REVISED AND UPDATED EDITION

THE ISRAEL-ARAB READER



A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT

WALTER LAQUEUR AND BARRY RUBIN, EDITORS

The Israel-Arab Reader



A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict

FIFTH REVISED AND UPDATED EDITION

Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin, editors



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THE ISRAEL-ARAB READER

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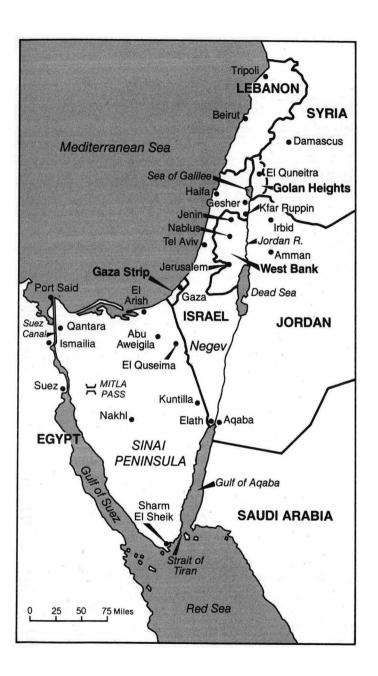
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Introduction

This collection of documents aims to provide a better understanding of the background, history, and efforts to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. The story is traced from the origins of Zionism and Arab nationalism, into the struggles both preceding and following Israel's independence in 1948, the wars and hostilities characterizing the following decades, and finally through the long diplomatic process and many initiatives made to resolve the issue.

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Walter Laqueur Barry Rubin



Contents

introduction	Xi
PART I: FROM THE BILU TO THE BRITISH MANDATE	
Introductory Note	2
The Manifesto of the Bilu (1882)	3
Negib Azouri: Program of the League of the Arab	
Fatherland (1905)	5
Theodor Herzl: "The Jewish State" (1896)	5
The Basle Declaration (1897)	10
The Sykes–Picot Agreement (1916)	11
The McMahon Letter (1915)	14
The Balfour Declaration (1917)	16
The Feisal-Weizmann agreement and Feisal-Frankfurter	
letters (1919)	17
Recommendations of the King-Crane Commission (1919)	21
Memorandum Presented to the King-Crane Commission by	
the General Syrian Congress (1919)	28
The British Mandate (1922)	30
PART II: PALESTINE 1920–1947	
Introductory Note	38
The Churchill White Paper (1922)	39
The MacDonald Letter (1931)	43
From the Report of the Palestine Royal Commission (Peel	
Commission) (1937)	48
V. Jabotinsky: A Jewish State Now: Evidence Submitted to	***
the Palestine Royal Commission (1937)	50
Against Partition: British Statement of Policy (1938)	53
The White Paper (1939)	54
The Zionist Reaction to the White Paper: Statement by the	
Jewish Agency (1939)	64
Towards a Jewish State: The Biltmore Program (1942)	66
Adolf Hitler, Zionism and the Arab Cause (1941)	68
The Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry (1946)	72

