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**ARAB PALESTINIAN
RESISTANCE**

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PALESTINE LIBERATION ARMY - PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FORCES

Arab Palestinian **RESISTANCE**

Volume IV - No. 2

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FROM THE RECORD

«Zionism and anti-Semitism are expressions of an identical point of view. The assumption underlying both ideologies is that it is impossible for Jews and non-Jews to grow together into a single community and that therefore a physical separation is the only practical way out.

The watchword of anti-Semitism is, Back to medieval apartheid; the watchword of Zionist is Back to the medieval ghetto. All the far-flung ghettos in the world are to be gathered into one patch of soil in Palestine to create a single consolidated ghetto there.»

British historian Arnold Toynbee
«From a speech delivered in Philadelphia
at the annual meeting of the American
Council for Judaism, May 7, 1961.»

EDITORIAL

In President Nixon's Foreign Policy Report sent to Congress on February 9, the Middle East situation is reviewed from the joint U.S.-Israeli viewpoint. The Report claims that the Soviet Union has taken advantage of Egypt's dependence on Soviet military supply to gain the use of naval and air facilities in Egypt; that this advantage has serious implications on the balance of power in the Middle East, in the Eastern Mediterranean, and globally; and that NATO could not ignore the possible implications of the alleged Soviet advantage for East-West stability.

The Report also reviews the efforts exerted during the past few years to arrive at a political settlement of the Middle East crisis through the mediation of the United Nations, the Big Four and the U.S. initiative. It suggests that these peace efforts should be continued with the aim of achieving an interim solution, relating to the reopening of the Suez Canal, rather than a comprehensive one, based on Security Council Resolution 242, of November 1967.

Both by what it says and what it omits, Nixon's Report reveals the American Government as a partner in the continued Israeli aggression against

the Arab nation. By shifting stress from the local to the global aspect of the Middle East conflict, the Nixon Administration adopts the Israeli view that what is hampering peace in the Middle East is not Israeli arrogance and Israel's continued occupation of the Arab territories in defiance of the authority of the international community, but an alleged Soviet attempt to gain a global strategic advantage. The Report's reference to NATO, on the other hand, contains an implied threat to the Soviet Union and the Arab countries as well as an invitation to the other Western powers to adopt the U.S.-Israeli attitude to the Middle East situation.

Nixon's Report, moreover, makes no mention of recent UN General Assembly resolutions on the Middle East situation, which expressed appreciation for Egypt's positive attitude to the Jarring mission, and called upon Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories and to desist from subjecting the inhabitants of these territories to various forms of maltreatment and persecution.

The Arab people, however, will not be intimidated by the biased attitude of the United States and the implied threat of the Nixon Report. Nor will they be diverted from the struggle to regain the Zionist-occupied territories and the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. ■

Resistance

M. T. Bujairami

Political Scene

■

Before leaving the international arena of world politics at the end of 1971, U Thant, the ex-secretary General of the UN gave his final testimony concerning the present deadlock in the Middle East — a deadlock which will inevitably lead to another major conflagration in this part of the world. U Thant conscientiously pointed out that full responsibility for this dangerous situation rests with Israel, because of her failure to give a positive response to Jarring's famous memorandum of February 1971.

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The big question remains: Has Israel taken, or are there any indications that she might take, any positive steps towards a more moderate, or less arrogant, attitude that can stop the continuous deterioration in this explosive state of affairs?



Oddly enough, the Israeli leaders themselves have supplied a negative answer to this big question through a series of statements that have been issued within the last few weeks, during and after the 28th Conference of World Zionism, which was held in Jerusalem towards the end of last January.

Speaking before the said conference, Abba Eban declared that Israel will never withdraw from Jerusalem, Sharm el-Sheikh, or the Golan Heights, peace or no peace. As for the other occupied Arab territories that were not mentioned in Eban's speech, Israel's intentions towards them may be deduced from the fact that Israel wants to establish 30 new colonies in them, in addition to the other colonies that have been springing up like mushrooms-by the dozen — everywhere.

Addressing the municipal council of Demona, Golda Meir, Israel's Prime Minister, explained how these colonies would be populated by «receiving large numbers of immigrants from Syria, Iraq, the Soviet Union and everywhere in the world», after «winning the coming war with the Arabs». Dayan makes things even clearer when he says, «... Immigration and settlement on the territories depends on our decision alone».

Despite all UN resolutions concerning the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by force, and despite the resolutions denouncing Israel's acts aimed to change the status of Jerusalem, Israel's Hebrew broadcasts declared on January 25th, 1972 that plans for the continuation of this process will go ahead for the coming 20 years, under the pretext of «long-term development» of the Holy City, thus eventually leading to a complete elimination of its Arab character and to a radical change in its historic, cultural, religious and even legal status.

As for the West Bank in general, Dayan expressed his «satisfaction» with the progress made in the implementation of plans intended to effect its annexation, or rather its «digestion» by Israel. Dayan also boasted that «Damascus and Cairo are now more vulnerable than Tel-Aviv.»

To Dayan, this seems the ideal situation to achieve what he calls «Israel's security». He admits that this concept of «Israel's security» is a flexible one that develops from time to time. In other words,

the requirements of this «security» in the future may necessitate the occupation of some or all the capitals of the neighbouring Arab countries. This kind of Israeli «logic» is highly reminiscent of Hitler's expansionist, aggressive policy which was implemented in Central Europe to ensure for the Nazis the desired «Lebensraum». Yet, Moshe Dayan «advises» the Arabs to bow to these Israeli demands, and to legitimize the present Israeli occupation of Arab territories, or else...

Because the Arabs oppose this Israeli piracy, and show no signs of being intimidated into accepting the status quo which Israel is trying to impose on them, Dayan accuses them of harbouring malignant hatred against Israel, and of planning to «destroy» her. It is very interesting, however, to



notice that this same Dayan, gave the first official, if implicit, Israeli admission of the premeditated aggression of 1956 in collusion with the British, who were at the time bent on «toppling Nasser».

In a recent interview with reporter of the British «Observer», Dayan frankly admits that Britain knew of the Israeli attack on Sinai while the attack was being prepared. Eden's justification for Britain's participation in that tripartite aggression was «to keep the Suez canal open for British navigation». One cannot but wonder at the present British silence over the blocking of this important waterway. Isn't this blocking harmful to British economy any more?

In the diplomatic field, there are indications of a new Israeli-American maneuver to mislead world public opinion. After foiling all the diplomatic efforts of Jarring, of the four powers, of the Rogers' initiative and of the Egyptian bid for an interim settlement, Israel has recently declared its «readiness» to «consider the possibility» of reopening the Suez canal through American mediation. Israel has found it fit to make this declaration long after Egypt has washed its hands of any contact with America along these lines. Moreover, the declaration has been deliberately timed to coincide with President Sadat's visit to Moscow. It came after months and months of procrastination that evoked the indignation of the whole world, as evidenced in the recent resolution of the UN General Assembly.



Israel's declaration of her «readiness» to reconsider the possibility of reopening the Suez canal was also preceded by more American commitments to supply Israel with sophisticated weapons. These American commitments reached an unprecedented degree, when the U.S. concluded an agreement with Israel permitting it to manufacture, with American help and guidance, most of these weapons in Israel.

To enhance and consolidate these commitments, to make them go to the farthest possible limit, Dayan is visiting the US, at a very crucial time in order to organize the campaign of Zionist pressure to be exerted on the various presidential candidates during their election campaigns. There are indications that Dayan may even consult the Pentagon generals and, with their help, apply the finishing

touches to the new Israeli aggression. There are huge Israeli military build-ups along the Syrian, Lebanese and Egyptian fronts.

In order to cover up joint clandestine schemes of American-Israeli collusion, Dayan gave the following statement, which tantamounts to a smoke-screen: «The Russians have identified themselves with the Arab cause to the extent of considering an Arab military failure a failure of their own. The extent of the Soviet aid has reached the thin border between aid and participation in the war.»

To show the extent of deception and exaggeration embodied in the statement, it is relevant to ask a number of questions which are deliberately overlooked by Israel's propaganda machine:

1. Have the Soviets given Egypt and the other Arab countries the sum of \$2000 million per-annum for the last 25 years? This is the authentic figure of America's aid to Israel.

2. Have the Soviets supplied the Arabs with long-range, offensive and sophisticated weapons to help them retain the Sinai desert for nearly five years, for example? The Americans have been the main power that enabled Israel to continue the occupation of the whole of Palestine, plus vast territories from three other Arab countries!

3. Have the Soviets helped the Arabs to manufacture Soviet weapons in any Arab country?

The Americans have concluded a secret agreement with the Israelis last November, enabling Israel to manufacture American weapons (Chaim Barlev, the retired Israeli chief-of-staff, charged that there were some anti-Israeli fingers inside the American administration responsible for the exposure of this agreement).

All this in fact shows that the U.S. professes something and practices another; and thus Washington is no longer in a position that enables it to assume the role of a neutral, trustworthy mediator in the issue of the reopening of the Suez canal. Furthermore, American movements in the Mediterranean are highly dubious.

America is supporting the fascist regimes in both Greece and Portugal. The latter is to receive American aid that would amount to some \$450 million before the end of 1972, to help maintain the savage Portuguese campaign of military repression in Portugal's African colonies. As for Greece, the sixth fleet is seeking to establish permanent American bases in Crete, the nearest point to the troubled Middle East.

America's defence budget is rocketting to an unprecedented record level this year, despite Nixon's declared policy of reducing the American involvement in Indo-China, and despite the financial difficulties (which led to the greatest deficit in

America's balance of payments throughout American history).

Notwithstanding the progress achieved in the Russo-American talks on mutual disarmament in Vienna and despite the European East-West detente, America seems, in practice, intent on escalating the arms race. This demonstrates the huge gap existing between American words and American deeds. The Arabs are thus justified in suspecting that America is heading towards creating another Vietnam in the Middle East, notwithstanding all the well-polished talk of a «welcomed thaw in the issue of reopening the Suez canal», so cleverly timed by both Washington and Tel-Aviv.

The Arabs, however, are determined to safeguard their rights and to defend their threatened homeland in the current protracted struggle for the survival of the Arab Nation. The Palestinians still exist, whether America and Israel like this fact or not. Their freedom-fighters are still vigilant. Last January, they carried out more than 40 successful operations in the occupied Arab territories. No power can force the Arabs to accept a solution that does not recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. ■

Yusef Jad El-Hak

A PEACE LOVING MAN

(short story)

I am a peace-loving man, and it has never been my want to take life away from any creature, even the lowest on the scale of being. Nevertheless, for once in my life I entertained the idea and the desire to kill a person. This happened a long time ago, but I still remember it as though it happened only yesterday. And what makes the whole thing more memorable is that I never felt any remorse for this desire to kill.

It happened on a cold day in December at the London airport. I was sitting in a lounge reading a

book and waiting for the airplane to go to Paris. It was unusually cold and clear outside, and looking through the wide window made me feel that I could see the whole world before me. The sky was clear also except for a few scattered white clouds. To this sight was added that of the endless string of airplanes landing or taking off, with groups of passengers either setting off and coming towards the airport, or walking to the airplane to be taken to some other place of this wide world. There was in everything this feeling of a non-limited universe where one can move freely to the place of his choice.

