

# Line of Battle, Border of Peace?

The Line of June 4, 1967



## Introduction

This essay - an abbreviated form of which appeared in *Middle East Insight* magazine<sup>1</sup> - seeks to clarify a key aspect of the Israel-Syria territorial dispute: the potential boundary demarcation implications of the phrase “line of June 4, 1967.” Syria has demanded that Israel relinquish all of the land it conquered on the Syrian front during the June 1967 war; that a new boundary coincide with the aforementioned line representing *the status quo between Israeli and Syrian forces in the Jordan Valley on the day before the war started*. Syria claims that Israel, in 1994, assured the United States that “full withdrawal” in conjunction with a peace treaty would indeed be to this line.<sup>2</sup> This essay seeks to define the line, to depict it graphically, to describe its historical evolution, and to speculate about how it might figure in the demarcation of a mutually acceptable boundary.

Although the phrase “the line of June 4, 1967” has been part of the Arab-Israeli peace process lexicon for over five years, it has not been defined in published accounts of Israeli-Syrian negotiations.<sup>3</sup> The negotiators themselves did not, during the talks of 1992-1996, define it.<sup>4</sup> Moreover the line of June 4, 1967 was neither a boundary, nor an armistice line, nor anything demarcated or defined in a way recognizable to an attorney, a diplomat, or a surveyor. Although this essay will seek to establish a reasonable approximation of the line’s location as of June 1967, an Israeli withdrawal to it would still require that Syrian and Israeli technical experts decide on the exact location of their border of peace.

The June 4, 1967 line is a “snapshot” of the armed confrontation between Israel and Syria in the Jordan Valley on the day preceding the start of the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war.<sup>5</sup> Israeli and Syrian forces were *not*, on that fateful day, lined up on opposite sides of a boundary or armistice line. Instead, their actual disposition reflected recent history: combat between Syrian and Israeli forces in 1948; the presence of Syrian forces west of the 1923 Palestine-Syria international boundary at fighting’s end; the creation, by the 1949 Israel-Syria General Armistice Agreement, of a demilitarized zone in what had been Palestine; the assertion by Israel of a sovereign claim to the demilitarized zone - a claim resisted vigorously by Syria; and the unusual nature of the 1923 Palestine-Syria international boundary which, in several places, prevented Israel from establishing a security presence all the way to the Syrian border.

The line of June 4, 1967 resulted from Israel’s campaign to extend its authority through the demilitarized zone and across Lake Tiberias toward the 1923 boundary and Syria’s attempt, sometimes from Syria proper and sometimes west of the international boundary, to resist Israel’s advance. By June 10, 1967 the line of June 4 had become history. The confrontation line which had prevailed one week earlier was well to the rear of Israeli forces who, in the process of seizing the Golan Heights, had eliminated the Syrian presence from the northeastern shore of Lake Tiberias, the east bank of the upper Jordan River, and a salient of Palestine extending along the Yarmouk River; three important segments of the line of June 4.

## The 1923 International Boundary

The boundary with French mandate Syria secured by Great Britain for Palestine and its Jewish Home was drawn with water resources very much in mind. As noted by this author elsewhere, “The end result of a complex, post-World War I diplomatic process involving Great Britain, France, and the Zionist leadership was a Palestine-Syria boundary which kept both the upper Jordan River and Lake Tiberias a few meters inside Palestine.”<sup>6</sup>

Between Lake Hula and Lake Tiberias this boundary ran between 50 and 400 meters east of the river<sup>7</sup> and almost parallel to it, creating a narrow, east bank strip of Palestine lying just below Syria’s Golan escarpment. On the northeastern shore of Lake Tiberias, “the frontier follows a line on the shore parallel to it and at 10 meters from the edge of the lake, following any alteration of level consequent on the raising of its waters owing to the construction of a dam on the Jordan south of Lake Tiberias.”<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, Palestine received a sliver of land along the Yarmouk River including the town of al-Hamma

- today's Hamat Gader. According to Moshe Brawer, the intent of the boundary makers "was to grant Palestine full legal ownership of the Jordan and its lakes so that there should be no necessity to obtain the consent of any other country for any project to utilize the waters of the river."<sup>9</sup> Two sources of the Jordan - the Hasbani and Banias - were, however, placed in Lebanon and Syria respectively.

The mandatory powers recognized that their new international boundary could, absent flexible frontier regulations, play havoc with the lives of local residents and property owners who had been, until recently, subjects of the sprawling Ottoman Empire. The boundary commission stipulated, therefore, that "The inhabitants of Syria and of the Lebanon shall have the same fishing and navigation rights on Lake Huleh und Tiberias and on the River Jordan between the said lakes as the inhabitants of Palestine, but the government of Palestine shall be responsible for the policing of the lakes."<sup>10</sup> This provision was later extended to "all the water courses in the ceded area" by an Anglo-French treaty in 1926, which specified that "All the inhabitants, whether settled or semi-nomadic, of both territories who, at the date of the signature of this agreement enjoy grazing, watering or cultivation rights, or own land on the one or the other side of the frontier shall continue to exercise their rights as in the past."<sup>11</sup> Water access rights established for local residents of the frontier region during a time of peace would become, under conditions of conflict, a serious bone of contention.

Indeed, if *water* had been the top priority of British diplomats and surveyors, the *military defense* of northeastern Palestine was not. The boundary makers did not anticipate that two neighboring protectorates of Great War allies would, in 25 years, be at war with one another.

Viewing pertinent military geography from the perspective of Palestine, there was simply no way a sustained military defense of the *boundary* could be mounted on the narrow, steep, east bank of the Jordan River between Lakes Hula and Tiberias,<sup>12</sup> or on the 10-meter-deep beach of Lake Tiberias' northeastern shore, or within the tightly compressed Yarmouk Apanhandle. These areas were in fact occupied by Syrian forces during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, and Israel was excluded from them until June 1967.

## War and Armistice, 1948-1949

Between May 18 and July 19, 1948 there were several small clashes in the northeastern part of Palestine assigned to the Jewish State by UN General Assembly Resolution 181. Their effects, notwithstanding their relative insignificance in the annals of land warfare, are still felt 51 years after the fact.

During the first two months of war Syrian forces advanced in several places across the 1923 boundary. Most significantly they crossed the Jordan River, took the Jewish settlement of Mishmar Ha-Yarden, and successfully fended off an Israeli counterattack. Syrian forces attacked with limited success along the southeastern shores of Lake Tiberias, but the 10-meter strip was theirs by default, as were Arab villages - such as al-Hamma and Khirbet al-Tawafiq - east of the lake. They also established a foothold in the extreme northeastern corner of the country, just east of the Jewish settlement of Dan near the Arab hamlet of Khan al-Duweir.

