

ARAB PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE

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PALESTINE LIBERATION ARMY - PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FORCES

Arab Palestinian **RESISTANCE**

Volume III - No. 11

November 1971

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M. KHURI

FROM THE RECORD

«The Jews have erred grievously in seeking to impose themselves in Palestine with the aid of Britain and now with the aid of naked terrorism.»

Mahatma Gandhi, 1946

■

«I was much pro-Jewish when I got to Palestine. But later I obtained a true picture of the situation.»

«A place other than Palestine should have been found for the Jews.»

**General Vagn Bennike, Chief
U.N. Observer in Palestine,
6 November, 1954.**

EDITORIAL

The admission of the People's Republic of China to membership of the United Nations, to replace the Government of Taiwan in occupying China's seat in the world organization, is probably the most important event in the history of the United Nations since its establishment in 1945.

The Palestine resistance movement welcomes the long overdue admission of the true representatives of the Chinese people to China's seat in the world organization. The People's Republic of China



has always been a sincere supporter and unwavering friend of the just cause of the Arab people of Palestine. As early as March 1965, a delegation of the then newly-formed Palestine Liberation Organization visited Peking by invitation and had talks with representatives of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs.

At the end of the visit, a joint statement was issued which announced China's recognition of «the



struggle of the Arabs of Palestine and other Arab peoples against Israel, the tool of U.S. imperialism, as constituting an integral part of the great struggle of the Asian and African peoples against world imperialism, with the United States at its head».

Last May, the authoritative «Renmin Ribao» published an editorial on the occasion of «the Palestine International Week» in which the paper hailed the struggle of the Palestinian people and declared that «the struggle of the Palestinians and other Arab peoples against the U.S.-Israeli aggressors is a just one». The paper added: «The Chinese people side with them and resolutely support their cause».

More recently, in November 1971, the occasion of the world table tennis contests held in Peking, in which a number of Arab teams participated, was seized by the Chinese people to reaffirm their sup-



port for the Arab liberation struggle and their condemnation of Israel's continuing aggression against the Arab people.

China and the Arab countries represent two flanks of the anti-imperialist struggle in Afro-Asia. China has succeeded in ousting an imperialist East-Asian stooge from U.N. membership; and it is to be hoped that Israel, the chief imperialist protégé in West Asia, will soon have the same fate.

The admission of the legitimate representatives of the Chinese people to China's seat in the United Nations is doubly significant to the Palestinian resistance movement. It proves once more that a people's struggle is sure to be ultimately vindicated and provides the Palestinian cause with powerful support in the U.N. Security Council. ■

Resistance

Political Scene

by: M. T. Bujairami

More than ever before, it has become crystal clear that America and Israel are working out an intricate, subtle plan not only to gain time on a provisional basis, but also to freeze the present «status quo» in the Middle East for an unlimited period of time.

America and Israel hope that while designing their well-knit scheme in close collaboration, if not deliberate collusion, the whole crisis will relapse once more into gradual oblivion, retreating into the background of world interest as one of the incurable ailments that the international community will have to get used to, or to put up with, for a long time to come.

The first step in the implementation of this policy was the series of treacherous campaigns of extermination launched against the Palestinian people in Jordan. Similar campaigns, though on a perhaps smaller scale, may soon be carried out in Lebanon, for example, in the hope of eliminating what America and Israel consider as the «explosive element» in the situation as a whole.

The second stage, which is being attempted now, is to break up the big crisis into separate problems that should be «approached and treated» separately, one by one, under the pretext that this might be the only way to «ease tension» or to «create a better atmosphere» for a potential settlement.

Thus America and Israel hope to divert the attention of the world from the big, inflammable issue of the continued Israeli occupation of vast Arab territories into several subsequent and secondary issues such as: the reopening of the Suez Canal, the «peace guarantees», the «secure borders», the «problem of the refugees», the «question of Jerusalem», the «status of the other occupied territories», and so on.

Even so, not in one of these subsidiary questions has Israel shown any sign of leniency, and it is not likely to show any such sign. On the contrary, Israel pretends to consider the Arabs as the invading aggressors who should be called upon to make more concessions.

The Israeli behaviour in all the occupied Arab territories continues to indicate that these areas are not regarded by Israel to be even negotiable. What Israel would be ready to negotiate, however, is the Arabs' willingness to sign an official recognition of the «status quo», or something almost exactly similar to the present situation, thus turning the cease-fire lines into permanent demarcation lines.

In order to achieve this, America and Israel seem to work patiently on several lines at the same time. First: They try to give the world a deceptive impression that the most urgent Middle East problem at present is the reopening of the Suez Canal.

Their misleading argument in this respect seems to run like this: Things are straightening themselves out in the Middle East. After Jordan's «pacification» campaigns against the militant Palestinians, the second danger spot to be tackled now is the Suez Canal. Thus they try to pin the crux of the whole matter to this issue. Meantime, they try to suggest that Egypt is the party to be blamed for the present critical Middle East situation because President Sadat has given the end of this year as a deadline. Moreover, to complete the false picture of the situation, the American top diplomats and high-ranking officials are never tired of declaring an «optimism» based on an alleged progress in their contacts with the parties concerned.

The second line pursued by Washington in this



respect is to offer guarantees — generous, unilateral guarantees to Israel, including the stepping up of U.S. military and economic aid, in spite of the fact that Israel is not in need of such aid, unless giving aid to Israel is the American idea of bringing pressure to bear on Israeli intransigence.

This point deserves elaboration. The American

offers of assistance and guarantees to Israel were publicly voiced by Rogers in his address to the current session of the United Nations General Assembly. Shortly thereafter, another sample of America's plan or «initiatives» has been offered concerning the opening of the Canal, as if this opening were the final aim with which the Arabs should be content.

Meanwhile, reports have been published in a number of Western papers to the effect that Israel has already developed a secret missile named «Jericho», designed to carry nuclear warheads. These reports have also talked of America's «concern» over this introduction of tactical nuclear weapons into the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The circulated reports have even given a precise description of the Israeli missile, which has the capacity of being charged «with a conventional high-explosive payload and a range of 300 miles». The reports have added that Israel could produce an average of 3-6 such missiles per month. Israeli sources have been quoted to have claimed that the missile would serve as an effective deterrent against any attempt to wipe out the Israelis. (Incidentally, nobody seems to be concerned with any deterrent against wiping out the PALESTINIANS!). Furthermore, an Israeli spokesman is reported to have boastfully declared that «military research in Israel is on a level with any other power below the U.S. and the USSR».

Such reports may very well have been jointly concocted, and deliberately «leaked out» to the press by Israeli intelligence and the CIA to coincide with the approaching end of the year 1971 set as a deadline by President Sadat. They would then obviously represent a joint U.S.-Israeli plan intended to intimidate the Arabs through this form of psychological warfare. On the other hand, if we grant the validity of these «reports», what need would Israel have for more American weapons?

To answer this question, the Israeli propaganda machine has a ready formula: «American weapons are needed to counter-balance the flow of Soviet military assistance to Egypt» as Dayan or Barlev would say. In fact, a campaign of this sort was drummed up during President Sadat's recent visit to Moscow, when Israeli sources claimed that even their Phantoms could not confront the Soviet-made MIG 23 jets, two of which had been reported to have approached the Mediterranean coast of Palestine.

This reveals the two poles of the vicious circle of Israeli propaganda. On the one hand, Israel talks boastfully of its superiority, invincibility and invulnerability; and on the other hand it runs, panic-stricken, to the United States asking for more weapons!

The American attitude is parallel to, if not identical with, the Israeli plans. While offering Israel a «carte blanche» to get whatever she likes from the American arsenal, Uncle Sam tries, overtly

and covertly, to press the Arabs through «initiatives», projects and verbal promises to be «more patient», to «exercise self-restraint», and to «refrain from setting dates, ultimatums or dead-lines» lest they should, by so doing, «spoil the good offices and quiet diplomacy» of Washington.

Also Washington finds it necessary, every now and then, to express «optimism» over the progress which is being made toward a Middle East settlement — «progress» the result of which nobody can see, a «progress» designed to lull the vigilance of the Arab Nation while Israel remains as arrogant as ever.

Meanwhile, the Israeli annexation of the occupied Arab territories continues at full speed. But this as well as the Judaization of Jerusalem and Hebron, the radical geographic, cultural and ethnic changes of the Arab character and the legal status of the occupied territories, the economic assimilation of the Western Bank of Jordan, the construction of more military and semi-military colonies in the occupied Golan Heights, the plundering of the oil

and mineral resources of Sinai, the evacuation of the Arab citizens from Gaza by force, the continuous nightmarish plight of the Arab civilian citizens in the occupied lands, whose youth are subjected to inhuman torture in neo-Nazi concentration camps at the hands of the Israeli forces — these are matters which both America and Israel seem to ignore and to prefer to be silent about, because, to them, these matters have no urgent importance!

The United States and Israel persist in rejecting all international condemnation of Israeli oppressive practises in the occupied Arab territories and in barring international commissions from investigating any such matters. The Zionists seem to prefer to raise such issues as alleged anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, as they did during Mr. Kosygin's recent visit to Canada without in the meantime bothering to look into their own backyard!

Today, the question which looms over the Middle East is: Just for how long do both America and Israel think they can tax the patience of the Arab Nation without exposing this part of the world to a devastating global conflagration? ■

NOVEMBER 2, 1917



The 2nd of November is associated in the minds of the Palestinians and of the Arab people generally with the Balfour Declaration, which was issued in 1917. This Declaration which promised the Jews a «national home» in Palestine is at the root of the Arab-Zionist conflict.



Writing on the Balfour Declaration, Palestinian author Burhan Dajani has said:

«This Declaration embodied in its text all the germs of the Palestine tragedy. Like the words of the three witches in Macbeth, its words contained by organic implication all later events and caught them in a sinister web of doom... The continuous Arab objection to the falsehood of the whole transaction has been on one occasion summed up in the famous dictum contained in President Nasser's letter to President Kennedy: a State without a title, Britain, gave a country which it does not own,

Palestine, to those who have no right to it, the Zionist Jews.

The operative part of the Balfour Declaration may be divided into three parts:

The first, applicable to the Jews, which provided that «His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object».

The second part, referring to the position of Jews outside Palestine, which stated: «The rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country shall not be prejudiced by the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people». This protective clause of the Declaration gave the Zionist Jews the homeland of another people while safeguarding the rights of Jews in their countries of origin.

The third part, relating to the rights and position of the Moslem and Christian inhabitants of Palestine, who constituted 92% of the population, stipulated that «nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine».

In the third part of the Balfour Declaration which is comprised of the protective clause relating to the rights of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine, these inhabitants are mentioned in such a way as to give an entirely false picture of their position in

the country. Although constituting, in 1917, more than 92% of the population, they are referred to as «the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine».

This deceptive designation is intended to give the erroneous impression that these so-called non-Jewish communities represented an insignificant part of the population of the country.

