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**THE CRISIS OF PALESTINE IN THE YEARS OF 1947-1948
AND THE POSITION OF JORDAN**

Speciality 07.00.03 - world history

A b s t r a c t

**of the Dissertation Presented for Obtaining the Academic Degree
Of the Candidate of Historical Sciences**

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The Dissertation is available at the Library of Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University.

The Abstract was distributed

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General Description of the Work

The Subject of the Research: The subject of the research of Dissertation work is study of one of the most important problems of the Near East, the first crisis of Palestine, the Arabia-Israel war of 1948-1949 and the position of the Hashimian Kingdom of Jordan in it. In this war the Arabian countries and particularly Jordan were driven by their private interests. Jordan tried to appropriate the greater part of the territory destined for the Arabian states by the Organisation of the United Nations after the division of Palestine on the Arabian and Hebrew parts. Toward this end Abdallah the King of Jordan carried on the secret negotiations with the State of Israel. This caused the negative reaction of the Arabian countries. The policy of the Kingdom of Jordan initiated the peace process but was not able to stop the conflict.

Work Actuality: Work Actuality is determined by the close connection of the studied issue with international political events, as the Near East appeared in the centre of the international politics from the beginning of the XX century and is urgent till today.

The Goal of the Research: The Goal of the Research constitutes in clarification of the role accomplished by the Hashimian Kingdom of Jordan during the First Crisis of Palestine, its relations with the State of Israel.

Scientific Novelty of the Work: This is the first attempt in Georgian historiography to study the position and the role of the Hashimian Kingdom of Jordan during the First Crisis of Palestine. This issue is elucidated from the different point of view on the basis of the latest special literature and document sources.

Chronological Frame of the Work: The studied issue covers the years 1947-1949, the mandated regime of Palestine and the Emirate of Transjordan, and the period the First War of Palestine of the years 1948-1949, i.e. the period of the First Crisis of Palestine. In the Chapter One there is information about the situation in Palestine before the conflict.

Practical Value of the Work: The Work would contribute in the study of the Near East, and particularly in that of the latest history of Palestine and Jordan. The monograph may be used for preparing special courses in the history of the Arabian countries and Israel.

Approbation of the Work: The Dissertation was carried out at the Department of Eastern History of Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. The final consideration of the work took place at the Session of the staff members of the mentioned Department (April 14, 2006; Record of Proceedings No 10). Part of the Work has been presented at scientific conferences of students and aspirants, several chapters have been published as articles in scientific magazines and collections.

Historiographic and Source Basis of the Work: The Dissertation Work begins with the review of sources and literature. While working we mainly relied on the documents of the UN and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, the memoirs and scientific literature of different countries, also periodic press. The study of all this gave us possibility of newly interpreting of the issue of our study. We collected these materials in the libraries of Georgia and Moscow. In the Work we have many times cited the Georgian and foreign researchers: A. Menteshashvili, Z. Menteshashvili, S. Tsintsadze, A. Tsitsiashvili, R. Gachechiladze, K. Zhgenti, T. Japaridze, N. Lomouri, E. Primakov, N. Kotlov, B. Kiselyev, P. Demchenko, A. Lebedev, P. Calvocores, P. Vatikiotis, Aluba Muhammed Ali, Sharli Nadarlin.

Structure of the Dissertation Work: The Work consists of Introduction, review of the sources and literature, five chapters, sections, conclusion and references. The Work is accompanied with maps and documents of the UN.

THE CONTENTS OF THE DISSERTATION WORK

In the introduction there is substantiated the actuality of the subject, are determined the goal and the objectives of the research, are reviewed the sources, documents, memoirs, the periodic press, historiography, and the practical importance of the work.

Chapter I **THE MANDATED REGIME IN PALESTINE AND THE HASHIMIAN** **EMIRATE OF TRANSJORDAN**

The Palestinian issue became the most complicated problem of the international relations and the European diplomacy at the same moment as it emerged. Palestine attracted the Western States as a convenient strategic base.

The term 'Near-Eastern conflict' or the 'Palestinian crisis' implies mainly the conflict between Arabia and Israel. Both terms are of equal meaning. No one of them can completely reflect the character of the conflict: The first of them has only the geographical meaning, and the

other is limited by the Arabo-Israelian conflict, that is probably of vital importance. And there is Palestine in the middle of both... Just Palestine is called the 'very heart of the Arabo-Israelian conflict'.

The contradiction of the Arabians and the Jews in Palestine arose at the end of the XIX and the beginning of the XX century, and they connect it with Zionist movement and the well-known "Balfour Declaration" (1917). Perhaps it will be reasonable to examine the first Palestinian crisis on the background of the colonial policy of Great Britain and the mandated regime in the region.

England received the mandate on Palestine in 1920 on the San Remo International conference, although, because of the position of the United States, the League of Nations officially ratified this decision on July 24, 1922.

