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Correspondence:
The Editor,
Resistance,
P.O.B. 3577
Damascus, Syria

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Editor: **M. KHURI**

The Partitioning of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of Israel are illegal and false, regardless of the lapse of time; because they were contrary to the wishes of the people of Palestine and their natural right to their homeland; and in violation of the basic principles of the United Nations Charter, foremost among which is the right to self-determination.

Article 19 of the
Palestine National Covenant

Editorial

Both Washington and Tel Aviv have been recently talking of a project for the setting up of a Palestinian entity or state, to be established in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories as part of a general Middle East settlement.

The idea of setting up a truncated Arab state in the occupied territories is as old as the occupation itself. On August 15, 1967, the Arab leaders of the West Bank issued a statement in which they rejected the idea as contrary to Arab interests and national aspirations.

On January 4, 1968 «Le Monde» reported that Jarring had communicated to Jordan an Israeli proposal for the setting up of a Palestinian state. The same paper devoted an editorial on March 7, 1970 to the same topic, commenting on implications of the proposal with regard to Israel's recognition of the Palestinian people.

Editorial

The recent revival of the project is part of a Zionist-imperialist plan intended to liquidate the Palestinian people and Palestinian resistance on both banks of the Jordan. According to this plan, crushing Palestinian resistance in the East Bank, as has been revealed by the September Jordan events and by the New York Times article of Oct. 8, entitled «U.S.-Israeli Action on Jordan was envisioned,» has been entrusted to the Jordanian authorities. Liquidating Palestinian resistance in the occupied territories, on the other hand, is to be achieved through the implementation of the Palestinian state project.

The Palestinian people reject the project of creating a Palestinian state in the Western Bank for several reasons: the pseudo-entity will be in effect a colony exploited by Israel; the creation of the proposed state will involve the setting up of an Arab administration subservient to the Zionists and promoting their economic interests in the region and, last but not least, the aim of the Palestinian Revolution is to liberate the usurped Homeland and not to have a puppet state established in a truncated part of it. ■

Resistance

SHYLOCK, PROMETHEUS AND THE PHOENIX :
A PALESTINIAN PLEADS HIS CASE

by: Yousef Khatib

The following plea of the case of the Palestinians from the viewpoints of justice and humanity, with rich biblical and mythological background, is by well-known Palestinian poet, Yousef Khatib, author and publisher of a number of books, including «The Palestine Diary 1971,» an English version of which has just appeared and is reviewed in the «Books» section of this issue of Resistance. This essay was originally written to serve as an introduction to the «Diary.»

A Palestinian Pleads

I swear to tell the truth,
The whole truth,
And nothing but the truth!

«You cannot better be employed Bassanio
Than to live still and write mine epitaph.»
(Shakespeare: The Merchant of Venice)

NOW, that you have permitted me to deliver a final pleading of my case, my Judges or Priests—I do not quite know which,—I will give my testimony before your august court **from the depths of a dark pit, with the tumult of New York's Fifth Avenue separating me from you.**

It seems to me I am **Joseph in the pit of Dothan, where I was thrown by the United Nations and left to die there since 1947,** and with no Ishmaelite caravan coming in from Gilead to rescue me.

I am a refugee in Damascus, not in the court of the Pharaohs, while on the Mount of Hebron, the scene of Joseph's story are left memories of my childhood, when I minded the flocks and the fountains of spring decorated the earth with diamond threads. There, in the mount of yearning, **my aged father, my own sad Jacob, is kissing my long-sleeved robe and, at the age of eighty-five, lamenting his last days.**

But that is an old, old story...

And I am bow before your court to give my testimony while the Jury and the audience have left the court-room for the Coliseum to attend the same exciting fight between «man in the beast,» and «the beast in man.»

