for a single foreign exchange rate;

Operation in the common interest on a non-discriminatory basis of railways inter-State highways; postal, telephone and telegraphic services and ports and airports involved in international trade and commerce;

Joint economic development, especially in respect of irrigation, land reclamation and soil conservation;

Access for both States and for the City of Jerusalem on a non-discriminatory basis to water and power facilities.

There shall be established a Joint Economic Board, which shall consist of three representatives of each of the two States and three foreign members appointed by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. The foreign members shall be appointed in the first instance for a term of three years; they shall serve as individuals and not as representatives of States. The functions of the Joint Economic Board shall be to implement either directly or by delegation the measures necessary to realize the objectives of the Economic Union. It shall have all powers of organization and administration necessary to fulfil its functions.

The States shall bind themselves to put into effect the decisions of the Joint Economic Board. The Board's decisions shall be taken by a majority vote.

In the event of failure of a State to take the necessary action the Board may, by a vote of six members, decide to withhold an appropriate portion of the part of the customs revenue to which the State in question is entitled under the Economic Union. Should the State persist in its failure to cooperate, the Board may decide by a simple majority vote upon such further sanctions, including disposition of funds which it has withheld, as it may deem appropriate.

In relation to economic development, the functions of the Board shall be planning, investigation and encouragement of joint development projects, but it shall not undertake such projects except with the assent of both States and the City of Jerusalem, in the event that Jerusalem is directly involved in the development project.

In regard to the joint currency system, the currencies circulating in the two States and the City of Jerusalem shall be issued under the authority of the Joint Economic Board, which shall be the sole issuing authority and which shall determine the reserves to be held against such currencies.

So far as is consistent with paragraph 2(b) above, each State may operate its own central bank, control its own fiscal and credit policy, its foreign exchange receipts and expenditures, the grant of import licences, and may conduct international financial operations on its own faith and credit.

During the first two years after the termination of the Mandate, the Joint Economic Board shall have the authority to take such measures as may be necessary to ensure that - to the extent that the total foreign exchange revenues of the two States from the export of goods and services permit, and provided that each State takes appropriate measures to conserve its own foreign exchange resources - each State shall have available, in any twelve months' period, foreign exchange sufficient to assure the supply of quantities of imported goods and services for consumption in its territory equivalent to the quantities of such goods and services consumed in that territory in the twelve months' period ending 31 December 1947.

All economic authority not specifically vested in the Joint Economic Board is reserved to each State.

There shall be a common customs tariff with complete freedom of trade between the States, and between the States and the City of Jerusalem.

The tariff schedules shall be drawn up by a Tariff Commission, consisting of representatives of each of the States in equal numbers, and shall be submitted to the Joint Economic Board for approval by a majority vote. In case of disagreement in the Tariff Commission, the Joint Economic Board shall arbitrate the points of difference. In the event that the Tariff Commission fails to draw up any schedule by a date to be fixed, the Joint Economic Board shall determine the tariff schedule.

The following items shall be a first charge on the customs and other common revenue of the Joint Economic Board:

The expenses of the customs service and of the operation of the joint services;

The administrative expenses of the Joint Economic Board;

The financial obligations of the Administration of Palestine, consisting of:

The service of the outstanding public debt;

The cost of superannuation benefits, now being paid or falling due in the future, in accordance with the rules and to the extent established by paragraph 3 of chapter 3 above.

After these obligations have been met in full, the surplus revenue from the customs and other common services shall be divided in the following manner: not less than 5 per cent and not more than 10 per cent to the City of Jerusalem; the residue shall be allocated to each State by the Joint Economic Board equitably, with the objective of maintaining a sufficient and suitable level of government and social services in each State, except that the share of either State shall not exceed the amount of that State's contribution to the revenues of the Economic Union by more than approximately four million pounds in any year. The amount granted may be adjusted by the Board according to the price level in relation to the prices prevailing at the time of the establishment of the Union. After five years, the principles of the distribution of the joint revenue may be revised by the Joint Economic Board on a basis of equity.

