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ARAB PALESTINIAN **RESISTANCE**

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Arab Palestinian **RESISTANCE**

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FROM THE RECORD

«For the international community to accept such action as tolerable would be, not a return to the jungle as some speakers have said, because in many respects the jungle has its own natural laws. It would be rather to revert to a state of international anarchy.»

Britain's Delegate, addressing the Security Council on April 17, 1973, condemns the Israeli murder raid on Beirut perpetrated on April 10. ■

Editorial

Commenting on the UN Security Council's condemnation of Israel's hijacking of a Lebanese airliner on August 10, the Chief of Staff of the Israeli army, brazenly unashamed, said Israel would continue to wage a lawless war against Palestinian resistance.

Israel's interception of an international flight on August 10 has been universally condemned. The French Pilots Association said the act was «state-sponsored piracy.» The official Soviet News Agency Tass declared :«The competent Soviet circles resolutely condemn the attack and are of the opinion that responsibility for the aggressive action, which flouts the UN charter and norms of international law, rests wholly and entirely with the Government of Israel.» The London Times pointed out that «defiance of international law seems to have become a habit with Israel.» The Czechoslovak Rude Pravo commented: «Aggression has become the official policy of Israel. The worst and most dangerous thing is that Tel Aviv believes in terror and violence as a means of imposing its will upon the Arabs and the whole world.»

Israel's lawless behaviour has not been directed solely against the Arabs. In the Zionist murder operation carried out in Beirut last April, Israeli agents used forged British, French and Belgian passports. More recently, Israeli courts have been illegally toying a Turkish citizen, Faiq Balut, whom they abducted in a raid against the neighbouring state of Lebanon. The Norwegians, who for long have not been unfriendly to Israel, have now been awakened to the reality of Israel and Zionism by the recent assassination on Norwegian soil of a Moroccan youth, Ahmed Boushiki, by Zionist terrorist gangs operating from the embassy of an accredited state.

Verbal condemnation will not check Zionist and Israeli lawlessness. What is needed is collective action by the world community against Israel and an Arab economic boycott of its American sponsors. ■

Resistance

■ M. T. Bujairami

Political scene

WHAT IS DAYAN UP TO ?

■

The American challenge to the Arab Nation was never as flagrant and callous as it appeared in the recent discussion of the Middle East crisis in the U.N. Security Council. This challenge was also directed against world public opinion and the will of the entire international community.

■

Once more America did not feel any embarrassment in standing alone in defending the Israeli aggression and advocating the continued occupation of Arab territories by force. The American veto was also coupled with the announcement of another American «loan» to Israel, exceeding the sum of \$300 million, to be used in helping Israel to perpetuate the present status quo and consolidate Israel's attitude of arrogant expansionism .

Israel's «projects» in the occupied areas are thus openly financed from Uncle Sam's purse, not only at the expense of the American tax-payer, but also at the expense of international justice. In other words, America is paying Israel in order to



keep the Arabs displaced and their lands and homes stolen or usurped by force, so as to provide accommodation for fresh Jewish immigrants imported from abroad.

Feverish attempts continue to be made by the Israeli forces of occupation to create more demographic vacuums by inducing more Arabs to emigrate to Canada, Australia and Latin America. The remaining Arabs in the occupied territories are being turned into rootless multitudes of poor workers in search of employment to earn their daily bread, by being exploited at the hands of Israeli firms, thus creating a state of masters and slaves,

similar in some respects to the situation in Rhodesia or South Africa, where the «natives», or indigenous population, toil but enjoy no rights and are treated as second-rate citizens in their own homeland.

This kind of exploitation is also being exercised against large numbers of Oriental Jews, who are being treated as a cheap source of labour in the pay of the fortunate Israeli capitalists who come from the West. The strike of the Israeli seamen is only one indication of the growing refusal of the poor, underprivileged classes to continue to be treated like this. In fact, there is evidence that some would-be immigrants to Israel, especially from the Soviet Union, are having second-thoughts now, because they have been receiving warnings from their friends and relatives already in Israel.

The Israeli propaganda-machine, meanwhile, continues to call on the Arabs to come to the table of negotiations «without prior conditions» - thus ignoring the fact that the occupation of the territories of three Arab countries — in addition to the whole of Palestine — by force, is in itself one of the most intolerable conditions that are being imposed prior to any negotiations.

In addition to the areas publicly declared by the boastful Israeli leaders as «not negotiable under any circumstances,» these leaders make no secret of their intentions concerning the rest of the occupied areas. The economic, geographical, legal, ethnic and cultural changes in these territories continue to be carried out at full speed. Only last week, the



Israeli Prime Minister, Golda Meir, visited one of the sites of these changes aimed at what Israel calls the «creation of new facts» in North-Eastern Sinai and the Rafah approaches, where whole Arab tribes have been evacuated by force to make room for a new Israeli city to be built there. This is an attempt

to surround the Gaza Strip with more and more Zionist settlements and colonization centers.

Similar attempts are being made in several parts of the occupied West Bank, in the vicinity of large Arab towns such as Nablus, Al-Khalil (**Hebron**), Bethlehem, Tulkarm ... etc. Whole Arab villages and towns have been deliberately bulldozed after the expulsion of their inhabitants. Other villages are being considered as «military areas» or «security zones» just at the stroke of a pencil. The inhabitants of these villages are immediately forbidden from entering their homes or carrying out their work in the arable lands which they have tilled for hundreds of years. These lands are often confiscated even after ceasing to be «**dangerous military zones**» and their original Arab inhabitants never regain them.

On the contrary, these inhabitants become multitudes of wandering refugees, while their homes become new centers of thriving Jewish colonies. Several villages near Jerusalem were treated in this way; and several settlements are rising along the West Bank of the river Jordan, from the Dead Sea in the South, to the Sea of Galilee in the North. A fishing colony has been established on the shores of the Bardawil Lake in northern Sinai; a tourist center and winter resort have been built in Sharm-el-Shiekh in Southern Sinai; a horticultural project has been carried out on the north-west shores of the Dead Sea, and several agricultural stockbreed-



ing farms and industrial towns have been established in the Golan Heights.

The money to finance all these extensive long-range projects does not come from Zionist sources only, and the Israeli budget, burdened as it is with the soaring costs of «**defence**» cannot cater for projects of such magnitude and with such speed. The money comes mainly from Uncle Sam's large purse. Of course, such «investments» are there to stay, because no fool would throw such big money to the wind.

These projects indicate Israel's intentions with regard to the future of the areas in which they operate, with or without any prospective settlement of the Middle East dispute. Israel goes so far as to boastfully show these projects to tourists, claiming that the Israeli prophecy is coming true by making «the desert bloom!» As for the Arabs, Israel says they should be thankful to these «blessings» of Israeli occupation.

