

The Zionist Vision of the Transjordan Region: The Historical and Future Vision

Marwan Ibrahim Saleh Mkdadi^{[a],*}

^[a]Humanities and Social Sciences Department, Faculty of Arts, Hashemite University, Zarqa, Jordan.

*Corresponding author.

Received 1 October 2021; accepted 18 October 2021

Published online 26 October 2021

Mkdadi, M. I. S. (2021). The Zionist Vision of the Transjordan Region: The Historical and Future Vision. *Canadian Social Science*, 17(5), 13-24. Available from: <http://www.cscanada.net/index.php/css/article/view/12328>
DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3968/12328>

Abstract

This study aims to research the vision of the Zionist ideology for the Transjordan region of Jordan through the previous historical periods, and to research the future vision of it in light of the deal of the century and the transformations in the region, this study attempts to clarify the factors that led to Zionism's interest in the Transjordan region, whether this interest was at the same level across historical periods, or whether there was a transformations in it, in addition to explain the future Zionist vision for Transjordan (the Jordanian state) in the light of the deal of the century, The study required research into the historical roots of the Zionist vision for the Transjordan region and its changes, In addition to analyzing some biblical texts, the opinions and statements of some Zionist thinkers and leaders, and analyzing the texts of the Deal of the Century, and clarify the reasons for choosing Jordan as an alternative homeland, The study concluded that Transjordan has a special importance in the Zionist thought, which for a long time considered it an extension of historical Palestine, but after the 1967 war it abandoned its claim and considered it the best place to establish an alternative homeland for the Palestinians, which if achieved would help Israel get rid of the burden the Palestinian demographic by displacing Palestinians to Transjordan and settling refugees there, and that contributes to achieving an important aim for Israel, which is the Jewishness of the state; Thus, the Palestinian issue is resolved, and Israel becomes a natural part of the region, which makes it easier for it to play the role of the leader of the region.

Key words: The Zionist; Transjordan

INTRODUCTION

This study aims at investigating the vision of the Zionist ideology for Transjordan region and the transformations of this vision, The Zionist ideology demanded the establishment of a national home for the Jews in the Promised Land based on some text of the Bible (Torah) which told of a divine promise to Abraham, peace be upon him and his descendants without identifying certain boundaries of this land, which ranging from the land of Palestine to the area between the Euphrates and the Nile, but after the First Zionist Congress in 1879 settled that the goal of Zionism was to set up a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine, and then after the issuance of the Balfour Declaration in 1917, which declared Britain's support for the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine, Zionism sought to define the borders of Palestine, and It insisted on the demand that Transjordan be an integral part of Palestine, this claim was evident in the Zionist intellectual literature, as well as, in the official memorandum submitted by the Zionist movement to the Peace Conference in 1919, It further demanded that Palestine be extended to include the lands located to the east of the River Jordan, along the Hejaz Railway. Later it tried by different means to include the two banks of Jordan River in Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate for Palestine. Zionist demands continued even after Britain separated Transjordan from Palestine to establish the Emirates of Transjordan in 1921, Zionism strongly rejected the separation of the Transjordan from Palestine at various levels, because the Zionist vision of Transjordan was based on the fact that it was part of

Palestine, and that the Jewish homeland should include the two banks of the River Jordan.

This study, which might be considered the first to deal with this topic, By focusing on the Zionist vision of a region Transjordan only in previous historical periods, in addition to the future vision, which increases its importance, By answering the following questions:

• What is the significance of the Transjordan region in the Zionist strategic vision to be part of Palestine?

• What are the transformations of this vision? And Why did Israel accept the River Jordan as natural borders separating between Jordan and Israel after 1967 War?

• What is the relationship of this transfer in the Zionist vision with the promotion of the idea of the alternative homeland or what is known as the Jordanian option?

• What is the Zionist vision for Transjordan in the Deal of the Century?

The study will adopt the historical approach in the investigation of the historical development of the vision for Transjordan, the analysis a most important transformation of the vision in different historical periods, the method of analyzing the religious and Zionist texts dealing with the significance of Transjordan in the Zionist vision, as well as, analysis some texts of the Torah Scriptures , the writings of some of the Zionist thinkers, analysis the texts of the Deal of the Century and finally the future studies approach regarding setting of an expected future vision for the implementation of the idea of the alternative homeland in East Jordan as a result of the implementing the Deal of the Century.

1. THE ZIONIST VISION OF THE PROMISED LAND

1.1 The impact of the Religious dimension on the Zionist vision of the Promised Land

Based on what was mentioned in the Bible (Torah) , which is considered one of the most important sources of the Zionist thought, many texts were reported about Gods choice of the pillars of the Jewish state especially the two most important ones: the people and the Territory By emphasizing the connection between the return of the Jewish people to their land known as the Promised Land, according to a divine promise granted by God to Abraham and his decedents Issac and Jacob (Genesis, chapter 13/14-15), And also (Genesis, chapter 8/17), It is a sacred land more sacred than any other land because it is linked to the (Gods chosen people) and the return to this land is the cornerstone of the establishment of the Jewish state, Therefore, it was called the Land of Israel (Eretz-Israel), But what is noticed about these Biblical texts is that they didn't set clear boundaries for the Promised Land. In some of them, the borders were limited to the areas of Palestine and the adjacent areas (Exodus, chapter 23/31)

and these were the same borders God promised Moses following the exodus from Egypt (Deuteronomy, chapter 34/14), Based on the interpretations , these borders include the region to the west of the sea and to the east of the desert including the inhabited part of Transjordan . Its area is approximately 43km² (Sabri, 1977, p.35), and Some texts identified it as the area the same size of Palestine under British mandate, in addition to some parts from Syria and Lebanon located to the west of Damascus, Homs, Hama Line and south of Aleppo, (Sabri, 1977, p.52) According to the Bible (Torah) (Deuteronomy, chapter 11/24) , Other texts expanded the borders to include the region from the Euphrates to the Nile ,based on the divine promise to Abraham (Genesis, chapter 15/18) .With the differences in these texts , from the religious point of view it is possible to identify the borders of the Promised Land as follows: from the west ,the Mediterranean Sea ,from the east : east Jordan region till the Levant Desert . As for the north it had two borders: the minimum one included the Golan, Jabel AL sheikh and the Lebanon Heights up to Sidon. The second one which is the larger reaching up to the Euphrates River. The south border has two lines: the lesser one at Beersheba and the Negev and the greater one reaching as far as Aqaba (Praver, 1999, pp.52-57)

1.2 The borders of the Promised Land in the Zionist Thought

Despite the differing opinions about the boundaries of the Promised Land, the Zionist vision is based on the fact that the Promised Land extends from the Euphrates to the Nile ,with Palestine being the starting point for establishing the greater Israel like Theodor Herzl as defined in 1898 “ It started with Palestine and gets bigger with the increase of the incoming immigrants” (Sabri, 1977 .p 164), this ambiguity is consistent with the interim nature of the Zionist work methodology – step by step-, the goal of the Zionism is to gather the Jews of the world by all means and settle them in Palestine and the neighboring areas, then the Jewish Homeland extends as much as possible from the Euphrates to the Nile in fulfillment of the divine Promise and establishment of the Greater Israel, as expressed by Herzl when he answered Karl Von Bulow – the German Military attache in Vienna about the border of land wanted by Zionism saying: “We will demand what we need” (Al-sayeg, 1968, p.98).