It seems to me **I am Antonio of Venice... And a new Shylock, the permanent plaintiff, is again suing the human race and making claim for material and spiritual debts.** This time he produces a bond developed from the old bond of the Elizabethan tragi-comedy. **The cruel claim, now has exceeded the pound of flesh and has been extended to include «this land from the River of Egypt to the Great River, the River Euphrates,** the territory of the Kenites, Kenizites, Kadmonites, Hittites, Perizzites, Rephaim, Amorites, Canaanites, Gigashites, Hivites and Jebusites.» The bond, my Judges or Priests, is clear and specific and the claim is clamoured for, from Moscow, via the Vatican, to Washington. And:

«If you deny it, let the danger light
«Upon your Charter and your city's freedom.»

It seems to me that Portia will now suddenly burst through this mute firmly-closed door, to give spirit to the «word» and to give the «divine» bond its human interpretation... For just as man is only vindicated through God, the will of the Almighty is

revealed through Man. I impatiently await the arrival of Portia. A deafening noise is heard outside the courtroom... But, no! These are the crowds of the city demanding the life of Barabbas be spared.

In the new bond, Gentlemen, the plaintiff claims it was right I was forced to leave my small Palestinian home which has come down to me through thousands of years, and that I should seek another home under the sun; so that he might set up, in the land from which he uprooted me, something you all know... a thing called «Israel,» which you often describe as the «oasis and bastion of democracy» in this part of the globe.

But I would beseech you, Gentlemen, to note an important point, namely that **the signature appended to the bond is that of «Arthur James Balfour,»** Britain's Foreign Secretary in 1917... **It simply is not my signature!** What happened was that two international crooks in London concluded this deal whereby **one of them, Balfour, gave the other, the new Shylock, the right to take my home and possessions, to insult me and to make me bleed, at a time when I have never been party to any stage of the fraudulent deal...** And now,.. here am I; my home has been usurped, and thorns and rock have made my bare feet bleed while I roam in all parts of the earth... I am still wanted, and a summons

posted on the walls of the city calls on me to present myself before your court... Fingers point to me and eyes are turned towards me... For **I am accused of being a cause of annoyance to this «poor, nice man, the Shylock of the Twentieth Century.»**

I am terribly sorry, Gentlemen, and I beg that you do not stare so accusingly at me from behind your thick glasses... My plea, it seems, relates to justice and is, therefore, both illegal and irrelevant... I understand this perfectly... And you need not strain your eyes looking through these magnifying glasses, to ascertain the authenticity of Mr. Balfour's signature, which is appended to the bond.

Yes, the signature is authentic... I admit this. But I must also admit that **I still have that wonderful mysterious force which preserves my human status and keeps me a «man,»** that force which you have heard of in the story of Prometheus, who, though riveted to the bleak rock and preyed upon by the eagle of Zeus, was vindicated after centuries of torment, and carried to man the divine gift of fire and the first hope that can make life humane and worth living. Mine is the mystery of human suffering and human hope. But **in my suffering the tyranny is that of «Zion» and not of «Zeus.»**

Gentlemen,

I am not the real defendant... My name is not Adolf Hitler. **I have not killed anyone at Auschwitz.** If you do not believe me, here is my Identity Card. Name: Yousef Khatib. Place of Birth: Dura village, Mount Hebron. Nationality: Palestinian. Occupation: Refugee.

Again I feel I am Joseph in the pit of Dothan with the tumult of New York's Fifth Avenue separating me from you... Portia, for whom I have waited so long and so impatiently, has not arrived... I hear a deafening clamour outside the courtroom. O, this is Nixon being ceremoniously carried to the White House!

Finally, Gentlemen, this is yet another bond, a document signed by thirty-two U.N. delegates, in which the signature of the delegate of the Soviet Union appears alongside that of South Africa. It clearly provides for the establishment of a Zionist state over the soil of Palestine. The date is November 29, 1947.

