

**Refugee Review Tribunal  
AUSTRALIA**

**RRT RESEARCH RESPONSE**

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**Questions**

- 1. Please provide background on the issue of Jordanian citizenship for persons of West Bank Palestinian descent.**
- 2. What is the overall situation for Palestinian citizens of Jordan?**
- 3. Have there been any crackdowns upon Fatah members over the last 15 years?**
- 4. What kind of relationship exists between Fatah and the Jordanian authorities?**

**RESPONSE**

- 1. Please provide background on the issue of Jordanian citizenship for persons of West Bank Palestinian descent.**

Most Palestinians in Jordan hold a Jordanian passport of some type but the status accorded different categories of Palestinians in Jordan varies, as does the manner and terminology through which different sources classify and discuss Palestinians in Jordan. The webpage of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) states that: “All Palestine refugees in Jordan have full Jordanian citizenship with the exception of about 120,000 refugees originally from the Gaza Strip, which up to 1967 was administered by Egypt”; the latter being “eligible for temporary Jordanian passports, which do not entitle them to full citizenship rights such as the right to vote and employment with the government”. The US Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (USCRI) has reported of the preceding year, in its June 2009 *World Refugee Survey*, that while Jordan “hosted nearly 2 million Palestinians, all but 171,400 held Jordanian citizenship and USCRI did not count them as refugees”. Those within the 171,400 which the USCRI counted as refugees were: “Palestinians displaced from Gaza in 1967 [who] hold temporary Jordanian passports without national identity numbers, which are valid for two years” (‘Jordan Refugee Camp Profiles’ (undated), United Nations website <http://www.un.org/unrwa/refugees/jordan.html> – Accessed

16 October 2009 – Attachment 1; United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants 2009, *World Refugee Survey 2009 – Jordan*, UNHCR Refworld website, 17 June <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4a40d2aac.html> – Accessed 16 October 2009 – Attachment 3).

Alternatively, the US Department of State’s most recent human rights report for Jordan refers to three categories of persons of Palestinian origin being issued with Jordanian passports:

1. Jordanian citizens of Palestinian origin who “receive passports that are valid for five years”;
2. West Bank residents without other travel documentation [who] are eligible to receive five-year passports that do not connote citizenship”; and
3. “approximately 130,000 Palestinian refugees, mostly of Gazan origin, who did not qualify for citizenship”, of which “[a]pproximately half received two-year passports valid for travel but which do not connote citizenship” ((US Department of State 2009, *2008 Human Rights Report: Jordan*, 25 February – Attachment 11).

Similarly, a July 2009 report by the Research Directorate of the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada refers to a January 2009 Al Quds Center for Political Studies study which was supplied to the Research Directorate by a Researcher at the University of Geneva and which advised that “Jordan issues passports to three categories of Palestinians”:

1. “Jordanian citizens of Palestinian origin who can obtain five-year passports with national identity numbers”;
2. “‘West Bankers’ who live in the West Bank and are granted five-year passports without national identity numbers”; and
3. “‘Gazans’ who arrived in Jordan after the 1967 war, and may hold two-year passports without access to the same services as citizens” (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2009, ZZZ103109.E – *Jordan, Palestine and Israel: Passports issued to stateless Palestinians; procedures; entitlements; differences between Jordanian passports issued to Jordanian nationals and those issued to stateless Palestinians*, 8 July [http://www2.irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/research/rir/index\\_e.htm?action=record.viewrec&gotorec=452442](http://www2.irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/research/rir/index_e.htm?action=record.viewrec&gotorec=452442) – Accessed 21 October 2009 – Attachment 12).

Recently there have been reports of claims that the Jordanian authorities have stripped thousands of Palestinians of their citizenship, with the *Jerusalem Post* reporting on 12 August 2009 that: “At least 40,000 Palestinians are believed to have lost their status as Jordanian citizens in recent months”. The Jordanian authorities have reportedly responded that such reporting on the situation misrepresents what is, in fact, an attempt to maintain the family reunification scheme which requires that Palestinians return to the Occupied Territories to renew their family-reunification permit. In a 19 July 2009 interview with the London-based newspaper *Al-Hayat* the Jordanian Interior Minister Nayif al-Qadi said: “we...freeze his national number in order to motivate him to consolidate his right to Palestine”. The process also involves the administration of the yellow and green transit cards which are typically associated with five year and two year Jordanian passports respectively and which are used to transit the Allenby Bridge which links Jordan with the West Bank. According to Jordanian Interior Minister Nayif al-Qadi: “[t]he current commotion is about some people’s refusal to renew the family-reunification permit because of many reasons, the most important of which is the financial cost, as this requires returning to the Palestinian territories to apply for the

renewal”. Asked as to who is affected, Al-Qadi reportedly stated that: “The conditions apply to anyone who carries a Palestinian passport, works for the Palestinian [National] Authority or PLO institutions at home or abroad, does not renew the occupation family-reunification permit, did not perform the military service in the armed forces, or anyone who carries the military service card and who was born in or after 1958 and is required to perform military service”. On 5 August 2009 “Salih al-Qallab, the former Jordanian information minister”, reportedly discussed the issue of the alleged revocation of Jordanian citizenship from certain Palestinians on Dubai’s *Al-Arabiya TV* in similar terms to those employed by the Jordanian Interior Minister on 19 July 2009. Al-Qallab reportedly stated that: “We have been telling them that we would give them passports with a national number and everything as soon as they obtain a *lamm al-shaml* document because this [is] the document we can use to make demands on Israel in terms of the right of return and refugees. The pressure is, thus, on them to turn the yellow card into a green one. ...As soon as they correct their status and obtain *lamm al-shaml* document, we will immediately restore their yellow card” (for allegations that thousands of Palestinians have been stripped of their Jordanian citizenship, see: Tomameh, K.A. 2009, ‘Amman revoking Palestinians’ citizenship’, *The Jerusalem Post*, 20 July <http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?cid=1246443863400&pagename=JPost/JPArticle/Sho wFull> – Accessed 16 October 2009 – Attachment 4; Katz, Y. & Toameh, K.A. 2009, ‘Israel: We “won’t make Jordan Palestine”’, *Jerusalem Post*, 12 August <http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?cid=1249418582807&pagename=JPost/JPArticle/Sho wFull> – Accessed 16 October 2009 – Attachment 5; for the response of the Jordanian authorities, see: ‘Jordanian minister says no attempt to strip Palestinians of nationality’ 2009, *BBC Monitoring Middle East*, source: *Al-Hayat* website (London, in Arabic 19 July 2009), 20 July – Attachment 8; ‘Jordanian official explains revocation of Palestinians’ “national numbers”’ 2009, *BBC Monitoring Middle East*, source: *Al-Arabiya TV* (Dubai, in Arabic, 4 August 2009), 14 August – Attachment 14; for information on the relationship between different passports and yellow and green transit cards, see: Al Abed, O. 2004, ‘Palestinian refugees in Jordan’, Forced Migration website, February <http://www.forcedmigration.org/guides/fmo025/fmo025.pdf> – Accessed 26 October 2009 – Attachment 13; and: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 1993, *JOR15463.FE – Jordan: Information on the right of abode of a Palestinian from the West Bank who holds a Jordanian passport which is valid for five years*, 1 October <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6ac4338.html> – Accessed 20 October 2009 – Attachment 15; and: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2004, *JOR42458.E – Jordan’s treatment of failed refugee claimants who are returned to Jordan or persons who have exited the country illegally or whose permission to leave has expired; whether there is a distinction made between citizens of Jordan, stateless Palestinians from the Occupied Territories, and stateless Palestinians who reside in Jordan under UNRWA registration; possibility of torture or the existence of a risk to life or a risk of cruel and unusual treatment or punishment upon return*, 9 March <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/41501c2623.html> – Accessed 20 October 2009 – Attachment 16).

Complaints about the Jordanian government’s administration of its passport system have also been noted by the US Department of State’s human rights reports for Jordan over recent years. In February 2009 the US Department of State reported of 2008 that: “Several human rights activists maintained that despite the codified passport issuance procedures, MOI employees revoked national numbers of many citizens of Palestinian origin”; and that: “The government maintained this policy was in line with its efforts to implement the government’s disengagement from its former claims to the West Bank”. Similar complaints were noted for the years 2007 and 2006 (US Department of State 2009, *2008 Human Rights Report: Jordan*,

‘Section 5 Discrimination, Societal Abuses, and Trafficking in Persons’, 25 February – Attachment 11; similar complaints are also reported in preceding years, see: US Department of State 2008, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2007 – Jordan*, ‘Section 5 Discrimination, Societal Abuses, and Trafficking in Persons’, 11 March – Attachment 43; US Department of State 2007, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2006 – Jordan*, ‘Section 5 Discrimination, Societal Abuses, and Trafficking in Persons’, 6 March – Attachment 44).

Further information follows below on the recent controversy discussed above and the various different kinds of status and documentation that may be held by Palestinians in Jordan. For the various kinds of documentation associated with each kind of status, see the section below sub-titled: [Palestinians in Jordan: categories of status and documentation](#). For further information on the current controversy with regard to Palestinians in Jordan, see the section below sub-titled: [The 2009 controversy: reports from July to October 2009](#).

### **Palestinians in Jordan: categories of status and documentation**

Information follows below on the complex manner in which different categories of Palestinians are affected by the issuance of [various kinds of passport, citizenship or non-citizenship status](#), and the issuance of [yellow or green cards](#) for transiting the Allenby Bridge between the West Bank and Jordan as required (there are also blue and pink transit cards which may be issued to Palestinians of Gaza). While reading over the information provided below the reader may wish to have reference to the following table, sourced from a February 2004 ‘Palestinian refugees in Jordan’ information page located on the Forced Migration Online (FMO) website. The table displays, in an accessible format, the range of passports being issued (with or without a Jordanian national ID number) as well as the kind of transit cards (yellow, green, blue and pink) which a person of Palestinian descent may carry in order to enter and/or residing in Jordan. These different documents are tabulated in relation to the various categories of Palestinian which are typically associated with these documents (including: those whose families were displaced as a consequence of the 1948 conflict, those displaced by the 1967 conflict, Palestinians from Jerusalem, Palestinians of the West Bank and Palestinians of Gaza). The table follows, along with a brief discussion of the various documents and status types detailed (please turn overleaf to view table as a whole):

#### 3.2 Categories

There are several categories in Jordan for people holding a variety of different papers connoting different labels and giving access to different services. The various categories are outlined in the following table:

<b>Origin</b>	<b>Residence</b>	<b>Kind of Passport</b>	<b>Family Book*</b>	<b>Card of Crossing**</b>	<b>Accessibility to services</b>
<b>Jordanian – East Banker</b>	Permanent residency in Jordan	Five year passport with the National ID Number.	yes	-	Full access
<b>Jordanian – Palestinian of 1948</b>	Permanent residency in Jordan	Five-year passport with national ID NUMBER.	yes	-	Full access
<b>Jordanian – Palestinian of 1967</b>	Permanent residency in Jordan	Five year passport with	yes	Yellow Card – family reunification	Full access

		National ID Number.			
<b>Jordanian-Palestinian of 1967</b>	Permanent residency in the West Bank	Five-year passport without national ID number	No family book	Green Card	Work needs a work permit, university education payment in foreign fees, ownership with the approval of a ministerial council
<b>Jordanian-Palestinian from Jerusalem</b>	Permanent residency in Jerusalem	Five-year passport without national ID number	No	Green Card	Work needs a work permit, university education payment in foreign fees, ownership with the approval of a ministerial council.
<b>Palestinians of Gaza</b>	Permanent residency in Jordan	Two-year temporary passport	No	In case of family reunification – Blue Card	Work needs a work permit, university education payment in foreign fees, ownership with the approval of a ministerial council
<b>Palestinians of the West Bank or Gaza Strip</b>	Permanent residency in West Bank or Gaza Strip	Palestinian authority passport (LP)	No	Permission to enter	Treated like any Arab in Jordan: as long as there is a valid residency they can access services permitted for foreigners

*Notes:*

\* Family book: this registers the civil status of the members of the family (birth and marital status)

\*\* Crossing Card (or Card of Crossing [the bridges]): a card given by El Mutaba wel Taftish (the inspection and follow-up department affiliated with the Ministry of the Interior in Jordan). The Yellow Card indicates that its holder is a permanent resident in Jordan and s/he is able to go to the West Bank because of the family reunification card s/he holds. The Green Card indicates that its holder lives in the West Bank and his/her visit in Jordan is temporary (one should usually provide a reason, i.e. work permit, education certificate justifying their stay). The Blue Card is for Gazans who live in Gaza or in Jordan. It indicates that they were included in family reunification cards as being able to live in Gaza

...3.6 Legal rights

Palestinians who have been living on the East Bank of Jordan since 1948 are all Jordanian citizens. After the 1988 severance of administrative and legal ties between the East Bank and the West Bank, the legal status of Palestinians living in the West Bank changed. They were given temporary passports renewable every two years instead of regular passports that granted them full citizenship rights in Jordan. (The renewal period time period was extended to five years in 1995 by royal decree.) This placed the West Bankers on a par with the ex-Gaza refugees, who had been granted temporary passports since 1968. There are estimated to be 150,000 Gazans in Jordan (US Human Rights Report 2000).

