



## The Palestinian Liberation Organization

The History of Terrorism  
as a Strategy of Political  
Insurgency

February 21, 2011

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This section is based on

Gerard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin's work, specifically chapter 11 of [The History of Terrorism from Antiquity to Al Qaeda](#)

Hammes, Thomas, [The Sling and the Stone](#), Chapter 7 and 8

Hourani, Albert, [A History of the Arab Peoples](#)

Chaliand, Gerard and Blin, Arnaud, eds., *The History of Terrorism from Antiquity to Al Qaeda* Berkley: University of California Press, 2007

Also, although Wikipedia is not a suitable primary source, it sure can help fill in some blanks, so some Wiki information, especially the maps, is in here. All hail Wikipedia!

# The Palestinians

## Semitic and Arab

- Christian (6%) and Sunni Muslim
- 49% of the total population of Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza
- Palestinian Dialect of Arabic
- Never a fully Sovereign people
- 4.2 million hold refugee status
- More than half the citizens of Jordan are Palestinian (including the Queen)



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## **The Palestinians:**

Levantine genetics, similar to Jews and other Arabs. Palestinian Arabs typically refers to those who speak Palestinian Arabic Dialect. Arrived in the area in 7<sup>th</sup> century Arab expansion.

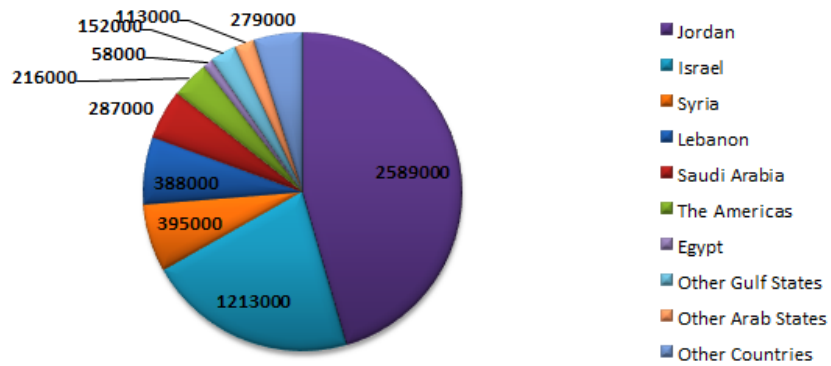
The Palestinians were unable to retain their space in the British Mandate territories that were to become part of modern Israel, simply because they were too weak Vis-a-vis the Israelis. They could not dislodge the Jewish colonists during the 1936 to 1939, and they were too weak to prevent the west bank from being absorbed into Transjordan (1948 to 1950), and never were in serious discussion to get the Egyptian-occupied piece of Gaza filled with Palestinians.

The 1948-49 partition turned 2/3<sup>rd</sup> of the Palestine based Palestinians into stateless refugees, crowded into refugee camps where they would live for decades, non-citizens of the lands which over time most of them would born in.

Refugees are grouped into camps based on their old villages and the camps are named after these villages. About half of the Palestinian people are listed as refugees.

- More than half the citizens of Jordan are Palestinian (including the Queen)
- The Hashemite King of Jordan is aware of the demographics
- So are the Israelis

### Palestinian people living outside the West Bank and the Gaza strip



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Chart source wikipedia – data I circa 2006

## The Balfour Declaration of 1917

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

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The Balfour declaration attempted made it known that following the defeat of the Ottoman Empire, part of it would be carved out as a Jewish homeland. Since 1870 (or bit earlier depending on who you read), the world Zionist Movement had focused on returning Palestine to build a Jewish state, at least in part to get away from periodic European Pogroms. The Balfour Declaration accelerated the migration, which really exploded after WWII.

The Palestinians were unable to retain their space in the British Mandate territories that were to become part of modern Israel, simply because they were too weak Vis-a-vis the Israelis. They could not dislodge the Jewish colonists during the 1936 to 1939 war, and they were too weak to prevent the west bank from being absorbed into Transjordan (1948 to 1950), and never were in serious discussion to get the Egyptian-occupied piece of Gaza filled with Palestinians.

The Arabs were very confident in 1948 that they would win any possible war with the Jews so when it did come, many Arabs sought temporary refuge in the neighboring Arab states. Israeli irregular forces also committed some "Ethnic Cleansing" to speed the process up. The 1948-49 partition turned 2/3<sup>rd</sup> of the Palestine based Palestinians into stateless refugees, crowded into refugee camps where they would live for decades, non-citizens of the lands which over time most of them would born in.

From the conclusion of the 1948-49 war to the 1956 Sinai war Palestinian irregular forces, encouraged by the heir host countries, particularly Jordan and Egypt, made frequent cross border incursion in a low intensity but active Guerilla war. In 1956, the anticipated arrival and deployment of Czechoslovakian weapons, and a blockade of the Israeli Port of Eliat caused concerns for Israel.

# Suez Crisis

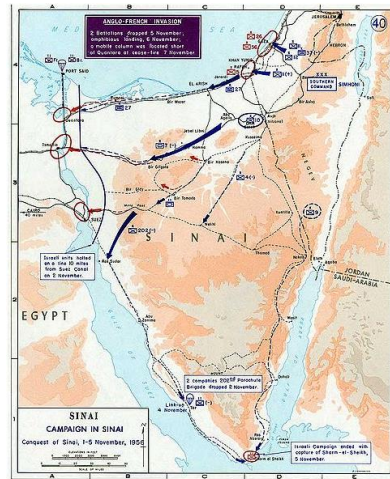
## Regional Security interests

- Britain and France had indirect security goals contrary to Egypt's goals
- Israel had direct security goals

## Nasser Overreached

- Nationalized the canal
- Recognized Communist China
- US withdrew aid for the Aswan Dam

The Egyptian defeat was viewed as the result of the colonial powers, not Israel, having the superior army



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France was irritated by the Egyptian support of the Algerian rebels.

Nationalizing the canal tanked the stock market.

Conservatives in Britain saw Munich in 1938 all over again

Britain had withdrawn from the canal zone in 1954, following an agreement with Egypt, but continued to view it as an area of specific security concern. Israel reached a secret arrangement with the French and English, where Israel would engage the Egyptians, and then France and Britain would seize the canal to protect it. The key to the offensive was mobility, and in classic 3 G style, they campaigned succeeded very quickly, with most fighting over in a week.