I was waiting for the airport announcer to ask us to get ready for our flight, and everytime she started to announce a flight I thought it surely would be mine. But it was two minutes past the scheduled time when the announcer said that the flight to Paris would be delayed for a half hour due to technical difficulties. She did, however, invite the passengers to have some sandwiches and drinks at the counter at the company's expense.

There were a few sarcastic comments from the passengers as they walked towards the counter. Some of them said that the time they were losing could not be made up for by a stomach-full of sandwiches. Others thought the company was trying to get rid of the left-overs.

I did not feel like having anything at that particular moment. Somehow the delay seemed to put a barrier between me and that non-limited uni-
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verse which I had seen and felt minutes before. And besides, I had cabled to a friend in Paris to wait for me at the airport because I did not know Paris very well. I was annoyed at the thought of his waiting for me after the appointed time because he was a very busy person.

At the bar some passengers were gathered, some drinking tea and others eating sandwiches. They did not seem to be so bothered by the delay. I sat at a lonely table and tried to busy myself with a book that I had bought from the airport bookstore. It was not long before I was interrupted by a fat person who sat at my table without even asking for permission. He was trying to be friendly and cracked a few jokes at the book I was reading and at the delays in airplane schedules these days. I was not in the mood to listen, much less to talk. But I had to seem interested in what he was saying just for the sake of being polite. In a few minutes he was telling me about his life story. He had been an officer in the British army and was one of the first officers to get close enough to Berlin to bomb that city. He then proudly counted the many battles he had taken part in and the numerous lives he had killed. But I was saved from that dismal story by the announcer asking all the passengers on the flight to Tel Aviv to get aboard.

The man excused himself and walked away saying something about how pleased he was to meet me and hoping to see me again in his home in Tel

Aviv. It took me a few minutes to revive from the shock. All at once the memories of home, my home, came back to me: Tel Aviv, Jaffa, and the thousand walks I had taken between the two cities when I was a young man; and the old house in which we lived; and the neighbor's daughter who used to share with me the moments of happiness on our walks back and forth along the beach; all the memories came back with the bitter feeling that the universe was not limitless after all. There was one place I could not go to, and that was home. Home where that fat man was going, where that airplane would be flying in an hour or so. And there I was, the owner of the land, not able to go home because some fat men who had served in the British army were occupying that home.

In one long minute of that morning in December the hatred which was accumulated for twenty years by the entire population of that usurped land stuck in my throat and seemed to choke me to death. It was a bitter feeling, and the sight of the fat man boarding the plane was even more bitter. And all that hatred turned into a desire to kill the man right there and then, before he had a chance to pollute my country with his presence. It was not that particular man whom I wanted to kill, but the desire took the shape of the urge of an entire population to free their land from the alien invaders. ■

BRITISH BETRAYAL REPEATED

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During the last week of last November (1971), the British completed the withdrawal of their troops from the Trucial areas in the Arabian Gulf. Immediately after, Iranian troops occupied three Arab islands that constitute an integral part of these areas.

■

British action in withdrawing from Arab territory that had been subjected to British colonial rule for a long period of time, and then leaving the territory exposed to foreign invasion, in collusion with the invaders, is an old tactic of concealed

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betrayal that was carried out by the British, in similar circumstances in the case of Palestine.

As in the case of the Arab territory in the Trucial areas, so in the case of Palestine, British withdrawal was preceded by carefully-staged political maneuvers. On February 29, 1947, the then British Foreign Secretary Mr. Bevin made a statement in the House of Commons in which he said that the Palestine question was very complicated owing to the contradictory provisions of the Palestine mandate which permitted the Zionist Jews to invade the country but insisted that nothing should be done that might prejudice the rights of the non-Jewish communities. He referred to the effect which the statements of Mr. Truman had had on making the problem even more complicated. He added that if the matter had stopped at the demand for the admission of 100,000 Jewish immigrants it could have been tackled, but Zionist Jews were talking in terms of millions of immigrants. Mr. Bevin then said it was not just to consider the rights of the Arab inhabitants of the country equal to those of Jewish newcomers and that Britain, as Mandatory, had no right to impose any solution by force and would, therefore, refer the whole question to the United Nations.

When on November 29, 1947, the United Nations decided to partition Palestine in violation of clauses ten and fourteen of its own Charter, as well as of the Declaration of Human Rights and of the

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right to self-determination of the Arab people of Palestine, the Arabs rejected the UN Partition resolution because it meant the partitioning and the virtual loss of their homeland.

The British Government, however, took no notice of this rejection. On the contrary, it began to draw up plans of withdrawal of British troops from Palestine which would leave the Arab inhabitants of the country defenceless and completely at the mercy of the Zionist invaders. These invaders had been permitted to organize an army, with the full support of the British authorities, while the Arabs had been prevented by these same authorities from possessing any weapons with which to defend themselves. In fact the British had been so insistent on this point that any Arab found in possession of a rifle or a few bullets was liable to receive a death sentence from the British military courts.

In contrast to this attitude, the British authorities in Palestine had not only permitted the Jews of Palestine to organize regular military forces but had also sent Major Wingate to help them in developing these forces.

Despite the unequal position in which the British had left the Arabs and the Jews of Palestine in 1948, they insisted on their decision to leave the country by mid-May of that year. They announced that they had decided to leave Palestine on May 15, 22

1948 and to liquidate the British civil administration of the country before that date.

The manner in which the British carried out this decision was clearly designed to give the Zionists advantage over the Arabs, who are indisputably the rightful inhabitants of the country.

They first evacuated Tel-Aviv, the largest Jewish centre in Palestine, and the other Jewish areas, in order to enable the Jews to take over administration and to take control of all British airports and military bases in the country.

On the other hand, the British continued to



occupy and administer the Arab areas of Palestine and to interfere with Arab preparations to defend themselves. They also announced that they were determined to prevent the entry into Palestine, before May 15, the date set for complete British withdrawal, of any Arab troops that might come to the aid of their hard-pressed brothers.

In April 1948, British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, announced that the British forces in Palestine, who at the time were over 100,000 soldiers, were taking all possible measures to prevent the entry into that country of armed Arab forces and added that his country would reconsider its treaty obligations with Jordan, Egypt and Iraq, if it appeared that some of the weapons with which Britain was supplying some Middle East states were being diverted to Palestine.

Simultaneously with this announcement, the British forces in Palestine sold surplus war material to the Jewish Agency. This included training planes and other equipment which were used against the Arabs in later fighting. Further, it often happened that whenever the Jews were in a critical situation, the British forces would hasten to their rescue, while these same forces never cared, in the least, as to what attacks the Zionist Jews made against the defenceless Arab towns and villages.

British forces withdrew from Palestine in accordance with a plan designed to establish Zionist control over big towns and cities, by first withdra-

wing from the Arab parts of the town and at the same time preventing Arab reinforcements from reaching them, so that these parts might be easily captured by the regular forces of the Jewish Hagana.

An example in point is the fall of the leading town of Haifa. In this town the British Commander officially informed the Arab National Committee of the town that the British army would continue to be responsible for order and security in the whole of the Haifa area until August 1948, and would, therefore, prevent the entry into that area of any Arab forces lest they should clash with British troops or interfere with their orderly withdrawal.

Then, suddenly and unexpectedly, British troops were evacuated from the entire Haifa area before May 15 and after they had disarmed the Arab inhabitants of the area. In this way the British enabled the well-equipped Zionist forces to occupy the town after their sudden and unexpected withdrawal, of which the Zionists had been secretly informed.

British betrayal of the Arabs in 1948, when they withdrew from Palestine leaving the Palestinian Arabs defenceless in the face of the Zionist invaders, has now been repeated in the case of the three Arab islands in the Arabian gulf, from which the British forces have withdrawn, leaving them an easy prey to Iranian aggression and occupation. ■

Irene Beeson

The Jews of Syria

■

Zionist propagandists have recently been spreading alarming reports concerning alleged persecution of Jews in Syria. The following report by British journalist Irene Beeson, who has recently visited a number of Middle Eastern countries, including Syria and Zionist-occupied Palestine, shows that Zionist allegations regarding the Jewish community in Syria are «pure fabrications».

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I asked the young man in the bric à brac shop in the heart of Old Damascus the way to the Jewish Quarter.

«This is the Haret el Yahud» — the Jewish Quarter — he replied. «What do you want? Are you looking for somebody in particular?»

«No, just looking around», I lied, pleased and at the same time disappointed that the quest was proven so simple.

I became interested in the Jews of Syria on a recent visit to Israel, where the press published alarming reports of «atrocities inflicted upon the



already repressed and tortured Jewish communities of Syria», of a new wave of «arbitrary imprisonment and diabolic tortures... various inhuman acts of cruelty... the abduction and rape of young Jewish girls».

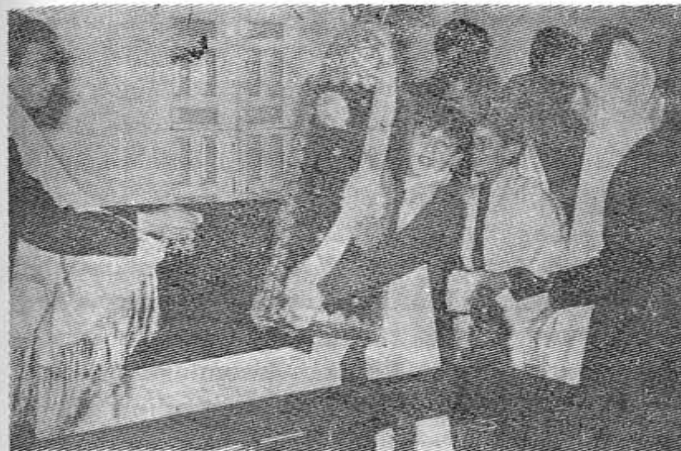
Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban made a statement on the subject in the Knesset on November 1, and the «National Committee for the Jews living in Arab Countries» alerted the world to the plight of the «4,000 Jews living in Syria».

From the picture conveyed by the Israeli press of conditions in which the Syrian Jews are living, and from the advice of Syrian friends not to go alone to the Jewish Quarter, I had expected to find the Damascus «ghetto» closely guarded or even out of bounds to prying foreigners. Not, as it turned out to be, a continuation, a merging with the Christian and Muslim quarters of the Old City.

«Are you a Jew?», I asked the young man in the bric à brac shop, half expecting a security man to pop out from among the brass urns and trays.

No, he was a Muslim, he said, but there were many Jews living in the area. They have their schools and open «churches» down there, he added, pointing down the street.

How many Jews are there in Damascus, I asked, encouraged by his relaxed attitude. He did not know exactly, but thought there were several thousands. He thought most lived in the Haret al-Yahud, but some Jews owned shops in the new city. Maybe



some live in the new city also, but he could not be sure.

I had asked trusted friends in Damascus if there had been any troubles in the Jewish quarter recently, mass arrests and imprisonments, anything abnormal.

They had not heard of any troubles, they said, and added that it would be impossible to hide any serious troubles. Every thing was known as soon as it happened, by word of mouth, and they had not heard anything that would confirm the Israeli claims.