The Zionism choice of Palestine as the Promised Land can be attributed to some factors, the most important of which are:

• The religious Factor: the Bible (Torah) mentioned it as the Land of Kenan (Genesis .chapter 17/8), And It is linked to a divine promise as the chosen land of God for (the chosen people of God), and Palestine is the scene of the end of the world, according to the Christian Zionism belief, The return of the Jews to the Holy Land is a sign of good herald for the return of the Messiah that was known as the retrospective doctrine, Herzl stressed that

the establishment of the Zionist Project in Palestine would activate the role of the Rabbis who would promote the return to Palestine. In the opinion of Chaim Weizmann in a meeting with Balfour in 1904 "The thing that the Jews unanimously agreed upon as a basis for the Zionism Movement is Palestine alone, and even if Moses came to call for another, no one would follow him. Moving away from it would constitute a kind of disbelief" (Weizmann , 2015, p.63)

• The Historical Factor: Herzl considered Palestine as the historical homeland of the Jews which would attract them strongly (Herzl, 2007, p.66) ,The historical factor in the view of rabbis and Zionist thinkers was the areas in which the Jews were present and inhabited for more than two thousand years and these were the areas in which the children of Israel settled after the exodus from Egypt .The rest of it was occupied by Joshua west of the River (Praver, 1990, pp. 52-54), They were not strangers to this land, but they were returning to the land of fathers and forefathers, and it could be defined as the borders of the Kingdom of David and Solomon, It was under the direct control of the children of Israel, which extended from Sidon on the Mediterranean Sea to the south of Damascus, and In the east it stretched from south of Damascus to the east of Amman, to east of Maan, In the west, from south of Negev to the east of the city of Al-Arish.

The kingdom lasted a hundred years before it weakened, divided and finally collapsed following the Babylonian Captivity in 586 BC, marking the end of the political entity of the Children of Israel. Later on some of not independent Jewish kingdoms appeared in the area such as the Hasmonian state during the Greek rule of the region – the rule of the Ptolemis and the Saqalas, then the Maccabean state – which didn't last long due to the fall of Palestine under the Roman rule, Then came the Jewish state led by Herod under the Roman protection, The Jewish presence in Palestine was terminated during the reign of the Roman Emperor, Adrian in 135 AD (Riyad , 1989, pp. 28-39)

• The Strategic Factor: According to the Zionist vision, Palestine has its own strategic importance, which would help to obtain the support of the colonial powers, especially Britain after Palestine was included in the British political projects aimed at maintaining the trade routes with its colonies in Asia , Palestine was also linked to the idea of neutralizing Syria and separating it from Egypt, following Mohammad Ali attempts to unify Egypt and the Levant 1831-1833AD, It became necessary to make Palestine a buffer zone between Egypt and the Levant, Palestine importance further increased following the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, Then came London Conference in 1905 which came out with a document known as the Bannerman Document – The British Prime Minister 1905- 1908 emphasizing the necessity of separating Arab Asia from Arab Africa,

Consequently, Having found that the Zionist project served its interests, Britain agreed with the Zionism leaders to establish a state for the Jews in Palestine (Susa, 2003, pp.157-158) . The Zionist thinker Musa Hess described Palestine as a great center of communication among the three continents which would make it the object of interest and competition among the colonial powers ,so they sought to win the support of the Jews (AL-Zoubi, 2008 , pp.43-44)

• The Economic Factor: The Biblical texts describing the economic importance of Palestine were many; It is the land of rivers, the land of oil, olives, pomegranates, and grains, It is the land of metals (Deuteronomy, chapter 8/7-9), It is the land of fields and water, the land of hills and valleys, desert and mountains. It is the land of Jordan Valley. It is the land crossed by The River Jordan, the land of milk and honey (Book of Numbers, chapter 13/27-29), In the opinion of the Zionist thinker, Kaplansky "The vital domain of Palestine is manifested by its geographical location, It is the arena for marketing commodities and goods for the neighboring countries including Turkey and Iran, It also has water and electric powers, It has Java port and pipelines to transport oil, It has mineral wealth from the Dead Sea. It has the ability to exploit natural resources, as well as exploiting its historical nature in the field of tourism, Its geographical location among the continents provides it with great importance in the transit trade .It is also at the crossroads of the railways from Istanbul and Cairo and from Haifa to Baghdad and Tehran." (Zarrouk, 1968, p.312).

2. THE ZIONIST VISION OF TRANSJORDAN AND PALESTINE AS THE PROMISED LAND

2.1 Borders of Palestine in the Zionist Thought

The Zionist determination to make Palestine the starting point for the return of the Jewish people and the establishment of the national Jewish homeland was evident in the First Zionist Conference in 1897, There was A Zionist consensus that the goal of Zionism was to establish a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine, without defining what was Palestine –what were its borders- , The Zionist views about Palestine borders were varied. The historical sources didn't refer to clear borders for the Palestine territories, The most important of these views was the map of Palestine drawn by the Palestine Discovery Fund in 1880; The map included the two banks of the River Jordan – or what was known to be called the Western Palestine and the Eastern Palestine in two stages: the first stage was in 1880, when a map of Palestine was published including modern and ancient names, the land topography, water resources and its distributions, The second stage was in 1889 when a map of eastern Palestine

was published –east Jordan – including the areas of Ajlun, Balqa, Moub, Horan and the Golan (Zarrouk, 1968, pp.45-46), The Zionist Organization worked at the Fifth Zionist Congress in 1901 on linking Palestine with its neighboring countries by calling for purchasing land in Palestine and Syria.