## 1967 Six Day War

### Nasser reaches too far again

- Expels UN troops from the border
- Declares straits of Tiran closed
- Arab Armies mass on Israel's borders

### Israeli Motivation

- Guerilla Attacks
- Arab armaments and air force

### Major Factors

- Better soldiers, Better initiative
- Air superiority
- 3G vs. 2G conflict mode



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For a time, this reduced the Guerilla attacks on Israel, but through the 1960's they continued to escalate, particularly from Jordan, where the Palestinians were effectively a state within a state. Clashes between Israelis and Syrian troops in Golan, and Israeli incursions into what was West Bank of the Jordan to deal with Palestinian guerillas, heightened regional tensions further.

Egypt had 420 relatively modern aircraft, 416 of which were destroyed in Day 1.

Egypt had also dug in fortifications along main roads, in classic 2G configuration, so Israeli tanks just swung around them in a 3G attack style.

I have also heard that troops could not be resupplied due to a sell off of armaments by corrupt Egyptian generals.

The movement of troops to borders, and the movement of Iraqi troops and Armor into Jordan in support of the Arab cause, continued the escalation. Closure of the straits of Tiran, in violation of the 1956 armistice, added even more fuel to the fire, and on June 5, 1967, Israel attacked its Arab neighbors. The first two days Israel focused on destroying her enemies' capacity to wage war with massive air strikes destroying the Arab air forces. From June 5th to the 9th, they seized Sinai and defeated the Egyptians. Between June 5th and June 7th seized the West Bank from Jordan. It was in the Golan Heights, which had been heavily fortified by the Syrians,

fighting lasted until the 10<sup>th</sup>.

The defeat was a major calamity for the Arab States. A clear, total victory, by Israel, with no Western Troops backing them, simply humiliated the Arabs. The credibility of Arab leadership to their peoples was crushed. Conventional conflict with Israel seemed a failed strategy, and alternatives were sought by the Palestinians. It was this set of conditions that led to a reliance on terror, and the publicity associated with it, as the strategy of political insurgency.



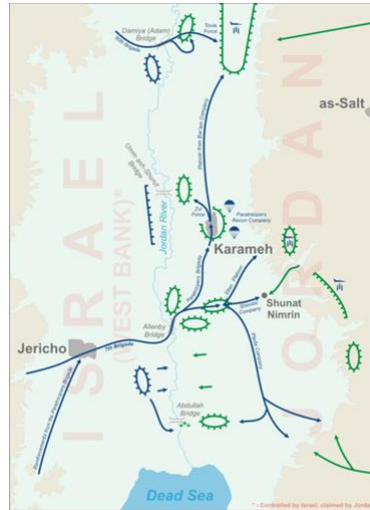
1968

Creating a “win” for the PLO

Alienating the Jordanians

Managing the Media

Perceptions and Hubris



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The PLO 1968 to the present: Refugee camps and Gaza need some discussion

In 1968, Palestinian Fatah Guerillas operating from refugee camps in Jordan were making hit and run raids and creating other unsettling events in Israel, such as setting land mines on roads. In early 1968, several cross border guerilla raids and supporting fire from Jordanian artillery, followed by raids and fire from Israeli forces, threatened to escalate. The US arranged a cease fire, and King of Jordan agreed to send troops to Karameh, among other camps, to shut down Fatah operations. This did not go well for the Jordanian, as they were outnumbered and outgunned. When asked to leave Karameh by the PLO/Fatah, they did quickly. At the time, there were 900 Fatah troops in the camp, and with Yasser Arafat headquartered there, it was an important center for the PLO, and an area of great interest.

With approximately 40 PLO incursions and attacks in the first 3 months of 1968, Israel was well into discussions on how to manage the border. With Jordan unable to assert control of the refugee camps, some form of military action was inevitable. When a school bus hit a land mine and killed 2 adults while wounding 10 children, Israel had a solid media-friendly reason to strike.

Israel launched the reprisal attack, planned against two refugee camps in Jordan (Karameh and Sifa), with the expectation that the Jordanians would stand down and they would face only PLO forces. At Karameh things did not go as planned. Jordan,

suspecting an all out Israeli attack and invasion, moved its forces into defensive positions. Palestinian Commandos, estimated as high as 3,000, but perhaps as low as 1,200, moved into the country surrounding Karameh. When the Israelis crossed at 5:30 AM on March 21, they met far more resistance and far heavier weapons than they had anticipated. Moving along 4 lines, they had some difficulty linking up, but Israeli units were able to take the camp at Karameh by 8 AM, and spent the balance of the day blowing up 175 buildings. They did not succeed in their objective of capturing or killing the main concentration of PLO fighters though. When they moved to fall back into Israel, they had to fight their way back.

#### Tactical Outcome

Various estimates put the Israeli killed at around 30 soldiers, with around 70 wounded. Up to 10 armored vehicles (tanks, armored cars) were destroyed. Palestinian losses were estimated at between 100 and 200 killed, with 100 to 150 captured. Obviously the camp was a mess. Jordan suffered fewer than 100 killed, around 250 wounded, and 30 tanks destroyed.

#### Strategic Outcome

Israel took some heat internationally on the incursion – lost political points  
The PLO gained prestige, and more importantly support, from major Arab states who saw clearly the opportunity to carry on a proxy war with Israel through the PLO  
Jordan saw the rising prestige of the PLO, and the sharp increase in PLO paramilitary volunteers, as a potential risk to the Hashemite Kingdom, and this would become a problem very soon for the PLO

This instilled at least some perception in the minds of the PLO and Arab states that there would be at least a chance to drive the Israelis out in a manner similar to eviction of the Colons from Algeria. And the fact that the PLO opted to engage in a standing battle was also sort of ego boosting.

## Major PLO Groups

### Fatah

- Founded 1956 in Egypt
- Yasser Arafat
- Marxist-Leninist
- Largest Group

### Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

- Dr. George Habbash
- Iraq
- Marxist
- Loved to Fly!

### Black September

- Off shoot of Fatah
- Extreme
- Anti Jordan
- Munich

### Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine

- Naif Hawatmeh
- Extreme Left wing
- Did not like anybody

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### All

Leadership was from the intellectual class, predominantly leftist and Marxist

Actions were International in scope

Networked with other Marxist Leninist international organizations engaged in Terrorism (Japanese Red Army, etc.)