It was late afternoon. The schools were closed. Children were playing in the small square in front of one of the school buildings.

I spoke to them. They were Jews and Muslims. They all lived in the Haret el Yahud, they said, and went to the Jewish school.

I walked up and down the twisting lanes and narrow streets of the Jewish Quarter. It is the month of Ramadhan. Muslims break the fast at five o'clock. The shops with obvious Muslim names were closed. Others that could be Christian or Jewish remained open, including two Kosher meat shops. I crossed men wearing the Arab head dress, women veiled and unveiled, blond and dark-haired children but found it hard to guess who was or was not a Jew. There are no physical distinguishing characteristics among the Arabs of different denominations.

The whole place looked decrepit, but then so do many districts in the Old City. Life for the poor Muslim, Christian and Jew appears to be uniformly drab.

In Damascus the following morning I asked for an interview with the representative of the International Red Cross. He insisted, on the telephone, on knowing the subject I wanted to discuss. When I told him, he replied tersely that he had absolutely no information about Jews in Syria.

Colonel Ghazi, who is in charge of press relations at the Department of Moral Guidance was more forthcoming.

There was one law in Syria, he explained, which applied to Syrians of all denominations.

There had been arrests in the past and recently of Syrian subjects trying to leave the Country illegally — criminals, outlaws, deserters, smugglers, etc. — Among them were three or four Syrian Jews.

They were not arrested because they were Jews, he added, but because like the others, Christians and Muslims, they had broken the law.

Reports of torture and maltreatment, of abductions and rape were pure fabrication, he said.

He admitted there were some restrictions on Jewish citizens, but only concerning travel in the Syrian provinces. They were perfectly free to live and work where they choose in Damascus, he added, but they must apply for a permit to travel around the country. In most cases, the permit was delivered the day application was made.

It was regrettable that the authorities had to apply even this restriction, he said, but the responsibility must be attributed to the Israelis.

«Israeli forces are occupying our land, not far from Damascus, and claiming that every Jew in the world is an Israeli citizen who owes allegiance to Israel before his native country. It is Israel that is trying to make 'enemy aliens' of our Jewish citizens, who is creating problems for the Syrian Jews, for all Jews. While the Israelis are putting out stories of persecution and oppression of Syrian Jews, they are preventing tens of thousands of Syrians from returning to their homes and lands on the occupied Syrian Heights. Why does the world not react to the plight of those Syrian citizens?» he asked.

«Go and see for yourself, go and see how the Jews are living in Damascus», Colonel Ghazi suggested, «go and visit their schools, shops and homes and you

will see that they are as free as any other Syrian national».

I went again. I visited the two schools, spoke to the headmasters and teachers, visited the classes where boys and girls of the three denominations were following the syllabus of the Syrian Government schools with, in addition, special courses of Hebrew, the Jewish religion and French.

The kindergarten and primary school, founded in 1864, is housed in an elaborate Arab style house which belonged, in Ottoman times to the Lisbona family, one of the richest Jewish families in the area. It is financed from Paris by the «Alliance Juive» and has five hundred pupils.

The Moussa Ben Maimoun secondary school, with 300 pupils, is in new or rebuilt premises and is financed by Syrian Jews who emigrated to the USA and South America. It has its own synagogue — there are fourteen in Damascus.

After visiting the classrooms, listening to Arabic, French and Hebrew lessons I joined the group of teachers, a young rabbi, and a retired Jewish government official for a talk with Mr. Selim Totah, the head of the Jewish Community in Damascus.

Mr. Totah, a distinguished gentleman, in his late sixties, I estimated, held the floor most all the time, in fluent French and with wit.

As a youngster, he lived under Ottoman rule. He recalled that in those days there were no borders in the area. «Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, Transjordan were all one. No passport, visa or transit problems», he said.

Why had he not gone to Israel when the bulk of the Syrian Jews left in 1948? I asked.

«Why should I leave. Why should I go to Israel?» he asked. «When you are born in a country, have spent the best years of your life, have a family and a job here, it is hard to leave. I would not leave for all the money in the world», he added.

Relations between Syrian Jews and Syrians of other denominations were excellent, very friendly, he said. «We have never had troubles, even in difficult situations. There were no incidents during the June 1967 war. We were all protected».

Did many Syrian Jews wish to emigrate to Israel? I asked.

Some Jews were leaving Syria for purposes of travel, he said, the legal way, with a passport. But few were emigrating to Israel. They go to Cyprus and from there to Europe, the U.S.A. or South America, he said.

Arab Jews were hesitant about emigrating to Israel, he explained, «because we know about the situation there. Letters reach us in a roundabout way. We hear that there is a split in Israel; that family life is dislocated; that there is discrimination against the Eastern Jew; that our young girls are compelled to do menial tasks in order to live».

There are today 5,500 Jews in Syria, 4,000 of them in Damascus, one of the headmasters said. Thirty Jewish boys and girls are students at Damascus University studying medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, engineering and commerce. More would be enrolled next year. There is little unemployment among Jews.

«Most of our young people are working», Mr. Totah said, «some own shops, others are employed in workshops and small industries. We have Jewish teachers, doctors, dentists, pharmacists and lawyers, and even some Government employees».

The Jewish community gives assistance to the poor, and all Jews receive medical services free of charge.

Reports of oppression, persecution and imprisonment of Jews were «pure fabrications», Mr. Totah said.

How would you explain the alarming reports that allegedly reached Israel, I asked. «Politics», he replied with a wave of the hand «political pressure».



(January 1972)

Resistance Operations

On January 1, an Israeli troop carrier was destroyed and its occupants killed or wounded, when it ran over a mine planted by Palestine commandos on the road between Kuneitra and Bir Ajam in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights.

On the same day, freedom fighters attacked an enemy patrol in the Hebron area, using hand-grenades and machine-guns, killing one Israeli soldier and wounding another.

On January 2, an Israeli observation post in the Shiha area of Upper Galilee was destroyed. An enemy military bunker was also destroyed and a number of Israeli soldiers were killed or wounded, when enemy positions were shelled with heavy artillery.



On January 3, Israeli army positions in the Kissufim area, in the Golan Heights, were shelled by Palestinian commandos. Later, shells were fired at enemy positions near Nahal Golan; and shortly after, light arms fire was directed at another Israeli position in the Southern Golan Heights. The enemy sustained heavy losses and a number of casualties.

On the same day, Palestinian commandos launched an attack, with heavy rockets, against enemy concentrations at the Kussifim settlement in the Golan Heights, scoring direct hits against enemy vehicles and inflicting heavy casualties among

Israeli soldiers. Ambulances were rushed to the area to evacuate enemy casualties.

On January 4, the enemy sustained heavy losses in life and material as a result of an attack launched against an Israeli patrol by Palestinian commandos at the Alam area, in Upper Galilee. The commandos used hand grenades and machine-guns in the attack.

On the same day, an Israeli soldier was killed by a Palestinian sniper at the Ferdawi camp in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights.

On January 5, highly explosive charges placed by Palestinian commandos near the Egged Bus Station at the Kfar Saba settlement, went off killing or wounding a number of enemy personnel.

On January 6, Palestine commandos rocketed the Margal Yot and Kiryat Shmoneh settlements in Upper Galilee, inflicting on the enemy heavy losses in life and material. The commandos also shelled Israeli military posts and concentrations in the area, lying between Miskaf Aam, Kfar, Kalaadi and Honein, in Upper Galilee, scoring direct hits on enemy targets and inflicting casualties among Israeli soldiers.

On the same day, Palestinian commandos ambushed and killed an Israeli military engineer in the Golan Heights. The 24-year-old Defense Ministry official was riding in a jeep when the commandos attacked him.

Also on the same day, highly explosive charges

placed by Palestinian freedom fighters at the immigration and passport offices in Deir El Balah, exploded, causing heavy material damage inside the building and setting passport-files on fire.

On January 7, a mine went off under an enemy transport vehicle on the dirt track south-west of the Nahal Ur settlement, killing or wounding a number of its occupants.

On the same day, Palestinian commandos launched an attack with rockets, hand-grenades and machine-guns, against a concentration of enemy vehicles at Tel el-Ghithar in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights. The attack resulted in the complete destruction of a number of enemy vehicles and in killing or wounding a number of enemy soldiers, in a fierce hand-to-hand battle which lasted for more than an hour.

On January 8, Palestinian freedom fighters shelled the Manarah settlement, in Upper Galilee, with heavy rockets, scoring direct hits on enemy targets, causing heavy damage to enemy installations and casualties among enemy personnel.

On January 9, Palestinian commandos shelled with heavy rockets the city of Safad, scoring direct hits on enemy military installations and positions and causing heavy damage and casualties in the city. Enemy rescue squads and fire-brigades were rushed to the scene to evacuate casualties.

On January 11, a Palestinian commando unit attacked an enemy half-tracked vehicle in the Gaza

Strip. The vehicle was damaged and a number of its occupants were killed or wounded.

On the same day, a net of mines planted by Palestinian commandos on the road between Tel Abu El-Dhahab and Tel Akasha in the Golan Heights, went off under an enemy tank, destroying it and killing or wounding its occupants.

On January 12, Palestinian freedom fighters shelled with heavy rockets the Kiryat Shmoneh settlement in Upper Galilee, scoring direct hits on enemy positions and targets, and causing damage to enemy installations and many casualties among enemy personnel.

On January 13, Palestinian commandos shelled the Kfar Kalaadi and Kfar Bum settlements with rockets, damaging enemy installations and inflicting casualties among the Israelis.

On the same day, Palestinian freedom fighters ambushed an enemy military patrol in Gaza, using hand-grenades and machine guns. The attack caused the enemy heavy losses, killing or wounding 5 Israelis.

On January 14, Palestinian freedom fighters attacked an Israeli military patrol on the road between Beersheba and the Dhahriyah village, in the Hebron area, with machine-guns and hand grenades, killing or wounding a number of Israeli soldiers.

On the same day, explosive charges planted by Palestinian commandos under enemy installations at the Afafim settlement in Upper Galilee, went off causing damage to installations.

On January 16, U.P. reported that a Zionist military spokesman admitted that Palestinian commandos had ambushed an Israeli car outside the Jabalya refugee camp, killing one of its occupants and wounding others.

On January 17, an enemy military spokesman admitted that a hand-grenade had exploded near the gateway leading to Tel Aviv University, and claimed as usual, that there were no casualties.

On the same day, Palestinian commandos placed timed explosive charges at the power distribution centre in Tel Aviv. The charges went off, destroying the centre and cutting off electric power from the area. A number of Israelis were injured.

On January 19, Palestinian commandos shelled Israeli positions in the Kuneitra region in the occupied Golan Heights, scoring direct hits on enemy targets. Ambulances were rushed to evacuate enemy casualties.

On January 24, Palestinian freedom fighters shelled Shaar Hagolan settlement in the Golan Heights. The rockets hit military targets, and caused heavy damage to enemy installations and inflicted many casualties among enemy personnel. Ambulances were sent to the scene to evacuate enemy casualties.