In fact the entire Declaration was based on fraud, deception, and the betrayal of trusting allies. One year earlier, in 1916, Britain, represented by the British High Commissioner in Egypt, Sir Henry MacMahon, had promised Sharif Hussein of Mecca and the Arab people, including the people of Palestine, complete independence, in return for an Arab revolt against the Ottoman Turks and the participation of the Arabs in the Allied war effort in the Middle East.

In 1917, when the Balfour Declaration was widely publicized by the Ottoman military leaders in the Arab East as a sign of British betrayal of pledges to the Arabs, Sharif Hussein asked the British government for an explanation. Assurances were given that the Allies intended to honour their pledges to the Arabs; and although these assurances were not convincing, the Arabs continued to fight on the side of the Allies.

The assurances given in this connection at various times included the following:

1. The Hogarth message of January 1918 assured the Arabs that «Jewish settlement in Palestine would only be allowed inasfar as would be

consistent with the political and economic freedom of the Arab population».

2. The Basset letter of February 8, 1918, in which the British Government solemnly repeated «its previous promise in respect of the freedom and emancipation of the Arab peoples».

3. The Declaration to the Seven of February 8, 1918, in which the Allied authorities assured representatives of the Arab revolution that the future government of the Arab territories liberated from Turkish rule, including Palestine, «should be based upon the principle of the consent of the governed».

4. The joint Anglo-French Proclamation of November 9, 1918, in which it was announced that «France and Great Britain had agreed to encourage and to assist the establishment of native governments in Syria — of which Palestine forms the southern part — and in Mesopotamia».

What, it may be asked, prompted the British Government, to issue the Balfour Declaration? Lloyd George, British Prime Minister at the time, gives the following explanation: «The Zionist leaders gave us a definite promise that if the Allies committed themselves to giving facilities for the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine, they would do their best to rally Jewish support throughout the world to the Allied cause».

The Zionists, however, later invented a strange



public relations story to the effect that the British Government promised the Jews a national home in Palestine because Professor Chaim Weizmann had contributed to the Allied victory in World War I by inventing synthetic acetone and the T.N.T. explosive and thereby changing the course of the war.

For over fifty years, the story has been circulated by Zionist propagandists. But let us see what Weizmann himself says about this fable in his autobiography «Trial and Error» in which he declares: «For some unfathomable reason, they always billed me as the inventor of T.N.T. It was in vain that I systematically and repeatedly denied any connection with, or interest in, T.N.T. No discouragement could put them off».

Such is the Zionist manner of deception. Their claim to Palestine is as false as ascribing the invention of T.N.T. to their leader Chaim Weizmann. ■

4 POEMS

Tewfik Ziad is an Arab poet from the Israeli-occupied Arab town of Nazareth. He is the oldest among the poets of resistance in the Galilee district in North Palestine. Born in 1932 in Nazareth, where he completed his high school, he later went to Moscow to study Russian literature.

The four poems of defiance presented below express the determination of the Arabs of the occupied territories to resist Zionist oppression to the end and to continue the struggle for liberation, notwithstanding the ruthlessness and brutality of the occupiers.

THE OLIVE TREE

Needed is a book to attest,
But since I am marked every minute for arrest,
I shall make my entries on an olive tree

That alone in the courtyard is left free.

My secrets...

The number of every piece of land taken,

The very spot where my village lies,

Its borders, houses, blown or standing.

Onto this same tree I shall also engrave

The trees uprooted, the flowers crushed,

The prisons, name and location, and make

Special entries of every hand-cuff of every make

In bolder letters, I shall engrave:

«Kafr Kasseem, Deir Yassin, I shall never forget».

I shall make my entries on a tree

That alone in the courtyard stands free.

THE IMPOSSIBLE

It is much easier for you

To pass an elephant through a needle's eye,

Or catch fried fish in galaxy,

Plough the sea,

Force a crocodile to speak

Than to destroy by persecution

The shimmering glow of a belief,

Or check our march,

One single step.

As if we were a thousand prodigies

Spreading everywhere

In Lydda, in Ramlah, in the Galilee...

Here we shall stay,
A wall upon your breast
And in your throat we shall stay,
A piece of glass, a cactus thorn,
And in your eyes,
A blazing fire.

Here we shall stay,
A wall upon your breast,
Cleaning dishes in taverns,
Filling cups for the masters,
Sweeping sooty kitchens,
To snatch a bite from your blue fangs
For our children.

Here we shall stay,
A wall upon your breast,
Facing starvation,
Struggling with rags, defying,
Singing our songs,
Swarming the angry streets with our demonstrations.
Filling the dungeons with pride,
Rearing vengeance in new generations,
Like a thousand prodigies,
We roam along
In Lydda, in Ramlah, in the Galilee.

Here we shall stay,
Go then and jump into the lake.
We will guard even the shadow of our fig and
olive trees,
And ferment our cause as yeast does dough.

Here we shall stay with steel-cold nerves
And red hell in our hearts.
We squeeze the rock to quench our thirst
And lull starvation with dust,
But we shall not depart.
Here we shall spill our dearest blood,
Here we have a past,
A present,
A future.
Stay we will, like a thousand prodigies,
In Lydda, in Ramlah, in the Galilee,
Strike deep in the earth
Our living roots.

THE JUNE 1967 WAR

As yesterday we did not float upon a handful
of water,
Today, we shall not drown in a handful of water.
They took this route to the east, black clouds
Killing children, roses, crops and dew-drops,
Generating hate, envy, tombs, and death.
And this route they will take on the way back,
No matter how long they stay.
Do not say, «we have triumphed»!
This victory is worse than defeat.
We should not regard the surface,
But the depth of their crime.
No! By the name of light,
We shall not lose a grain of this free soil.

We shall not bow to iron and fire,
This is only a fall, and the brave often fall.
It was a step backward.
But will be turned into ten forward, soon.



THE PAGAN FIRE

Slowly,
I draw the thin thread of light
From the night's entangled darkness,
Water the nursery of dreams
At the source of the torrent,
And dry the tears of my beloved
With kerchiefs of Arabian Jasmine.

Slowly,
I plant the scarce oases
In the burning sands,
And build for scoundrels
A life of justice and scented plentitude.
If, one day, I trip on the road
My roots will guide me back.

Slowly,
For I am not like matches
That flicker once and die forever,
But like a pagan fire,
I burn from the cradle to the grave,
And from my ancestors to my descendents.
My bread is as wide as the horizon;
I will master the craft of the ants.

Slowly,
For we dictate
The course of history.
We have seen the end
Of many a Tyrant;
Each gets what he deserves.
We lengthen their ropes,
Not to lengthen their lives, but to hang them. ■

The Wedding Invitation

by: Hakam Bala'awi

How a Palestinian exile put an end to the mental and physical disturbance he was suffering from by joining the ranks of the resistance fighters.

When he bought the car he thought that it would enable him to break a strong fence which he had built around himself. He wanted to run away from the limited environment in which he had spent a long and fruitless life. He had tried to escape by reading the many books on the shelves of his library or by putting down on paper what he thought would give him some kind of relief. But this only gave him a feeling of disgust at what the other people or he had written. It was all meaningless.



The car, he thought, would help him go away to the many places which would make him forget his past and its painful memories. But this did not happen. He went to many places, and always he came back to his little house where he had hung the maps and pictures of the lost land. And everytime he came back he spent hours gazing at these pictures and maps which reminded him of his innocent childhood. Little by little he realized that he was trying to escape from the memories of his defeat, from the yearning to go back and the inability to do so, that he was actually trying to escape from himself.

He tried to indulge in various kinds of hobbies; he watched football games in an attempt to drown himself in the crowds and be one of them. But he realized many times that while everyone else was watching the game he was looking at the faces around him looking for something. And after every game he went out not with the mental relief and

the pleasure one usually gets from such entertainment, but with fatigue and frustration. Perhaps it was because he was never able to find what he was looking for, or perhaps because he realized that he was different and that while the others were able to forget the past he was not.

Often he woke up from his thoughts only to find out that he was sweating and panting like a tired dog. And this was always accompanied by the feeling that he was running after something which he could faintly distinguish in the distant horizon. But every time he got close enough to that thing, it eluded him and disappeared as though it was never there. The doctors told him that there was nothing wrong with him physically, but that he was emotionally disturbed. They said that there was something in his past he would never forget. It was like being in love with some unattainable person. And yet he did not think that what he longed for was unattainable.

He had a wife and two lovely children. They were his consolation in this life which seemed empty and meaningless. His wife often noticed that he was disturbed about something. But she did not try to discuss it with him directly, fearing that it may offend him. She tried to occupy most of his time by asking him to take her out to the movies, or to visit some friends. Sometimes when they discussed serious matters, she noticed that he did not have much hope in the future. He always said that if they

wanted to live they had to remember the past and try to redeem it. With these thoughts he always pointed to the maps and pictures of the occupied land. There he always rested his hopes.

One day she noticed that he was very depressed. He stayed in his room by himself and did not wish to see anyone. She wanted to do something to help him get out of his self-imposed prison. She was happy when they received in the mail an invitation to a friend's wedding. She went to him and announced that they had to get ready for the wedding which took place that evening. He was quiet. He thought of the wedding he attended back home when he was a child. And somehow he could not bring himself to believe that weddings had any meaning now. How could people celebrate? How could they hope for a better future away from their homes and farms and trees? There was only one hope. The men who went in day and night to the occupied land and disturbed the quiet of the place with their bullets and fire. These were the weddings that he wanted to attend. These were the only legitimate celebrations for them until they regained the land.

He took the invitation card from his wife, and almost unconsciously wrote on it: «Sorry, we can't be there. We are moving closer to the banks of the River.» ■

PALESTINE QUESTION IN WORLD PRESS

Our world press extracts for this month are taken from: (1) a Herald Tribune editorial (October 5, 1971) entitled «Road to Middle East Peace», in which Eban's proposals for a Middle East settlement are described as «an excursion into familiar byways... All have been tried before; all have failed». (2) a commentary published in the Moscow «New Times» October issue (No. 40), entitled «Israeli Outrages». (3) An editorial of the British paper «The Guardian» (October 8, 1971) which strongly condemns Israel's defiance of the United Nations over Jerusalem.

Road to Middle East Peace: (Herald Tribune - October 5, 1971)

The tour guide to a Middle East Peace settlement which Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban

mapped out for the United Nations General Assembly last week was an excursion into familiar byways. When the stalled peace talks are desperately in need of new directions, Mr Eban charted five «roads to peace». All have been tried before; all have failed so far to bring any measurable progress toward Mideast stability.

Among the possibilities, the foreign minister revived an old Israeli proposal for a separate conference on the «problem of refugees». This is a detour leading nowhere as long as practically every country involved insists on treating the Palestinians merely as refugees and not as a nation stillborn, now clearly clamoring for life.