As demonstrated in the categories table (see Categories), the government issued a series of coloured cards to distinguish between various categories of Palestinians in Jordan. Those who hold Yellow Cards are holders of permanent Jordanian passports and of a national ID number, but they also have family reunification permits provided by the Israeli occupation authorities. Green Cards were distributed to West Bankers allowing them to visit Jordan and return to the West Bank, while Blue Cards were given to Palestinians from Gaza, also allowing them to visit. Pink Cards allow people from Gaza temporary stay in the East Bank. Many people who have Green Cards have ambiguous status because after administrative disengagement from the West Bank and the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority they were granted Palestinian passports, which do not connote a nationality, since the PNA is not a sovereign nation-state (Al Abed, O. 2004, 'Palestinian refugees in Jordan', Forced Migration website, February <http://www.forcedmigration.org/guides/fmo025/fmo025.pdf> – Accessed 26 October 2009 – Attachment 13).

## Passports and citizenship

As is noted above, the US Department of State's most recent human rights report (issued 25 February 2009) details three different types of Jordanian passport which are being issued to persons of Palestinian descent with three different types of status: 1. Jordanian citizens of Palestinian origin who "receive passports that are valid for five years"; 2. "West Bank residents without other travel documentation [who] are eligible to receive five-year passports that do not connote citizenship"; and 3. "approximately 130,000 Palestinian refugees, mostly of Gazan origin, who did not qualify for citizenship", of which "[a]pproximately half received two-year passports valid for travel but which do not connote citizenship". The report also notes that: "Numerous human rights activists continued to charge that the government did not consistently apply citizenship laws, especially in cases in which passports were taken from citizens of Palestinian origin"; that: "Several human rights activists maintained that despite the codified passport issuance procedures, MOI employees revoked national numbers of many citizens of Palestinian origin"; and that: "The government maintained this policy was in line with its efforts to implement the government's disengagement from its former claims to the West Bank". The relevant extract follows:

Citizens receive passports that are valid for five years. Some persons of Palestinian origin living in the country were citizens and received passports; however, the government reported that there were approximately 130,000 Palestinian refugees, mostly of Gazan origin, who did not qualify for citizenship. Approximately half received two-year passports valid for travel but which do not connote citizenship. West Bank residents without other travel documentation are eligible to receive five-year passports that do not connote citizenship.

...Numerous human rights activists continued to charge that the government did not consistently apply citizenship laws, especially in cases in which passports were taken from citizens of Palestinian origin. The government maintained this policy was in line with its efforts to implement the government's disengagement from its former claims to the West Bank. However, activists complained that the process was not transparent and that the MOI appeal process was virtually nonexistent. Claimants reported that appeals were not resolved to their satisfaction. The government asserted that all cases it closed involved persons without valid claims to citizenship or travel documents.

...The UNRWA [UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East] and the government continued to provide basic services, such as limited health, education, and social services, to Palestinian refugees during the year. At year's end approximately 1.9 million Palestinian refugees were registered with UNRWA.

...The country is not a party to the 1951 UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees or its 1967 protocol and does not have any national legislation pertaining to the status and treatment of refugees. The government respected the UNHCR's eligibility determinations regarding asylum seekers, including those who entered the country clandestinely. A 1998 memorandum of understanding between the government and the UNHCR contains the definition of a refugee, confirms the principle of nonrefoulement, and allows recognized refugees a maximum stay of six months during which period a durable solution must be found. The government provided protection against the expulsion or forced return of refugees to countries where their lives or freedom would be threatened.

The UNRWA and the government continued to provide basic services, such as limited health, education, and social services, to Palestinian refugees during the year. At year's end approximately 1.9 million Palestinian refugees were registered with UNRWA.

The government granted nationality to approximately 700,000 persons displaced from former Jordanian territories during the 1967 war. An additional 120,000 persons displaced during the 1967 war held temporary residency permits. An additional 200,000 Palestinian refugees were also estimated to be living in the country without any direct assistance.

...The law states that women have the right to obtain passports without the written permission of their husbands, although in practice the husband's permission is often required. Married women do not have the legal right to transmit citizenship to their children; however, female citizens married to noncitizen men can pass citizenship to their children upon the permission of the Council of Ministers. In practice this permission was usually granted, except in cases where the father was of Palestinian origin. Women may not petition for citizenship for their noncitizen husbands. The husbands themselves must apply for citizenship after fulfilling a requirement of 15 years of continuous residency. Once the husbands have obtained citizenship, they may apply to transmit citizenship to their children. However, in practice such an application may take years, and in many cases citizenship may be denied to the husband and children. Such children become stateless and, if they do not hold legal residency, lose the right to attend public school or seek other government services.

...There were three groups of Palestinians residing in the country, many of whom faced some discrimination. Those who migrated to the country and the Jordan-controlled West Bank after the 1948 Arab-Israeli war were given full citizenship, as were those who migrated to the country after the 1967 war and hold no residency entitlement in the West Bank. Those still residing in the West Bank after 1967 were no longer eligible to claim full citizenship but were allowed to obtain temporary passports without national numbers, provided they did not also carry a Palestinian Authority travel document. Refugees who fled Gaza after 1967 were not entitled to citizenship and were issued temporary passports without national numbers.

Several human rights activists maintained that despite the codified passport issuance procedures, MOI employees revoked national numbers of many citizens of Palestinian origin. Individuals claimed that their temporary passports were confiscated after spending time in the West Bank. Palestinians were underrepresented in parliament and appointments to many senior positions in the government and the military, as well as in admittance to public universities, and had limited access to university scholarships (US Department of State 2009, 2008 *Human Rights Report: Jordan*, 25 February – Attachment 11).

A July 2009 report by the Research Directorate of the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada refers to a January 2009 *Al Quds* Center for Political Studies study which was supplied to the Research Directorate by a Researcher at the University of Geneva and which advised that: "Jordan issues passports to three categories of Palestinians: 1) Jordanian citizens of Palestinian origin who can obtain five-year passports with national identity numbers; 2) 'West Bankers' who live in the West Bank and are granted five-year passports without national identity numbers; and 3) 'Gazans' who arrived in Jordan after the 1967 war, and may hold two-year passports without access to the same services as citizens". According to the Research Directorate a French language report published by the *Institut français de Proche Orient* (IFPO) also reports that: "some Palestinians who reside in the West Bank or Jerusalem are issued five-year Jordanian passports without national identity numbers"; and that: "bearers of these passports are not entitled to Jordanian citizenship or permanent residency, they require work permits to work in Jordan and they can own property in Jordan only with ministry approval". It is also related that: "According to IFPO, Jordan does not permit stateless Palestinians to hold both a Jordanian temporary passport and a Palestinian Authority (PA) passport". It may also be of interest that the Research Directorate report provides information on the physical differences between the different types of Jordanian passports. Extracts follow:

According to a report published by Al Quds Center for Political Studies, an independent research institute in Amman (Al Quds Center n.d.), Jordan issues passports to three categories of Palestinians: 1) Jordanian citizens of Palestinian origin who can obtain five-year passports with national identity numbers; 2) “West Bankers” who live in the West Bank and are granted five-year passports without national identity numbers; and 3) “Gazans” who arrived in Jordan after the 1967 war, and may hold two-year passports without access to the same services as citizens (Al Quds Jan. 2009, 22). However, Palestinians in the first category are not “stateless” since they hold Jordanian citizenship (ibid.).

...According to a report published by the Institut français de Proche Orient (IFPO), a French-language educational and research institute with offices in Beirut, Damascus and Amman, that specializes, among others, in Near Eastern contemporary affairs (IFPO 31 Mar. 2009), some Palestinians who reside in the West Bank or Jerusalem are issued five-year Jordanian passports without national identity numbers; bearers of these passports are not entitled to Jordanian citizenship or permanent residency, they require work permits to work in Jordan and they can own property in Jordan only with ministry approval (IFPO Oct. 2005, 10-11).

Information on which Palestinians who reside in the West Bank or East Jerusalem qualify for Jordanian passports was scarce among the sources consulted by the Research Directorate. The BADIL Resource Center, a Palestinian organization which advocates for residency and refugee rights (n.d.), indicates that Palestinian refugees and internally-displaced persons (IDPs) who held Jordanian passports before 1988, when Jordan severed administrative ties with the West Bank (Al Quds Jan. 2009, 21), are eligible for a two or five-year Jordanian passport, which “functions as a travel document” (BADIL June 2007, 122).

Another article published by the Refugee Studies Centre reports that there are approximately 118,000-150,000 Palestinians living as temporary residents in Jordan who were displaced from Gaza in 1967 (Refugee Studies Centre, Aug. 2006a, 17). These “Gazan” Palestinians can hold temporary two-year Jordanian passports that do not have national identity numbers (ibid.). The passport is in effect a kind of temporary residency permit (ibid.). According to a report published by Al Quds Center, these passports act as travel documents, but do not indicate citizenship (Al Quds, Jan. 2009, 22). Al Quds and USCRI indicate that Gazans who hold temporary two-year Jordanian passports have limited rights and access to services in Jordan (ibid., 23; USCRI 2008b).

According to IFPO, Jordan does not permit stateless Palestinians to hold both a Jordanian temporary passport and a Palestinian Authority (PA) passport (IFPO Oct. 2005, 6).

#### *Physical differences between the different types of Jordanian passports*

In correspondence with the Research Directorate on 27 April 2009, a researcher affiliated with the Graduate Institute for International and Development Studies of the University of Geneva stated that two-year and five-year Jordanian passports issued to stateless Palestinians look the same as Jordanian passports issued to Jordanian nationals, except that there is no national number on the first page of the passport for those issued to stateless Palestinians. A sample passport issued to a Jordanian national, provided by the Researcher, demonstrates that the following fields, along with the photograph, are represented on the first page: Sex, Type, Country Code, National No., Full Name, Place of Birth, Date of Birth, Date of Issue, Mother’s Name, Date of Expiry, and Issued at (Researcher 27 April 2009). When the passport is turned sideways to landscape direction, the national number appears in the top right-hand corner of page one (ibid.).

#### *Palestinian Authority (PA) passports issued to stateless Palestinians*

Sources indicate that the PA issues passports to Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza (Al Quds Center Jan. 2009, 23-24; Ma'an News Agency 12 Aug. 2008; US 25 Feb. 2009, Sec. 2). According to BADIL, the passports are issued jointly by the PA and the Israeli military administration (BADIL June 2007, 153). According to USCRI, the PA requires applicants to submit Israeli-issued identity cards in order to obtain a PA passport and those who had lived outside the territories for more than three years were not entitled to the passports (USCRI 2008a).

The Ma'an News Agency, an independent Palestinian news agency (Ma'an News Agency n.d.), reports that in 2008 the PA increased the validity period of the PA passport from three years to five years and changed the colour of the passports from green to black (Ma'an News Agency 12 Aug. 2008). By 2008, the PA had issued 1,995,816 passports, granted to nearly 50 percent of the population in the territories (ibid.). The Refugee Studies Centre and IFPO indicate that the PA passport acts as a travel document only, since there is no Palestinian state (Refugee Studies Centre Aug. 2006b, 8; IFPO Oct. 2005, 6). According to the Al Quds Center, PA passports have been recognized by 181 countries (Al Quds Jan. 2009, 24). IFPO reports that many countries require visas for PA passport holders but that these visas can be difficult to obtain since the PA passport is not recognized as proof of citizenship (Oct. 2005, 6) (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2009, ZZZ103109.E – *Jordan, Palestine and Israel: Passports issued to stateless Palestinians; procedures; entitlements; differences between Jordanian passports issued to Jordanian nationals and those issued to stateless Palestinians*, 8 July [http://www2.irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/research/rir/index\\_e.htm?action=record.viewrec&gotorec=452442](http://www2.irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/research/rir/index_e.htm?action=record.viewrec&gotorec=452442) – Accessed 21 October 2009 – Attachment 17).

The USCRI earliest report on Jordan, which appears in *World Refugee Survey 1997*, provides historical background on the different kinds of status accorded to Palestinians in Jordan. As per the aforementioned USCRI *World Refugee Survey 2009*, the USCRI 1997 country report for Jordan advises that: “Jordan does not offer citizenship to those Palestinians who originated in the Gaza Strip, over which Jordan never claimed sovereignty. Instead, Jordan issues them two-year passports carrying a stamp indicating that the holder is originally from Gaza, and entered Jordan in 1967”. In addition to this, the 1997 country report also refers to the existence of a temporary five year passport, as well as a two year passport, both of which have been issued to Palestinians from the West Bank at different times according to circumstances. The 1997 report states that: “Prior to 1996, Jordan issued two-year passports to Palestinians who were resident in the West Bank when Jordan renounced all legal ties to the West Bank in 1988. That passport allowed Palestinians to travel internationally but did not grant them Jordanian residency rights. When entering Jordan from the West Bank, two-year passport holders were issued green cards. During 1996, however, Jordan began issuing five-year passports to Palestinians, but reiterated that they were for travel purposes only, and did not connote nationality”. The report also relates that holding a Palestinian Authority issued passport can complicate a person’s status in terms of holding Jordanian citizenship. Extracts follow:

Palestinian refugees in Jordan have a unique legal position. Unlike the other states hosting Palestinians within the UNRWA mandate area, many Palestinians in Jordan have full citizenship rights, including the right to vote. UNRWA defines Palestinian refugees as persons, and their descendants, who resided in Palestine two years prior to the outbreak of hostilities in 1948, who lost their homes and their livelihoods as a result of the conflict. UN General Assembly Resolution 194 recognizes only repatriation or compensation as permanent solutions to the Palestinian refugee problem. Citizenship in another country, therefore, does not terminate refugee status as it would for other refugee groups covered by the UN Refugee Convention and Protocol. The UN Refugee Convention excludes Palestinians who were

already within UNRWA's mandate in 1951. In effect, this means that UNHCR does not concern itself with (or count) Palestinian refugees in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, or the West Bank and Gaza Strip, although it may assist Palestinian refugees outside the UNRWA mandate area.