vi + Contents

The Arab Case for Palestine—Evidence submitted by the	
Arab Office, Jerusalem (1946)	80
The Case for a Bi-national State (1947)	89
The United Nations Takes Over: Summary Report of the	
U.N. Special Committee on Palestine (1947)	92
U.N. General Assembly Resolution on the Future Govern-	
ment of Palestine (Partition Resolution) (1947)	95
Plan of Partition with Economic Union	97
PART III: ISRAEL AND THE ARAB WORLD 1948-1967	
Introductory Note	106
State of Israel Proclamation of Independence (1948)	107
The Law of Return (1950)	109
The Manifesto of the United Arab Republic (Preamble)	
(1963)	110
The Draft Constitution of the "Palestine Liberation Orga-	
nisation' (1963)	112
United Nations General Assembly Resolution on the Inter-	
nationalization of Jerusalem (1949)	115
United Nations Security Council Resolution Concerning	
Restrictions on the Passage of Ships through the Suez	
Canal (1951)	116
President Nasser on Zionism and Israel	117
Ahmed Shukairy: The Palestine Refugees (1958)	119
Erskine Childers: The Other Exodus (1961)	122
Abba Eban: The Refugee Problem (1958)	129
Golda Meir: A Call for Disarmament (1962)	140
Fayez A. Sayegh: Zionist Colonialism in Palestine (1965)	143
Towards the Third Round: Nasser's Speech at UAR	
Advanced Air Headquarters, May 25, 1967	144
Nasser's Speech to Arab Trade Unionists, May 26, 1967	149
Hassanain Haykal: An Armed Clash with Israel is	
Inevitable —Why? (May 26, 1967)	152
Nasser's Speech to National Assembly Members,	
May 29, 1967	158
Nasser's Resignation Broadcast, June 9, 1967	160
Abba Eban: "The Six Days War" Speech at the Special	
Assembly of the United Nations, June 19, 1967	165
Yizhak Rabin: The Right of Israel, June 28, 1967	185
Gamal Abdel Nasser: "We Shall Triumph" Nasser's	202
Speech, July 23, 1968	188
Gideon Rafael: UN Resolution 242: A Common Denominator	197

Contents + vii

PART IV: FROM WAR TO WAR

Introductory Note	214
Security Council Resolution on the Middle East (November	211
22, 1967)	217
The Palestinian National Charter: Resolutions of the	21,
Palestine National Council	218
Fatah: The Seven Points	223
Platform of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine	229
Y. Harkabi: Fatah's Doctrine	232
Gamal Abdel Nasser: "The Struggle Continues," Nasser's	434
Speech to the Arab Socialist Union (March 27, 1969)	245
Syrian Ba'th Party Congress Resolutions (April, 1969)	254
Hassanain Haykal: The Strategy of the War of Attrition	258
Ahmed Baha Ed-Dine: Returning to Palestine	268
Moshe Dayan: A Soldier Reflects on Peace Hopes	274
Yehoshua Arieli: Annexation and Democracy	283
Hafiz al-Asad: Speech (October 15, 1973)	289
Leonid I. Brezhnev: Message to Hawari Boumedien	289
(October 9, 1973)	293
Anwar Sadat: Speech (October 16, 1973)	293 294
Anwar Sadat: Press Conference (October 31, 1973)	
Anwar Sadat: Speech (April 3, 1974)	303
Security Council Resolution 338 (October 22, 1973)	305
Golda Meir: Statement in the Knesset (October 23, 1973)	310
The Agranat Commission Report	310
	315
George Habash: Interview (August 3, 1974)	324
Yasir Arafat: Address to the UN General Assembly	220
(November 13, 1974)	329
Y. Harkabi: The Meaning of "A Democratic Palestinian State"	240
	340
Walter Laqueur: Peace with Egypt?	352
Elie Kedourie: The Arab-Israeli Conflict	363
The Egyptian-Israeli Accord on Sinai (September 1, 1975)	374
PART V: CAMP DAVID AND WAR IN LEBANON	
• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	
Introductory Note	384
Harold H. Saunders: U.S. Foreign Policy and Peace in the	
Middle East (November 12, 1975)	385
Platform of the Likud Coalition (March 1977)	388
President Anwar Sadat: Peace with Justice (November 20,	
1977)	389
PLO: Six-Point Program (December 4, 1977)	397

