

UNCLASSIFIED

EXCISE

P
EI

*** Current Classification *** [REDACTED]
*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

<<<**** OASYS DOCUMENT HEADER ****>>>

DOC_NBR= 88JERUSA02536

FILM= D880665-0168

DATE= 01 AUG 88

TYPE= TE

FROM= JERUSALEM

DRAFTER= n/a

OFFICE= ACTION NEA

TO= STATE
TEL AVIV

CHANNEL= n/a

ORIGHAND= n/a

ORIGPHAND= n/a

ORIGCLASS= [REDACTED]

ORIGPCCLASS= n/a

EO= OA

SUBJECT= INITIAL WEST BANK REACTION TO JORDANIAN DISENGAGEMENT: SHOCK,
UNCERTAINTY

REFERENCE= n/a

CONTROL_NBR= n/a

ENCLOSURE= n/a

LOCATOR= TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

ERRORS= N/A

CONCEPTS= WEST BANK, GOVERNMENT REACTION, KING, SPEECH, OCCUPIED AREA,
DEVELOPMENT LOAN, SELF DETERMINATION

TAGS= KPAL, PREL, PBTS, IS, JO, PLO, (HUSSEIN I)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE		IS/FPC/CDR	Date. FEB 12 1997
<input type="checkbox"/> RELEASE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> DECLASSIFY	MR Cases Only:	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> EXCISE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> DECLASSIFY	EO Citations _____	
<input type="checkbox"/> DENY	IN PART		
<input type="checkbox"/> DELETE. Non-Responsive Info		TS authority to:	
FOIA Exemptions <u>B-1</u>		<input type="checkbox"/> CLASSIFY as	<input type="checkbox"/> S or
PA Exemptions _____		<input type="checkbox"/> DOWNGRADE TS to	<input type="checkbox"/> B or

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

<<<<.>>>>

PAGE 01 JERUSA 02536 01 OF 03 011612Z
ACTION NEA-11

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00
EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 MSC-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00
SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01
INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01
DS-01 DSE-00 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /091 W
-----304412 011633Z /40

O 011609Z AUG 88
FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3064
INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY CAIRO

SECTION 01 OF 03 JERUSALEM 02536

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PBTS, KPAL, IS, JO
SUBJECT: INITIAL WEST BANK REACTION TO JORDANIAN
DISENGAGEMENT: SHOCK, UNCERTAINTY

1. [REDACTED]

2. SUMMARY. JORDAN'S ANNOUNCEMENT JULY 28 AND KING HUSSEIN'S SPEECH JULY 31 CUTTING MANY LINKS WITH THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES HAVE LEFT MANY WEST BANK LEADERS APPREHENSIVE AND UNCERTAIN. PLO SUPPORTERS GENERALLY WELCOME THE ANNOUNCEMENTS AS CONFIRMATION OF PLO PRIMACY IN THE TERRITORIES, BUT THEIR ENTHUSIASM IS TEMPERED BY CONCERN ABOUT THE PRACTICAL CONSEQUENCES. PRO-JORDAN FIGURES SAY THE DECISION IS A "TRAGEDY" AND FEAR ENDURING POLITICAL GRIDLOCK, WITH THE WEST BANKERS UNABLE TO REPRESENT THEMSELVES, THE PLO UNABLE TO REPRESENT THEM WITH ISRAEL, AND THE SITUATION ON

PAGE 02 JERUSA 02536 01 OF 03 011612Z

THE GROUND WORSENING. NEARLY ALL SAY THEY HOPE THE U.S. WILL CHANNEL DEVELOPMENT FUNDS INTO A DIRECT WEST BANK/GAZA PROGRAM. MANY FEAR THE GOJ WILL MOVE TO RESTRICT TRAVEL BY LIMITING

UNCLASSIFIED

BRIDGE CROSSINGS OR PASSPORT FACILITIES. MOST ADMIT THERE IS MUCH UNCERTAINTY AND SAY MORE TIME IS NEEDED TO FULLY ASSESS THE NEW SITUATION. ARAFAT'S VISIT TO AMMAN IS SEEN AS A CRITICAL NEXT STEP. END SUMMARY.

