

# The Allon Plan - relevant today?

Shevah Weiss

AT A convention of members of the Labour Party which took place in Beit Berl not long ago, the "Allon Plan" was given much praise. Abba Eban and Yitzhak Rabin talked about the plan explicitly and, to a great extent, Shimon Peres spoke in its spirit; most of the speakers used concepts and motifs taken from the plan.

Twenty years have passed since the Six Day War. A very short time after the war, Allon came out with his plan and hoped to conquer the hearts of the public and to recruit its support. His path was not paved with roses. He had a good deal of difficulty convincing his own close community - Hakibbutz Hameuhad - and it was even more complicated to obtain support from among the members of Rafi. As it happened, it was actually in the Mapai sector of his movement that he found ready listeners.

Despite the fact that his plan was not at the time formally approved or adopted, most of its principles were, nevertheless, adopted de facto. The map of settlement in the occupied territories exactly fit the principles of the Allon Plan. It must be said, to the credit of Yisrael Galili, Golda Meir and Yitzhak Rabin, that they refrained from any adventurous settlement in the territories that might reduce the options for a peace settlement based on territorial compromise. It may be that Levi Eshkol would have begun more eagerly to gather and utilize resources to

spread Allon's ideas and integrate them into actual policy, but his death in early 1969 put an end to the proceedings to hasten a settlement. Yigal Allon combined two characteristics vital for a leader of a nation in a state of war - characteristics of a statesman and characteristics of a military man. He had a great intellectual depth. Allon was uncompromisingly loyal to the principles of democracy, he was a dedicated Zionist and had a deep, warm Jewish consciousness.

His plan is an expression of an insightful integration of security elements and the principles of Zionism, Judaism and democracy.

ALLON WAS the first to sense the demographic potential of the territories, and it was clear to him that continued rule over all the territories creates only bleak, troublesome and crazy choices: ruling over another people and "South Africanization" of the government and society of Israel; granting political rights to the residents of the territories, including the right to vote and the right to hold office (only then will the Arabs succeed in realizing the PLO plan in democratic ways because, after all, the potential for an Arab majority lies in the wombs of mothers in Judea, Samaria and the

Gaza Strip); or living with a continuing situation of oppressive uncertainty and temporariness which will serve to deepen mutual feelings of hatred.

Yigal Allon was looking, then, for a solution to the demographic problem. He could never have even considered a transfer-like solution. He assumed, correctly, that there would not be a partner to be found on the other side who would be amenable to "population-swapping" of any kind. Thus any transferism would involve forced expulsion. Forced expulsion is an act of political madness and moral disgrace.

Therefore, Allon reached the conclusion that it is impossible to make residents leave the territories, and so we must leave the territories.

Yigal Allon defined the dangers inherent in the creation of a miniature Palestinian state in the territories. Such a state could not solve the "return-to-Palestine" problem of the one million or so refugees from the Palestinian diaspora.

Thus, Allon thought, only a geographically-combined, political-ethnic entity of Jordan and the territories might serve the Palestinian people. Furthermore, such a settlement would allow for the demilitarization of the West Bank and effective Israeli maintenance of the demilitarization by an Israeli presence in the Jordan Valley.

This is the essence of the Allon Plan's spirit, and it is second to none

even today. Those who claim the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people seek, essentially, to create a miniature Palestinian state sunk deep in internal problems and flaming with revisionist spirits. Whoever begins the peace process this way will also fail to recruit Israeli public opinion, and all their aims and desires will remain in their hands.

Those who wish to take part in the next peace campaign must adopt the principles of the Allon Plan, which promises political-territorial independence to the Palestinians, frees

## לוי אשכול ז"ל ביטל הממשל

בעקבות ההתמרעויות החמורות שאירעו לאחרונה בכמה ישובים ערבים בתוך הקו הירוק והצעד של ח"כ קופמן להחזיר את הממשל הצבאי, אמר ח"כ דן מרדור לסופר "מעריב" בכנסת, שבמקום גישתו של דוד בן גוריון שהטיל את הממשל הצבאי על האוכלוסייה הערבית, הוא מנדף את גישתו של מנחם בגין אשר ביטל את

האלא שטענת בידו של ח"כ מרדור. לא מנחם בגין הוא שהביא לביטול הממשל הצבאי, אלא הרבה לפניו, ראש ממשלתה השלישי של ישראל, לוי אשכול ז"ל. כבר בשנת 1965, כאשר הבין בהכמתה הרבה בניגוד ל"מומחים" למיניהם לעניין ערבים, שלא שיטת מימשל המפלה ומגבילה את האוכלוסייה הערבית היא הדרך להבטיח את בטחון המדינה מפני התרונות ערביות, כי אם קידום לבנות בן שני העמים החיים בארץ ישראל.

נלעד נתן צדק, רמת גן

Israel from corrupting rule over another people, reduces the points of friction in the region, and preserves the democratic nature of Israel and the moral integrity of Israel's society.

Allon, like a political prophet, was ahead of his generation. Due to his sudden death, he did not live to see his opponents adopt his plan in its entirety but he did receive wide recognition after his death.