### Fatah

Founded in 1956, with original ties to the Muslim Brotherhood

Marxist Leninist

Headed by Yasser Arafat

Fielded 7,000 to 9,000 guerillas during this period (up to 20,000 depending on time frame and how you count – specifically prior to Black September)

### Black September

Fatah Controlled (but it is a secret)

Organized for more extreme and violent purposes

Named after the Black September problem in 1970 Jordan

Responsible for the Munich Olympics attack

### Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)

Lead by Dr. George Habbash

Marxist views

Supported by Iraq

500 Members

Responsible for most of the sky jacking from 1968 to 1972

**Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine**

Led by Naif Hawatmeh

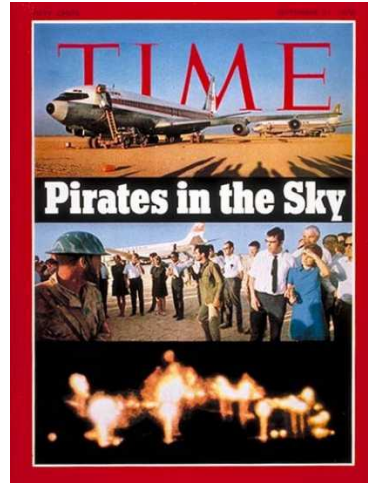
Extreme Marxist views

Rejected all Arab governments of the period, planned on replacing all of them with Peoples Democracies

## The Friendly Sky

### Skyjacking

- Limited liability and cost- few people needed
- Economic impact on targets could be significant – tourism (maybe I will go to Yosemite instead), disruption of airports, etc
- Excellent Media coverage, extended over multiple days
- Psychological impact on public
- Violent
- Victims of the random kind (woman and children on holiday)



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Skyjacking was a big time terror tactic from 1968 to 1975. Originally, it seemed to be a preferred transportation method of home sick Cubans, but it was the Palestinians who really accelerated the use of this terror tactic as part of the overall insurgency. It had all the classic elements a terror tactic wants:

- Limited liability and cost- few people needed
- Economic impact on targets could be significant – tourism (maybe I will go to Yosemite instead), disruption of airports, etc
- Excellent Media coverage, extended over multiple days
- Psychological impact on public
- Violent
- Victims of the random kind (woman and children on holiday)

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine really got on board with this tactic, and if you were on a plane hi-jacked during this period, there is a good chance that you met some of these people, and you probably did not like it at all.

First Hijacking was in July, 1968, on an El Al aircraft. Israel agreed to terms and released some Arab prisoners. After two more attacks, security on El Al tightened up, bullet proof and locked cockpits were installed, and the PFLP chose other carriers to target.

August 1969 Leila Khaled led a PFLP attack on TWA 707 to Damascus. Later in

September 1970, she would get caught trying to hijack another plane (by the crew) during a mass hijacking attempt of 5 planes, and was handed over to British Police (another attempted hijacking was also foiled).

The PLFP took seized three planes and landed them at Dawson's Field in Jordan they held a total of 400 hostages. Multiple press conferences were held, and groups of hostages were released in a staggered schedule. The PLFP retained the crew and the Jewish passengers (56) total and would not release them at this point

It is also worth noting that when the three planes were blown up, one camera crew, from the BBC, did catch it all on film after being tipped off by a local resident, who had in turn been tipped off by the PFLP. Media attention is always useful when things are getting blown up, and this was no exception.

Tensions were high between the PLO and the Jordanian Government, with the PLO paramilitaries ignoring Jordanian authority, and openly threatening to seize the Hashemite kingdom. This required King Hussein to take action, and in September 16 of 1970, he did.

Teaching Tip - Emphasize the demographics of Jordan were 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of the population was Palestinian refugees, 1/3<sup>rd</sup> indigenous Palestinians, and 1/3<sup>rd</sup> Bedouin (Hashemite), so this was not an easy action.

# Black September

## Key Issues

- Most Jordanians are Palestinians
- The King is a Hashemite and seen as wimpy
- The PLO has 20,000 fighters acting independently in Jordan
- The PLO did not live up to a prior deal (pretext)
- The King was tired of Israelis pounding him



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From the King's perspective, there was a series of violations of the 1968 accord between Jordan and the Palestinians. The 7 Point accord was as follows

- Members of these organizations were forbidden from walking around cities armed and in uniform

- They were forbidden to stop and search civilian vehicles

- They were forbidden from competing with the Jordanian Army for recruits

- They were required to carry Jordanian identity papers

- Their vehicles were required to bear Jordanian license plates

- Crimes committed by members of the Palestinian organizations would be investigated by the Jordanian authorities

- Disputes between the Palestinian organizations and the government would be settled by a joint council of representatives of the king and of the PLO.

By 1970, poorly disciplined uniformed PLO militias were openly carrying weapons, setting up checkpoints, and as demonstrated at Karameh 2 years previously, more than willing to assert authority of Jordanian interests if it made sense to them. In the 18 months from mid 1968 through 1969 clashes between Jordanian authorities and PLO militias occurred over 500 times.

Black September involved more than just Jordanian and Palestinian interests – it had the potential to bring multiple Arab States into a broader conflict within the region, as well as Israel. Martial Law was proclaimed by King Hussein on September 16, and

the process of asserting control over the PLO, and kicking them out, was underway. Jordanian troops launched their attacks against major refugee centers and against PLO headquarters in Amman with tanks and troops. Meanwhile, the Jordanian Military also had to deploy troops to observe an Iraqi division that had been in country since the 1967 war. The Iraqis were openly sympathetic to the Palestinian cause and long time supporters of the PLFP, but did not intervene.

Syria did intervene with troops and armor, but not with air power, on behalf of the Palestinians. By September 21, the Syrians had broken through the Jordanian lines, but were then halted by the Jordanian air force. Prior to this Jordan had directly appealed for US intervention, and the US does appear to have planned to deploy troops to Amman to ready the airport for further troop insertions. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union increased its naval presence in the eastern Mediterranean, and planned to reinforce Syria. Whether it was the political pressure to deescalate the situation, or the Jordanian air force success against Syrian armor, the decision was made by Syria to withdraw back to its own side of the border. A general cease fire was forced on all parties at this point, and Hussein was forced by Egypt's Gamal Nasser to sign an agreement with PLO, treating them as equals in Jordan on September 27. When Nasser died the very next day, Jordan promptly declared "Game on" again, and went after the PLO.