VIEWS OF PLO SUPPORTERS

////////////////////

3. MOST PRO-PLO/FATAH FIGURES HERE (THIS GROUP REPRESENTS THE POLITICAL MAINSTREAM), HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED TO CONGEN OFFICERS OVER THE YEARS THAT JORDAN AND THE PALESTINIANS IN THE WEST BANK ARE INEXTRICABLY LINKED BY FAMILY AND ECONOMIC TIES, AND THAT, ULTIMATELY, JORDAN AND THE PALESTINIANS WILL HAVE TO WORK TOGETHER TO DEFINE THEIR RELATIONSHIP AS WELL AS A SETTLEMENT WITH ISRAEL. WHAT THEY HAVE OBJECTED TO IN THE PAST WAS THE IMPLICATION THAT PALESTINIANS WERE A SUBORDINATE PARTY TO AN ISRAELI-JORDANIAN NEGOTIATION AND THAT THE PLO WOULD BE EXCLUDED ALTOGETHER. THEIR INSISTANCE ON SELF-DETERMINATION, A PALESTINIAN STATE, AND A PALESTINIAN FLAG IS BASED MORE ON THE PSYCHIC NEED FOR RECOGNITION AND IDENTITY THAN ON THE EXPECTATION THAT THEY COULD EXIST WITHOUT STRONG TIES TO JORDAN AND ISRAEL; HENCE THE PREFERENCE OF THE MAINSTREAM PRO-PLO ELEMENTS FOR

████████████████████

████████████████████

PAGE 03 JERUSA 02536 01 OF 03 011612Z

ESTABLISHING AN INDEPENDENT STATE, AFTER WHICH THEY WOULD IMMEDIATELY DECLARE CONFEDERATION WITH JORDAN. SPECIFIC REACTIONS FROM PRO/PLO FIGURES FOLLOW.

4. [] TOLD US HUSSEIN HAS BOWED TO THE INEVITABLE; HOWEVER, HE WOULD TRY TO PRESSURE PALESTINIANS TO CRAWL BACK TO HIM, BUT THEY WOULD NEVER DO THIS. [] SPECULATED THAT THE PLO MIGHT NOW ESTABLISH A GOVERNMENT IN EXILE AND CHALLENGE ISRAEL FOR PEACE. [] AGREED THAT THIS WAS A PROMISING OPTION. []

B-1(d)

5. []

UNCLASSIFIED

HE WELCOMED ABANDONMENT OF THE JORDAN WEST BANK/GAZA DEVELOPMENT PLAN, SEEN BY HIM AND OTHER PLO ADHERENTS AS AN GOJ EFFORT TO BUY POLITICAL INFLUENCE IN THE TERRITORIES.

6.] CALLED
JORDAN'S DECISION "COURAGEOUS," AND A "HISTORIC STEP FOR PALESTINIANS." HE SEES THE GOJ MOVES NOT AS A CHALLENGE TO THE PLO, BUT A JOINT UNDERSTANDING THAT JORDAN CANNOT SPEAK FOR THE TERRITORIES. HE ACKNOWLEDGED, HOWEVER, THAT THINGS WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR THE PALESTINIANS, AND THAT THEY WILL HAVE TO MAKE SOME HARD DECISIONS. AL FAJR EDITOR HANNA SINIORA ALSO WELCOMED THE JORDANIAN MOVES AND HOPED THEY WOULD PAVE THE WAY FOR A FRESH START IN REACHING AN UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN HUSSEIN AND ARAFAT.

[REDACTED]

NNNN

[REDACTED]

PAGE 01 JERUSA 02536 02 OF 03 011613Z
ACTION NEA-11

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00
EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 MSC-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00
SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01
INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01
DS-01 DSE-00 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /091 W
-----304446 011634Z /40

O 011609Z AUG 88
FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3065
INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY CAIRO

[REDACTED] SECTION 02 OF 03 JERUSALEM 02536

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PBTS, KPAL, IS, JO
SUBJECT: INITIAL WEST BANK REACTION TO JORDANIAN

7. OTHER PRO-PLO CONTACTS HAVE TOLD US THAT WHILE THEY SUPPORT THE KING'S NEW DEFINITION OF JORDANIAN -PALESTINIAN RELATIONS AS A STEP FORWARD, IN PRINCIPLE, THEY WONDER WHETHER JORDAN WILL TRY TO USE ITS LEVERAGE TO BRING THE PALESTINIANS AND PLO TO HEEL. JOURNALIST IBRAHIM KARA'EEN FEARED THAT IF THE KING WAS MOTIVATED BY BITTERNESS, HE COULD HURT THE PALESTINIANS, AND HE HOPED ARAFAT AND HUSSEIN WOULD REACH AN UNDERSTANDING.