UNRWA does not specifically track the number of refugees in Jordan who have Jordanian citizenship, which it considers to be irrelevant to its mandate. In general, Palestinian refugees with Jordanian citizenship are treated equally with other Jordanian citizens. Palestinians not only vote in elections, but some hold public office. Five of Jordan's 31 cabinet ministers in 1996 were of Palestinian origin, as were nine of the country's 40 senators. However, these figures under-represent Palestinian numerical strength, which has grown to become an outright majority of the total Jordanian population.

Jordan does not offer citizenship to those Palestinians who originated in the Gaza Strip, over which Jordan never claimed sovereignty. Instead, Jordan issues them two-year passports carrying a stamp indicating that the holder is originally from Gaza, and entered Jordan in 1967. They are not allowed to vote or to hold public-sector jobs.

When the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank and Gaza began issuing Palestinian passports in 1995, Jordan announced that it would not allow Jordanian Palestinians to carry Palestinian passports or to hold dual nationality, saying that the Arab League bars dual Arab nationality. During 1996, the Jordanian policy with respect to Palestinian Authority passport holders was not entirely clear. Although Jordan had revoked or refused to renew the passports of some 30,000 Palestinians who had obtained Palestinian passports, the interior ministry appeared to be prepared to reinstate those passports.

Prior to 1996, Jordan issued two-year passports to Palestinians who were resident in the West Bank when Jordan renounced all legal ties to the West Bank in 1988. That passport allowed Palestinians to travel internationally but did not grant them Jordanian residency rights. When entering Jordan from the West Bank, two-year passport holders were issued green cards. During 1996, however, Jordan began issuing five-year passports to Palestinians, but reiterated that they were for travel purposes only, and did not connote nationality. By year's end, about 300,000 such passports had been issued. Jordan indicated it would continue issuing passports until 1997, when it would re-evaluate its policy (US Committee for Refugees and Immigrants 1997, 'Jordan' in: *World Refugee Survey 1997*, 1 January <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6a8ba38.html> – Accessed 21 October 2009 – Attachment 18).

## **Yellow Cards and Green Cards**

An October 1993 report by the Research Directorate of the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada provides further historical background on the manner in which some Palestinians have been issued five year or two passports, and the manner in which these are associated with the issue of yellow cards (for five year passport holders) and green cards (two year passport holders). The advice was sourced from "a representative of the Jordanian embassy in Washington" and a "Jordanian lawyer in Amman". The Jordanian embassy in Washington advised the Research Directorate at this time that: "West Bank Palestinians with a yellow card issued by the Jordanian Department of the Interior and a five-year Jordanian passport have the right to establish permanent residence in Jordan and have Jordanian nationality". Extracts follow:

According to a representative of the Jordanian embassy in Washington, if the Israeli military administration controlling the Occupied Territories (Gaza Strip, West Bank and Golan Heights) denies a West Bank Palestinian the right of abode, the Jordanian Department of the

Interior will give that person a yellow card and a Jordanian passport which is valid for five years (ibid.). West Bank Palestinians with a yellow card issued by the Jordanian Department of the Interior and a five-year Jordanian passport have the right to establish permanent residence in Jordan and have Jordanian nationality (14 oct. 1993). Palestinians with a yellow card and a five-year Jordanian passport may only travel to the West Bank as visitors (ibid.). When the right of abode in the West Bank is granted by the Israeli military administration, a Palestinian receives a green card and a temporary passport which is valid for two years; both are issued by the Jordanian Department of the Interior (ibid.). The green card and the temporary passport grants the right of abode in Jordan for a period of two months (ibid.). This two-month right of abode in Jordan may be renewed for two months at a time (ibid.). Therefore, it is the type of authorization (the granting or denial of the right of abode), noted on a card issued to a person by the Israeli military administration which determines the type of card that is issued in Amman by the Jordanian Department of the Interior (ibid.).

Once a person is granted or denied the right of abode in the West Bank by the Israeli authorities, the person usually crosses the Jordan River at the King Hussein Bridge, shows identification to the Jordanian border guards and continues on to Amman (ibid.). The card system has been in effect since July 1, 1988 (ibid.). A person with a green card and a five-year Jordanian passport receives a temporary two-year passport upon renewal of the passport (ibid.). The representative says that the system may change, depending on the outcome of the peace talks between the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Israeli government (ibid.).

According to a Jordanian lawyer in Amman, Palestinians who are authorized by the Israeli military administration to reside in the West Bank and who have a five-year Jordanian passport, may not take up permanent residence in Jordan (13 oct. 1993). The lawyer added that such Palestinians may request a temporary residence permit, which is usually valid for one month (ibid.). Palestinians who have a five-year passport and who were living in Jordan before 1988 have the right of abode in Jordan and have Jordan nationality (ibid.). If a Palestinian obtained a five-year passport before 1988 and has the right of abode in the West Bank, which means that the person has an identity card from the Israeli military authorities, it is highly likely that the person will be given a Jordanian passport which is valid for only two years (the equivalent of a travel document) upon renewal of the passport (ibid.). The lawyer said that, since 1988, two types of Palestinians have not been able to become Jordanian: (1) those with the right of abode in the West Bank, that is, those who have an identity card from the Israeli military authorities; and (2) all leaders, including the diaspora, of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) (ibid.). (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 1993, *JOR15463.FE – Jordan: Information on the right of abode of a Palestinian from the West Bank who holds a Jordanian passport which is valid for five years*, 1 October <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ae6ac4338.html> – Accessed 20 October 2009 – Attachment 15; see also: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2006, *ZZZ101173.E – Palestine and Jordan: Whether the acquisition of a Palestinian Authority (PA) passport leads to the loss of rights to Jordanian citizenship; whether this acquisition has any other impact on entitlements (2004 – March 2006)*, 12 May <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/45f147d625.html> – Accessed 20 October 2009 – Attachment 19).

The Research Directorate of the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada also received advice on the yellow and green card system in October 2003 from the BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights. BADIL advised that the system was created in 1983 and that: “Yellow cards were granted to West Bankers who had left the West Bank before 1 June 1983. Palestinians who were living in Jordan at that date and who had obtained full residency and full citizenship (‘family book’) were, therefore, entitled to a yellow card.” Badil also advised that: “Our understanding is that the yellow card is only used

by Palestinians in Jordan if they wish to travel to the West Bank, so Palestinians who are not required to travel to the West Bank do not necessarily hold a yellow card”. It would appear from the advice that either a green card or a yellow card is “required by the Jordanian authorities for a West Banker to enter/exit Jordan through Allenby Bridge” (Allenby Bridge connects Jordan to the West Bank). Extracts follow:

*Yellow and Green Cards*

In 1983, the Jordanian government created a dual yellow and green card system to distinguish Palestinians living in Jordan from Palestinians living in the West Bank at that time. Yellow cards were granted to West Bankers who had left the West Bank before 1 June 1983. Palestinians who were living in Jordan at that date and who had obtained full residency and full citizenship (“family book”) were, therefore, entitled to a yellow card. Our understanding is that the yellow card is only used by Palestinians in Jordan if they wish to travel to the West Bank, so Palestinians who are not required to travel to the West Bank do not necessarily hold a yellow card.

Palestinians living in the West Bank, who are holders of a Jordanian passport, are entitled to green cards. The green card indicates that its holder is from the West Bank and that he or she is allowed to stay in Jordan temporarily only. Green cards and yellow cards are issued by the Jordanian Interior Ministry at the border crossings to the West Bank.

*Documents required by the Jordanian authorities for a West Banker to enter/exit Jordan through Allenby Bridge*

Palestinians from the West Bank who wish to travel to Jordan are required to possess:

- a valid Palestinian travel document (“passport”) or Jordanian passport;
- a valid Jordanian green card or yellow card;
- and, since 2001, also a “statement of no-objection” issued by the Jordanian Ministry of Interior. This official statement must be requested by the inviting relative/institution in Jordan who guarantee that the Palestinian visitor will not overstay the permitted period in Jordan. No additional documents are required by the Jordanian authorities for a West Banker to exit Jordan from Amman Airport

(Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2004, *JOR42458.E – Jordan: Jordan’s treatment of failed refugee claimants who are returned to Jordan or persons who have exited the country illegally or whose permission to leave has expired; whether there is a distinction made between citizens of Jordan, stateless Palestinians from the Occupied Territories, and stateless Palestinians who reside in Jordan under UNRWA registration; possibility of torture or the existence of a risk to life or a risk of cruel and unusual treatment or punishment upon return*, 9 March <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/41501c2623.html> – Accessed 20 October 2009)

The Israeli human rights organization HaMoked also provided advice on these issues to the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada in October 2003. As per the BADIL advice, HaMoked advised that green card and yellow cards are essentially transit documents for moving between the West Bank and Jordan. With regard to the relationship between citizenship and the yellow card, HaMoked advised: “The yellow card is issued to Jordanian citizens (many of whom are residents of the West Bank) for five years”. The advice follows with the Research Directorate’s queries to HaMoked reproduced in italics.

5) *Please provide clarifications as to the role and function of a green and yellow identity card (ID) regarding the issuance of a two-year or five-year Jordanian passport... .*

5) This is not an ID but is called a Bridge Card. The green card is temporary (for two years) and is issued to residents of the West Bank who are not Jordanian citizens. Each time the resident crosses the bridge, the Jordanian authorities enter a note on the card by hand. The yellow card is issued to Jordanian citizens (many of whom are residents of the West Bank) for five years. In effect it serves as an alternative passport so that the Israeli crossing stamps do not appear in the original Jordanian passport, which would cause problems in other Arab states for these residents... .

*5.1) Are West Bank Palestinians issued a green ID by the Jordanian authorities when entering Jordan? What is the meaning of holding a green ID when crossing into Jordan through the Allenby Bridge? Are they full Jordanian citizens? Do they have a right of residence in Jordan? ...*

5.1) The green Bridge Card is indeed issued at the crossing point for residents holding Palestinian passports. Those without Palestinian passports must request at his home city a temporary Jordanian passport. This request must include a confirmation from the Palestinian Authority that the resident does not have a Palestinian passport. S/he takes the stamped request to the crossing point and must go to Amman to be interviewed in order to receive the temporary passport. The[y] are neither full Jordanian citizens nor have any residence rights... .

*5.2) It is our understanding that other West Bank Palestinians are issued a yellow ID when crossing into Jordan. What is the meaning of this yellow ID regarding Jordanian passport and citizenship? Do they have a right of residence in Jordan? ...*

5.2) As mentioned in question 5, the yellow Bridge Card is issued only to Jordanian citizens who naturally have a right to residence ... .

*5.3) What are the consequences these two IDs have on the right of abode? ...*

5.3) As far as we know, there is no connection ... .

10) See above regarding status of Palestinian who receives a green or yellow Bridge Card. These cards themselves have no influence on the rights, obligations and/or residency as far as we know ... . (HaMoked 5 Nov. 2003).

*6) What documents are required by the Jordanian authorities for a West Bank Palestinian to exit Jordan from the Allenby Bridge? ...*

6) Again, as far as we know, only the green or yellow Bridge Card ... .

*7) What documents are required by the Jordanian authorities for a West Bank Palestinian to exit Jordan from the Amman International Airport? Are those same documents required for the re-entry of the person? ...*

7) As far as we know, what is required is a valid passport (including Palestinian, Jordanian and temporary Jordanian as noted above) or from any other country. We assume that the same is required for re-entry ... .