It seems to me now I am every particle of Palestine's soil and every individual of the Palestinian people. **The U.N. Partition Resolution of 1947 seems to be a verdict by you condemning me to life**

detention on the basis of Shylock's bond. But you, Gentlemen, have proved wiser than the jurists of Shakespear's play: You have passed judgement that I should be cut into two, by Shylock's knife, **leaving it to him to use his scales and take 'the 'half 'he prefers**. This, in effect was your judgement. For the question was not one of «quantity» and, indeed, **the cutting of no more than one gram from the heart-flesh of a man means, in effect, the total destruction of his life**. However, despite my terrible wounds and sufferings, **I have not died**. And this is what makes me feel I am Prometheus, whose liver was preyed upon by the Eagle of Zeus. And yet he lived on and triumphed in the end.

It seems to me I am Ezra Pound at Piza..., that I am being taken to St. Elizabeth's mental hospital in Washington D.C... that the Exchange broker, the church bishop, the Party Commisar... the Nobel Prize Committee all accuse me of being Lee Harvey Oswald, the victim of Jack Ruby and they cry out... that I should be ostracized and placed outside the pale of humanity... As for Portia, whom I have been awaiting to enter this courtroom and vindicate my right... I have been lately informed she is awaiting me and is herself in dire need of help. For she is a prisoner in that bleak tower, erected on the banks of the Hudson river and overlooking the petrified forest of buildings in New York city.

Judges or Priests...

The plaintiff (a Zionist version of Shylock) is pressing you for a sentence... The bond he holds is authentic and clear... This plaintiff with the material and spiritual claims against the human race... is most fitted to adjust to the laws of your city and to handle them with craft and expertise. For in its very essence, the case relates not to the bonds but to the laws governing these bonds. And if the laws and justice are a blindfolded woman, they may see the material surface of thing but cannot judge their basic substance.

Finally, there is one last thing I want to say... It seems to me **I am John the Baptist of Palestine preaching in the wilderness of the world, baptizing sinners in a Jordan of blood and tears...**, and declaring that «the one who comes after me will baptize you with fire. His shovel is ready in his hand and he will winnow his threshing floor. The wheat he will gather into his granary, but he will burn the chaff on a fire that will never go out.»

I stand before your court. Gentlemen,

«I hear the beatings of the wings of the angel
of death.»

Although «the day of him who shall die in a robe
of silver has not yet come.»

It seems to me that the U.N. is Herodias;
Israel, her daughter Salome;
The man at the White House the lascivious Herod;
A slymbal is sounded at the palace balcony...

soldiers are approaching...
I feel my head will be placed on a silver platter
So that Salome will dance... Israel will dance,
All night long and until the break of day
But... It seems to me I am also the Phoenix
of Arabia,

That my End-Beginning is approaching.
I have to fly to Heliopolis
To burn there, so that a new Phoenix will come out
of the flame;

And I. from the point of sunrise,
Will dawn upon the world again!

«Most heartily, I do beseech the Court
To give the judgement.»

Yousef Khatib

POLITICAL SCENE

by: M. T. Bujairami

What are the prospects of the situation in the Middle East in 1971? It seems pregnant with significant developments that may prove decisive in determining the future of this part of the world.

For the Arabs, 1970 was the year of internal troubles, shocks and bitter frustration.. It was also by contrast, the year that witnessed the birth of their bright hopes. For in 1970, they were able to exert political pressure on their enemies, to win the sympathy of the international community and to prevent the agressors from regaining the grounds

they had lost in the estimation of world public opinion. This forced Israel to resume contacts with the United Nations envoy, Dr. Jarring — a maneuver to avoid further isolation in the international arena, and to gain time.

Although this measure was applauded and highlighted in an extensive propaganda campaign that culminated with Eban's invitation to Jarring to visit Israel, the following points are worthy of note:

- Israel adopted this measure after boycotting Jarring for four consecutive months; in fact the Israelis resumed these contacts only one week before the date for the submission by U Thant of his report to the UN Security Council concerning Jarring's mission. Thus Israel wanted to avoid being held responsible for obstructing a Middle East settlement.

