

ARAB PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE

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Editor: **M. KHURI**

The Arab people of Palestine are the party possessing the first duty and right to regain their homeland and to liberate it. They determine their attitude to all forces and states on the basis of the attitude of these forces and states to the Palestine issue and the extent of the support they give to the Palestine revolution and to the aims it is attempting to achieve.

Article 29 of the
Palestine National Covenant

Editorial

Recent statements by Moshe Dayan have clearly indicated Israel's determination to continue to challenge the international community and to proceed with plans aimed at the annexation not only of Arab Jerusalem but also of all the Arab territories which Israel occupied in the Zionist-imperialist aggression of June 1967.

In the context of Israeli defiance the Arab masses have welcomed the Damascus Declaration of August 21, which announced the constitution of the Union of Arab Republics, which consists of the Arab Republic of Egypt, the Syrian Arab Republic and the Libyan Arab Republic.

The Declaration stressed three points connected with the Palestine question, namely that the liberation of all occupied territories should be the target for which all Arab possibilities and potentials should be mobilized, that there should be no peace or negotiation with the Zionist enemy, and that the

Editorial

rights of the Palestinian people should not be the object of any form of compromise or concession.

Zionist-imperialist reaction to the Damascus Declaration was reflected in statements made by U.S. and Israeli official sources. State Department spokesman MacClosky described the «no peace or negotiation» clause as «unfortunate,» and Abba Eban claimed that the Declaration would bar all progress towards peace in the Middle East.

For the Arab masses the emerging new Union is a significant landmark. It does not only represent an important move in the direction of the fulfilment of Arab aspirations for unity, but also provides the nucleus of an Arab power with great potential, fully capable of defending Arab rights and of meeting imminent threats of Zionist-imperialist aggression. ■

Resistance

POLITICAL SCENE

by: M. T. Bujairami

It seems that the close co-ordination between the U.S. and Israel has become so pervasively sophisticated that it is no longer easy to distinguish the role of Tel-Aviv from that of Washington, since these roles are always intermingled, renewed and redistributed in a maliciously subtle way.

Yet, the organic relation between the two is becoming more conspicuously obvious than it has ever been. Thus, it is no longer necessary to try to find a satisfactory answer to the riddle: who is exerting pressure on whom? because the Zionists have proved that they have the upper hand in the formulation, orientation and implementation of American policy in the Middle East.

Both America and Israel say something and do the opposite, or call for something and act to achieve the contrary. The examples are so numerous that they can be taken from daily occurrences. America, for instance, expresses her opposition to Israeli schemes and plans in Jerusalem, while one of her

senior officials of the American embassy to Israel works out, with Abba Eban, details of a plan intended to face international pressure or the possibility of the UN Security Council imposing sanctions on Israel, in connection with Israel's truculent policies in the Holy City.

Such sanctions, if contemplated at all, are doomed to failure through American veto. Yet, Israel pretends to take America's verbal «opposition» seriously and, in accordance with a secretly coordinated plan, begins to clamour loudly claiming the existence of a breach with her best friend.

Meanwhile, Gideon Raphael Director General of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, claims that Jerusalem is the only place where «peaceful co-existence is being achieved between the Jews and the Arabs.» The senior Israeli official seems to have completely forgotten the tens of thousands of acres of land that have been confiscated from their Arab owners; and the expulsion by the Israeli authorities of thousands of Arab families from their homes in the Holy City.

As for the situation in Gaza, where neo-Nazi measures are being implemented against Arab resistance, the international community has expressed grave concern and strong condemnation of Israeli brutality. U Thant has sent Israel a note of

protest against the demolition of Arab houses by Israeli bulldozers and the expulsion of Arab families to concentration camps in the Sinai desert.

On the other hand, America seems to have completely forgotten the existence of Gaza on the map of this part of the world. America has good reason to forget this valiant little strip, because, currently, Uncle Sam is too busy keeping watch over the West Bank of the Suez Canal to count the number of Soviet vessels, planes or military advisers allegedly active in the region.

This count must always be precise, up-to-date, and fully supported by photographs taken by U2 spy planes. Preoccupied with this count, the U.S. cannot, of course, keep record of the number of Arabs killed, detained, deported or tortured in Israel's prisons. Washington should, therefore, be excused for not knowing what is going on in Gaza.

Another example of the same double-faced policy is America's pretended opposition to Dayan's recent statements which have revealed Israel's intention to annex the occupied Arab territories and to consider Israel as the only government responsible for their administration on a permanent, rather than provisional basis.

In order not to arouse Israel's anger even at the level of verbal opposition and in order to maintain the pretence of even-handedness, America not long after, has expressed «dissatisfaction» with the Damascus Declaration issued by the leaders of the Federation of Arab Republics. Notwithstanding that the Declaration simply reaffirmed the attitude of the Arab Nation as expressed by the Khartoum summit conference some four years ago, America found fit to see in it a serious hindrance to peace efforts in the Middle East because, according to Washington, such «peace efforts» can only succeed if the Arabs offer more concessions without asking for anything in return!

Immediately after, Israel launched another campaign of pressure on the U.S. in order to get more weapons, under the pretext of the need to face the new Arab challenge represented by the new federation.

Ambassador Rabin, summoned from Washington by his government publicly declared that America was intentionally delaying the shipment of more Phantoms to Israel as a means of pressuring the Israeli government to take a «more flexible» attitude towards the possibility of reopening the Suez Canal in implementation of an interim agreement. Although well informed American strategists

and military specialists have officially reported that Israel is not at present in need of any more weapons, yet Rabin sounded pathetic at Lydda airport, when he declared that the «delay» in the despatch of these arms shipments to Israel may lead to a «major catastrophe»; and that if the Americans think otherwise, they are tragically «misled».

In a detailed survey of the military situation, recently published in the pro-Israel Paris daily, «Le Figaro», the paper expressed satisfaction at Israel's military power having increased by five or six times since the eve of the war of June, 1967. In its issue of August 30, «Le Figaro» even speaks of the «electronic computers» with which the American Phantoms supplied to Israel are equipped and which can be used in dropping atomic weapons.

After hailing king Hussein for having «crushed the Palestinians,» the paper concludes with the statement that the Arabs cannot become a serious military threat to Israel, and that it is the idea of «peace» rather than «war» that troubles Israel.

In the light of these observations by «Le Figaro», how are Israel's cries for more «urgent» shipments of Phantoms and Skyhawks to be interpreted? or, rather, how can one interpret America's sudden pretended concern over the military

«imbalance» in the Middle East in favour of the Arabs?

In fact America has started a new campaign of propaganda, claiming that more Soviet weapons have been dispatched to Egypt. Several American officials, including McClosky and Melvin Laird have been competing in showing more sympathy for Israel so as to justify supplying Tel-Aviv with more sophisticated, offensive weapons.

One wonders whom to believe, American diplomats or strategists, the Israeli ambassador to Washington or the «Figaro»?

It seems that this question should be viewed from another angle and in the context of larger dimensions, i.e. within the framework of America's strategic plans and at a global level.

All indications show that America has taken a decision to take Israel as a full member of NATO; in fact, if not officially; secretly, if not publicly. One has been hearing Western voices speaking of the Warsaw Pact and its military «superiority» in Europe and of «the rapid growth of the Soviet maritime power,» especially in the Mediterranean, thus «threatening the southern flank of NATO». Add to this the NATO dilemma in Malta, the loss of which

seems inevitable, due to the firm attitude of Premier Dom Mintoff.

To compensate for all this, the U.S. is beginning to consider Israel as a base for the Sixth Fleet and will load this new «aircraft-carrier» with more arms and weapons.

After the mass murder of the Palestinians in Jordan, the CIA is probably beginning to think that time is ripe for another series of brand new plots against Egypt, Syria, Libya and some other Arab countries, notwithstanding Nixon's pronouncements on America's «sincere» endeavour to achieve «justice» and «a lasting peace in the Middle East»!

■

GAZA AT WAR

by: Arlette Tessier

The following account of the heroic resistance of the people of Gaza in 1956 and since 1967 is based on the writer's book «Gaza,» recently published by the Research Center of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

I

The city of Gaza on the Mediterranean coast of Palestine has made the headlines since Biblical times.

When the Philistines conquered the coastal plain of Canaan, Gaza became one of their main cities.

The Philistines resisted Jewish penetration under David and Solomon; and the coastal plain from Jaffa to Gaza remained in their hands until the Assyrian conquest in 734 B.C.

Then came the Greeks in 332 B.C. and later the Romans who rebuilt the city of Gaza on a new site in 57-56 B.C. Soon Gaza became a Christian centre, but was later the first Palestinian city to embrace Islam when the Arabs came in 634 A.D.

Arab geographers described Medieval Gaza as a large, flourishing city surrounded by cultivated land and orchards.

After World War I, Gaza and the whole of Palestine came under the British Mandate.

In May 1948, the Egyptian armed forces entered Gaza to support the Palestinians, to frustrate Zionist attempts to take over the whole of Palestine, and to protect Egypt's Sinai border at Rafah.

After the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, Gaza became a refuge for displaced Palestinians from the north of the country, Jerusalem and the area surrounding Gaza.

II

The Gaza Strip is a sliver of coastal land, 45 kilometres in length and five to eight kilometres in width on the Mediterranean coast of Palestine, south of Jaffa.

The Strip is probably the most densely populated area in the world, with about 450,000 inhabitants crowded into 300 square kilometres.