Mr. Eban also offered a side trip into some of the less controversial areas of an Arab-Israeli treaty. This might have been a useful excursion three or four years ago, but the time is surely long overdue for both sides to concentrate on the major differences that pose a growing threat of renewed warfare.

Israeli Outrages: (New Times - October, 1971 - No. 40)

The U.N. Security Council discussion of the Israeli authorities' unlawful activities in the Arab section of Jerusalem has again focussed attention on the situation in the occupied territories. The Israelis

are demolishing Arab dwellings, building blocks of new houses and settling their own people there in an operation that may be called Judaization of the Arab part of the Holy City.

A similar policy is being followed in the territories of Egypt, Syria and Jordan occupied in 1967. Eighteen militarized settlements have already been set up on the Golan Heights in Syria, and others are going up on the west bank of the Jordan and in Sinai. Military installations and strategic highways are being built everywhere.

It is these military preparations that are responsible for the recent tragedy in the Gaza Strip. In August and September, having first carried out «collective repressions» and mass arrests of «suspects,» a large number of whom were killed, the Israeli authorities set out to demolish whole blocks of houses and Palestine refugee camps. The Arabs are being driven to the northern part of Sinai. According to Reuter, the Israelis have decided to expel 30,000 of the 40,000 refugees accommodated in the Djeballia camp. The general strike in Gaza in August was declared in reply to this step.

The terror in Gaza is fresh proof of the aggressiveness of Israel's policy. The establishment of a strategic base in this area is not the only aim. The Israelis also hope to intimidate the Arabs into giving up their just liberation struggle.

In May of this year the association of graduates of the Arab-American University in Chicago published an open letter to Leftist Jewish organizations in the United States. The author was a prominent Israeli progressive who used the pseudonym Amitai Ben-Ena because he feared reprisals. The letter gave a detailed description of Israel's widely practised policy of driving the Arabs from their land and demolishing whole blocks of their houses, and cited numerous instances of massacres of Arab civilians. Quoting witnesses and victims of Israeli terror, Amitai Ben-Ena wrote that thousands of Arabs were locked up in concentration camps and prisons in occupied territories.

There is a little town called Sharm al Sheikh in the southern part of the Sinai Peninsula. The Israeli leaders refuse even to contemplate withdrawing from this town which they consider an important strategic point. A Paris *Le Monde* correspondent who visited Sharm al Sheikh last spring wrote that the Israeli occupation forces were engaged in feverish activity there. They have built an aerodrome capable of servicing large planes and a 240-kilometre-long asphalted road linking the town with the Israeli port of Eilat. «We are using solid building materials because we intend to remain here for ever,» an Israeli settler told him.

One hears similar things from the mouths of Israeli leaders too. «We must regard ourselves as a permanent administration in the occupied territo-

ries.» Defence Minister Moshe Dayan was reported as saying. «We must persuade the Arabs living in the occupied territories to agree to our presence even if they are not enthusiastic about it.»

Such provocative statements and the outrages that accompany them merely aggravate the protracted Middle East crisis.

Jerusalem: A City above States (The Guardian - October 8, 1971)

Israel is defying the United Nations again over Jerusalem. It harms its own long-term interests in the process. Since the occupation of the eastern half of the city with the rest of Jordanian territory on the West Bank during the war of June, 1967, the Security Council has three times passed resolutions calling on Israel not to alter the City's status. Israel annexed Jerusalem according to its own laws just after the war and has obdurately rejected each resolution. In the most recent one, it stands accused of the «expropriation of land and properties, transfer of population, and legislation aimed at the incorporation of the occupied section». In persisting with its policies, Israel is erecting between itself and an overall settlement in the Middle East, an unpleasant wall as that which divided the city for nineteen years.

The Security Council resolutions may be without decisive power, but they do have significance.

They are not to be lumped with some in the General Assembly which Israel feels could vote a flat earth on to the statutes — given the preponderance of Arab, African and Third World Votes. The last two resolutions on Jerusalem have notably included the United States, which abstained the first time. In 1969 the Security Council voted unanimously. This amounts to considerably more than blind sidetaking. It emphasizes the feeling that Jerusalem is of such religious and emotional importance to Jews, Christians and Moslems alike that it must not become the sole property of any one state.

This is the hardest point for Israel to accept. It is generally agreed that Israel's schemes for building blocks of flats — apart from crucially altering the population balance and annexing Jordanian territory outside the area of the city — threaten to make a beautiful city ugly.

Israel is probably correct when it says that the city is operating as a more efficient prosperous unit for all inhabitants and that access is free to worship by all religions. But these material points are not the whole issue. It will be harder for the Arabs and Israel to reach an agreement, over Jerusalem, than over Sinai, the Suez Canal, the West Bank, the Golan Heights and even the Palestinians. Israeli actions are making this problem more intractable. ■

Questions And Answers

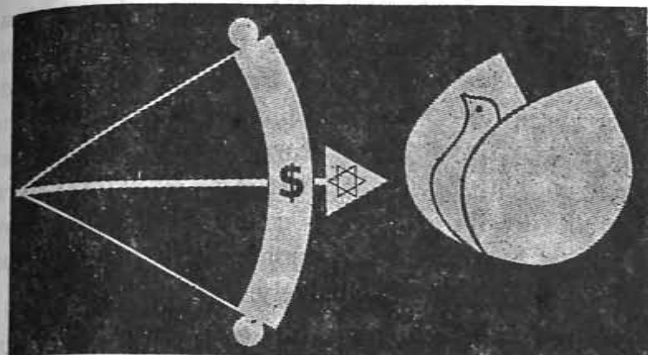
A Colonial-Pattern Entity

This section of «Resistance» is devoted to Questions and Answers designed to throw light on the Palestine question and the struggle of the Palestinian people to liberate their homeland.

As the following question and answer will show, the economic policy followed by the Israeli authorities in the occupied Arab territories prove beyond doubt that Israel is a colonial-pattern entity and that the chief aim of this policy is the implementation of a process of colonization and dehumanization.

WHAT SPECIAL AIM IS THE POLICY APPLIED BY ISRAEL IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES INTENDED TO SERVE?

What is going on in Israel with regard to the Arabs living in Zionist-occupied Palestine is not only racial discrimination and the preference of a Jew to



a Moslem or a Christian Arab. It is much worse than that. It is a carefully-planned process of colonization and dehumanization.

This process of colonization and dehumanization operates in all fields, not least of all in the economic field. The economy of the Arab areas in Zionist-occupied Palestine is subjected to a special colonial pattern in which its role is to serve the needs of Israeli industry. Thus the agriculture of the West Bank has been reoriented since the beginning of Israeli occupation in 1967.

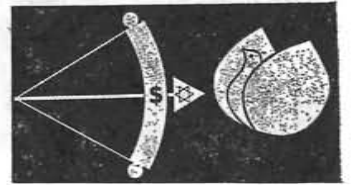
Before 1967, the West Bank was partly self-supporting and partly an exporter of vegetables and fruit. Now, its agriculture has been reoriented to make it a producer of basic raw materials for the Israeli industry. In the words of the official «five year plan» of the Israeli Ministry of Agriculture: «All capital and skill-intensive production will be situated in Israel, and all the manual-labour rich production will be situated in the West Bank».

The Israeli Ministry of Agriculture boasts that the result of this plan will be the complete dependence of the West Bank on Israeli economy. Seeds for Arab cultivation are supplied exclusively by the Israeli Ministry of Agriculture and this determines the type of cultivation imposed. Also Arab producers, as in the whole of Zionist-occupied Palestine, have to sell their produce to a monopolistic combination of Zionist industry exclusively.

This simply repeats in the West Bank the policy imposed on the Arab areas of Israel since 1948. The farmers of these areas from that date were compelled to sell their agricultural produce, mainly olive oil and tobacco, to a combination of Jewish factories. Jewish tobacco and Jewish olives are sold separately to the same combination of factories at higher prices for the same product.

The same well-tried method is now employed in the West Bank and this has already caused enormous decreases in the income and level of life of Arab farmers and peasants.

But how are Arab peasants and farmers compelled to change their cultivation and type of crops? Several methods are employed by the Israeli authorities. First the Arabs in the occupied territories are dependent on Israeli permits for everything. To go from village to town, from one town to another, from village to distant fields, to sell, to buy, to travel in a truck, the Arab farmer needs a permit



from the Israeli authorities. And these permits are withheld unless the instructions and directions of the Israeli Ministry of Agriculture, which are formulated to suit the master colonialist plan, are meticulously observed by Arab farmers and peasants.

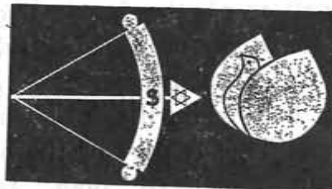
Secondly, there is the method of curfews and army units. If some Arab farmers and peasants are obstinate enough to wish to cultivate the part of their land which has not been confiscated by the Israeli authorities, with fruit trees, against the instructions of the Israeli Ministry of Agriculture, then they find quickly enough that an Israeli army unit, usually one of tanks and artillery, comes to exercise on the land where these fruit trees are planted. After the exercise there are no trees; and so they have to do what they are told by the officials of the Israeli Ministry of Agriculture who, in the usual hypocritical Israeli manner, are simply called «counsellors» and whose advice the Arab farmers and peasants are proclaimed by Zionist propaganda to follow of their own free will.

Of course the whole atmosphere of oppression greatly helps in all this. First there is the blowing up of houses. According to official Israeli figures — and these are much reduced — more than 7000 Arab houses were blown up by the Israeli authorities in the West Bank during the first two years of Zionist occupation.

The word 'house' in these camouflaged Israeli figures usually means a whole block; for in official Israeli figures for collective punishment imposed upon Arab towns and villages, a 'house' means several houses connected by a common wall. Thus it is common for the Israeli authorities in Zionist-occupied Palestine to blow up 30 so-called houses, which turn out to contain more than 200 families, or almost one half of a normal-size village, as happened in the case of the village of Auja near Jericho in 1969.

Then there are administrative arrests. Defence regulations are in force in the West Bank as in the other parts of Zionist-occupied Palestine. If Arab peasants are arrested in hundreds in Galilee and the other areas occupied by the Zionists in 1948, they are arrested in thousands and tens of thousands in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the parts occupied in 1967.

The effect of the colonial-pattern Zionist plan on Arab agriculture in Zionist-occupied Palestine has been, as those who drew it up intended it to be,



namely, most detrimental to Arab agriculture. This is admitted by Zionist authors. Thus we find Israeli writer, Rosenfeld, asserting in a recent book on Israeli agriculture, that under the British mandate Arab agriculture was much more developed than at present.

Rosenfeld says: «In the time of the mandate, there used to be Arab citrus orchards and fruit-trees but now these have disappeared». This is the usual Israeli hypocrisy and double-talk. What Rosenfeld really means is that they were confiscated and given to Zionist Jews.