On the same day, Palestinian commandos rocketed Masaada settlement near Samakh, scoring direct hits on enemy targets, causing damage to

installations and inflicting a number of casualties among enemy personnel. Rescue squads were rushed to the area to evacuate enemy casualties.

On the same day also, Palestinian commandos ambushed an enemy military patrol between the Kusseifin settlement and Kuneitra in the Golan Heights, after crossing the enemy electrified barbed line. The commandos used machine-guns, hand-grenades and rockets in their attack, destroying an enemy vehicle and inflicting several casualties among the enemy.

On January 26, Palestinian commandos shelled the city of Beisan with heavy rockets, scoring direct hits on enemy targets, setting them on fire, and killing or wounding a number of enemy personnel. Fire-brigades were rushed to the scene to extinguish the blazing fires and ambulances were seen evacuating enemy casualties.

On January 28, Palestinian freedom fighters ambushed an Israeli military patrol on the road near Tel Abu El-Ghithar in the occupied Golan Heights, using machine-guns and hand-grenades, and killing or wounding all twelve soldiers of the patrol.

On January 30, Palestinian commandos laid ambush to enemy military patrols on the road to Tel El-Ghithar in the occupied Golan Heights. An enemy landrover, carrying Israeli soldiers was attacked with hand-grenades and machine-guns. The attack resulted in destroying the vehicle and killing all its occupants. ■

Willa Gibbs

O, MY PEOPLE

■

A California woman, whose family were wiped out in a Nazi concentration camp, goes to Zionist-occupied Jerusalem in search of calm and peace of mind. She runs into the June-1967 Zionist-imperialist aggression against the Arab nation and watches in agony the subsequent maltreatment of the Arab inhabitants of the occupied territories. The experience becomes too much for her, and she commits suicide in the Holy City.

Willa Gibbs is told the pathetic story of the California woman while on a tour of the Middle East, and she writes the following poem, which first appeared in the Kuwait Times (April 24, 1970).

■



Let me celebrate the return
Of my People to our land —
O, let this be a world celebration!
Shipboard I watched
Moon narrowed by hills
(Or clouds piled like hills?)
And I said, «Home —
I and my people are coming home.»
This was the moment to remember my father
Who died in a most boresome way
(A tale too often told
But then, he was my father)
Gassed in a Nazi camp.

My mother killed herself.
I tried to follow her but was too young.
Is not human flesh the very house of possibility?
Religious, I never was.
The only way a Jew can be religious
Is to be a religious Jew — what a horror!
«The Chosen People» — after what we have
suffered?
A Chosen People, after what we have seen?
Damn such a concept
Spread by Christianity
Which fathered the Aryan, Master Race.
But a homeland — that was something else.
Yes, I could worship a homeland.
Alone in the dark stretches
Working to get there,
I could whisper the dream,
«The people without a land
for the land without a people.»
That was my religion,
And my innocence was such
that it never crossed my mind
There might have been Palestinians in Palestine.
June, 1967, made it imperative
For me to go; and circumstances
Always yield to imperatives.
November, 1968, I sailed toward my dream.
Not one «goy» was on the passenger list.
The only alien mind
To intrude on our celebration
Was my own, which noticed

Amid all the talk of «ingathering»
Of «going home»
I alone held no return ticket
Just to get off this ship, I thought,
Meaning, get away from these tourist Jews
Boasting as if each one had knocked off a cannon.
Out of their dress shops on lower Broadway,
Out of their heights in New Jersey,
Out of their lobbies in Washington
Spilling blood on desert sands,
Speaking now, each one, as a great conqueror.



The land will know me, I thought,
And the land I can cling to.
The land — do you know that land?
Do you know the bitter sweetness of that land?
Do you know how Arab the land is?
Have you any idea at all
How the land itself says 'no'
To those who try to come into it
In the way that we came?
Not only Arabs said «Go away —
You're not wanted here with your guns and
you planes,
Not wanted with your ideas of forcing growth
And forcing acceptance—»
Arabs alone did not say this. The land did.
Have you seen this land as the Arabs left it?
The humble hand-built terracing
That saved every drop of rain
And helped plants to grow from crannies?
Have you seen the fields
Most earnestly tilled
Which could be covered with a medium-sized
tablecloth?
Fields hung from mountains—
Spring from the wilderness—
Centered around a single thorn-bush?
Until you have seen it, do not go on repeating
How we Jews made their deserts bloom like a
rose!



O, my people!
Have you seen the street-corners in Jerusalem,
The crowds flowing by
Sullen-faced with fear?
Those street-corners familiar to me
Not from any dreams of a Promised Land
But from memories —
Of Berlin and Warsaw,
Eventually of Vienna

And then even of Paris itself.
O, my people!
Have you seen, in their Holy City
The doorways of houses kicked down,
The frightened families driven out,
The pitiful possessions dragged into the street
For anyone to claim; the hard blast —
And then the rubble. Have you watched
The crying children picking amidst the ruins
For some lost toy, while their parents
Stood back in an agony of helplessness?
Have you watched whole families
Trudging down roads that have no ending
Carrying with them all they have been allowed
to take?

And that camp I will not name
Where my father's fell,
Could you stand where I stood (O, my people!)
And see this weary procession called to life
again?

Only to suffer again
Only to shuffle hopelessly again
Under the nudge of cold steel
And the threatening iron mouths
And above all, the laughter —
O, that laughter!
Merciless, terrible

Laughter of men
In uniform
Wearing boots —
Laughter I heard first
In another city, another continent,
Another time.
My father,
Being old and frail and lonely,
And his tormentors being many
As well as hale with well-fed strength —
What they found so funny was
That when they pushed him, he fell.
I have said I do not believe in God
But now I know I believe in Hell
Because I have heard the laughter
That comes out of Hell;
And now I lie sleepless
On a hotel bed in Jerusalem
In the Holy City
Where the laughter of Jews
Clangs like a brazen bell
With the smoke of my father
Weeping in the air.

C. Kuan-hua

CHINA and the **MIDDLE EAST**

■

In the course of the debate on the Middle East question at the plenary meeting of the UN General Assembly in its 26th session, Chiao Kuan-hua, Chairman of the delegation of the People's Republic of China, delivered on December 8, 1971, the following speech in which he strongly condemned the Israeli Zionists for launching, with the backing of U.S. imperialists, aggressive wars against the Arab nation and expressed «firm support for the Palestinians and other Arab peoples in their just struggle against U.S.-Israeli aggression.

■

Over a long period, particularly since June 1967, the Chinese Government and people have followed with concern the struggle of the Palestinian and

other Arab peoples against the aggression committed by Israeli Zionism with the support of U.S. imperialism and have watched carefully the development of the situation in the Middle East.

The essence of the Middle East question is the aggression against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples by the Israeli Zionists with the support of the U.S. ruling circles. Since World War II, the Israeli Zionists fostered and groomed by U.S. imperialism, with the support of world reactionary aggressive forces, have repeatedly launched wars of aggression against Arab countries. Each time they launched a war, they occupied large tracts of Arab territory, driving out of their homeland over one million Palestinian people who had lived there for generations, making them homeless and destitute. The history of the Middle East over the post-war period of two decades and more has been a history of the continuous expansion and aggression by the Israeli Zionists and a history of the struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples against expansion and aggression.

Under the control and manipulation of the superpowers, the United Nations, ignoring the just demands of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples and the righteous voice of the people of various countries, has failed to strongly condemn and firmly stop the expansion and aggression by Israeli Zionism and failed to give due support to the Palestinian and other Arab peoples; on the contrary, without dis-

tinguishing between right and wrong, between aggressor and the victim of aggression, it has adopted a number of resolutions which in effect encouraged aggression and shielded Israeli Zionism in the name of «maintaining peace.» These resolutions are unjust to the Arab people and in contravention of the United Nations Charter. A number of countries which favoured certain resolutions passed by the United Nations on the Middle East question were solely motivated by their good will for peace. However, even these resolutions have up to now remained empty papers. This is clear to everyone if he just takes a look at the sketch map distributed by the Delegation of the Arab Republic of Egypt which indicates the Arab territory occupied by Israel since 1947. With the support and encouragement of a superpower, and with the connivance and acquiescence of another superpower, the Israeli Zionists launched in 1967 their biggest war of aggression. Since then, the Israeli Zionists have become all the more arrogant and truculent and have assumed the posture of undisguised fascist aggressors. As for the U.S. Government, even those United Nations resolutions which it favoured are only being utilized to deceive others when these resolutions suit its needs but they are cast away whenever they no longer suit its needs. While talking much about peace, the United States is doing its utmost to arm Israel. Of late, the U.S. Senate has passed a resolution granting Israel a loan of 500 million U.S. dollars, half of which will

be used for the purchase of «Phantom» jet fighters by Israel. This is a naked support to aggression and a new provocation to the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. It is because of the above-mentioned behaviour of the United States and Israel that the Palestinian people and Egypt, Syria and other Arab countries have up to now failed to achieve any result in all their efforts to recover the lost territory.

The Israeli Zionists have advanced a theory of so-called «secure boundaries» in order to perpetuate the occupation of the Arab territory they have seized. This is a typical excuse for expansionism, a gangster logic. What are «secure boundaries»?



According to the logic of the Israeli Zionists, no boundary of well over a hundred countries in the world will be secure, because the conventional weapons of any country can reach areas within the boundary of a neighbouring country, let alone rockets and nuclear weapons. Does it follow then that the boundaries of all neighbouring countries should be changed? Obviously, this is absurd. To put it bluntly, by «secure boundaries» the Israeli Zionists mean that whatever place they invade and occupy, that becomes their boundary. They may consider such boundaries as secure today, but tomorrow they will say that these boundaries are insecure and therefore it will be necessary to embark on further expansion. The Chinese people had their own bitter experience in this respect. Before World War II, Japanese militarism first invaded and occupied the northeast of China and set up a «Manchukuo,» but later they claimed they were insecure because of «communist threat» and on that pretext they invaded and occupied north China and launched an all-out war of aggression against the whole country. And in the end they even went so far as to unleash the Pacific War. The theory of demanding «secure boundaries» is a theory of the aggressors. To accept this theory is tantamount to recognizing as legal all the aggression and expansion by Israeli Zionism.