All international conventions and treaties affecting customs tariff rates, and those communications services under the jurisdiction of the Joint Economic Board, shall be entered into by both States. In these matters, the two States shall be bound to act in accordance with the majority of the Joint Economic Board.

The Joint Economic Board shall endeavour to secure for Palestine's exports fair and equal access to world markets.

All enterprises operated by the Joint Economic Board shall pay fair wages on a uniform basis.

#### Freedom of Transit and Visit

The undertaking shall contain provisions preserving freedom of transit and visit for all residents or citizens of both States and of the City of Jerusalem, subject to security considerations; provided that each State and the City shall control residence within its borders.

#### Termination, Modification and Interpretation of the Undertaking

The undertaking and any treaty issuing therefrom shall remain in force for a period of ten years. It shall continue in force until notice of termination, to take effect two years thereafter, is given by either of the parties.

During the initial ten-year period, the undertaking and any treaty issuing therefrom may not be modified except by consent of both parties and with the approval of the General Assembly.

Any dispute relating to the application or the interpretation of the undertaking and any treaty issuing therefrom shall be referred, at the request of either party, to the International Court Of Justice, unless the parties agree to another mode of settlement.

#### E. ASSETS

The movable assets of the Administration of Palestine shall be allocated to the Arab and Jewish States and the City of Jerusalem on an equitable

basis. Allocations should be made by the United Nations Commission referred to in section B, paragraph 1, above. Immovable assets shall become the property of the government of the territory in which they are situated.

During the period between the appointment of the United Nations Commission and the termination of the Mandate, the mandatory Power shall, except in respect of ordinary operations, consult with the Commission on any measure which it may contemplate involving the liquidation, disposal or encumbering of the assets of the Palestine Government, such as the accumulated treasury surplus, the proceeds of Government bond issues, State lands or any other asset.

#### F. ADMISSION TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED NATIONS

When the independence of either the Arab or the Jewish State as envisaged in this plan has become effective and the declaration and undertaking, as envisaged in this plan, have been signed by either of them, sympathetic consideration should be given to its application for admission to membership in the United Nations in accordance with article 4 of the Charter of the United Nations.

#### Part II. - Boundaries

##### A. THE ARAB STATE

The area of the Arab State in Western Galilee is bounded on the west by the Mediterranean and on the north by the frontier of the Lebanon from Ras en Naqura to a point north of Saliha. From there the boundary proceeds southwards, leaving the built-up area of Saliha in the Arab State, to join the southernmost point of this village. There it follows the western boundary line of the villages of 'Alma, Rihaniya and Teitaba, thence following the northern boundary line of Meirun village to join the Acre-Safad Sub-District boundary line. It follows this line to a point west of Es Sammu'i village and joins it again at the northernmost point of Farradiya. Thence it follows the sub-district boundary line to the Acre-Safad main road. From here it follows the western boundary of Kafr-I'nan village until it reaches the Tiberias-Acre Sub-District boundary line, passing to the west of the junction of the Acre-Safad and Lubiya-Kafr-I'nan roads. From the south-west corner of Kafr-I'nan village the boundary line follows the western boundary of the Tiberias Sub-District to a point close to the boundary line between the villages of Maghar and 'Eilabun, thence bulging out to the west to include as much of the eastern part of the plain of Battuf as is necessary for the reservoir proposed by the Jewish Agency for the irrigation of lands to the south and east.

The boundary rejoins the Tiberias Sub-District boundary at a point on the Nazareth-Tiberias road south-east of the built-up area of Tur'an; thence it runs southwards, at first following the sub-district boundary and then passing between the Kadoorie Agricultural School and Mount Tabor, to a point due south at the base of Mount Tabor. From here it runs due west, parallel to the horizontal grid line 230, to the north-east corner of the village lands of Tel Adashim. It then runs to the northwest corner of these lands, whence it turns south and west so as to include in the Arab State the sources of the Nazareth water supply in Yafa village. On reaching Ginneiger it follows the eastern, northern and western boundaries of the lands of this village to their south-west corner, whence it proceeds in a straight line to a point on the Haifa-Afula railway on the boundary between