Over the next 10 months, the Jordanians pushed the PLO out of major cities, then increasingly into a smaller and smaller geographic foot print until they were finally able to crush the last units of Fatah still holding out. What was left of the PLO left Jordan for a variety of destinations, the most significant one being Lebanon. The conflict had a number of outcomes, but one certainly relevant to terrorism is that the eviction of the PLO from Jordan again sharply reduced its capability to wage Guerilla war, leaving terrorism as essentially the only option.



## Terrorism on the Road The victims of Munich

Media  
Propaganda  
Indiscriminate  
Violent  
Political  
International  
Networked



Moshe Weinberg, 33 Wrestling Referee    Yusef Romano, 31 Weightlifter    Yusef Gutfreund, 40 Wrestling Referee    David Berger, 28 Weightlifter



Mark Slavin, 18 Wrestler    Yakov Springer, 51 Weightlifting Coach    Zvi'ev Friedman, 28 Weightlifter    Amizur Shapiro, 40 Track Coach



Eliyeh Haffin, 24 Wrestler    Kabat Shos, 53 Shotput Coach    Andre Spitzer, 27 Wrestling Referee



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The PLO and its friends went international again in their work, and hijackings continued, with the PFLP and a Fatah splinter group (perhaps sanctioned by Fatah) calling itself the Black September Organization targeting Jordanian planes in particular, but with little success. So working with other terror networks, particularly the Japanese Red Army, who had trained in North Korea, Syria, and Lebanon, they started targeting other national airlines. Some success with payments were followed by a set back where Israeli agents foiled an attack in Tel Aviv, which was in turn followed by a retaliation by the Japanese Red Army a few months later in the same Airport (Lod). The JRA using forged papers travelled with suitcase filled with armaments, and upon arrival, opened fire on tourists in the terminal, killing 24 and wounding 72 others. 2 terrorists were killed, but one was captured, tried, and sentence to life.

On September 5, 1972, Black September wrote its place in history with the hostage taking at the Olympics of 11 Israeli athletes. With a television audience of 500 million, the entire world knew now who the Palestinians were. The mission ended badly from a tactical perspective, with all the athletes/coaches killed and 5 of the 8 terrorists killed.

Complete tactical failure, but a publicity success of enormous proportions for Palestinians.

Repeating the strategy of taking hostages on planes, trains and embassies continued to be effective for generating publicity, but may have started to fatigue the Arab states. Certainly after the victory in the October 1973 war with Israel, the Arabs were feeling more confident. Use of the oil weapon had proven effective as well, and given the Arabs a new avenue for opening dialogue with the west. 33 Airline passengers were killed in Rome and Athens during one hijacking in 1973, and the subsequent escape of the hijackers with the plane resulted in all Arab countries refusing them landing rights, until finally arrangements were made to release the last hostages.

The PLO then changed its focus to targets within Israel for 1974-75, taking heavy casualties and losing much sympathy with actions such as the killing of 20 schoolchildren at Ma'a lot in May 1974. Massive Israelie attacks on refugee camps in Lebanon, piled up dead Palestinian women and children, short circuiting the sympathy gain Israel stood to make following Ma'a lot. This particular attack was from the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, with its very extreme Marxist-Leninist views. Below is one of their posters with the prominent hammer and sickle symbol, in case you missed it.

In spite of these awful terror attacks, the PLO was recognized as the official representative of the Palestinian People and given observer status at the UN on November 22, 1974. Combined with PLO's 10 Point Program, which basically opened an alternate channel toward peace in the region, some of these more radical elements openly disagreed with the Fatah oriented center, and acted more independently.

Teaching Tip: I found a link to a hijacking article from a 1973 Time Magazine that is worth a look at for flavor of the time. This link is interesting due to the almost fatigued "Here we go again" feel to the reporting, and due to joint mission of PLO and Japanese Red Army members.

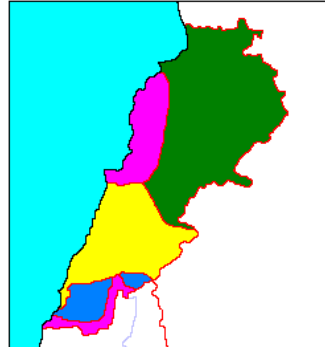
<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,907619,00.html>

# PLO in Lebanon

Sucks to be a Lebanese person  
The PLO were not good guests  
Existing ethnic tensions erupted, and  
the PLO joined in!

- 1/4 of the population wounded
- 5% killed

Then come the Israelis and the ever  
charming Ariel Sharon



- Map showing power balance in Lebanon, 1983:
- Green - controlled by Syria
- purple - controlled by Christian groups
- yellow - controlled by Israel
- blue - controlled by the United Nations



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## The PLO in Lebanon

Many Palestinian refugees ended up in Lebanon following the 1967 war. Lebanon agreed in 1969 to allow the PLO to handle the matters of the Palestinians in the camps as internal Palestinian affairs. The arrival of up to 20,000 PLO fighters from Jordan following Black September increased the PLO's sense of independence and at a minimum seems to have encouraged other groups inside Lebanon to gear up, with the PLO actually training groups sympathetic to their goals.

Lebanon had at independence been set up with a political system designed to insure its religious and ethnic groups had some guaranteed participation in the government. With changing demographics caused by higher birth rates among Muslim and Druze populations, and different economic conditions with the Christians controlling much of the financial and economic wealth of the nation, the country had some serious stability issues. When the PLO arrived, and everyone started to militarize, the situation was primed for an explosion.

From 1975 to 1990 the Lebanese Civil War tore apart the country. With about 4 million citizens at the start of the conflict, between 130,000 and 250,000 were killed, with up to 1 million wounded, and approximately the same number displaced. The PLO was an active participant in the civil war, and with its leftist allies, committed

some significant atrocities such as at Damour in 1976 where the Christian community was massacred. The Christian Falangists would later return the favor against the Palestinian refugee camps. Meanwhile, the PLO was continuing border attacks and shelling of Northern Israeli towns, including one barrage in July of 1981 that lasted for 10 days.