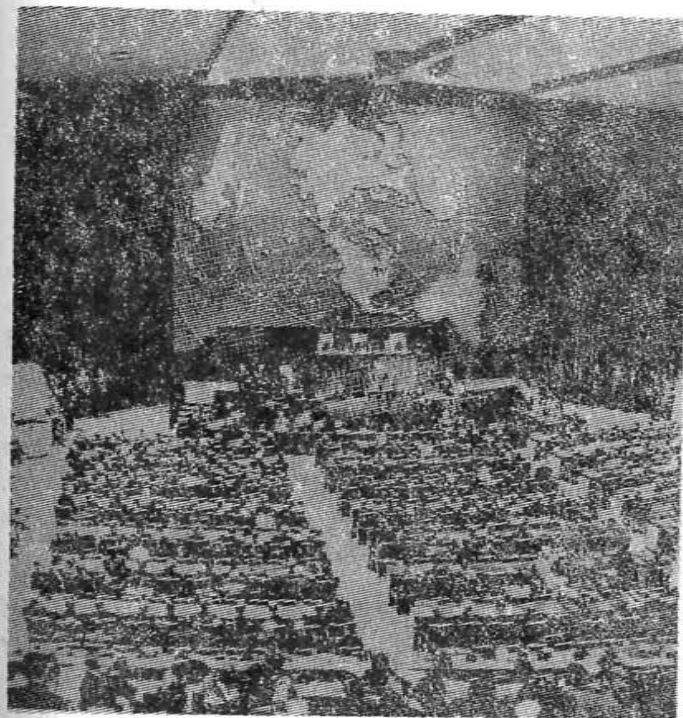
At present, the one or two superpowers are trying to frighten people by spreading the idea that the Palestinian and other Arab peoples must not

wage armed struggle to resist Israeli aggression. They say that any resistance would immediately lead to a world war, and that whoever supports such armed struggle is provoking confrontation between the two superpowers. Have we not all heard of such arguments from this rostrum not long go?! Of course this is sheer nonsense. Why is it that they did not worry about the danger of a world war when Israel launched its war of aggression, but that the resistance to aggression by the Palestinian and other Arab peoples would become a danger that would lead to a world war? According to their logic, the Chinese people should not have waged their War of Liberation, the Korean people should not have resisted U.S. aggression, and the people of the three countries of Indochina should not wage their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. According to their logic, no victim of aggression should carry out armed struggle to resist the aggressors. How can such logic stand? It is absolutely just and entirely proper for the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, who are victims of aggression, to be compelled to take up arms to resist aggression, recover their lost territories and restore their right to national existence. Countless facts in the post-war period of the last two decades or more have proved that it is precisely because the people of various countries have continuously waged revolutionary wars against imperialist aggression that the imperialists have not dared lightly to unleash a world war. The United States and another superpower,

echoing each other, are doing their utmost to spread the ideas mentioned above in an attempt to frighten people with the danger of a world war. In so doing, their aim is to bind the hands of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples and to prevent them from waging just struggles, so that the two superpowers can manipulate the situation and achieve their ulterior purpose.

One can see ever more clearly from the development of the Middle East situation that the two superpowers are contending and colluding with each other there. They are taking advantage of the temporary difficulties facing the Palestinian and other Arab peoples to make dirty political deals in their contention for important strategic points and oil resources and the division of spheres of influence in the Middle East at the expense of the national rights and territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. Herein lies the crux of the matter and that is why the Middle East question has remained unsolved over such a long period.

It is well known that the Israeli Zionists who are obsessed with ambitious designs cannot exist without the support of U.S. imperialism. We are not opposed to the Jewish people or the people of Israel, but we are firmly opposed to the Zionist policies of expansion and aggression. We have never recognized Israel, nor have had any contact with it since the founding of the People's Republic of China. We hold



that all the countries and people that love peace and uphold justice have the obligation to support the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in their struggle to restore their right to national existence and recover their occupied land, and that no one has the right to make political deals behind their backs at the expense of their right to national existence and

their territorial integrity and sovereignty. The Chinese Government and people always stand on the side of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples who are subjected to aggression, firmly support their just struggles and give them assistance within the limits of our capability. This principled stand of ours is firm and unshakable.

The imperialists are paper tigers, the super-powers are also paper tigers. In appearance they are fierce and powerful, but in reality they are not so frightening. So long as the people who are subjected to aggression fear no pressure and blackmail, refuse to be deceived and are determined to take up arms, persevere in struggle and uphold unity, they are fully capable of defeating all imperialist aggressors. Is not the post-war history of the last two decades or more full of such instances?

We call upon the governments and peoples of all countries to strongly condemn the aggression by the Israeli Zionists, strongly condemn U.S. imperialism which supports their aggression, and strongly condemn the reactionary forces in Jordan for their sanguinary repression of the Palestinian people.

We maintain that

The Israeli Zionist aggressors must withdraw from the Egyptian, Syrian and all other Arab territories they have occupied.

The legitimate rights of the Palestinian people

to national existence and to return to their homeland must be restored.

We firmly support the Palestinian, Egyptian, Syrian and other Arab peoples in their just struggle to restore their national rights and recover their lost territories.

The destiny of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples must be decided by themselves; their affairs must be handled by themselves. We oppose all conspiratorial activities of aggression, subversion, control and interference carried out by any super-power against the Arab countries and people.

The aggression by U.S. imperialism and Israeli Zionism has educated the broad masses of the Arab people by negative example, heightened their political consciousness and enabled them gradually to see who are their enemies and who are their friends, who are their true friends and who are their false friends. At present, from the Persian Gulf in the east to the Atlantic coast in the west, the 100 million and more Arab people are in the midst of an upsurge of the anti-imperialist struggle. The Afro-Asian people and the peoples of the world stand on the side of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. We are deeply convinced that by carrying on protracted struggle and upholding unity against imperialism, the heroic Arab people who have an ancient civilization and the spirit of resistance will surely overcome numerous difficulties on their road of advance and win continuous new victories. ■

Michael E. Jansen

RALF BUNCHE

and the

PALESTINE CONFLICT



The following assessment of the role played by the late Dr. Ralph Bunche in helping Zionist expansion in Palestine is by an American specialist on the Palestine question, who has written a number of books on Palestine and the Middle East, notably «The United States and the Palestine People.»



Dr. Ralph Bunche, Nobel Peace Prize winner and United Nations undersecretary who died on December 9, 1971 at the age of 67, was not the man he seemed to be. The rest of the world may have praised him but the Arabs have every reason to be critical of his policies and to execrate his name and



memory. He was not an international civil servant; instead he was an American doing America's job among the upper echelons of the United Nations Secretariat, seeing that America's pet policies were taken into account when it was time to implement decisions of the General Assembly and Security Council. He did not receive the Nobel Peace Prize for securing peace in the Middle East but rather for helping Zionist forces to secure the Negev for the state they had carved out of Palestine. Dr. Bunche

was a black man whose world view was white and Eurocentric and whose sympathies were pro-Zionist.

Dr. Bunche was the American who always seemed to be in the key position in United Nations efforts to deal with the conflict in Palestine. He became involved in and acquainted with the situation in Palestine in 1947 through his appointment as adviser to the United Nations Committee on Palestine, for which he drafted the reports submitted to the General Assembly.

On May 14, 1948, Dr. Bunche was attached to the staff of Count Folke Bernadotte, the United Nations Mediator for Palestine. Bunche was largely responsible for drafting the Mediator's Report which was issued on September 16, 1948, a document which carefully concealed the pattern and objective of Jewish violence against the Palestinian people, i.e. the systematic destruction of Palestinian Arab villages and displacement of the Palestinian people in areas coveted by the Zionists.

After Count Bernadotte's assassination by Jewish terrorists on September 17, 1948, Bunche was appointed Acting Mediator. He was charged by the General Assembly with the three tasks of maintaining the cease-fire, providing for the security of the population of Palestine and negotiating an armistice. It was a period during which an indefinite truce was operative and during which Jewish forces were on the offensive, consolidating their territorial position in the areas they held and annexing Arab-occupied areas they wanted. In March, the Jews

concentrated their forces against Egyptian and Jordanian forces in the Negev. Bunche was on Rhodes waiting for the peace negotiations to begin. Glubb Pasha, the commander of the Arab Legion of Jordan, reported to Bunche that his forces were being attacked. Bunche asked for details. Glubb replied. Bunche asked for more details. Glubb again replied. And Bunche asked for still more details. By the time the Acting Mediator was prepared to act, the Jewish forces were at Eilat and the campaign for the Negev was over. By such delaying tactics, Bunche had kept the United Nations from intervening, if only vocally, in the Zionist drive to secure the Negev for their



state; indeed, he had, in a sense, given the Negev to Israel.

By 1967, Bunche was undersecretary in charge of political affairs. In May, when President Nasser asked U Thant to withdraw the United Nations Emergency Force from the Gaza Strip and Sinai, Bunche told U Thant that the Egyptian President was bluffing and advised the Secretary General to call the bluff. This tough line urged by Bunche has been criticised by the Egyptians who insist that President Nasser was, in fact, prepared to arrive at a compromise over the deployment of UNEF, a compromise which might have prevented the Egyptian-Israeli confrontation which led to the Second Battle for Palestine in June.

On several occasions Dr. Bunche stated in print his sympathies for Zionism and his admiration for Dr. Chaim Weizmann's efforts to secure a homeland for the Jews. Like so many other Western liberals he equated anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism. He empathised with the Jews in their struggle against racial prejudice and persecution but could not see that a Jewish state was itself congenitally racist by its exclusion of the Palestinian people. The persecution of Jews in Europe and Black people in America and the prejudices of American White Christians concerning both Blacks and Jews were important matters for Bunche and by them he was emotionally engaged; the dispossession of an entire people by another, of the Palestinians by the Jews,

was for him, however, not racial persecution but «Jewish destiny».

Although the Arab states were well aware of Dr. Bunche's role in the Negev fighting and although Arab diplomats have over the years privately expressed their doubts concerning Bunche's fitness for senior positions in the United Nations Secretariat, there was never any open opposition to him or formal criticism of his policies. If he had been a white American, the Arab governments might well have declared their lack of confidence in Bunche. But, vis-a-vis the Arab states, who had good reason to protest Bunche's steady promotion, it appears that his colour preserved his position; it was indeed a case of reverse racial prejudice. It must be remembered that undue abstention from criticism of an individual because of the colour of his skin — or his racial group — can constitute prejudice as much as can undue criticism.

This experience with Dr. Ralph Bunche should teach the Arabs, and the Palestinians in particular, a valuable lesson in racial politics. This is that colour of skin is not an indicator of political alignment, that American Blacks are not always — or even often — aligned with Third World causes. In fact, many black Americans, including radicals, admire and seek to emulate the Zionists in an attempt to solve their own racial problem. We need only consult the most recent book of essays (1968) of Eldridge Cleaver to discover this. ■

BOOK REVIEWS

Our «Book Review» section for this month consists of evaluations of two recent collections of essays dealing with the Palestine Problem. The first collection «The Transformation of Palestine» is reviewed by Joe Stork, an editor of the radically-oriented Merip Report, Washington D.C. The second collection «Palestine: A Search for Truth» is reviewed by John Richardson, the Executive Director of American Near East Refugee Aid, Washington D.C. Both reviews were originally written for the Winter-1972 issue of «Palestine Studies,» a quarterly journal published jointly by the Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut, and Kuwait University.

■ WHAT HAPPENED TO PALESTINE

Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, ed. *The Transformation of Palestine*. Evanston: North-Western University Press, 1971. 521 pp. \$15.00.

This book is about two transformations: how Palestine was transformed into Israel, an Egyptian-administered Gaza Strip and the West Bank of Jordan; and how the struggle for Palestine was changed into an inter-state Arab-Israeli conflict thereby making the Palestinian people a factor of secondary importance. No other book or collection of essays has taken this perspective. In its very conception and orientation, therefore, this book represents a significant contribution to the consciousness of public opinion about the nature of the Palestinian struggle.