the villages of Sarid and El-Mujeidil. This is the point of intersection. The south-western boundary of the area of the Arab State in Galilee takes a line from this point, passing northwards along the eastern boundaries of Sarid and Gevat to the north-eastern corner of Nahalal, proceeding thence across the land of Kefar ha Horesh to a central point on the southern boundary of the village of 'Ilut, thence westwards along that village boundary to the eastern boundary of Beit Lahm, thence northwards and north-eastwards along its western boundary to the north-eastern corner of Waldheim and thence north-westwards across the village lands of Shafa 'Amr to the southeastern corner of Ramat Yohanan. From here it runs due north-north-east to a point on the Shafa 'Amr-Haifa road, west of its junction with the road of I'billin. From there it proceeds north-east to a point on the southern boundary of I'billin situated to the west of the I'billin-Birwa road. Thence along that boundary to its westernmost point, whence it turns to the north, follows across the village land of Tamra to the north-westernmost corner and along the western boundary of Julis until it reaches the Acre-Safad road. It then runs westwards along the southern side of the Safad-Acre road to the Galilee-Haifa District boundary, from which point it follows that boundary to the sea.

The boundary of the hill country of Samaria and Judea starts on the Jordan River at the Wadi Malih south-east of Beisan and runs due west to meet the Beisan-Jericho road and then follows the western side of that road in a north-westerly direction to the junction of the boundaries of the Sub-Districts of Beisan, Nablus, and Jenin. From that point it follows the Nablus-Jenin sub-District boundary westwards for a distance of about three kilometres and then turns north-westwards, passing to the east of the built-up areas of the villages of Jalbun and Faqqu'a, to the boundary of the Sub-Districts of Jenin and Beisan at a point northeast of Nuris. Thence it proceeds first northwestwards to a point due north of the built-up area of Zie'in and then westwards to the Afula-Jenin railway, thence north-westwards along the District boundary line to the point of intersection on the Hejaz railway. From here the boundary runs southwestwards, including the built-up area and some of the land of the village of Kh. Lid in the Arab State to cross the Haifa-Jenin road at a point on the district boundary between Haifa and Samaria west of El- Mansi. It follows this boundary to the southernmost point of the village of El-Buteimat. From here it follows the northern and eastern boundaries of the village of Ar'ara rejoining the Haifa-Samaria district boundary at Wadi 'Ara, and thence proceeding south-south-westwards in an approximately straight line joining up with the western boundary of Qaqun to a point east of the railway line on the eastern boundary of Qaqun village. From here it runs along the railway line some distance to the east of it to a point just east of the Tulkarm railway station. Thence the boundary follows a line half-way between the railway and the Tulkarm-Qalqiliya-Jaljuliya and Ras El-Ein road to a point just east of Ras El-Ein station, whence it proceeds along the railway some distance to the east of it to the point on the railway line south of the junction of the Haifa-Lyddda and Beit Nabala lines, whence it proceeds along the southern border of Lydda airport to its south-west corner, thence in a south-westerly direction to a point just west of the built-up area of Sarafand El 'Amar, whence it turns south, passing just to the west of the built-up area of Abu El-Fadil to the north-east corner of the lands of Beer Ya'aqov. (The boundary line should be so demarcated as to allow direct access from the Arab State to the airport.) Thence the boundary line follows the western and southern boundaries of Ramle village, to the north-east corner of El Na'ana village, thence in a straight line to the southernmost point of El

Barriya, along the eastern boundary of that village and the southern boundary of 'Innaba village. Thence it turns north to follow the southern side of the Jaffa-Jerusalem road until El-Qubab, whence it follows the road to the boundary of Abu-Shusha. It runs along the eastern boundaries of Abu Shusha, Seidun, Hulda to the southernmost point of Hulda, thence westwards in a straight line to the north-eastern corner of Umm Kalkha, thence following the northern boundaries of Umm Kalkha, Qazaza and the northern and western boundaries of Mukhezin to the Gaza District boundary and thence runs across the village lands of El-Mismiya El-Kabira, and Yasur to the southern point of intersection, which is midway between the built-up areas of Yasur and Batani Sharqi.