8. SOME OF OUR PRO-PLO CONTACTS HOPE THAT THE JORDANIAN WITHDRAWAL WILL FORCE ISRAEL TO MAKE CONCESSIONS TO THE PALESTINIANS IN THE TERRITORIES AND PERSUADE THE GOI AND THE U.S. TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH THE PLO.

████████████████████

████████████████████

PAGE 02 JERUSA 02536 02 OF 03 011613Z

PRO-JORDANIANS DEEPLY CONCERNED

////////////////////

9. PRO-JORDANIAN LEADERS ARE SHOCKED AND DESPONDENT ABOUT THE GOJ MOVE. MAYOR ELIAS FREIJ OF BETHLEHEM SAID WEST BANKERS WILL NOW BECOME "STATELESS, LIKE GAZANS" AND ARE IN FOR TOUGH TIMES. AN-NAHAR EDITOR OTHMAN HALLAQ, IN AN EDITORIAL, HEWED TO THE KING'S ARGUMENT THAT JORDAN HAS NO INTENTION OF COMPETING WITH THE PLO IN LEADING OR REPRESENTING PALESTINIANS. "IF THE PLO IS THE LEGITIMATE WIFE OF PALESTINIANS, THEN JORDAN IS THEIR LOVING AND DEVOTED SISTER"... "NOW IT IS UP TO THE PLO TO TAKE OVER THE RESPONSIBILITY OF CARING FOR PALESTINIANS UNDER OCCUPATION." HALLAQ PRIVATELY IS DEPLY CONCERNED AND FEARS JORDAN WILL NOW LIFT PASSPORTS AND CUT OFF SALARIES. HE WARNED THAT THE PLO IS UNABLE TO ESTABLISH ITS INDEPENDENT STATE ALONE, SINCE THE GOI WILL REFUSE TO DEAL WITH IT. IT WILL HAVE TO WORK WITH JORDAN IN SOME WAY.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

10. [] WAS MORE BLUNT.
"ALL PALESTINIANS ON THE WEST BANK AND IN GAZA
WILL REPEAT LIKE PARROTS THAT THE PLO IS THEIR
SOLE REPRESENTATIVE. ISRAEL WON'T TALK TO THE
PLO, BUT PALESTINIANS WON'T TALK WITHOUT THE
PLO." DEADLOCK WILL RESULT WITHOUT JORDANIAN
INVOLVEMENT. [] SAID THE KING'S
DECISION WAS A "TRAGEDY" AND DISSOLUTION OF
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

PAGE 03 JERUSA 02536 02 OF 03 011613Z

PARLIAMENT A TERRIBLE, UNEXPECTED STEP. []
WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE 1948 JERICHO CONFERENCE
THAT "BEGGED" KING ABDULLAH TO UNITE THE EAST
AND WEST BANKS, DOUBTED HUSSEIN WOULD CLOSE THE
BRIDGES OR RESCIND PASSPORTS, BUT SAID THE JOINT
COMMITTEE WILL BE DISSOLVED AND THE PLO WILL
FIND ITSELF INCAPABLE OF TRANSFERRING MONEY INTO
THE TERRITORIES OR MAINTAINING PROGRAMS NOW
ADMINISTERED BY THE GOJ. HE SAID IF THE LIKUD
TAKES POWER AFTER NOVEMBER, THERE WILL BE A
STALEMATE IN THE PEACE PROCESS, A CONTINUING
INTIFADA, AND HARSHER ISRAELI
COUNTERMEASURES--INCREASED SHOOTINGS, SETTLER
VIGILANTISM, DEPORTATIONS. JORDAN'S WITHDRAWAL,
IF KING HUSSEIN REALLY INTENDS THIS, LEAVES THE
WEST BANK ADRIFT. []

11. []

[] SAID
PRO-JORDANIANS IN THE TERRITORIES WILL NOW BE
RIDICULED. PROMINENT PRO-JORDANIAN PHYSICIAN
[] TOLD US IF JORDAN INTENDS TO
WITHDRAW FROM ITS ADMINISTRATIVE
RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE WEST BANK THIS WILL BE
EXTREMELY DISRUPTIVE. HE IS GOING TO AMMAN TO
SEEK CLARIFICATION OF JORDAN'S INTENTIONS.

12. NABLUS BUSINESSMAN [] FAULTED
JORDAN FOR IGNORING THE PEOPLE IN THE WEST BANK
FOR 15 YEARS, THEN TRYING AND FAILING TO
SUPPLANT THE PLO RATHER THAN WORKING IN
PARTNERSHIP WITH IT.