- Although the whole world knows these facts, Abba Eban has had the face to accuse the Arabs of hindering Jarring's mission for three years, and to call on them to revise their attitudes!

- Meanwhile, Joseph Tekoah, Israel's Ambassador to the U.N. has publicly declared that even after the resumption of the present «round» of Jarring's talks, more than three months may elapse

before any fundamental points or essential questions pertaining to the core of the crisis are dealt with! Isn't this a hint of Israel's policy of premeditated procrastination?

- Simultaneously, Moshe Dayan has declared that Israel's step has been «a right decision that has facilitated the shipment of more American weapons.»

The big question, however, remains: Now that Israel has agreed to resume her contacts with Jarring, does she really intend to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories in order to contribute to a peaceful settlement? Recent statements by senior Israeli officials supply the answer.

The Israeli Minister of Interior, Joseph Bourg, has declared that Jerusalem will never be divided again, nor will it be a «frontier city.» He has added that «only religious rights of non-Jews will be recognized, but the city will remain under full Israeli sovereignty.»

Meantime the city's Israeli mayor, Teddy Kolec, is currently launching a world-wide campaign under the motto «Jerusalem in the year 2000,» declaring that «Greater Jerusalem» will include Bethlehem in the South and Ramallah in the North, and that the enlarged metropolis will never be interna-

tionalized, but will remain Israel's capital forever. The project has been embodied in a comprehensive plan, developed with the help of foreign engineers and experts, in defiance of all the U.N.'s resolutions calling for the internationalization of the Holy City.

On the same day on which Jarring arrived in New York, Shlomo Hillel, the Israel Minister of the Police, known as a very close associate of Golda Meir, declared that «Israel intends to keep the Gaza strip for good, and that the necessary measures are being taken for its complete annexation.» Meanwhile, Dayan has said that it would take time and money to turn the Arabs of the occupied territories into «Israeli citizens» and to convince them to live «peacefully with us.» He has added that it would be necessary to establish factories and colonies. (The first Israeli colony in the Gaza Strip is currently under construction). Moreover, to facilitate the process of annexation and assimilation, the Arab mayor of Gaza has recently been dismissed from office.

On Monday, December 28th, 1970, an official American spokesman said that semi-official contacts were going on with both Egypt and Israel to probe the possibility of a new visit by the American Secretary of State, William Rogers to the Middle East, «when conditions are ripe to make such a visit

fruitful,» after the resumption of the Jarring mission. Oddly enough, on the very same day, Dayan was declaring in the Israeli cabinet that Israel would never accept any new map that would not allow the Israelis freedom of residence in the occupied West Bank, «whatever the future destiny of this area might be.»

Dayan has also declared that the construction of colonies in the occupied territories has political significance in the sense of creating a new status quo because, «we will never, retreat from any place where we have established a single house.» Ygal Allon, on the other hand, has said: «As the Arabs realize that the passing of time without reaching a settlement, will make our existence in the occupied territories more deep-rooted, this realization will become an element of pressure that will eventually bring them to the negotiations table.»

Golda Meir has declared that the pre-June frontiers of 1967 «have died» and that Israel will not discuss anything if the Arabs stipulate an Israeli withdrawal to those frontiers.

These are only samples of Israel's real attitudes as expressed by the Israeli leaders.

What settlement is Israel ready to accept?

The answer is given by Ammon Kabilock, member of the ruling Mapam party, a senior editor of «Hamishmar» and correspondent of the French «Le Monde»:

«In addition to the conclusion of a peace agreement that should result from direct negotiations, the following minimum programme is implicitly approved by the Israeli cabinet: the annexation of Jerusalem and its suburbs, the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip, Sharm-El-Shiekh with a land passage linking it with Israel and some strategic points in Sinai and the Western Bank of Jordan.»

Israel thinks that this is a most generous offer; and, according to Golda Meir, «The Arabs must put their hands to meet our stretched hand, or they will have to face the most effective and most modern weapons that have never been used so far.»