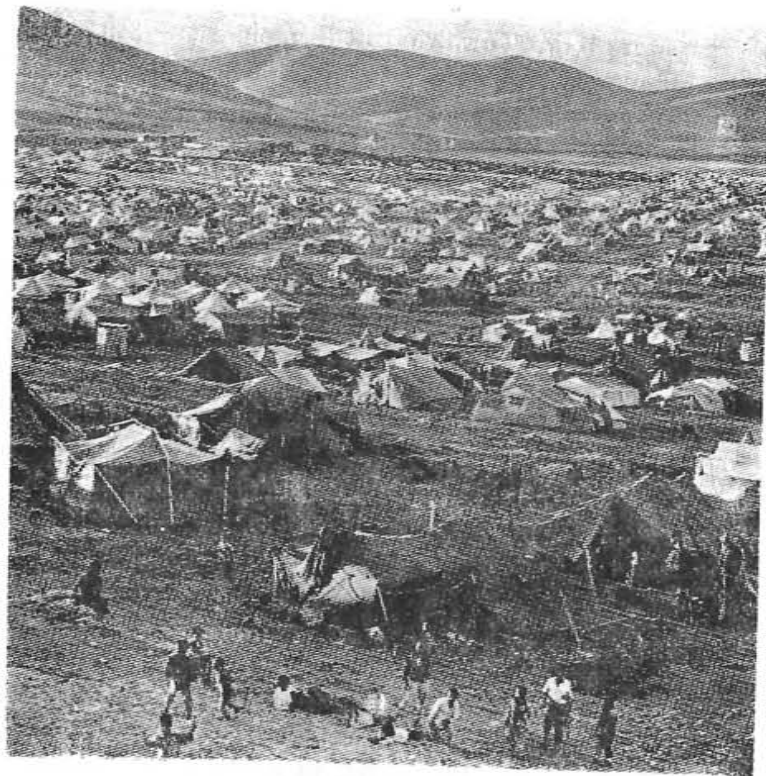
More than two thirds of the population—316,776 in January 1967—are refugees, Palestinians from the towns, villages and fertile plain south of Jaffa and areas east and south of Gaza.

The bulk of the refugees, about 200,000, came to Gaza in May 1948, fleeing the battle areas at the time of the Zionist armed takeover of Palestine.

The Strip came into existence in February 1949, following the Armistice Agreement between Egypt and Israel, and was placed under Egyptian administration.

The Zionists had taken over large stretches of the areas of Palestine allotted to the Palestinian Arabs under the proposed UN Partition Plan.

The UN and world opinion turned a blind eye to the **fait accompli**, the first in a long chain. Tens of thousands of Palestinians, dispossessed of their homes, property and land, in many cases within sight of Gaza, were forced to seek shelter in the narrow enclave, all that the Zionists left them of the verdant plain of Philistia.



III

In 1956, the Israelis carried out their first bid for Sinai. The operation was part of the tripartite aggression against Egypt, which followed upon President Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal. It was completed within a week and resulted in Israel's capture of the whole of Sinai and the Gaza Strip.

The Israeli army was assisted in this new military adventure by Britain and France who had bombed Egypt's airfields, keeping up the raids for three days and landed troops in Port Said to take control of the waterway.

In 1948, the Israeli army saw Palestinians only as a fleeing mass of terrified people. Dragging children, clutching bundles and bags, pleading, weeping, stumbling, falling, they rushed blindly out of their towns and villages, out of their houses, repeating over and over again the dreadful cry of «Deir Yassin.»

Then, suddenly the noise of the battle was over, the shouting, the weeping, and the pleading stopped. The roads were empty. The Palestinians had gone, vanished... the «miraculous clearing of the land» was complete.

Betrayed, broken, dispirited, humbled, the Palestinians had withdrawn, like wounded animals,

into the anonymous security of the refugee camps.

Would the experience be repeated in 1956? Would the arrival of the first Israeli troops set the interrupted process in motion again, complete the «miraculous clearing» by emptying the Gaza Strip? Would there be an exodus in reverse, with the Palestinians fleeing into Egypt?

They fought. The Palestinians had their own «army,» the Eighth Palestinian Division.

It was a force of about 10,000 men.

When the Israelis attacked the Gaza Strip on the morning of November 2, the Egyptians had been defeated at Rafah and el-Arish and were getting out of the strip.

The city of Gaza and the large village of Khan Yunis to the south put up stiff resistance, but could not hold out long against the overwhelming strength of the Israeli forces.

Regular fighting was followed by sacking the towns and looting:

The last problem we dealt with was that of looting by our men Groups of our soldiers and also civilians from the settlements in the region began laying their hands on property which, because of the curfew, remained unguarded Much damage was done to Arab property and much shame to ourselves.

Dayan, Diary

But the people of the Gaza Strip have far more shameful stories to tell about Israel's mission in the area.

Men and youths were dragged from their homes and shot on the spot in the presence of their families. Suspects were «taken for questioning» and never heard of again. Whole families were arrested, tortured, imprisoned, evicted from their homes for the crime of being related to, or in many cases, merely for being the neighbours of men suspected of being fedayeen or of having collaborated with the Egyptians.

In Khan Yunis about two hundred men were taken from their homes, herded into the main square and shot «as a warning»—or was it perhaps in the hope of provoking a new flight? Students were rounded up, taken out along the road to Beersheba and shot.

There are people living in Gaza, Khan Yunis, Rafah today, parents, wives, orphans of some of the victims. When they tell the stories of the massacres they witnessed, their eyes and voices convey the unbelieving horror they experienced at the time.

Imprisoned in the Strip which was hermetically sealed off by the Israeli forces from the Arab world to which they belonged, cut off from the rest of the world, the Palestinians resolved to make life intole-

rable for the occupier until the day of liberation came.

The Strip became a vast gaol in which the inmates were in a state of constant mutiny and the Israeli gaolers were kept on the alert night and day chasing snipers, coping with acts of sabotage and hit-and-run attacks by fedayeen of the Palestinian Brigade who had managed to hide their weapons when the Strip surrendered and free-lance freedom fighters who had their own methods for harassing the enemy.

Active resistance was supported and backed by the passive resistance and civil disobedience of the population.

Strikes, mass demonstrations, closedowns—until shopowners were forced to open under armed threat; children stayed away from school; women and girls marched through the streets demanding the withdrawal of the Israelis, the return of the Egyptians and the release of prisoners; men slipped away at night to infiltrate into Jordan and join the resistance groups; Israeli notices were torn off walls as soon as they appeared to be replaced by posters and orders of the Liberation Movement.

Retribution was fierce but only resulted in stiffened resistance.

This new outrage of the Israeli invasion, coming after eight years of the intolerable misery and humiliation of refugee life, the realization that the Zionists intended to annex this last vestige of their homeland, gave the Palestinians of Gaza the courage of despair.

IV

Israel withdrew from the Gaza Strip on March 17, 1957.

The Israeli forces left under pressure of world public opinion and a U.S. threat to withhold financial aid. The threat was accompanied by an admonition that aggressors should not be allowed to benefit from aggression.

On June 6, the Gaza Strip was under Israeli occupation for the second time in ten years.

The pattern of the 1956 invasion and conquest was faithfully repeated: the bombing and heavy shelling, Israeli aircraft screeching overhead towards Egypt, the thunder of tanks, explosion of rockets and shells, panic of women and children in the crowded refugee camps as they came under fire.

Later in Gaza town, Khan Yunis, Deir el-Balah, Rafah, the inhabitants described how they fled from

their houses down to the beaches, to get out of the range of «targets»—how they hid in the bushes without food or water, remaining there for several days, Children dying of heat and dehydration, the smell of dead bodies everywhere, curfew, the wholesale looting of houses and shops, the rounding up of «suspects», the searches and accompanying brutality. Finally the mournful realization that this was the 1956 nightmare all over again—for how long?

Having grabbed the Gaza Strip again, the next step must be to clear it of Arabs.

Since the Arabs would not leave of their own free will, they must be encouraged.

Gaza and the whole Strip were submitted to a reign of terror.

Curfews in parts or the whole of the Strip lasted from a few hours to days or weeks and recurred at frequent intervals.

During curfews the Israeli security forces carried out systematic searches. Armed men burst into houses, generally at night, on the pretext of looking for arms and fedayeen. They ransacked, tore furniture apart, looted, robbed, beat up men and youths, dragged them away «for questioning.» Many were never heard of again. They evicted families of

«suspects»; blew up or bulldozed houses in which arms were allegedly found or whose inhabitants were suspected of belonging to resistance groups, of helping, harbouring or even knowing fedayeen.

Male Arabs were rounded up by the hundreds and taken to cordoned-off areas of the beaches or marshland, kept there for days at a time and forced to remain for long periods in a kneeling or squatting position. Israeli soldiers guarding these enclosures would fire over the heads of the prisoners to discourage their wives and daughters from approaching to bring them food or water.

People began to leave the Strip. At first in trickles; later, as oppression became unbearable, in groups of 50, 100 or more.

By the beginning of 1968, six months after the June war, UNRWA officials in Gaza estimated that 35,000 people had left the Strip and were continuing to leave at the rate of about 300 to 400 a day.

The Israeli authorities «helped» the terrorized Palestinians to get out by providing free transport to the Allenby Bridge on the river Jordan, after getting them to sign papers affirming that they were leaving the area of their own free will and did not intend ever to return.

Israeli attempts to empty the Gaza Strip were frustrated early in 1968 when Jordan refused to

grant permission to any Gaza residents to cross to the East Bank of Jordan.

Since then, resistance and repression have maintained the Strip in a state of constant warfare and out of bounds to the Israelis who flocked to the area immediately after the June 1967 cease-fire to buy up whatever the looting army had left in the shops, and no doubt, to inspect and appraise this new annex to the Zionist state.

No accurate figures are available of the number of acts of resistance that have taken place in the Strip in the four years of Israeli occupation or of casualties on the two sides.

It is, however, safe to say that scarcely a day has passed without at least one incident. Despite the most efficient policing and brutal repression, the occupying authorities have not succeeded in intimidating the population.