According to the mandate, the Palestine included the territories on the West and East hand of the River Jordan. In the September 1922 England by consent of the League of the Nations detached an autonomous unit - the Emirate of Transjordan, and its head became Abd-Allah, - the son of Hussein - the Sharif of Mecca. On April 25, 1923 in Amman Sir Herbert Samuel, - the High Commissioner of Palestine solemnly declared the independence of the Transjordanian Emirate.

Transjordanian Emirate of the Hashimians was created of 23 thousand inhabitants, - most of them the nomad Bedouins. The only battle-worthy military unit was the "Arabian Legion", with the English General John Glubb at the head. The "Arabian Legion" became the main arm of England during the Palestinian crisis.

From the very moment of the declaration of Abd Allah the emir of Transjordan, he was obsessed by the idea of the creation of the Empire of the Hashimians in the Near East. He had several attempts to negotiate with England about the unification of Syria, Iraq, Transjordan, part of the Arabian Peninsula and Palestine in one state under the rule of the Hashimian dynasty. This plan, called afterwards "The Project of Great Syria", was not seriously accepted neither by England, nor by the Arabian countries.

Chapter II

THE ISSUE OF JORDAN AND PALESTINE AFTER THE MANDATED REGIME

The mandated regime of England met the resistance of the population of all Palestine, that made the Government act according to the principle "Divide and rule". The opposition of the Arabians and Jews pursued this policy.

Another reason of the displeasure of the Arabians was the growth of the Jewish population in Palestine. In the memorandum, presented by Lord Balfour to the League of the Nations was noted that the declaration about the creation of the national hearth of the Jews should not apply to the Transjordan. This caused the anxiety of Zionists, who supposed that the separation of the Transjordan would cause the diminution of the "National hearth".

The intrusion of the Jewish capital into the Palestine hurt the interests of the Palestinian Arabs, deprived them of the land, jobs and plunged into poverty. England did not prevent discords and discrepancies between the two people. The colonial policy caused the anti-Britain rebellions in Palestine in 1920, 1933, 1936-39. Al-Kasem was the first who took up arms against England to save Palestine, the Sheikh Al-Kasem begun his struggle in 1920. His rebellion initiated the disobedience of the Arabs.

On March 22, 1946 in London was signed a treaty about friendship and co-operation between England and Transjordan for 25 years. The mandate of the League of the Nations was declared invalid and Transjordan - an independent kingdom, though the army of England, councillors and experts still remained there. According to the decision of May 25, 1946 of the Legislative Council, Transjordan Emirate was named the 'Hashimian Kingdom of Jordan'. The new international status did not entail internal political changes and changes of state order. Here old mandate laws were effective again. The new constitution came into effect on February 1, 1947. Though the rights of the legislative bodies were nominally increased by this constitution,

Parliament could not control the finances and the central apparatus as before. The king had almost unlimited rights - his word was deciding in the issue of concessions, he could dissolve the Parliament, had the right of veto.

On November 29, 1947 the General Assembly of the UN adopted a resolution 181 (II) about the division of Palestine and creation of two - Hebrew and Arabian states on the mandated territory of England. On May 14, 1948 Israel was declared a state. The Arabs were not able to take advantage of this opportunity. They appealed against the creation of the State of Israel. In the region, which was already disquiet, grew the tension and the world faced one more unsolved problem.

Chapter III

THE HASHIMIAN KINGDOM OF JORDAN AND THE POLICY OF BRITAIN DURING THE FIRST PALESTINIAN WAR

At night of May 14, 1948, in few hours after the declaration of the State of Israel began the armed conflicts that grew into open war. The League of the Arabian States declared the mobilisation of volunteers to send in Palestine for providing assistance to them. The Arabs undertook direct responsibility for the beginning of the war.

Abd Allah the First, the king of Jordan declared the following: "Our attempt to solve the Palestinian problem peacefully failed, only the way of war remained to us". From Al-Azhar - the Theological University of Cairo they appealed the Moslems all over the world to levy the "sacred war" (Jihad) against the Jews.

Haji Amin Al-Hussein - the "Great mufti" of Palestine, to whom they attribute the main role in the Palestinian tragedy, also was against entering of the Arabian army into Palestine. Amin Al-Hussein well acknowledged that the Arabian armies wanted to occupy the country, but he had no will to divide his power with anybody. At last he agreed the armies of Jordan and Iraq to enter into Palestine, but the aim of mufti was to create his own army able to annihilate the Jews without help from outside.

The motto of "Moslem brothers" - "The Islam world - is Palestine and Palestine is Moslem world", and this propaganda enlivened other Arabian countries.

In October 1947, when the question was considered on the II Session of the Organisation of the United Nations, the "Moslem brothers" sent a letter to the General Secretary of the UN and the Secretary of State of the USA. There they officially fixed their position about this question: "Satisfaction of Zionist aspirations and creation of a Jewish state in Palestine will turn all the East into a conflict zone, and the responsible for this will be those who are the partisans of the Zionist injustice against the Arabs. Our faith obliges us to resist against this aggression with all the resources we own".