Two weeks ago, the Israeli Chief-of-Staff, Barlev, told his artillery men that the Israeli army should be ready to resume fighting on the Suez front on February 5th, or even before that date. He continued, «All the fronts are quiet now except the Lebanon front, which will not remain troublesome for long.»

Of course, Israel does not like to fight on two fronts simultaneously. This explains why the second

stage of liquidating the Palestinian resistance has already begun, as we predicted in the December issue of this magazine. Jordan's reactionary government, acting on orders from Washington, has started another war of extermination against the Palestinians because these Palestinians have resumed their war of attrition against the Israeli invaders. The Jordanian government, it seems, is fully determined to destroy the Eastern Front and to conclude a unilateral peace with Israel, which is satisfactory to Israel and has the blessing of the United States.

But the Arab people and the Arab masses, who refused to accept surrender in 1967 and who have suffered and sacrificed so much to protect their rights and their homeland, will not yield to the maneuvers of the unholy alliance of Zionism, imperialism and Arab reaction. Rather, they will continue their national struggle until final victory is achieved. ■

REVIEW OF EVENTS

Israel Resumes Contacts with UN Envoy, Gunnar Jarring

Israel has finally decided to return to the Middle East «peace talks» and resume contacts suspended by the Israeli government in protest against an alleged Egyptian missile buildup along the Suez Canal.

The Israeli move came only eight days before United Nations Secretary General U Thant was due to report to the Security Council on the progress of the Jarring mission.

The Israeli decision climaxed two months of policy reappraisal undertaken by Israeli leaders after realizing that their original pre-condition of a missile pullback, was impracticable.

Non-aligned political commentators explain that Israel's new move, after a four-month deadlock,

is a manoeuvre, intended to avoid any new condemnation of Israel by any of the U.N. organs.

The U.S. played an important role in the Israeli suspension of contacts with Jarring.

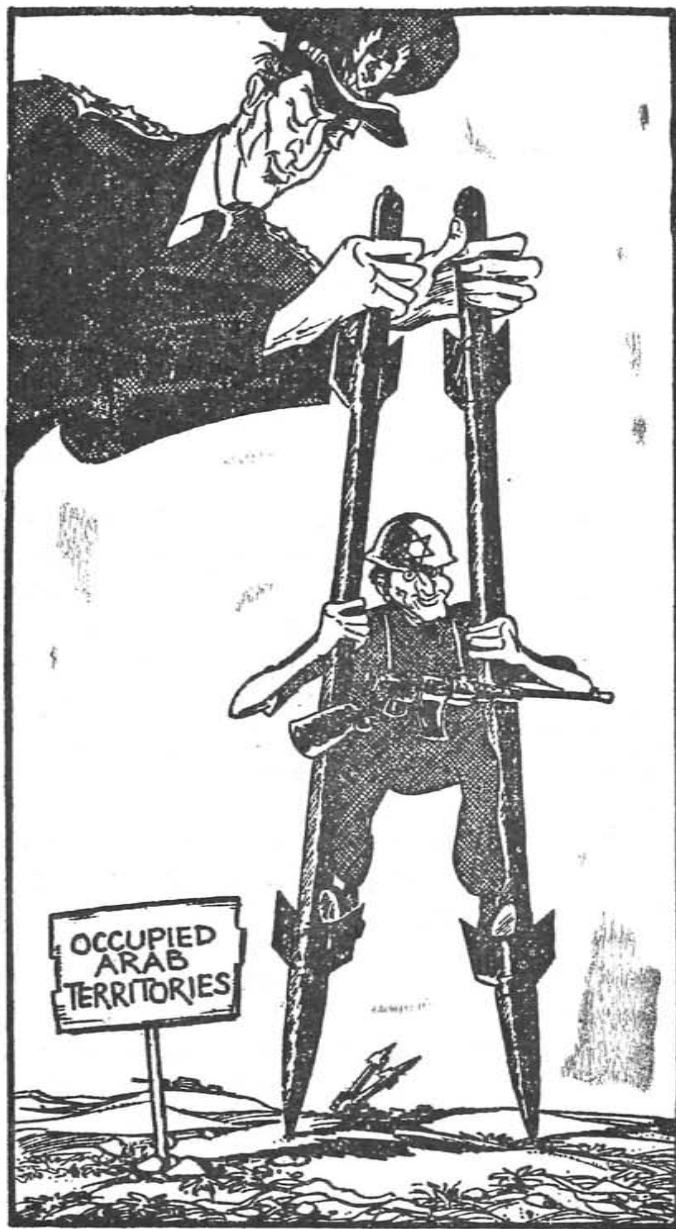
In the meantime, Zionist leaders kept on insisting that the ceasefire due to expire on Feb. 5, should be extended and that the door for talks should be left open indefinitely.