Israeli intentions were made loud and clear very recently in a speech by Y. Rabin, former Israeli ambassador to the United States. He told a meeting

of Israeli-American youth that the present cease-fire lines are the best Israel has ever had. He said they were better than the borders of the ancient Jewish Kingdom at its height, under David and Solomon.

He probably implied that the Israelis, if they ever moved away from these lines, their movement would not be backwards, but forward, deeper into Arab territories, because «the best line of defence between Cairo and Tel-Aviv is the Suez Canal, not any other line in Sinai!» He also reminded the Syrians, in an ominous tone, that Damascus was only 35-40 miles away from the present cease-fire lines! Rabin then declared that he would «pity» any Egyptian forces that might attempt to cross the Suez Canal.

It is America that enables Rabin and his likes to speak with arrogant defiance, and Rabin himself admitted this in his speech when he sang the praises of American-Israeli relations, saying that these relations had never been closer than they are nowadays. Add to this the repeated Israeli threats to physically liquidate the Palestinian people under the pretext of «combating terrorism» and the image of the Israeli attitudes and intentions would become crystal-clear.

Yet the Arabs are asked to accept these policies and even to be grateful to Israel for not imposing «more difficult conditions» to settle the dispute. The Arabs are called upon by Israel to give their official approval to the present status-quo, perhaps

with some minor adjustments here and there, in exchange for nothing more than an Israeli promise not to wage another major attack against the Arab countries. When the Arabs refuse this state of affairs, they are considered by the Israeli generals as «enemies of peace»; and this consideration is now being used to justify all sorts of Israeli terror.

Israeli terror is official, deliberate, and government-sanctioned. The world has recently witnessed samples of Israeli terror both in the Middle East and abroad. The interception of the Iraqi civilian plane inside the Lebanese air space by Israeli fighter jets amounts to a callous, unprecedented act of air-piracy. Israel calls on the world not to give assistance to hi-jackers, while Israel herself gives the hi-jackers fighter-jets to carry out their crimes! Israeli murder squads are dispatched to Europe under the protection of the Israeli embassies and diplomatic missions, as happened in the case of the Moroccan youth who was killed in cold-blood in Norway.

Meanwhile, a huge Israeli military build-up continues along the Lebanese borders, with frequent intrusions into the Lebanese air space by Israeli reconnaissance flights. What is Moshe Dayan up to? Another mass-murder campaign against the Palestinians? How can anybody who struggles to regain his usurped lands and rights be considered a **terrorist?** Isn't it high time the real Israeli terrorists were brought to justice? ■

■ by Dr. Alan R. Taylor(1)

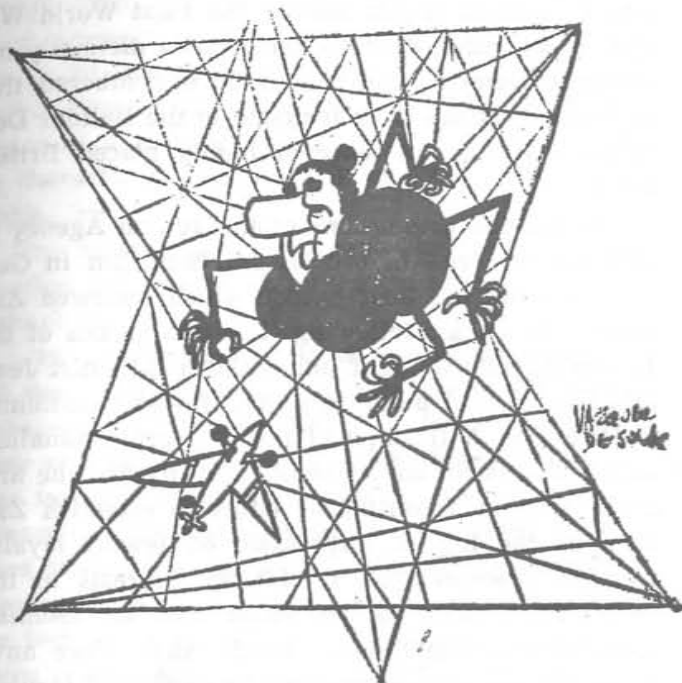
UNSOLVED PROBLEM OF ISRAEL

■

One of Herzl's closest associates, Max Nordau, once remarked that the sole purpose of Zionism was to normalise a people. And indeed, the nationalist programme which the Zionists fostered did much to eradicate the distinction between Jew and Gentile in the modern world. In stressing the importance of national status and territorial sovereignty, Zionism conformed to the political and utilitarian criteria of secular culture, while neglecting the substantive uniqueness of Judaism as a social and ethical order. But this aspect of Zionism was obscured by a concerted effort to overcome Jewish resistance to the movement through identifying it as the bearer of Jewish culture and the representative of the Jews as a people and a nationality.

■

(1) Alan R. Taylor is associate professor at the American University, Washington and author of *Prelude to Israel*.



At the Second Zionist Congress in 1898, Herzl advocated Jewish recruitment as a major task to be undertaken: «It cannot continue much longer that in enlightened Jewish communities an agitation should be carried on against Zion We must once for all put an end to it ... I place among our future aims the conquest of the communities.» From this initiative, the Zionists devoted their attention to gaining Jewish support and allegiance, which was minimal at the turn of the century. Des-

pite significant growth during the First World War and in the 1920s, Zionism remained a distinctly minority movement, and it will be remembered that restrictive clauses were included in the Balfour Declaration at the insistence of highly placed British Jews.

It was the «extension» of the Jewish Agency in 1929 and the rise of official anti-Semitism in Germany during the next decade which endowed Zionism with a mass following. The «extension» of the Jewish Agency brought influential non-Zionist Jews into the work of building up the Jewish community in Palestine. A triumph of the new professionalism which Weizmann had introduced, it marked the first major step in a continuing effort to establish Zionism as the highest expression of Jewish loyalty and the representative of Jewish interests in the world. Then came the Holocaust and its seeming affirmation of the Zionist thesis that since anti-Semitism was an endemic predisposition of Gentile psychology, the creation of a Jewish state was the necessary foundation of self-defence.

During the Second World War, the majority of Jewish organisations in Europe and America endorsed the Zionist demand for a Jewish state in Palestine. After the defeat of Germany, the Zionist campaign for statehood gathered momentum and eventually won the support of the UN General Assembly. This was followed by a prolonged war between Israel and the Arab world. But though Israel emerged victorious in the three major encounters

in 1948, 1956, and 1967, a peaceful solution has become increasingly elusive. The effect of the war, now in its twenty-fifth year, has been to reinforce Jewish support for Israel and to stifle serious attempts at a re-examination of what Zionism and the character of Israel really imply for the Jewish future.