*...9) What are the procedures and documents required to re-enter Jordan and cross the Allenby Bridge to return to the West Bank? ...*

9) As far as we know, the same documents used for entry into Jordan and exit from Jordan (as noted above)

(Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2004, *JOR42458.E – Jordan: Jordan’s treatment of failed refugee claimants who are returned to Jordan or persons who have exited the country illegally or whose permission to leave has expired; whether there is a distinction made between citizens of Jordan, stateless Palestinians from the Occupied Territories, and stateless Palestinians who reside in Jordan under UNRWA registration; possibility of torture or the existence of a risk to life or a risk of cruel and unusual treatment or punishment upon return*, 9 March <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/41501c2623.html> – Accessed 20 October 2009)

In September 2004 the “consul of the Embassy of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in Ottawa” advised the Research Directorate of the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada that “West Bank residents are issued five-year temporary passports which they can hold in addition to a Palestinian passport (Jordan 1 Sept. 2004). The Embassy further explained that temporary Jordanian passports are not to be construed as proof of Jordanian citizenship but, rather only, as travel documents.” This advice is noted in a May 2006 Research Directorate report which also notes the appearance of reports in *The Jordan Times* in September 2004 of “claims that Jordanian authorities were arbitrarily nullifying the citizenship and residency status of Jordanian citizens of Palestinian origin by exchanging yellow cards for green cards”. It is further related that: “The Jordanian government dismissed these claims, indicating that the exchange of cards reflected the ongoing policy of the Jordanian authorities with respect to citizenship”. The issue of whether holding a Palestinian authority passport can lead to the loss of Jordanian citizenship is also addressed in the May 2006 report which refers to March 2006 advice received from a “representative from the Israel-Palestine Center for Research and Information (IPCRI)” who “acknowledged that, as of March 2006, Jordanian authorities had not fully implemented this policy (IPCRI 28 Mar. 2006). According to the representative, while, ‘in principle, the Kingdom [of Jordan could] revoke citizenship from Palestinians once they take out a [Palestinian Authority] passport...it is usually not implemented’. Extracts follow:

In 9 May 2006 correspondence, the Embassy of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan stated that the “holder of a Palestinian Passport issued by the Palestinian Authority is considered a Palestinian and not a Jordanian.”

Oral sources consulted by the Research Directorate agreed that the acquisition of a Palestinian Authority (PA) passport leads to the loss of Jordanian citizenship (El-Abed 24 Mar. 2006; Shaml 4 Apr. 2006; IPCRI 28 Mar. 2006). Dr. Oroub El-Abed, a specialist on Palestinian refugees in Jordan, indicated that even if a person had had citizenship rights in Jordan, the acquisition of a PA passport would cause this person “[to lose] all rights to being treated as a Jordanian citizen...and...the right to residency in the country” (24 Mar. 2006). To regain these rights, a person would need to renew his or her stay in the country as would any other foreigner (El-Abed 24 Mar. 2006). The individual would also need to have proper justification to remain in the country or have the support of a guarantor (ibid.).

The representative from the Israel-Palestine Center for Research and Information (IPCRI), however, also acknowledged that, as of March 2006, Jordanian authorities had not fully implemented this policy (IPCRI 28 Mar. 2006). According to the representative, while, “in principle, the Kingdom [of Jordan could] revoke citizenship from Palestinians once they take out a [Palestinian Authority] passport...it is usually not implemented” (ibid). The IPCRI representative further noted that “Jordanians and the PA do not have a joint computer system or registry on these issues” (IPCRI 28 Mar. 2006).

...The consul of the Embassy of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan in Ottawa explained that, West Bank residents are issued five-year temporary passports which they can hold in addition to a Palestinian passport (Jordan 1 Sept. 2004). The Embassy further explained that temporary Jordanian passports are not to be construed as proof of Jordanian citizenship but, rather only, as travel documents (ibid.). Temporary and permanent passports are differentiated by a special stamp which is illustrated in the attached correspondence received from the Embassy (ibid.).

The Palestine Yearbook of International Law provided a detailed historical overview of the differences in Palestinians' status, an explanation of the rights related to status, and the corresponding yellow or green cards issued by Jordanian authorities:

Jordan at first granted full citizenship to all Palestinian refugees and their descendants who were "habitually residents in 1954." It did not matter whether they lived on the East Bank or West Bank, because in that era Jordan had incorporated the West Bank and Palestinians drifted back and forth fairly readily. Many families had branches and homes on both sides of the river. However, once Israel took over control of the West Bank, the situation became more confused. In 1983, the Jordanian government created a dual system: yellow cards, which represented full residency and full citizenship rights for persons who had left the West Bank for the East Bank before June 1 of that year; and green cards, providing a renewable two-year Jordanian "passport" and no right of residence for those who left the West Bank after June 1, 1983. Green card holders can visit Jordan for only up to one month at a time. Thus it is really no more than a travel document, of the type also issued to Palestinians by Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Israel. As already noted, Jordan has recently announced that green card holders can apply again for five-year passports, but such a passport does not constitute full citizenship.

The main category of Palestinians in Jordan who are not Jordanian citizens consists of those displaced from the Gaza strip in 1967. They constitute approximately 70,000 persons. As noncitizens, they need official permission to work and then they can do so only in the private sector. The noncitizens use Egyptian travel documents when traveling abroad and need return visas to get back into Jordan. Permission to remain or return is granted or denied at the whim of the Jordanian government (The Palestine Yearbook of International Law 2000/2001).

In September 2004, The Jordan Times reported claims that Jordanian authorities were arbitrarily nullifying the citizenship and residency status of Jordanian citizens of Palestinian origin by exchanging yellow cards for green cards (27 Sept. 2004).

The Jordanian government dismissed these claims, indicating that the exchange of cards reflected the ongoing policy of the Jordanian authorities with respect to citizenship (The Jordan Times 27 Sept. 2004).

Further to this, The Jordan Times article explained the nature of the Jordanian policy since 1988:

[f]ollowing disengagement [in 1988], different categories of Jordanian residency were created, with Palestinian refugees of 1948 and 1967 who settled in the East Bank receiving full citizenship and five-year passports.

Palestinians of 1967 were also given yellow family reunification cards for travel to the West Bank. However, Palestinians of 1967 living in the West Bank at the time of disengagement were given five-year passports without national identity numbers and

a green card, enabling them to enter Jordan only with a “no objection” document issued by the Interior Ministry.

Palestinians from Gaza are treated as a separate case entirely and given a two-year passport (ibid.)

According to the Jordanian Interior Minister, approximately 500 yellow cards are exchanged for green cards each year, while “10 times as many people are granted the reverse change of status every year,” usually in cases of children reaching the age of majority, marriage and “humanitarian cases” (ibid.). The Interior Minister also explained that

anyone who has a Palestinian passport, works for the [Palestinian Authority] or the [Palestinian Liberation Organization], or was resident in Palestine at the time of disengagement will have their yellow card changed to a green card (ibid.).

(Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2006, ZZZ101173.E – *Palestine and Jordan: Whether the acquisition of a Palestinian Authority (PA) passport leads to the loss of rights to Jordanian citizenship; whether this acquisition has any other impact on entitlements (2004 – March 2006)*, 12 May <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/45f147d625.html> – Accessed 21 October 2009– Attachment 20).

### **The recent controversy: reports from July to October 2009**

There have recently been reports of large numbers of Palestinians having their citizenship revoked by the Jordanian authorities. On 20 July 2009, *The Jerusalem Post* reported that “Jordanian authorities have started revoking the citizenship of thousands of Palestinians living in Jordan to avoid a situation in which they would be ‘resettled’ permanently in the kingdom”. The report related that Jordan’s Interior Minister Nayef al-Kadi had “said that, despite the new policy, Palestinians would be permitted to retain their status as residents of the kingdom by holding ‘yellow ID cards’ that are issued to those who have families and homes in the West Bank”; and that: “Palestinians working for the Palestinian Authority or the PLO were among those who have had their Jordanian passports taken from them, in addition to anyone who did not serve in the Jordanian army”. On 12 August 2009 *The Jerusalem Post* reported that: “At least 40,000 Palestinians are believed to have lost their status as Jordanian citizens in recent months”; and that: “al-Kadi explained that the decision to rescind the citizenship of Palestinians was taken to preempt ostensible schemes to transform the kingdom into a Palestinian state”. It is also reported that, according to Al-Kadi, the decision “was taken at the request of the PLO and the Arab world to consolidate the status of the PLO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people”. Other sources, however, have varied in their reporting of the exact nature of what is occurring in Jordan in this regard and how certain Palestinians are being affected by these developments. A September 2009 report authored by the chief editor of *The Jordan Times*, for example, while noting heightened tensions amongst Jordan’s Palestinian community refers, not to the stripping of Jordanian citizenship, but to new tighter measures for accessing citizenship, reporting that: “the vocal Jordanian-Palestinian elite, including journalists, criticised Interior Minister Nayef Al-Qadi for tightening residency measures in order to prevent Palestinians living in Jordan without citizenship from becoming citizens” (for the *The Jerusalem Post* reports, see: Tomameh, K.A. 2009, ‘Amman revoking Palestinians’ citizenship’, *The Jerusalem Post*, 20 July <http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?cid=1246443863400&pagename=JPost/JPArticle/Sho wFull> – Accessed 16 October 2009 – Attachment 4; Katz, Y. & Toameh, K.A. 2009, ‘Israel: We “won’t make Jordan Palestine”’, *Jerusalem Post*, 12 August <http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?cid=1249418582807&pagename=JPost/JPArticle/Sho>

[wFull](#) – Accessed 16 October 2009 – Attachment 5; ‘Jordanian official explains revocation of Palestinians’ “national numbers” 2009, *BBC Monitoring Middle East*, source: *Al-Arabiya TV* (Dubai, in Arabic, 4 August 2009), 14 August – Attachment 2; for an September and October 2009 reports on the resulting tensions, see: Sabbagh-Gargour, R. 2009, ‘What Next for Jordan?’, *Khaleej Times*, 22 September  
[http://www.khaleejtimes.com/displayarticle.asp?xfile=data/opinion/2009/September/opinion\\_September107.xml&section=opinion&col=](http://www.khaleejtimes.com/displayarticle.asp?xfile=data/opinion/2009/September/opinion_September107.xml&section=opinion&col=) – Accessed 16 October 2009– Attachment 6; Segev, S. 2009, ‘Tensions mount in Jordan’, *Winnipeg Free Press*, 6 October  
<http://www.winnipegfreepress.com/opinion/westview/tensions-mount-in-jordan-63584417.html> – Accessed 16 October 2009 – Attachment 7).

The specific nature of what has been occurring in Jordan in recent months, with regard to claims that Palestinians were being stripped of their Jordanian citizenship, was addressed by the Jordanian Interior Minister Nayif al-Qadi in a 19 July 2009 interview with the London-based Arabic newspaper *Al-Hayat*. In response to the question of whether “nationality is being withdrawn” Al-Qadi replies that “[t]his is a distortion and a fallacy” and that “[t]he current commotion is about some people’s refusal to renew the family-reunification permit” by returning to the West Bank rather than in Jordan as has previously been the case. Asked as to who is affected by the transition from yellow to green card status, the Al-Qadi replies that: “The conditions apply to anyone who carries a Palestinian passport, works for the Palestinian [National] Authority or PLO institutions at home or abroad, does not renew the occupation family-reunification permit, did not perform the military service in the armed forces, or anyone who carries the military service card and who was born in or after 1958 and is required to perform military service”. The following translated extracts have been sourced from *BBC Monitoring Middle East*:

*[Ghayshan] You are accused of withdrawing the nationality from the Jordanians of Palestinian origin?*

[Al-Qadi] This is a fraudulent campaign through which the facts are turned upside down, and behind which stand foreign and domestic centres of power. The campaign aims at distorting the image of Jordan in order to serve suspicious plans that are being promoted in the region.

*...[Ghayshan] But there are complaints that the nationality is being withdrawn?*

[Al-Qadi] This is a distortion and a fallacy. What is taking place is a correction of the situation. We are applying the decision of disengagement with the West Bank, which was adopted in 1988 in response to the demands of the Palestinian brethren and the Arab countries at the Rabat summit in 1974. The Rabat summit stipulated that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. This has been confirmed at Fes summit in 1981 and at Algiers summit in 1987. Our aim is to prevent Israel from emptying the Palestinian territories of the sons of Palestine, and to insist on preserving the identity of every Palestinian who carries the family-reunification card (the occupation census) or who was residing in the West Bank when the disengagement decision was issued.

*[Ghayshan] How is the situation being corrected?*

[Al-Qadi] When an individual goes to the passport department, he is referred to us if he carries a yellow card (family-reunification). There are two types of these cards; the first was issued before Oslo Accord, and it is governed by the decision of the occupation authorities that it has to be renewed every three years; and the second type is the cards issued after Oslo, which do not need to be renewed. Therefore, what we do is to make the person carrying a “pre-Oslo family-reunification” permit return to the Palestinian territories, and renew the card

so that he does not lose the entitlement to the card, and the right to citizenship within the West Bank. The current commotion is about some people's refusal to renew the family-reunification permit because of many reasons, the most important of which is the financial cost, as this requires returning to the Palestinian territories to apply for the renewal.

*[Ghayshan] What happens to anyone who does not respond to your request?*

[Al-Qadi] There is no contradiction between the yellow card and the Jordanian nationality, because whoever has a yellow card has the right to Jordanian citizenship; moreover, compared to the Jordanians, the person carrying a yellow card has the additional privilege of having the right to Palestinian citizenship and its moral and material privileges. We give anyone who has "occupation census family-reunification" permit time to go to the West Bank and renew his permit or add children or separate them if they are over 16 years old, and we ask him to promise to do so; we even freeze his national number in order to motivate him to consolidate his right to Palestine. When the permit is renewed, we restore his national number, and we have no problem with him.