As N. Bar-Yaacov has noted, "Alone among The Arab countries, Syria succeeded in capturing an Israeli settlement - Mishmar Ha-Yarden - situated within territory allotted to the proposed Jewish State... and remained in control of it until the end of armed activities."<sup>13</sup> It was not, however, the loss of a settlement per se that most concerned Israel's leaders. Syria's military intervention had jeopardized the central rationale of the 1923 boundary: the placement in Palestine of water resources essential to the development of the Jewish Home. From north to south Syrian forces were (1) perched on the high ground overlooking the Dan River - the only one of the Jordan River's three sources located inside Palestine, (2) across the Jordan River into Galilee, (3) on the northeastern shore of Lake Tiberias and (4) in control of the Yarmouk panhandle.

During armistice talks in the spring and summer of 1949 Israel demanded that Syrian forces be returned to Syria - as defined by the 1923 international boundary - while Syria insisted on an armistice line inside

Palestine based on the military status quo. As a Syrian delegate told his Israeli counterparts, “There is no international border between Israel and Syria. There was a political border between Syria and Palestine. We have to sign an armistice agreement not on the basis of a political border, but on the basis of an armistice line.”<sup>14</sup>

With UN mediation a compromise was reached and an armistice signed on July 20, 1949. Syrian forces would withdraw to east of the 1923 Palestine-Syria international boundary. Israeli forces would refrain from entering the evacuated areas. These would become a demilitarized zone “from which the armed forces of both parties shall be totally excluded, and in which no activities by military or paramilitary forces shall be permitted.”<sup>15</sup> As a further enticement to Syria, areas on the eastern shore of Lake Tiberias near the Jewish settlement of Ein Gev and along the Jordan River near Dardara or Ashmura - neither of which were under Syrian control - would also become part of the demilitarized zone.<sup>16</sup> The zone consisted of “three geographically non-contiguous parts comprising 66.5 square kilometers”<sup>17</sup> which subsequently became known as the northern, central, and southern sectors.

Israeli and Syrian forces would be separated by an “Armistice Demarcation Line,” (ADL) which would “delineate the line beyond which the armed forces of the respective parties shall not move.” Civilians were likewise not to cross the line. The ADL was a combination of the international boundary - which prevailed in three places: from the juncture of 1923 Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria for about four kilometers to the northern sector of the demilitarized zone; for a 12-kilometer stretch connecting the northern and central sectors, and along the ‘10-meter strip’ on the northeastern shore of Lake Tiberias - and the truce line inside Palestine/Israel separating the forces at fighting’s end. The demilitarized zone was comprised of all areas in-between the 1923 international boundary and the truce line.

With respect to the *sovereignty* of the demilitarized zone, the UN Acting Mediator, Dr. Ralph Bunche, sought to dodge the issue. In his “authoritative comment” of June 26, 1949 - a statement instrumental in achieving agreement on armistice provisions related to the demilitarized zone - Bunche stated *inter alia* that: “Questions of permanent boundaries, territorial sovereignty, customs, trade relations and the like must be dealt with in the ultimate peace agreement and not in the armistice agreement. The provisions of the Armistice Agreement... do not establish, affirm, confirm or deny the rights, claims or position of either party with regard to the question of territorial sovereignty either in the demilitarized zone or elsewhere.”<sup>18</sup>

Within the General Armistice Agreement itself, article II articulated the principle that “no provision of this agreement shall in any way prejudice the rights, claims and positions of either party hereto in the ultimate settlement of the Palestine question, the provisions of this agreement being dictated exclusively by military, and not by political, considerations.” Article V paragraph I extended the ‘no comment on sovereignty’ principle to the demilitarized zone specifically: “It is emphasized that the following arrangements for the Armistice Demarcation Line between the Israeli and Syrian armed forces and for the Demilitarized Zone are not to be interpreted as having any relationship whatsoever to ultimate territorial arrangements affecting the two parties to this agreement.” Each side found this language, rooted in Dr. Bunche’s “authoritative comment,” agreeable, albeit for contradictory reasons.

Israel claimed that the demilitarized zone was part of Israel-proper. According to a Foreign Ministry memorandum submitted to the chief of staff of the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) in 1954, “Israel, for its part, consented to the demilitarization of the areas from which the Syrian army had retreated. In agreeing to refrain from introducing its armed forces into the area, Israel was not in any way required to renounce, nor did it renounce, its full rights within the zone.” Israel considered that, by virtue of the armistice, “the exclusion of Syria from the demilitarized zone was complete and definite,” and complained that “Syria, however, persists in attempts to create for itself a position that would entitle it to intervene in a territory that lies outside of its State boundaries.”<sup>19</sup>

Syria, on the other hand, was not so explicit. In April 1951 its permanent representative to the UN, Faris al-Khouri, told the Security Council that “the territory comprising the demilitarized zone had been for the most part under Syrian occupation... When a final peace agreement has been concluded, Syria will certainly insist that this territory should be returned to its control.”<sup>20</sup> One month later he would retreat slightly, saying that “Its [Syria’s] claims are reserved for appraisal in the future peace conference, when

well-founded rights will be respected and due rectifications of frontiers may also be considered.”<sup>21</sup> With respect to the armistice itself, however, the language of article V relieved Syria of any obligation to regard the ADL - including those parts of it coinciding with the 1923 international boundary - as having anything to do with the “ultimate territorial arrangement.”<sup>22</sup> As a practical matter, Syria considered the demilitarized zone to be a UN-supervised buffer zone of undetermined sovereignty separating it and an entity - Israel - which had, in Syria’s view, no legal boundaries of any description.

Several other provisions of the armistice would set the stage for often violent disputes between the parties in the 1950s and 1960s. They may be summarized as follows:

- Article VII established a Mixed Armistice Commission - subsequently known as “ISMAC” - the Israel-Syria Mixed Armistice Commission - to supervise “the execution of the provisions of this agreement...” Inasmuch as Syria was allotted two members on ISMAC, article VII gave Syria, *from the Syrian point of view*, legal standing with respect to all provisions of the Armistice agreement, including those pertaining to the demilitarized zone. Yet article V, which addressed demilitarized zone issues, had the following provision: “The Chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commission established in article V of the agreement and United Nations observers attached to the Commission shall be responsible for ensuring the full implementation of this article.” The failure of article V to mention *Syrian* observers meant, *from the Israeli point of view*, that Syria had no legal standing in the demilitarized zone.
- Article V called for “the gradual restoration of normal civilian life in the area of the Demilitarized Zone, without prejudice to the ultimate settlement” and authorized the Chairman of ISMAC to permit “the employment of limited numbers of locally recruited civilian police in the zone for internal security purposes...” With Jewish and Arab settlements and villages both present in a zone of uncertain status arising from an unsettled conflict, “normal civilian life” would be unattainable and “locally recruited police” - as opposed to Israeli and Syrian soldiers - would not be found.