The most basic fact about the contemporary situation has been noted by the young Jewish writer, Michael Selzer:

The age-old tension between «the saving remnant» of those who would save Judaism itself and those who opt for the false salvation of comfort and normalcy now once again confronts the Jewish future. Not since the inglorious days three centuries ago when the Smyrnian adventurer Sabbatai Zevi was widely acclaimed Messiah have the dangers of a massive consensus challenging the very basis of Judaism become as acute as they are today. Now just as then, an utterly mundane phenomenon is being proclaimed as the culmination and fulfilment of Jewish history. Now just as then, the despair engendered by massive catastrophe has given rise to the false and dangerous illusion of redemption.

The ideological problem of Zionism has more specific dimensions in the present setting. Of particular importance is the manner in which Israel was established and its subsequent relationship with the Arab Middle East. At an early stage, Herzl anticipated a competitive rivalry between the Zionist settlers and the indigenous community of Pales-

tine, a struggle involving the systematic displacement of the Arab population. The fellahin were to be spirited across the border, while the propertied class would be subject to the enticement of extravagant prices for their lands. This policy was later reiterated in words and carried out in practice, with the final result that Palestine was transformed from an Arab into a Jewish commonwealth.

The verbal commitment of Zionist leaders to the principle of equity notwithstanding, the planned alienation of the Arab community from its homeland was carried out through a programme which combined diplomatic intrigue, international propaganda, exploitation of existing feudal conditions, labour discrimination, and deliberate terrorism. The progress of events deepened the involvement of the Zionists in a strategy of escalating violence, which indirectly implicated the Jewish community in the world without this fact ever being clearly represented. But it remained that Zionism had been drawn into the more excessive channels of ardent nationalism against the background of explosive developments. In the process, it had acquired characteristics which underlined the ethical issue at hand.

Dr. Judah Magnes, first president of the Hebrew University and a champion of Arab-Jewish co-operation, summarized the problem succinctly:

Perhaps we have made mistakes. Let us look them in the face and learn from them. We seem to have thought of everything - except the Arabs. We have

issued this and that publication and done other commendable things. But as to a consistent, clearly worked out, realistic, generous policy of political social, economic, educational cooperation with the Arabs - the time never seems to be propitious.

But the time has come for the Jews to take into account the Arab factor as the most important facing us. If we have a just cause, so have they. If promises were made to us, so were they to the Arabs. If we love the land and have a historical connection with it, so too the Arabs, Even more realistic than the ugly realities of imperialism is the fact that the Arabs live here and in this part of the world, and will probably be here long after the collapse of one imperialism and the rise of another. If we too wish to live in this living space, we must live with the Arabs

Unfortunately, the spirit of binationalism which Dr. Magnes advocated died with him in 1948. In its place has come a mounting Arabophobia in Israel, encouraged by the hubris of military victory. The expulsion of the Arabs in 1948 evoked almost no criticism of the policy pursued, while the legitimacy and existence of the Palestinians as a national entity have been emphatically denied. The physical expansion accomplished in 1967 has given rise to some questioning, but the official position is to facilitate the gradual settlement of Jews in the conquered territories and to consider much of the occupation final and non-negotiable.

Another ideological difficulty for contemporary Zionism surrounds the question of what it is that

constitutes Jewishness. The problem of Jewish identity was introduced by the Zionist emphasis on kinship rather than religion as the basis of Jewish nationality. The interpretive contradiction between this view and that implicit in Judaism has been a source of existential tension since the creation of Israel, but here again the tendency has been to shelve the issue rather than to examine it in depth.

The Law of Return, which was enacted in 1950, established the right of Jews to immediate citizenship without defining what it is to be a Jew. Initially, the State deferred to the Orthodox definition, and only those who were born of a Jewish mother and had not renounced Judaism, or converts to the faith were considered as possessing Jewish nationality. It was on the basis of this criterion that in 1963 Father Daniel Rufeison, a Catholic priest of Jewish parentage was denied immediate citizenship under the Law of Return, though the residence requirements for naturalisation were minimised. In the more recent Shalit case, the Supreme Court of Israel ordered that the children of a Jewish atheist and a Gentile mother should be registered as Jewish by ethnic affiliation.

These legal cases have raised some doubt as to the true nature of Jewish identity, and reveal a fundamental dilemma in the Zionist thesis itself. In promoting a system of nationalism on the Western secular model, Zionism challenged the traditional understanding of Jewish nationality. The religious definition was upheld because Judaism had

always been regarded as the basis of collectivity, and to deny this would have undermined the Zionist claim to represent the Jewish people as a national entity. But since Zionism was a populist doctrine which emphasised the subjective sense of participation in Jewish peoplehood, it implicitly subordinated religious commitment to the broader dimensions of Jewish ethnic culture.

The problem facing the justices involved in the Shalit case was to decide between the Halacha (Judaic religious law) and the Zionist interpretation of Jewish nationality as the normative definition of what it is to be a Jew. The opinions were guarded, elusive, and sometimes equivocal, but the majority called on the registration authorities to accept Shalit's children as «Jewish» unless they could show cause why this should not be done. The case therefore left the question of Jewish identity essentially unanswered, inasmuch as the decision obliquely affirmed the subjective view without fully rejecting the significance of the religious connotation. In this respect, the intricate relationship between Israel, the Jewish Diaspora, and Judaism has been consigned to limbo, leaving it for future generations to sort out its complexities and contradictions.

Related to the legal aspects of the Jewish identity problem is the political issue of Israeli relations with the Jewish world outside. In the early years of the State, Ben Gurion insisted that the test of Zionist affiliation was immigration to Israel, par-

ticipation in the «Ingathering». This engendered a sharp dispute between Israeli spokesmen and the American Zionists in particular. The controversy escalated in the ensuing encounters and led to an annual American-Israeli Dialogue, starting in 1962. Beneath the disparity of views on the obligations of registered Zionists was the deeper issue of residual conflict between a parochial Jewish state in the Middle East, which sought to represent Jewish interests on an international scale, and a continuing Diaspora, which was too diversified to be encompassed by the narrower concerns of a Levantine chauvinism.

The public expressions of solidarity notwithstanding, the Jewish communities of the West have opted to maintain themselves as constituted, thereby rejecting the Zionist preoccupation with «negation of the Diaspora». Eventually, this contrast of perceived affinities is bound to express itself in terms of separate interests, with the result that Israel, however important to Jews psychologically, may come to be regarded more as a cultural centre than as a focus of allegiance. At least, the broadening dimensions of Jewish development in the world and the general disenchantment with ideological formulations as such point in this direction.