«Now», Rosenfeld adds, «Arab agriculture is part of Jewish agriculture; and it is the non-developed part». But he does not say that this is the result of Israel's colonial-pattern plan. An example in point is the Arab village of Um Al-Fahm. A Zionist Kibbutz, named Tzur Nathan has been established on land confiscated from the Arab inhabitants of this village. These are 6000 and those of the Zionist Kibbutz are only 200. All the irrigation water, as

well as all the fertile land, have been given to the Zionist Kibbutz. The result is that agriculture gives work to no more than 4 percent of the inhabitants of the Arab village of Um Al-Fahm.

This is part of the operation of the Zionist colonial-pattern plan, because when the Arab villagers do not find work in their fields which have been confiscated by the Israeli authorities, they are forced to work as exploited cheap labour in Zionist industrial and development projects.

In fact, when a Jewish Kibbutz is built on confiscated Arab land, the Arab villagers are forced to build the road, the houses and the factory. The fruits of their exploited labour are then given to the Jewish inhabitants, who enjoy the modern houses of the Kibbutz and the clean jobs of the factory.

In the face of these facts, can any one deny that Israel is a colonial-pattern entity and not a progressive pioneering community as Zionist propaganda tries to misrepresent it to be? ■



A VOICE OF PROTEST

Herbert Waddams

■

The first Anglican churchman to speak out against Israel's plan to Judaize Jerusalem is Canon Herbert Waddams. In a sermon delivered in Canterbury Cathedral, which is reproduced below, he declares that «the plan for a greater Jerusalem and the building of badly-designed and badly-sited houses and flats by the Jewish authorities must be roundly condemned as an action which can only be called immoral by any standards recognized in the civilized world...»

■

A well-known Psalm includes the words «O pray for the peace of Jerusalem: may they prosper that love thee.» Such a prayer today is certainly needed, though perhaps its most convincing justification

would be the theory that prayer should be most resorted to when there appears to be least chance of its requests being granted, or when every other means of achieving the goal desired seems to be hopeless.

Today Jerusalem is the centre of a conflict which is highly dangerous to those who live there, but also to the peace of the world. It is a state of affairs which for most of the time we prefer to forget, just because we are at a loss to see how any way forward can be found.

Christians do not have the answer to the Middle East problem, to the conflict between Israel and the Arabs. But they ought to do a good deal of thinking about it, since over many centuries in the past, Christians have been in large part the authors of many of its elements and complications. Perhaps there would be no need for a national home of refuge for the Jews if Christians had not begun and carried on throughout the centuries a frightful and continuous policy of hatred and persecution against the Jews. There can, I regret to say, be little doubt that anti-semitism, in the sense of hatred for the Jews and maltreatment of them, has largely stemmed from Christians, who have whipped up such sentiments, and encouraged and taken part in the terrible persecutions that race has suffered in Europe. The story of Jewish persecution has been perhaps the worst of many bad pages, which have stained the history of a civilization which liked to call itself Christian: and as we know, it culminated

in the frightful and deliberate murder of millions of Jews in the extermination camps of Hitler.

■ TRANSFERRED INJUSTICE

All this is miserably true. But there is a danger which has come to light since the second world war, and that is that Christians or Europeans, in a new understanding of their crimes, have tried to salve their consciences by actions which have transferred injustice from one group to another, and this is certainly part of the Middle East problem. Because one man has been deprived of his rights, it is not therefore desirable that someone else should have his rights taken away from him so that you may give them to the first man. To put right an injustice is no good if several more and different injustices are created in the process. And whatever may be the right course now, there can be no doubt in any reasonable man's mind that the attempt to help the Jewish people by providing a national state has indeed done serious injustice to millions of people in the Middle East, who have been deprived of their homes and their livelihoods.

But again that does not mean that we can just go back to the state of affairs which existed before it all happened. History may repeat itself sometimes, but it does not go backwards, and problems which exist today have to be dealt with as they are, full of living historical facts which will not go away.

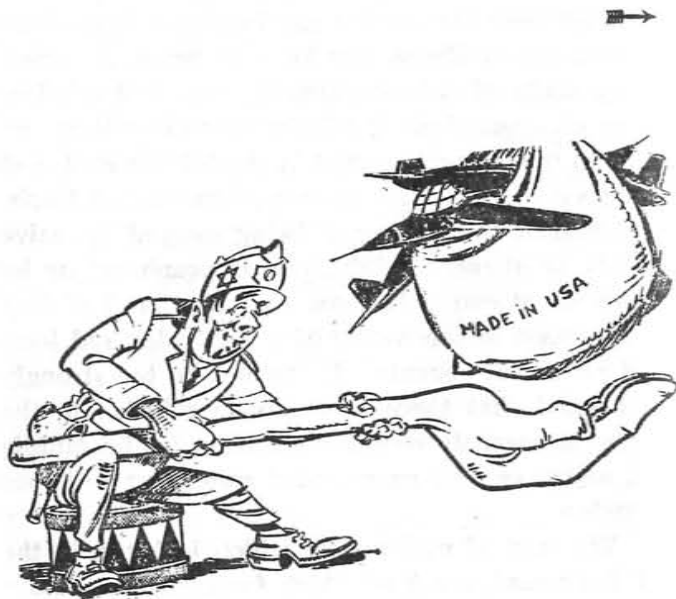
Of course, the idea that Israel was the outcome of a kind thought on behalf of the nations of the world would be quite absurd. It is the consequence of generations of intrigue and pressure from the side of the Zionists, and of the supposed needs of European, and especially British diplomacy on another side. The British are fond of thinking to themselves that they never do anything except from the highest motives. Unfortunately nobody believes that except the British, and it has become a permanent and dangerous form of illusion. The Balfour Declaration was a calculated act of British policy. The British took the Mandate for Palestine after the first World War because they wanted it, and thought that it would be in their own interest. When it proved not to be, and became too hot for them, they ratted in 1948 in one of the most disgraceful episodes in British history. So Christians in Britain ought to be aware of the history of their own country, and of its consequent responsibility for doing what it can to put things right. I need hardly say that in spite of the bad sides of the story, the British had an excellent record of rule in Palestine when they were in charge, and a number of outstandingly able officials and public servants have made valuable and brilliant contributions to the well-being of the people for whose welfare they had responsibility. But that does not change the main facts.

■ THE MESSAGE CONFUSED

But Christians have also caused trouble in another way. They have—or many of them have—confused the message of the Bible with the political situation in the Middle East in the past few decades, with which the Bible has nothing or almost nothing to do in any direct way. They have by their naivete encouraged people to see in the 20th century the literal fulfilment of prophecies in the Old Testament which applied only to the situation several centuries before the birth of Christ. These prophecies were often made in a mood of symbolism or moral teaching rather than political thought, and in any case they were innocent of any interpretation which the message of Christ was later to bring. A recent expert study of this question by qualified scholars wrote: «A great deal of religious-sounding language clings to the present conflict in the Middle East, and it is necessary to alert even well-instructed Christians against the danger of being swayed by naive appeals to alleged 'fulfilments of prophecy' or by superficial attempts to show that the hand of God is to be seen in the course of a particular and localized series of events. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that there is no single solution to the present immensely complex situation in the Middle East which can be commended purely on religious grounds.»

The sort of nationalism which is found in the Old Testament, much of which forecasts the victory

of the Jews over their enemies, often in bloodthirsty and certainly unchristian terms, makes the use of the Old Testament very difficult for Arab Christians who live in the Middle East, especially since the use of the word Israel for the present Jewish State and the word used in the Old Testament is the same. It is not hard to see that for simple Christians such language is very confusing, and it is hardly to be wondered at that Arab Christians have trouble here. Indeed it is surprising that they have not been more violent in their reaction against the Old Testament than they have.



■ MISUSE OF PROPHECIES

Christians must be aware of these difficulties and not make them worse by encouraging absurd and oversimple ideas about the Old Testament. They above all others ought to stress again and again that the Old Testament is only to be understood in the light of the Gospel, and that to take Old Testament prophecies literally today is to misuse the Bible, and to abandon the insights of Jesus. From the earliest years the Christian interest in Jerusalem itself has been intense, and often, instead of being a city of peace, Jerusalem, together with the other holy places, has been the centre of bitter feuds and wars. The crusades, which themselves covered several centuries, were claimed as Christian in their demonic inspiration, and though associated with many noble ideals, were in fact totally misconceived as Christian operations. They were a betrayal of the true Christian faith, and because they were betrayals, they brought their own melancholy reward. Not only were they finally unsuccessful, but in the light of history they can be seen to have left a legacy of bad feeling and hatred between Europe and the Islamic East, and in the process of their pursuit they destroyed the unity of Christendom and fatally weakened the heritage of Byzantium and the Christian East.

Most of the stability which Jerusalem and its neighbouring areas have enjoyed was due to the power of the Ottoman Empire. It was not the sort of

stability which Christians welcomed, subject as they were to a Muslim power which was inimical to their faith. Nevertheless the alternative would probably have been far worse in practical terms. During this period the so-called Christian powers of Europe intrigued through their diplomats to gain as much influence as possible and used the local churches for this end. The Russians tried to infiltrate through the Orthodox Churches of Palestine, the French through the Roman Catholics, during the nineteenth century, while the Greeks jealously guarded their monopoly of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulchre.

I am not suggesting that all this was wholly bad. There were some good features of the situation. What I am stating, however, is that it is no good now, when the situation is once more highly charged and dangerous, for Christians to take a 'holier than thou' attitude and like Pilate, try to wash their hands of the whole affair. They may not have the know-how to tell the political powers what it is best to do, but they certainly have an obligation to bear some burdens and sacrifices in the cause of a just and permanent settlement, if such a thing is still conceivable as a practical proposition.

■ DISGRACEFUL MOVE

The implication of Christians means that Jerusalem itself is also a case on which they ought to have some views. For example, as we have learnt in **The Times** and other reliable organs of news, the

plan for a greater Jerusalem and the building of badly-designed and badly-sited houses and flats by the Jewish authorities must be roundly condemned as an action which can only be called immoral by any standards recognized in the civilized world. In stating this it must be made plain that Christians do not do so because they personally dislike the buildings: that is argely irrelevant. The truth is that there is not a single group of independent outside experts, Jewish or non-Jewish, who can be found to put up a convincing case for this disgraceful move. It is plainly and undisguisedly an act which flies in the face of legal, moral, and political principles, and must be universally condemned by international authority.

The United Nations has resolved without opposition that the annexation of Jerusalem by Israel is invalid. What have Christians, as such, to say about this? They must, if they care for peace, support the only international authority which can maintain peace, and therefore they must press for the United Nations resolution to be observed.