## De Facto Partition of the Demilitarized Zone: 1949-1951

Although the unsettled legal status of the demilitarized zone and the presence of Arab and Jewish populations within it made for a combustible mix, there were 18 months of relative quiet following the signing of the Armistice.<sup>23</sup> In the spring of 1951, however, the armistice came, for the first time - though hardly the last - under severe stress.

The occasion for the tension was Israel’s desire to drain and reclaim Lake Hula, located adjacent to the demilitarized zone’s central sector. To facilitate the drainage, Israel undertook to straighten the Jordan River channel *inside the demilitarized zone* south of the lake, and did so in a manner requiring the use of Arab property. Syria claimed that the project would alter the military geography of Lake Hula and the zone and would do substantial harm to Arab farmers. The UN objected to the project, pointing out that its impact on Arab residents was contrary to the armistice’s objective of restoring normal civilian life in the demilitarized zone.

According to Aryeh Shalev, who figured prominently in armistice affairs in the 1950s as an Israeli military officer, Israel used the reclamation project to make the political point to Syria that it - Israel - owned the demilitarized zone and was legally free to act up to the 1923 Palestine-Syria boundary. “The central [Israeli] idea seems to have been to engage in a policy of brinkmanship - forcing Syria either not to interfere or to face the risk of military deterioration which could escalate into war - combined with an attempt to strengthen Israeli control in the DZ.”<sup>24</sup> Syria, according to Shalev, reacted cautiously at first, protesting to the UN about Israeli unilateralism and firing on Israeli tractors and their armed drivers only when they crossed to the east bank of the Jordan River, which “was under the complete control of the Syrians, as it had been even prior to the signing of the Armistice agreement.”<sup>25</sup>

With respect to the Hula project itself and its impact on the armistice, UNTSO Chief of Staff Major General William Riley offered the following summation: "The key to this problem is whether or not Syria can dictate what the Israelis do in Israel-controlled territory. The swamps and Lake Huleh come within Israel-controlled territory. If they are drained, then there is still the limitation of the number of defensive forces that can be in that area, because we have a defensive line in that area that stretches back five or six kilometers from the [armistice] demarcation line. So if the Israelis desire to proceed with the drainage of Lake Huleh and the swamps, and can do it without violating the Armistice Agreement or interfering with the normal restoration of rights within that zone, then I do not consider it is a matter in which Syria can dictate to Israel."<sup>26</sup>

In March and April 1951, according to Shalev, Israel decided to declare openly and assert militarily its claim of sovereignty over the demilitarized zone. It did so by expelling to Syria Arab villagers from the central sector of the zone and by attempting to send seven Israeli soldiers - disguised as police - to al-Hamma. Shalev asserts that "even though the Israelis had property there. Israel had never tried to realize its rights at al-Hamma and had never [before April 1951] sent an army or police patrol there." The aim of the patrol "was to display Israeli sovereignty at the extremity of the al-Hamma panhandle," a mission frustrated by a deadly Syrian army ambush.<sup>27</sup>

Shalev notes that the upshot of armed clashes in the spring of 1951 was that "the Demilitarized Zone was now divided between Syria and Israel. Syria seized areas close to its border - al-Hamma, Kbirbet al-Tawafiq, Nuqeib, the northeastern shore of Tiberias, the east bank of the Jordan from Lake Tiberias to the Hula, part of the area east of Hula, and a considerable portion of the DZ's northern sector."<sup>28</sup> Although Israel would, over the next 16 years, attempt incrementally to creep forward toward the international boundary - usually by extending to the east the cultivation of lands adjoining Israeli settlements - the line of June 4, 1967 was first sketched out in April 1951.

## Secret Partition Talks: 1952-1953

An interesting aspect of Aryeh Shalev's account<sup>29</sup> of the early years of the Israel-Syria armistice is his commentary on the secret Syrian-Israeli talks of 1952 and 1953 aimed at a formal partition of the demilitarized zone. Had these talks succeeded, one of two outcomes may have been possible: either the June 1967 war would have been averted, or the line of June 4, 1967 would have been formally demarcated as a revised armistice demarcation line.

There were ten secret meetings between Syrian and Israeli military officers. According to Shalev, the salient points were as follows:

- In April 1952 Syria's Lieutenant Colonel Ghassan Jadid raised the possibility of a formal partition of the demilitarized zone.
- In January 1953 Israel accepted a Syrian proposal for a line along the east bank of the Jordan River. Syria, however, insisted on preserving the customary water rights of local Arab residents.
- Later in the same month Israel proposed dividing the southern sector of the demilitarized zone, giving the al-Hamma salient, Khirbet al-Tawafiq, and Nuqeib to Syria. The Syrian representative asked for the 10-meter strip as well, but his Israeli counterpart, General Moshe Dayan, said no: that the talks were to be restricted to the division of the demilitarized zone.
- By April 1953, a consensus appeared to be reached on the following principles: in the northern sector the partition would be according to cultivation patterns; in the central sector the Jordan River would remain entirely within Israel; and in the southern sector the 10-meter strip would be reduced to one meter.

A final meeting took place in May 1953, but both sides backed away. Israeli water authorities were opposed to recognizing a Syrian presence on the shores of the Jordan River and Lake Tiberias. Moreover, it had become clear that the two sides, while poring over the same set of maps, had two

different ends in mind. Syria wanted a new ADL, one which would halt Israel's creeping annexation of the demilitarized zone by eliminating the zone itself, while conveying no formal recognition to any line separating Israeli and Syrian forces. To the extent that Israel might have been tempted to part with a piece of the northern sector, with the al-Hamma salient, and with the highlands east of Lake Tiberias, and to the extent Israel would have recognized Syria's presence on the eastern shores of the River Jordan and Lake Tiberias, it might have considered doing so in exchange for a treaty of peace - nothing less. Even in the context of a peace treaty, according to Professor Moshe Brawer, such a Syrian presence "would only be possible if they gave up any riparian rights to the river and the lake."<sup>30</sup>

## The Road to War: 1954-1967

The purpose of this section is *not* to chronicle a Syrian-Israeli confrontation which, as of October 14, 1966, had produced some 66,000 complaints to the UN: 35,485 from Israel and 30,600 from Syria, of which "94 percent of the Syrian complaints and 70 percent of the Israel complaints related to the demilitarized zone."<sup>31</sup> Rather it is to summarize the key points of an ongoing confrontation which resulted in Israeli and Syrian forces occupying certain positions at the outset of war in 1967.