The 1967 campaign was an important watershed in the history of Zionism. In gathering many strands of activity and direction from the past, it also posed difficult questions for the future. The war itself was welcomed and triggered by Israel, not so much

for the sake of security and expansion, but to galvanise the Zionist image and to intensify Jewish support for Israel. In the aftermath, Jewish identification with Israel was magnified, generally without scrutiny of what had actually happened. There was little publicity, for example, of the fact that informed Israel military leaders denied that the country was seriously threatened before the war, suggesting another motive for the attacks on Sinai, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights. It was rather the image of a beleaguered Israel that Jews were encouraged to accept, reinforcing their commitment to the State and to the future of Zionism. Later, the Jewish Agency was «reconstituted» in such a fashion as to blur the distinction between Jewish and Zionist affiliation, while the situation of Soviet Jewry was blown out of proportion to maintain a climate of concern for the mission of Israel.

Yet at the same time, the years since 1967 have produced some of the sharpest critiques, not only of Israel and its policies, but of Zionism itself. Nahum Goldmann, former President of the World Zionist Organisation, reflected in 1970 that after fifty years of Zionist activity he was «beginning to have doubts as to whether the establishment of the State of Israel as it is today was the fullest accomplishment of the Zionist idea» In particular, he felt that Zionism had failed to recognise the gravity and importance of the Arab problem, and that the legacy of militarism it bequeathed to the State endangered the future of Israeli-Jewish rela-

tions. Hence, the whole system, had a lethal gene which threatened to destroy its purpose and destiny.

Two leading Zionist academicians, Arthur Hertzberg and Jacob Talmon, have expressed similar reservations as to Israel's refusal to recognise the existence and legitimacy of the Palestinian Arab nation. Dr. Hertzberg has remarked that «To deny now the existence of a Palestinian Arab national consciousness because it did not exist as such in 1917 is a delusion.» Professor Talmon carried this point further: «In the eyes of the world, and in my eyes too, the recognition or lack of recognition of the Palestinian Arab as a community with the right to self-determination is the cardinal question at issue. It is the acid test that will determine whether we are bent on settlement and reconciliation or on expansion - on respect for the rights of others or on ignoring them. This is the measuring rod for determining the democratic character and moral qualities of our State.»

The Jewish «left» in Israel and America particularly is also troubled by the occupation and its disregard for Arab rights and aspirations. Also emerging are groups of more religiously inclined younger Jews, such as Havurat Shalom in the United States, which find Zionism somewhat confining and are concerned over the moral aspects of Israel's expansion and attitude toward the Palestinians. Even among middle class Jews in America



there is a sense that Israel is out of line on a number of issues and that the policies made in Jerusalem do not necessarily reflect the views of other Jewish communities. Of special note is the resentment of

many Jews in the United States that as voters they were identified with Israel, rather than as ordinary citizens with broader interests in the well-being of their own country.

These currents of unrest are also apparent in the general mood of Israeli society. Paul Jacobs, a prominent American Jewish journalist who has made several professional visits to Israel recently, has observed that «despite the country's military triumphs and economic achievements, a nagging sense of disquiet gnaws at many Israelis . . . a feeling that, despite all the public protestations to the contrary, all is not quite so well. And a handful of Israelis, including figures who were once respected members of the Israeli establishment, are proclaiming their profound dissatisfaction with the present directions of Israeli policies - in relation both to the occupied territories and the country's internal life.»

Though ostensibly the Israel of today seems to hold all the trump cards and can do what it pleases, there remain several unresolved problems of primary significance. The spectre of the disinherited Palestinians is one. The matter of what it is to be a Jew is another. But most important is the riddle of Zionism itself. How does it measure against the Jewish past, in which continuity was maintained through the integrity of Judaism as a humanising tradition? What does it augur for the future as a system of power and will? ■



STATE - SPONSORED AIR PIRACY

On Friday, August 10, Israel abducted an Arab airliner which had just left Beirut and was bound for Baghdad.

At 21 hrs. local time, Israeli Mirage jet fighters, flying over Beirut airport and endangering heavy civilian traffic, high-jacked a Middle East Airlines

Caravelle Airliner, chartered by Iraqi Airways to go to Baghdad, thereby violating the sovereignty and air space of Lebanon.

Told of the presence of the Israeli jet fighters, the airliner pilot delayed his take-off. Later he requested and received permission to depart leaving from a different runway. But despite this, Israeli Mirage jet fighters dived toward the plane and ordered it to follow at an altitude of 6,500 feet (about 3,000 meters).

The Caravelle pilot was told to fly 70kms west of the Lebanese coast, then to turn south toward an Israeli military airbase under the threat of being shot down.

After the airliner's doors were ordered opened Israeli troops broke in and interrogated the 74 passengers and seven crew members.

Returning to Beirut early the following morning after being released, the Caravelle's pilot said he had to comply with Israeli orders for safety's sake.

He did not want a repetition of the fate of the Libyan airliner shot down by Israeli planes over the Sinai Desert last February with the loss of more than 100 lives.

Lebanon brought the matter to the attention of the UN Security Council and called on the council to condemn in the strongest terms the abominable act perpetrated by Israel.

Lebanese Ambassador at the United Nations Edouard Ghorra told the Council, meeting in urgent session at Lebanon's request, «Israel has engaged as a state in an act of air piracy, of hijacking, of state terrorism.»

Ambassador Ghorra pointed out that Israel already had the distinction of being the only U.N. member state condemned for aggression and kidnapping.

«Now it has added to its record the crime of premeditated and well-planned hijacking.»

Lebanon's UN representative stressed that the international community could no longer tolerate Israel's lawless behaviour. He said:

«The Lebanese government trusts that the Council in the present case can adopt a resolution condemning in the strongest terms the abominable act perpetrated by **Israel**.

«We feel it should address a solemn warning to Israel to refrain from a repetition of this act and of the violation of Lebanese sovereignty and territorial integrity.»

The Lebanese UN Delegate also stressed the Council had a responsibility to bring any resolution it adopted to the attention of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) for its consideration, with a view to applying sanctions against Israeli civil aviation. ■

poems ..

■

The following poems, by various authors, describe emotions and feelings related to the hardships and sufferings of the much-wronged Palestinian Arab people, whose country has been invaded by the Zionists, to the spirit of challenge and fortitude with which the Palestinian Arabs have faced the invaders, and to the determination they have persistently maintained to liberate their usurped homeland.