The editor states that his intention was to make this a collection of scholarly and unbiased essays. The authors, almost all Westerners, are scholars. However, some of them are known for their previous scholarly but anti-Zionist writings. Academic neutrality would seem to me to be a false and status-serving claim. Rather than claim this dubious virtue, the editor might well have done better to explain the bias of his authors as one based on acquaintance with the basic issues as well as with the particular facts.

Because it goes beyond the conventional nation-state analysis of the Middle East conflict, the

substance of the book is inherently radical. The authors present their work in a conventional, non-polemical tone. Their focus on diplomatic and governmental aspects, a relative neglect of economic factors and the general lack of class analysis, in some cases crucially missing, testifies to their conventional approach. Nevertheless, at their best, the essays in this book give proof again that nothing is more radical than the truth.

The significant sections of the book are, without question, Part II, «Land and People» and Part III, «Palestinian Resistance Under the Mandate.» The particular focus of «Land and People» is what this book is really about, and the success of the book stems largely from the exceptional quality of the three essays in this section.

The first essay in Part II is «Dynamics of Land Alienation» by John Ruedy of Georgetown University. It is probably the best concise analysis available of land tenure in rural Palestine; Ruedy demonstrates how the deficiencies of that system, compounded by the process of social change beginning in the 19th century, led to the consolidation of land titles in the hands of merchants and other varieties of absentee landlords. Ruedy shows how the process of land alienation which culminated in the wholesale Israeli confiscation of property following the 1948 war actually began prior to Zionist colonization and created a situation easily exploited by Zionist land purchase policies. The author discusses the Zionist

institutions and policies used to appropriate land, and their effects on the Palestinian political economy. He also deals with the eviction and expropriation that took place in 1948 and details how that process has been used to eliminate any Palestinian claim on the land and property now possessed by Israel and its Jewish citizens.

The second essay, by Janet Abu-Lughod, is a demographic analysis of the transformation of Palestine based on available census records which she footnotes with figures supplied by the protagonists. The essay is divided into relevant periods and provides precisely what it claims to offer: «a factual account... of the process whereby the country of Palestine... was transformed from one inhabited



by a settled Arabic-speaking community (mostly Moslem, but containing small minorities of indigenous Christians and Jews who were linguistically and culturally assimilated to the majority) into one now inhabited overwhelmingly by Jews drawn from the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa.» This essay is crucial to an appreciation of the full significance of «this radical and still continuing replacement of population over the opposition of the indigenous inhabitants.»

The last essay in this section, Erskine Childers' «The Wordless Wish: From Citizens to Refugees,» is probably the best in the book. It successfully integrates a discussion of the ideological and practical basis for Zionist policy towards the Palestinians with the historical enactment of that policy in 1947-49. Simply by chronicling events, Childers shatters some basic myths about the State of Israel. The essay demonstrates graphically and conclusively, in terms of the victimization of the original inhabitants, the full import of the transformation of Palestine.

It is Childers who best demonstrates what several other authors in the volume refer to: the Zionist ability to speak with different voices to its several audiences. In this case, the regular reassurances of Chaim Weizmann and other «moderate» Zionist spokesmen to liberal Western supporters that Zionists desired nothing more than co-existence and co-prosperity with the Palestinians is contrasted both to the theme running throughout the period of colonization calling for a transfer of population, and

finally to the systematic use of force and terror to drive out the majority of the population who refused to «trek voluntarily.»

In the section on the resistance during the Mandate, the first essay is disappointing because of its conventional anti-Marxist historical approach to a subject requiring more attention to factors of social class. David Waines states that he will focus on the failure of the resistance, but never really analyses it. He communicates little sense of the aspects of class conflict and rivalry at work, and is content to describe events in terms of bickerings among the Palestinian leadership.

The essay by Barbara Kalkas on the revolt of 1936 is a good account of that watershed, especially the political and diplomatic aspects of it and the British attempts to crush it. The essay would have been improved by more attention to the economic aspects of both the causes and consequences of the revolt, and the British and Zionist use of one another to suppress the Palestinians in a way which set the stage for the successful Zionist revolt after World War II.

The last essay of the section, by Richard Verdery, focuses on the British policy in response to the Arab disturbances of the Mandate period — which displayed a penchant for setting up Commissions of Inquiry and then ignoring or rescinding the policy recommendations made. Americans who have just lived through a decade of Presidential commissions

can appreciate the rage and frustration of the Palestinians which led them, in 1936, to stipulate that there be no more procedural deflections from their demands.

As for the first part of the book, it deals mainly with the roots of the transformation of Palestine: Zionist ideology and British imperial policy. These are elements critical for an understanding of later developments, but apart from Richard Stevens' essay on «Zionism as a Phase of Western Imperialism,» the contributions all leave some questions outstanding. Stevens offers a good discussion of the Paris Peace Conference as it pertained to developments in Palestine. William Mallison's detailed legal study of the Balfour Declaration, although it is valuable for the light it sheds on the particulars of that episode, seems to the present writer to be somewhat out of place in general work of this kind, being a study posited on legality and respect for laws that are in fact shaped, twisted or evaded whenever convenient by the dominant Western powers.

Alan Taylor's «Vision and Intent in Zionist Thought» could be considered too categorical — as, for example, when he writes that «Zionism is not rooted in the history and culture of the Jews.» In an area of philosophical and ideological history, one must comprehend and analyse many subtle and different roots and currents. Taylor is best when discussing the contributions of particular men and periods, although this essay would be best read jointly with Arthur Hertzberg's introduction to *The*



Zionist Idea (New York: 1969), to appreciate from each what the other neglects. Taylor's stress on the ambiguity and tactical fluidity of Zionist policy has obvious import regarding the future of the occupied territories.

Taken as a whole, the book is oriented towards countering the tendency to see the conflict in Palestine as one between sovereign states, and it would have been wise to hold more strictly to that perspective. The essays in the last two sections dealing with the conflict between Israel and the Arab regimes and with international aspects of the inter-state conflict contribute little to the defined goal of the study. One exception is perhaps M.S. Agwani's essay on the Asian perspective. Agwani succeeds not only because this is completely unexplored territory, but also because of the clear focus of his article: to explain why the Asian perspective has consistently taken the Palestinian side and

maintained varying degrees of hostility towards Israel.

Michael Hudson's article on the policy of the Arab states towards Israel is a noteworthy attempt to account chronologically and conceptually for the development and failure of those policies. It is certainly not, however, the definitive account, and should be supplemented by Fawaz Trabulsi's «Zionism and Imperialism in the Middle East» which appeared in the *New Left Review* in September, 1969 and two monographs by Malcolm Kerr published by the RAND Corporation, «Regional Arab Politics and the Conflict with Israel» (RM-5966-FF) and «The United Arab Republic: The Domestic Political and Economic Background of Foreign Policy» (RM-5967-FF).

Kerr's contribution to this volume on the status of Jerusalem is a useful summary of Israel's implementation of its policy of annexation and «Israelization» of the Old City. Kerr disputes the common pious notion that the city should never be divided again and that even unification under the Israelis is better than division. Janice Terry's article on Israel's policy towards the Arab states contributes nothing in terms of information or analysis of a subject that really deserves better treatment. The author adopts no evident perspective and takes us from the year 1897 to the present in a rather haphazard fashion.

Richard Cottam's article on United States policy

makes some useful points, but downgrades the direct role of US economic interests in formulating policy, based on their low visibility at moments of crisis and decision. Thus we can know incidents, events, periods, but Cottam does not talk about a general US strategy in the area. The limits of Cottam's «interest group» kind of analysis are apparent when one tries to summarize the basic characteristics of US strategy, especially as it relates to other areas of the globe as well.

Ivar Spector, supposedly dealing with Soviet policy, provides a conventional chronicle, punctuated by numbing quotes from Soviet statements and communiqués. He concludes by saying that responsibility for peace in the Middle East lies with Moscow, an extraordinary contribution to an otherwise solid volume. Even more out of place, however, is Ali Mazrui's «Afro-Semitic Relations,» which is impressionistic and unanalytical in the extreme.

The book has been beautifully produced. The divisions and introductions are helpful. The bibliography, however, offers no clues as to the selection of books cited. Many obscure, and no doubt valuable, works are listed, while other important little-known books have been ignored. Appreciation must nevertheless be expressed to all who were responsible for producing the book, and it is to be hoped that the editor and the publisher will conspire to put out a low-priced paperback edition in place of the exorbitant sum demanded.

■ SEARCHING FOR TRUTH

Alan R. Taylor and Richard Tetlie, eds. *Palestine: A Search for Truth*. Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1970. 284 pp. \$6.00.

This recent anthology of essays represents a valuable addition to the growing body of scholarly analysis of the Palestine issue. The editors, Alan R. Taylor and Richard N. Tetlie, provide complementary perspectives: Dr. Taylor is a professor of Middle East Studies at the American University (Washington D. C.), and Mr. Tetlie was the first American Cultural Attaché in Israel. Both have contributed to the volume, which is composed mainly of the work of Western authorities on Palestine; there are contributions by six Jewish scholars and also two Christian Arabs.

The purpose of the work is clearly stated in the introduction: «The book's underlying premise is that a balanced perspective is essential to the real understanding which can lead all the parties to appropriate action and thus eventually to peace.» The editors obviously anticipate that the presentation of the little heard «other side» of the Palestine story will bring about a reevaluation of positions on the Middle East conflict. Since there is so little interest in setting right the root causes of world tragedies in general, however, perhaps all that can realistically be hoped for is that such a book will

record for the future the dissenting voices of our time.

«Overview,» the first of the six sections into which the book has been organized, comprises two essays by the editors. «Zionism and Judaism» consists of contributions by Jewish authors who foresaw the inevitably tragic outcome of the development of militant Zionism. Specific components of the Palestine story are examined in «Perspective,» and the meaning and aftermath of the June War of 1967 in «Appearance and Reality.» Needed redefinitions of «American Interests» in the Middle East are provided in the book's fifth section. Finally the problem of prescribing for the future is considered, and so perhaps it is unavoidable that the «Conclusions» are the most tentative part of the book.

Dr. Harry N. Howard has contributed a valuable perspective to the collection with the article entitled «Conflicts of Interest,» an analysis of the ways in which American and Israeli national interests diverge. The premise is stated at the outset: «Despite the obvious evidence to the contrary over the years, there is an implicit, if rationalized, assumption on the part of American Zionists and the Israelis that there is some peculiar, unique identity of interests between the United States and Israel which does not and cannot obtain between the United States and any other country.» Dr. Howard examines US policy statements, cites examples of

Israeli actions harmful to the United States and points out some of the more important American interests in the Middle East. In looking to the future, Dr. Howard urges a greater awareness that the United States «... has a set of interests which are no more identical with those of Israel than with those of other Middle Eastern states.»