With the demilitarized zone informally partitioned in 1951 and with the failure of secret talks aimed at formalizing the arrangement, Israel's struggle to assert its sovereignty all the way to the 1923 international boundary became a game of inches, punctuated by serious armed clashes. In words attributed to the late Moshe Dayan, "more than 80 percent" of the incidents would take place in the following manner: "We would send a tractor to plow someplace where it was impossible to do anything, in the demilitarized area, and we would know ahead of time that the Syrians would start shooting. If they did not started [sic] shooting, we would inform the tractor to progress farther, until the Syrians, in the end, would get nervous and shoot. And then we would use guns, and later, even the air force, and that is how it went."<sup>32</sup>

As for the balance of the "incidents," there were many Israeli complaints of infiltration, murder, mayhem, and shelling from the Syrian side of the ADL. Much of the violence stemmed from Syria's policy of disregarding the 10-meter strip - which was part of the ADL, not the demilitarized zone - to enjoy direct access to Lake Tiberias, a practice challenged by Israel. The UNTSO chief of staff stated, "I do not think that the Mixed Armistice Commission is in a position to satisfy the Syrian claim..." He was citing an earlier resolution of ISMAC which held, in part, that "Any crossing from Syria into the 10-meter strip on the eastern shore of Lake Tiberias, as well as from Israel into Syrian territory, is a violation of article IV, paragraph 3 [of the armistice agreement]."<sup>33</sup> As of June 4, 1967, however, the northeastern shore of Lake Tiberias was, for all practical purposes, part of Syria.

In addition to Syria's refusal to acknowledge that Lake Tiberias was on the 'wrong' side of the ADL, several other recurring problems led to violent encounters which helped to shape the line of June 4, 1967. As tensions mounted toward war, the UN actively sought to defuse them and produced several reports which summarized the situation in the demilitarized zone and along the armistice demarcation line as follows:

- *Breakdown of the armistice enforcement mechanism.* Israel's position that ISMAC - because of Syrian membership - was not competent to deal with demilitarized zone issues meant that regular meetings ceased in 1951 and, as the secretary-general reported on November 1, 1966, the last emergency meeting of ISMAC took place in February 1960. The secretary-general noted that, "As a result of this situation, matters which properly should first be considered in the Mixed Armistice Commission and which often might well be disposed of there, are brought instead directly to the attention of the Security Council where they can be considered primarily in a political context and atmosphere."<sup>34</sup>
- *Fortifications in the demilitarized zone.* One of the symptoms of ISMAC's impotence was the establishment of fortifications and strong points by both parties within the demilitarized zone. An

Israeli complaint submitted to the chairman of ISMAC in October 1966 cited 28 sets of map coordinates representing places inside the demilitarized zone where Syrian forces had established positions. According to this complaint, Syria controlled the al-Hamma salient totally and maintained an armed presence in the following areas: the high ground overlooking Israeli settlements on the southeastern shore of Lake Tiberias, the northern tip of the southern sector of the demilitarized zone - just below the 10-meter strip - the delta of the upper Jordan River where it enters Lake Tiberias, the east bank of the Jordan River between Lakes Hula and Tiberias, and in the northern sector of the demilitarized zone, particularly on the dominating high ground of Tel al-Azaziat. Corresponding Syrian complaints were silent as to the northern sector, but alleged that Israel had established fortifications in the central sector on the west bank of the Jordan River and in the southern sector, both on the coast of Lake Tiberias - south, obviously, of the 10-meter strip - and inland in the direction of the international boundary. According to the secretary-general, Israel neither requested an investigation of its complaints nor permitted UN military observers to investigate Syrian complaints; positions consistent with its assertion that Syria had no right to complain to the Chairman of ISMAC about demilitarized zone matters.<sup>35</sup>

- *Civilian cultivation patterns.* Both sides sought to maximize their respective shares of the demilitarized zone by encouraging farmers to till the land and lay effective claim to as much as possible. Israel cleared the demilitarized zone on the west bank of the Jordan River of its Arab inhabitants in October 1956, forcing them “to cross into Syria where they are still living.”<sup>36</sup> According to Bar-Yaacov, “A physical separation between Israeli and Arab farmers was thus effected.”<sup>37</sup> While Syria was generally able to exclude an Israeli presence from the east bank of the Jordan River in the central sector, it resisted with great difficulty the expansion of Israeli cultivation in the southern sector of the demilitarized zone. Indeed: the chief of staff of UNTSO considered the problem of “the use of lands in the demilitarized zone” to be one of his “main preoccupations,”<sup>38</sup> and tried “to reduce tension by marking on the ground in the southern sector of the demilitarized zone the limits of a *status quo* of cultivation acceptable to both parties...”<sup>39</sup>

Increasingly, however, UN efforts to devise practical, local solutions to problems associated with the Israel-Syria General Armistice Agreement were being nullified by a general breakdown in Arab-Israeli relations across the board, one certainly hastened and aggravated by constant tension and frequent violence on the Israel-Syria front as well as a drastically escalating war of words between the two states.

## 1967: Where Were the Syrians on June 4?

The UNTSO chief of staff reported to the secretary-general that “heavy firing broke out at 0355 hours GMT on June 6 along almost the entire length of the Israel/Syria Armistice Demarcation Line... [and] that at 0528 hours GMT Syrian armed forces had launched an infantry attack from Tel al-Azaziat [in the northern sector of the demilitarized zone] towards Shear.”<sup>40</sup> In his memoirs, Moshe Dayan downplayed the significance of these Syrian ground probes, but recalled that “The one area where I thought we might advance was the demilitarized zones, but we should move only up to the former international line and not beyond. This was also to be done in the al-Hamma area, where we might advance eastward along the Yarmouk River...”<sup>41</sup>

Notwithstanding Dayan’s preference for limited objectives, an Israeli assault on Tel al-Azaziat at noon on June 9, 1967 evolved rapidly - in spite of a cease fire later on the same day - into an operation aimed at moving past the 1923 international boundary and seizing the Golan Heights. After 27 hours of fierce fighting a new cease fire took hold. On June 26 a representative of the Syrian army signed, with a representative of UNTSO, an agreement “embodying the map references of the foremost defended localities on the Syrian side.” The Syrian representative added a reservation, saying - in part - the following: “On the morning of June 9, 1967, when both Syria and Israel had announced their acceptance of the cease fire, the Israelis were not at that time at any point beyond the armistice line established by

the armistice agreement of 1949.” A footnote to the UN report of this statement indicates that, “The map referred to is not available in New York.”<sup>42</sup>

In trying to determine where the line of June 4, 1967 had been from a *Syrian* perspective, the above-cited map *may* be important. In an interview on May 24, 1999, a senior Syrian diplomat stated categorically that Syria and the UN each has an identical map depicting the confrontation line as it existed prior to the outbreak of war. Citing the sensitive nature of the map in the context of the possible renewal of Syrian-Israeli negotiations, the diplomat declined to give the author a copy of the Syrian map. It is not, in any event, entirely clear that the “line of June 9” map referred to above would be helpful to the present inquiry. If its “green line” was synonymous with the ADL, Israel had in fact been - in the demilitarized zone - well “beyond” that line for more than a decade-and-a-half prior to the 1967 war.