In the most recent all-out attempt to crush resistance once and for all, the security forces lost their heads completely and used methods so harsh and indiscriminate that even Israeli soldiers on security duty in the Strip protested in writing to General Haim Barlev against the «cruelty and barbarism of the troops.»

The wave of terror began on January 2, 1971, when a grenade thrown at a car allegedly killed two

Israeli children and injured their mother.

Some areas of Gaza and the Beach Camp were under total curfew from January 2 to February 14. The camp's 32,000 refugees, cooped up with their unusually large families in their one-room houses, were allowed out for four hours a day, while the security forces carried out «punitive action» indiscriminately.

Eyewitnesses and victims described how Israeli security men beat men, women and small children at random and so brutally that in many cases bones were broken and serious injury inflicted.

They used their fists, whips and sticks and hardly a man or youth in Gaza got away without a beating.

People were dragged off buses and beaten. Six people were wounded when security men opened fire on a bus that did not heed a summons—the driver did not hear. Lorry loads of Palestinians were carted off to Sinai to concentration camps.

Brig. Gen. Menahem Aviram, in command of the Israeli forces in Gaza, admitted that about 1,200 people were deported to Sinai. Official reports put the figure at 4,000.

Members of the Israeli security forces complained about the brutality of repression in Gaza.

The Israeli Human Rights League called upon «all Israelis to join in the demonstration on Monday, February 1, 1971» to protest «the horrors of Gaza.» Brig. Aviram admitted that there had, in fact, been «abuses on the part of the troops... blows administered with sticks... some acts of brigandry... but the culprits have been punished and the money stolen during searches has been returned...»

Regrettable as the incident was, it could not possibly justify the weeks of terror, premeditated, indiscriminate brutality to which thousands of Gaza people were subjected in one of the worst phases of Israeli collective punishment.

But resistance continued throughout the period of frenzied repression. On February 1 an explosion rocked and wrecked the Gaza central post office, wounding 61 people. Attacks on Israeli armed patrols and armed vehicles continue to occur daily.

Fedayeen action will end with Israeli withdrawal or when there is not one able-bodied Palestinian left alive, Gaza residents say. They are not fighting repression, they explain, but occupation and annexation.

According to reliable sources in the occupied territories, a total of 1,116 houses had been destroyed

in the Gaza Strip by the end of 1970 in Israeli acts of individual and collective punishment. The total for the whole of the occupied territories, excluding the Syrian Heights was 7,629. Many more have been destroyed in the Gaza Strip this year, leaving several thousand people homeless.

According to legal sources in Israel, about ten thousand inhabitants of the Strip have been tried and served sentences since June 1967. Several thousand more are in detention in concentration camps awaiting trial, in administrative detention, or serving sentences.

There are new arrests every day.

The world press has, on several occasions, drawn attention to the disastrous condition in which the people of the Gaza Strip are living under Israeli occupation.

Yet world opinion, which is so often moved to protest against injustice and persecution, has remained surprisingly unaffected by the persecution of nearly half a million people in the Gaza Strip, whose only crime is that they are... still there. ■

JERUSALEM

by: Michael Adams

The following discussion of the status of Jerusalem is edited from a recent address delivered by the author at the House of Commons, London, to a meeting of the Council for British-Arab Understanding, as well as from an article published in the «The New Stateman's» issue of 16.7.1971.

There is no need to emphasize the fact that Jerusalem is unique. Whether the visitor approaches it as a pilgrim, as a historian, as a seeker after beauty or as a simple tourist, the city offers him something incomparable, an experience which is rooted in the fact that Jerusalem—and this is not

Jerusalem

true to the same extent of any other city in the world—is a part of the common heritage of humanity.

The tragedy of Jerusalem today lies in the fact that this universal quality of the city is threatened—and deliberately threatened—by its new masters. For the calculated, and indeed expressed, policy of the present government of Israel is to turn Jerusalem into a Jewish city, which others may visit and where, within strict limits, they may live—but only on sufferance and with no certainty of tenure if they question the right of the Israelis to exercise complete control of the city.

Immediately after the war with the Arabs in 1967, the Israeli Government proclaimed the «reunification» of Jerusalem which meant in effect the annexation of the Arab sector of the city. Four years later, the physical appearance of that sector has been drastically changed by the construction of two large housing estates, which now dominate the northern approach to the city. The first of these is the development known as Ramat Eshkol, a complex of four-storey apartment buildings with a shopping centre, lying to the west of the road that runs over the hills towards Ramallah and Nablus. It is virtually complete and the first Jewish families have entered into possession. The second, advertised under the grandiose title of «The Top of the Capital»

crowns the hilltop on the other side of the same road. The buildings here are six storeys high, consisting again of flats for Jewish immigrants; crowded closely along the ridge of French Hill, they look down on Arab Jerusalem with what is (and not only to Arab eyes) an undoubted air of menace.

These are the first two of five projected developments. The remaining three are in the preliminary stages of construction, at Nebi Samwil to the north-west, Government House (where the UN has its Jerusalem headquarters) to the south, and Sharafat to the south-west, beside the road to Bethlehem. All five are on land expropriated from its Arab owners in the area conquered by Israel in June 1967. When they are completed, the effect will be to encircle the Arab sector of Jerusalem with a ring of housing blocks for Jewish settlers, 100,000 of them, who will then outnumber the whole Arab population of the city.

It is a classic example of the Israeli policy of creating facts, and the Israelis themselves have mixed feeling about it. A few, like Professor Talmon of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, question the political wisdom of a move which (apart from being

contrary to international law) so obviously reinforces the Arab suspicion of Israel as irrevocably bent on expansion. Others, like Jerusalem's mayor, Teddy Kollek, have expressed uneasiness about the scale of the development plan but have stifled their reservations in deference to their sense of Jewish nationalism. Others again are simply and outspokenly critical of the aesthetic implications of a plan which one urban specialist in Israel has described as monotonous, mediocre and unsatisfactory and which seems to many Israelis to be based on the proposition that «so long as we keep Jerusalem Jewish, it doesn't matter if we ruin it in the process.»

The political and the aesthetic aspects of the plan are inevitably interwoven. There is clearly substance in Mayor Kollek's argument that provision has to be made for the natural growth of the city in the years to come and that decisions of this kind cannot indefinitely be postponed for lack of a final political decision. But the argument is weakened by the frantic speed with which a highly controversial development plan is being put into execution, by the fact that all the new developments are on land belonging to Arabs, and by the almost contemptuous disregard shown for international opinion, whether

at the United Nations, among the churches or in the ranks of the architects and town planners whom the Israelis have from time to time consulted. All these appear to justify the suspicion that in its planning for Jerusalem the Israeli Government is prepared to sacrifice all other considerations in the pursuit of a political advantage. «The Times» expressed this suspicion, by saying earlier this year, that Israel's building plans in Jerusalem «are being pushed ahead regardless of outside opinion so that there may be a fait accompli before argument at a negotiating table can begin.»

If the Israelis and the Arabs ever get to a negotiating table, Israel's position over Jerusalem will be a weak one. Whether one accepts Mr. Eban's assurance that everything—including Jerusalem—is negotiable, or the more commonly expressed Israeli view that the future of Jerusalem has been decided beyond any doubt, the rest of the world has declared itself unequivocally on the Arab side of the argument. When Israel annexed the Arab part of the city in 1967, the UN General Assembly ruled, by 99 votes to none, that the annexation was invalid. Whenever the question has come up since then, this

decision has been reaffirmed without serious opposition, even from Israel's mainstay at the UN, the United States. The American delegate voted for the strongest resolution of all, the unanimous resolution of the Security Council (No. 267) of 3 July 1969, which 'censured in the strongest terms' the measures taken by Israel to alter the status of Arab Jerusalem, reminding the Israelis of the provision in the UN Charter that the acquisition of territory by military conquest was inadmissible and specifically confirming that the expropriation of Arab lands and properties in the city was invalid and without effect.

Israel's response to this as to other rulings of the United Nations was curt, expressing the impatience with which many Israelis regard an organization which they feel (rightly or wrongly) is more ready to criticize than to protect them. The Israeli Minister of Information said that the Security Council's unanimous decision could not affect the facts established by Israel, «which had been created intentionally and after due consideration of the political danger involved.» The danger he had in mind was of course that the American government, if it were ever forced to choose between its loyalty to Israel and its obligations to the UN, might come down on the side of the UN.

But the American role in the Middle East is a

dubious and a discreditable one. The contrast between the declared American policy of «protecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states in the area» and the American practice of consistent support for Israeli policies at the expense of the Arabs, is too glaring to need comment. And it is interesting to note that, without exception, Americans I spoke to in Jerusalem were critical both of Israeli actions and of the way in which the government in Washington supported them, even when those actions conflicted with the urgings of American officials and could be seen to damage American interests, and openly ran counter to the resolutions and even the charter of the United Nations.

All the same, the Security Council's decision was a damaging one, and since then a movement of protest at Israel's defiance of international opinion has gradually gathered strength. A milestone in this process came at the end of 1970 with a conference of urban specialists who were invited by mayor Kollek to discuss the Israeli government's master plan for the development of Jerusalem. Without even considering the political implications of the plan, the specialists condemned its disregard for aesthetic values, and their criticisms were widely echoed in both the Israeli and the international press.

The Guardian's Correspondent quoted the comment of the leading daily newspaper in Israel, «Ha'aretz» that in their haste to stake a Jewish claim to Arab Jerusalem, «the Israelis are worried that their government may be turning Jerusalem into a kind of Los Angeles.»