With the issuance of Balfour Declaration in 1917, defining the borders of Palestine became more urgent, The Promise expressed Britain's approval and support to establish a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine without defining clear borders for it, Following the issuance of Balfour Declaration, Zionism tried to create the impression that this declaration meant that the Jewish Palestine included east of Jordan and that its northern borders stood at the Litany River (Riyad, 1989, p.60), It also worked hard to obtain an official support for their claims, and Many Zionist interpretations emerged about the borders of Palestine including the proposals of the of the Consultative Committee for Palestine - a British Committee 1917- The proposals considered Transjordan up to the Hejaz Railways as part of Palestine (Al-Keyali , 1966, p.72), The Zionist thinker Solon Kaplansky also pointed out that the historical Palestine included the region or the narrow strip east of the river 15 km in width, The eastern borders in the east runs along the Pilgrimage route extending to the west up to the Arnoun River with the southern parts of the Negev and Moub. So Palestine- in his point of view – included the following areas : first, the lands west of the Jordan River ,from Beersheba to the Littani, with an area of 15,640km² .Second , the area of east Jordan including Horan up to the Arnoun River ,with an area of 13,000 km² and third, Mouab and Negev to the Latitude 31 with an area of 5,250 km² so that the total area of Palestine would be 33,890 km² (Riyad, 1989. P.65)

The official memorandum submitted by the Zionist Organization to the Peace Conference in 1919, can be considered the clearest conception of Zionism about the borders of Palestine, which starts from Sidon heading east to the south of Damascus and descending south to Amman. It continues further south up to Aqaba. It then goes up in straight line to the west of AL-Arish. These borders are secure and strategic including more areas with an area of about 59,000km² (Sabri, 1977, p.53), Consequently , these borders include : The whole of Palestine, south Lebanon (Tyre, Sidon ,the headwaters of the Jordan River , Jabel Al-Sheik and the southern part of Litany River) , the Golan Heights , the city of Qquneitra , the Yarmouk River ,springs of Al-Hemma, as well as, all the populated areas of eastern Jordan as long as the border lines runs parallel to the Hejaz Railway (Dib, 1986, p.55), As for the southern borders ,they were originally marked as Egypt was an established country on its own and, therefore the borders would be agreed upon with the Egyptian government (Badran, 1982, pp. 103-106).

The choice of these borders by the Zionist Movement

was due to the following considerations: (Zarrouk , 1968, pp.401-404)

- An economic basis represented in the necessity for these borders to have natural outlets on the sea, in addition to the right to access the Hejaz Railway to meet the economic needs of Palestine and the Arabian Peninsula.

- Securing the water resources feeding the land and the ability to maintain and control their resources as well as controlling the rivers and their sources. Jabel AL—Sheik is the main source of water for Palestine including River Jordan, Yarmouk River and Zarqa River.

- Making the geographical area of Palestine as big as possible to accommodate the largest number of people.

- The fertile plains located to the east of the Jordan River could be an incredible asset to the colonial project.

- It is necessary for Palestine to have an outlet to Aqaba, as Aqaba has been the end of an important trade route for Palestine since the period of King Suleiman.

Chaim Weizmann confirmed in his statements to the Times newspapers following the holding of the 1919 Peace Conference ,that the required borders for Palestine include historical Palestine from Dan to Beersheba and from the Mediterranean Sea to the Hejaz railway (Riyad, 1989, pp.78-79).

To sum up, the Zionist thought prevailing in the post-Balfour Declaration era on Palestine borders, considered that Palestine borders included the whole of Palestine, which extended from Sidon on the Mediterranean Sea up to the south of Damascus and the eastern border extended along the Hejaz railway up to Aqaba in the south. From there the line extended from Aqaba to the city of Al-Arish, to the west, the line of borders extended to the Mediterranean Sea (Riyad, 1989, pp. 86-78).

2.2 The importance of Transjordan in the Zionist thought

Considering Transjordan as part of Palestine from the Zionist point of view is due to the significance of Transjordan for some factors .Among the most important factors are the following:

- The religious and historical factor: many texts were reported in the scripts of the Torah clarifying the importance of Transjordan in several aspects which gives it a religious significance, In the books of Ezekiel , Kings² and Judges; Transjordan was described In terms of its economic importance due to the availability of natural resources, and its historical importance by telling the stories of the tribes of Rawabin, Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh that inhabited the region, as the Torah provided a description of the major cities - cities of refuge - in the Promised Land from eastern Jordan. (Book of Joshua, chapter 21/36-39), (Book of Numbers ,Chapter 32) , In addition to described the major cities- cities of refuge in the Promised Land in east Jordan (Book of Numbers, Chapter 35/6-15), The Children of Israel controlled the area of east Jordan in the era of Moses ,peace be upon

him , and divided it between the two tribes of Rubin and Jad and half-tribe of Manasseh, so it continued during the era of the Judges and the kingdoms of Shaul ,David and Solomon until the collapse of the political entity of Israel, Then When the Jewish Kingdoms like Hashmonean state were established during the Greek rule of the region, the Maccabean state, and the Jewish state led by Herod under Roman protection ,they included parts of east Jordan (Riyad, 1989, pp.27-38).

In his study in 1919, the Zionist leader Arthur Rubin – who was assigned to run Palestine territories until 1925-imagined the land of future Israel to include both of ancient Mouab and Ammon which were part of the Jewish state. From his point of view ,Palestine included Mandate Palestine and the districts of Karak, Salt and Ajloun (Zarrouk, 1968, pp. 413-414).

• The economic and strategic factor: Many Zionist thinkers underlined the economic and strategic importance of Transjordan region as part of the Zionist Project, Lawrence Oliphant was among the first thinkers who referred to the importance of Transjordan in his book (The Land of Gilead); He stressed the fact that Transjordan included agricultural resources that can be developed, And that Transjordan was inhibited by wandering Bedouins, It could be exploited for settlement after expelling the Arabs from it into the desert, The Jews could be displaced there, especially in Mouab plains where the rocky land would make it easy to dig wells and store water there, He suggested seizing the whole Balqa region from Mujib Valley in the south to Zerqa River in the north with the possibility of annexing the fertile parts of Ajloun to the north of the Yabouq - River –Zerqa (Oilphant, 2004, pp.285-289), and Arthur Rubin, in his afore-mentioned study suggested expanding the borders to include the desert and the Hejaz railway, whether by making it neutral or subjecting it to a joint administration or by defining specific points connecting Palestine with this line such as Maan , Amman and Daraa (Zarrouk, 1968, pp. 413-414), And also Herbert Seid Poonam – a commentator, military and strategic critic for the Manchester Guardian newspaper- emphasized the necessity of controlling the areas located between the River Jordan and the desert – whose width ranges between 30 to 80 miles – in East Jordan to maintain trade exchanges between Palestine across the desert and Mesopo tamia, He also underscored the importance of annexing Aqaba to Palestine (Zarrouk, 1968, pp. 243-257).