Indeed, during the interview the Syrian diplomat stated several times that June 4 - not June 9 - was, from the Syrian perspective, the critical date for establishing the positions to which Syria believes Israel must withdraw in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 242. Syria’s position is that 242 called for the liquidation of Israeli territorial conquests everywhere during the course of the June 1967 war, which began on the Egyptian front on June 5. According to the diplomat, Syria has never recognized the 1923 international boundary and will indeed assert a formal claim to lands west of that line consistent with the June 4, 1967 status quo.

Although this particular senior diplomatic source declined to specify Syria’s claims, he stated pointedly that the issue of water would weigh heavily on Syrian and Israeli technical experts who might eventually be charged with explicating the line of June 4. In his words, “Sometimes people equate the line of June 4 with the town of al-Hamma. It is true that this is a place held dear by the Syrian people... But the line of June 4 is more than al-Hamma. It involves water issues for which I believe fair and equitable solutions can be found.”

Water concerns would arise because it is clear that any “connect the dots” drawing of a line representing the status quo of June 4, 1967 would place Syria on the northeastern shore of Lake Tiberias and along the east bank of the Jordan River. According to the foremost Israeli expert on this issue, Professor Moshe Brawer of Tel Aviv University, Syria held, in addition to shoreline on Lake Tiberias, 18 of the 66.5 square kilometers of the demilitarized zone on the eve of war in 1967.<sup>43</sup>

Israeli diplomats involved in negotiations with Syria have also identified water as the critical variable introduced by the prospect of a boundary corresponding to the line of June 4. According to Ambassador Itamar Rabinovich, “Over time Syria took actual possession of some of these territories [west of the 1923 boundary], most notably of the al-Hamma enclave... but in strategic terms the most significant repercussion of the Syrian claim was the Syrian presence established before 1967 on the shore of Lake Tiberias...”<sup>44</sup> Rabinovich’s successor as chief Israeli negotiator in the Israel-Syria talks, Uri Savir, had this to say about the line of June 4: “Actually, in official terms, there is no such line - in the sense of a cogent frontier - but rather a complex set of lines created by Syria’s expansion into some parts of Israeli territory before the 1967 conflict. One of these areas was a strip of shore on the Sea of Galilee [Lake Tiberias], effectively the country’s main water reservoir, about which Israel was particularly sensitive.”<sup>45</sup>

In a letter to the author dated June 12, 1999, Professor Brawer outlined his understanding of key points along the line of June 4, 1967 as follows:

- Syria “dominated” the northern sector of the demilitarized zone mainly by occupying the high ground of Tel al-Azaziat. Israel controlled about one-third of the sector in its western part by virtue of cultivation, but part of the sector between Israeli farmers and Syrian military positions was a “no man’s land.”
- “From a short distance south of the former Lake Hula to a short distance north of Lake Kinneret [Lake Tiberias] the River Jordan was in fact the dividing line between Israeli and Syrian held territories.”

- “As to the small demilitarized zone west of the River Jordan, just above its entrance into Lake Kinneret, I assumed that Syrians actually controlled a small pan on the eastern fringes of this zone.”
- “The Syrians fully controlled the northeastern shore of Lake Kinneret and the adjacent waters of the lake.” A key part of this area was the 10-meter strip, which was not part of the demilitarized zone. As for the highlands overlooking the lake in the southern sector of the demilitarized zone, the Syrians controlled small parcels of the demilitarized zone “north of the former village [of] Nuqeib, a small area near the village [of] Kafer Hareb and an area west of Upper Khirbet al-Tawafiq. However, a considerable part of the eastern half of this sector was in fact ‘no man’s land’ into which repeated incursions, by both sides, took place.”
- Syria controlled al-Hamma and the “Yarmuk panhandle.” “This extended up to approximately three kilometers of the Israeli village Shaar Hagolan. A strip of ‘no man’s land’ existed also here between Israeli and Syrian held territory.”<sup>46</sup>

It would appear, on the basis of UN reporting and the careful analysis of Professor Brawer, that the only places where the line of June 4 might have coincided with the 1923 international boundary would have been along approximately four kilometers from the 1923 tri-border area to the northern sector of the demilitarized zone, and 12 kilometers of the boundary connecting the northern and central sectors. Everywhere else the *de facto* dividing line between Syria and Israel was west of the international boundary as of June 4, 1967.

Needless to say, however, in the end very detailed work by technical experts from both sides will be required before a boundary reflecting the status quo of June 4, 1967 can be drawn.

## Implications for a Settlement

The *sine qua non* of any Syrian-Israeli treaty of peace will be the security arrangements arrived at by the parties. If they reach agreement on security matters, to include limited forces zones, third-party monitoring, demilitarization and so on, there would be no practical difference - from a security point of view - between an Israeli withdrawal to the international boundary of 1923 and an Israeli withdrawal to a mutually agreed interpretation of the line of June 4, 1967. The difference between the two, in terms of land area, would be minuscule: perhaps 20 square kilometers.

The main issue would, as Itamar Rabinovich, Uri Savir, and the senior Syrian diplomat cited above all suggest, be water. Indeed, water would be an important issue even if, instead of the line of June 4, the 1923 international boundary were to define the extent of Israel’s withdrawal. Were this boundary resurrected, Israeli concerns would still center on several critical water-related issues: (1) Syrian management of water resources on the Golan Heights, (2) renewed Syrian ownership of the Banias Spring, (3) potential Syrian access to the Jordan River between the former Lake Hula and Lake Tiberias, and (4) potential Syrian access to Lake Tiberias across the 10-meter strip. In short, it is not as if the 1923 boundary would assuage those Israeli water-related concerns one readily associates with a ‘line of June 4 solution.’<sup>47</sup>

Indeed, it is hard to imagine that Syria would agree to an arrangement whereby its nationals would be obliged to stare at Lake Tiberias from a distance of 10 meters through a chain-link fence, or keep at least 50 meters away from the Jordan River. It is therefore difficult to envision a peace treaty - at least one involving the return of Syrian citizens to places close to the 1923 international boundary and the line of 4 June - without some provision for Syrian access to and use of the Jordan River and Lake Tiberias. The notions of “full Israeli withdrawal” and “keep the Syrians away from the water” are hard, as a practical matter, to accommodate under either boundary scenario if Arabs return to pre-1967 homes in the Jordan Valley.