■

(1)

■ The Night And Its Homing

In her novel «The Night and its Homing», the well-known writer Ethel Manning speaks for the young Palestinians born in exile:

We who are young
Never knew our father's orange groves;
We have only seen them
Across the barbed wire
Dividing our villages;



Or beyond the wastes
They call No Man's Land.
We have seen our father's houses
In that near distance
Beyond the Demarcation Lines,
To which we cannot go.
(Because we are Arab,
Though all we see is Arab.
So much we never knew,
Were not allowed to know.
But this we know:)
They are strangers
Who harvest our fathers' oranges,
Who walk in our vineyards
And olive groves;
Who live in our house,
And cultivate our lands.
Foreigners renamed our country,
Claiming it as their own.
(Lydda and Jaffa and Haifa,
So much we have never known,
We who are Palestinian
In our flesh and our blood
And our bone)

(2)

■ **I Would Not Despair**

Fawzi al-Asmar, a veteran of Israeli jails refuses
to yield to the spirit of despair.

I would not despair:
Even though my only way is within a jail,
Under the sun,



In the Exile -
 I would not despair:
 I would not chose but Right as a retaliation,
 For my right is that we behold the sun,
 Destroy the black tent and the banishment,
 Eat the fruit of the olive,
 Irrigate the vineyard,
 Sing melodies, melodies of love,
 In the quarters of Jaffa nd Haifa,
 Sow our green soil with seeds;
 Since these rights are mine,
 I would not choose but Right as a refuge.
 My way is that we would extend hand to hand
 In order to build a castle of dreams,
 Full of flowers,
 Without haste,
 Without unwise manners.
 Since this is my way,
 And even if the cost
 Of my adherence to my way
 Is to sacrifice the lids of my eyes,
 And my soul,
 I would pay,
 And would not despair!

(3)

■ This Victory Is Worse Than Defeat

The following is a translation of an Arabic poem written on the subject of the June 1967 War

by Tewfik Ziad, poet from the Israeli occupied Arab town of Nazareth:

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

(4)

■ An Arab Hanging

Children's toyshops in the cities of Occupied Palestine often display toys of various shapes and sizes made to represent Arab men and women. Most popular of these is the one showing an Arab hanging on the gallows. Commenting on this, the poet Salem Jubran from Nazareth says:

An Arab hanging, is the nicest toy
 That children can buy.



It is in all the shops,
All over town! Oh, no
It has sold out,
Do not search any more
It sold out days ago!

O, souls of the dead in Nazi camps,
This man hanging
Is no Jew from Berlin.
This man hanging
Is an Arab like me,
Your brethren have killed him
Your Nazi friends... in Zion.

(5)

■ Streets of Old Jerusalem

The well-known Lebanese poet and musician Assi Rahbani laments the fall of Jerusalem to the Zionist invaders:

Passing through the streets of Old Jerusalem
I stand before familiar friendly doors,
Whose melancholy eyes, from the city aperture
Sway me in the exile full of suffering.
There was land; there were hands
Diligently working under sun and wind
Homes appeared, with blooming windows
And children with books in their little hands...
But, one dark, dark night, sadness walked
Through the shadows of these homes:
Dark hands pulled the doors out
And homes became without owners.
I cry in the street: the streets of Old Jerusalem,
Let the lyric become a thunderstorm;
My voice, keep a-flying! Storm consciences
Tell them the turth, so that
Conscience may be awakened. ■

■ Samih Abu Faris

ZIONIST RACISM AND THE REPATRIATION OF REFUGEES

■

The current debate of the Middle East question in the U.N. Security Council has revealed that the main cause of the present deadlock in the Middle East is Israel's refusal to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. Foremost among these rights is the right of the refugees to return to their homes in occupied Palestine.

■

The reason behind Israel's refusal to permit the Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland does not relate, as is often claimed, to considerations of security but to a purely racist prejudice. The fact is that the Zionists want an exclusively



Jewish state in the Holy land, and Zionist leaders make no secret of this. Thus Chaim Weizmann once declared that he wanted Palestine to be as Jewish as England is English.

This basic prejudice of Zionism was boldly emphasized by **Rowen Barakat**, Political Secretary of the **Histadrut**, the Zionist Labour Federation, who said in 1955: «We are thinking of a pure Jewish state with no minorities.» Obviously Barakat was ignoring the fact that only 50 years earlier the Jews constituted a five per cent-minority in Palestine and that through sheer force, which is a double-edged weapon, they have managed to become a majority.

The maintenance of an overwhelming Jewish majority in occupied Palestine is today the declared policy of the Israeli authorities. It was so stated by Moshe Dayan, who in 1967 said: «Israel could take back the refugees created by the 1967 war, but would not do so, because Israel would then become either a binational or a poly Arab/Jewish state. And we want to have an exclusively Jewish state. «We can absorb them,» Dayan concluded, «but then it won't be the same country.»

Golda Meir in a debate in the Israeli Knesset on 25th June 1969, said: «I want a Jewish state with a decisive Jewish majority which cannot change overnight.» Then she added: «I always believed this was plain Zionism.» On another occasion and not very long ago, on 23rd October, 1972, she said: «After we have signed peace treaties with our neighbours and agreed to borders, the nature of the state of Israel will be Jewish with a large Jewish majority, so that we don't have to get up every morning

afraid to ask: who was born last night ? Was it a Jew or an Arab?»

Since 1948, the UN General Assembly has annually reaffirmed its resolution calling for the return of the refugees but without avail. Israel's opposition to the repatriation of the refugees has not changed or diminished. Israel has even abandoned the pretence that the question of the refugees is linked with the making of peace. It now declares openly that it does not want their return to their own country. It keeps on repeating that their homes were destroyed or occupied, that there is no room for them, that conditions are changed and that they should not dream of returning. Thus in 1965, the Israeli delegate told the United Nations General Assembly that the solution to the problem of the Arab refugees lay not in Israel but in the Arab world. He added that «although it was natural for refugees to wish to return to their former homeland, that wish was irrational, for, according to him, «in 1948 Palestine had ceased to exist as a territorial entity on the map.»

On only one occasion, as a result of pressure from the U.S. Government, did Israel make any effort to take back a limited number of the Palestinian refugees expelled from their homeland by Israeli terror. In May 1949, the U.S. Government addressed a note to Israel in which it insisted that Israel should make tangible concessions on the ques-

tions of refugees, boundaries and the internationalization of Jerusalem, failing which the U.S. Government would reconsider its attitude towards it. This produced an Israeli offer to the Palestine Conciliation Commission to permit the return of 100,000 refugees subject to conditions which made the implementation of the offer well-nigh impossible. The Conciliation Commission's comment was that it considered the Israeli offer unsatisfactory.