The Palestine Bulletin issued on February ,1017 also demanded that the borders of Palestine included the areas east of Jordan , in parallel with the Hejaz railway at a distance ranging between ten to twenty miles in the east reaching up to the Jafr depression ,20 miles to the east of Maan , including the Gulf of Aqaba, . It also underlined the need for the land of Israel to have sufficient space for economic expansion and the possibility of defense by including all the areas that may constitute a source of

trouble in the future (AL-Keyali, 1966, p.68).

In 1921 ,a book titled (Karen Haysod) –The Constitutive Fund of Palestine- referred to the Land of Gilead as the richest region of Palestine ,in terms of its water resources ,the nature of its soil and its greenness as well as sacristy in population, The book also called for paying attention to the waters of River Jordan, from the Lake Hola and the Dead Sea as the two banks of the River were included in the borders and that Transjordan was covered in the British Mandate(Assad Zarrouk, 1986, pp. 464-465), The memorandum of the Zionist Movement submitted to the Peace Conference in 1919, also explicitly demanded the lands east of the River Jordan along the Hejaz railway for economic reasons ,including the fertility of its plains , and the sacristy of its population .Consequently ,it could accommodate large numbers of Jewish settlers ,in addition to the Hejaz railway and the presence of the Gulf of Aqaba on the Red Sea (Riyad, 1989, pp.74-76)

3. THE ZIONIST VISION OF TRANSJORDAN DURING THE PERIOD 1920- 1967

3. 1 The Separation of East Jordan from Palestine

After the end of the Ottoman rule in the Arab region. Palestine and Transjordan were subjected to separation and unity processes in the period 1916- 1921; In the Sykes- Picot pact, the two regions were separated, referring to Palestine as the Black region, which would later fall under the International Mandate, and the region of Transjordan was referred to as being within the region B, which would later fall under the Arab rule within the region of the British influence (Riyad, 1989, p.63), then During the period 1918-1920, Transjordan came under the rule of King Faisal ,following his establishment of the Arab Syrian State indicating its continuous separation from Palestine .This state lasted until 1920 (Riyad, 1989, pp. 21-23).

In 1920 the geographical unity was restored between Palestine and Transjordan following the declaration of the mandate, imposed by San Remo Conference where Syria and Lebanon came under the French mandate while Palestine and Iraq came under the British mandate, The term Transjordan was not mentioned, but it was implicitly understood that this region was within the area of the British influence, as mentioned earlier in the Sykes – Picot Agreement France did not advance in the area following its occupation of Syria, also Britain in its mandate over Transjordan, relied on the text of article 25 of the mandate on Palestine (Riyad, 1989, pp. 36-370), and In the same year, the Treaty of Severs was signed, article 95 of which stipulated that the parties to the treaty pledge to establish an administration in Palestine within borders set by the

allies. The state of mandate over Palestine should commit itself to the implementation of Balfour Declaration (Zarrouk, 1968, p.444), Accordingly, Transjordan was considered as a natural extension and part of Palestine .The mandate Deed was issued in the name of Palestine in 1922 (Zuiter, 1955, pp.57-58), Therefore, Britain managed to impose its mandate on Palestine from Dan to Beersheba ,Upper Galilee as well as the Transjordan (Zarrouk ,1968, pp.451-452).

However, this unity didn't last long; The British government rejected the proposal of Robert Samuel, the High Commissioner in Palestine, to occupy Transjordan and merged it with Palestine due to political and military niceties, It felt the necessity of Transjordan being separated from Palestine, so In the Middle East Conference which held in Cairo in 1921 under the chairman of the British colonies, Winston Churchill, a memorandum submitted by Middle East Department at the British Colonial Ministry, was discussed, The memorandum suggested the establishment of an Arab system of government in Transjordan different from that of Palestine so as to achieve some kind of unspecified presence in the region so that subsequent changes can be made before its annexation to Palestine or to be an alternative homeland in the future. There was no intention at this stage to transform the territories of east Jordan into an independent Arab state (Shlaim, 2007, p.13), Britain wanted this Emirate to play a functional role in protecting the borders with Palestine, It also wanted this emirate to disrupt the guerrilla operations and stop infiltration of the resistance fighting the French in Syria or those heading to Palestine to resist the British and the Jews (Wilson, 2000, p.95).

On this basis, the negotiations were held between Churchill and Prince Abdullah. They agreed to establish a national government in Transjordan independent from that of Palestine, Then the second move for Britain was to obtain the approval of the League of Nations to exclude Transjordan from the provisions of the mandate over Palestine, regarding the Balfour Declaration. Then, a decision was issued from the League of Nations recognizing Transjordan as an independent geographical and political unit (Shlami, 2997, pp.13-14), Later on Britain and France started drawing the borders of the countries of the region, The borders between Palestine on one side and Lebanon and Syria from the other side were determined according to British- French agreement in 1920, As for the borders between and Palestine and Transjordan, they were set by Britain in 1922 .These borders extended from a point located two kilometers from Wadi Araba to the town of Aqaba and ran at the center of Wadi Araba , the Dead Sea and River Jordan up to the meeting point of Yarmouk and River Jordan and from there to the Syrian borders . This practically formed the borders between Palestine and Transjordan throughout the years of the British Mandate and then the border line

between Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan following 1967 war (Praver, 1999, p.85).

3.2 The Zionist Reaction to the Separation of Transjordan from Palestine

After Britain separated Transjordan from Palestine, the Zionist Movement, through its leaders, continued to reject the new status quo, which deprived Palestine of two-thirds of its area and demanded the obtainment of Transjordan, Among these positions is that of the Zionist thinker, Zaeef Jabotenski who reported in several articles titled (Our Program) that the goal of Zionism was to establish the Jewish State ,whose area included the two banks of River Jordan, and in The Fourth Zionist Congress in 1925 he demanded that the Basel Program be amended so that the goal of Zionism would be to transform Palestine with Transjordan gradually to become a self- governed Commonwealth under Jewish majority He also pointed out the merit of geographical Palestine was that River Jordan ran through Palestine and not on its borders.