Following an assassination attempt by the Abu Nidal Group against the Israeli ambassador, the Israelis escalated from air strikes to a full blown invasion of Southern Lebanon. Establishing a security perimeter in the South, with the aid of the Christians was the stated goal, but as the Israelis advanced they soon had the PLO holed up in Beirut. Faced with international pressures on both sides, it was agreed the PLO would be allowed to evacuate to Tunisia. It is important to note that the Syrians had occupied northern Lebanon, and in the conflict, the Israelis shot down between 80 and 90 Syrian planes, with no Israeli losses in air combat.

Ariel Sharon, noted Israeli Hawk, is widely considered responsible for the massacres at Sabra and Shatila of Palestinians by Christian Phalangists in camps surrounded by Israeli troops.

## Intifada

### PLO

- Lost day to day contact with the territories

### PLO and Israel both Failed to understand the conditions

- Hamas would emerge the winner in the streets
- Politically world sided with the rock throwers
- Oslo Peace accords would follow



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Things were quiet in Tunis, although a terror attack in Cyprus did result in an Israeli air attack on PLO headquarters in Tunis. The PLO had lost its ability to do much more than agitate politically, and carry out the periodic terror attack. It also had lost the day to day routine contact with the majority of the Palestinian refugees, and in some ways was becoming increasingly irrelevant.

**The First Intifada** occurred from 1987 to 1993, and the increased PLO detachment from the territories caused them to completely misunderstand the nature of the insurrection, in spite of early efforts to take credit for it.

This discussion draws on Colonel Hammes book, [The Sling and the Stone](#).

On December 8, 1987, an Israeli truck hit a car filled with Palestinian day laborers. For whatever reason, a riot broke out, and expanded spontaneously through the Gaza Strip. Throwing rocks and some Molotov cocktails, an Israeli patrol was pushed back to its compound. The riots started again the next day and for the next 11 days. ON December 18, the Israeli Defense Force sent in reinforcements, and on December 19, the PLO in Tunis started to notice. Two local, low level PLO member took the initiative and organized action in Jerusalem on the 19<sup>th</sup>, and the 150 Israeli police lost control to the riots. On December 21, Israeli Arabs joined the protests with a "Peace Day" strike, blocking roads and throwing rocks and Molotov cocktails as well.

The PLO was still slow to respond, finally issuing a pamphlet to encourage the civil action after the New Year, but it was clear they were not in control of the events on the ground. Later, the PLO would decide to have its fighters engage the Israelis, but this strategy was dismissed by the local leaders of the Intifada who had switched to a strategy of rocks throwing and media. More Palestinians than Israelis were being injured by the Molotov cocktails, and the media image of a Palestinian youth facing down a tank with nothing but a rock was very powerful indeed. A few weeks later, the PLO issued another pamphlet stating "Let's use rocks only".

The local leaders also were doing a good job driving the foreign media to events, and maximizing all the coverage they could get. International Press coverage was high, the outgunned Palestinian youth was sympathetic, and even the Israeli Jews were starting to doubt then overall occupation.

The intifada eventually lost some steam, but it gets credit for pushing the PLO and Israel into more negotiation in Madrid in 1991, and the 1993 Oslo Declaration of Principles that outlined the plan for the creation of a Palestinian National Authority to govern the Gaza Strip and West Bank

#### Key Points:

- The locals lacked the military means to fight a conventional conflict
- The Political Win was what the Intifada Leaders were after
- Media was critical to staging the political debate
- The disruption lasted for several years
- Leadership was decentralized and networked
- The discussion on merging the Palestinians into Jordan ended

## Oslo Peace Accord

Israeli withdrawal from West Bank and Gaza

Interim Palestinian Authority (5 years) followed  
by a permanent solution (statehood)

Mutual Recognition

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SOURCE IS THE BBC

Text: 1993 Declaration of Principles

**The Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements is the main agreement signed between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organisation. It was signed on White House lawn amid much fanfare in September 1993. Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements:**

The Government of the State of Israel and the PLO team (in the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to the Middle East Peace Conference) (the "Palestinian Delegation"), representing the Palestinian people, agree that it is time to put an end to decades of confrontation and conflict, recognise their mutual legitimate and political rights, and strive to live in peaceful coexistence and mutual dignity and security and achieve a just, lasting and comprehensive peace settlement and historic reconciliation through the agreed political process. Accordingly, the two sides agree to the following principles:

**Article I:**

**Aim of negotiations:**

The aim of the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations within the current Middle East peace process is, among other things, to establish a Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority, the elected Council (the "Council"), for the Palestinian people in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, for a transitional period not exceeding five years, leading to

a permanent settlement based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). It is understood that the interim arrangements are an integral part of the whole peace process and that the negotiations on the permanent status will lead to the implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

**Article II:**

**Framework for the interim period:**

The agreed framework for the interim period is set forth in this Declaration of Principles.

**Article III:**

**Elections:**

1. In order that the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip may govern themselves according to democratic principles, direct, free and general political elections will be held for the Council under agreed supervision and international observation, while the Palestinian police will ensure public order.
2. An agreement will be concluded on the exact mode and conditions of the elections in accordance with the protocol attached as Annex I, with the goal of holding the elections not later than nine months after the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles.
3. These elections will constitute a significant interim preparatory step toward the realisation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just requirements.

**Article IV:**

**Jurisdiction:**

Jurisdiction of the Council will cover West Bank and Gaza Strip territory, except for issues that will be negotiated in the permanent status negotiations. The two sides view the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as a single territorial unit, whose integrity will be preserved during the interim period.

**Article V:**

**Transitional period and permanent status negotiations:**

1. The five-year transitional period will begin upon the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area.
2. Permanent status negotiations will commence as soon as possible, but not later than the beginning of the third year of the interim period, between the Government of Israel and the Palestinian people's representatives.
3. It is understood that these negotiations shall cover remaining issues, including: Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements, borders, relations and co-operation with other neighbours, and other issues of common interest.
4. The two parties agree that the outcome of the permanent status negotiations should not be prejudiced or pre-empted by agreements reached for the interim period.

**Article VI:**

**Preparatory transfer of powers and responsibilities:**



1. Upon the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles and the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area, a transfer of authority from the Israeli military government and its Civil Administration to the authorised Palestinians for this task, as detailed herein, will commence. This transfer of authority will be of a preparatory nature until the inauguration of the Council.

2. Immediately after the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles and the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area, with the view to promoting economic development in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, authority will be transferred to the Palestinians in the following spheres: education and culture, health, social welfare, direct taxation and tourism. The Palestinian side will commence in building the Palestinian police force, as agreed upon. Pending the inauguration of the Council, the two parties may negotiate the transfer of additional powers and responsibilities, as agreed upon.