Soon individual armed groups illegally crossed the frontiers between Egypt and Palestine and found themselves in the rear of the Jewish population. Egypt first rejected this plan, though afterwards, when it officially begun to pursue war course, supported the Mujahed operation and let them to have military training in special camps. At the same time in Egypt and other Arabian countries was going on the mobilisation of volunteers by the "official" call-up of the Arabian League. "The Union of Young Moslems" of Lebanon, "The Front of African Mujaheds", created in Algeria by Mohammed Said Al-Jazayer, - the grandson of well-known Abd Al-Qadir, and "The followers of Truth" - the Egyptian Sufi fraternity announced their readiness for the war. The Hashimian Kingdom of Jordan, as well as the rest Arabian States, openly was the adversary of Israel from the very day of its appearance on the Near East stage, but really Jordan and Israel had long history of co-operation before the creation of the State of Israel and declaration of the independence of Jordan. The leaders of the two countries tried to co-ordinate the policy of their countries in order to lessen appearance of the conflict zones in the politically unstable region within the limits of the possible.

According to the Resolution 181 (II) of the UN the armies of the countries - members of the League of the Arabian states - Jordan, Iraq, Egypt, Syria and Lebanon entered the territory destined for Palestine. The League announced by the cable and reminded the General Assembly of the UN of bringing in of the armies into Palestine. In the telegram there was underlined the principal position of the Arabian States in connection with the Palestinian question, also brought up earlier on the Session of the General Assembly of the UN. In the telegram was told: "The Arabian States declare: A) In Palestine the right of forming a government belongs to its population in accordance with the principles of self-determination under the regulations of the League of Nations and the Organisation of the UN. B) In Palestine, as the result of aggression of the Hebrew party, the order is completely disturbed, about a quarter million Arabs were forced to leave their own home and emigrate to the neighbouring Arabian countries, because of the events in Palestine, the aggression of the Zionists and stirring up of imperialists. C) The mentioned troubles in Palestine seriously threaten the peace and security of the Arabian countries. For this reason and also because the safety of Palestine is their holy obligation, the Arabian States consider that they are forced to be engaged in this war with the only purpose - to establish order and restore the peace in Palestine. At the very moment this result will be achieved, the interference of the Arabian States will cease and the Sovereign State of Palestine will be empowered to co-operate with other Arabian states and to take any steps for the well-being and security of its people and territory".

The Saudi Arabia and Yemen also declared war to Israel. The aim of the Arabian States was to stop the expansion of Israel and realise the Resolution 181 (II) of the UN. The Palestinian war was caused by the aggravation of the Arabian-Jewish opposition. In fact, it was the continuation of that "undeclared war". The Arabian countries had in mind to form such a indivisible civil administration under the control of the Arabian League that would not be a subject to any Arabian state. Many Palestinians relied just on the neighbouring Arabian countries. The Palestinians were struggling in big partisan troops made from fellahs. They formed the "Salvation Army", made from several thousand unwell-armed militaries and population of other Arabian countries. Abd Allah, - the King of Jordan was declared the commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the League of the Arabian States, that entered Palestine. Jordan was the only Arabian State, having well trained and armed professional army - "Arabian Legion" with John Glubb - English general at the head. Most of all The Jews were afraid the Arabian Legion.

The relations between particular Arabian States and Jordan aggravated at the very beginning of the war. The contradictions arose because of the territory of Palestine that was destined for the Arabian State and Palestine claimed to.

England actively supported the King Abd-Allah. As far back as before the Palestinian war the ruling circles of Jordan and the Government of the Great Britain agreed to pursue the joined political course in Palestine. According to the declarations of several Israeli figures, the war in Palestine was unleashed not by Jews and Arabians, but by foreign countries. Abd Allah and England standing behind it were trying to use the Arabian-Israeli war for their own purpose - to form the Great Syria. This plan was made in March in London during the consideration of the agreement between England and Jordan.

English officers still remained in the Arabian Legion conducting openly treasonable policy towards the allied Arabian armies. When the Israeli army was realising its attack operations, the English officers intentionally stopped activity of the Legion and by this weakened the Arabian forces.

On October 1, 1948 in Amman Sheikh Suleiman At-Taji Al-Faruk, - the supporter of Abd-Allah organised a meeting of the Palestinian refugees, asking the King Abd-Allah to become the "protector" of Palestine.

The manoeuvres begun by England for restoring its influence in Palestine caused displeasure of Americans. American militaries were actively fighting in the Israeli army. For the states standing behind Israel and Jordan the Palestinian war turned into the war for the new

repartition of the country. The United States of America entered the region as a new predominant force.

At the end of 1948 the Arabian Legion occupied the central part of Palestine, with the cities of Jerusalem, Ramalah, Jericho. The Arabian Legion occupied Nablus, Jenin and Tulkarm. By occupying the central Palestine Abd Allah considered his main purpose achieved.