From the southern point of intersection the boundary lines run north-westwards between the villages of Gan Yavne and Barqa to the sea at a point half way between Nabi Yunis and Minat El-Qila, and south-eastwards to a point west of Qastina, whence it turns in a south-westerly direction, passing to the east of the built-up areas of Es Sawafir Esh Sharqiya and 'Ibdis. From the south-east corner of 'Ibdis village it runs to a point southwest of the built-up area of Beit 'Affa, crossing the Hebron-El-Majdal road just to the west of the built-up area of 'Iraq Suweidan. Thence it proceeds southward along the western village boundary of El-Faluja to the Beersheba Sub-District boundary. It then runs across the tribal lands of 'Arab El-Jubarat to a point on the boundary between the Sub-Districts of Beersheba and Hebron north of Kh. Khuweilifa, whence it proceeds in a south-westerly direction to a point on the Beersheba-Gaza main road two kilometres to the north-west of the town. It then turns south-eastwards to reach Wadi Sab' at a point situated one kilometer to the west of it. From here it turns north-eastwards and proceeds along Wadi Sab' and along the Beersheba-Hebron road for a distance of one kilometer, whence it turns eastwards and runs in a straight line to Kh. Kuseifa to join the Beersheba-Hebron Sub-District boundary. It then follows the Beersheba-Hebron boundary eastwards to a point north of Ras Ez-Zuweira, only departing from it so as to cut across the base of the indentation between vertical grid lines 150 and 160.

About five kilometres north-east of Ras Ez-Zuweira it turns north, excluding from the Arab State a strip along the coast of the Dead Sea not more than seven kilometres in depth, as far as 'Ein Geddi, whence it turns due east to join the Transjordan frontier in the Dead Sea.

The northern boundary of the Arab section of the coastal plain runs from a point between Minat El-Qila and Nabi Yunis, passing between the built-up areas of Gan Yavne and Barqa to the point of intersection. From here it turns south-westwards, running across the lands of Batani Sharqi, along the eastern boundary of the lands of Beit Daras and across the lands of Julis, leaving the built-up areas of Batani Sharqi and Julis to the westwards, as far as the north-west corner of the lands of Beit-Tima. Thence it runs east of El-Jiya across the village lands of El-Barbara along the eastern boundaries of the villages of Beit Jirja, Deir Suneid and Dimra. From the south-east corner of Dimra the boundary passes across the lands of Beit Hanun, leaving the Jewish lands of Nir-Am to the eastwards. From the south-east corner of Beit Hanun the line runs south-west to a point south of the parallel grid line 100, then turns north-west for two kilometres, turning again in a southwesterly direction and continuing in an almost straight line to the north-west corner of the village lands of Kirbet Ikhza'a. From there it follows the boundary line of this village to its southernmost point. It then runs in a southerly direction along the vertical grid line 90 to its junction with the horizontal grid line 70. It then turns south-eastwards

to Kh. El-Ruheiba and then proceeds in a southerly direction to a point known as El-Baha, beyond which it crosses the Beersheba-EI 'Auja main road to the west of Kh. El-Mushrifa. From there it joins Wadi El-Zaiyatin just to the west of El-Subeita. From there it turns to the north-east and then to the south-east following this Wadi and passes to the east of 'Abda to join Wadi Nafkh. It then bulges to the south-west along Wadi Nafkh, Wadi 'Ajrim and Wadi Lissan to the point where Wadi Lissan crosses the Egyptian frontier.