**Article VII:**

**Interim agreement:**

1. The Israeli and Palestinian delegations will negotiate an agreement on the interim period (the "Interim Agreement").

2. The Interim Agreement shall specify, among other things, the structure of the Council, the number of its members, and the transfer of powers and responsibilities from the Israeli military government and its Civil Administration to the Council. The Interim Agreement shall also specify the Council's executive authority, legislative authority in accordance with Article IX below, and the independent Palestinian judicial organs.

3. The Interim Agreement shall include arrangements, to be implemented upon the inauguration of the Council, for the assumption by the Council of all of the powers and responsibilities transferred previously in accordance with Article VI above.

4. In order to enable the Council to promote economic growth, upon its inauguration, the Council will establish, among other things, a Palestinian Electricity Authority, a Gaza Sea Port Authority, a Palestinian Development Bank, a Palestinian Export Promotion Board, a Palestinian Environmental Authority, a Palestinian Land Authority and a Palestinian Water Administration Authority and any other Authorities agreed upon, in accordance with the Interim Agreement, that will specify their powers and responsibilities.

5. After the inauguration of the Council, the Civil Administration will be dissolved, and the Israeli military government will be withdrawn.

**Article VIII:**

**Public order and security:**

In order to guarantee public order and internal security for the Palestinians of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the Council will establish a strong police force, while Israel will continue to carry the responsibility for defending against external threats, as well as the responsibility for overall security of Israelis for the purpose of safeguarding their internal security and public order.

**Article IX:****Laws and military orders:**

1. The Council will be empowered to legislate, in accordance with the Interim Agreement, within all authorities transferred to it.
2. Both parties will review jointly laws and military orders presently in force in remaining spheres.

**Article X:****Joint Israeli-Palestinian liaison committee:**

In order to provide for a smooth implementation of this Declaration of Principles and any subsequent agreements pertaining to the interim period, upon the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles, a Joint Israeli-Palestinian Liaison Committee will be established in order to deal with issues requiring coordination, other issues of common interest and disputes.

**Article XI:****Israeli-Palestinian cooperation in economic fields:**

Recognising the mutual benefit of co-operation in promoting the development of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Israel, upon the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles, an Israeli-Palestinian Economic Co-operation Committee will be established in order to develop and implement in a co-operative manner the programmes identified in the protocols attached as Annex III and Annex IV.

**Article XII:****Liaison and co-operation with Jordan and Egypt:**

The two parties will invite the Governments of Jordan and Egypt to participate in establishing further liaison and co-operation arrangements between the Government of Israel and the Palestinian representatives, on the one hand, and the Governments of Jordan and Egypt, on the other hand, to promote co-operation between them. These arrangements will include the constitution of a Continuing Committee that will decide by agreement on the modalities of admission of persons displaced from the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967, together with necessary measures to prevent disruption and disorder. Other matters of common concern will be dealt with by this Committee.

**Article XIII:****Redeployment of Israeli forces:**

1. After the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles, and not later than the eve of elections for the Council, a redeployment of Israeli military forces in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip will take place, in addition to withdrawal of Israeli forces carried out in accordance with Article XIV.
2. In redeploying its military forces, Israel will be guided by the principle that its military forces should be redeployed outside populated areas.
3. Further redeployments to specified locations will be gradually implemented commensurate with the assumption of responsibility for public order and internal security by the Palestinian police force pursuant to Article VIII above.

**Article XIV:****Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza strip and Jericho area:**

Israel will withdraw from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area, as detailed in the protocol attached as Annex II.

**Article XV:****Resolution of disputes:**

1. Disputes arising out of the application or interpretation of this Declaration of Principles, or any subsequent agreements pertaining to the interim period, shall be resolved by negotiations through the Joint Liaison Committee to be established pursuant to Article X above.
2. Disputes which cannot be settled by negotiations may be resolved by a mechanism of conciliation to be agreed upon by the parties.
3. The parties may agree to submit to arbitration disputes relating to the interim period, which cannot be settled through conciliation. To this end, upon the agreement of both parties, the parties will establish an arbitration committee.

**Article XVI:****Israeli-Palestinian cooperation concerning regional programmes:**

Both parties view the multilateral working groups as an appropriate instrument for promoting a "Marshall Plan", the regional programmes and other programmes, including special programmes for the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as indicated in the protocol attached as Annex IV.

**Article XVII:****Miscellaneous provisions:**

1. This Declaration of Principles will enter into force one month after its signing.
2. All protocols annexed to this Declaration of Principles and agreed minutes pertaining thereto shall be regarded as an integral part hereof.

Done in Washington, DC. this thirteenth day of September 1993.

For the Government of Israel: (Signed) Shimon Peres For the PLO: (Signed) Mahmud Abbas Witnessed by: The United States of America (Signed) Warren Christopher and The Russian Federation (Signed) Andrei V Kozyrev

**Annex I:****Protocol on the Mode and Conditions of Elections:**

1. Palestinians of Jerusalem who live there will have the right to participate in the election process, according to an agreement between the two sides.
2. In addition, the election agreement should cover, among other things, the following issues:
  - (a) The system of elections
  - (b) The mode of the agreed supervision and international observation and their personal composition
  - (c) Rules and regulations regarding election campaigns, including agreed arrangements for the organizing of mass media, and the possibility of licensing a broadcasting and television station.

3. The future status of displaced Palestinians who were registered on 4 June 1967 will not be prejudiced because they are unable to participate in the election process owing to practical reasons.

#### **Annex II:**

##### **Protocol on Withdrawal of Israeli Forces from the Gaza Strip and Jericho Area:**

1. The two sides will conclude and sign within two months from the date of entry into force of this Declaration of Principles an agreement on the withdrawal of Israeli military forces from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area. This agreement will include comprehensive arrangements to apply in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area subsequent to the Israeli withdrawal.

2. Israel will implement an accelerated and scheduled withdrawal of Israeli military forces from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area, beginning immediately with the signing of the agreement on the Gaza Strip and Jericho area and to be completed within a period not exceeding four months after the signing of this agreement.