In his diary, published posthumously under the title **To Jerusalem**, Count Bernadotte deplored Israel's attitude towards the Palestine refugees. After pointing out that the Jews must always reckon to have Arabs for their neighbours and that they ought to counteract the prevailing Jewish-Arab hatred, he said «The Israeli Government had had a very great opportunity in connection with the Arab refugee question. It had missed that opportunity. It had shown nothing but hardness and obduracy towards these refugees. If instead of that it has shown a magnanimous spirit, if it had declared that the Jewish people which itself had suffered so much, understood the feelings of the refugees and did not wish to treat them the same way as itself had been treated, its prestige in the world at large would have been immensely increased.»

* * *

Israel's refusal to repatriate the Palestinian Arab refugees to their homeland can be explained only by racist considerations and by the Zionist concept of a Jewish state undiluted by non-Jews. ■

■ Iskandar Luka

TWO VIEWS ONE AIM

■

Israeli elections, which will decide who is going to succeed Golda Meir as Premier, are scheduled for next fall. Among the chief contenders for the post are Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir and Defence Minister Moshe Dayan. Both are die-hard Zionists who support aggression and expansion and believe in Israel as a colonialist state with an exclusively Jewish political predominance; but each represents a different view with regard to the type of settler colonialism to which Israel should conform.

■

That Israel is a settler colonialist state in Palestine is almost universally recognized. Zionist leaders appeal to Jews to go and live in Palestine. Most of them refuse to do so. It is their duty, they say. At the same time, they claim that there is no question

of allowing Palestinians to return to their motherland because they will endanger the exclusively Jewish character of the colonialist state of Israel.

The settler-colonialist nature of Israel is evident from the development of Zionist action in Palestine and from the treatment meted to the Arabs who have been forced to live under Israeli rule. As far back as 1943, President Roosevelt's personal representative **General Hurley** reported to the President that «the Zionist Organization in Palestine had indicated its commitment to an enlarged programme for :

1. A sovereign Jewish state which would embrace Palestine and probably, eventually, Transjordan.
2. An eventual transfer of the Arab population from Palestine to other Arab countries.
3. Zionist Jewish leadership for the whole of the Middle East in the fields of economic development and control.»

Another indication that Israel is a settler state is the fact that the Zionist movement developed in Europe in the period of the ascendancy of European colonialism, and the other fact that the most powerful and prominent persons in Israel today are of European origin: Golda Meir was born in the Soviet Union; Abba Eban was born in South Africa; Pinhas Sapir was born in Poland, while Moshe Dayan is the son of Jewish settlers who originally came from Poland.

A third aspect of Israel's settler colonialist nature is found in the disabilities to which the Arabs



who have been forced to live under Israeli rule, are subjected. After expelling the majority of Palestinians from their land and country in 1948, the Israeli authorities have turned those who remained into second class citizens. A series of laws and regulations have collectively sought to deprive members of the Arab minority of Israel from their freedom, their rights and their land.

However, the Palestinian Arabs were not only deprived of their land by the racist Zionist colonia-

lists; they also were made to lose the right to work on the land. The constitution of the Jewish National Fund, which owns most of the agricultural land in Israel, says: «Land is acquired as Jewish property and it shall be deemed to be a matter of principle that Jewish labour only shall be employed.» Commenting on this racist clause, Israeli member of the Knesset, **Uri Avnery** declared: «If we are going to expel Arab cultivators from the land that was formerly theirs, and was handed over to the Jews, we shall be acting in accordance with the verse which says: Hast thou killed and also inherited?»

The point of the use by the Israeli colonialists of Arab labour or of barring such use, gave rise in 1967 to the development of two Zionist colonialist views: one championed by **Pinhas Sapir** and the other by **Moshe Dayan**. For Sapir the Arab territories occupied in 1967 were regarded as a Trojan Horse comprising one million Arabs who constitute a threat to the Jewish nature of the Jewish state. This point of view is completely in accord with the peculiar settler colonialism upon which Israel has been built. Unlike the French colonialists in Algeria and the British colonialists in Rhodesia who, after seizing native land, depended upon cheap native labour to achieve profitable farming, the Zionist invaders of Palestine planted land taken from Palestinian peasants with exclusively Jewish agricultural workers.

After 1967, with the acquisition of more land by Israel as a result of the Zionist-imperialist aggression of that year and with the stoppage of the flow of unskilled Jewish labour represented by emigrants from North Africa, the Israeli colonialists found themselves looking for new ways of securing workers who will agree to do the jobs disdained by the privileged European Israelis. This produced the other view on Israeli colonialism, the new imperialism of Moshe Dayan as opposed to the older Zionist colonialism of Pinhas Sapir. The new view makes the use of Arab labour from the West Bank and the other occupied territories a basis of Israeli economy. When Golda Meir hesitated to accept this view an angry Israeli wrote in **Haaretz**:

«If Mrs. Meir enjoys seeing Hebrew workers oozing with sweat in hot summer days, that is her business. But this should not become the criterion with which to convince the public that we should not merge the West Bank economy. We are bound eventually to require Arab workers for building, agriculture and industry.»

* * *

The two views of Sapir and Dayan may differ with regard to the employment of Arab labour but they both aim at carrying out programmes involving the persecution and exploitation of the Arabs of occupied Palestine. ■

33

YEARS OF ISRAEL TERROR

■

The hijacking by the Tel-Aviv authorities of an Arab airliner on August 10, 1973 was the most recent of a chain of Zionist acts of terror, which began in 1940 and have continued to the present time with no indication of their ever coming to an end. Below is a list of some of the worst crimes and violations perpetrated by Israeli leaders in 33 years:

■

■ 1940 : S.S. PATRIA

blown up by Jewish terrorists in Haifa harbour killing 268 illegal Jewish immigrants.
25.11.40

■ 1942 : S.S. STRUMA

exploded in the Black Sea killing 769 Jewish illegal immigrants. Described by the Jewish Agency as an act of «mass-protest and mass-suicide».
24.2.42

■ 1944 : LORD MOYNE

British Minister of State in the Middle East assassinated in Cairo by Stern Gang terrorists.
6.11.44

■ 1946 : KING DAVID HOTEL

blown up by Irgun terrorists killing 91 persons, mainly Arab and Jewish civil servants.
22.7.46

■ 1946-47 : LETTER BOMBS

sent by Irgun to British Cabinet Ministers etc. One person (Rex Farran) murdered. British Embassy in Rome badly damaged.
Oct. 1946 to Dec. 1947

■ 1948 : DEIR YASSIN

Massacre of 254 unarmed Arab villagers by Irgun and Stern Gang terrorists.
9.4.48

■ 1948 : BERNADOTTE

U.N. Mediator in Palestine assassinated by Stern Gang terrorists in Jerusalem.
17.9.48

■ 1947-48 : REFUGEE EXODUS

Over 700,000 Palestinian Arabs uprooted from their homes and land and for 25 years refused by Israel both permission to return and compensation for their property.