Then followed a letter to «The Times» over signatures of Professor Arnold Toynbee and Sir Geoffrey Furlonge, in which the writers expressed their surprise that «there should be so little protest in the Christian world against a policy of desecration so deliberately undertaken and on such a scale» and went on to make the point that what happened in Jerusalem «must in large part sway the balance between peace and war in the M.E. and so possibly in the whole world.» One week later the first clear and authoritative protest was made in the Christian world, in the form of a leading article in the official newspaper of the Vatican, *Osservatore Romano*. This called for respect for the rights of the minority communities in Jerusalem, «which to day feel that their existence is threatned by a policy which seems to aim at slow suffocation.» *The Tablet*, in Easter week mourned the fact that the future of Jerusalem should be threatened by the claims of a jealous nationalism; and this month the authoritative review «*La Civiltà Catholica*, published in Rome,

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asserts that «the course of peace will take another step backward, if the Israelis persist in building a new wall around the city, a wall, this time not of stone but of Jewish families.»

In a matter of so controversial and of such compelling interest to millions of people throughout the world, for whom Jerusalem is, in a unique sense, a part of the common heritage of mankind there seems to be no sound argument in favour of a policy based purely on material, still less on political, grounds. If the Israelis building program continues, the beauty of the city will soon be irreparably damaged and the tenuous hope of peace in the Middle East will be gone beyond recall.

One way, a contemporary way, of looking at the situation in Jerusalem is to say that we are seeing there today a form of pollution—in fact, several forms.

Physically, a glorious environment is being deliberately polluted by buildings which are inappropriate to their setting. The Arabs of Jerusalem complain that this physical degradation is matched by a kind of moral pollution, reflected in lowered standards of behaviour by the opening of night clubs and the spread of prostitution—and certainly in a growing sense of bitterness and separation in this city which its conquerors claim has been reunited.

Jerusalem

Finally—and this is the most serious—the significance of Jerusalem as a place sacred to the followers of these great faiths is being systematically undermined by the concept that it belongs, in the most absolute sense, to only one of them, while the others are being made to feel, as a distinguished Moslem Arab puts it, «like guests in our own house.»

Nor should there be any doubt that this is the intention. Remember the words of Israel's Housing Minister, when he was challenged on the propriety of Israel's building programme in Jerusalem:

«This is a plan with a Jewish goal,» said Mr. Ze'ev Sharef, «this is a Zionist exhibition.»

If this is Zionism and if these are its standards, not only of aesthetics, but also of humanity and respect for the rights and the feelings of others, perhaps Mr. Sharef will only help to convince many of us that we want no part of it.

And perhaps we should remind him of the words of one of his own prophets, the prophet Micah, who said—and surely any of those who believe that the modern state of Israel is in some way the expression of Biblical prophecy must feel a shiver of apprehension at these words:

Resistance

«Hear this, you heads of the house of Jacob
and rulers of the house of Israel,

Who abhor justice and pervert all equity,

Who build Zion with blood and Jerusalem with
wrong...

Therefore because of you Zion shall be plowed
as a field;

Jerusalem shall become a heap of ruins.» ■

Present to the world only as «refugees», objects of
charity, their resistance to despair is movingly
expressed by the poet Mahmoud Darweesh:

INVESTIGATION

Write down:

I am an Arab

My card number is 50000

I have eight children

The ninth will come next summer

Are you angry?

Write down:

I am an Arab

Resistance

I cut stone with comrade labourers
I squeeze the rock
To get a loaf
To get a book
For my eight children
But I do not plead for charity
And I do not cringe
Under your sway.
Are you angry?
And please write down:
On top of all
I hate nobody
I rob nobody
But when I starve
I eat the flesh of my marauders
Beware my hunger!
Beware my wrath!

★ ★ ★

REVIEW OF EVENTS

(August 1971)

Federation of the Arab Republics

Following meetings held in Damascus in August, the presidents of Egypt, Syria and Libya signed the draft constitution of the Federation of Arab Republics. The three presidents then issued a joint statement on April 17, including the fundamental principles and the constitution of the Federal State.

On September 1, about 14 million voters went to the polls to say «yes» or «no» to the constitution of the Federation of Arab Republics, in the first referendum in modern Arab history to be held simultaneously in three Arab countries.

Results of the referendum released in Cairo, Damascus and Tripoli, showed that almost all the 14 million voters cast their ballots in favour of the federation, in a near-unanimous «yes» to the new federation. The referendum figures showed that voters approved the federation by 99.05% in the U.A.R., whose name was changed to the Arab Republic of Egypt, 96.4% in Syria and 98% in Libya.

The importance of the new federation is that it links 3 countries, with a combined population of 43 millions, in the first serious attempt at achieving an all-embracing Arab unity.

The Arab masses attach great hopes to this historic attempt. No doubt the Federation would serve as nucleus for the achievement of Arab aspirations to the liberation of occupied territories, and the attainment of Arab unity. It will also serve as a bulwark of great strength against Israeli aggressions, inasmuch as two of the members of the Federation—Syria and Egypt—are on the line of confrontation with Israel.

There is one significant factor, however, relating to the unanimous agreement of the three presidents as to the establishment of the Federation i.e.

their commitment that there shall be no peace and no negotiations with Israel, no compromise over a single inch of occupied Arab territory, no concessions with regard to the Palestine cause and the rights of Palestinians and that the liberation of occupied territories shall be the chief Arab target, for the achievement of which, all resources shall be used and all potentialities mobilized. The Arab masses throughout the Arab homeland hailed the birth of the Federation as an historic event promoting greater Arab unity and conducive to the achievement of Arab aspiration to a united Arab state.

Yasser Arafat, President of the Palestine Liberation Organization attended the ceremony of affixing the signatures of the three presidents to the draft constitution of the Federal State.

U.S. Arms Shipments to Israel

American and Zionist circles have recently been launching a new coordinated campaign, aimed at paving the way for more shipments of modern weapons to Israel. Israel's Ambassador to Washington, Yitzhak Rabin, has recently declared that the

U.S. Government has delayed the delivery of Phantoms to Israel for political reasons.

Prime Minister, Golda Meir, in her address to Jewish women in Tiberias, reiterated that the guarantees offered by the big powers and the UN for protecting Israeli borders would not entice Israel to relax her stand and that it is within the power of Israel to protect those borders without such guarantees.

Meanwhile, the U.S. State Department expressed its regret, and voiced deep concern over reports of new consignments of Soviet arms and alleged increased flow of sophisticated Soviet weaponry into Egypt.

As part of the trumped up American-Zionist campaign, Robert McCloskey, official spokesman of the State Department, commented on the situation in the Middle East. He said the U.S. shall in no case allow the military balance in the Middle East to be altered against Israel.

No doubt all these declarations are part of an attempt intended to cover and justify new American

arms consignments to Israel. But world public opinion will not be deceived into believing American claims and allegations while Israel maintains its intransigent and expansionist stand and persists in refusing to implement U.N. resolutions.

Syria Severs Diplomatic Relations with Jordan

On August 12, Syria severed diplomatic relations with Jordan, and Syrian skies were closed to Jordanian airliners. The official announcement of the step said that Jordan was responsible for the consequences of continued provocations against Syrian forces and encroachments into Syrian territory.

Syria closed her borders on July 25, in protest against the attitude of the Jordanian government toward Palestinian commandos. Syria is the third Arab country to sever diplomatic relations with Jordan on this count. Libya had severed these relations and has also stopped its annual financial subsidy to Jordan amounting to about 10.5 million sterling. Iraq recalled the Iraqi ambassador to Jordan on July 19 and asked Jordan to withdraw its ambassador after the crackdown on the Palestinian commandos, a week earlier.

Soon after that, the Egyptian-Saudi commission, formed of the two senior Arab envoys, Omar Saqqaf, Saudi Minister of State for foreign affairs, and Dr. Hassan Sabri Kholy, President Sadat's personal representative, arrived in Jordan in a bid to settle the crisis between the Jordan regime and the Palestinian commandos in accordance with the Cairo accords and the agreement signed by Arab Kings and Presidents on September 27, 1970. ■

**ARAB EDUCATION
UNDER
ISRAEL OCCUPATION**

Discrimination by the Israeli authorities against the Arab inhabitants of Israeli-occupied Palestine has covered all fields of life and activity, not least of all that of education.

Education standards in Arab schools in Israel are maintained by the Israeli authorities at a very low level. Various means are resorted to in order to achieve this goal. It can be maintained, however, that the most important reasons for the low standard of Arab education in Israel, as given recently by a specialist on the subject, are the following:

1. The intervention of the Israeli military authorities and the security forces in school affairs, particularly as regards the appointments and transfer of teachers as well as their dismissal from service, so much so, that continuity of service of Arab teachers in Israel no longer depends on professional qualifications but rather on the pleasure of the

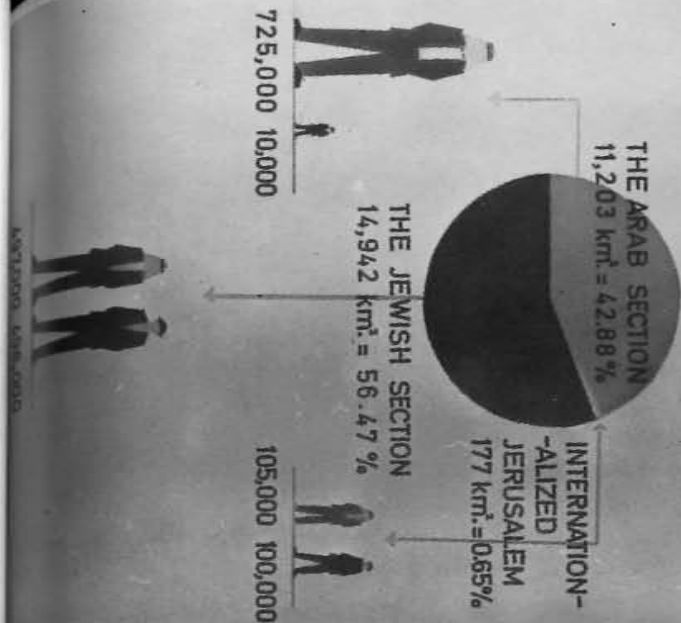
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A. B. C. OF THE PALESTINE QUESTION