3. The above agreement will include, among other things:

(a) Arrangements for a smooth and peaceful transfer of authority from the Israeli military government and its Civil Administration to the Palestinian representatives

(b) Structure, powers and responsibilities of the Palestinian authority in these areas, except: external security, settlements, Israelis, foreign relations and other mutually agreed matters

(c) Arrangements for the assumption of internal security and public order by the Palestinian police force consisting of police officers recruited locally and from abroad (holding Jordanian passports and Palestinian documents issued by Egypt). Those who will participate in the Palestinian police force coming from abroad should be trained as police and police officers

(d) A temporary international or foreign presence, as agreed upon

(e) Establishment of a joint Palestinian-Israeli Co-ordination and Co-operation Committee for mutual security purposes

(f) An economic development and stabilisation programme including the establishment of an Emergency Fund, to encourage foreign investment and financial and economic support. Both sides will co-ordinate and co-operate jointly and unilaterally with regional and international parties to support these aims

(g) Arrangements for a safe passage for persons and transportation between the Gaza Strip and Jericho area.

4. The above agreement will include arrangements for co-ordination between both parties regarding passages: (a) Gaza-Egypt

(b) Jericho-Jordan;

5. The offices responsible for carrying out the powers and responsibilities of the Palestinian authority under this Annex II and Article VI of the Declaration of Principles will be located in the Gaza Strip and in the Jericho area pending the inauguration of the Council.

6. Other than these agreed arrangements, the status of the Gaza Strip and Jericho area will continue to be an integral part of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and will not be changed in the interim period.

**Annex III:**

**Protocol on Israeli-Palestinian co-operation in economic and development programmes:**

The two sides agree to establish an Israeli-Palestinian continuing committee for economic co-operation, focusing, among other things, on the following:

1. Co-operation in the field of water, including a water development programme prepared by experts from both sides, which will also specify the mode of co-operation in the management of water resources in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and will include proposals for studies and plans on water rights of each party, as well as on the equitable utilization of joint water resources for implementation in and beyond the interim period.
2. Co-operation in the field of electricity, including an Electricity Development Programme, which will also specify the mode of co-operation for the production, maintenance, purchase and sale of electricity resources.
3. Co-operation in the field of energy, including an energy development programme, which will provide for the exploitation of oil and gas for industrial purposes, particularly in the Gaza Strip and in the Negev, and will encourage further joint exploitation of other energy resources. This Programme may also provide for the construction of a petrochemical industrial complex in the Gaza Strip and the construction of oil and gas pipelines.
4. Co-operation in the field of finance, including a financial development and action programme for the encouragement of international investment in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and in Israel, as well as the establishment of a Palestinian Development Bank.
5. Co-operation in the field of transport and communications, including a programme, which will define guidelines for the establishment of a Gaza sea port area, and will provide for the establishing of transport and communications lines to and from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to Israel and to other countries. In addition, this Programme will provide for carrying out the necessary construction of roads, railways, communications lines, etc.
6. Co-operation in the field of trade, including studies, and trade promotion programmes, which will encourage local, regional and interregional trade, as well as a feasibility study of creating free trade zones in the Gaza Strip and in Israel, mutual access to these zones and co-operation in other areas related to trade and commerce.
7. Co-operation in the field of industry, including industrial development programmes, which will provide for the establishment of joint Israeli-Palestinian industrial research and development centres, will promote Palestinian-Israeli joint ventures, and provide guidelines for co-operation in the textile, food, pharmaceutical,

electronics, diamonds, computer and science-based industries.

8. A Programme for co-operation in, and regulation of, labour relations and co-operation in social welfare issues.

9. A human resource development and co-operation plan, providing for joint Israeli-Palestinian workshops and seminars, and for the establishment of joint vocational training centres, research institutes and data banks.

10. An environmental protection plan, providing for joint and/or co-ordinated measures in this sphere.

11. A Programme for developing co-ordination and co-operation in the field of communications and media.

12. Any other programmes of mutual interest.

#### **Annex IV:**

#### **Protocol on Israeli-Palestinian co-operation concerning regional development Programmes:**

1. The two sides will co-operate in the context of the multilateral peace efforts in promoting a development programme for the region, including the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, to be initiated by the Group of Seven. The parties will request the Group of Seven to seek the participation in this programme of other interested states, such as members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, regional Arab states and institutions, as well as members of the private sector.

2. The Development Programme will consist of two elements:

- (a) An Economic Development Programme for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip
- (b) A Regional Economic Development Programme.

The economic development programme for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip will consist of the following elements:

- (1) A Social Rehabilitation Programme, including a Housing and Construction Programme
- (2) A Small and Medium Business Development Plan
- (3) An Infrastructure Development Programme (water, electricity, transportation and communications, etc)
- (4) A Human Resources Plan
- (5) Other programmes.

The regional economic development programme may consist of the following elements:

- (1) The establishment of a Middle East Development Fund, as a first step, and a Middle East Development Bank, as a second step
- (2) The development of a joint Israeli-Palestinian-Jordanian Plan for co-ordinated exploitation of the Dead Sea area
- (3) The Mediterranean Sea (Gaza) - Dead Sea Canal
- (4) Regional desalinisation and other water development projects

- (5) A regional plan for agricultural development, including a coordinated regional effort for the prevention of desertification
- (6) Interconnection of electricity grids
- (7) Regional co-operation for the transfer, distribution and industrial exploitation of gas, oil and other energy resources
- (8) A regional tourism, transportation and telecommunications development plan
- (9) Regional co-operation in other spheres.

3. The two sides will encourage the multilateral working groups and will co-ordinate towards their success. The two parties will encourage inter-sessional activities, as well as pre-feasibility and feasibility studies, within the various multilateral working groups. Agreed minutes to the Declaration of Principles on interim self-government arrangements:

A. General understandings and agreements:

Any powers and responsibilities transferred to the Palestinians pursuant to the Declaration of Principles prior to the inauguration of the Council will be subject to the same principles pertaining to Article IV, as set out in these agreed minutes below. B.

Specific understandings and agreements:

#### **Article IV:**

It is understood that:

- 1. Jurisdiction of the Council will cover West Bank and Gaza Strip territory, except for issues that will be negotiated in the permanent status negotiations: Jerusalem, settlements, military locations and Israelis.
- 2. The Council's jurisdiction will apply with regard to the agreed powers, responsibilities, spheres and authorities transferred to it.