Dec. '47 to Oct. '48

■ 1948-67 : ARAB VILLAGES OBLITERATED

During this period 385 Arab villages were systematically obliterated from the territory of Israel.

1948-67

■ 1950 : BOMBS IN BAGHDAD

Zionist agents threw bombs at a synagogue and other Jewish targets in order to convince Iraqi Jews that they had no future in the country of their birth and should emigrate to Israel.

1950

■ 1953 : QIBIYA

Jordanian village attacked by half a battalion of Israeli troops killing 42 villagers.

14.10.53

■ 1954 : LAVON AFFAIR

American and British consular and information offices in Cairo sabotaged by Israeli agents operating under the Israeli Ministry of Defence (to prevent a rapprochement between Egypt, Britain and America).

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■ 1955 : GAZA

Unprovoked raid by Israeli troops on Egyptian Army and Police posts in Gaza. The prelude to the aggressive war launched by Israel in 1956.

28.2.55

■ 1952-56 : ATTACKS ON ARAB VILLAGES AND REFUGEE CAMPS

Israeli armed forces attacked villages of Beit Jala, Falame, Rantis, Qibiya, Nahalin, Bani Suhaila, Rahwa, Gharandal and Wadi Fukin in Jordan and Syria and refugee camps at Bureij and Gaza in the Gaza Strip killing 220 Arab civilians.

Jan. '52 to Apr. '56.

■ 1956 : KAFR KASSEM

47 inhabitants, including 7 children and 9 women, of an Arab village within Israel massacred by Israeli border guards. The Canadian general in charge of UNTSO said it was «sad proof that the spirit that inspired the notorious Deir Yassin massacre is not dead among some of the Israeli armed forces.»

29.10.56

■ 1956 : RAFAH and KHAN YUNIS

During Israel's occupation of Gaza (after the Suez war) disturbances occurred in these large refugee camps and Israeli armed forces fired indiscriminately killing 111 refugees at Rafah and 275 refugees and other civilians at Khan Yunis.

3 and 12.11.56

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■ 1959-66 ATTACKS ON ARAB VILLAGES AND BEDOUIN EXPELLED

Israeli armed forces attacked refugee camp at Rafah and villages at Nuqeib, Rafat and Shaikh Hussein in Syria and Jordan, killing 47 civilians. Israeli forces also expelled several hundred Bedouin from the Negev.

Feb. '59 to Apr. '66

■ 1962-63 : PARCEL BOMBS

sent to West German scientists working in Egypt. Six persons killed. Another German scientist was kidnapped and a private plane carrying people connected with an Egyptian military project exploded in midair.

Nov. '62 - Mar. '63

■ 1966 : SAMU

Large Israeli force, including tanks and armoured cars, attacked village of Samu in Jordan destroying 140 houses, a school and a clinic, killing 18 and wounding 54 civilians. This was the prelude to the 1967 war.

13.11.66

■ 1967 : ATTACKS ON U.N. FORCES

During the June war Israeli forces deliberately attacked UNEF Indian staff on five occasions, killing 11 and wounding 24. The U.N. Secretary-General re-

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ported that Israeli troops also ill-treated UNEF officers and looted their property.

Jun./July '67

■ 1967 : SECOND EXODUS

As a result of the June war over 400,000 Palestinian Arabs living in Gaza and on the West Bank and over 100,000 Palestinians and Syrians living in the Kuneitra area were uprooted from their homes. Israel has refused to allow them to return.

Jun./Dec. '67

■ 1968 : BEIRUT AIRPORT

Israeli commando units transported by helicopter attacked the Beirut civil airport and destroyed 13 civil aircraft causing damage estimated at £22 million.

28.12.68

■ 1970 : BAHR EL BAQR

Village school in the Nile Delta bombed by Israeli aircraft, killing 46 children.

8.4.70

■ 1967-72 : ATTACKS ON ARAB VILLAGES AND REFUGEE CAMPS

Since the June war, Israel has launched repeated invasions with troops and tanks and repeated bombing and napalm attacks with aircraft against villages and refugee camps in Jordan, Lebanon,



Syria and Egypt: Over 1,500 civilians were killed in these attacks.

Nov. '67 to Sept. '72

■ 1967-72 : COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT

Since the June war, Israel's armed forces in acts of collective punishment and reprisal have blown up or bulldozed more than 10,000 homes of Arab civilians in Gaza and the West Bank.

July '67 to Dec. '72

■ 1967 : DESTRUCTION OF CROPS

An Israeli plane destroyed the crops of the villagers

of Akraba (West Bank) by spraying them with a chemical defoliant. This was done because the villagers had refused to hand over their lands to the Israeli occupying forces.

28.4.72

■ **1972-73 : LETTER BOMBS**

sent by Israeli terrorists to Palestinian spokesmen in Europe and the Middle East, killing 4.

July '72 to Jan. '73

■ **1972 : FAMILY SQUASHED BY ISRAELI TANK**

During a raid on 16 villages in South Lebanon an Israeli tank deliberately drove over a taxi squashing to death a Lebanese family of 7, including a woman and child.

17.9.72

■ **1973 : INVASION OF NORTH LEBANON**

Northernmost corner of Lebanon invaded by air- and sea-borne Israeli forces, causing death of 40 Arab civilians.

21.2.73

■ **1973 : CIVILIAN AIRLINER**

shot down by Israeli fighter-aircraft over the Sinai, killing 106 passengers and crew.

22.2.73

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A book review

■ Reviewed by Anis Kassim

■

Sabri Jiryis. *al-Hurriyat al-Dimuqratiya fi Isra'il*. Beirut: The Institute for Palestine Studies, 1971. 113 pp. \$ 1.35. A slightly restructured version of the book reviewed is now available in English translation as *Democratic Freedoms in Israel*, 100 pp., \$ 4.50 hard cover, \$ 2.50 paperback.

■

This second work of Sabri Jiryis is a factual analysis of specified freedoms in Israel. In view of the intricacies of the subject, the author limits his

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inquiry to the freedoms of «speech, action and thought» as recognized by the Israeli regime, and to the «relevant subject matters related thereto.» The book is divided into two major parts: the first is intended to provide a framework of reference within which the freedoms under consideration — the second part — can be adequately placed, analysed, and comprehended.

The book opens with a survey of «The Political Situation and Democratic Freedoms,» dealing with the interrelated complexities of the political setting in Israel. On the one hand, the author shows, Jews in Israel are divided unevenly among the political parties which determine, through the Knesset elections and their domination over social and educational institutions, the direction of the country. On the other hand, the Israeli Arabs (11% of the population) are only accepted into the ranks of Mapam and the Communist Party, and cannot, for reasons specified by the author, establish their own.