Even chime Weismann, who accepted the British position of establishing the Transjordan Emirate , expressed his insistence on Transjordan in his speech in 1926 saying “ The road to Allenby Bridge on which to cross to Transjordan will not be paved for us by our soldiers ,but by the Jewish work and the Jewish plough “ which mean“ The control of Transjordan will be through the economic conquest and Jewish settlement and not by military invasion” (Riyad , 1989, pp. 88-89), Weizmann also pointed out in the twelfth Conference in 1921 that the influx of Jews and the increase in their numbers was the only way to expand in Transjordan by force (Keyali, 1966, p.76) , also Kaplansky in his article titled(The Current Political borders of British Mandate do not match the Promised and Desired historical Borders of the Land of Israel) pointed out that there was no difference between the area of Transjordan subjected to a special agreement between The British government and Prince Abdullah and West Palestine under the British Mandate, The Mandate Deed, in his opinion authorized the Jews the right and the freedom to practice economic and colonial activities in Transjordan (Riyad, 1989, p.89), and He stated in his testimony before the British Committee in 1936 that Transjordan was a complement part of Palestine and that the Jews should demand it as they demand Palestine (Zuiter, 1955, p.106), as well In 1942 the Baltimore Conference stressed the demand to the establishment of a state that includes all of Palestine ,east and west of the River (Riyad , 1989, p.119).

The Zionist position towards Transjordan continued in the period of issuance of the Resolution of PartitionNO.181 of 1947 and the declaration of the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, The representative of the Jewish Agency before a United Nations committee formed to study the project of the majority said that Loyed George ,the British Prime

Minister at the time of Balfour Declaration had announced that the Promise Land included all of Palestine as well as east of Jordan. Despite this, Transjordan was extracted from Palestine in 1922, and under the Resolution of Partition, a second Arab country would be extracted from what was left of Palestine, where the area of the National homeland would become less than one-eighth of the land originally allocated to it and thus after the loss of East Jordan, the area of Palestine became ten thousand square miles only (Riyad, 1989, p.112), Zionism endorsed the Partition Resolution that reduced the borders of the Jewish State, in accordance with, the Zionist strategy based on the gradual work of establishing the Jewish homeland as a result of the Zionism realization of the impossibility of accommodating the Jewish immigrants in these vast areas, in addition to the impossibility of establishing the Jewish State without the international recognition and support. The endorsement of the Partition Resolution was a tactical and temporary position aimed at showing flexibility to obtain international support then completing the other stages to reach all of the historical Palestine, so In May 15, Ben Gurion announced the establishment of the State of Israel on part of the Land of Israel – the Minor Israel – To be the base for gathering the Jews and then expand its regional scope until it matches the historical borders of Israel (AL-Mahdi, 2012, p.141).

After the end of the 1948 war, the land designated for the establishment of the Arab state under the Partition Resolution 181, was annexed, with its residents to Jordan, within the unity of the two banks in 1950, in an implementation of the Peel Royal Committee in 1937 which proposed the division of Palestine into two states: an Arab state and a Jewish state and The Arab state would be annexed to Transjordan along with the process of people exchange between the Arab and the Jewish state (Batayneh, 2010, pp.205-206). The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan absorbed all the Palestinian residents forcibly displaced from their lands and Israel achieved its goal of not establishing an independent Palestinian entity, in accordance with the Resolution of Partition 181 (Batayneh, 2010, pp.42-43).

Ben –Gurion expressed this Zionist strategy by saying that voting of the twentieth Zionist Congress on Peel Commission Report was a vote on which of the two method was faster to reach the Zionist goal ; getting all of Palestine at once or taking it in installments , The vote was not on all of Palestine or part of it and this was the same opinion of Weizmann who believed that the most appropriate at the time was the convection of establishing a small well-organized Jewish state with working gradually towards establishing a Jewish state with clear borders stretching across East of Jordan because Palestine couldn't accommodate nine millions of immigrants (Riyad, 1989, pp.90-91), The Israeli claims continued after 1948, considering east bank as part of the Jewish homeland. Israel sought to reunite the East and West banks of River

Jordan by any means, even in the form of a confederation between the two states. Moshe Dayan reported that Israel conducted talks with King Abdullah in 1951 to sign a peace treaty in preparation of establishing a confederation between the two countries, but these talks were stopped following the assassination of King Abdullah (Riyad, 1989, p.135).

4. THE ZIONIST VISION OF TRANSJORDAN AFTER 1967 AND THE IDEA OF THE ALTERNATIVE HOMELAND

4.1 The Impact of 1967 War on the Idea of the Alternative Homeland

Following the 1967 war, the Zionist Vision took a different turn, The Israeli statements stressed on non- withdrawal from the lands occupied in 1967 on no-return to the previous borders, based on the English text of the Security Council Resolution 242 referring to withdrawal from lands not the lands and ,Israel started to talk about River Jordan as a natural border for the state of Israel and the claim to eastern Jordan ceased, In 1968, Eshkol announced before the Zionist Organization of Women in America (Hadassah) that the Jordan River was the natural border of the State of Israel (Riyad, 1989, P.169), and Yigal Allon stated in 1969 that the Jordan River should be the eastern border, and that was one of his project pillars he proposed in 1968 , and in the same year the political parties also held a secret conference ,they demanded the signing of a peace treaty with Jordan based on non-aggression and economic and cultural cooperation between the two countries , as well as benefitting from the resources , setting up industrial and irrigation projects investing in the Dead Sea ,granting Jordan a port on the Mediterranean ,in addition to working for settling refugees in Jordan and returning the West Bank to Jordan ,with some adjustments to the borders to ensure the security of Israel and emphasizing that no part of Jerusalem should be returned to Jordan as it is the unified capital of Israel (Riyad, 1989, pp. 175-176).

These were the new beginning of a new old idea that is the idea of the alternative homeland, The Zionist Vision has become based on the fact that Palestine is the two banks of the Jordan River and can be shared between the two people: the Jewish and the Arab people; To the west of the river, the Jewish State is established and to the east of the river an Arab state is established , Jordan is an accidental or temporary entity extracted from the Land of Palestine and as its part of Palestine, and its residents are Palestinians whether they were original or displaced refugees, it is the Palestinian homeland, Therefore, there is no justifications for demanding a homeland or a state because their state is in Jordan (Al-Nakhal, 2014, p.59), There was a consensus among Israeli leaders that there were no three states in the historical Palestine , Golda

Meir, the Israeli Prime Minister in the seventies, reiterated that there were only two states in the Mediterranean and the eastern desert: the state of Israel and the Arab state, it's Jordan, and the Palestinians could find themselves a home in Jordan (Riyad, 1989, pp.219-212), Abu Abyan, a former Israeli foreign minister, also emphasized in his speech before the 1973 Geneva Conference that the two states representing the original region of Palestine were Israel, with the unified Jerusalem as its capital, and the Arab Palestinian – Jordanian state to the east of Israel, and the Palestinian personality could find itself in an independent state especially that most residents in eastern Jordan were of Palestinian origins (Riyad, 1989, p. 243).