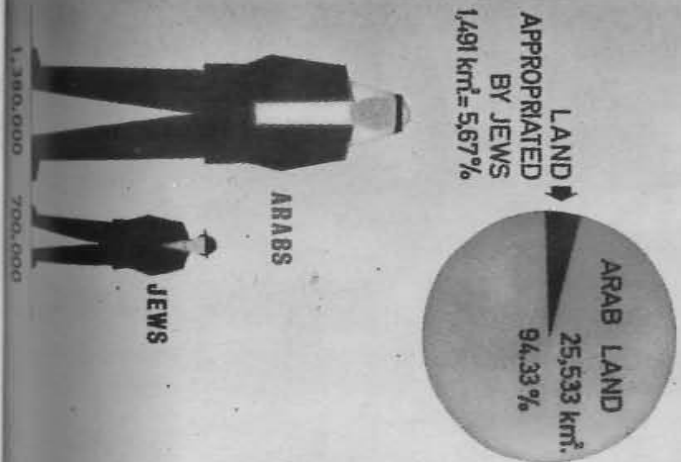
In connection with the «Palestine Solidarity Week» organized last May in the capitals of ten countries in five continents, the Art Section of the Department of Information and National Guidance of the Palestine Liberation Organization prepared a series of 33 illustrations which give the basic facts of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

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

U.N. PARTITION PLAN



PALESTINE - 1948



THE 1948 AGGRESSION

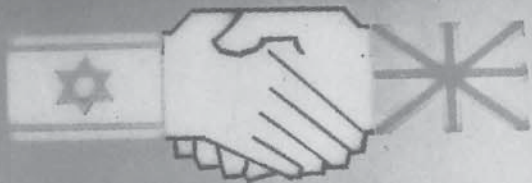
- PRIOR TO 15 MAY 1948. ZIONIST TERRORIST BANDS, TRAINED, EQUIPPED AND SUPPORTED BY THE BRITISH MANDATE AUTHORITIES, STAGED A SERIES OF BRUTAL ATTACKS UPON UNARMED PALESTINE ARAB CIVILIANS. A GREAT NUMBER OF CITIES AND VILLAGES WERE OCCUPIED AND THE INHABITANTS THROWN OUT.
- 15 MAY 1948, ARAB ARMIES ENTERED PALESTINE TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS AND LIVES OF PALESTINE ARABS
- THE ZIONIST ARMED BANDS OCCUPIED 78% OF THE LAND MASS OF PALESTINE.

- Area retained by Arabs.
- Area designated as Arab by UN Partition Plan but occupied by Zionists.
- Area designated as Jewish by UN Partition Plan - Demilitarized Zones.



May 15, 1948 - Ben Gurion declares the establishment of the State of "Israel".

THE CRIMINAL CONSPIRACY IN PROCESS



- THE BRITISH MANDATE AUTHORITIES LEGALIZED THE CREATION OF JEWISH POLITICAL PARTIES AND MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS. NO SUCH PRIVILEGE WAS GRANTED TO THE PALESTINE ARABS.



- ONE OF THE BANDS OF THE IRGUN (a terrorist Zionist organization which came into existence with the connivance of the British mandate authorities) STAGED A VICIOUS ATTACK ON DEIR-YASSEEN, SLAUGHTERING EVERY MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD. THE RESULTANT SPREAD OF PANIC DROVE THE PALESTINIAN ARABS INTO SEEKING REFUGE.

1948 AGGRESSION - CONSEQUENCES

● PALESTINE WAS DIVIDED INTO THREE SECTIONS:

A - THE OCCUPIED TERRITORY "ISRAEL" - 20,673 km²
OR 78% OF THE COUNTRY.

B - THE WEST BANK ANNEXED BY JORDAN - 5,295 km²
OR 20.5% OF THE COUNTRY.

C - THE GAZA STRIP - UNDER THE EGYPTIAN
ADMINISTRATION - 354 km² OR 1.5% OF THE COUNTRY.



● 750,000 PALESTINE ARABS WERE UPROOTED
FROM THEIR HOMES AND HAVE TAKEN REFUGE -
MOSTLY IN PALLID CAMPS - IN THE GAZA STRIP,
JORDAN, SYRIA AND LEBANON.



Arab Education

(continued)

security authorities or recommendation from quarters which have other than the interests of the students in mind.

It is obvious that the Arab teacher whose personality has been weakened as a result of the situation in which the Israeli authorities have placed him cannot be a successful teacher. Besides, such a situation is bound to leave sinister effects, with far-reaching consequences on the personality of the student, as a result of the behaviour of teachers of this weakened and oppressed type; since this behaviour cannot but be compatible with the role prescribed for it by the Israeli authorities.

2. Non-availability of suitable school buildings: To meet the critical situation in school buildings resulting from the increasing number of Arab students eager to study and pursue their education, the Israeli authorities have resorted to two methods typical of their attitude to Arab education:

(a) Laxity in the application of the law providing for compulsory education in elementary schools, so that more than 40 per cent of Arab children in Israeli-occupied Palestine do not attend elementary schools.

(b) Use as classes of leased buildings which

are often separated by long distances from the main school building. These premises which are unfit for use as classrooms, are made to herd together a large number of students in the same classroom, usually at least twice the number of students in classes of Jewish schools.

3. Non-availability of Arabic textbooks, whether original or translated, and lack of adequate facilities such as laboratories, maps and libraries. It is to be noted, in this connection, that no Arab secondary school in the whole of Zionist-occupied Palestine, with the exception of the Nazareth Municipal Secondary School, has a science section or a laboratory attached thereto.

4. Implementation by the Zionist authorities of a policy in Arab schools aimed at the destruction of all Arab national feeling and at discouraging Arab students from pursuing science courses. Almost all Arab secondary schools in Zionist-occupied Palestine have literary sections only and the science which is taught in these sections is very elementary indeed. This has inevitably influenced the type of university education followed by the Arab student in Israel, who is almost invariably compelled to choose literary courses.

With regard to the educational policy applied by the Israeli authorities in the Arab environment,

this, as we have already said, aims at the destruction of all national feeling among Arab students.

The Arab student in Zionist-occupied Palestine is compelled to study in full detail the history of the Hebrews from the most ancient times to the present day. For instance Hebraic history takes up one third of the elementary 5th class program, while the remaining subjects are taught from the viewpoint of their connection with the Jews. In the 8th class program, study of Israel and Zionism occupies 30 study periods, or 50 per cent of the entire program; and the same is true of secondary classes.

On the other hand Arab history is taught in a fragmentary manner, usually in the form of a narrative description of the life of a leader or a particular period without any analysis at all. Arab history is misrepresented as a series of raids, acts of plunder and fights among the various religious sects and the peoples converted to Islam.

Even in reading books and textbooks, great care is taken to keep the Arab students as far as possible from any literary production depicting Arab literary development or from anything indicative of Arab cultural achievement or Arab contribution to world culture.

The educational policy applied by the Zionist authorities in Arab schools in Israeli-occupied Pales-

tine undoubtedly aims at severing all connections linking the young Arab generation in Israel with the Arab nation, of which they form a part. It is also intended to have the Arab environment in Zionist-occupied Palestine melt entirely in Jewish society.

It is strange indeed that the Israeli authorities should, shamelessly and without fear of repercussions in world public opinion, practice a policy aimed at the destruction of Arab culture among the Arabs living under their rule, while they do not cease to send loud cries of protest against similar practices, alleged to be taking place in some countries against the Jewish communities of these countries.

Despite the aims of Israeli educational policy in Arab schools, however, Arab students in Zionist-occupied Palestine are perhaps the section of the Arab community most proud of their Arab nationality and most determined to fight against oppression and racial discrimination.

What these students resent most is the racial discrimination practised against the Arab population in general and Arab students in particular. Most of them have had to endure unemployment and privation, since educated Arabs are seldom able to find a

On August 11, a Palestinian commando hurled a hand grenade at an enemy military Landrover at Jebaliya Camp in Gaza, damaging the vehicle and killing or wounding 3 Israeli soldiers.

On August 11, a mine planted by a Palestinian freedom fighter, on the road north of Deir Sneid village in the Gaza Strip, exploded under an enemy military Landrover, damaging it and killing or wounding a number of its occupants.

On August 12, a mine planted on the Beersheba road destroyed an enemy military vehicle, killing all its occupants, including two officers.

On the same day, a Palestinian commando hurled a hand grenade at an enemy military transport vehicle at Omar El Mukhtar Street in Gaza. The vehicle was damaged and a number of its occupants were killed or wounded.

On Aug. 13, a Palestinian commando hurled a hand grenade at an enemy military vehicle at Omar El Mukhtar street, near Souq Ferras, damaging the vehicle and killing or wounding a number of its occupants.

On August 13, explosive charges placed by Palestinian commandos under an enemy water



pump, near Kfar Oz settlement, went off, destroying the pump and cutting water supply from the area.

On August 14, a coffee house in Jerusalem was damaged and its owner killed in a bomb attack by a Palestinian commando.

On August 18, a Palestinian sharp shooter firing from an ambush, shot and wounded an Israeli soldier on the main road through the occupied Gaza Strip.

On August 18, an Arab sniper shot and wounded an Israeli soldier during a search for guerrillas in the Jebaliya refugee camp near Gaza. The sniper escaped through narrow streets inside the camp. The wounded soldier was a member of a patrol assigned to force guerrillas into the open in Israel's continuing drive to rid the camp of guerrillas.

On August 19, a Palestinian commando unit clashed with an enemy infantry patrol at one of Gaza quarters. The attack culminated in killing or wounding four enemy soldiers.