*[Ghayshan] Where have the yellow and green cards come from? Are they legal?*

[Al-Qadi] These cards existed before the application of the instructions of the disengagement decision. They are legal according to these instructions. The yellow card of the bridges census is carried by the Jordanian of Palestinian origin, who carries the family-reunification permit. The green card used to be given to the Palestinian citizens who lost or did not renew the family-reunification permit.

*[Ghayshan] What are the conditions of transforming the yellow card into a green one (withdrawing the citizenship)?*

[Al-Qadi] The conditions apply to anyone who carries a Palestinian passport, works for the Palestinian [National] Authority or PLO institutions at home or abroad, does not renew the occupation family-reunification permit, did not perform the military service in the armed forces, or anyone who carries the military service card and who was born in or after 1958 and is required to perform military service.

*[Ghayshan] What is the stance of the Palestinian [National] Authority towards your measures?*

[Al-Qadi] Everything we do is with the agreement of the Palestinian [National] Authority. The authority knows fully what we are doing, and supports it. There are no disagreements at all between us on this issue ('Jordanian minister says no attempt to strip Palestinians of nationality' 2009, *BBC Monitoring Middle East*, source: *Al-Hayat* website (London, in Arabic 19 July 2009), 20 July – Attachment 8)

Jordanian news reports from the period June to July 2009 would appear to have reported, as per the aforementioned comments of the Jordanian Interior Minister, that has been occurring in Jordan in 2009 is the administration of green and yellow cards for certain Palestinians. On 25 June 2009 an article by Fahd al-Khitan in Jordan's *Al-Arab al-Yawm* stated that: "The measures being implemented by the Ministry of Interior do not target...Jordanians in terms of Palestinians in Jordan, rather those holding Palestinian or Jordanian documents in the occupied territories and those whom the disengagement instructions apply to". English translation extracts from this Arabic language report follow below sourced from *BBC Monitoring Middle East*:

The dialogue with Interior Minister Nayif al-Qadi, which was published by Al-Arab al-Yawm yesterday [ 24 June], was inevitable at this time in order to distinguish between the facts and the lies, based on the language of numbers and far from the programmed exaggeration of the facts.

The facts state that the Ministry of Interior, during the period in which Al-Qadi took control of the Ministry of Interior, has exchanged 513 green cards with yellow ones, which means that its holders have obtained Jordanian citizenships. Meanwhile, it has rectified the conditions of only 190 individuals, whose cards were transferred from yellow to green, and in accordance with which they have lost their national numbers. Throughout the year, approximately 19,000 people have acquired citizenships by exchanging their green cards with yellow ones.

The irony in the numbers is that the champions of naturalization exaggerate the modest numbers of those who have lost their yellow cards, and ignore the great numbers; namely the thousands of individuals, who have obtained them.

In that sense, we stand before a real naturalization campaign that is taking place under the cover of media blasting and hyperbole over the so-called campaign to revoke citizenships.

The measures being implemented by the Ministry of Interior do not target, as demonstrated in the details, Jordanians in terms of Palestinians in Jordan, rather those holding Palestinian or Jordanian documents in the occupied territories and those whom the disengagement instructions apply to. Mistakes of course happen sometimes, and they must be rectified, which is what takes place. Moreover, we cannot neglect the humanitarian considerations during implementation, but we should not ignore the political consequences of the naturalization file, or separate it from the circumstances of the Palestinian issue, in which the case of the refugees and the displaced is the core that it was established upon.

The advocates of open naturalization know that the Israeli project to terminate an independent Palestinian state is subject to the liquidation of the refugee issue. Minister Al-Qadi's elaborate statements concerning this area are extremely important, and no Jordanian official has ever responded this strongly to Israel and Netanyahu's recent speech. The Israeli plan for the settlement of refugees in Jordan and the diasporas is no longer a secret; rather, it is a declared programme for the right-wing government in Israel. Thus, how can we explain the campaign of the advocates of naturalization which comes at the same time as Netanyahu's speech?

In return, the government must realize that implementing the directives of disengagement would not alone result in the failure of the Israeli project, for there are political steps that are necessary to solidify the Jordanian stance and strengthen the internal front. Moreover, insisting on relations with Abbas's authority as the sole Palestinian partner does not realize Jordanian interests, not only because this authority is prepared only to make concessions, but because there is another Palestinian side on the ground that has the influence and popular foundation that exceeds that of the authority in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and makes political decisions that agree with the Jordanian strategic interests, and by that I am referring to the Hamas Movement.

Returning to the issue of naturalization, I propose that the Ministry of Interior should announce periodically the statistics pertaining to rectifying the conditions of those holding cards, attached with a short explanation for the reasons for the exchange of the cards and revoking them ('Jordanian official explains revocation of Palestinians' "national numbers"' 2009, *BBC Monitoring Middle East*, source: *Al-Arabiya TV* (Dubai, in Arabic, 4 August 2009), 14 August – Attachment 13).

On 13 July 2009 an article in Jordan's *Daily Star* reported that: "The problem is mainly facing those who hold the yellow cards – according to which a person has a Palestinian ID plus the Jordanian passport and national number; after losing their 'yellow card' status, they become green card holders, who are considered Palestinian citizens with a temporary 2-year Jordanian passport but without a national number in Jordan". Extracts follow:

...certain Jordanian citizens of Palestinian origin have lately faced a situation of strict procedures to renew official documents in Jordan that have ended in certain cases in the loss of their Jordanian national ID on the pretext of maintaining their right of return to Palestine.

"I have held the Jordanian nationality since I was born, I lived here in Jordan where I finished my studies, married, and raised children; my father as well had a Jordanian nationality; for years I have been using and renewing my official documents in Jordan without problems, and I issued new papers for my children as they grew up; suddenly I was informed lately as I went to renew documents that I and all my children have officially lost our civil file in Jordan," Abu Saleem, explained to *The Star*, complaining about his family's loss of the simplest services in Jordan after all those years such as education and health insurance.

The problem is mainly facing those who hold the yellow cards – according to which a person has a Palestinian ID plus the Jordanian passport and national number; after losing their "yellow card" status, they become green card holders, who are considered Palestinian citizens with a temporary 2-year Jordanian passport but without a national number in Jordan; all Palestinian-related papers are under the supervision of the Follow-up and Inspections Department (FID) where all the events of losing the national number by Jordanians of Palestinian origin have occurred.

Abu Saleem lost his Jordanian nationality once he was deemed by Israel as a person with no rights to residency in the West Bank; this is the case of the majority of victims as they did not renew their Palestinian papers for more than 20 years.

For this reason, FID takes the idea of protecting the Palestinian Identity as a perfect justification for its procedures. "The main reason behind the loss of nationality is due to the negligence of Palestinians and their failure to have concern for their Palestinian Identity; they indifferently stopped visiting the West Bank for years which encouraged the Israelis to cancel their ID cards," Director of the governor office at FID, Ghazi Odwan, told *The Star*.

Odwan also pointed out that it is not impossible to regain their original status; it just needs a little effort by those people. He said, "They can follow-up and try to gain back their papers from the Israeli government by different means."

Odwan's suggestion is what awaits Fisaal, a mother of three and wife of a Jordanian who served in the Arab Army. Fisaal did not visit the West Bank to renew her papers for health reasons and accordingly she lost her Jordanian national number. "When I asked what to do, I was told that I can solve my problem either through my family in the West Bank or through the Israeli embassy in Amman; I should submit an application to try to gain back my right to residency in the West Bank as the only solution to take a Jordanian nationality again," Fisaal explained to *The Star*.

Muhammad Hoot, reported his story to *The Star* saying, "Although I've lived here for years and never faced problems, I found myself in 2007 not a legal citizen in Jordan; I was asked to prove where I studied all my school years. Although I had stayed only four years in the West Bank when I was very young, nevertheless both my sister and I were categorized as Palestinians and lost our Jordanian national numbers on the pretext that our father is Palestinian and does not have the yellow card; my father died before the yellow card even existed."

Abu Saleem, Fisaal, Hoot and other individuals and families that have faced this act of withdrawing their Jordanian nationalities within the last two years were all cases explained by the government under the title “Implementation of the Disengagement Decision” between the two banks which went into force in 1988.

Director General of the Civil Status and Passports Department (CSPD), Marwan Qteishat, totally rejects the use of the term “withdrawal of nationality”. He told *The Star*, “This is just a legal implementation of the articles of the disengagement decision and to maintain and protect the Palestinians’ rights in their original homeland.”

However, the number of complaints made by many families caused a public debate prompting Minister of Interior Nayef Qadi to comment to *al-Arab al-Yawm* on June 23,

“In some cases citizens paid bribes to exchange their green card with a yellow one and this is why we are strict about it. Why don’t we count the number of people who have gained the Jordanian nationality and only speak of the other cases? 19,000 have obtained the yellow card/ Jordanian nationality last year while only 538 lost it; we are definitely not exerting a plan of withdrawing nationality; it is just a matter of correcting the status of the Palestinians according to the DD.”

In another context, Odwan assured to *The Star* that even after the withdrawal of national numbers, there will be no negative effects on citizens here and they will resume their normal life. He said, “We do not leave them without papers, we issue a temporary passport for them without a national number; with this passport they are free to live here as they want.”

Another situation is of those who are living abroad and find themselves deprived of Jordanian nationality as they come to visit; Saad Hassouneh, a US citizen, decided to come back and live in Jordan. “I tried to seek court to return my nationality but the court rejected my case in addition to many other cases saying that this is a sovereign decision,” Hassouneh said.

For such citizens who are already outside Jordan and stand to lose their nationality when they come back, Qteishat said, “When the engagement occurred, all citizens gained Jordanian nationality; and when Jordan was asked by the Palestinian side to disengage, a decision was agreed on according to which the Palestinians in the West Bank would forfeit their Jordanian nationality; certain persons were traveling abroad at that time and did not care to amend their papers according to the decision; they come back now after years to find their papers amended in Jordan according to the decision.”

But for those who lived here all their lives and suddenly lost their rights as Jordanian citizens, the story is different. The beginning of the story goes back to the CSPD when as usual one goes to renew a passport or ID. Mai Mahmoud narrates the stages, “The first thing I am asked is ‘where was your father born?’ If I say Palestine I am told to go back to the FID, where if I have a yellow card I have to sign a commitment that I will go within six months to the West Bank to renew my card or else will lose my Jordanian nationality. I did so, but when I came back to Jordan I got a green card at the borders to exchange it at FID; FID asked for my certificates from 1st to 12th grade in order to make sure that I was out of the West Bank for all those years; and the cost of exchanging the card is JD100.”

For her part, Hadeel succeeded in regaining her Jordanian nationality by going through the whole process (Awwad, M. 2009, ‘Nationality in limbo’, *The Star*, 13 July [http://star.com.jo/main/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=15310&catid=30:jordan&Itemid=109](http://star.com.jo/main/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=15310&catid=30:jordan&Itemid=109) – Accessed 26 October 2009 – Attachment 22).

On 17 July 2009 *The Jordan Times* reported on the response of Jordan’s “Chairperson of the House Freedoms Committee Fakhri Daoud” to “complaints from people saying that

authorities withdrew their Jordanian passports without cause”. The report relates that: “Palestinians with yellow cards who return to Palestine and receive recognition as nationals under either Israeli or Palestinian law revoke their right to a yellow card and are issued a green card when they renew their passports”. The report also relates that: “According to figures cited by the deputy, authorities replaced 190 yellow cards with green ones and 5,130 green cards with yellow ones in the period between March 1 and June 30, 2009, compared to replacing 204 yellow cards with green and 4,139 green with yellow in the same period in 2008”. Extracts follow:

Authorities are not withdrawing nationalities from Jordanians of Palestinian origin in an unjustified manner, a parliamentary representative said on Thursday.

Chairperson of the House Freedoms Committee Fakhri Daoud said the committee received many complaints from people saying that authorities withdrew their Jordanian passports without cause.

In 1989, when Jordan disengaged from the West Bank, all Palestinians residing in the West Bank were considered Palestinian, while others in the diaspora with Jordanian passports were considered Jordanian.

The decision was made to allow the Palestine Liberation Organisation to act as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

Following the disengagement, Jordan issued yellow cards to Palestinians in Jordan and the diaspora holding Jordanian passports, which entitled these individuals to the full rights of Jordanian citizenship.

Palestinians in the West Bank who had family living in Jordan were issued green cards, which entitled them to temporary Jordanian passports to facilitate travel but did not grant them citizenship rights.

Palestinians with yellow cards who return to Palestine and receive recognition as nationals under either Israeli or Palestinian law revoke their right to a yellow card and are issued a green card when they renew their passports. Conversely, Palestinians with green cards may be granted yellow cards in certain circumstances, such as when their parents reside in Jordan and hold yellow cards.

According to figures cited by the deputy, authorities replaced 190 yellow cards with green ones and 5,130 green cards with yellow ones in the period between March 1 and June 30, 2009, compared to replacing 204 yellow cards with green and 4,139 green with yellow in the same period in 2008.

The figures also show that 244 people were issued green cards, while 2,696 were issued yellow cards in the same period of 2007.

“The rumours about this issue are the result of the political developments in the region,” Daoud quoted the minister as saying.