The cause of peace in the Middle East is not served by trying to recreate a state of affairs which existed in the past, simply because it existed. It can only come through an overall settlement which will guarantee to all concerned the safeguards on which their security and future prosperity can alone rest. Here again Christians have no particular solution which can be claimed to be more Christian than the

rest. All they can do as Christians is to press on Governments the urgent need to seek for a settlement and to take initiatives whenever there is a chance to do so, and also to ask that every possible means of finding a settlement has been explored fully.

■ HUMAN TRAGEDY

But above all the plight of the refugees must haunt men's minds. No politicking or arguments



about the future of this or that must ever be allowed to obscure the dreadful human tragedy of a million and a half refugees, fifty per cent under the age of twenty, most of them living in camps with no hope and no future. These refugees are the direct outcome of the British withdrawal from the area in 1948, made more numerous and more widespread by subsequent events. Britain has a special responsibility for making sure that they are at least provided with the minimum needs of health. The work of UNRWA, which keeps them alive, is running on a minimum budget which is all the time threatened with cuts. Christians should not only continue to support the activities of their own agencies for resistance, but should constantly press upon their government here the need for greater help and for more imaginative plans for the future.

We must indeed pray for the peace of Jerusalem, but not only pray, we must work and try to use our influence to look for better days; and then perhaps the rest of the prayer of the Psalmist may one day come true, that not only will Jerusalem have peace within her walls but plenteousness within her palaces. ■

THE PALESTINE PARTITION RESOLUTION

by: Yousef Khatib

■

In the well-known biblical story, King Solomon awarded a disputed baby to its real mother whom he recognized through her willingness to abandon her own baby rather than have it partitioned.

Similarly, the Arab people of Palestine rejected the Partition resolution of 1947, because this meant partitioning their homeland.

On November 29, 1947 the United Nations Violated its own Charter (Clauses 10 and 14) and the Declaration of Human Rights, as well as the right of self-determination, when it decided to partition Palestine.

■

On 24th November, 1947, and while the U.S. was still pressuring many small countries (Haiti, Liberia, Philippines, etc...) to have them vote for partition, the Arab countries suggested taking the Palestine case to the International Court of Justice



at The Hague to determine the competence of the United Nations regarding the partition of Palestine. But this also failed under pressure from the U.S. Legal opinion on the subject, however, is available:

«It is doubtful if the United Nations», writes Professor Brownlie, «has a 'capacity to convey title' inter alia because the Organisation cannot assume the role of territorial sovereign... Thus the resolution of 1947 containing a Partition Plan for Palestine was probably ultra vires (outside the competence of the U.N.), and, if it was not, was not binding on member States in any case.»

(Principles of Public International Law, Oxford — Clarendon Press, 1966, pp. 161-162).

The following points further challenge the legal validity of the U.N. Palestine Partition Resolution:

1. «Article 14 authorises the General Assembly only to make recommendations. But this resolution goes beyond simple recommendation.» (H. Kelsen: *The Law Of The United Nations* London 1951 - p. 1954).

2. There is «a distinction between making a recommendation and adopting a plan prejudicial to the territorial integrity of a people and their political and legal status, and appointing a committee of the assembly to carry out the plan.»

(*Repertory Of Practice Followed By The United Nations Organ Vol. 1, p. 471*).

3. «The only case where the United Nations can create a new State (is) by detaching territory which is 'not yet autonomous' from the colonial power. Besides, the birth of a new State is the natural consequence of the trusteeship system set up by the United Nations Charter. But these provisions do not apply in the case of Palestine.»

(Cf. A. Mathiot: *Le Statut Des Territoires Dependantes D'après La Charte Des Nations Unies. Revue Générale du Droit International Public*, 1946, p. 159 ff.).

On 26th November 1947, the U.N. was to vote on partitioning Palestine, but up to that moment

neither the Zionists nor the White House were confident of obtaining the votes they needed, so they postponed the meeting till the 28th on the pretext that 27th was **Thanksgiving Day**. Arab delegates offered to forego their scheduled speeches to let voting commence immediately, but their offer was rejected!!!

A number of smaller countries were still not sure they were going to vote in favour, so postponement was necessary to secure their support. Methods used may be judged in the light of the following:

Arthur Hayes Sulzburger, publisher of the *New York Times*, describing Zionist methods, said:

«I dislike the coercive methods of Zionists who in this country have not hesitated to use economic means to silence persons who have different views. I object to the attempt at character assassination of those who do not agree with them.»

27th November, 1947: Thanksgiving Day. But President Truman was not in a festive mood. This is how an American journalist describes his actions on that day:

«Few know it», he wrote after the vote, «but President Truman cracked down harder on his State Department than ever before to swing the United Nations vote for the partition of Palestine. Truman called Acting Secretary Lovett over to the White House on Wednesday

and again on Friday warning him he would demand a full explanation if nations which usually line up with the United States failed to do so on Palestine...»

James Forrestal says on the same subject:
«The methods that had been used... to bring coercion and duress on other nations in the General Assembly bordered closely on scandal.»

Although voting was supposed to take place on Wednesday (26th November, 1947), it was postponed till the morning of Friday, 28th November, under pressure from the U.S. and the Zionists in order to secure sufficient votes, and was postponed again till Saturday 20th.

Congressman Lawrence H. Smith declared in the U.S. Congress:

«Let's take a look at the record, Mr. Speaker, and see what happened in the U.N. Assembly meeting prior to the vote on partition. A two third vote was required to pass the resolution. On two occasions the Assembly was to vote and twice it was postponed. It was obvious that the delay was necessary because the proponents (the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., both in favour of the Partition Resolutions) did not have the necessary votes. In the meantime, it is reliably reported that intense pressure was applied to the delegates of the small nations by

the U.S. member and by officials at the highest levels in Washington. Now that is a serious charge. When the matter was finally considered on the 29th, what happened? The decisive votes for partition were cast by Haiti, Liberia and the Philippines. These votes were sufficient to make the two-thirds majority. Previously, these countries opposed the move... The pressure by our delegates, by our officials, and by the private citizens of the U.S. constitutes reprehensible conduct against them and against us.»

Voting on the Palestine Partition Resolution took place after three days of behind-the-scene coercion and intrigue.

Countries voting in favour were: U.S., U.S.S.R., Sweden, Norway, France, Belgium, Luxemburg, Canada, South Africa, Bolivia, Dominican, Equador, Venezuela, Panama, Haiti, Guatemala, Paraguay, Ukraine, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Holland, Australia, Iceland, Brazil, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Peru, Costa Rica, Liberia and the Philippines.

Countries voting against were: Syria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Lebanon, the Yemen, Turkey, Pakistan, Afghanistan, India, Persia, Cuba and Greece.

Countries abstaining: the United Kingdom, Mexico, Salvadore, Argentina, Yugoslavia, Chile, Honduras, Ethiopia and China.

Following are the main provisions of the Partition Resolution. The resolution opens with clearly coercive clauses requesting that:

1. The Security Council take the necessary measures as provided for in the plan for the implementation of the resolution.

2. The Security Council consider, if circumstances during the transitional period require such consideration, whether the situation in Palestine constitutes a threat to the peace. If it decides that such a threat exists, and in order to maintain international peace and security, the Security Council should supplement the authorization of the General Assembly by taking measures to empower the U.N. Commission to exercise in Palestine the functions which are assigned to it by this resolution.

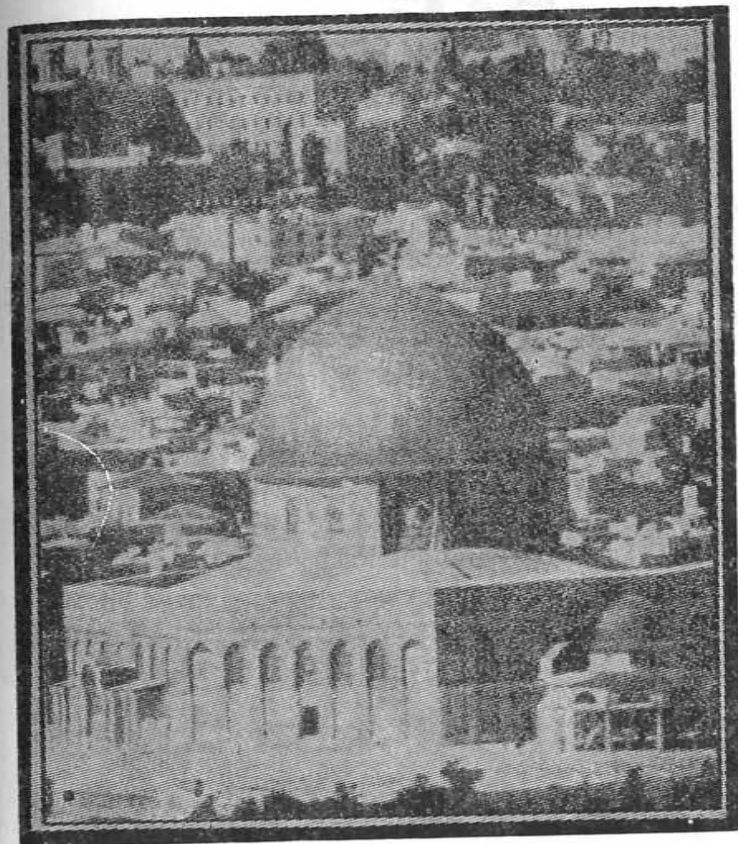
3. The Security Council determine as a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression any attempt to alter by force the settlement envisaged by this resolution.

The General Assembly calls upon the inhabitants of Palestine to take such steps as may be necessary on their part to put this plan into effect.

Isn't this the same as telling a convict about to hang: Now be a good boy and see to it that the rope does not slip!

The Partition Resolution resulted in the establishment of the «State of Israel». The imperialist

motive for the establishment of Israel was to sever the unity of the Arab Homeland, and to keep the Arab people occupied, fighting one war after another with a view to exhausting the enormous material and moral potentials of the Arab Nation and thereby interfering with its progress and development and the role it can play in the world liberation movement. ■



A. B. C. Of The Palestine Question

In connection with the «Palestine Solidarity Week» organized last May in the capitals of ten countries in five continents, the Art Section of the Department of Information and National Guidance of the Palestine Liberation Organization prepared a series of 33 illustrations which give the basic facts of the Palestine Question.

The following four illustrations are the seventh of eight consecutive batches planned for publication in «Resistance» issues of May — December, 1971:

ZIONISM AND IMPERIALISM ARE TWO SIDES OF THE SAME COIN

- ZIONISM, AS A MOVEMENT BASED ON RACIST FOUNDATIONS AND BY ITS ADOPTION OF NARROW ETHNIC PRINCIPLES, IS A BASIC ALLY TO IMPERIALISM.
- THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT TURNED TO THE U.S.A. AS ITS CHIEF ALLY OF THE POST WORLD WAR II ERA.
- THE U.S.A. GRANTED "ISRAEL" BILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN AID, PLUS AN UNLIMITED VOLUME OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE WHICH GUARANTEED THE CONTINUED AGGRESSIVE NATURE OF THE ISRAELI STATE.
- THE ZIONIST - IMPERIALIST ALLIANCE POSES A CONSTANT THREAT TO THE ARAB STATES. IT SIPHONS OFF ITS POTENTIALS AND CREATIVE CAPABILITIES AND AS SUCH IMPEDES ITS MARCH TOWARDS PROGRESS, FREEDOM AND UNITY.