In 1948 the UN adopted several resolutions demanding to end the hostilities, but without results.

At last, after urgent request of the UN, on June 11, 1948 the belligerents achieved temporary agreement about cease-fire. During the four months after the temporary armistice in the UN and on the international stage the western states, and first of all, the United States were occupied with active backstage diplomacy, with the aim to avoid the defeat of Israel. The Jews took the opportunity of the agreement of temporary cease-fire and reorganised their army. "Hagana" became the defence forces of Israel.

On June 28, 1948 the intermediary of UN Earl Bernadotte developed a plan of forming of an Arabian State on the base of Jordan, and throughout the whole territory of Palestine The jurisdiction of Israel should be applied. The Arabs who lived in Palestine would have only the right of autonomous governance. This, of course, made the Arabians more displeased and the Palestinian conflict more critical. On July 15, 1948 The Security Council of the UN adopted the Resolution No 54 in which there was stated that Israel agreed to continue the armistice but it was rejected by the Arabian countries. At the same time the Security Council appealed again the governments of the belligerents to stop hostilities.

In spite of common efforts of the UN and Earl Bernadotte the hostilities persisted. Till the next cease-fire on July 18 the Israeli army occupied almost all the North Palestine.

86.500 persons were involved in the war from both parts. Against the Israeli army of 65.000 the Arabians were able to have the army of 21.500 - from which 10.000 were from Egypt, 4.500 - from Jordan, 3.000 - from Syria, 3.000 - from Iraq and 1.000 from Lebanon.

Unlike Arabians the Israeli army was well trained and armed with up-to-date weapons, artillery, tanks and warplanes. The Arabians were not ready for war. The Israeli army constantly reinforced with the military emigrants from western countries, who were specialists of experience, used the modern arms and financial assistance of the world Hebrew community and moral and political support of society. All these factors conditioned the victory of Israel.

The troops of Israel were fighting boldly in the war against the Arabians. They had a very strong motivation: the question of the existence of their State should be solved. The military operations of the Arabian countries were badly co-ordinated and less effective.

The measures of the King Abd-Allah, the machinations existing around future Palestine and the so-called "Plan of Bernadotte" intensified political activity not only in the Arabian world but also in the ruling circles of the USA and England. Abd-Allah's suggestion - to undertake the real leadership of the Arabian armies was not accepted by other Arabian countries. They were afraid that the ruling circles of Jordan and their English protectors would use the Arabian armed forces.

During the first negotiations the contradiction arose this time specifically in relation with the Palestinian problem. In response to Bernadotte on July 9, 1948 the Committee of the League of the Arabian States made decision on establishment of the administrative council of Palestine on the basis of the Supreme Arabian Committee.

The publication of the Bernadotte's recommendations on September 18, 1948 only accelerated the inevitable crash. In the middle of September the question of the formation of independent government of Palestine was widely discussed in the press and political circles of the Arabian Countries. Nobody was making secret of the fact that this was in contradiction with the project of refashioning of Palestine and Abd-Allah's plans. On September 22, just four days after the publication of the Bernadotte's recommendations, the League of the Arabian States formally declared about the formation of the common Palestinian government with the Hilmi Pasha - an Arabian entrepreneur at head.

The Arabians still could remember the meeting of Truman and the Arabian Leaders at the end of 1945 about the Palestinian question. "I am sorry, Gentlemen, but I have obligation to hundred thousands of people, to be interested in the success of Zionism, among my electors there are not hundreds of thousands of Arabs". In 1948 before the elections Truman declared that he would not force the Government of Israel to cede any part of the occupied territories.

The Period of war of July 9-18, 1948 is famous as the "Ten Day's War". The Army of Defence of Israel had important progress. Because of this the Arabians rapidly accepted cease-fire which had to begin on July 17 in Jerusalem, and on July 18 throughout the whole country. During the "Ten Day's War" the army of Israel accomplished operation "Dani" after which Lid, Ramla and neighbouring villages passed to it. Tel-Aviv was no more threatened... At the northern front on July 16 the Hebrews took Nazareth and cleared all Galilee... The frightened Arabian population of Lid and Ramla began to run away. Faced to the physical annihilation many Palestinians were forced to leave their native places and look for refuge in the neighbouring Arabian countries, and mainly in Jordan. This was the way of arising of the "Palestinian problem". These events accelerated the second cease-fire. On July 18, 1948 came into effect the agreement about cease-fire achieved by the initiative of David Ben-Gourion. Israel again profited from this time for mobilisation and remaning the material resources... 100.000 persons were mobilised. The arms were brought in from abroad.

At the same time Bernadotte travelled throughout the country for finding the partisans of his peaceful initiative. He still was trying to realise his plan according to which Negeve separated from Egypt (against the agreements of UN) - should pass to Arabians, but on September 17 Earl F. Bernadotte was killed by the members of a Hebrew organisation "Leum".