Interior officials have defended the procedures saying that they are meant to counter Israeli policies to “empty the Palestinian lands from their legitimate residents” (Malkawi, K. 2009, House panel backs ministry procedures on ‘citizenship revocation’, *Jordan Times*, 17 July <http://www.jordantimes.com/index.php?news=18480> – Accessed 20 October 2009 – Attachment 21).

Similarly, on 29 July 2009 *The National* (of the United Arab Emirates) reported that: “According to the administrative decision, Palestinians living in Jordan before 1988 were issued yellow cards, which granted them citizenship rights in the country, while those in the West Bank with family in Jordan were given green cards. The latter entitled them to a temporary Jordanian passport to facilitate their travel but not to citizenship rights”. The report cites the same figures as those given in *The Star* report in terms of the replacement of yellow and green cards. The report also states that: “Those who carry a Palestinian passport, including those working for the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, had their citizenship revoked”. Extracts follow:

Recent measures to revoke the citizenship of hundreds of Jordanians of Palestinian origin is creating a state of panic and confusion among people who fear they will be deported and left stateless.

But the government here maintains it is only asking Jordanians of Palestinian origin to clarify their status by renewing permits that recognise them as citizens in the West Bank in an attempt to fend off moves by Israel to remove Palestinians from the territories.

Nayef Qadi, the minister of interior, said Jordan was trying to implement a 1988 administrative decision that severed legal and administrative ties with the West Bank. It was taken at the request of the Palestinians and Arab countries during a 1974 summit in Rabat, Morocco, to allow the Palestinian Liberation Organisation to act as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinians.

“We want...to preserve the identity of Palestinians,” Mr Qadi told *Al Hayat* daily.

Jordan is concerned that Israel’s right-wing government led by Benjamin Netanyahu wants to solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict at the expense of the country by considering Jordan as the alternative homeland for Palestinians and resettle thousands of its two million refugees there.

Such a scenario would upset the demographic balance of the country, where it is estimated at least 60 per cent of the population is of Palestinian origin, and render Jordanians from the eastern bank of the river a minority in the country.

According to the administrative decision, Palestinians living in Jordan before 1988 were issued yellow cards, which granted them citizenship rights in the country, while those in the West Bank with family in Jordan were given green cards. The latter entitled them to a temporary Jordanian passport to facilitate their travel but not to citizenship rights.

Jordan, however, recently started to ask more yellow-card holders who also have an Israeli permit that recognises them as citizens in the West Bank to renew their permits. It gave them a six-month grace period to ensure they did not lose their right of citizenship in the Palestinian territories.

“We are not evicting anyone nor are we revoking the Jordanian citizenship,” Mr Qadi said, “but we are rectifying the situation and want to highlight everybody’s true identity. Others should stop distorting what we are doing.”

Between March and June this year, authorities replaced 5,130 green cards with yellow, and 190 yellow cards with green, stripping their holders of Jordanian nationality. In 2008, authorities revoked the citizenship of 204 Jordanians of Palestinian origin, while 4,139 were granted Jordanian citizenship.

Those who carry a Palestinian passport, including those working for the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, had their citizenship revoked.

The struggle over citizenship has revealed how Jordanians of Palestinian origin are worried about their future (Ma'ayeh, S.P. 2009, 'Palestinians feel insecure in Jordan', *The National*, 29 July

<http://www.thenational.ae/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20090729/FOREIGN/707289813/0/GL0BALBRIEFING> – Accessed 20 October 2009 – Attachment 23).

On 8 July 2009 Israel's *Haaretz* also reported on the affair as being concerned with the issue of yellow and green cards. According to *Haaretz*: "In recent years Jordan has been conducting a campaign to reduce the number of Palestinians carrying yellow ID cards, in order to encourage them to return to the West Bank". The report continues:

In the four years since the program's inception, about 2,700 holders of yellow IDs have been transferred. The trend is intensifying and causing a vehement public debate in the kingdom.

The official position is that a change in the status of the Palestinians stems from the need to preserve their Palestinian identity and to prevent the West Bank from losing its inhabitants, "as Israel would like."

Civil rights activists in Jordan, on the other hand, claim that the step is not legal and that it harms thousands of families who will be forced to leave Jordan and move to the West Bank because they will soon lose their citizenship.

They are also enlisting an unusual legal maneuver to aid them. While the Jordanian government claims that its activity is legal as a result of King Hussein's decision to disengage from the West Bank in 1988, the opponents claim that Hussein's decision had no legal validity at all, because it did not go through the procedures required by the constitution.

Does this argument mean that the West Bank is still part of Jordan? In Jordan there are some who believe so, including none other than former interior minister Rajai Dajani, the man who formulated the Jordanian disengagement plan. In an interview with the Jordanian newspaper *al-Ghad*, Dajani said that "the disengagement decision did not go through all the constitutional stages and was not presented to the Parliament for approval, and therefore the decision is unconstitutional."

Constitutional or not, the West Bank is not returning to Jordan anytime soon (Bar'el, Z. 2009, 'Cairo court deems Egyptian-Israeli marriages a security risk', *Haaretz*, 8 July <http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/spages/1098645.html> – Accessed 20 October 2009 – Attachment 24).

On 5 August 2009 "Salih al-Qallab, the former Jordanian information minister", reportedly discussed the issue of the alleged revocation of Jordanian citizenship from certain Palestinians on Dubai's *Al-Arabiya TV*. In similar terms to those employed by the Jordanian Interior Minister on 19 July 2009, the former Jordanian information minister claimed that what was taking place was concerned with "maintaining '*lamm al-shaml*' [family reunification scheme]". According to Al-Qallab: "We have been telling them that we would give them passports with a national number and everything as soon as they obtain a *lamm al-shaml* document because this the document we can use to make demands on Israel in terms of the right of return and refugees. The pressure is, thus, on them to turn the yellow card into a green one. ...As soon as they correct their status and obtain *lamm al-shaml* document, we will immediately restore their yellow card". English translation extracts from this Arabic language exchange follow below sourced from *BBC Monitoring Middle East*:

Asked about allegedly revoking the citizenship of Palestinians living in Jordan “in an arbitrary manner,” Al-Qallab says: “Jordan’s disengagement decision was considered a significant national stance.”

He adds: “When this agreement took place, it was necessary to secure the Palestinian people on their land. This meant maintaining ‘lamm al-shaml’ [family reunification scheme].” He notes: “Our biggest problem as Palestinians and Arabs is that he who leaves cannot return because our struggle with Israel is demographic, over territory. They strive for an empty land. Nobody’s citizenship has been revoked. All that has happened is that those whose lamm al-shaml card was rejected. we asked them to file cases in Israeli courts. Israel has courts. Go to court and claim lamm al-shaml. For many reasons, however, some brothers, came to Jordan then disappeared in this sea of people, only to forget about their lamm al-shaml, neglecting to renew it or return on time.”

He explains: “These people hold renewable Jordanian passports valid for five years. We have been telling them that we would give them passports with a national number and everything as soon as they obtain a lamm al-shaml document because this the document we can use to make demands on Israel in terms of the right of return and refugees. The pressure is, thus, on them to turn the yellow card into a green one. The yellow card is by the way a Jordanian identity card. As soon as they correct their status and obtain lamm al-shaml document, we will immediately restore their yellow card. Yellow card holders are Jordanian citizens who have a national number, however, they have the rights of Palestinian refugees to return and to compensation.”

Regarding the issue of lamm al-shaml, Al-Barghuthi says: “I am not sure which category of people is being discussed, nevertheless, it is obvious that Israel has not been issuing lamm al-shaml to just anyone. Some categories that are entitled to it.. in my opinion, any Palestinian who is entitled to a lamm al-shaml but neglects to obtain it is relinquishing an important right. It represents one’s right to be in one’s homeland.”

He notes: “It is necessary to understand that we have common Jordanian-Palestinian interests, for both peoples, in supporting Palestinian national resistance and foiling Israel’s schemes, be it in terms of settling Palestinians, creating an alternative homeland, or undermining the Palestinian people’s right to return or have their own real state. The key lies in striking a balance between supporting people’s rights and the steadfastness of people in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and Jerusalem, on the one hand, and their struggle, on the other, while protecting their national rights.”

Regarding allegations that national numbers were withdrawn from some people before obtaining a lamm al-shaml document, Al-Qallab says: “Aside from what I have told you, nothing has been withdrawn at all, with the exception of Jerusalem, because this document has an expiry date. They can go out for one, two, three, four years -Israel has existed since 1967 in Palestine or the West Bank. Then it is withdrawn. On the border, however, we say: Welcome, here is a passport, conduct trade, study, do whatever you want -I am referring to the inhabitants of the West Bank and Jerusalem -however, you need to renew your lamm al-shaml document.”

He stresses: “Outside this context, no passports have been revoked or national numbers withdrawn at all. They can go to court. There have been some cases whereby the court has found in their favour” (‘Jordanian official explains revocation of Palestinians’ “national numbers” 2009, *BBC Monitoring Middle East*, source: *Al-Arabiya TV* (Dubai, in Arabic, 4 August 2009), 14 August – Attachment 14)

## **2. What is the overall situation for Palestinian citizens of Jordan?**

Beyond the recent controversies over citizenship issues noted above, very little information is available which would suggest that Jordanian citizens of Palestinian origin have, as a specific group, been subject to any serious mistreatment over recent years in terms of suffering physical harm or imprisonment. Reports have appeared in which some commentators have expressed concerns about the extent to which Palestinians are said to be under-represented within the Jordanian government and by the Jordanian electoral system. And there have also been reports that “Jordanians of Palestinian descent face discrimination in employment by the government and the military, and in admission to universities”. Beyond this, however, the recent annual reports of human rights commentators like Amnesty International and Freedom House have not expressed any concerns about the situation of Jordan’s Palestinian citizens; though such sources have expressed concern about the manner in which Jordan’s citizens can be detained arbitrarily by the Jordanian authorities more generally (for concerns about political under-representation, see: International Crisis Group 2003, ‘The Challenge of Political Reform: Jordanian Democratisation and Regional Instability’, Middle East Briefing, 8 October – Attachment 8; and for discrimination in employment and education, see: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/487ca219c.html> – Accessed 16 October 2009 – Attachment 10; for other recent annual reports by Freedom House and Amnesty International, see: Freedom House 2009, *Freedom in the World 2009 – Jordan*, UNHCR Refworld website, 16 July <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4a6452abc.html> – Accessed 16 October 2009 – Attachment 25; Freedom House 2008, *Freedom in the World 2008 – Jordan*, UNHCR Refworld website, 2 July <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/487ca219c.html> – Accessed 26 October 2009 – Attachment 28; Amnesty International 2009, *Amnesty International Report 2009 – Jordan*, UNHCR Refworld, 28 May <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4a1fade0c.html> – Accessed 16 October 2009 – Attachment 26; Amnesty International 2008, *Amnesty International Report 2008 – Jordan*, 28 May <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/483e279641.html> – Accessed 16 October 2009 – Attachment 27).

In December 2006 Minorities at Risk assessed the situation in Jordan for persons of Palestinian descent as follows:

Given Jordan’s relatively weak position in the region, its peace treaty with Israel and its political alliance with the United States, Jordanian governmental authorities keep a close eye on the Palestinian population, especially its most radical elements. One can view the condition and future of Palestinians in two ways: 1) The Palestinians are a disenfranchised majority in Jordan without equal rights or 2) Palestinians in Jordan by and large have it better than their ethnic brethren both economically and politically than in any other country in the region. Regardless of either position, there does not appear to be widespread sentiment among Jordanian Palestinians that the constitutional monarchy should be overthrown. While grievances against domestic policies exist, Palestinians in Jordan appear to be more concerned with the plight of Palestinians in the Palestinian Authority (PA) – controlled territory. The establishment of a Human Rights Department by the Jordanian Department of the Interior in 2006 may solely serve as rhetoric. However, it reflects a growing understanding by Jordanian government officials that issues of citizenship, equal economic and political rights need to be addressed for the Palestinians in Jordan.

#### Analytic Summary

Palestinians constitute more than half of Jordan’s population, and are Sunni Muslim by a significant majority. A people without a sovereign state of its own, Jordan’s Palestinian community is comprised of those who found themselves under Jordanian rule when part of Palestine was incorporated into Transjordan upon its foundation in 1946 and those who fled

to Jordan as a result of Israel's 1948 War of Independence and the 1967 Six-Day War, in which Israel occupied the Palestinian-populated West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Palestinians range from prominent individuals assimilated fully into Jordanian society to impoverished refugees. Linguistically and religiously, Palestinians are not distinct from Jordanians, but differ in historical origin. Although certain Palestinians have "made it" in Jordanian society, (i.e., the queen is Palestinian), as a whole, they suffer economic discrimination in areas such as appointments to positions in the Government and the military, in admittance to public universities, and in the granting of university scholarships. Politically, as well, Palestinians suffer restrictions and social exclusion. Although they represent more than half of the total population, the Palestinians are grossly underrepresented in governmental institutions. In 2006, Jordanians of Palestinian origin contributed 4 of 28 ministers. In the Parliament, 9 of 55 senators and 18 of 110 lower house members were of Palestinian origin. No Palestinians held any of the governorships in Jordan. In the electoral system, greater representation is given to regions with non-Palestinian populations. Additionally, approximately 150,000 Palestinian residents – mostly refugees or children of refugees who arrived from Gaza after 1967 – do not qualify for citizenship. Recognizing the large gap in political representation and economic opportunities between Jordanians and Jordanian-Palestinians, the government has recently conceded to offer mechanisms for upward social mobility and increased political representation. In 2006, the Department of the Interior established a Human Rights Department. Interior Minister Id Al-Fayiz sees the newly established Human Rights Department as responsible for promoting human and civil rights, as an ongoing series of new initiatives, including prison reform and modifications in qualifications for residence of Palestinians in Jordan. However, it is yet to be discovered as to whether this new department is anything other than political rhetoric.