Of particular strength and value is Erskine Childers, «The Other Exodus» (1961). This detailed study of the 1948 exodus of the Arabs of Palestine is important because Mr. Childers' findings categorically disprove the myth that it was the Arabs and their leaders who brought about the flight of the Palestinians. His examination of all Middle Eastern radio broadcasts (as monitored by the BBC and a US unit) determined that there was «not a single order, or appeal, or suggestion about evacuation from Palestine from any Arab radio stations, inside or outside of Palestine in 1948.» On the contrary, Mr. Childers found, there were repeated orders and appeals to «stay put.» Mr. Childers cites impressive evidence of a systematic, planned campaign on the part of the Zionists to cause the Palestinian Arabs to flee the land. The outcome is well known: «More than 80 percent of the entire land area of Israel is land abandoned by the Arab refugees.» Mr. Childers also disposes of the myth about deliberate Arab maintenance of the refugees as «political hostages,» citing the economic barriers to creating jobs for

unskilled peasant refugees in countries already glutted with just such people among their own citizens.

Unique among the essays with a future perspective is one by Arnold Toynbee entitled «Zionism and Jewish Destiny» (1960) in which he argues that modern Israel is a virtual extension of the old unemancipated Jewish ghettos of Eastern Europe and Russia. Mr. Toynbee states his belief that the great majority of Jews living in Western nations sincerely believe that they have a safe and secure future in those nations. Their obligation is «to give their country the same undivided political allegiance that is expected of its non-Jewish citizens.» Mr. Toynbee, in answer to the question of whether Israel or the Diaspora is the wave of the future, opts strongly for the Diaspora, maintaining that trends in modern civilization are moving away from statist societies and towards societies featuring highly mobile populations with lessened ties to «local political allegiances.» Mr. Toynbee sees the Jewish Diaspora, then, not as an anachronism but rather as «the pioneer and pilot community of the new kind.»

Although the selection principle for inclusion of articles in different sections sometimes seems arbitrary, the volume contains a sufficient variety of subjects and intelligently expressed views to make its publication well worth-while. ■

PALESTINE QUESTION IN WORLD PRESS

Our «world press» extracts for this month include (1) an editorial on the recent visit to Britain of Zionist terrorist leader Menachem Begin, the perpetrator of the infamous massacre of Deir Yassin. The editorial entitled «A Matter of Sensitivity», which was published in the January-11 issue of the British paper «The Guardian», cites Begin's criminal record and declares that Begin «is not a welcome visitor to this country». (2) a comment on the recent U.S. Government decision to supply Israel with more Phantom planes. The comment entitled «Dangerous Present» which describes the decision as an encouragement to the aggressor party and «a new obstacle on the path of a Middle East settlement» is taken from the Moscow New Times magazine (No. 2 January 1972).

■ A Matter of Sensitivity

(The Guardian – January 11, 1972)

Menachem Begin is not a welcome visitor to this country. This is not to suggest that the Home Office should have taken measures to prevent his entry. Nor is it to condone the use of bomb threats to halt the right to speak freely in public. Nevertheless, if Mr Begin had any sensitivity — and every public pronouncement shows that he has not — he might well have considered that, in view of his record and the policies of his political party, a trip to canvass his views in Britain was singularly unfitting.

The accounts of the larger deeds carried out by his terrorist organization, the Irgun Zvai Leumi, before the establishment of Israel are appalling to recall. And they are not forgotten in Britain to-day. Two incidents in particular stand out. On July 22, 1946, the Irgun blew up the Palestine Government Secretariat, housed in the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, killing 91 British, Arab and Jewish officials. The hanging of two British policemen in July 1947 caused massive disgust in Britain. The Irgun claimed responsibility for both these events. Atrocities like these are a sadly inevitable part of any communal struggle. But Mr. Begin, far from showing contrition during his visit, has expressed pride. He should not be surprised if his reception is hostile.

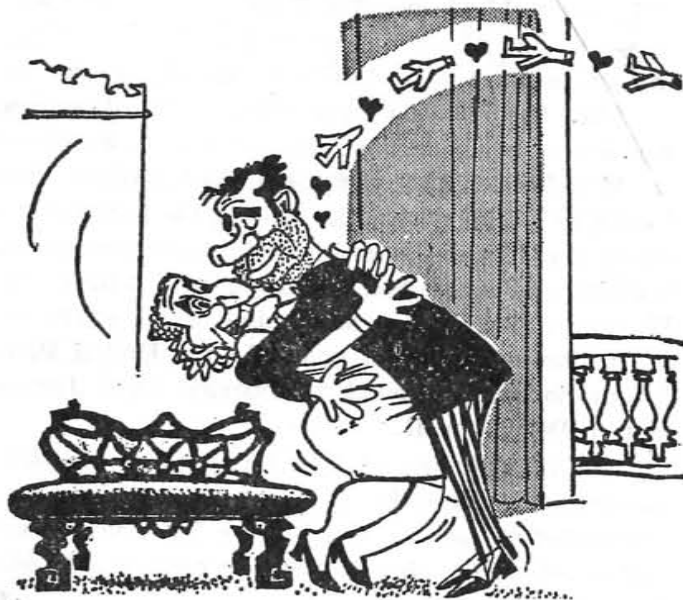
It was not just the British who suffered from the Irgun's attentions. On April 9, 1948, the Irgun raided the Arab village of Deir Yassin near Jerusalem and massacred some 240 men, women, and children. This by itself is horrible, but the effect on the Arab community as a whole was catastrophic (as Begin acknowledges in his book on the Irgun). It contributed towards creating an atmosphere of panic among the Arab community, which caused thousands of Arabs to flee from their homes. The refugee problem remains at the heart of a Middle East settlement.

It is ironic that Begin should consider he is the man to advocate the possibilities of a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. The views held by his political party, the right-wing Herut, makes his role doubly ironic. Herut favours holding on to — or even extending — the Arab territories occupied during the war of 1967. His aim is to draw support away from the Government which is prepared to negotiate withdrawal. Israel finds its ceasefire lines the most convenient and comfortable frontiers it has had. It will not move from them without a settlement. The Arabs will not settle without withdrawal. Begin's contribution makes the Middle East problem more intractable. He is not help or credit to Israel. His is a visit which we could well have done without.

■ Dangerous Present

(New Times No. 2 — January 1972)

«The news that the U.S. government has decided to deliver the Phantoms Israel has been asking for for a year and a half is the best New Year gift she could expect,» one Western newspaper wrote commenting on the decision Washington took after Golda Meir's recent U.S. visit. But if for the Tel Aviv extremists new Phantoms are indeed a desirable gift, the decision on their delivery is a serious blow to the peace and security of the Middle East.



Washington's claim that in exchange for these aircraft it is getting Tel Aviv to make «political concessions» on the question of a Middle East settlement looks very much like a deliberate deception of public opinion.

For is it not a fact that Phantoms are offensive weapons which the Israeli aggressors have time and again used since the 1967 war for armed provocations against Arab countries? General Haim Barlev, who retired from the post of Chief of Staff of Israel's armed forces at the end of last year, said a few days ago that his troops had «carried out 5,500 operations behind enemy lines» since then—the press, incidentally, was told of only 540. What is this if not self-exposure, an admission by an Israeli general that these planes are needed for purposes of provocation?

But the Phantoms are also a political weapon which the Israeli ruling element use to blackmail world public opinion and the United Nations. It is hardly an accident that the tone of the initial statements made by the Israeli ministers and generals on learning of Washington's decision to deliver the Phantoms was highly aggressive. «The motto remains the same: 'Don't give in',» the United Press International correspondent reported from Jerusalem on December 31.

In reinforcing the Israeli air force, the U.S. government is assuming a serious responsibility—the responsibility for encouraging the Tel Aviv hawks and erecting new obstacles on the path of a Middle East settlement. ■

Questions And Answers

Myth of Divine Promises



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.

The following «question and answer» shows that the Zionist claim to Palestine on the grounds that the Jews have been given a divine promise to the Holy Land is invalid and cannot be maintained.



HAVE JEWS BEEN GIVEN VALID DIVINE PROMISES IN CONNECTION WITH PALESTINE?

The place of Ishmael in Arab and Islamic history has close connection with the Zionist claim, or rather myth, which says that the Jews have been given a divine Biblical promise, entitling them to the possession of Palestine.

This mythical claim has been carefully investigated by Professor **Alfred Guillaume**, of the University of London, who published results of his research on the subject in a pamphlet entitled «Zionism and the Bible».

In this study Professor Guillaume summarized the divine promises made to Abraham in the Bible in connection with Palestine, and reached the following conclusions on the subject:

1. That the divine promises were made to Abraham and his descendents and that, when they were made to Isaac and Jacob, none of Abraham's descendents — and this of course includes Ishmael, the traditional ancestor of the Arabs — was excluded.

2. That the words «to thy seed» in the Biblical promise «Unto thy seed will I give this land,» inevitably include the Arabs, both Moslem and Christian because — and here we use the exact words of Professor Guillaume who wrote the following: «While it is correct to consider the Israelites as descendents of Abraham through Isaac, the descendents of Ishmael have every right to call and consider themselves of the seed of Abraham. Moreover, according to the Book of Genesis, the first book of the Bible, when the covenant of circumcision was made with Abraham and the land of Canaan was promised to him as an everlasting possession, it was Ishmael who was circumcised. Isaac had not then been born.»

3. The old Biblical prophecies made to Abraham and the patriarchs were in fact fulfilled in the first return of the Jews with the help of the Persian King, Cyrus. At the time the Jews, previously exiled by the Chaldeans, did return to Judea after their first exile and did rebuild Jerusalem and the temple.

Within the canonical literature of the Old Testament there is no prophecy of a second return.

Thus the establishment of Zionist Israel as a return after two thousand years contradicts the Biblical prophecy on which it is based; and for this reason, a Jewish sect, the Neturei Karta Jews believe the establishment of Israel runs counter to their beliefs.

4. The divine promises made in the Bible to Abraham and the patriarchs have been annulled by the national Jewish apostasy and by the failure of the Jews to accept the message of Christ.

5. The Biblical texts do not speak of Israel as a geographical, ethnical or political entity but as a group of the faithful.

6. A large section of the followers of the Jewish faith, and in particular the followers of conservative Judaism, rightly consider the so-called «Return to Zion» as something spiritual, not to be entrusted to a political mechanism. Leaders of this sect, meeting in a convention which they held in New York on November 18, 1959, declared that «the state of Israel, brought into being by the World Zionist movement and still nurtured by it, is not considered by leaders of conservative Judaism to be part of their faith and cannot be considered by them to be, in any way, the fulfilment of promises of the Old Testament.»

7. It cannot possibly be proved that all present-day Jews are descended from Abraham, and thus there is no justification for the claim that present-

day Jews are heirs to the divine promise.

8. There is no basis in either Old Testament or New to support the claim of the Zionists that a modern Jewish state in Palestine is justified or demanded by the Bible, or by Biblical prophecy. Furthermore, the promises of Biblical prophecy apply to all mankind, not only to Jews or Zionists; and such terms as «victory» or «salvation» in their true Biblical meaning, connote religious and spiritual achievements, and not the conquest of political enemies.

9. Even without the specific statements of the New Testament with regard to the spiritual and religious nature of the promises to Jews, the Old Testament alone, in its truest sense and in the hands of its truest interpreters, points to a spiritual kingdom for all mankind and not to a political entity that occupies territories and homes belonging naturally to another people and reduces some of its inhabitants to the status of refugees, or to that of second class citizenship.