The area of the Arab enclave of Jaffa consists of that part of the town-planning area of Jaffa which lies to the west of the Jewish quarters lying south of Tel-Aviv, to the west of the continuation of Herzl street up to its junction with the Jaffa-Jerusalem road, to the south-west of the section of the Jaffa-Jerusalem road lying south-east of that junction, to the west of Miqve Yisrael lands, to the northwest of Holon local council area, to the north of the line linking up the north-west corner of Holon with the northeast corner of Bat Yam local council area and to the north of Bat Yam local council area. The question of Karton quarter will be decided by the Boundary Commission, bearing in mind among other considerations the desirability of including the smallest possible number of its Arab inhabitants and the largest possible number of its Jewish inhabitants in the Jewish State.

#### B. THE JEWISH STATE

The north-eastern sector of the Jewish State (Eastern Galilee) is bounded on the north and west by the Lebanese frontier and on the east by the frontiers of Syria and Trans-jordan. It includes the whole of the Huleh Basin, Lake Tiberias, the whole of the Beisan Sub-District, the boundary line being extended to the crest of the Gilboa mountains and the Wadi Malih. From there the Jewish State extends north-west, following the boundary described in respect of the Arab State. The Jewish section of the coastal plain extends from a point between Minat El-Qila and Nabi Yunis in the Gaza Sub-District and includes the towns of Haifa and Tel-Aviv, leaving Jaffa as an enclave of the Arab State. The eastern frontier of the Jewish State follows the boundary described in respect of the Arab State.

The Beersheba area comprises the whole of the Beersheba Sub-District, including the Negeb and the eastern part of the Gaza Sub-District, but excluding the town of Beersheba and those areas described in respect of the Arab State. It includes also a strip of land along the Dead Sea stretching from the Beersheba-Hebron Sub-District boundary line to 'Ein Geddi, as described in respect of the Arab State.

#### C. THE CITY OF JERUSALEM

The boundaries of the City of Jerusalem are as defined in the recommendations on the City of Jerusalem. (See Part III, section B, below).

##### Part III. - City of Jerusalem(5)

#### A. SPECIAL REGIME

The City of Jerusalem shall be established as a corpus separatum under a special international regime and shall be administered by the United Nations. The Trusteeship Council shall be designated to discharge the responsibilities of the Administering Authority on behalf of the United Nations.

#### B. BOUNDARIES OF THE CITY

The City of Jerusalem shall include the present municipality of Jerusalem plus the surrounding villages and towns, the most eastern of which shall be Abu Dis; the most southern, Bethlehem; the most western, 'Ein Karim (including also the built-up area of

Motsa); and the most northern Shu'fat, as indicated on the attached sketch-map (annex B).

### C. STATUTE OF THE CITY

The Trusteeship Council shall, within five months of the approval of the present plan, elaborate and approve a detailed statute of the City which shall contain, inter alia, the substance of the following provisions:

Government machinery; special objectives. The Administering Authority in discharging its administrative obligations shall pursue the following special objectives:

To protect and to preserve the unique spiritual and religious interests located in the city of the three great monotheistic faiths throughout the world, Christian, Jewish and Moslem; to this end to ensure that order and peace, and especially religious peace, reign in Jerusalem;

To foster cooperation among all the inhabitants of the city in their own interests as well as in order to encourage and support the peaceful development of the mutual relations between the two Palestinian peoples throughout the Holy Land; to promote the security, well-being and any constructive measures of development of the residents having regard to the special circumstances and customs of the various peoples and communities.

Governor and Administrative staff. A Governor of the City of Jerusalem shall be appointed by the Trusteeship Council and shall be responsible to it. He shall be selected on the basis of special qualifications and without regard to nationality. He shall not, however, be a citizen of either State in Palestine.

The Governor shall represent the United Nations in the City and shall exercise on their behalf all powers of administration, including the conduct of external affairs. He shall be assisted by an administrative staff classed as international officers in the meaning of Article 100 of the Charter and chosen whenever practicable from the residents of the city and of the rest of Palestine on a non-discriminatory basis. A detailed plan for the organization of the administration of the city shall be submitted by the Governor to the Trusteeship Council and duly approved by it.

### 3. Local autonomy

The existing local autonomous units in the territory of the city (villages, townships and municipalities) shall enjoy wide powers of local government and administration.