While the Jordanian state is generally not repressive, (a notable exception being 1971's Black September crackdown), there are documented recent occurrences of arrests. There have been other instances of repression in recent years. On March 26, 2004, large rallies were held throughout the kingdom in response to the assassination of Palestinian Hamas Spiritual Leader Shaykh Ahmad Yasin. According to the government, rallies in the Al-Wihdat refugee camp spiraled out of control. According to some sources, more than 200 people were arrested, many accused of burning the Jordanian national flag. In addition, MP Tayseer al-Fitiani alleged that riot police beat him on his arrival at the scene after the demonstrators had dispersed.

The main conventional political outlet for Palestinians in Jordan is the Jordan People's Democratic Party and the Islamic Action Front; the main current militant organization is Hamas, whose members can live, but not operate legally, in Jordan. There have been no instances of Palestinian rebellion recently; and although political protest is discouraged, it occurs sporadically within the country. Thousands of Jordanians and Palestinians marched through the streets in October 1999 to protest recent Jordanian measures against the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), and in August 2000, the Islamic Action Front organized several large demonstrations in support of Palestinian sovereignty over East Jerusalem. There was heavy police presence at these demonstrations; however, security forces did not prevent the demonstrations. In August 2001, more than 1,500 Palestinians demanded the Jordanian government cut ties with Israel made under a 1994 peace treaty. During 2002, a march by some 2,500 Jordanians and Palestinians, including members of the royal family (the queen is Palestinian), called for immediate intervention to end Palestinian suffering at Israeli hands. Also that year, in June 2003, at the Al-Ruwayshid refugee camp, residents staged a sit-in to protest their living conditions. While inter-communal conflict has not occurred for many years, in 2006, a Jordanian of Palestinian origin shot and killed a British tourist and wounded six others at a popular Roman ruin in Amman (Minority Rights Group 2006, 'Assessment for Palestinians in Jordan', 31 December

The situation for Palestinians in Jordan who do not hold Jordanian citizenship is reportedly much more acute than it is for those with Jordanian citizenship. For information on Gazan Palestinians without Jordanian citizenship in Jordan see the following:

- *Research Response JOR34052* of 1 December 2008 provides information on: the status of Palestinians from Gaza in Jordan; employment of Palestinians from Gaza in the Jordanian workforce; assistance provided by UNRWA to Palestinians from Gaza in Jordan; any difficulties faced by Palestinians from Gaza in having their temporary Jordanian passports renewed; and new visa laws passed by the United Arab Emirates in July 2008, and the difficulties they create for expatriate workers in the UAE (RRT Research & Information 2008, *Research Response JOR34052*, 1 December – Attachment 30).
- *Research Response JOR34175* of 6 January 2009 provides expert opinions on the situation for ex-Gazan Palestinians living in Jordan, with particular reference to legal restrictions on citizenship, residency, mobility, property ownership, and employment (RRT Research & Information 2008, *Research Response JOR34175*, 6 January – Attachment 31).

### **3. Have there been any crackdowns upon Fatah members over the last 15 years?**

### **4. What kind of relationship exists between Fatah and the Jordanian authorities?**

A number of studies are available which document the manner in which the Jordanian Government has, over the last fifteen years, come to favour the cause of the comparatively moderate and secular Fatah over the more hard-line stance of the Islamist Hamas. Writing for the US Congressional Research Service in July 2009, Jeremy M. Sharp observes that since the 1999 accession of King Abdullah II: “Jordan has been a strong backer of Palestinian moderates (such as the Fatah party) loyal to President Mahmoud Abbas and has been determined to bolster the capacity of the Palestinian Authority (PA) in the West Bank in order to prevent Hamas from gaining strength there”. A *Middle East Quarterly* article on Jordan’s relationship with Palestinian politics in the recent decade has noted that: “In the most significant Jordanian intervention in the West Bank since July 1988, Abdullah began in March 2005 to enlist new recruits for the Jordan-based and influenced Badr security forces (also known as the Palestinian Liberation Army) for possible deployment to parts of the West Bank, with PA leader Mahmoud Abbas’s approval”. Reports of Jordanian assistance to Fatah forces in the form of weapons and training also appeared over subsequent years, and in mid-2009 Jordan played host to Fatah’s Sixth National Conference. Even so, a 2004 study authored by Hillel Frisch notes that the relationship between the Jordanian government and the Fatah-led PLO has not been without complication over the last 15 years, with diplomatic relations between Fatah and Jordan being particularly strained over the years which followed the Oslo Accords in 1993 and the creation of the Palestinian Authority. This noted, and while the report comments that the conflict which broke out between Jordan and the PLO in 1970 “colors Jordanian-PLO relations to this day”, there is no suggestion that any more recent political confrontations have resulted violence or arrests for Fatah, though such actions have reportedly affected supporters of Fatah’s rival Hamas. In December 2007 Human Rights Watch expressed concern about the manner in which the Hamas affiliated “Islamic Action

Front (IAF) has been at the center of the government's restrictions on the basic rights of assembly and association of individuals or groups affiliated with or sympathetic to it"; while also noting that: "At the same time, the Balqa' governor granted permission [to rally] to a group closer to Fatah, the party of Palestinian Authority president Mahmud Abbas, which is supported by the Jordanian government" (for the preferred treatment of Fatah over Hamas in Jordan, see: Sharp, J.M. 2009, 'Jordan: Background and US Relations', Federation of American Scientists website, US Congressional Research Service, 24 July <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33546.pdf> – Accessed 26 October 2009 – Attachment 33; Diker, D. & Inbari, P. 2006, 'Re-energizing a West Bank-Jordan Alliance', *Middle East Quarterly*, vol.13: no.2, Spring, pp.29-36 <http://www.meforum.org/923/re-energizing-a-west-bank-jordan-alliance> – Accessed 26 October 2009 – Attachment 35; Frisch, H. 2004, 'Jordan and the Palestinian Authority: Did Better Fences Make Better Neighbors?', *Middle East Journal*, Winter, vol.58: no.1, pp.53-57, 66-68 – Attachment 32; see also: Susser, A. 2008, 'Jordan: Preserving Domestic Order in a Setting of Regional Turmoil', Brandeis University Crown Center for Middle East Studies website, no.27, March <http://www.brandeis.edu/crown/publications1/meb/MEB27.pdf> – Accessed 26 October 2009 – Attachment 34; and: Al Rantawi, O. 2009, 'The end of illusions', Al-Quds Center for Political Studies website, 20 August [http://alqudscenter.org/english/pages.php?local\\_type=128&local\\_details=2&id1=783&menu\\_id=3&cat\\_id=18](http://alqudscenter.org/english/pages.php?local_type=128&local_details=2&id1=783&menu_id=3&cat_id=18) – Accessed 27 October 2009 – Attachment 52; for the Fatah conference, see: Al-Rantawi, O. 2009, 'Jordan favors Fatah, but without optimism for success', *Al Arabiya News Channel* website, source: *Daily Star*, 10 August <http://www.alarabiya.net/views/2009/08/10/81357.html#> – Accessed 26 October 2009 – Attachment 38; for weapons and training support, see: Entous, A, 2007, 'Abbas seeks to bolster Fatah with Jordan-based force', *Reuters*, 26 June <http://www.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idUSL211238937320070626> – Accessed 27 October 2009 – Attachment 49; 'Jordan transfers 1,000 Kalishnikovs to Palestinian Fatah group' 2008, *RAI Novosti*, 5 September <http://en.rian.ru/world/20080905/116582308.html> – Accessed 27 October 2009 – Attachment 50; for Fatah links Jordanian intelligence, see: 'Tough-talking Fatah chief is back' 2009, *United Press International*, 1 October [http://www.upi.com/Top\\_News/Special/2009/10/01/Tough-talking-Fatah-chief-is-back/UPI-87491254430597/](http://www.upi.com/Top_News/Special/2009/10/01/Tough-talking-Fatah-chief-is-back/UPI-87491254430597/) – Accessed 27 October 2009 – Attachment 51; for the HRW report, see: Human Rights Watch 2007, 'Shutting Out the Critics: Restrictive Laws Used to Repress Civil Society in Jordan', vol.19: no.10, December <http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/jordan1207web.pdf> – Accessed 26 October 2009 – Attachment 36).

An overview of pertinent sources follows below.

### **Pertinent sources: an overview**

In July 2009 the US Congressional Research Service provided the following overview of the relationship between Jordan and Fatah, noting the Jordanian regime's preference for a Fatah-led PA over the leadership of Hamas:

For two decades, Jordan has had an on-again, off-again relationship with Hamas, the Palestinian militant group and U. State Department-designated Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO). Throughout the 1990s, the late King Hussein tolerated a Hamas presence in his kingdom. Upon his accession to the throne in 1999, King Abdullah II, perhaps realizing that Jordan's relationship with Hamas was a political liability, reversed his late father's longstanding policy of tolerating Hamas and closed its Jordan offices permanently.

Since then, Jordan has been a strong backer of Palestinian moderates (such as the Fatah party) loyal to President Mahmoud Abbas and has been determined to bolster the capacity of the Palestinian Authority (PA) in the West Bank in order to prevent Hamas from gaining strength there. Jordan has provided training for several battalions of U.S.-screened Palestinian recruits to serve in an overhauled Palestinian Authority National Security Force. The training is conducted by Jordanian police at the Jordanian International Police Training Center near Amman.

...Since the 2006 Hamas victory in Palestinian Authority legislative elections, the Jordanian government has been placed in a difficult position. Much of its citizenry sympathizes with Hamas and Jordan's own Islamist party, the Islamic Action Front (IAF), reportedly maintains close ties to Hamas. The IAF has been careful to downplay these ties. According to one recent IAF statement, "Abbas is the legitimate Palestinian president and Hamas's battle should be with the Zionist enemy, not other Palestinians, so we ask them to return to a policy of dialogue and to restore the institutions in Gaza." Some critics of King Abdullah II assert that the Hamas threat to Jordan is a specter used by the royal family to consolidate its rule and repress potential opposition (Sharp, J.M. 2009, 'Jordan: Background and US Relations', Federation of American Scientists website, US Congressional Research Service, 24 July <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33546.pdf> – Accessed 26 October 2009 – Attachment 33).

A 2004 study authored by Hillel Frisch of Bar-Ilan University's Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, provides an overview of "the great sensitivity of the Jordanian-PLO relationship" over the years which followed the Oslo Accords in 1993 and the creation of the Palestinian Authority. The study notes the manner in which the relationship between the Fatah-led PLO and Jordan has, in the aftermath of the creation of the Palestinian Authority, been sometimes strained and even hostile. This noted, while the report comments that the conflict which broke out between Jordan and the PLO in 1970 "colors Jordanian-PLO relations to this day", it would not appear from this report that any political confrontations between Fatah and the Jordanian government in more recent years have resulted in any violence or arrests for members of Fatah. The experience of Fatah is set in contrast to that of its primary rival in Palestinian politics, Hamas, with the report noting the manner in which the Jordanian government began to arrest Hamas members in 1998 and subsequently end Hamas activities in Jordan, closing "down the Hamas offices in Amman on August 30, 1999" (Frisch, H. 2004, 'Jordan and the Palestinian Authority: Did Better Fences Make Better Neighbors?', *Middle East Journal*, Winter, vol.58: no.1, pp.53-57, 66-68 – Attachment 32).

In September 2006 Human Rights Watch produced a comprehensive study on the activities of Jordan's "main intelligence service, the General Intelligence Department (GID)". The report expressed concern about the manner in which, since 2000, the GID has: "carried out waves of arrests of political dissidents – mostly Islamists – in response to alleged plots, demonstrations, and protest activities linked to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and United States policies in Iraq". In December 2007 HRW reported that: "the Islamic Action Front (IAF) has been at the center of the government's restrictions on the basic rights of assembly and association of individuals or groups affiliated with or sympathetic to it". The report goes on to provide an example in which Palestinians associated with Fatah are favoured over those associated with the Islamist IAF and Hamas:

Jordanian authorities misuse the Law on Public Gatherings to deny the right to assembly in peaceful, public demonstrations. While occasional demonstrations are permitted, government critics are often unable to express their opinions in peaceful, public assembly.

