

type accord, without political cover on the Palestinian or Arab levels. Instead, the Jordanian regime is normalizing relations with 'Israel' through the policy of joint administration of the 1967 occupied territories.

The vast majority of the Arab regimes no longer object to an unjust, capitulationist settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict and its core, the Palestinian problem. So when Morocco's Hassan II received Israeli Prime Minister Peres in 1986, there was complete silence on the part of most Arab regimes - a sad state of affairs. Times sure have changed.

1967-1987: ISRAELI TENATS

Ironically, while the Arab state's policies have declined during the past two decades, the Zionist policies have kept a steady course, namely that of subjugating, if not eliminating, the Palestinian people. Despite tactical differences between the Zionist leaders, the strategy remains the same. Golda Meir's famous declaration that «there were no Palestinians» is the theme that dominates political circles in 'Israel'. Her declaration was in 1967. In 1981, a book entitled *Central Issues of the State's and People's History* was included in the curriculum of Israeli secondary schools. Among other statements, it reads: «The Palestinian people do not exist.» In 1982, 'Israel' invaded Lebanon, hoping to make that statement a reality.

The basic Israeli tenats focus on many issues and have been reiterated by 'doves' and 'hawks' alike whenever there was a move to settle the Middle East conflict or one of its aspects. These tenats, which were reaffirmed by the present 'national unity' government, can be summarized as follows:

1. refusal to recognize the PLO, or to negotiate or deal with it;
2. rejection of the idea of an independent Palestinian state under any conditions, considering this to be a disaster for 'Israel';
3. insistence on undisputable Israeli rights to Jerusalem as the 'eternal capital of Israel';
4. rejection of the idea of returning to the pre-1967 borders.

These tenats have been firmly adhered to throughout the two decades after the 1967 war, from Yigal Allon's plan and the conditional Israeli acceptance of the Rogers plan, to the section of the Camp David accords pertaining

to the Palestinian issue, and Peres' current plans. Not only does 'Israel' act on the basis of these tenats, it has demanded that successive US administrations adhere to them as well. In 1985, 'Israel' strongly opposed the idea of US officials meeting with a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation that was formed after the now defunct Amman accord.

The Israeli tenats are based on a number of considerations as follows:

First: The thesis that recognition of the Palestinian people's rights to an independent state and self-determination would threaten the existence of 'Israel' and the Zionist claims about the 'promised land', as well as the plans to attract the Jews of the world to Palestine. Only about 20% of the Jews of the world are in 'Israel', and failure to bring a larger number would mean the failure of Zionism's claim that 'Israel' is the solution for all Jews.

Second: 'Israel' is unwilling to relinquish the political, economic and security advantages obtained through the occupation of all of Palestine. 'Israel' uses the occupation as a point of pressure on the Arab regimes, in order to orientate these regimes towards imperialism, politically and economically.

Third: Relinquishing any part of occupied Palestine, or recognizing the PLO and the Palestinians' legitimate rights would threaten the unity of the main Zionist parties and factions. Despite the seeming divergence between Labor's principle about the 'purity of the Jewish state', whereby some non-

colonized territory could be ceded, and the Likud's principle of 'the unity of the Land of Israel', rejecting any concessions, the two factions have not been willing to dissolve the joint government.

Fourth: The most important factor is the Palestinian revolution. In early 1968, Moshe Dayan replied to a question about the escalation of Palestinian armed activities by saying, «The saboteurs are but an egg in my hand that I could crush whenever I want» - a premature prediction for sure. Nineteen years later, the 'egg' has not been crushed. Rather it has become a great revolution that refuses to be crushed. Successive Israeli attempts to destroy the PLO, supplemented by the attempts of Arab regimes and sectarian forces like Amal and the Phalangists, have all failed. This failure is another cause for Israeli adherence to their tenats and insistence on maintaining the 1967 occupied territories.

It is thus elementary to conclude that the Zionist rhetoric about 'peace' and 'political settlement' is actually a means of gaining Arab approval for the Israeli tenats. This is apparent in Israeli insistence on direct negotiations, also if there is to be an international conference. The Israeli positions are strategic ones, not tactical. They can only be changed by a radical shift in the balance of forces in the region.

1967-1987: ONGOING REVOLUTION

One can with certainty say that the Palestinian revolution stands as one of

Arab boycott weakens - King Hussein, Mubarak and Sultan Qabus in 1982.