1969: 2,450,020 PALESTINIANS

JEWISH IMMIGRATION CONTINUES



2,434,800

2,239,000

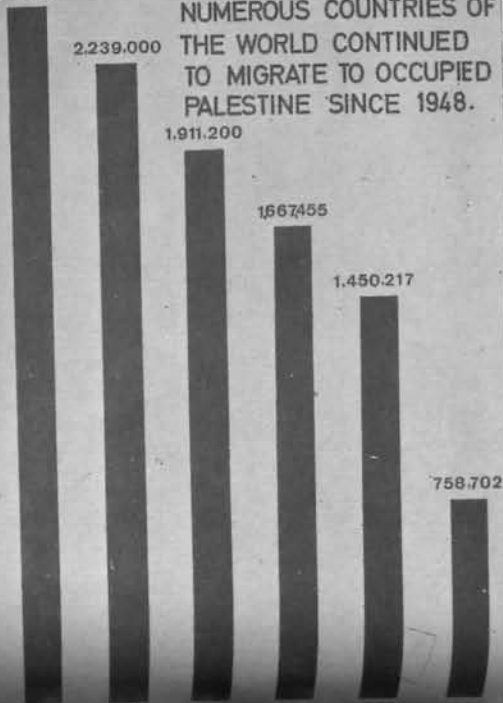
1,911,200

1,667,455

1,450,217

758,702

● JEWISH CITIZENS OF
NUMEROUS COUNTRIES OF
THE WORLD CONTINUED
TO MIGRATE TO OCCUPIED
PALESTINE SINCE 1948.





MONA, ONE OF TWO AND A
HALF MILLION PALESTINIANS.

*"There was no such thing as
Palestinians."*

GOLDA MEIR



ZIONIST EXPANSIONISM FROM THE NILE TO THE EUPHRATES

LEBANON
"ISRAEL"

U. A. R.

THE NILE



● IT LIES UPON THE PEOPLE'S SHOULDER TO PREPARE FOR THE WAR, BUT IT LIES UPON THE ISRAELI ARMY TO CARRY OUT THE FIGHT WITH THE ULTIMATE OBJECT OF ERECTING THE ISRAELI EMPIRE.*

MOSHE DAYAN, ON 12 FEBRUARY 1952, ISRAELI RADIO



● THE PRESENT MAP OF PALESTINE WAS DRAWN BY THE BRITISH MAP MAKERS IN 1947. WE SHOULD STRIVE TO FULFIL THE PROMISES MADE TO THE ARAB PEOPLE. WE SHOULD NOT HAVE ANOTHER STATE OF ISRAEL. WE SHOULD HAVE ANOTHER BEN-GURION.

REVIEW OF EVENTS

(October 1971)

■ Cairo Named 1st Capital of the Arab Federation

On October 5, the leaders of Syria, Egypt, and Libya chose Cairo as the capital of the new Federation of Arab Republics. The decision was taken by the presidents of the three countries at a two-hour private session.

The choice of Cairo had been expected after the three leaders, meeting as members of the federation's Presidency Council, decided on October 4, that President Sadat would be the Chairman of the Federation for the first two years.

The headquarters of the federation, grouping more than 40 million people would be in the Cairo suburb of Heliopolis.

The Presidency Council began its first session on Monday night, October 4, during which the three leaders took an oath of allegiance which said: «I

swear by Almighty God to safeguard the Federation, respect the constitution and law, and struggle for the service of the people's interests and the achievement of the goals of the Arab nation.»

The federation, which is considered a nucleus for overall Arab unity, was approved by an overwhelming majority in a referendum in the three states in August.

■ **President Sadat in Moscow**

On October 11, President Anwar Sadat was given full state honours and greeted by all three top Kremlin leaders when he arrived for three days of talks.

The military and political aspects of the Middle East conflict dominated the talks he held with the Soviet leaders.

Speaking as a guest of honour at a Kremlin lunch, President Sadat reiterated the fact that Egypt had made every possible effort to attain a peaceful settlement, but Israel's intransigence had closed the door on it. Then President Sadat added: «We proceeded from the conviction that force, and only force, is the method of putting pressure on Israel and liquidating the consequences of aggression against our lands».

Podgorny pledged continued Kremlin efforts for a political settlement coupled with energetic

measures to strengthen the defences of the Arab countries. Soviet leaders, in the meanwhile, pledged their full political and military support to the Arabs so long as Israel's aggression continues and its aftermaths are not liquidated.

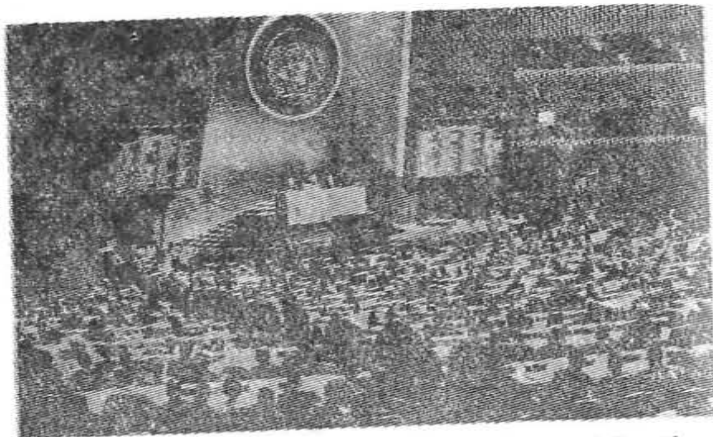
The Soviet Head of State issued a rallying call for unity of action among all opponents of imperialism. He accused Israel and the U.S. of trying to take advantage of Israeli occupation of Arab territories to influence the political situation in Arab countries.

■ **U.N. Human Rights Team Condemns Israel**

A three-nation panel formed by the General Assembly to investigate violations of human rights in the occupied Arab territories, reported on October 15, that violations discovered last year «have continued and have become even more manifest.»

The report added that Israel is carrying out a policy of progressive and systematic elimination of every vestige of Palestinian presence in the occupied territories of the Middle East. «This policy would have the effect of obliterating Arab culture and the Arab way of life in the territories contrary to international law», the report added.

The three-member group, officially called the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, visited Amman and Beirut in July and heard a total of 49 witnesses. This is its



second report. The first was considered by the General Assembly last year.

As examples of Israel's policy, the Committee, headed by Ceylon Ambassador Amirasinghe cited the establishment of settlements for Israeli Jews in occupied Jerusalem, Hebron, parts of the Jordan Valley, the Golan Heights, Gaza, Northern Sinai and Sharm el-Sheikh.

The Committee said in its report that this policy «will render more difficult any eventual restoration of the Palestinian people's property and other rights.»

In the Special Committee's view, «the right of the inhabitants of the occupied territories to remain in their homeland is unqualified and inalienable.»

The Committee also said that the most pressing need at the moment is an effective arrangement to safeguard the human rights of the population.

Members of the panel have been barred from entering the Israeli occupied territories.

In the letter of transmittal which introduced the Committee's report, the Chairman said that the evidence presented to the Committee confirmed its impression that policies and practices violating the human rights have continued and become even more manifest. This applies to policies of settlement and of annexation of certain territories such as the policy of settlement carried out in the Golan Heights and parts of the West Bank, while East Jerusalem provides a clear instance of the policy of annexation.

«The very fact of the existence of such policies, openly admitted and proclaimed by members of Israeli government and leaders, is, in the Special committee's opinion a grave violation of human rights of the population in the occupied territories.»

■ A P.L.O. Delegation Visits Moscow and Berlin

During the second half of October last, a delegation representing the Palestine Liberation Organization, headed by Mr. Yasser Arafat, commando leader and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Organization, paid a visit to the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic.

During the visit, the Soviet representatives reaffirmed their firm support for the Palestine People's struggle to liberate the occupied territories and liquidate the consequences of Israel's aggression.



In the joint communique issued after the conclusion of the delegation's visit, it was stated that the Soviet Union stands firmly on the side of the Palestine Resistance movement.

The P.L.O. delegation expressed, in the name of the Palestine people, its deep gratitude to the peoples of the Soviet Union and of Democratic Germany for the support they give to the Arab liberation struggle.

The Soviet and the Palestinian representatives

stressed the importance of the unity of all progressive forces in the Arab homeland and the necessity of consolidating Arab ties and cooperation with the socialist countries.

■ Peking's Entry to United Nations Deals A Blow to U.S.A.

A new phase in the history of the United Nations opened on October 26 with the replacement of Taiwan by Peking as the sole representative of the Chinese people in the General Assembly and Security Council.

After the Assembly's decisive vote, Secretary General U Thant announced that Peking had been voted in and Taiwan out — the first nation to be expelled from the world body.

The massive defeat by 76 votes to 35, with 17 abstentions defeated the United State's attempt to save Taiwan from expulsion and drew an angry outburst from U.S. Ambassador George Bush, who referred to the vote as «This moment of infamy.»

Later, U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers told a Washington press conference that, although Taiwan's expulsion would harm the United Nations, the United States bowed to the will of the majority. He also expressed satisfaction at Peking's admission, which he alleged was consistent with U.S. policy of easing tension in the Pacific.

Meanwhile, U Thant asked that there should be no bitterness over the outcome of the debate and

told delegates that the vote should be considered an essential step towards a more effective and realistic international system. He also said that the 26th session of the General Assembly would be considered a session of decision. He immediately cabled Peking of the outcome of the vote. Thus Peking won a place in the U.N. and a permanent Security Council seat, with veto powers, in a dramatic vote in the Assembly.

The vote, after the worst U.S. defeat in the United Nations history, led to scenes of applauding and jubilation among delegates. Wild cheers rang out when it was announced that the Assembly had decided to admit Peking and expel Taiwan.

China's admission to the Security Council will focus world attention anew on the 15-nation body which carried the main hopes of post-World-War II planners for effective peace keeping. Its presence is believed to make the Council a broader world forum.

In the voting process Israel followed its usual course of opportunist maneuvering. At first it backed the U.S. motion calling for a two China representation in the United Nations. Later, however, when it became clear that Taiwan's expulsion was certain, Israel turned against the U.S. proposal.

The precedent of the expelling of Nationalist China should be applied to Israel, which has been ignoring United Nations resolutions ever since it came into being. ■

BOOK REVIEWS

WAR AND PEACE IN PALESTINE



Guerre et paix en Palestine ou l'histoire du conflit isralo-arabe (1917-1967). Editions de la Baconniere, Newchatel, Switzerland. 218 pages.

