

Ömar Massalha

*TOWARDS THE
LONG-PROMISED PEACE*

Saqi Books

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	8
<i>Doing the Unthinkable</i>	9
Mutual Recognition	10
The Timetable	14
Reactions to the Agreement	15
Economic and Political Consequences	17
<i>Foreword by Federico Mayor, Director-General of UNESCO</i>	21
<i>Part I. The Middle East Peace Conference</i>	23
1. <i>Madrid: The Launch of the Peace Process</i>	25
Missed Opportunities	28
The Camp David Conference	34
The International Conference	36
The 'Jordanian Option'	38
Palestinian Peace Initiatives	39
The Shamir Plan	40
The Baker Plan	41
2. <i>The US Initiative</i>	44
Israel's Intransigence	47
The Aims of the Arabs and Palestinians	49
The Minimalist Palestinian Position	50
Baker's Crucial Role	54
The Plenary Meetings	56
A Bilateral Dialogue of the Deaf	59
The Multilateral Negotiations in Moscow	64
3. <i>The Process Itself Becomes the Main Issue</i>	68
The Fourth Bilateral Session	69
The Fifth Session	70
The Sixth Session	71
The Seventh Session	76
The Eighth Session	76
The Clinton Administration in the US	77
The Deportees	80

Contents

The Ninth Session	84
Peace by Consent or Peace by Negotiation?	87
<i>Part II. Historical Overview</i>	93
4. <i>Palestine from its Origins to the Nineteenth Century</i>	95
The Canaanites	98
The Hebrews	102
The Philistines	106
Palestine during the Graeco-Roman and Muslim Eras	107
Ottoman Palestine	111
From Religious Zionism to Political Zionism	116
5. <i>Zionism in Action and the Palestinian Reaction</i>	122
The End of the British Mandate	134
The First Arab-Israeli War	140
6. <i>From the 'Right of Return' to the 'Bridge of Return'</i>	154
7. <i>The Palestine Liberation Organization</i>	161
Religious Fundamentalism	169
8. <i>Some Key Events</i>	172
9. <i>The Occupied West Bank and Gaza</i>	176
10. <i>The Settlements</i>	182
From Begin to Shamir	185
The Soviet Jews	187
From Shamir to Rabin	189
11. <i>The Intifada and its Consequences</i>	195
<i>Part III. Jerusalem</i>	205
12. <i>Uru-Salem/Yerushalayim/Jerusalem/al-Quds</i>	207
<i>Part IV. The State of Palestine: a Legal Study</i>	227
13. <i>The Formation of the State of Palestine</i>	229
1917–1947: Palestine, a Nation on a Dependent Territory	230
1947–1949: Two States in Palestine?	233
1950–1973: The Gestation of the State of Palestine	234
1974–1987: The Consolidation of the Incipient State	237
14. <i>Legal Aspects of the Existence of the State of Palestine</i>	244
The Proclamation of the State of Palestine	244
Palestine and the 'Constituent Elements' of the State	251
15. <i>The Admission of Palestine to International Organizations</i>	259
The Admission of Palestine to the United Nations	260
The Admission of Palestine to the Specialized Agencies: the Cases of UNESCO and WHO	265

Contents

<i>Conclusion</i>	278
<i>Appendices</i>	
Appendix 1. UN General Assembly Resolution 181 (II), 29 November 1947	283
Appendix 2. UN General Assembly Resolution 181 (III) (City of Jerusalem), 29 November 1947	285
Appendix 3. UN General Assembly Resolution 194 (III), 11 December 1948	290
Appendix 4. UN Security Council Resolution 242, 22 November 1967	293
Appendix 5. The Begin Plan for Administrative Autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza, December 1977	294
Appendix 6. The Camp David Accords, September 1978	296
Appendix 7. The Reagan Plan, 1 September 1982	299
Appendix 8. The Arab Peace Plan Adopted at Fez, 9 September 1982	300
Appendix 9. The Mubarak Plan, August 1989	301
Appendix 10. The Letters Exchanged between the PLO and Israel, 9 September 1993	302
Appendix 11. Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements, 13 September 1993	303
<i>Notes</i>	313
<i>Index</i>	331
<i>Maps</i>	
Map 1. The Kingdom of the Crusaders (1099–1291)	120
Map 2. The Palestinian Principality of Daher Omar	121
Map 3. The Sykes-Picot Agreement	150
Map 4. Palestine under British Mandate	151
Map 5. The Partition Plan (1947)	152
Map 6. Israel after the 1948–1949 War	153
Map 7. The Situation after the 1967 War	181
Map 8. Israel and the Occupied Territories (1992)	194
Map 9. The Old City of Jerusalem	226