#### **Article VI (2):**

It is agreed that the transfer of authority will be as follows:

- 1. The Palestinian side will inform the Israeli side of the names of the authorised Palestinians who will assume the powers, authorities and responsibilities that will be transferred to the Palestinians according to the Declaration of Principles in the following fields: education and culture, health, social welfare, direct taxation, tourism and any other authorities agreed upon.
- 2. It is understood that the rights and obligations of these offices will not be affected.
- 3. Each of the spheres described above will continue to enjoy existing budgetary allocations in accordance with arrangements to be mutually agreed upon. These arrangements also will provide for the necessary adjustments required in order to take into account the taxes collected by the direct taxation office.
- 4. Upon the execution of the Declaration of Principles, the Israeli and Palestinian delegations will immediately commence negotiations on a detailed plan for the transfer of authority on the above offices in accordance with the above understandings.

#### **Article VII (2):**

The Interim Agreement will also include arrangements for co-ordination and co-operation.

**Article VII (5):**

The withdrawal of the military government will not prevent Israel from exercising the powers and responsibilities not transferred to the Council.

**Article VIII:**

It is understood that the Interim Agreement will include arrangements for co-operation and co-ordination between the two parties in this regard. It is also agreed that the transfer of powers and responsibilities to the Palestinian police will be accomplished in a phased manner, as agreed in the Interim Agreement.

**Article X:**

It is agreed that, upon the entry into force of the Declaration of Principles, the Israeli and Palestinian delegations will exchange the names of the individuals designated by them as members of the joint Israeli-Palestinian liaison committee. It is further agreed that each side will have an equal number of members in the joint committee. The joint committee will reach decisions by agreement. The Joint committee may add other technicians and experts, as necessary. The Joint committee will decide on the frequency and place or places of its meetings.

**Annex II:**

It is understood that, subsequent to the Israeli withdrawal, Israel will continue to be responsible for external security, and for internal security and public order of settlements and Israelis. Israeli military forces and civilians may continue to use roads freely within the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area.

Agreed in Washington DC, on 13 September 1993. For the Government of Israel: (Signed) Shimon Peres For the PLO: (Signed) Mahmud Abbas Witnessed by: The United States of America, (Signed) Warren Christopher and The Russian Federation, (Signed) Andrei V Kozyrev.



## Intifada II

### Israel

- Conservative Likud Control government
- Opposed t Oslo
- Expansion of Jewish Settlements

### Palestinians

- Corruption in Fatah and Government
- Islamic Fundamentalist
- Suicide Bombers

Loss of world opinion

Hardening Israeli Paradigm

Palestinian Split

Apartheid for the West Bank

Submit **AP** ray.com



Tomorrows Pioneers  
Children's Show



### The Al Aqsa Intifada (2<sup>nd</sup> Intifada)

After the Oslo accord, Muslim fundamentalist engaged in a series of Suicide Bombings that resulted in the more conservative Likud Party getting elected. Basically, the Palestinians could not control their own extremist groups, so Israel elected their extremists.

Ariel Sharon was the Prime Minister of Israel, and an extreme nationalist. As housing minister, and then Foreign Minister in 2000, he was bitterly opposed to the Oslo Accords. He worked to fill West Bank Settlements and to expand them in the occupied territories, which were theoretically destined to be part of the Palestinian state.

Binyamin Netanyahu was Prime Minister in 2000, and had plans to open a tourist gate near the Al Aqsa Mosque that seemed designed to provoke the Arabs, and it did. Ariel Sharon going down to eh Mosque flanked by hundreds of IDF troop did not help either. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Intifada was launched, but this time the rocks only strategy was abandoned and things escalated out of control. Two brutal actions, one involving the beatings, lynching, and disembowelment of two Israeli Reservists who wandered into the wrong neighborhood, and the killing of an Israeli teenager, froze the Israeli view, and did not give the Palestinians good media coverage at all.

More suicide bombings driven by Hamas, and direct fire fights between IDF and PLO

fighters worsened the situation, and the PLO's control of the territories worsened, and led to the split of the Palestinians into Hamas controlled Gaza and Fatah controlled West Bank.

Outcomes were

Loss of Public support in the international community – suicide bombers are creepy  
Israelis just went hard to war- they now seem to accept it as a permanent life style  
feature

Palestinians split into Fatah and Hamas

De facto apartheid of the West Bank

## Ringo Starr and the PLO – *the Truth Revealed*



Although many people might find this shocking, I have strong reasons to believe that Ringo Starr is in fact Yasser Arafat, the Head of the PLO.

I know it may seem shocking, but let's look at the evidence.

In the early sixties, the Beatles were seen everywhere. But then in 1966, they gave their last live concert and were seen in the public less frequently – certainly Ringo seems to have faded a bit, even though John was still fairly visible. In 1967, the PLO started to be much more visible, and by 1968, Yasser Arafat was constantly in the news...but not Ringo... coincidence?

Both Ringo and Yasser made the cover of Time Magazine, in an illustration, not picture image. PLUS both made the cover as part of a GROUP.

They both make the peace sign with their fingers! look at all that gesticulation!

While Yasser has long loved guns, we only recently have noted Ringo's gun fetish. See above image!

Consider this – despite an extensive search, I can find exactly ZERO PHOTOS OF RINGO AND YASSER TOGETHER! Go ahead, Google it – there are NONE.

In 1970, the PLO got kicked out of Jordan into exile and is basically out of sight for awhile. But in 1971, Ringo resurfaces with a hit song called "It Don't come Easy",

clearly a veiled reference to the struggle for Palestinian Statehood.

Lastly, consider all of the above, and then look at the picture images. Their physical similarities, and their peculiar beard style, look remarkably similar, as though they were almost clones of each other. Since cloning was not possible until recently, it would seem to mean that only one conclusion is possible...they must be the same person!

And since Walrus's don't live in Palestine, and neither did Yasser and most Palestinians, we all now know who the Walrus really was - it was Yasser/Ringo!

Teaching Tip - At this point, I hope to God all your students know you are messing with them. If not, as a nation, we really are doomed. I would make some comments to them about the changes to media in the last 20 years, about the movement away from proper investigative reporting to OP ED style "journalism", where a loosely knit series of anecdotes gets pulled together into a conclusion that is really not supportable, but often repeated.

You can have some more fun, and ask your students if they believe Obama was really born in the US, see if some are suspicious. Then you can spring it on them that you know he was in fact not born in the US, but born in HAWAII. See if any of them are aware that Hawaii is part of the US.