The hostilities recommenced in October 1948. On October 14 Israel undertook an armed attack against the town of Bersheba, situated on the Palestinian territory and destined for Arabian countries. In this connection the Security Council adopted a resolution which demanded the parties to keep the positions they had at the beginning of the war.

The changes that occurred during the war condition seriously influenced both the further events and the politics of Jordan. On October 23 was convoked the secret assembly of the governments of the Arabian countries... The League of the Arabian States was ready to cede to Abdallah to decide the fate of Palestine after the war, without excepting its joining up with another Arabian State... But, despite of this, The Arabian Legion did not render its assistance to the Egyptian troops dislocated in Negeve.

The Resolutions No 61 and No 62 of the UN flatly demanded that the army of Israel stopped its military operations. This became the normative base of the temporary armistice between the Arabian countries and Israel and in these norms were presented the specific details of the future agreement.

The defeat of Egypt and the changes occurred during the war of Palestine affected also the plans of Abdallah. His partisans in Jordan and Palestine decided to unify the two countries. On October 15, 1948 the Copt bishop of Jerusalem declared Abdallah the King of Palestine.

On December 1, 1948 the UN adopted the Resolution No 194 (III). This was one of the basic decisions of the UN about the whole Near East conflict, which demanded the fair solution of the Palestinian question.

On January 7, 1949 after the urgent request of the Organisation of the United Nations the hostilities between Israel and the Arabian countries were ceased. This war began for annihilating Israel, and it finished by the victory of Israel. Israel arrived not only to appropriate the territory destined for Palestine, but also became seriously dangerous for the neighbouring Arabian countries. The courageously struggling Arabians lost because of the absence of unity of purpose and historical circumstances. Abdallah - the King of Jordan was one of the initiator of the war with Israel, but as soon as his army occupied a part of Palestine, he begun making backstage deals with Israel, and soon quitted the war. It turned out that the bargains about division of Palestine between Israel and Abdallah were taking course even before the war.

The King of Jordan was the first one whose aspiration was to come to agreement with Israel. "We don't need America and Europe. We are the children of the East and we must show the world a miracle - we must commence negotiations and come to agreement in everything", used to say Abdallah.

A young Hebrew Eliahu Sasson asked the King Abdallah why was he trying to have a peace with Israel. "This is in the interests of my people, - answered the King; if we don't make a peace, there will be one more war, then one more war, then one more - and we'll loose". In this Abdallah was right. It should be noted that the army of Israel almost made no resistance to the army of Jordan when it passed the frontier of Jordan and Palestine.

In the war Israel lost 4.000 militaries and 2 thousand civilians (1% of all population). The military operations were at the cost of 500 million dollars, but the State of Israel was created with labour, heroism and selflessness of people. The Hebrew people did not receive the State of Israel on the "silver tray". Israel declared openly that it not only should not allow the formation of the Arabian State of Palestine, but also would not refuse to enter the West Bank of the River Jordan and Gaza.

On January 29, 1949 the Government of England recognised the State of Israel, two days later the Government of America, from its part, recognised Jordan.

The first Arabian-Israeli war, known as the War of Palestine, lasted till March 23, 1949. Among the Arabians most successful were the troops of Jordan, they occupied the Eastern Jerusalem (with old town), historical Samaria and the "West Bank". As a result of this war Israel added to its "living area" 6,7 thousand square km-s, with 350 thousands of hectares of fertile grounds among them. According to the data of those times, the Arabians of Palestine suffered a loss of 2,5 milliards of dollars.

...The Arabian States begun to control the part of Palestine not occupied by the Israel. The Western Bank of the River Jordan with the East part of Jerusalem - 6 thousand square km - passed into the possession of Jordan, and the Gaza Sector - into the possession of Egypt. Israel occupied almost half of the territory destined to Arabian country (the Southern Riverside nearly as far as Gaza, from the North - till the frontiers of Lebanon, and also the Upper Galilee). After the war of 1948-1949 78% of the "Mandated territory of Palestine" remained in the possession of the State of Israel, and the Arabian State of Palestine was sacrificed to the war of Arabians and Israel. The Arabian State was not formed. The UN, making no efforts for realising its own resolutions about division of Palestine, contented itself with several formal regulations.

This war, as well, as the following ones, began for annihilating Israel, and finished with the defeat of the Arabian armies, though, no one of the parties were able to achieve the definitive victory. Evidently, the question is not only in the armed victory, there is something else - political, military, economic, moral and other factors which are necessary for the victory of one part over another.

As is known, the Soviet Union was the first who recognised the formation of the State of Israel. When during one session of the Political Bureau unanimously was approved the formation of the Hebrew State, J. Stalin walked to and fro in his office for a long time without saying a word, and after said: "There will never be peace any more".