By the same token, however, one must acknowledge that the water resources of the upper Jordan Valley are valued differently by the parties. For Israel, Lake Tiberias is the national reservoir and as such, receiving the waters of the Jordan River, it is the source of the national water carrier. For Syria, geography makes the Jordan Valley's water peripheral in a national sense. For Israel, Lake Tiberias is crucial for meeting water-related treaty obligations to Jordan. Perhaps the lake may play a similar role in supplying water to the future Palestine. For Syria, to pump water from the Jordan Valley up to the Golan Heights would be to entail considerable expense for no discernible gain. For Israel, a broad Syrian claim of riparian rights in the Jordan Valley might constitute a 'red line' making any serious consideration of a 'line of June 4 solution' impossible in a domestic political context. Indeed, were Syria publicly to make such a claim one might conclude that its interest in renewed negotiations is minimal.

One way to reconcile a boundary along the east bank of the Jordan River and the northeastern shore of Lake Tiberias with the objectively different interests of the parties in the waters of the Jordan Valley might be to place both bodies of water under Israeli jurisdiction and limit Syrian water rights to mutually acceptable arrangements for access to and use of both bodies by Arabs returning to their pre-1967 villages. It would be of intense interest to Israelis to know, under this prospective scenario, how many Syrians would be taking up residence in the Jordan Valley and what their current and projected water-related requirements - fishing, irrigation, municipal and industrial - would be. Perhaps the amount of water - and fish - to be extracted from the Jordan Valley in connection with Syrian access would be sufficiently low to drain away the emotion associated with this subject in Israel and erase a 'red line' where - perhaps - one need not be drawn. Perhaps the statistics would only heighten Israeli concerns.

Another way to approach the issue of water in the context of a June 4 border might be for Syria to forswear the use of Jordan Valley water altogether. To give Syria what it says it needs in terms of Israel's withdrawal without giving it a drop of Jordan Valley water would be, from the perspective of some in Israel, an ideal outcome.<sup>48</sup>

The well-informed Israeli columnist and author, Ze'ev Schiff, has opined that the late Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin believed, along with "the Americans," that what Syria really wanted was "the area of al-Hamma and the demilitarized zone around it." Accordingly Rabin hoped to be able to trade the town for a new border that would put some distance between Syria and Lake Tiberias.<sup>49</sup>

It is true that any boundary settlement purporting to conform to the line of June 4 would involve al-Hamma and the "Yarmouk panhandle" being turned over to Syria. In the whole of the 1949-1967 demilitarized zone, it is the one place where Israel did not - at least after April 1951 - contest Syria's presence. Furthermore, despite its frontage on the Yarmouk River, topography makes Hamat-Gader/al-Hamma an unsuitable place to withdraw large quantities of water to ship elsewhere. Depending, however, upon how far downstream of the town the new boundary is drawn, *Jordan* may have a new neighbor across from where it diverts water - by means of a weir - into its King Abdallah Canal. Yet Israel's right to pump 25 million cubic meters of water annually from the Yarmouk is secure by virtue of its peace treaty with Jordan and presumably would not be affected by the transfer of Hamat-Gader to Syria.

Obviously there is nothing obliging the parties to plot their respective positions as of June 4, 1967 and demarcate a boundary somewhere in between. Still, it might be stretching matters to characterize the "trade" proposal attributed to the late Prime Minister Rabin as being consistent with the line of June 4, *unless the parties were to agree upon an elaboration of the withdrawal formula.*

There could, for example, be an agreed principle that *an Israeli withdrawal to the line of June 4 need not entail a Syrian advance, in all places, to the same line.* Were Syria content, for example, to receive al-Hamma in the manner described above, perhaps it would agree to Israeli boundary proposals elsewhere provided everything between the new boundary and the line of June 4 were demilitarized. In this manner the requirement that Israel withdraw to the line of June 4 would, in a literal sense, be met.

By the same token, Israel and Syria might agree to a boundary fully consistent with the line of June 4, but with the proviso that Syria would resettle only the Golan Heights and al-Hamma, leaving the Syrian portion of the Jordan Valley an unpopulated "Jordan Valley Water Conservation District." In this manner

an area under Syrian sovereignty managed by Syrian water officials - perhaps in conjunction with other Jordan Valley riparians - might contribute to water quality measures of which Palestinian and Jordanian Arabs downstream of Lake Tiberias could be major beneficiaries.

## Conclusion

In 1949 Israel and Syria, with the assistance of Acting Mediator Ralph Bunche, agreed to an Armistice intended to separate their armed forces and lay the groundwork for the peaceful resolution of their differences. In order to facilitate the armistice, Dr. Bunche convinced both sides that the document could not address "political considerations" such as sovereignty.

The fact that the armistice did not assign sovereignty over the demilitarized zone it created did not mean that the parties had decided to place in abeyance their mutual hostility or their interests. Israel made no secret of its claim that the Syrian-evacuated demilitarized zone was part of Israel-proper. It denied that Syria had any legal standing with respect to the zone, it provoked violent encounters with the Syrian military, it removed Arab civilians, and it advanced, as best it could and without apology, toward the 1923 boundary. For its part Syria asserted a somewhat more muted claim to the demilitarized zone. It resisted Israel's advance, it governed al-Hamma as a Syrian town, and it ignored the UN finding that its access to Lake Tiberias across the '10-meter strip' was a violation of the armistice. Starting in 1951 Israel and Syria - notwithstanding secret talks during which a considerable amount of mutual understanding was exhibited - found themselves in a thoroughly poisonous embrace. Having first disposed of two other enemies Israel, on June 9, 1967, turned its attention to Syria and within hours placed well to its rear all that had been contested so bitterly for so long.

Now, more than a quarter century after another deadly encounter on the Golan Heights in 1973, Israel and Syria have resumed peace talks suspended in 1996. Syria, basing its legal position on UK Security Council Resolution 242, has demanded that Israel evacuate all that was conquered during the course of the 1967 Golan campaign.

In effect Syria is now prepared to recognize formally the partition of the 1949 demilitarized zone, accepting in the context of peace that which it once denounced as illegal: all Israeli gains in the zone between 1949 and 1967, the vast preponderance of which occurred in the spring of 1951. For Israel, however - which might have welcomed such an outcome before or even shortly after the June 1967 war - the fact that Syrians fished in Tiberias before the conquest of the Golan Heights seems now to constitute an emotional 'red line,' one which obviously minimizes the number of Israeli adherents of a 'line of June 4 solution.'

Yet if, in the 50th anniversary year of their armistice, Syria and Israel are prepared at last to reach the "ultimate territorial arrangement" anticipated by the document, there is nothing about the line of June 4 *per se* that would obstruct skillful, imaginative, and flexible diplomats from settling matters in a mutually acceptable manner. If the parties can arrange for Israel to 'come down' from the Golan Heights, the rest - notwithstanding strong emotions over the ownership and use of water - would seem to be manageable. This essay has sought to define the line of June 4, 1967 in historical and geographical terms. It is, however, ultimately up to Israel and Syria to decide whether this line of battle can actually become their border of peace.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Frederic C. Hof, "The Line of June 4, 1967," *Middle East Insight*, September-October 1999, 17-23.