* * *

Simon Jargy, author of the book reviewed below is a distinguished orientalist. The reviewer, Y. Shraiber, is a well-known socialist writer and political commentator.



The chief merit of this book is that it discloses the causes of the Palestine conflict.

Imperialist and Zionist propaganda has worked hard to falsify the history of the distant and recent past, and to distort the real nature of the Palestine

tragedy. The aim has been to substantiate Israel's claim to «special rights» not only to Palestine, but to areas that have never been part of it, and to extol Israel's so-called «Kulturtrager» mission in the Middle East.

Jargy makes an important contribution to laying bare these and other propaganda myths by concluding from his study that the roots of the conflict are not «racialist» Arab feelings, but «a definite policy which was apparently aimed at saddling Palestine with a new order and threatened the rights of its traditional inhabitants—rights which they considered sacred».

There is no doubt now—and the author makes this quite clear—that the «definite policy» was the imperialist policy of «divide and rule» which the British colonisers pursued both directly and through Zionist leaders. The latter were not interested in coexistence and cooperation between the Jewish immigrants and the basic Arab population, but rather in creating an empire of their own in Palestine by driving out as many Arabs as possible.

The problem of Arab refugees, which arose almost simultaneously with the creation of Israel, has for these last twenty-three years actually been a most acute feature of the Israeli-Arab conflict. Throughout this period, the Israeli government has refused to implement the UN decisions requiring Israel to acknowledge the rights of the refugees to

return or (at their option) to receive compensation for property losses incurred. Yet these decisions are just as binding as the resolution on the establishment of Israel itself. The Zionists now argue that



since many Jews have migrated from Arab countries, the Palestine refugees should simply take their places. This argument is no more valid than any others that have come before and falls apart as soon as it is put to criticism.

Jews and Arabs lived and cooperated with each other in the Middle East for many centuries. No one ever deprived the Jews in Arab countries of their homes or their means of livelihood, no one ever drove them from their birthplace, as Begin's cutthroats have done to the Palestine Arabs. Proof of this can be found even in Israeli newspapers. The Tel-Aviv *Al Hamishmar* of September 17, 1969 quoted the following statement made by the Chief Rabbi of Iraq, Sassoon Khedhoori, in an interview he gave to a Lebanon newspaper: «Before the creation of the state of Israel, the Jews of Iraq lived under the best of conditions: they served as officers in the army, they were Ministers, managers, lawyers, doctors, and so on. We cannot dissociate ourselves from the struggle against Zionism and Israel, which from the moment of its creation has been a source of woe to the Jews of the East.» Eloquent testimony to the incompatibility between Zionism and good-neighbourliness!

It is strange indeed that, although the Zionists have been unable to forget the so-called «Promised Land» for 2,000 years, they cannot realise that it is only twenty-three years since the Palestine refugees were exiled from the land of their birth. But then

again, common sense is not one of Zionism's strong points.

The historical truth is that Israel has had many opportunities to make peace with her neighbours. We can mention the decisions of the Bandung Conference of 1945, signed by 13 Arab states, which envisaged a peaceful settlement on the basis of UN resolutions and respect for the rights of both peoples—Israeli and Arab. In 1955, President Nasser told a *Newsweek* correspondent: «We do not demand peace on our terms. At the same time, we insist that Israel show goodwill and sincerity by carrying out the decisions of the UN, which she has so far rejected. Our only concern is to protect the interests of the Palestinians».

But the rulers of Israel have never been motivated by considerations of goodwill. They rejected the opportunity, and in committing aggression against Egypt in 1956, showed that they prefer to serve imperialism rather than their own interests.

Israel's attack on her Arab neighbours in June 1967 turned the Middle East into a smouldering fire that threatened to spread into a major conflagration. The Palestine problem has also been strained to the limit; Israel's policy has made of the Palestine Arabs an exiled, refugee people. Could any people be expected to resign itself to such a fate?

The Palestinian liberation movement is growing stronger and freeing itself of adventurist slogans.

It is defining its goals more precisely: liberation of the territories occupied by Israel and recognition of the rights of the Palestine Arabs to live on their land.

During the two decades preceding the June 1967 war, the Israeli rulers merely ignored the legitimate rights of the Palestine Arabs, but now the picture has changed. The guns were still roaring and the smoke was still rising from the ruins when the Israeli press spoke of the «great historical chance» to settle the Palestinian problem «once and for all». As always, the members of the Herut Movement, Menachem Begin's party, were the most outspoken. Here is what **Ha'aretz** wrote on June 21, 1967: «Some people in the Herut Movement are already referring to the west bank of the Jordan as a new Rhodesia—annexation without the granting of political rights.» A remarkable avowal! No further comment, as they say, is necessary.

The colonial posture adopted by the Israeli leaders is particularly dangerous because it is connected with imperialist schemes to force a «new order» on the Middle East in which Israeli governors would rule over the defeated peoples. Quite characteristic was the statement by Edmond Rothschild at the millionaires' conference in Jerusalem in June 1969, that he hoped that the Middle East would become Israel's «sphere of influence».

There is but one way to achieve peace in the

Middle East and gradually root out the hostility in Palestine, and that is for Israel to stop serving the interests of imperialism.

While we acknowledge the many positive features of Simon Jargy's book, we must mention, at least in brief, some of its shortcomings. The author cannot be accused of wittingly distorting facts, but he sometimes sins by silence. His determination to remain scientifically impartial sometimes makes him over-complacent.

Thus, when he speaks of the «successes of Jewish-Arab coexistence between wars», the author is obviously moved by the laudable wish to reaffirm the fact, true in and of itself, that the two peoples are certainly not suffering from inherent «incompatibility». Jargy is quite right in denying the existence of any kind of special Arab animosity towards Jews. But he seems not to be able to conceive that the obstacle to goodneighbourliness could be the position taken by the other side. Yet it is because of this position that the «successes of Jewish-Arab coexistence» have been far from wonderful.

Let us turn for a moment to another author, Arthur Koestler, who, unlike Jargy, obviously sympathises with Zionism. He admits, however, that the Arabs were for them [the Zionists] a political problem, but in no way a moral or human one. The presence of the Arabs was for them an unfortunate

circumstance, as is furniture inadvertently left behind in a house by temporary tenants. The Jews (read: Zionists), he continues, never published a single book or a single periodical in the Arabic language. The Zionists saw themselves as representatives of a chosen race, and the Arabs as second class people.

The book makes no mention whatsoever of the unseemly acts of the British government and administration during the war, which could have been used to illustrate the British attitude towards Palestine as a pawn in the big diplomatic game. The Balfour Declaration led to the infringement of Arab rights and the gradual displacement of Arabs from their native land.

Jargy cites 1920 as the year that the Haganah was established, but he does not mention the fact that the quasi-military Hashomer organisation had existed since 1905. He obviously exaggerates the scope of the struggle waged in 1944-1945 by the Jewish Agency and the Haganah against terrorists from Irgun. There is good reason to believe that the actions of the latter did not come as such a surprise to the leaders of world Zionism. Incidentally, the British army used members of the Irgun in military operations in the Middle East theatre.

Thus, Simon Jargy's book, though not an exhaustive work on the history of Palestine, is helpful testimony from a subjectively honest bourgeois researcher. ■

Resistance Operations

On October 4, Palestinian commandos set off explosives at a telephone-relay station in a Tel Aviv suburb and caused heavy damage to the Ha'aloula street building and disrupted communications over a wide area.

On October 5, Palestinian commandos attacked an enemy patrol, near Zion Orange Grove to the south of Gaza, with hand grenades and other weapons, killing all the six soldiers of the patrol.

On October 6, Palestinian commandos laid an ambush to an enemy military vehicle patrolling on the road to Khan Yunis, killing or wounding all its occupants.

On October 7, an Israeli fiberglass factory in the Hamidieh settlement north of Beisan was destroyed by a commando unit. Men from the unit placed highly explosive charges in the boat factory. The factory was completely destroyed and nearby establishments and installations were also affected.

On October 9, sixteen people were injured when a grenade was hurled in the «Street of the Chains» less than half a mile from the Western (Wailing) Wall in East Jerusalem.

On October 10, Palestinian commandos ambushed an enemy military jeep on its way to Gaza and attacked it with various weapons, damaging the

vehicle and killing or wounding its 3 occupants.

On October 15, a Palestinian commando unit ambushed an enemy patrol on the main road between Abu Taweelah settlement and Aljour in Northern Sinai and attacked with hand grenades an Israeli military jeep carrying an Israeli officer, called Captain Abu Mousa, together with 3 other soldiers, returning from a visit to a Bedouin Sheikh in the region. The vehicle was destroyed and its occupants were killed.

On October 16, Palestinian commandos in the occupied territories planted timed bombs and highly explosive charges at one of the public Squares in Kiryat Gat. The charges exploded, killing or wounding a number of persons.

On October 18, an enemy military vehicle, carrying provisions, was destroyed and set on fire when it struck a mine planted by Palestinian commandos on the main road between Rafah and Al Arish.

On October 19, a bomb blew up an Israeli bus in the central part of Haifa after all passengers had got off at the bus terminal. The bus itself was wrecked in Plumer Square, near the main railway station. The bus terminal was littered with smashed glass and ripped metal. Three people were injured in the explosion. Eyewitnesses, however, said that it was a tremendous explosion. Nearby shops and other vehicles also were damaged.

Several Israeli military technicians travelled daily in the bus which was destroyed. The passengers were killed or wounded.

On October 21, Palestinian commandos blew up a power pylon on the main line between Haifa and Acre, in northern Israel. The pylon, near Kiryat Haim, was completely destroyed and power in the area was cut.

On October 23, a Palestinian commando unit planted explosive charges and incendiary bombs at one of the military industrial regions on the road to Petah Tikva in one of the suburbs of Tel Aviv. The charges went off, damaging a large part of the region, including 4 laboratories and several cars. The explosion started fires which spread to nearby garages. Enemy losses were heavy.

On October 24, Palestinian commandos planted a net of mines on the main road between Tel Aviv and Eilat, near Ein Yahav settlement. The mine went off under an enemy «Egged» bus, carrying several soldiers from Tel Aviv to Eilat. Many of the occupants of the bus were killed or wounded and the bus was destroyed and set on fire.

On October 26, a Palestinian commando unit placed highly explosive charges at a power station at Ajloun settlement to the West of Hebron. The explosives went off, destroying the electric generator and killing two guards.

On October 28, Palestinian commandos rocketed a concentration of enemy military vehicles in the Heatel region in the occupied Golan Heights, scoring direct hits and setting them on fire. Ambulances, rescue squads and fire brigades were rushed to the scene to fight the fires and evacuate Israeli casualties.



BUILDING **IN** JERUSALEM

by: Arnold Toynbee
and Geoffrey Furlonge

■

Israel's defiance of the international community over the status of Jerusalem has been universally condemned. Six months ago, in a striking letter to the «Times», Professor Arnold Toynbee and Sir Geoffrey Furlonge expressed the view that «the present policies of the Israeli Government not only threaten the beauty and the character of Jerusalem but must seriously jeopardize the chances of achieving peace in the Middle East».