viii + Contents

Arab League Summit Conference Declaration (December 5,	
1977)	398
Prime Minister Menachem Begin: Autonomy Plan for the	
Occupied Territories (December 28, 1977)	400
President Jimmy Carter: Statement on Palestinian Rights	
(January 4, 1978)	403
Camp David Frameworks for Peace (September 17, 1978)	404
Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty (March 26, 1979)	409
Arab League Summit Communiqué (March 31, 1979)	410
Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko: On the Camp David	
Agreement (September 25, 1979)	411
Yasir Arafat: Interview on Camp David (November 19, 1979)	412
President Hafiz al-Asad: Speech (March 8, 1980)	413
European Council: Venice Declaration (June 13, 1980)	414
Israel Government: Fundamental Policy Guidelines	
(August 5, 1981)	415
Prince Fahd ibn Abd al-Aziz: The Fahd Plan (August 7,	
1981)	416
West Bank Palestinians: Reactions to Camp David	
(August 30, 1981)	417
President Hosni Mubarak: Egypt and Israel (October 14,	
1981)	419
U.SIsrael Memorandum of Understanding (November 30,	,
1981)	420
Israeli Law on the Golan Heights (December 14, 1981)	421
Defense Minister Ariel Sharon: Israel's Security	
(December 15, 1981)	421
Yitzhak Shamir: Israel's Role in a Changing Middle East	
(Spring 1982)	425
Boutros Boutros-Ghali: The Foreign Policy of Egypt in the	
Post-Sadat Era (Spring 1982)	430
Secretary of State George P. Shultz: Congressional	150
Testimony (July 12, 1982)	434
Prime Minister Menachem Begin: The Wars of No Alterna-	
tive and Operation Peace for Galilee (August 8, 1982)	436
President Ronald Reagan: The Reagan Plan (September 1,	
1982)	439
Twelfth Arab Summit Conference: Final Statement	
(September 9, 1982)	445
El-Hassan Bin Talal: Jordan's Quest for Peace (Fall 1982)	447
The Kahan Commission Report (February 7, 1983)	451
Yasir Arafat: Speech to Palestine National Council	.51
(February 14, 1983)	456
Palestine National Council: Political Statement	
(February 22, 1983)	458

Contents + ix

Barry Rubin: United It Stalls: The PLO (March 21, 1983) Jordan's Refusal to Join the Reagan Peace Initiative	461
(April 10, 1983)	464
The Lebanon-Israel Truce Agreement (May 17, 1983)	469
Said Musa: Interview on Internal Dissent (May 26, 1983)	471
Khalid al-Hasan: On the Dissident Rebellion (May 27, 1983)	473
PART VI: THE APPROACH OF PEACE	
Introductory Note	478
King Hussein: Speech to the Palestine National Council (November 22, 1984)	481
Jordan-PLO: Joint Communiqué (February 11, 1985) King Hussein: Ending the Jordan-PLO initiative	486
(February 19, 1986)	487
Israel-Jordan: "The London Document" (April 11, 1987)	501
PLO Executive Committee: On the Intifada (December 1987) West Bank-Gaza Palestinian Leaders: The Fourteen Points	502
(January 14, 1988)	505
Unified National Command of the Intifada: Call No. 6	303
(February 1988)	507
Secretary of State George Shultz: Plan (March 6, 1988)	509
PLO Executive Committee: Statement on the Intifada (April 1988)	510
United National Leadership of the Intifada: Calls 12, 16,	310
and 18 (April-May 1988)	514
King Hussein: Disengagement from the West Bank (July 31,	527
1988) Hamas: Charter (August 1988)	527 529
Palestine National Council: Political Resolution	329
(November 15, 1988)	537
Palestine National Council: Declaration of Independence	331
(November 15, 1988)	542
President Husni Mubarak: The Inevitability of Peace	5-12
(January 21, 1989)	546
Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir: Peace Plan (May 14, 1989)	547
President Husni Mubarak: Ten-Point Plan (September 1989)	551
Chairman Yasir Arafat: Speech on the Intifada (September 1989)	552
Secretary of State James Baker: Five-Point Plan (October	55 2
1989)	556
President Saddam Hussein: Two Speeches to the Arab	
Cooperation Council (February 1990)	556
Chairman Yasir Arafat: The PLO and the Gulf Crisis,	
(December 13, 1990)	567