<sup>2</sup> A comprehensive statement of Syria's position may be found in an interview of Syria's ambassador to the United States, conducted by Linda Butler, Managing Editor of the *Journal of Palestine Studies*. The text of the interview may be found in the Winter 1997 (Issue 102) edition of the journal.

<sup>3</sup> See Itamar Rabinovich, *The Brink of Peace: The Israeli-Syrian Negotiations* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1998), and Uri Savir, *The Process* (New York: Random House, 1998).

<sup>4</sup> According to Savir. "Technically, we agreed that the demarcation of the border should be negotiated by a working group to be set up at some time in the future." Savir, p. 278. A senior Syrian diplomat, in a May 24, 1999 interview with the author, agreed with Mr. Savir's characterization.

<sup>5</sup> According to a senior Syrian diplomat, the use of the date "June 4" - as opposed to "June 9," the date of Israeli assault on the Golan Heights - is explained by Syria's reliance on UN Security Council Resolution 242 as the legal basis for its position as to the extent of Israel's withdrawal. Resolution 242 calls for "Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict." The June 1967 war - i.e., "the recent conflict" - began with Israeli attacks on Egypt on June 5. Interview with author May 24, 1999.

<sup>6</sup> Frederic C. Hof, "The Water Dimension of Golan Heights Negotiations," *Middle East Policy*, May 1997, p. 129-141. For a comprehensive, archival-based account of the creation of the Palestine-Syria border, see Adam Garfinkle, *War, Water, and Negotiation in the Middle East: The Case of the Palestine-Syria Border, 1916-1923* (Tel Aviv: The Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University, 1994).

<sup>7</sup> Moshe Brawer. "The Geographical Background of the Jordan River Dispute," p. 236, in Charles A. Fisher, ed. *Essays in Political Geography* (London: Methuen & Co., 1968).

<sup>8</sup> Patricia Toye, ed., *Palestine Boundaries 1833-1947*, Volume 3 (Oxford: University of Durham Press, 1983) p. 442.

<sup>9</sup> Brawer, p. 237.

<sup>10</sup> Toye. p. 443.

<sup>11</sup> "Agreement of good neighbourly relations concluded on behalf of the Territories of Palestine, on the one part, and on behalf of Syria and Great Lebanon, on the other part. Signed at Jerusalem, February 2, 1926." League of Nations - Treaty Series.

<sup>12</sup> "The narrow strip east of the Jordan was never in fact controlled by the British Mandatory Authorities, nor has it been by the Israelis..." Brawer, p. 238. In a July 6, 1999 letter to the author, Professor Brawer pointed out that the French did not control this "precipitous slope" either; that there was "hardly any presence of Syrian civilians in this strip" and that no one, in effect, controlled it until the Syrians moved in during the 1948 war.

<sup>13</sup> N. Bar-Yaacov, *The Israel-Syrian Armistice* (Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 1967), p. 36.

<sup>14</sup> Bar-Yaacov, p. 47. The point was reiterated by a senior Syrian diplomat during the course of an interview with the author on May 24, 1999: "Syria has never recognized the international boundary of 1923 created by Great Britain and France."

<sup>15</sup> A complete text of the Israel-Syria General Armistice Agreement appears in Bar-Yaacov, Appendix I.

<sup>16</sup> The inclusion of the Ein Gev pocket on the east-central side of Lake Tiberias accounted for the fact that the armistice declaration line bisected the southern section of the demilitarized zone diagonally from the just west of Kafr Hareb, Syria to the shore of Lake Tiberias. Cartographers would often - and misleadingly - refer to the northern part of the southern sector as the "Israeli demilitarized zone" and the southern part as The "Syrian demilitarized zone."

<sup>17</sup> Bar-Yaacov, p. 63. Although for all practical purposes it can be said that the demilitarized zone consisted of territory west of the international boundary, in fact there was a tiny notch of Syria - just below the northern sector - included in it.

<sup>18</sup> *UN Security Council Official Records*, Meeting 542, p. 30.

<sup>19</sup> *UN Security Council Official Records*, Document S/3343, p. 22.

<sup>20</sup> *UN Security Council Official Records*, S/Agenda 541, p.13.

<sup>21</sup> *UN Security Council Official Records*, S/Agenda 544, p. 20-21.

<sup>22</sup> For example, in an Aide-Memoire to the UNTSO Chief of Staff dated December 15, 1954 Syria accused Israel of attempting "To exercise an act of sovereignty over the 10-meter coastal strip [of Lake Tiberias], the final disposal of which has not yet been settled..." The armistice demarcation line and the 1923 international boundary were one and the same with respect to the 10-meter strip. *UN Security Council Official Records*, Document S/3343, p. 20.

<sup>23</sup> Syria, according to Israeli Brigadier General (Res.) Aryeh Shalev, demonstrated pragmatism "during the 18 months that followed the signing of the armistice agreement, when Damascus refrained from entering into skirmishes or violent struggle with Israel over disputes involving the countries' shared border." Aryeh Shalev, *The Israel-Syria Armistice Regime, 1949-1955* (Tel Aviv: Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, 1993), p. 6.

<sup>24</sup> Shalev, p. 57.

<sup>25</sup> Shalev, pp. 83-84.

<sup>26</sup> *UN Security Council Official Records*, S/Agenda 544.

<sup>27</sup> Shalev, pp. 71-73.

<sup>28</sup> Shalev, p. 77.

<sup>29</sup> Shalev, pp. 135-152.

<sup>30</sup> Letter to the author dated July 6, 1999.

<sup>31</sup> *UN Security Council Official Records*, Document S/7572, p. 62.

<sup>32</sup> Rami Tal, "Moshe Dayan: Introspection," *Yedi'ot Aharonot*, 27 April 1997. FBIS Document Number FBIS-NES-97-112. 27 April 1997.

<sup>33</sup> *UN Security Council Official Records*, Document S/3343, p. 12.

<sup>34</sup> *UN Security Council Official Records*, Document S/7572, p. 63.

<sup>35</sup> *UN Security Council Official Records*, Document S/7573, pp. 64-65.

<sup>36</sup> *UN Security Council Official Records*, Document S/7573, p. 67.

<sup>37</sup> Bar-Yaacov, p. 210.

<sup>38</sup> *UN Security Council Official Records*, Document S/7573, p. 67.

<sup>39</sup> *UN Security Council Official Records*, Document S/7573, p. 67.

<sup>40</sup> *UN Security Council Official Records*, Document S/7930/Add1, p. 135-136.

<sup>41</sup> Moshe Dayan, *Moshe Dayan: Story of My Life* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1976), pp. 347, 380.

<sup>42</sup> *UN Security Council Official Records*, Document S/7930, Add. 17, June 27, 1967, p. 157.