In September 2007, the IAF requested permission to hold a demonstration in front of the office of the Prime Minister building to protest the continued detention without trial by the General Intelligence Department of seven of their members. Amman's governor denied permission, forcing the party members to protest in private space just in front of their party headquarters on September 8.26

In June 2007, the governor of Balqa' denied the IAF permission to hold a demonstration marking the 40th anniversary of Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. The IAF has open sympathies for Hamas, the party of Palestinian Prime Minister Isma'il Haniya until his formal ouster on June 14. At the same time, the Balqa' governor granted permission to a group closer to Fatah, the party of Palestinian Authority president Mahmud Abbas, which is supported by the Jordanian government (Human Rights Watch 2007, 'Shutting Out the Critics: Restrictive Laws Used to Repress Civil Society in Jordan', vol.19: no.10, December <http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/jordan1207web.pdf> – Accessed 26 October 2009 – Attachment 36; for the September 2006 report, see: Human Rights Watch 2006, 'Suspicious Sweeps: The General Intelligence Department and Jordan's Rule of Law Problem', vol.18: no.6(E), September <http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/jordan0906webwcover.pdf> – Accessed 16 October 2009 – Attachment 37).

Evidence of ongoing Jordanian support for the Fatah cause includes Amman's recent hosting of Fatah's Sixth National Conference in August 2009. Following the August 2009 Fatah conference the following analysis of the relationship between Fatah and Jordan was published by Oraib Al-Rantawi, director of Al-Quds Center for Political Studies in Amman. Oraib Al-Rantawi notes that the decision of King Abdullah II to host, and even attend, the Fatah Central Committee meetings in Amman sends a signal that Jordan is backing the secular Fatah against its Islamist competitor Hamas. According to this report: "Abbas, who also heads the Fatah movement, was offered the opportunity to meet tens of leading Fatah personalities whom Jordan had banned for decades". It is also reported that Amman has become: "the permanent headquarters for meetings of the Fatah Central Committee and the Preparatory Committee for the congress". The report also notes the manner in which Jordan's relationship with Fatah is a complicated one that is sometimes characterized by tension. Extracts follow:

Nearly two years ago, Jordan opened its doors to the attempt by Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas to restore and awaken the Fatah movement. Fatah is the backbone of the Palestinian national movement and the main Palestinian partner in the peace process to which Jordan attaches special attention. The rise of the Hamas movement and its landslide victory in the 2006 Palestinian legislative elections played a major role in encouraging Jordan to move away from its usual caution and provide all possible facilities for holding the Fatah congress and rebuilding the movement.

...Jordan perceives a vital interest in this matter, for two reasons. First, Jordan itself faces a powerful Islamist movement strongly supportive of Hamas and to a large extent strengthened by the rise of Hamas. Second, Jordan believes that the establishment of a viable Palestinian state is an expression of its principal national interest in the face of what it believes to be plans for resolving the issue of Palestine at its expense and against its interests.

That's why before the Sixth Fatah Congress last week, instructions were issued by the highest political authorities in Jordan to facilitate the work of the Preparatory Committee. Abbas, who also heads the Fatah movement, was offered the opportunity to meet tens of leading Fatah personalities whom Jordan had banned for decades. Amman became the permanent headquarters for meetings of the Fatah Central Committee and the Preparatory Committee for the congress.

As an expression of support for Abbas and for what and whom he represents, King Abdullah II took the initiative to attend some of the Fatah Central Committee meetings in Amman. This signified that Jordan stood firmly on the side of the Palestinian line of moderation and Palestinian legitimacy as represented by Abbas in his quest to build an independent Palestinian state and in the face of what was regarded in Amman as winds of extremism and fundamentalism that could threaten the peace process.

This significant support to the Fatah movement coincides with Fatah's efforts to restore its unity and leading historic role. It has also reflected a deterioration in Jordan's relations with Hamas.

...More than three years have passed since Hamas' victory in elections and the formation of its government in Gaza. For a time, Jordan feared that its reliance on the awakening, development and strengthening of the Fatah movement was exaggerated insofar as neither isolation nor sanctions – and consequently war – succeeded in toppling the Hamas government in the Gaza Strip. Furthermore, Jordan had doubts about the status of Fatah and the Palestinian Authority (PA) in the West Bank, amid reports that what prevented a repetition of the Gaza experience in the West Bank was the Israeli occupation of Palestinian areas, not PA security forces.

This caused Jordanian diplomacy to back away a little from relations with Fatah and cautiously advance in its relations with Hamas. Jordan kept its distance from the Fatah-Hamas conflict as well as Fatah's own endless internal conflicts and opened a secure communications line with Hamas.

When Farouk Qaddumi, the head of the Palestinian Liberation Organization's (PLO) Political Department and secretary general of Fatah, dropped the bombshell accusation that Abbas and his adviser Mohammad Dahlan had plotted with Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and Defense Minister Shaul Mofaz to assassinate Yasser Arafat, Jordan tried to steer clear of the controversy, and was keen that these statements made in Amman not be interpreted as a change in Jordan's stance or a sign of support for Qaddumi against Abbas.

The Jordanian government also stressed that while it did not ask Qaddumi to leave Jordan, it requested that he not issue statements that would embarrass the government or tarnish its image of support for the Palestinian people in general. Jordan has never maintained good relations with Qaddumi; on the contrary, the veteran Palestinian diplomat has often clashed politically and diplomatically with Jordanian foreign ministers in Arab inter-governmental and regional meetings.

Amman hopes the Fatah Congress in Bethlehem will ultimately help Fatah's unity and enhance its role in the moderate Palestinian camp, although the results last week were not encouraging. Jordan does not pin much hope on Fatah's regaining leadership of the Palestinians. The experience of the past few years has demonstrated that Fatah's leadership of the Palestinian national movement is in regression. Day by day it is turning into a functional body of the PA, suffering from the same ailments (Al-Rantawi, O. 2009, 'Jordan favors Fatah, but without optimism for success', *Al Arabiya News Channel* website, source: *Daily Star*, 10 August <http://www.alarabiya.net/views/2009/08/10/81357.html#> – Accessed 26 October 2009 – Attachment 38).

While the source cited above refers to the existence of bans against certain Fatah members there would appear to very little other information available to suggest that any Fatah members have been subjected to mistreatment in Jordan over the recent decade. While relations with Fatah and the Jordanian government were under extreme stress over two decades ago, resulting in the closure of Fatah's Jordanian offices in 1986, relations improved

over subsequent years to the extent that in 1989 the PLO's office in Amman was given embassy status by the Jordanian government. No articles could be located which reported on the closure or sanction of any PLO offices in Jordan since this time (though in December 2006 it was reported from Amman that "Palestinian president Mahmud Abbas has ordered the closure of the PLO's political bureau in Jordan headed by exiled Fatah leader Faruq Kaddumi", in what appeared to be an action associated with the Fatah leadership struggle between the ruling Abbas and the now marginalised Kaddumi and his rejectionist Fatah faction) (for the 1986 closures, see: Wallace, C. 1986, 'Relations With PLO Worsen as Jordan Closes 25 Fatah Offices', *Los Angeles Times*, 8 July [http://articles.latimes.com/1986-07-08/news/mn-22539\\_1\\_fatah-official](http://articles.latimes.com/1986-07-08/news/mn-22539_1_fatah-official) – Accessed 16 October 2009 – Attachment 39; for the 1989 granting of embassy status, see: 'PLO Gains Embassies in 3 More Countries' 1989, *New York Times*, source: *Associated Press*, 8 January <http://www.nytimes.com/1989/01/08/world/plo-gains-embassies-in-3-more-countries.html> – Accessed 16 October 2009 – Attachment 40; for the December 2006 report, see: 'Abbas closes PLO office in Amman' 2006, Find Articles website, source: *Agence France-Presse*, December [http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi\\_kmaf/is\\_200612/ai\\_n16942001/](http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_kmaf/is_200612/ai_n16942001/) – Accessed 16 October 2009 – Attachment 42; for the ongoing Abbas/Kaddumi feud, see: Amayreh, K. 2009, 'Kaddumi accuses Abbas', *AL-Ahram*, no.956, 16-22 July <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2009/956/re71.htm> – Accessed 16 October 2009 – Attachment 41).

Only one source could be located which referred to anything like a "crackdown" on Fatah members by Jordanian authorities over recent years. On 22 July 2009 *The World Tribune* reported that the decision of the Jordanian authorities to revoke "the citizenship of thousands of Palestinian residents of Jordan linked to the ruling Fatah movement" constituted a "crackdown on Palestinians associated with the Fatah movement". As in the reports on this matter noted above, *The World Tribune* report notes that: "Jordan's Interior Minister Nayef Al Kadi said the revocation of citizenship was launched upon request of the Palestine Liberation Organization". Nonetheless *The World Tribune* report leads with the view that the recent action has been undertaken as a "crackdown" and that: "sources said PA Chairman Mahmoud Abbas has urged Jordan to rescind the decision. But they said the king refused". Extracts follow:

AMMAN – Jordan has launched a crackdown on Palestinians associated with the Fatah movement.

Officials said the Hashemite kingdom's crackdown included revoking the citizenship of thousands of Palestinian residents of Jordan linked to the ruling Fatah movement.

Jordan's Interior Minister Nayef Al Kadi said the revocation of citizenship was launched upon request of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Middle East Newslite reported.

...Palestinian sources in Jordan said the crackdown began in wake of the formation of an Israeli government led by Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu in March 2009. The sources said the kingdom became fearful of the prospect of Palestinian unrest amid a stalemate between Israel and the Palestinian Authority.

"The feeling among many Palestinians is that the king [Abdullah] is working with Netanyahu against us, even though the government here says the opposite," a Palestinian union activist said.

“Our goal is to prevent Israel from emptying the Palestinian territories of their original inhabitants,” Al Kadi said.

The sources said PA Chairman Mahmoud Abbas has urged Jordan to rescind the decision. But they said the king refused.

For his part, Al Kadi said Palestinians whose citizenship was revoked would not be expelled from Jordan. The minister said those Palestinians affected by the decree were PA and PLO employees, whose Jordanian passports were annulled.

“We’re not expelling anyone, nor are we revoking the citizenship of Jordanian nationals,” Al Kadi said. “We are only correcting the mistake that was created after Jordan’s disengagement from the West Bank [in 1988]. We want to highlight the true identity and nationality of every person.” (‘Tensions mounting between Jordan’s Hashemites, Palestinian majority’ 2009, *World Tribune*, 22 July [http://www.worldtribune.com/worldtribune/WTARC/2009/me\\_palestinians0587\\_07\\_22.asp](http://www.worldtribune.com/worldtribune/WTARC/2009/me_palestinians0587_07_22.asp) – Accessed 7 September 2009 – Attachment 45).

Beyond the *The World Tribune* report cited above, no further reports could be located in which Fatah/PA leaders are alleged to have expressed any dissatisfaction with its relationship with Jordan over this matter. *The World Tribune* is a US based conservative online publication. One of the few articles to have discussed *The World Tribune* in the print press is a September 2003 article which appeared in *The New Yorker* authored by Ben McGrath. According to McGrath: *The World Tribune* is “something between a newspaper and a rumor-mongering blog. Call it “blews.” ...a story may not be based on knowable facts, but it nevertheless may occasionally turn out to be right”. McGrath relates that: “Robert Morton, is an assistant managing editor at the *Washington Times* and a former “corporate editor” for News World Communications, the *Times*’ owner and the publishing arm of the Unification Church, led by the Reverend Sun Myung Moon”. *World Tribune* content is reportedly gathered from Morton’s contacts (McGrath, B. 2003, ‘Fit To Print?’, *The New Yorker*, 8 September [http://www.newyorker.com/archive/2003/09/08/030908ta\\_talk\\_mcgrath](http://www.newyorker.com/archive/2003/09/08/030908ta_talk_mcgrath) – Accessed 27 October 2009 – Attachment 46).

Another *World Tribune* article, which appeared in January 2004, reported that: “Jordan has placed on trial several insurgents said to have been financed by Hizbullah to purchase and transfer weapons to Fatah insurgents in the West Bank”. The report also relates that: “The Fatah insurgency network in Jordan has been led by Fuad Balbisi”; and that: “Balbisi works in the PLO’s Political Department in Amman, headed by Farouk Khaddoumy, and has been financing Fatah insurgency cells with money from Iran and Hizbullah”. There would appear to be little further reporting on the incident available, although, in August 2003, the Washington Institute for Near East Policy reported on the alleged operation of Fatah insurgent activity out of Jordan with Hizbullah involvement. Referring to the cells as “the Return Brigades” the report states that: “The cells also communicate and receive instructions via senior Fatah leaders in Jordan, including the previously mentioned Yassin and Bilbeisi” (‘Fatah uses Jordan as insurgency base’ 2004, *World Tribune*, 18 January [http://www.worldtribune.com/worldtribune/WTARC/2004/me\\_palestinians\\_01\\_16.html](http://www.worldtribune.com/worldtribune/WTARC/2004/me_palestinians_01_16.html) – Accessed 9 September 2009 – Attachment 47; Levitt, M. 2003, ‘Hizballah's West Bank Foothold’, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 20 August <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC05.php?CID=2120> – Accessed 9 September 2009 – Attachment 48).

Searches online, and within the Factiva news database, could locate no further reports of any actions undertaken against Fatah members in Jordan for the last 15 years.

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