试读结束:需要全本请在线购买: www.ertongbo

x + Contents

Patestine National Council: Political Communique	
(September 28, 1991)	569
U.S. Letter of Assurances to the Palestinians (October 18, 1991)	573
Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Haydar Abd al-Shafi:	
Speeches at the Madrid Peace Conference (October 31,	
1992)	57
Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin: Inaugural Speech (July 13,	
1992)	589
Chairman Yasir Arafat: Speech on Fatah's Anniversary	
(December 31, 1992)	594
Mahmoud Darwish: Resigning from the PLO Leadership	-,
(August 1993)	59′
Israel-PLO Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-	"
Government Arrangements (September 13, 1993)	599
Agreed Minutes to the Declaration of Principles on Interim	57.
Self-Government Arrangements	60
President Bill Clinton, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, and	00
Chairman Yasir Arafat: Speeches at the Signing of the	
Declaration of Principles (September 13, 1993)	61:
Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin: Speech to Parliament	OI.
(September 21, 1993)	61:
President Hafiz al-Asad: Reaction to Israel-PLO Agreement	01.
	60
(October 1, 1993)	62
Hani al-Hassan: Opposition to the Israel-PLO Accord	(0)
(October 1993)	62
West Bank-Gaza Palestinian Leaders: Memorandum to	~
Chairman Yasir Arafat (November 1993)	62
President Hafiz al-Asad and President Bill Clinton:	
Statement on Their Meeting (January 16, 1994)	62
Israel-PLO: Cairo Agreement (March 4, 1994)	62
Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Chairman Yasir Arafat:	
Speeches at the Signing of the Cairo Agreement	
(March 4, 1994)	64
Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin: Speech to Parliament	
(April 18, 1994)	64
Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin: Speech on Accepting the	
UNESCO Peace Prize (July 6, 1994)	65
Israel-Jordan: The Washington Agreement (July 26, 1994)	65
King Hussein and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin: Speeches	
on Signing the Washington Agreement (July 26, 1994)	65
Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty (October 1994)	66
Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Chairman Yasir Arafat, and	
Foreign Minister Shimon Peres: Speeches Accepting the	
Nobel Peace Prize (December 1994)	67

Part I

From the Bilu to the British Mandate



Part I of the Reader covers the period from the first stirrings of the Jewish and Arab national movements to 1917, the date of the Balfour Declaration. The tie between the Jewish communities in what was still commonly defined as the diaspora had been submerged but never entirely severed; it survived, for instance, in the traditional prayer ("Next year in Jerusalem") and found its political expression in the emergence of the Zionist movement in the last decade of the nineteenth century. There was no specific Arab Palestinian national consciousness, but among the leaders of the Arab population of the Ottoman Empire the demand for national self-determination gained ground. After the defeat of the Turks in 1918, this movement quickly gathered momentum.

The Manifesto of the Bilu

Bilu are the first letters of a passage in Isaiah, Chapter 2, Verse 5: "House of Jacob, come, let us go." The Biluim, about five hundred young people mainly from the Kharkov region, were part of the wider movement of the "Lovers of Zion" (Hovevei Zion) which had developed in Russia in the early eighteen-eighties mainly under the impact of the pogroms of 1881. This manifesto was issued by a Bilu group in Constantinople in 1882.

To our brothers and sisters in Exile!

'If I help not myself, who will help me?'

Nearly two thousand years have elapsed since, in an evil hour, after a heroic struggle, the glory of our Temple vanished in fire and our kings and chieftains changed their crowns and diadems for the chains of exile. We lost our country where dwelt our beloved sires. Into the Exile we took with us, of all our glories, only a spark of the fire by which our Temple, the abode of our Great One, was engirdled, and this little spark kept us alive while the towers of our enemies crumbled into dust, and this spark leapt into celestial flame and shed light on the heroes of our race and inspired them to endure the horrors of the dance of death and the tortures of the autos-da-fé. And this spark is again kindling and will shine for us, a true pillar of fire going before us on the road to Zion, while behind us is a pillar of cloud, the pillar of oppression threatening to destroy us. Sleepest thou, O our nation? What hast thou been doing until 1882? Sleeping, and dreaming the false dream of Assimilation. Now, thank God, thou art awakened from thy slothful slumber. The Pogroms have awakened thee from thy charmed sleep. Thine eyes are open to recognise the cloudy delusive hopes. Canst thou listen silently to the taunts and mockeries of thine enemies? . . . Where is thy ancient pride, thine olden spirit? Remember that thou wast a nation possessing a wise religion, a law, a con-