On August 19, explosive charges placed by Palestinian commandos, exploded under an embankment, between Khan Yunis and Deir El Balah, in the Gaza Strip, destroying it completely.

On August 20, one of our fighters hurled a hand grenade at an Israeli transport vehicle in Omar El Mukhtar street in Gaza City, damaging the vehicle and killing or wounding its occupants.

On August 21, part of a Jerusalem cinema was destroyed and a ten hour blaze started when Palestinian commandos set off explosive charges, wounding seven **Israelis**.

On the same day, a shoe factory was damaged in Jaffa and several Israelis were killed or wounded in an attack launched by commandos.

On August 23, a group of Palestinian commandos destroyed the residence of a senior official of the Tel Aviv police personnel. The commandos planted explosive charges in the house situated in Givatayi settlement near Tel Aviv. The charges went off, destroying the house and killing or wounding several people.

On August 23, a Palestinian commando placed explosive charges at an Israeli intelligence officer's house, in Tel Aviv. The explosive charges exploded, destroying the house and killing or wounding a number of people who were inside the house at the time, including the said officer. ■

who had a difference of opinion with the Zionists regarding the method, was shot dead in one of the most cold-blooded murders in history.

On September 18, the UN Security Council adopted the following resolution condemning the assassination of U.N. Mediator Count Bernadotte by Zionist terrorists.

«The Security Council.

Deeply shocked by the tragic death of the United Nations Mediator in Palestine, Count Folke Bernadotte, as the result of a cowardly act which appears to have been committed by a criminal group of terrorists in Jerusalem while the United Nations representative was fulfilling his peace-seeking mission in the Holy Land;

Resolves:

First, to request the Secretary General to keep the flag of the United Nations at half-mast for a period of three days;

Second, to authorize the Secretary General to meet from the working capital fund all expenses connected with the death and burial of the United Nations Mediator;

Third, to be represented, at the internment, by the President or a person whom he may appoint for the occasion.»

It should be noted that this U.N. Resolution, though condemning the cowardly act of the assassination of Bernadotte, in a cowardly manner itself fails to identify the assassins as Zionists and Israelis and simply refer to them as «terrorists in Jerusalem!»

Count Bernadotte's Plan

(September 20, 1948)

On September 20, 1948, Report of the assassinated U.N. Mediator Count Bernadotte was published in Paris, three days after his assassination.

Following is a summary of the proposals made in the Report. These proposals were considered by the Zionists as constituting sufficient motivation for the assassination:

1. Peace must return to the Holy Land, so that harmonious relations between Arab and Jew may be restored.
2. A Jewish State called «Israel» exists in Palestine (as a «fait accompli»).

3. The boundaries of this State should be amended as follows:
 - a. The area known as the Negeb, including the towns of Majdal and Faluja, should be included in the Arab territory.
 - b. The towns of Lydda and Ramleh should be excluded from the Jewish State.
 - c. All of the Galilee district should be included in the Jewish territory.
 - d. Boundary arrangements to be determined through adherence to the principle of geographical homogeneity rather than the territorial arrangements of the United Nations.
 - e. The disposition of the Arab territory should be left to the Governments of the Arab States in full consultation with the Arab inhabitants of Palestine... there would be compelling reasons for merging the Arab territory with Transjordan, subject to such frontier rectifications regarding other Arab States...
 - f. The Port of Haifa, including the oil refineries and terminals, should be declared a free

port, with assurances of free access for interested Arab countries and an undertaking on their part to place no obstacle in the way of oil deliveries by pipeline to Haifa refineries..

(Here again the smell of oil leaks through the Palestine question. Rarely in contemporary political history has there been a factor with stronger bearing on the tragedy of Palestine than that of Arab oil.)

Nasser and Palestinian Resistance

(September 28, 1970)

On September 28, 1970, President Nasser died while he was trying to stop the attempt by the Jordanian authorities to liquidate Palestinian resistance and the Palestinian people.

Nasser's death was a great loss to Egypt, the Arab world and Palestinian resistance. We quote below two statements made by President Nasser which express the faith he had in the Palestinian resistance movement:

«As we speak about the Palestinian people's resistance, which has broken out everywhere in the territory the enemy occupied after June 1967, we must mention the resistance of the Palestine Arab

people in valiant Gaza; these people refuse to surrender. We must also mention the Palestinian people's resistance in the West Bank and in Jerusalem, which the Israelis are seeking to turn into a Jewish city. We shall in no circumstances accept the «fait accompli» Israel is trying to impose in Jerusalem.»

«Palestinian resistance — and this is something which all should know and accept as a sure and definite thing, as an article of faith — has come to stay. It will continue its activity until the Palestine Arab Homeland is restored and is assured of playing its appropriate role in the all-embracing struggle of the Arab nation.

«No one can now suppress Palestinian resistance, let alone attempt to liquidate it. No one can now bring back the initial conception of the problem when it was misrepresented as one of the refugees, or a merely human problem. Above all other things, the question is one of a homeland and a people.» ■

PALESTINE QUESTION IN WORLD PRESS

Our world press extracts for this month are taken from (1) a report by British M.P. Carol Johnson on the plight of the Palestinians of the Gaza Strip entitled «Bleak Future for Refugees», published in «The Times» of London on September 3, 1971. (2) an editorial from the July 1971 issue of the «FDGB Review» (Review of Free German Trade Unions on Israel as disturber of the peace in Africa). (3) a comment on Sisco's recent visit to Israel entitled «Policy of Deception,» published in the August 1971 issue of «New Times» of Moscow.

(1) Bleak Future for Refugees

(The Times—Sept. 3, 1971)

Visiting the Gaza Strip is an education in the realities of the Palestine problem. I went there

recently with a parliamentary colleague to see what was happening in the refugee camps because of alarming reports about a new policy by the Israelis, involving large scale dispersal of refugees to surrounding territories.

Despite official discouragement we got to the camps and saw the ugly scars, 40 to 50 yards wide, created by destroying two parallel rows of houses. This may facilitate military movements but has imposed great hardships on a large number of innocent people—mostly women and children. Already four to five thousand had been displaced and it was clear there were more to follow: how many more, it was impossible to find out. Its justification was «military necessity», to enable the Army to deal with dissident elements among the Arabs, but at the same time the size and population of the camps is being substantially reduced and this seems to me to have been one of the main considerations in the whole operation.

Support for this view came from a high Israeli official with whom we discussed the situation. He said the destruction of homes was an interim

measure—the camps were too large and must be reduced in size.

As to the circumstances in which the refugees were removed, the official claimed that all had been given 24 to 36 hours' notice; that they were offered an option of where they should go; that their status as refugees was not affected; and that their future needs would be attended to. How this latter was to be achieved was not too clear once they had been removed from the providing hand of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency.

Apart from those who found accommodation for themselves in Gaza or who had joined friends or relatives elsewhere «melted away» as it was put to us; most families had gone to El Arish, a town in Sinai and there we went to interview some of them.

El Arish must have once been a charming town in which to live—palm trees waving against a background of the blue Mediterranean—but now it has all the appearance of a ghost city. The refugees we met there were housed in former Egyptian Government buildings—quite satisfactory so far as we could judge, though we were told that others had

been put in much inferior accommodation. When we came to discuss the circumstances in which these families had been transferred it was clear that any rules which had been laid down for their perfection had been ignored or broken. In at least one case, notice was given at 9 p.m. and the move took place early next morning; and in all cases less than 24 hours' notice had been received.

One of the most unfortunate features of the operation is the removal of these people from the aegis of the UNRWA and there is some doubt, I understand, whether the agency could in fact operate in Sinai. Certainly no arrangements had been made for future distribution of the food to which the refugees were accustomed, and they were also deprived of the help and medical supplies available through the camps.

None of the refugees knew anything about their possible return to the Strip and their future seemed to me a bleak one—even bleaker than when they were in Gaza where at least they were in touch with relatives and friends and had established for themselves a way of life.

The whole situation calls for an inquiry by the United Nations which should report fully on what is happening and its implications. It should particularly concern us in Britain as Gaza is the only part of the old Palestine (for which we were so long responsible) still retaining a separate identity.

Israel - Disturber of the Peace in Africa
(FDGB Review-July 1971)

The annexationist presumptions of the aggressor Israel in the Near and Middle East have been sufficiently known to the world since the imperialist Israeli aggression of June 1967 at the latest. The ruling circles of Israel want to change the map of the Arab world in their favour. In their shameless demands they can be certain of extensive support by the USA, the FRG and other imperialist powers. The attitude of US imperialism increasingly coincides with the extremism of the ruling circles of Israel.

The peace-endangering Israeli policy has by no means been confined to the Arab world. Israel's Africa policy is a striking example of this. Africa was always an object of Zionist desires. As is known the Zionists originally wanted to establish the

«Jewish national homeland» in West Africa on the high plain of Fouta Djallon (today the Republic of Guinea). There were also plans to establish the state of Israel in the former British colony of Uganda. Although such plans were abandoned the idea of broad neo-colonialist expansion in Africa was retained. The realization of these intentions was pursued with demagogic propaganda. Twisting the facts, the Israeli rulers claimed that their policy rested on other principles than that of the colonial powers.

Until the aggression of 1967 this propaganda found favour in certain regions of Africa and facilitated the penetration of Israel and also of US imperialism in Africa. Israel assumed the role of middleman and made use of international Zionist capital to grant so-called «Africa aid».

The newspaper Star appearing in Johannesburg reported that Tel Aviv had forced its aim on «a good dozen poor African countries.» There are Israeli military missions in several African countries and most Israeli ambassadors are professional officers.

It is not enough that the Israeli rulers plan to

abolish the progressive regimes in the Arab countries. This is also their aim on the African continent.