The Governor shall study and submit for the consideration and decision of the Trusteeship Council a plan for the establishment of special town units consisting, respectively, of the Jewish and Arab sections of new Jerusalem. The new town units shall continue to form part the present municipality of Jerusalem.

### Security measures

The City of Jerusalem shall be demilitarized; neutrality shall be declared and preserved, and no para-military formations, exercises or activities shall be permitted within its borders.

Should the administration of the City of Jerusalem be seriously obstructed or prevented by the non-cooperation or interference of one or more sections of the population the Governor shall have authority to take such measures as may be necessary to restore the effective functioning of administration.

To assist in the maintenance of internal law and order, especially for the protection of the Holy Places and religious buildings and sites in the city, the Governor shall organize a special police force of adequate strength, the members of which shall be recruited outside of Palestine. The Governor shall be empowered to direct such budgetary provision as may be necessary for the maintenance of this force.

#### Legislative Organization.

A Legislative Council, elected by adult residents of the city irrespective of nationality on the basis of universal and secret suffrage and proportional representation, shall have powers of legislation and taxation. No legislative measures shall, however, conflict or interfere with the provisions which will be set forth in the Statute of the City, nor shall any law, regulation, or official action prevail over them. The Statute shall grant to the Governor a right of vetoing bills inconsistent with the provisions referred to in the preceding sentence. It shall also empower him to promulgate temporary ordinances in case the Council fails to adopt in time a bill deemed essential to the normal functioning of the administration.

#### Administration of Justice.

The Statute shall provide for the establishment of an independent judiciary system, including a court of appeal. All the inhabitants of the city shall be subject to it.

#### Economic Union and Economic Regime.

The City of Jerusalem shall be included in the Economic Union of Palestine and be bound by all stipulations of the undertaking and of any treaties issued therefrom, as well as by the decisions of the Joint Economic Board. The headquarters of the Economic Board shall be established in the territory City. The Statute shall provide for the regulation of economic matters not falling within the regime of the Economic Union, on the basis of equal treatment and non-discrimination for all members of the United Nations and their nationals.

#### Freedom of Transit and Visit: Control of residents.

Subject to considerations of security, and of economic welfare as determined by the Governor under the directions of the Trusteeship Council, freedom of entry into, and residence within the borders of the City shall be guaranteed for the residents or citizens of the Arab and Jewish States. Immigration into, and residence within, the borders of the city for nationals of other States shall be controlled by the Governor under the directions of the Trusteeship Council.

Relations with Arab and Jewish States. Representatives of the Arab and Jewish States shall be accredited to the Governor of the City and charged with the protection of the

interests of their States and nationals in connection with the international administration of the City.

Official languages.

Arabic and Hebrew shall be the official languages of the city. This will not preclude the adoption of one or more additional working languages, as may be required.

Citizenship.

All the residents shall become ipso facto citizens of the City of Jerusalem unless they opt for citizenship of the State of which they have been citizens or, if Arabs or Jews, have filed notice of intention to become citizens of the Arab or Jewish State respectively, according to Part 1, section B, paragraph 9, of this Plan.

The Trusteeship Council shall make arrangements for consular protection of the citizens of the City outside its territory.

Freedoms of citizens

Subject only to the requirements of public order and morals, the inhabitants of the City shall be ensured the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of conscience, religion and worship, language, education, speech and press, assembly and association, and petition.

No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants on the grounds of race, religion, language or sex.

All persons within the City shall be entitled to equal protection of the laws.

The family law and personal status of the various persons and communities and their religious interests, including endowments, shall be respected.

Except as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government, no measure shall be taken to obstruct or interfere with the enterprise of religious or charitable bodies of all faiths or to discriminate against any representative or member of these bodies on the ground of his religion or nationality.

The City shall ensure adequate primary and secondary education for the Arab and Jewish communities respectively, in their own languages and in accordance with their cultural traditions.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the City may impose, shall not be denied or impaired. Foreign educational establishments shall continue their activity on the basis of their existing rights.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any inhabitant of the City of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the Press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

## Holy Places

Existing rights in respect of Holy Places and religious buildings or sites shall not be denied or impaired.