By proposing the idea of an alternative homeland, Israel aimed to get rid of the Palestinian demographic problem, the Jewish immigrants discovered that the slogan "A land without people for a people without land" was unrealistic, Palestine has been inhabited by people for thousands of years, Britain and the Zionist Movement realized the difficulty of achieving the Jewish state in light of the existence of people who aspire to achieve their political self-determination in Palestine, They also realized that the presence of any Palestinian political entity which is independent and has sovereignty over any area between the river and the sea would finish off the idea of establishing the Jewish state, it will also threaten its existence and expansion in the future, this problem worsened after Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza in war 1967. Israel controlled big areas with their people, and this increases the economic and security burdens on Israel, especially as this problem is increasing, It was stated in the document of the First Herzliya Conference, which was held in in late 2000 under the slogan (The Immunity and National Security – Public Policy Directions), the Palestinian people doubles several times every 20 years with an annual increase rate stands at 4.2% which entails a great danger to Israel and its quest to be a pure Jewish state as stated in the Independence Declaration, There are also economic risks. The document stressed the need to find a way out of the impasse through resettling the Palestinians in Transjordan outside Israel (Mortda, 2003).

Getting rid of the Palestinian demographic burden helps Israel achieve its primary aim, which is the Jewishness of the state. It was stated in the declaration of Independence that Israel was a Jewish state established to gather the diaspora of the Jews, the Jewish people in the Diaspora are looking forward to returning to the Promised Land based on the Jewish belief calling for the establishment of a purely Jewish state free of any non-Jewish element, The achievement of the Jewish State project depends mainly on the Jewish demographic power which requires first that the country be open to the immigration of the Jews from all over the world, and second Palestinians should be expelled and deported outside Palestine as well as dropping the right of the

Palestinians to return, and third Israel should seek to find solutions to the displaced Palestinian through settlement projects abroad, the most important of these projects is the idea of the alternative homeland, where the Palestinians political, economic and administrative ambitions are achieved, Moshe Dayan expressed his views at the Rafi Party Conference in Jerusalem in 1968 saying "We want the state of Israel to preserve its Jewish character and population and to continue to be an undisputable Jewish state" (Riyad, 1989, p.183), also Shimon Peres pointed out in his response to a question by Robert Little about the danger to Israel future, his answer was that the danger lies in the Arab population density, and that the Jewishness of the state requires the existence of a neighboring non-Jewish state (Little, 2000, pp.126-127), Hence, the establishment of a viable and sovereign Palestinian state, within which the Palestinian)sea to the river, Therefore, Israel is working to eliminate all the political, economic and material components of the establishment of the Palestinian state, On the other hand, Israel is working on choosing of the alternative homeland, imposing the idea of this alternative homeland by creating the physical and political conditions, while preventing this chosen country from resisting the realization of this idea (Batayneh, 2010, pp.134-135)

4.2 Why is Jordan Viewed as the Alternative Homeland?

It can be said that the idea of Jordan as the alternative homeland dates back to the British Mandate era, Britain deliberately established the Emirates of Transjordan and excluded it from the Balfour Declaration for British strategic necessities of which the most important is to make Palestine in a political, economic and administrative conditions to ensure the establishment of the Jewish National Homeland as well as use Jordan as a reserve land for the displacement of the Palestinians Arabs to it, Evi Ashlami reported in his book "The Lion Of Jordan" that this area – Jordan- was intended to be as a reserve land for the resettlement of when the national state was established in Palestine and became a reality, and that the intention was not –at the time- to transform the lands of east Jordan to an independent Arab state(Shlami, 2007, p.13), also the British representative in Transjordan Alekkerkerad mentioned that the remote area – Transjordan- will be used as a reserve land for the resettlement of the Arabs as soon as the national homeland of the Jews becomes reality (AL-Nakhal, 2014, p.86), Perhaps the draft of the British Royal Commission known as the Peel Commission 1937 expressed this point of view as we mentioned earlier, it's recommendations included dividing Palestine into two states: An Arab and a Jewish, instead of a Palestinian one, then the lands allocated to the Arab state in Palestine would be annexed to Transjordan in one state, with an exchange of people between the two countries the Jewish and the Arab and with the approval of the Jordan leadership which was

achieved by applying parts of this project following the issuance of the Partition Resolution 181 and the outbreak of the Arab –Israeli war in 1948 with the establishment of the unity between the two banks in 1950 with the support and approval of Britain (Shlami, 200, p.25)

The choice of Jordan as an alternative homeland was due to the world's perception of it, Jordan state was established as a non-viable state and to perform specific roles in service of colonial purposes, the importance of Jordan and its survival is linked to what services it does to Israel, therefore Jordan's interests and its economic needs were within the limits it enable it to survive, The member of the US National Security Council Kazmer stated in a memorandum submitted to the US president Johnson "We have no interest in Jordan's security more than that which prevents the siege of Israel and that the financial assistance to Jordan between 57-58 was for that purpose, It was an indirect assistance to Israel" (Shlami, 2007, p.215) and the belief was that when Jordan and existence were in contradiction with Israeli interests, America and Israel will sacrifice Jordan's existence.

The choice of Jordan as an alternative homeland for the settlement of the Palestinian diaspora refugees is due to the presence of one million Palestinian refugees in Jordan who do not hold Jordanian citizenship, and the Jordanian government must deal with them from a legal perspective sooner or later, in addition to the presence of a high percentage of the population of Palestinian origins.

4.3 The Deal of the Century and, and Jordan and the Idea of the Alternative Homeland

Despite the fact that the deal of the century confirms the establishment of a Palestinian state next to Israel on the land of historical Palestine –the Land of Israel- a careful reading of the content of the deal will reveal to us that it includes the idea of the alternative homeland indirectly, the deal is based on a set of postulates linked to the Zionist thought, The most important of these are: The Judaism of the state of Israel and the prevention of the establishment of a Palestinian entity between the river and the sea, the deal considers the aspirations of the Jewish people in the historical land of Palestine –the Land of Israel- as legitimate ones, It also considers the presence of the Palestinian people in Palestine as temporary and doesn't detract from the historical rights of the Jews in Palestine, Therefore, it can be said that these postulates have two interrelated dimensions: first, a territorial dimension, that is historical Palestine is exclusively for the Jewish people and that any Israeli concession to the Palestinians is a temporary one and is consistent with the Zionist strategy of the gradual work to achieve the ultimate goals, Burying the two- state solution is clear evidence that Israel has no desire to establish any Palestinian entity between the sea and the river. It is also evidence that the scenario of the alternative homeland is still present in the mind of the Israeli decision maker, the second dimension is the

demographic dimension, Judaism of the state can only be achieved through the liquidation of the Palestinian presence, Therefore, there must be a policy of systematic transfer (voluntary or forced) to empty the land of the Palestinians and displace them into the nearest land, which is Jordan, in this case, after placing them under difficult political and economic conditions, at the same time Jordan should be also rehabilitated economically and politically to be attractive and facilitator in the process of displacement. Consequently, the desire to establish a pure Jewish state and the lack of desire to set up an independent Palestinian state is closely linked to the liquidation of the Palestinian presence and their displacement to Jordan (AL-Muasher, 2020).