[] SAID THE KING HAD LOST ALL HOPE OF
[REDACTED]

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

NNNN

[REDACTED]
PAGE 01 JERUSA 02536 03 OF 03 011614Z
ACTION NEA-11

INFO LOG-00 ADS-00 AID-00 INR-10 SS-00 OIC-02 CIAE-00
EB-00 DODE-00 H-01 MSC-01 IO-19 NSCE-00 NSAE-00
SSO-00 HA-09 L-03 TRSE-00 PM-10 PA-01 OMB-01
INRE-00 ACDA-12 USIE-00 SP-02 SNP-01 C-01 PRS-01
DS-01 DSE-00 SCT-02 P-02 T-01 /091 W
-----304466 011634Z /40

O 011609Z AUG 88
FM AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3066
INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY CAIRO

[REDACTED] SECTION 03 OF 03 JERUSALEM 02536

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, PBTS, KPAL, IS, JO
SUBJECT: INITIAL WEST BANK REACTION TO JORDANIAN

REGAINING THE TERRITORIES FROM ISRAEL, WAS
"DESPERATE", AND HAD DECIDED TO HAND THE PROBLEM
TO THE PLO.

DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

////////////////////

13. NEARLY EVERYONE WE HAVE SPOKEN WITH SAID
THEY HOPED THE U.S. WOULD USE ITS JORDAN
DEVELOPMENT PLAN MONEY TO INCREASE DIRECT AID TO
THE TERRITORIES NACHE REPEATED OLD ARGUMENTS
ABOUT DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE SUBSIDIZING THE
OCCUPATION BY RELIEVING ISRAEL FROM
RESPONSIBILITIES IT SHOULD UNDERTAKE, BUT
ADMITTED THE NEED FOR CONTINUED OUTSIDE HELP FOR

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

PAGE 02 JERUSA 02536 03 OF 03 011614Z

LEGITIMATE PROJECTS.

14. DR. BASEM ATALLAH TOUMA, A BEIT SAHOUR PHYSICIAN, SAID UNEMPLOYMENT AND SUFFERING WILL INCREASE IN THE ABSENCE OF DEVELOPMENT AID, AND THAT THE U.S. SHOULD ALLEVIATE THIS SUFFERING BY TAKING OVER THE JORDAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS DIRECTLY. DR. KAMAL, OF THE BETHLEHEM DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE, ASKED POINTEDLY IF THE U.S. WOULD NOW ASK JORDAN TO REFUND THE SEVEN MILLION DOLLARS THE U.S. HAS JUST COMMITTED TO THE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM.

15. COMMENT: ALL PALESTINIANS HERE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE PRACTICAL IMPACT OF JORDAN'S NEW POLICY ON THEIR LIVES, AND WONDER ANXIUSLY HOW JORDAN WILL IMPLEMENT ITS DECISIONS. UPPERMOST IN PEOPLES' MINDS ARE CONCERNS OVER CITIZENSHIP, TRAVEL, TRADE, THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE COURTS AND SCHOOLS, SUPPORT FOR THE ISLAMIC WAQF, AND A HOST OF OTHER FUNCTIONS THAT JORDAN HAS CONTINUED TO PERFORM IN THE WEST BANK. THE DEVELOPMENT PLAN, ALTHOUGH DISMISSED BY MANY AS POLITICAL BRIBERY WITH NO SUBSTANCE, HAS HELPED MANY COMMUNITIES, AND MANY WONDER WHAT WILL TAKE ITS PLACE. AS FOR THE PEACE PROCESS, WHILE SOME THINK ISRAEL WILL NOW HAVE TO TAKE THE PLO SERIOUSLY, OTHERS HAVE GRAVE DOUBTS THIS WILL HAPPEN. ARAFAT'S VISIT TO AMMAN IS SEEN BY MANY AS THE KEY TO CLARIFYING THESE UNCERTAINTIES. ALL WEST BANKERS, PRO-PLO AND PRO-JORDANIAN, HOPE ARAFAT'S VISIT WILL CLEAR THE AIR AND SOMEHOW LEAD TO A

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

PAGE 03 JERUSA 02536 03 OF 03 011614Z

RATIONALIZATION OF THE JORDANIAN-PLO RELATIONSHIP AND AN END TO THEIR ON-AGAIN OFF-AGAIN ADVERSARY STRUGGLE AND RESOLVE AT LEAST THIS OBSTACLE TO PROGRESS IN THE PEACE PROCESS. END COMMENT.
WILCOX

UNCLASSIFIED