<sup>43</sup> Aluf Ben and 'Aqiva Eldar, "Syrian Demand for Withdrawal to Armistice Line Reviewed:" *Ha'aretz*, May 29, 1995, pp. AI-A2. FBIS Document Number FBIS-NES-95-104.

<sup>44</sup> Rabinovich, p. 141.

<sup>45</sup> Savir, p. 268.

<sup>46</sup> In addition to the cited letter, Professor Brawer provided the author a map on which he sketched his understanding of those areas west of the international boundary controlled by Syria on the eve of the 1967 war. Professor Brawer's views, those of Aryeh Shalev - with whom the author also corresponded - and UN documents together form the basis of the cartographic depiction of the line of June 4, 1967 contained in this study.

<sup>47</sup> Still, there are some in Israel who either do not know the difference between the lines of 1923 and June 4 or who think that 10 meters is as good as 10 miles. According to a source in the prime minister's bureau, "There is no justification for the June 4... [Syria's] control there puts Israel's water sources at risk... On the other hand, no one can question the legitimacy of the international border." Aluf Benn, "Barak Wants 'Improved' Int'l Border as Basis for Syria Talks," *Ha'aretz* (internet edition), November 11, 1999.

<sup>48</sup> Israel's former Chief of Military Intelligence Major General (Res.) Uri Saguy was quoted as saying "Water is the most critical issue in negotiations with Syria. The security arrangements are a lot easier... I have no doubt that any solution to the water problem will be resolved within the context of an Israeli-Syrian-Turkish agreement." Daniel Sobelman, "Saguy: Syria Can Get What Egypt and Jordan Got," *Ha'aretz* (internet edition), November 8, 1999.

<sup>49</sup> Ze'ev Schiff, "June 4, 1967 - In Three Acts," *Ha'aretz* (internet edition), September 2, 1997.

# The Syrian-Israeli Frontier Relevant Lines: 1923, 1949, 1967

Demilitarized zone,  
1949-1967

UN Disengagement  
Observer Forces (UNDOF)

1967 line

1949 line

1923 line

LEBANON

SYRIA

GOLAN  
HEIGHTS

UNDOF

QUNEITRA

Lake Hula  
(former)

Line of June 4, 1967

DARDARA (ASHMURA)

1923 International  
Boundary

Armistice Demarcation  
Line of 1949

MISHMAR HA-YARDEN

Jordan River

Galilee

10-meter strip

ISRAEL

Lake Tiberias  
(Kinneret)

UPPER AL-NUGEIB

TIBERIAS

BIH GEV

KAFR HAREB

Yarmouk River

KHARBET AL-TAWAFIQ

UPPER AL-TAWAFIQ

SHAAR HAQOLAN

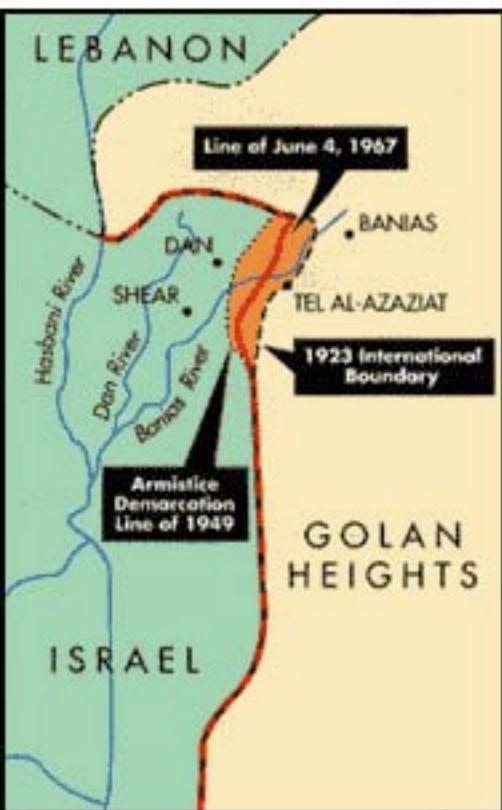
AL-HAMMA  
(HAMAT-GADER)

JORDAN

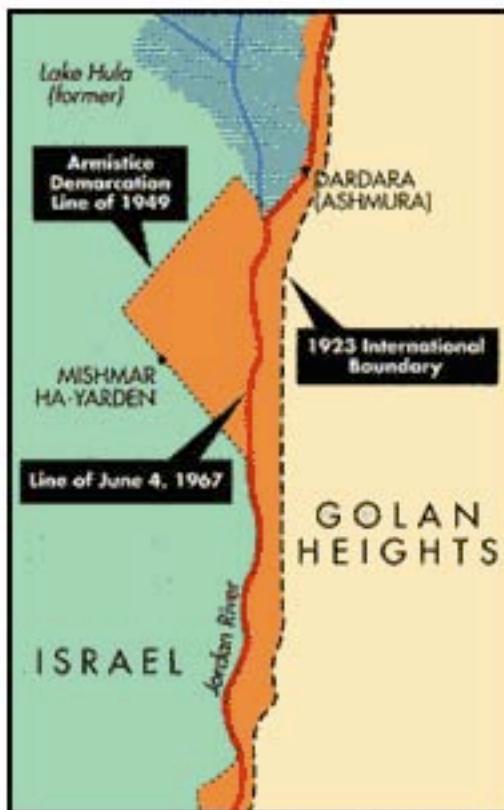
Yarmouk salient



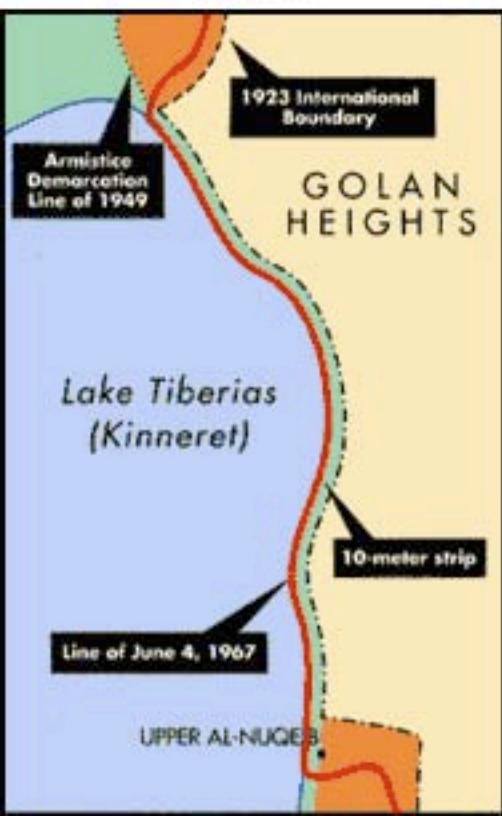
**Northern Demilitarized Zone**



**Central Demilitarized Zone**



**Lake Tiberias Shoreline**



**Southern Demilitarized Zone**