As for the future Palestinian state stipulated in the Deal of the Century, a review of criteria of this state, its conditions and commitments will make one conclude that this state will not be established, Because these criteria and conditions don't allow the establishment of a viable state, this is the expression that came out from the Thirtieth annual Conference of the Israeli National Security Research Institute (180post.com). The deal stipulated that if the Palestinian State failed to fulfill all or any of the criteria and the required conditions at any time, Israel has the right to increase its security presence in all or any part of the Palestinian state. It has the right –under the security pretext- to end the Palestinian state and to control historical Palestine, from the sea to the river.

The most Important Criteria, Conditions and Commitments: (<https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Peace-to-Prosperty-0120.pdf>)

- Determining the Palestinian-Israeli borders must take into account Israel's legal, historical and security demands, the most important of which is the annexation of the Jordan Valley, which is considered an important matter for Israeli national security.

- The area of the future Palestinian state is 6000 km², and it will be divided into several isolated areas in the West Bank and Gaza Strip

- The future Palestinian it will be without sovereignty. The communication network in the West Bank areas, the proposed security corridor between the West Bank and Gaza, as well as, the crossing linking the Palestinian State with Jordan and Egypt will all be under the Israeli control, in addition to both air and sea space.

- Jerusalem remaining the unified capital of Israel. As for the capital of Palestine, it will be established on a part of East Jerusalem in the areas east and south of the security wall in the villages of Kafr Aqab, Shuafat and Abu Dis which will help Israel to get rid of 200000 Palestinians in Jerusalem where 12% of the remaining will be Palestinians and 88% Jews.

- The Palestinian Authority should bear the responsibility of preventing the terrorist attacks, and has the responsibility of disarming the Palestinian factions in the Gaza Strip.

- The existing of a Palestinian entity-even if temporary- should not have the power to threaten Israel, Therefore the Palestinian state will be completely demilitarized, except for the police force (interior security).

- One of the conditions imposed on the Palestinian Authorities is that Hamas and Islamic Jihad should not participate in any Palestinian government unless they recognize Israel and the Palestinian authorities should recognize the Jewishness of the State of Israel.

- Israel will control the Palestinian economy through controlling water resources, quandaries and Dead Sea wealth, following the annexation of the Jordan Valley (strategic, security and economic region) which is considered the basket food of the West Bank.

- With regard to the refugee issue, the Deal of the Century has a special view towards this issue, including the return of Jews of Diaspora to the Israel state, As for the Palestinian refugees, there is no text that recognizes the right of return or self-determination It also confirms the termination of the UNRWAS works, and the deal proposes to resettle them in the countries in which they are located, And the return of a limited number of them to Palestinian state according to Israeli security arrangements

Consequently the inability of the Palestinian entity to transfer into the stage of an internationally-recognized independent Palestinian state as a result of its failure to fulfill the required criteria, conditions and commitments, will reinforce the idea of the alternative homeland .Israel will exploit the situation to achieve the alternative homeland either by annexing the undesired Palestinian territories with their people to the State of Jordan under humanitarian pretexts , and this will facilitate the immigration of the biggest possible numbers of Palestinians to Jordan using the methods of voluntary or forced transfer, Or the continuation of the status quo that is Palestinian autonomy with Israel imposing its sovereignty over it with the continuation of the process of the Palestinian transfer to Jordan, Israel will then annex the territories with the expansion of building settlements, Both of the two options will require that Jordan be economically rehabilitated so as to be able to meet the political , economic and demographic requirements to receive the Palestinians,

As for the Gaza Strip, it is likely that it will be separated from the West Bank, especially in case of a Palestinian civil war, then and under humanitarian purposes, it will be annexed to Egypt as was the case after 1948 war, there will be a swap of lands with Egypt, and this is the separation will help dissolve the Palestinian identity and will be a better alternative to accumulating all the Palestinians in Jordan.

The deal of the century stipulated a set of security and economic roles entrusted to Jordan that help achieve the idea of an alternative homeland, and among the most important of these roles:

- The Jordanian security role set in the Deal of the Century, as the Jordanian forces will have a direct role inside the Palestinian territories.

- The cooperation with America and Israel to control the crossings between Jordan and the Palestinian territories.

- The Jordanian role in the intended Regional security Cooperation Organization, along Israel, Egypt, the Palestinian Authority, Saudi Arabia and the UAE.

- The economic role ,through establishing a free economic Zone with Israel ,as well as another zone inside Jordan for marketing the Palestinian and Israeli goods abroad ,in addition to the lease of part of Aqaba port to the Palestinian side for shipping good to the outside world.

- A proposal to establish a framework for tripartite economic cooperation –Pinolex- that combines Jordan, Israel and the Palestinians ,to serve as a bridge for greater economic cooperation with the Arab work

THE CONCLUSION

The region of Transjordan is of a great importance in the Zionist Vision, This importance springs from many considerations; the most important of which is the religious dimension, where Transjordan was mentioned in many chapters of the Torah Books showing the significance of the region in several aspects and this gives it a religious importance, Then, the historical dimension, where the Children of Israel controlled the region since the era of Moses, peace be upon him, and the following periods, There is also the economic and strategic dimension, where many Zionist thinkers such as Lawrence Oliphant, Arthur Rubin and others emphasized the strategic and economic significance of Transjordan as a part of the Zionist project, Therefore there were always constant demands that Transjordan be part of the Promised Land, no matter what the Promised Land was; Whether it extends from the Euphrates to the Nile, or is confined to Palestine, because the borders of Palestine in the Zionist vision - as a land for the establishment of the national Jewish homeland as stated in the decisions of the First Zionist Conference in 1897- included both banks of the Jordan River; Western Palestine from the sea to the river and Eastern Palestine (east of the river) from the river to the Iraqi borders. Or at least from the river to the Hejaz railway, These were the borders demanded by the Zionist Movement in the memorandum submitted to the Peace Conference in 1919 for several considerations: political, economic, demographic, strategic and historical, it's aim was to include Transjordan in the implementation of the Balfour Declaration.