Chapter IV

THE QUESTION OF JERUSALEM AND PARTICIPATION OF JORDAN IN THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT (THE PEACE TREATIES)

As a result of the efforts of the Organisation of the United Nations, in February 1949 on the Greek Island of Rhodes began the negotiations between Israel and the Arabian States. This was also a merit of F. Bernadotte, - a Swedish diplomat - the first mediator of the Assembly of the UN in Palestine, appointed by the Resolution 186 (SH-2) of May 14, 1948 of the General Assembly of the UN, who considered that Jerusalem should be taken under the UN's control. But

in September 1948, after the death of Bernadotte, an American Ralf Bunch was appointed acting mediator of the UN. He took part in the signing of the so-called 'General Agreement' between Israel and the neighbouring Arabian States. With the assistance of representatives of USA, Turkey and France was formed the Commission of reconciliation. Because of this its activities noticeably were influenced by the policy of Western countries, hampering the realisation of Resolution of the General Assembly of the UN about division of Palestine. The General Assembly more than once noted the incapacity of this commission in the accomplishment of the Resolution 194 (III) of the General Assembly of the UN and the achievement of the progress. This Resolution was adopted by the General Assembly in December 1948, and it confirmed the fundamental importance of the internationalisation of Jerusalem, and also stipulated for the long-term negotiations between Israel and the Arabian countries, but Israel did not recognise it and refused to accept it. If the Arabian countries disregarded Israel, Israel tried to disregard the Resolution of the UN, in order to get under its jurisdiction the part of Palestine that was occupied. As early as in September 1948 in the "New Jerusalem" was formed the Supreme Court of Israel, and in February 1949 the President swore an oath at the session of the Kneseth.

The questions of critical significance were solved not during the official meetings on the Island of Rhodes. It happened as early as at the end of 1948 in the city of Ash-Shun during the face to face negotiations between Abdallah the King of Jordan and the representatives of Israel. There before the conclusion of a treaty they came to agreement about the fate of the territory occupied by Iraq during the war. Officially were concluded the temporary treaties, called "The General Agreement about Peace". These treaties should provide peace in Palestine before arriving to the "definitive political agreement". The peace negotiations lasted from February to July 1948. The first Arabian country, signing the peace treaty was Egypt. Israel made peace in the following order: on February 24 - with Egypt, March 23 - with Lebanon, April 3 - with Jordan and July 20 - with Syria. Iraq refused to negotiate with Israel, but Jordan carried on the negotiations instead of it, and Iraq withdrew its army from the territory of Israel.

The frontiers, drawn by Abdallah and Moshe Dayan during signing the cease-fire between Jordan and Israel on April 3, becoming the line of demarcation, afterwards caused a lot of disputes. As a result of this agreement between Israel and the Arabian countries was created the demilitarised zone. The UN Commission was obliged to observe the achievement of this agreement and its future accomplishment. In the first Article of every treaty it was noted:

1. The Necessity of solution of the question of Palestine by the armed forces of the Security Council.
2. The armed forces of any country ... should not be trained and carry on aggressive actions threatening population and armed forces of another country.
3. In expectation of an attack of a hostile country any country had the right to prepare itself for defence.
4. Arriving to the agreement in Palestine should be necessary for the armed forces of both countries.

In the Article 4 of the Treaty of Israel and Egypt, in the Article 5 of the Treaty of Israel and Jordan, and Article 4 of the Treaty of Israel and Syria was noted that the present acts should solve the question of the achievement of the permanent peace in Palestine. Particularly merited attention the Article 5 of the treaty of Israel and Egypt: "The line of demarcation in no case should be considered as a political or a territorial frontier...till the definitive solution of the Palestinian question, the Gaza Sector by the peace treaty of 1949 was transmitted to Egypt.

In every treaty was noted the period of its validity. In the treaty of Israel and Egypt was told that this act should be valid till the definitive peaceful solution of the question, though the parties could revise it.

After a year any party could address the General Secretary of the UN demanding the convocation of conference of the representatives of the parties of the negotiations about this question. In case of a negative answer the dispute should be considered in the Security Council of the UN.

Israel had its own intention towards Jerusalem, which was the main topic of the discussion of the UN. The Israeli envoys presented quite cogent arguments: The Government of Israel supports the establishment of the international regime in Jerusalem by the UN, which concerns only "the protection and observation of the holy places. A special regime of the co-operation should be established". They came to agreement about the "holy places" and taking international control outside of limits of Jerusalem. They guaranteed to protect "holy places" and "secure frontiers". The delegates of the Palestine commission in their reports put on agenda the question of Israel. In response the Prime minister of Israel declared: "Because of the historical, political and religious reasons the Republic of Israel cannot accept the proposal concerning the establishment of the international regime in Jerusalem..." The representatives of Israel added that the regulation was omitted from the context and so Israel is obliged: "To propose to the General Assembly to determine the future legal position of Jerusalem, which afterwards will show us the difference between the respect of international forces for holy places and the aspirations of the Government of Israel for the reason that Jerusalem will be the city with sovereign authority, and Israel - the guarantor of accomplishment of the Resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III). These positions were expressly noted in the Resolution of the General Assembly, which allowed the UN to take part of Israel. Its reasonable to note that Israel mentioned these guarantees in two more reports... Among them there were the respect of the principle of internalisation of Jerusalem and "support to the effective laws and historical practice".