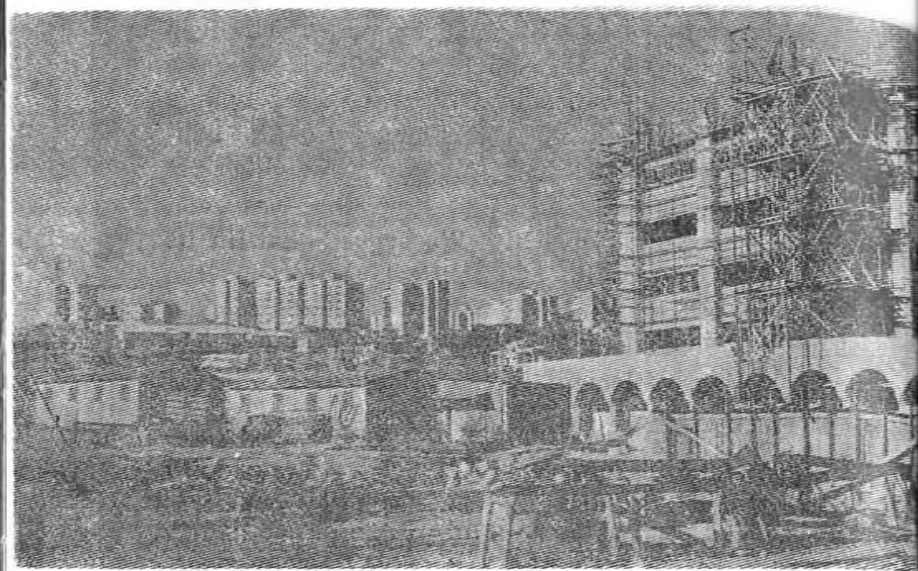
In the following letter, published in the London «Times» on October 2, 1971, Professor Toynbee and Sir Geoffrey Furlonge reiterate their condemnation of Israel's policy of facing the world with a «fait accompli» in Jerusalem and declare that Israel «has enjoyed in the past too great a measure of international indulgence and that it has taken improper advantage of this».

■

On March 15 you were good enough to publish a letter from us in which we expressed our deep anxiety about the fate of Jerusalem. In it we drew attention to the criticisms which had been widely voiced, in your columns and elsewhere of the politically motivated building programme by which the Israelis were striving to alter the universal character of the Holy City. We argued that, in its self-centred pursuit of political ambitions, the Government of Israel was not only threatening the beauty of Jerusalem, but also damaging the prospect of a lasting settlement in the Middle East.

Since then the situation has gravely deteriorated. The building programme has gone forward with haste and with a disregard for aesthetic considerations which was graphically illustrated in the picture published in your issue of September 28. The appearance of the city has been irreparably impaired. The bitterness and resentment of the Arabs has justifiably increased — and it is directed not only against the Israelis, who have committed this outrage, but also against the international community, which has done nothing to give effect to its formal and universal condemnation of Israeli policy in Jerusalem.

On September 25 the Security Council once more, without opposition, censured that policy and stressed the illegality of any action taken by Israel to alter the status of Jerusalem, thus voicing the opinion not only of Israel's enemies but of her few



remaining friends as well. And once again the Israeli Government immediately rejected the resolution and announced its intention to persevere with the policies and actions which the Security Council had specifically condemned.

To express its contempt for international opinion may give satisfaction to a government conscious of its growing isolation. It cannot be taken as a sign either of strength or of maturity. Israel depends, as few other states do, on the good will of the outside world; the opinion is gaining ground that it has enjoyed in the past too great a measure



of international indulgence and that it has taken improper advantage of this.

In one respect the situation has altered for the better since we wrote to you in march. Then, we deplored the fact that there had been no formal protest in the Christian world against the desecration of Jerusalem. One week later, a leading article in the official newspaper of the Vatican «L'Osservatore Romano», called for an end to the policy of «slow suffocation» by which the non-Jewish communities in Jerusalem felt their rights and their interests to be threatened.

In April, «The Tablet» also carried a leading

article, deploring Israel's actions in Jerusalem and arguing that they were likely to prevent a just settlement in the Middle East. In July, an article in the Rome review, «La Civiltà Cattolica», spoke of the disregard shown by the Government of Israel for humane as well as aesthetic standards; the writer suggested that in its hasty attempt to achieve a «fait accompli» the government was anxious to forestall the rising tide of criticism directed against its policies in Jerusalem from members of the younger generation in Israel.

Up to that point there had been no authoritative word of guidance for members of the Church of England. But on August 8, preaching in Canterbury Cathedral Canon Herbert Waddams told the congregation that Christians could not behave like Pontius Pilate over the Middle East and that the question of Jerusalem was one «on which they ought to have some views». Reminding them that Israel's insistence on building badly designed and badly sited housing in Jerusalem had been universally condemned, both by international authority and by independent experts inside and outside Israel, he said of this insistence: «It is plainly an act which flies in the face of legal, moral and political principles and must be condemned for this reason».

Surely the time has now come for an international initiative to give practical effect to this universal sense of outrage. The Security Council has asked the Secretary General of the United Nations

to report within 60 days on the implementation of the Council's latest resolution on Jerusalem. If the Israelis maintain their defiance of the entire international community and whatever may be the reactions of the other governments which have supported this resolution, we suggest that our own Government should consider what unilateral action would be appropriate. It is essential that proper restraint be placed on the freedom of action of the Israeli Government in a matter that concerns everyone of us.

We appeal, especially, to British Jews—whom the Israeli Government by claiming to act in the name of the Jewish people seeks to associate with its policies — to do what they can to bring the Israelis to a better understanding of their responsibilities towards the Holy City and towards their fellow Jews elsewhere.

Let them remind Mrs. Meir and her colleagues of the words of Ahad Ha'am who spoke in the humane tradition of Jewish thought when he observed that: «A mistake that succeeds remains a mistake». ■

DOCUMENTS

Concern over Israel's measures to Judaize Jerusalem has been widespread in Moslem and Christian circles. Elsewhere in this issue we have published «A Voice of Protest» expressing the attitude of the Anglican Church to these measures. Below we give the full text of the «Declaration» of the First Islamic Summit Conference, which was held in Rabat from 22-25 September and which expressed Moslem sentiment regarding the Jerusalem issue and warned of the «Israeli threat to the Sacred Shrines of Islam in Jerusalem.»

DECLARATION OF THE RABAT ISLAMIC SUMMIT CONFERENCE

The Heads of States and Governments and Representatives of the Kingdom of Afghanistan, Algerian Democratic and Popular Republic, Republic of Chad, Republic of Guinea, Republic of Indonesia,

Empire of Iran, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Kingdom of Morocco, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, State of Kuwait, Republic of Lebanon, Arab Republic of Libya, Malaysia, Republic of Mali, Islamic Republic of Mauritania, Republic of Niger, Republic of Senegal, Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Republic of Somalia, Popular Republic of Southern Yemen, Democratic Republic of Sudan, Republic of Tunisia, Republic of Turkey, United Arab Republic, the Yemen Arab Republic and of the Moslem Community of India, met at the First Islamic Summit Conference held in Rabat from 9 to 12 Rajab 1389 (22 to 25 September 1969).

Representatives of the Palestinian Liberation Organization attending as observers.

Convinced that their common creed constitutes a powerful factor bringing their peoples closer together and fostering understanding between them,

Resolved to preserve the spiritual, moral and socio-economic values of Islam which remain one of the essential factors for the achievement of progress by mankind,

They affirm their unshakable faith in the precepts of Islam which proclaim the equality of rights among all men,

They reaffirm their adherence to the Charter of the United Nations and fundamental Human Rights, the purpose and principle of which are to

establish a basis for fruitful cooperation among all peoples,

Determined to strengthen the fraternal and spiritual bonds existing between their peoples and to safeguard their freedom and the heritage of their common civilization founded in particular upon the principles of justice, tolerance and non-discrimination,

Anxious to promote everywhere welfare, progress and freedom,

Resolved to unite their efforts for the preservation of world peace and security,

**To these ends
hereby declare**

Their Governments shall consult together with a view to promoting between themselves a close cooperation and mutual assistance in the economic, scientific, cultural and spiritual fields, inspired by the immortal teachings of Islam,

Their Governments undertake to settle by peaceful means any dispute which may arise between them in such a manner as to contribute to the strengthening of international peace and security, in accordance with the aims and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Having considered the act of arson in the Holy Al-Aqsa Mosque, and the situation in the Middle East, the Heads of States and Governments and Representatives hereby declare:

The grievous event of 21 August 1969 which caused extensive damage by arson to the Sacred Al-Aqsa Mosque, has plunged over six hundred million followers of Islam throughout the world into the deepest anguish.

This sacrilege against one of Humanity's most venerated shrines and the acts of destruction and profanation of the Holy Places which have taken place under the military occupation by Israel of Al Quds — the Holy City of Jerusalem, sacred to the followers of Islam, Christianity and Judaism, have exacerbated tensions in the Middle East and aroused indignation among peoples throughout the world.

The Heads of States and Governments and Representatives declare that the continued threat to the Sacred Shrines of Islam in Jerusalem is the result of the occupation of this City by the Israeli forces. The preservation of their sacred character and unimpeded access to them require that the Holy City should be restored its status, previous to June 1967.

They therefore declare that their Governments and peoples are firmly determined to reject any solution of the problem of Palestine which would deny Jerusalem the status it had before June 1967.

They urge all Governments particularly those of France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America to take into account the deep attachment of the followers of Islam to Jerusalem and the

solemn resolve of their Governments to strive for its liberation.

The continued military occupation of Arab territories by Israel since June 1967, the refusal by Israel to pay the slightest heed to the calls by the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations to rescind the measures purporting to annex the Holy City of Jerusalem to Israel, have caused their peoples and their Governments the most profound concern.

Having considered this grave situation, the Heads of States and Governments and Representatives urgently and earnestly appeal to all members of the international community, and more particularly to the great Powers which have a special responsibility to maintain international peace, to intensify their collective and individual efforts to secure the speedy withdrawal of Israeli military forces from all the territories occupied as a result of the war of June 1967, in accordance with the established principle of the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by military conquest.

Moved by the tragedy of Palestine, they affirm their full support to the Palestinian people for the restitution of their rights which were usurped and in their struggle for national liberation.

They reaffirm their adherence to the principle of peace, but peace with honor and justice. ■



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THE GOOD EARTH

The principle involved in the Palestine question is the right of every people to the land on which they live and on which their forefathers have lived for long centuries - to the land which has been dyed red with their blood, and with whose soil the sweat of their brow has been mixed. It is the right to utilize the land's resources and to establish therein any political, social or cultural system which they choose...».



See Inside cover