The Zionist claims that Transjordan be part of Palestine borders continued ,even after Britain separated Transjordan from Palestine to establish the Emirates of Transjordan ,despite the fact that Britain wanted to make this Emirate a temporary state and a reserve land for the settlement of the Arabs of Palestine after their expulsion

from Palestine, That is, to be an alternative homeland in the future, Yet the Zionist Vision considered that the borders subjected to the British Mandate didn't match the historical borders of the Land of Israel, It also considered that the Mandate gave the Jews the right to practice their activities in Transjordan, but following the war in June of 1967, there was a major transformation in the vision as the Israeli leaders declared that Jordan River was the eastern borders of Israel, These declarations were considered as an important step to revive an old idea that came in the proposals of the Royal Peel Commission in 1937, the idea was that of the alternative homeland, which based on the annexation of some parts of Palestine with high density of Palestinian people to the State of Jordan, that was the state existed in the unity of the two banks in 1950.

After the occupation of Israel the whole of Palestine from the sea to the river, huge Palestinian concentrations came under the Israeli rule, these Palestinian concentrations could neither be wiped out nor expelled, they also constituted security and economic pressures on Israel, So Israel returned to the old idea of establishing an alternative homeland for the Palestinians in Transjordan to achieve a set aims, the most important of which, is to get rid of the demographic Palestinian burden with its political, economic and security consequences, as well as to get rid of the problem of the Palestinian refugees, consequently, achieving the Zionism first goal, which was the establishment of a pure Jewish state, and Zionism found Transjordan the suitable place to achieve that goal for several considerations, most important of which was that most people in Jordan were of Palestinian origins and that they were integrated into the public life, Some of them assumed many leading positions, and this model was also existent in what was known as the unity of the two banks.

The achievement of the alternative homeland helps Israel to promote the idea that it conceded some parts of the Promised Land –East of Jordan- to establish a homeland for the Palestinians, Israel could show that it implemented the General Assembly Resolution 181 in 1947 stipulating the division of Palestine into two states –An Arab state and A Jewish state, this achievement would also grant its presence in the region more legitimacy and facilitate its integration in the Arab world, then Israel will then lead the region with its financial, economic, technical, military and political capabilities, so from time to time, Israeli leaders make statements confirming that the State of Palestine is in Jordan, this means that the idea is still rooted in Zionist thought, Even in the Deal of the Century, we find that it refers to the idea of establishing an alternative homeland in Jordan as a result of the difficulty of establishing a Palestinian state, In addition to the roles assigned to Jordan in the Deal of the Century, which helps create the conditions for the establishment of an alternative homeland in it, or at least the annexation of

parts of the West Bank with its residents to Jordan, and the annexation of the Gaza Strip to Egypt.

REFERENCES

- AL-keyali, A. M. (1966). *The Zionist Expansionist Ambitions*, Palestine Liberation Organization, Research Centre, Beirut.
- AL-Mahdi, A. S. (2012). *The Promised Land in the Modern Israeli Thought*, Dar AL-Jenan for Publishing and Distribution, Amman
- AL-muasher, M. (2020). *The Israeli threats to Jordan portend the worst*, www.carnegie-mec.org/2020/01/02/ar-pub-80726
- AL-Nakhal, A. M. (2014). *The Alternative Homeland Claims in Israeli Policy and the Palestinian and Jordanian Positions Towards It*, The Faculty of Arts and Human Sciences, The University of AL- Azhar, Gaza.
- AL-Sayeg, A. (1968). *Herzl Diaries*, Palestine Liberation Organization, Researches Centre, Beirut.
- AL-Sayeg, A. (1970). *The Zionist Thought- The Basic Texts*, Palestine Liberation Organization, Research Centre, Beirut.
- AL –Zubi, I. Q. (2008). *The Zionist Movement and the New Historians*, Master Thesis, Faculty of Higher Studies, University of Jordan, Amman.
- Badran, H (1982). *Not True Israel Borders not defined but it is Set since 1919*, Arab Affairs 19/20, Cairo.
- Batayneh, F. (2010). *The Sun Above Jordan, The Option and The Jordan Option, The Alternative Homeland and the Bitter Reality*, Bayet Alardon Foundation for Studies and Researches, Amman.
- Bible (Torah) (2003). *Dar ALkittab ALMugadass*, Egypt.
- Dib, S. (1986). *The Ideology of Zionist and the Zionist Violence*, Department of Philosophical and Social Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Damascus, Syria.
- Herzl, T. (2007). *The Jewish State*, Translation of Mohammad Fadil, AL-Shorouk International House, Cairo.
- Khilah, K. M. (1983). *The Political Development of Transjordan*, Public Foundation for Publishing, Distribution and Advertisement, Tripoli, Libya.
- Little, R. (2000). *The Future of Israel-Dialogues with Simon Perez-*, Alahlaya for publishing and Distribution, Amman.
- Murtada, E. (2003). *The Palestinian Demography in the Calculations of the National Israeli Security*, National Lebanese Defense, Lebanese Army, Issue 45. www.lebarmy.gov.lb/ar/content/
- Oliphant, L. (2004). *The Land of Gilead*, Translation of Ahmed Ouyadi AL-Abaddi, Majdalawi for publishing, Amman.
- Praver, M. (1990). *Borders of the Land of Israel in the Past, Present and Future*, Translation: Bader Aqil, ALjeel House for publishing and Studies, Amman
- Riyad, A. M. (1989). *The Israeli Thought and the Borders of the State*, Dar AL-Nahda, Beirut.
- Sabri, G. (1977). *The History of Zionism, 1862-1917*, THE Palestine Research Centre, 1st Part, Beirut.
- Shlami, A. (2007). *Lion of Jordan-The Life of King Hussein in War and Peace*, Penguin Books, London.

- Sousa, A. (2003). Research in Judaism and Zionism, Dar AL-Amal, Irbid.
- The Deal of the Century (2020). Peace to Prosperity –A vision to improve the Lives of the Palestinian and Israeli People, White House Website, www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/peace-to-prosperity-012.pdf
- Weizmann, Ch. (2015). The Trial and Error,-Memos of Chaim Weizmann-Translation of Al-Hussieny Maadi, Dar AL-Kholoud for Publishing and Distribution, Cairo.
- Wilson, M. (2000).). Abdullah, Transjordan –between Britain and the Zionist Movement-, Translation: Fadullah AL-Jarrah, Quds Company for Publishing and Distribution.
- Website 180 (2020). The Deal of the Century: Annexation of The Jordan Valley Establishes the Alternative Homeland.
- Zarrouk, A. (1968). The Greater Israel- A study in the Expansionist Thought-The Palestinian Research Centre, Beirut.
- Zuiter. A. (1955). *The Palestinian Issue*, Dar AL- Maaref, Cairo.