Only in March of this year the Revolutionary Council of Sudan uncovered an imperialist conspiracy of the leaders of dissolved bourgeois parties who were planning to overthrow the government with the help of Israel and reactionary Arab and African countries. The connections of Philip Abass Gaboush, leader of the former Nubia Mountain Region, with ruling circles of Israel were especially revealed.

The Israelis also had their dirty fingers in the goings-on in Nigeria. The splitting attempts of the Ojukwu group were, according to the Nigerian press, supported by Israel with the delivery of military equipment. The government newspaper of Somali Stella d'Ottobre, noted that Israeli military instructors are training a «battalion of mercenaries and traitors of the Congolese people» in one of the countries bordering on the People's Republic of Congo. This unit is to overthrow the revolutionary democratic government of the Republic of Somalia. In the view of the periodical African Statesman, four fifths of the specialists employed in the African

countries are conducting espionage and diversionist activity on behalf of the Israeli «Shin Beth» secret service.

The Israeli rulers are increasingly unmasking themselves in the eyes of Africans through their machinations. The close collaboration between the ruling circles of Israel and the racists of the South African Republic, which is clearly directed against the Arab and African peoples, is arousing special indignation in Africa.

The Organization for African Unity (OAU) has repeatedly condemned the activities of the Israeli Zionists and called for the immediate withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the occupied regions and for the settlement of the Middle East conflict on the basis of the UN Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967.

The Fourth Congress of the All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF) held a few months ago in Cairo also sharply condemned the Israeli policy of aggression and diversion. Both the activities of Israel in the Middle East and its role as a disturber of the peace and of all peaceful development were

expressly condemned in the resolution on the situation in the Middle East, in reports and the discussion, and the neo-colonialist expansionist policy of Tel Aviv towards the African continent was also again exposed. The delegation of the FDGB National Executive under the leadership of Presidium member Helmut Thiele, which was present at this congress, unequivocally supported these statements.

There is no doubt that progressive Africa is ever better seeing through the counter-revolutionary intentions and neo-colonialist practices and thereby promoting social development on the road to complete national independence.

Policy of Deception

(New Times – August 1971)

American propaganda has been working overtime to depict the U.S. as a «mediator» between Israel and Arab countries exerting every effort to bring about a settlement of the Middle East conflict. Practically all Washington moves in the area are served up to the public in this light. This was the dressing for Assistant Secretary of State Joseph Sisco's recent visit to Israel, Washington's overtures

to certain Arab quarters, and the efforts made by U.S. diplomacy to substitute the reopening of the Suez Canal for elimination of the consequences of the Israeli aggression.

At the same time the old fable about disagreements between Washington and Tel Aviv is trotted out in ever new variants, though what the alleged differences are has never been explicitly stated. What is definite, however, is that the Israeli rulers' concrete demands for new arms deliveries are meeting with an equally concrete response in the U.S. The American press reports, for instance, that Washington is ready to supply Tel Aviv with another 110 latest-type Phantoms. The Israeli aggressors' appetite has been whetted to the point where they are pressing for weapons that are not yet at the disposal of even the U.S. Army—the ultra-modern Lance tactical missile, for example.

Against this background it is becoming increasingly clear that the U.S. is pursuing, as the Cairo Al-Masa puts it, a policy of «constant deception of the Arab peoples.» Washington's diplomatic and propaganda manoeuvres are aimed at fortifying imperialism's Israeli bridgehead and at the same time

capitalizing on conflicts in the Arab world in order to strengthen the positions of local conservative groups, which the U.S. hopes to use to promote its ends. This is a tactic that fully accords with the Israeli rulers' annexationist ambitions. But the patriotic forces of the Arab East are not to be taken in by such manoeuvres. The influential Egyptian Al-Gumhuria said on August 15 that «the U.A.R.» working to bring about a settlement of the Palestinian-Jordanian and Syrian-Jordanian conflicts,» was guided by the need to «combat the imperialist plans aimed at annexing our territory and jeopardizing our future.» «We must not forget,» the paper said, «that at the head of world imperialism stands the United States.»

It need only be added that Washington's Middle East policy in its entirety is a constant reminder of this fact. ■

Documents

The two documents reproduced below are resolutions on Palestine and the Middle East, adopted by international associations. The first is a «Resolution on the Palestine Problem» adopted by the «International Association of Democratic lawyers» — an association with consultative status to both Unesco and the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. It was adopted by the Association at a meeting of the I.A.D.L. Bureau in Budapest (May 7-9, 1971). The second document, which is reproduced in part, is a «Resolution on the Middle East» adopted by the 8th. Assembly of the «World Federation of Democratic Youth,» held also in Budapest (26 October — 4 November, 1971):

I.A.D.L. Resolution on the Palestine Problem

(May 7-9, 1971)

The I.A.D.L. Bureau, met in Budapest from 7th to 9th May, 1971, and after consideration of the Palestine problem;

Declaring that the Palestinians, expelled from their homes and prevented by force from returning there or subdued to Israeli repression and to a discriminatory regime had, using their right of self-defence, to have recourse to armed resistance thus affirming the existence of a Palestinian people as an objective reality;

Considering that the Palestinian people has the right to national existence on its national soil and that, as all peoples, it has the right to self-determination;

Considering that nobody can dispose of its inprescriptible right on its territory and that no solution could be made of the Middle East conflict in contempt of its fundamental national rights and in the absence of its genuine representatives;

Considering that the struggle of the Palestinian people is inscribed in the national liberation movement waged by the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and its ally, international Zionism;

Observing that the liquidation of the Palestinian resistance that could not be carried out by the Israeli troops is entrusted to Arab agents of

American imperialism, and that the last bloody events of Jordan make clear that the «vietnamization» is used in the Middle East

The I.A.D.L. Invites all democratic lawyers and all peoples cherishing Justice, Peace and Freedom:

1. to support, in conformity with the principles of International Right derived from the United Nations Charter of the Statement of Human Rights, the right of the Palestinian people to the practice of its fundamental national rights and to its right of self-determination on its territory;

The negation of these rights by the Israelis and the continuation of Israeli aggression against the Palestinian people when preventing it from returning to its territory, constitute a slur on International Right, on Human Rights and on World Peace and justify the right of the Palestinian people to have recourse to armed fight;

2. to support the Palestinian Resistance which is the expression of the Right of the Palestinian people to the recovering of its national personality and its dignity;

3. to denounce the attempts made by the Arab

reactionaries to liquidate the Palestinian Resistance;

4. to declare that real Peace could not be set up in the Middle East as long as the grave injustice of which the Palestinian people is victim will last and without the participation of its representatives.

* *

W.F.D.Y. 8th Assembly Resolution on the Middle East. (24 October - 4 November 1970)

The Middle East in general, and the Arab region in particular, is at present the scene of acute confrontation between the forces of progress, democracy and national liberation, on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism, reaction and Zionism, on the other. Imperialism, headed by the US, Zionism and local reaction have intensified their attacks against the liberation of the Arab peoples and their progressive achievements. The most striking example of this intensified offensive was the 1967 imperialist-backed Israeli aggression against the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan, and the continuous Israeli provocations and aggressions since then against the neighbouring Arab countries. The aim of these aggressions was to overthrow the progressive regimes of the Arab countries, to liquidate the Arab, including the Palestinian, national

liberation movement and to regain the lost imperialist positions in the area.

To this end, imperialism and Israel are obstructing by all possible means the realization of a just political solution of the Middle East problem and the implementation of the UN Security Council resolution of 22 November, 1967. The aggressiveness of the Zionist establishments in Israel, their continuous expansionist and racist policy is largely nurtured by the multiform, and especially military, assistance of the United States imperialists.

The reactionary regimes in the Arab world have intensified their onslaught against the liberation movement and the progressive forces in their countries in line with the imperialist policies of curbing the growing liberation movement in the Arab world, trying to liquidate the progressive force and the Palestinian resistance, through repression, persecution and terror.

The combined struggle and resistance of the Arab people foiled the principle objectives of imperialist strategy in the region. Imperialism, Zionism and reaction have failed to check the upsurge of the Arab liberation movement. This was reflected in the consolidation of the progressive regimes in the UAR and Syria, and the revolutions in the

Resistance

Sudan and Libya. Also the development of the Palestinian liberation movement confirmed that the Palestinian resistance and its armed struggle constitute an important element in the struggle for the just solution of the Palestine problem.

The Arab peoples are marching forward to achieve their goal of full national independence, freedom, democracy, progress and social justice.

The 8th Assembly of WFDY, aware of all these facts and taking all this into consideration, decides to:

— strongly condemn the continuous imperialist-backed Israeli aggression against the Arab peoples and the expansionist policy of the Israeli ruling circles and their annexation of the occupied Arab territories, including Arab Jerusalem;

— demand the immediate withdrawal of the Israeli occupation troops and administrative apparatus from all the occupied Arab territories;

— condemn the continuous financial and military aid of the imperialist powers, especially USA, to Israel, namely the delivery of Phantom airplanes and other kinds of heavy armaments, which is

Documents

enabling it to continue its aggression against the Arab peoples;

— condemn the terror, persecution and oppression practiced by the Israeli occupation forces against the population of the occupied Arab territories and the indiscriminate bombardment by Israel of Arab countries, including civilian targets as has happened in the UAR, Jordan and southern Lebanon;

— declare its full and unconditional support to the Arab peoples in their struggle against the imperialist-backed Israeli aggression and for the liquidation of the vestiges of the 1967 aggression;

— declare its support to and solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian people and the Palestinian resistance movement for the right to self-determination in their own homeland and consider their movement as part and parcel of the anti-imperialist Arab liberation movement which is a stream of the liberation movement in the world;

— strongly condemn the reactionary policies of the Jordanian regime expressed in the attempts to liquidate the Palestinian resistance and the Jordanian progressive and democratic forces, especially

the massacre staged by the regime against the Jordanian and Palestinian peoples in September 1970 and expresses its support to the struggle of the progressive forces in the country against these policies and for the formation of a patriotic national government.