Actually Jordan, Egypt and Lebanon, thanks to temporary agreement with Israel, de facto recognised existence of the State of Israel in the limits established by the Resolution 181 (II) of UN of November 29, 1947. As to Syria, it de facto recognised the State of Israel immediately upon the signature of the Treaty of Lausanne of May 12, 1947. One of the parties of this agreement was Israel. By the agreement of July 20, 1949 with Israel Syria in fact recognised the existence of Israel and Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon in fact recognised the existence of the State of Israel by signing the Protocol of Lausanne. It is evident, that according the treaty of peace between Israel and Arabian countries it was expectable the consideration of the problem of the Palestinian refugees (the Resolution of December 11, 1948) and returning to them their lands... In October 1949 Israel officially declared, that "Any concession of the territory within the borders of the State of Israel should be out of question".

These treaties were not able to stop the armed conflict. Israel broke the agreement and on March 10 of the same year occupying the region of Birkatar, which belonged to Egypt, annexed the territories appropriated to the Arabian countries in 1948. After this attack of the Arabian territory the conflict turned into the "permanent aggression".

As a result of the war of the years 1948-49 the Palestinian territory on the Western Bank of the River Jordan with Eastern Jerusalem among it passed to the Hashimians. Amman joined this territory to itself, causing great displeasure in the other Arabian countries: no one of them recognised this fact. The formation of State of Palestine on such a small area (5612 square km-s only), perhaps/probably could completely change the political sense of the Arabian-Hebrew conflict.

For resolving the disagreements the Commission of Reconciliation of the UN convoked the Conference of Lausanne, with participation of Israel and Arabian countries. In May 1949 Israel was ready to sign the protocol of Lausanne in order that they revise the Resolution of the UN about Palestine. This was conditioned by the fact that the issue of acceptance of Israel into UN was under consideration. The Commission of Reconciliation was not able to progress in the question of Palestine, first of all, because of Israel's position, as Israel refused to return the occupied lands and refugees. Thus, there were not made any other steps towards peace for further strengthening of the Treaty of Rhodes.

Chapter V

JORDAN AFTER THE WAR OF PALESTINE

§1. The Internal and External Politics of Jordan after the First War of Palestine

In autumn of 1949 the six States of the League of the Arabian States asked Jordan to change its politics in Palestine. The relations between the Kingdom of the Hashimians and Syria so strained that in 1949 the frontier of Syria and Jordan was closed for several times. Even the Kingdom of Iraq did not support the plan of Abdallah, though during the war Iraq supported the formation of the administration of Jordan on the occupied territories. The coincidence of the views of Israel and Jordan about the issue of Jerusalem contributed to the agreement of their governments. The negotiations between the Government of Israel and the personal representative of Abdallah went on secretly. As early as in May 1949 the Minister of foreign affairs of Israel Sharett met the King Abdallah, which would accept peace in lieu of access to Mediterranean Sea in the Gaza Sector. But even Sharett was not able to do this, because in this case Israel should be divided on two parts and became lifeless.

During three months from the November 1949 till the February 1950 the Jews met King Abdallah fourteen times, who insisted to get the access to the Sea and in trade proposed to sign five-year non-aggression pact and the establishment of free trade relations between the two countries. On February 24, 1950 between Israel and the Kingdom of Jordan was concluded intermediate agreement, considering to put in order trade and relations in transport sphere, free entrance into the holy places of Jerusalem, creation of free zone in the port of Haifa, unchangeable frontiers during five years and formation of common committee for solving all important questions. Such policy of Abdallah caused violent opposition in his cabinet, in the population of Jordan, and the League of the Arabian States. Abdallah did not appreciate properly the hatred of the Arabian world against Israel and found himself alone against whole Arabian world. On July 20, 1951 the King Abdallah was killed in Jerusalem, near the entrance of the mosque of Al-Aksa by a warrior of Palestinian Organisation "Al-Jihad al-mukaddas" ("Holy war"). This fact amazed the Arabian world. King Abdallah remained the supporter of the Empire of Britain, which already had lost the role of the "master" of the world, and in this respect Abdallah was behind the times, while with his will to establish peace with Israel he outstripped times.

After the first War of Palestine, by joining a part of Palestine to Jordan two very different territories were unified. The level of political and socio-economic life of Jordan was lower than that of Palestine. This caused new serious problems in the country.

§ 2. The Socio-economic Problems of Jordan and the Question of the Palestinian Refugees in the Period after the War

One of the most urgent issues not solved till today, taking its origin in the War of Palestine, is connected to temporary resettlement of the Arabian refugees and their return to their native places.