4 + THE ISRAEL-ARAB READER

stitution, a celestial Temple whose wall* is still a silent witness to the glories of the past; that thy sons dwelt in palaces and towers, and thy cities flourished in the splendour of civilisation, while these enemies of thine dwelt like beasts in the muddy marshes of their dark woods. While thy children were clad in purple and fine linen, they wore the rough skins of the wolf and the bear. Art thou not ashamed?

Hopeless is your state in the West; the star of your future is gleaming in the East. Deeply conscious of all this, and inspired by the true teaching of our great master, Hillel, 'If I help not myself, who will help me?' we propose to form the following society for national ends.

- 1. The Society will be named 'BILU', according to the motto 'House of Jacob, come, let us go'. It will be divided into local branches according to the numbers of its members.
 - 2. The seat of the Committee shall be Jerusalem.
 - 3. Donations and contributions shall be unfixed and unlimited.

WE WANT:

- 1. A home in our country. It was given us by the mercy of God; it is ours as registered in the archives of history.
- 2. To beg it of the Sultan himself, and if it be impossible to obtain this, to beg that we may at least possess it as a state within a larger state; the internal administration to be ours, to have our civil and political rights, and to act with the Turkish Empire only in foreign affairs, so as to help our brother Ishmael in the time of his need.

We hope that the interests of our glorious nation will rouse the national spirit in rich and powerful men, and that everyone, rich or poor, will give his best labours to the holy cause.

Greetings, dear brothers and sisters!

HEAR, O ISRAEL! The Lord our God, the Lord is one, and our land Zion is our one hope.

GOD be with us! THE PIONEERS OF BILU.

^{*} The Wailing Wall.

Negib Azouri: Program of the League of the Arab Fatherland*

N. Azouri, a Christian Arab, edited the journal L'Indépendance Arabe in Paris before the first world war. His "Réveil de la Nation Arabe dans l'Asie Turque..." (1905) from which this excerpt is drawn was the "first open demand for the secession of the Arab lands from the Ottoman Empire." (Sylvia G. Haim: Arab Nationalism)

... There is nothing more liberal than the league's program. The league wants, before anything else, to separate the civil and the religious power, in the interest of Islam and the Arab nation, and to form an Arab empire stretching from the Tigris and the Euphrates to the Suez Isthmus, and from the Mediterranean to the Arabian Sea.

The mode of government will be a constitutional sultanate based on the freedom of all the religions and the equality of all the citizens before the law. It will respect the interests of Europe, all the concessions and all the privileges which had been granted to her up to now by the Turks. It will also respect the autonomy of the Lebanon, and the independence of the principalities of Yemen, Nejd, and Iraq.

The league offers the throne of the Arab Empire to that prince of the Khedivial family of Egypt who will openly declare himself in its favor and who will devote his energy and his resources to this end.

It rejects the idea of unifying Egypt and the Arab Empire under the same monarchy, because the Egyptians do not belong to the Arab race; they are of the African Berber family and the language which they spoke before Islam bears no similarity to Arabic. There exists, moreover, between Egypt and the Arab Empire a natural frontier which must be respected in order to avoid the introduction, in the new state, of the germs of discord and destruction. Never, as a matter of fact, have the ancient Arab caliphs succeeded for any length of time in controlling the two countries at the same time. . . .

Theodor Herzl: The Jewish State

Theodor Herzl (1860–1904) was the founder of modern political Zionism. In the preface to *Der Judenstaat* (published in 1896) he says:

^{*} Translated by Sylvia G. Haim.