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## ESSAY

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established a police state-within-a-state in Lebanon was forgotten: The Israeli hordes were overrunning a beautiful nation.

Yet none of the foregoing is as galling as this latest book of genesis, which has it that Israeli intransigence is responsible for the West Bank riots. Because now we are told to forget everything: that the Six-Day War was provoked by Egypt; that Hussein fired the first shot in Jerusalem after Prime Minister Levi Eshkol begged him to stay out, in a taped phone conversation - the only war in history where history can prove that history never had to happen; that from that moment on, the Arabs knew only one word, no.

And not just from that moment. Had the Arabs accepted the partition of 1947, Israel would be a fragment of what it is today, and very likely a memory. Had the Arabs been satisfied with the pre-June 1967 boundaries - the boundaries they now say they want - there would have been no Six-Day War.

The one time an Arab leader said yes - Anwar el-Sadat - Israel gave him everything he wanted.

The critics of Israel pretend to know nothing of this. They mount a moral attack on the Jewish state, many of them equating Israel with South Africa - as if the blacks had gone to war against the whites, had vowed to destroy them. It is a profoundly vicious analogy, without a scintilla of factual basis, but like all big lies it grows and grows.

What if these moral cynics had their way? Suppose there was a Palestinian state in Gaza and the West Bank? Does anybody believe the Arabs would be free? There's not a free Arab state in the world: "Self-determination" is nothing more than a code word for the right to be ruled by a dictator of your own race. But then the moral critics of Israel could sleep, close the book on the Middle East - as they have on Vietnam, Cambodia and black Africa. If Israel becomes history - well, that's the price of sleep.

## ESSAY

by SIDNEY ZION

In 1970, Sheik Mohammed Ali Jaabari, the Mayor of Hebron, had a few of us American journalists to his home for tea. Those were the days when every newspaperman who went to the Holy Land hunted for moderate Arab leaders who might help broker a peace between Israel and Jordan and thus end the three-year occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. Mayor Jaabari seemed the quintessential moderate: He not only was close to King Hussein but despised the Palestine Liberation Organization.

I have reconstructed the interview from memory and from talking with a newsman who was present.

Sheik Jaabari was asked the jackpot question first: What do the Arabs require for peace?

"It is quite simple," he said. "The Jews will have to restore to the Arabs all the land taken from them in the wars."

I said, "Did you say 'wars'? Not the 1937 war, but 'wars'?"

"All the wars - everything since the U.N. partition plan of 1947."

"That would mean Jaffa, for example."

"Yes," Sheik Jaabari said. "There were 70,000 Arabs in Jaffa in 1947; there will be 70,000 Arabs in Jaffa now."

## Call it Sleep

"And half the Negev, and part of Haifa, all of Jerusalem, Beersheba."

"The whole of the Negev," he said. "And, for sure, Jerusalem, and much of Haifa, and Beersheba. Wherever the Arabs were then, the Arabs will be now."

I said, "Mr. Mayor, if the Israelis were to accept this arrangement, would you then recognize them and make peace with them?"

He thought for a moment and said, "I assure you that if the Jews do this, the Arab leaders will be very favorable to them."

"But no guarantees in advance," I said.

"The Arab leaders will have to meet, of course. But I know them. I know how they think. I tell you they would be very favorable to the Jews."

"First, the Israelis must give back the land, and then the Arab leaders meet, is that it?"

"Yes, though it might be simultaneously - that is a detail."

"Anyway, the Israelis must make the offer unconditionally."

"For peace, absolutely."

I said: "Mr. Mayor, I have great respect for you. So please do not take what I must say as a sign of disrespect."

"Say anything you like. You are my guest."  
 "My question is, What would your terms be if you won the war?"

So you wake up 17 years later, you read the papers and watch TV, and what do you know! If only the Jews hadn't been so brutish to the fathers, the sons wouldn't be throwing stones and Molotov cocktails at Israeli soldiers. What the Jews could have had from the moderate fathers they won't get from the sons. The sons are now filled with fury, rage, frustration, and cannot be controlled by their dads, whose compromising ways have proved fruitless. The Israelis missed the boat, media barons say, and when they say it, the consensus lines up around the corner.

The Middle East memory bank is empty again. It goes belly up every time Israel gets rough with its enemies. When this happens, the world is born yesterday, or tomorrow.

In 1981, Israel took out the Iraqi nuclear reactor. The Israelis were carpet-bombed by the world media, which had never heard of the hanging gardens of Baghdad: What right did the Israelis have to do this to good old peace-loving Iraq? And how dare they invade Lebanon? That Syria and the P.L.O. had

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## נבואותיו של יהושפט הרכבי

כששמעתי את "נבואות" של פרופסור יהושפט הרכבי על: "חיסולו הדמוגרפי" ("מוקד", 6.11.88), נוכחתי ב"נבואות" לפני מלחמת ששת הימים, עת הילק אימים על הרה"מ דאז לוי אשכול ז"ל לאמור: יהיו לנו עשרות אלפי נמנעים אורחים והאסון יהיה כבד.

או ריטא חייל בפלוגתי בעת ההמתנה את יחסו לדבריו בביטול, רשון הוא מרקל אימים.

ישראל נז, ירושלים