The Assembly of WFDY highly appreciating the upsurge of the Arab national liberation movement and its struggle, and fully aware of the achievements of the Arab peoples, further decides to:

— Hail the struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism, Zionism and reaction and salutes their economic achievements which have consolidated the economic independence of the liberated Arab countries. It further appreciates the selfless fraternal economic, technical and military aid which is given by the socialist countries, especially the USSR to the UAR and Syria which enables them to withstand the military aggression and provocations of imperialism and Israel, to resist the economic and political pressure of imperialism, to embark on an independent path of development and to safeguard their independence and integrity.

The Assembly of WFDY taking into consideration the nature of the struggle of the Arab liberation movement underlines its belief in the necessity

of the full participation of the Arab peoples, especially the youth, in the shaping of the policies and destinies of their respective countries and the safeguarding of their democratic rights as a basic condition for the development of already existing achievements and foiling all imperialist, Zionist and reactionary aggressions and conspiracies against the progressive regimes and the national liberation movement.

The Assembly welcomes the increased cohesion of the Palestinian resistance and expresses the hope that its various forces will further their unity on the basis of the interests of the Arab national liberation movement, the Palestinian resistance and the anti-imperialist struggle in the world.

The Assembly further considers the cohesion of the progressive forces of the Arabs and their unity of action with all the anti-imperialist and progressive forces in the world as an essential pre-requisite for the development of the Arab national liberation movement.

The Assembly declares that the graveness of the situation in the Middle-East, the aggressive and the racist policy of Israel supported by US imperialism is becoming more and more evident to larger masses of people and youth the world over, and

stresses the importance of exerting more efforts for winning larger sections of world public opinion in support of the Arab peoples struggle.

The Assembly of WFDY urges all youth organizations winning larger sections of world public opinion in support of the Arab national liberation movement and render it all possible moral and material aid in order to obtain by these actions the restoration of peace and justice in the Middle East and the world. ■

BOOK REVIEWS

Of the following two book reviews, the review of Herbert Feis's «Birth of Israel» by J. J. Terry, Assistant Professor of History, Eastern Michigan University, was originally written for «Palestinian Affairs», a bimonthly journal published by the P.L.O. Research Center, Beirut.

Zionism, Israel and Asian Nationalism -
by G. H. Jansen.

The Institute for Palestine Studies,
Beirut, Lebanon. 347 pages, \$ 2.

Israel as an alien body in an environment to which it does not belong is a familiar theme to Arabs and to those Westerners willing to take a critical look at the Zionist state. Rarely, however, has this theme been so broadly applied and so thoroughly argued as in Godfrey Jansen's «Zionism, Israel and Asian Nationalism,» recently published by the Institute for Palestine Studies.

For Jansen, it is not simply in the Arab lands of the Eastern end of the Mediterranean that Israel is an intrusive force, but in the entire geographical continent of Asia and the entire political universe of Asian nationalism.

Jansen is himself an Indian and looks, as he puts it, «westwards toward Israel from the east.» Some of the most interesting parts of the book describe the specifically Indian rejection of Israel, from Gandhi and Nehru's refusal to endorse Zionism as a solution to the Jewish problem to the revulsion of Indian opinion at Israel's refusal to withdraw from the territories occupied in the 1967 War.

But not content with describing the rejection of Israel by nationalist Asia, Jansen begins his study with his own analysis of the roots of Zionism in order to explain why the state to which Zionism gave birth is so alien to Asia. He concludes that Zionism is not, in fact, a form of nationalism, but is, rather, a peculiar ideological movement which rose in response to a very specific European phenomenon, namely anti-Semitism. Here he perhaps presses the argument a bit far by attempting not only to show that nationalism was not inherent in Judaism or Jewish history, but also to deny that Zionism had any real connection with nineteenth century European nationalism. According to Jansen,

Zionists merely took on some of the coloring of nationalism in order to conform to current political fashion.

But, in any case, Jansen has little difficulty proving that Zionism has nothing in common with the anti-colonial Asian nationalism of the twentieth century, when he proceeds from a discussion of the origins and theory of Zionism to an exposition of the colonial essence of Zionism in action. Zionism fulfilled its aims through settler colonialism at the expense of the local population. Furthermore, it was only able to do so through a conscious alliance with imperialism, the direct enemy of Asian nationalism.

Finally, the second half of the book is a history of the «process of rejection» during the two decades in which the existence of Israel coincided with the emergence of a formidable group of ex-colonial states. In fact, Jansen shows that, had the timing of these events been somewhat different, had the UN already had a substantial Afro-Asian membership in 1947, Israel would not have been created. As it happened, the UN served as a forum in which Israel was thrust upon Asia by non-Asians. Most of the Asian delegations opposed the partition of Palestine and most of the opponents of the partition of Palestine were Asians.

Toward the end of the narrative, in the part

dealing with the 1960's Jansen discusses Africa's relations with Israel as much as Asia's. The Israelis have attached great importance to their success in winning a few African supporters. Jansen shows that this support is concentrated in the small, the weak and the utterly dependent among «independent» African states. This is important to his thesis that the rejection of Israel is something essential for anti-colonial nationalism and not just an accidental phenomenon that occurred on one continent but not in another.

The great strength of this book is that Jansen does not rest content with making the points necessary to support his thesis, but covers each aspect of the subject in some depth. Thus, his analysis of the motivations of Zionism can stand alone as one of the better non-Zionist treatments of this subject; his survey of Zionist collaboration with British imperialism covers all aspects and periods of the relationship; and his survey of the relations between Israel and Asian and African states provides a complete roster of diplomatic, economic and military ties as well as an account of the attitudes taken by Israel and Afro-Asian governments toward each other in international bodies.

«Zionism, Israel and Asian Nationalism» can be recommended to those well versed in the history

of the Palestine problem, for it treats an aspect of that problem on which little has been written previously and does so in a scholarly manner. It can also be recommended to the interested general reader for its lively style and fresh viewpoint on one of the most troublesome of contemporary issues.

The Birth of Israel: The Tossed Diplomatic

Bed – by Herbert Feis. Norton and Co.,

1969. 90 pages.

Herbert Feis's **The Birth of Israel** is a brief study of the diplomatic activity of Zionist, United States and British politicians during the period prior to the establishment of the state of Israel. As Feis's account is extremely short there are many details and events which have been omitted. He concentrates upon Zionist activities, particularly in the United States, during the partition vote in the United Nations and prior to Ben Gurion's announcement of Israel's independence.

This book is an outgrowth of a larger study on Soviet and Western relations. Feis has written other books on subjects as diverse as Pearl Harbor, the atomic bomb, and World War II. At the time of Israel's creation, he was an adviser to the U.S. government. Feis's use of language and imagery somewhat

mars what appears to have been an attempt at a scholarly approach to the Middle East conflict. In his Introduction, for example, he refers to the «historical miracle» of Israel's birth. The book is rather fully footnoted, but one would wish that more use had been made of documents and information from both the Arab and Israeli side. In writing the book, Feis has been aided by an Israeli graduate student at Harvard and by Loy Henderson, a colleague of Feis's in the State Department. No Palestinian or Arab sources were employed. Indeed, the Palestinians, as is too often the case in such studies, have been totally ignored.

Feis is, by and large, laudatory of U.S. policies with regard to Israel and provides some rather interesting passages on Truman and his relationship with key Zionist leaders. However, Feis also indicates that the U.S. could have given more overt support for the Zionist movement, and that the State Department was a somewhat reluctant party to the Zionist programme. He also amplifies on some of Truman's activities during 1947 and 1948, while pointing out those areas in which Truman in his memoirs did not fully explain his feelings towards the Zionists. Feis also notes the impact that both Republican and Democratic Party support for Zionism had in U.S. elections.

Feis tends to be critical of British diplomats who sought to maintain the British Empire rather than to provide whole-hearted support for Zionism. In his discussion of U.N. activities, particularly the UNCCOP mission, Feis indicates the pro-Zionist forces which aided in developing the initial partition plan. The activities of Jorge Garcia-Granados, the Guatemalan Ambassador, who adopted a pro-Zionist stance and insisted on visiting the concentration camps in Germany and who met with members of the Irgun are stressed. Feis's discussion of Bernadotte's assassination could have been more adequate. He notes that the assassins were never caught, but makes no mention that many of the Stern Gang were arrested and imprisoned but that most of them subsequently «escaped» and were never retaken.

Feis concludes his narrative with a plea for U.S. or British leadership and resolution of the Middle East conflict. He appears to favour an imposed outside solution, while advocating continued U.S. involvement and support for Israel. It is regrettable that recent books on the Middle East crisis frequently do not provide the reader with a fully objective account of the diplomatic activities which led to the creation of Israel. To reach logical, rational conclusions and understanding of the present

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conflict the public needs to receive complete, factual, and well documented accounts of the creation of Israel. Feis's book, while describing Zionist activities and big power support, neither presents the full complexity of the conflict nor provides a deeper analysis of the motivations of the parties involved. ■

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THE ORANGE HARVEST

Original painting by:
Mamduh Qashlan

In the warm winter nights of the Eastern Mediterranean Palestinian villagers every winter used to celebrate the harvest festival chanting thanksgiving songs.

The winter of 1948 was the last in which the Palestinians enjoyed the pleasures of the orange harvest season. Later, they were expelled from their homeland and reduced to the status of refugees, leading an existence which is neither life nor death. Meanwhile the Jaffas have become an «Israeli» product!

(courtesy of:
Palestine Publications House - Damascus)



See inside cover