10. Lastly, as Professor Guillaume has pointed out, religious considerations occupy no place in contemporary International Law which, ever since the sixteenth century, is based solely on the effective and continuous existence of sovereignty over the territory of the state and actual occupancy of it.»

The ten points which we have discussed show that the Zionist Jews cannot base their claim to Palestine on the fulfilment of a Biblical promise or divine prophecy. ■

DOCUMENTS

On December 6, 1971 the United Nations General Assembly adopted five resolutions on the Palestine Question and the problem of the Palestine refugees. The first of these resolutions (Resolution A) expresses regret that «repatriation or compensation of the refugees provided for in paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III) has not been effected. «The second resolution (Resolution B) strongly appeals «to all governments and to organizations and individuals to contribute generously to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees — «UNRWA». Resolutions C,D, and E reaffirm the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine under the U.N. Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and condemn Israel's failure to repatriate persons displaced in the 1967 war and Israeli oppressive practices in the occupied Arab territories, including the subjection of the inhabitants of these territories to maltreatment, deportation and other forms of persecution.

The full text of Resolutions C, D, and E is reproduced below:

Resolution C

The General Assembly,

Having considered the special report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East on the effect on Palestine refugees of recent operations carried out by the Israeli military authorities in the Gaza Strip, and the supplement thereto,

Noting that both the Secretary-General and the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East have expressed great concern about the effect on Palestine refugees of these operations, in which shelters in refugee camps were demolished and about 15,000 persons displaced, some of them to places outside the Gaza Strip,

Recalling Commission on Human Rights resolution 10 (XXVI) of 23 March 1970, in which the Commission deplored all policies and actions aiming at the deportation of the Palestinian refugees from the occupied Gaza Strip and called upon Israel to desist forthwith from deporting the Palestinian civilians from the Gaza Strip,

1. **Declares** that the destruction of refugee shelters and the forcible removal of their occupants to other places, including places outside the Gaza Strip, contravene articles 49 and 53 of the Geneva

Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949 as well as paragraph 7 of General Assembly resolution 2675 (XXV) of 9 December 1970 entitled «Basic principles for the protection of civilian populations in armed conflicts»;

2. **Deplores** these actions by Israel;

3. **Calls upon Israel to desist from further destruction of refugee shelters and from further removal of refugees from their present places of residence;**

4. **Calls upon Israel to take immediate and effective steps for the return of the refugees concerned to the camps from which they were removed and to provide adequate shelters for their accommodation;**

5. **Requests** the Secretary-General, after consulting with the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, to report as soon as possible and whenever appropriate thereafter, but in any case no later than the opening date of the twenty-seventh regular session of the General Assembly, on Israel's compliance with the provisions of paragraph 3 and the implementation of the provisions of paragraph 4 of the present resolution.

Resolution D

The General Assembly,

Recognizing that the problem of the Palestinian Arab refugees has arisen from the denial of their inalienable rights under the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

Recalling its resolutions 2535 B (XXIV) of 10 December 1969, in which it reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine, 2672 C (XXV) of 8 December 1971, in which it recognized that the people of Palestine are entitled to equal rights and self-determination, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and 2649 (XXV) of 30 November 1970, in which it recognized that the people of Palestine are entitled to the right of self-determination,

Bearing in mind the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples enshrined in Articles 1 and 55 of the Charter of the United Nations and more recently reaffirmed in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security,

1. Recognizes that the people of Palestine

are entitled to equal rights and self-determination, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;

2. Expresses its grave concern that the people of Palestine have not been permitted to enjoy their inalienable rights and to exercise their right to self-determination;

3. Declares that full respect for the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine is an indispensable element in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

Resolution E

The General Assembly,

Recalling Security Council resolution 237 (1967) of 14 June 1967,

Recalling also its resolutions 2252 (ES-V) of 4 July 1967, 2452 A (XXIII) of 19 December 1968, 2535 B (XXIV) of 10 December 1969 and 2672 D (XXV) of 8 December 1970, calling upon the Government of Israel to take effective and immediate steps for the return without delay of those inhabitants who had fled the areas since the outbreak of hostilities,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-

General of 27 August 1971, concerning the implementation of resolution 2672 D (XXV),

Gravely concerned about the plight of the displaced inhabitants,

Convinced that the plight of the displaced persons could be relieved by their speedy return to their homes and to the camps which they formerly occupied,

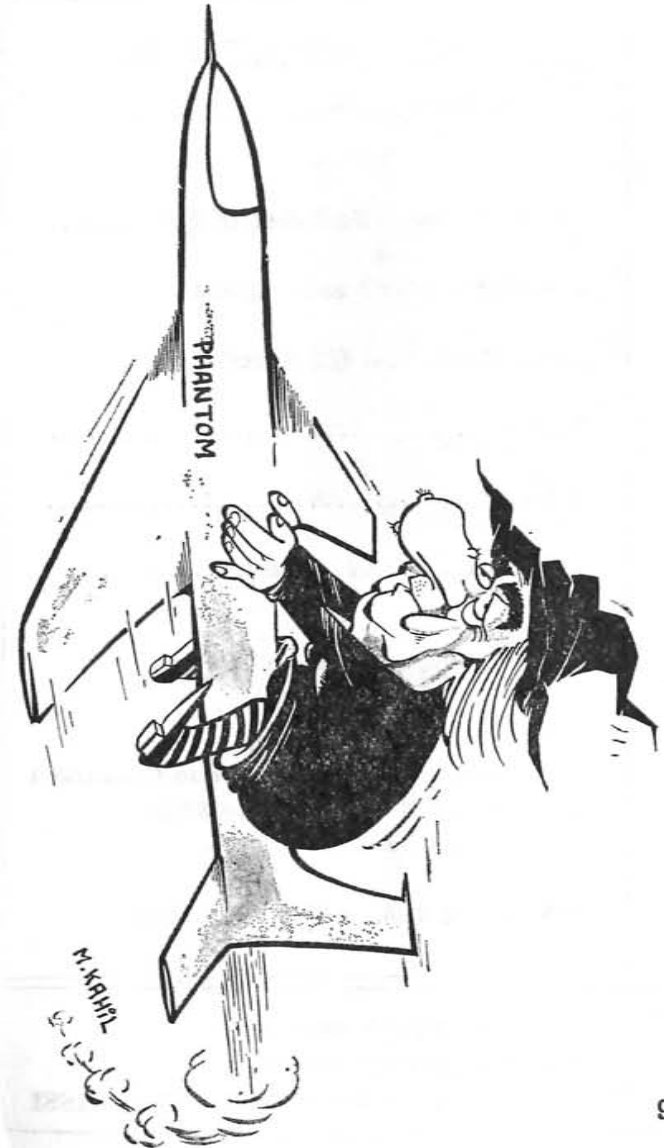
Emphasizing the imperative of giving effect to its resolutions for relieving the plight of the displaced inhabitants,

1. **Considers** that the plight of the displaced inhabitants continues since they have not yet returned to their homes and camps;

2. **Expresses grave concern** that the displaced inhabitants have not been able to return in accordance with the above-mentioned resolutions;

3. **Calls once more upon the Government of Israel to take immediately and without any further delay effective steps for the return of the displaced inhabitants;**

4. **Requests** the Secretary-General to follow the implementation of the present resolution and to report thereon to the General Assembly. ■



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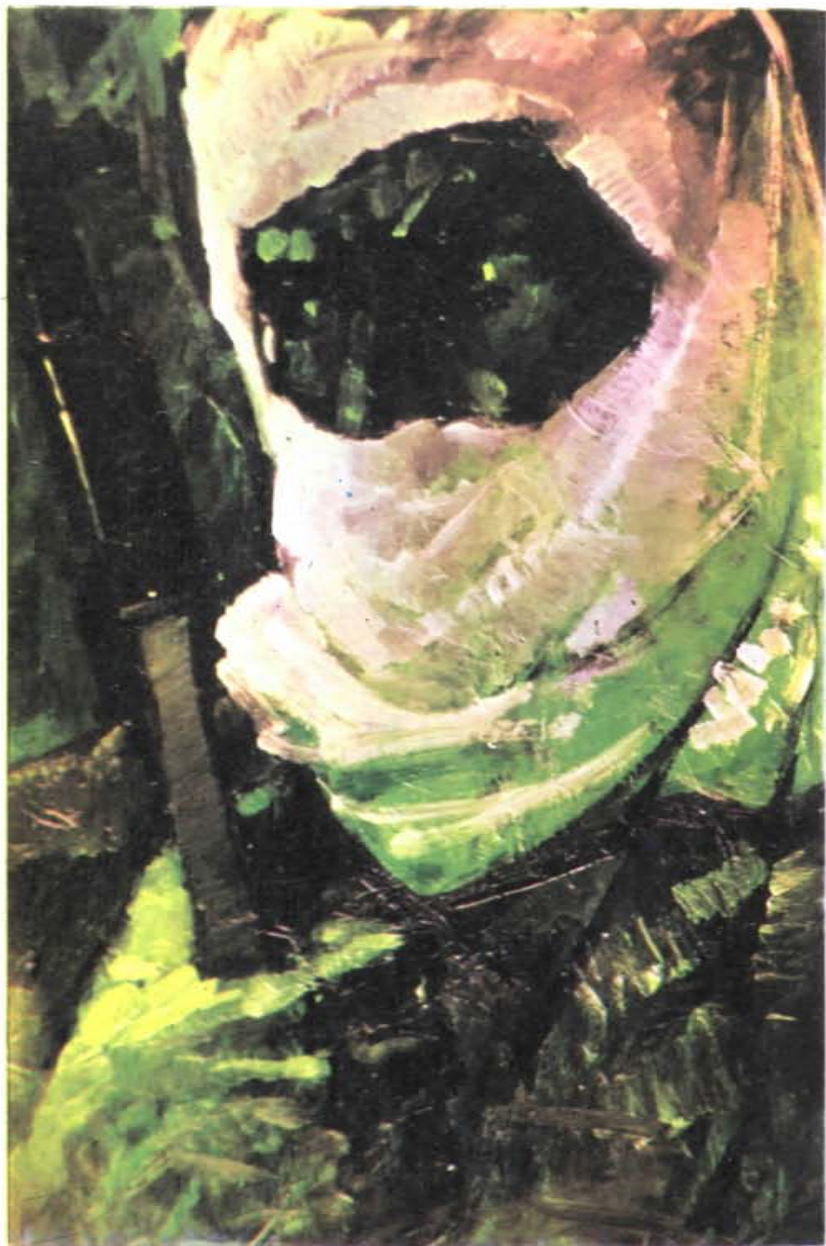


Original
painting by:
I. Shamout.

IN THE TWENTIEH CENTURY

By : Samih Kassem
(Occupied Palestine)

I never knew hatred in the past
But a ready-to-kill spear I now hold fast
To face the dragon
To be the Elijah of the race.
In the past; but that was in the past,
An open house I had for one and all.
But one morning, I-awoke
To find flour stolen, child stabbed, and wife choked.
I recognized my treacherous guests
I planted my garden with mines, daggers, and the rest.
By this dagger I swear,
None of them shall pass this threshold again.
I never knew hatred in the past,
But in the Twentieth Century I have learnt the art.



See Inside cover