Free access to the Holy Places and religious buildings or sites and the free exercise of worship shall be secured in conformity with existing rights and subject to the requirements of public order and decorum.

Holy Places and religious buildings or sites shall be preserved. No act shall be permitted which may in any way impair their sacred character. If at any time it appears to the Governor that any particular Holy Place, religious building or site is in need of urgent repair, the Governor may call upon the community or communities concerned to carry out such repair. The Governor may carry it out himself at the expense of the community or communities concerned if no action is taken within a reasonable time.

No taxation shall be levied in respect of any Holy Place, religious building or site which was exempt from taxation on the date of the creation of the City. No change in the incidence of such taxation shall be made which would either discriminate between the owners or occupiers of Holy Places, religious buildings or sites or would place such owners or occupiers in a position less favourable in relation to the general incidence of taxation than existed at the time of the adoption of the Assembly's recommendations.

Special powers of the Governor in respect of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites in the City and in any part of Palestine.

The protection of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites located in the City of Jerusalem shall be a special concern of the Governor.

With relation to such places, buildings and sites in Palestine outside the city, the Governor shall determine, on the ground of powers granted to him by the Constitution of both States, whether the provisions of the Constitution of the Arab and Jewish States in Palestine dealing therewith and the religious rights appertaining thereto are being properly applied and respected.

The Governor shall also be empowered to make decisions on the basis of existing rights in cases of disputes which may arise between the different religious communities or the rites of a religious community in respect of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites in any part of Palestine. In this task he may be assisted by a consultative council of representatives of different denominations acting in an advisory capacity.

#### D. DURATION OF THE SPECIAL REGIME

The Statute elaborated by the Trusteeship Council the aforementioned principles shall come into force not later than 1 October 1948. It shall remain in force in the first instance for a period of ten years, unless the Trusteeship Council finds it necessary to undertake a re-examination of these provisions at an earlier date. After the expiration of this period the whole scheme shall be subject to examination by the Trusteeship Council in the light of experience acquired with its functioning. The residents the City shall be then free to express by means of a referendum their wishes as to possible modifications of regime of the City.

#### Part IV. Capitulations

States whose nationals have in the past enjoyed in Palestine the privileges and immunities of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection, as formerly enjoyed by capitulation or usage in the Ottoman Empire, are invited to renounce any right pertaining to them to the re-establishment of such privileges and immunities in the proposed Arab and Jewish States and the City of Jerusalem.

Adopted at the 128th plenary meeting:

In favour: 33

Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Byelorussian S.S.R., Canada, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, France, Guatemala, Haiti, Iceland, Liberia, Luxemburg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Sweden, Ukrainian S.S.R., Union of South Africa, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Uruguay, Venezuela.

Against: 13

Afghanistan, Cuba, Egypt, Greece, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Yemen.

Abstained: 10

Argentina, Chile, China, Colombia, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Honduras, Mexico, United Kingdom, Yugoslavia.

#### Notes:

(1) See Official Records of the General Assembly, Second Session Supplement No. 11, Volumes I-IV.

\* At its hundred and twenty-eighth plenary meeting on 29 November 1947 the General Assembly, in accordance with the terms of the above resolution, elected the following members of the United Nations Commission on Palestine: Bolivia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Panama, and Philippines.

(2) This resolution was adopted without reference to a Committee.

(3) The following stipulation shall be added to the declaration concerning the Jewish State: "In the Jewish State adequate facilities shall be given to Arabic-speaking citizens for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, in the legislature, before the Courts and in the administration."

(4) In the declaration concerning the Arab State, the words "by an Arab in the Jewish State" should be replaced by the words "by a Jew in the Arab State."

(5) On the question of the internationalization of Jerusalem, see also General Assembly resolutions 185 (S-2) of 26 April 1948; 187 (S-2) of 6 May 1948, 303 (IV) of 9 December 1949, and resolutions of the Trusteeship Council (Section IV).