The author's review of «The Legal Situation and its Political Effects,» points out the discrepancy in Israel, following British traditions in Palestine, between proclaimed legal undertaking and the policy perspective of the decision-makers. The Israeli authorities, for example, declared their intention to respect freedom of religion and worship for all citizens. Yet seizure was made of the Moslem Waqf properties, which presumably belong to Allah, in



accordance with the Absentees' Property Law. (p. 23).

Most of the book, though, deals with legal issues. The general problems of protecting Arab rights in court are raised by the author's discussion of «The Judicial System.» Special attention is given to the role of the Supreme Court. This influential tribunal persistently defends individual rights in general, but does not, however, consider these rights if, in the course of their free exercise, they affect two sacraments: the «Zionist character,» or the «security.» of the state. In fact, the Court has suggested to the administrative authorities «the most 'legal' methods of persecuting their opponents through favourable 'elastic interpretation' of the relevant laws.» (p. 37).

The second part of the book deals with certain freedoms. One chapter, on «Personal Freedoms,» undertakes an analysis of the ramifications of the implementation of the British-enacted Defence Emergency Regulations on these freedoms. The Arabs in Israel have been the subject of the rule of these Regulations since May 1948. This chapter includes a special appendix of facsimiles of the Detention Order, the Restriction Order, the Expulsion Order, and the Permit to Enter/Leave which documents the limits of the «Personal Freedoms» in Israel. The Israeli legislature has passed and amended various laws to fill in several loopholes in the Regulations. The supreme Court, furthermore, has

widened, through favourable interpretation of the law, the scope and magnitude of authority of those entrusted with the law's implementation. What seems to have helped the Court to adopt this attitude is the fact that these Regulations and the related laws are invoked against Arabs «for they are rarely used against Jews.» (p. 45)

The discussion of the «Freedom of the Press» provides a factual analysis of the dichotomy between «Jewish» and «Arab» freedom of the press. What is generally tolerated in Hebrew is quite often considered subversive if it appears in Arabic. If a recognized political party issues two papers, one in Hebrew, and the other in Arabic, the latter will be subject to strict censorship.

An example of the official Israeli double standard of interpretation is shown in the author's analysis of the concept of «Freedom of Association» in Israel. In theory, this freedom is guaranteed by an Ottoman statute (1909) which prohibits the organization of institutions on racial bases. In practice, Jews are free to establish any type of «Jewish» organization, or to limit membership to «Jews» only. On the other hand, Arab organizations are systematically suppressed for they are allegedly either «racist» and therefore repugnant to the high ideals of the Israeli regime (p. 95) or they constitute a hazard to the «security» of the state. (p. 100)

The conclusion embodies the author's recommendations. He invites attention to the ambivalent behaviour of the Israeli authorities and to their claim that they do not discriminate on racial or religious bases, as opposed to highly visible discriminatory practices. The author's contention is that «security» reasons are merely a pretext for prejudice: discrimination in Israel between «Jews» and «others» is not simply a diversion from the righteous course of action. It is, rather, integral to the Zionist conceptualization of the «Jewish State» for the «Jewish people.»

This study invites two brief remarks. One concerns the statement that the «Jewish religion is considered the base of the Israeli Law of Return...» (p.24) This is not totally accurate. The Jewish religion departs from Zionist jurisprudence principally on the issue of whether a Jew who becomes a member of another faith is still Jewish. In religious law, the answer is yes, while the Supreme Court in the Daniel Case, and the recent amendment to the same law, replied in the negative. More specifically, it is one's nationality in the Zionist «Jewish people» constituency that determines one's Jewishness. Therefore, it is not the Jewish religion as such, but rather the governmental Jewish religion that is the base of the Law of Return.

The second point refers to the incompatibility of the content of Chapter 2 —«The Legal Situation



and its Political Effect»— with its title. The content indicates, quite adequately, what impact the policy perspective of the Israeli authorities has on the course of law. The title, however, suggests the opposite. A more accurate title may have been «Policy Perspective and its Legal Effects.»

This study, drawing heavily upon Israeli official documents, demonstrates the impact of the ideology and policy expectation of a particular community on its legislation and authoritative practices. Within the framework of a «Jewish State» those persons who are not «Jewish people» nationals cannot be equal with those who are. And were they equal, Zionism would lose its *raison d'être*, as it addresses itself to the claimed «Jewish people.» This inquiry has also added substantial evidence of the systematic violation of the «civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine» as «clearly understood» in the Balfour Declaration.

Those who were impressed by the author's *The Arabs in Israel* have had great hopes for this new book. Mr. Sabri Jiryis has indeed met these expectations. In this little volume he writes with qualified authority, for Mr. Jiryis himself was an Israeli citizen, active in the political and legal fields, and above all, a victim of the discriminatory implementation of civil rights in Israel. ■

Documents

Security Council Rebukes Israel



On July 25 (1973), eight non-aligned countries called on the UN Security Council to rebuke Israel for its defiance of the world community by refusing to withdraw from the Arab territories occupied in 1967. The resolution introduced by the UN representatives of these countries also expressed serious concern at Israel's lack of cooperation with the UN peace envoy Dr. Gunnar Jarring and the conviction that a just and peaceful solution of the Middle East problem can be achieved only on the basis of respect for «the rights and legitimate aspirations of the Palestinians.»

The resolution was approved by 14 members of the Security Council; and although it was vetoed by the American representative, the veto only reflected the fact that Israel is the chief agent of U.S. imperialism in the region and had no relation to world public opinion.

Following is the full text of the resolution:



cooperation with the special representative of the Secretary General.

4. Supports the initiatives of the special representative of the Secretary General taken in conformity with his mandate and contained in his aide-memoire of 8 February 1971.

5. Expresses its conviction that a just and peaceful solution of the problem of the Middle East can be achieved only on the basis of respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity, the rights of all states in the area and for the rights and legitimate aspirations of the Palestinians.

6. Declares that in the occupied territories no changes which may obstruct a peaceful and final settlement or which may adversely affect the political and other fundamental rights of all the inhabitants in these territories should be introduced or recognized.

7. Requests the Secretary General and his special representative to resume and to pursue their efforts to promote a just and peaceful solution of the Middle East problem.

8. Decides to afford the Secretary General and his special representative all support and assistance for the discharge of their responsibilities.

9. Calls upon all parties concerned to extend full cooperation to the Secretary General and his special representative.

10. Decides to remain seized of the problem and to meet again urgently whenever it becomes necessary. ■

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