Tragedy - is the only word expressing the fate of the Palestinian Arabs. After this war 120 thousand of Arabs stayed at their native places, already belonging to Israel, and 450 thousand - in the regions under control of Israel and Jordan. The rest 780 thousand, and by another data more than 900 thousand Palestinian Arabs were forced to leave the limits of the country. All the attempts of the Moslem Arabs to return the Hebrew State suppressed in every possible way. The population of many Moslem villages of Galilee, frightened that they will be forced to leave the country, left their villages and went to Nazareth, at that time almost completely Christian. But after the armistice it went under the control of Israel. The victor army did not disturb the population of this country. One of the reasons was more attention of European countries and Vatican towards this famous symbol of Christianity. The descendants of Galilean Moslem migrants nowadays represent the increasing Moslem majority of the population of the

city of Nazareth. Jordan received 500.000 persons - more than a half of 960 thousand refugees, registered in June 1950 by the UN. Except of this there were also the "economical refugees", - the borderers, whose land after the negotiations with Israel went inside its limits. In the neutral demilitarised zone remained almost one third of all the cultivated lands. 70% of the Palestinian Arabs lost their homes and most of them went to the neighbouring Arabian countries - Lebanon and Syria. The settlements of the Palestinian refugees appeared in the Gaza Sector, on the Western Bank of the River Jordan, annexed by Jordan, and in the Eastern Jerusalem. The Hashimian Kingdom of Jordan because of its modest means could not provide the refugees with the normal conditions of life.

In the economics, agriculture and industry of Jordan appeared the difficulties. By joining a part of Palestine to the Hashimian Jordan, were unified two very different territories. The regions of Jordan Kingdom had very weak agriculture and cattle breeding. The industry here was limited with several small factories and primitive workshops. Many works were destroyed during the war.

In 1950 the industry was only 4,7% of the national income. No sort of goods, necessary for the consumption inside the country was produced. The level of development of Palestinians was noticeably higher than that of Jordan. In the political sphere was the same situation.

The economics of the newly unified Jordan was not able to deal with these difficult problems. The agriculture could not supply and satisfy the population with food. The condition of agriculture and industry was reflected also on the internal trade. The main ports of Palestine: Yafa and Haifa were closed for Jordan. Before the war through them they traded inside of Jordan. Jordan was forced to use the port of Beirut and badly equipped ships of the Akabian Bay. Losses caused by lack of transport made 1 million dollars. As internal economic ties were of great importance for Jordan, it conditioned economical problems and influenced the temps of development of agriculture.

Hence, in the camps of Palestinians, where poverty and unemployment were wide-ranging, the radical ideas were spreading easily, and it made good ground for springing up Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism. Activities of Palestinian groups of extremists threatened political stability in Jordan and even the existence of the monarchy. The King Abdallah I - one of the main and vivid figures of the war of Palestine - fell a victim to their activities.

CONCLUSION

The dissertation work gives us the possibility to conclude that at the time of the first crisis of Palestine the Hashimian Kingdom of Jordan had a particular position, conditioned by its specific interests. The position of Jordan was more acceptable for the newly formed State of Israel. The King Abdallah I destroyed the unity of Arabians by ceding in favour for Israel and conciliatory policy. This weakened the united front and contributed to the defeat of the Arabian countries. As a result of war one part of Palestine remained in the possession of Israel, another - in the possession of the Hashimian Kingdom of Jordan. The war caused the most difficult problem unsolved till now.

In the present work it is emphasised that Jordan was the first Arabian country, which tried to come to an agreement with Israel, and the King Abdallah - the first Arabian leader, who co-operated with Israel in the most difficult circumstances. This occurred completely unacceptable for the rest of Arabian countries. As is well known, the great part of the Palestinian Arabs themselves gives negative appreciation to the policy of Jordan in the First War of Palestine even today. In spite of this it is impossible not to appreciate positively the fact that the policy of King Abdallah I made a precedent and gave origin to the future peaceful process, though he was not able to regulate the conflict definitively. The time, interference of the international community, and new, hard experience were necessary for the realistically minded Arabs to come to the same conclusion as King Abdallah I that co-operation and co-existence with the neighbouring country of Israel is inevitable and vitally indispensable.

The last events in Palestine prove that only by compromise and taking into consideration the interests of the both parties will be possible to come to peace in Palestine.

**THE MAIN STATUTES OF THE DISSERTATION ARE
REPRESENTED IN THE FOLLOWING PUBLICATIONS**

1. The Crisis of Palestine in the Years of 1947-1948. - The Questions of History of Culture, V, Tbilisi, 1998, pp. 228-234 (Abstract in English).
2. Who Was the Great Mufti and Why Was not Formed the State of Palestine in 1948. - Outlook XXI, V, Tbilisi, 2003, pp. 33-36 (Abstract in English).
3. The Declaration of Balfour, Its Main Principles and Role In the History of Palestine.- History-Philology, III, Tbilisi, 2004, pp. 344 -359 (Abstract in English).
4. The Position of Jordan at The Beginning of the First War of Palestine (1948-1948). - Outlook XXI, VII, Tbilisi, 2005, pp. 34-36 (Abstract in English).