Israel, so far, has declined to express her readiness to implement the Security Council Resolution of Nov. 22, 1967 and to withdraw from Arab territories she occupied in the 1967 aggression. **Thus, what is meant by leaving the door open for talks, is to perpetuate Zionist occupation of Arab territory and leave Dr. Jarring's mission in a vicious circle, as was the case during the last three years.**

The Israeli new move is rightly interpreted as stalling tactics with the cynical objective of maintaining a status quo.

Bethlehem Bells Herald a Sad Christmas

On the 25th of Dec. 1970, the peoples of the world of different creeds and nationalities celebrated the birth of Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace



Review of Events

and Apostle of Love and goodwill, as Israeli troops in Bethlehem, posted on rooftops and neighbouring hills, testified to continuing strife in the land where the Prince of Peace was born. Thus for the 4th year, peace and love are strangled in the Holy Land, where Jesus was born nearly 2,000 years ago with a message of peace and goodwill unto all men.

The occupation authorities this year, have been forced to admit Arab commando activity in the occupied territories — something which they were reluctant to do during the past three years. They likewise have admitted that the number of tourists and visitors to the Holy Land was lower this year.

Throughout the traditional procession of white-clad choir boys carrying banners and candles into the Church of the Nativity, to mark the start of Christmas celebrations, an Israeli police helicopter droned overhead. Since early morning, Israeli troops wearing battledress and carrying automatic weapons threw a security cordon round the town. More troops and border policemen were posted on rooftops, overlooking Manger Square. Jeeps, mounted with machine guns, were stationed in the town and helmeted patrols, equipped with radio transmitters and automatic weapons at the ready, filed through the narrow winding alleys or squatted at street corners.

Pilgrims and journalists alike, had to pass through road-blocks on the four-mile drive from Jerusalem to Bethlehem, and entry to the town was by permits previously distributed by the Ministry of Tourism.

During and after Christmas celebrations, the enemy carried out a fierce campaign of searches and arrests, against a great number of Arabs. Thus the traditional holy occasion of the birth of Christ, the Prince of Peace and Love, was celebrated in the Holy Land amid low spirits, depression and sadness, which prevailed in every house and quarter in Bethlehem and Jerusalem.

Nixon Discusses Middle East Situation

In a television interview, President Nixon spoke about the current situation in the Middle East. He gave a broad new promise of U.S. diplomatic and military support for Israel in an effort to encourage the Israeli government to move into peace talks. He committed himself to backing Israel and said that the U.S. would do all it could to maintain the balance of power in the Middle East, which according to Nixon, was upset by alleged Egyptian movement of Soviet-supplied anti-air craft missiles into the Canal area. He then added that if the U.S.S.R. continued to supply the Arabs with arms there would

be no other alternative for Israel but to depend on the U.S. for military aid and arms.

Although President Nixon ignores logic, when he holds the Russians responsible for the deteriorating situation in the area, he forgets or feigns to forget, that in talking about American support to Israel, which occupies Arab territories and refuses to withdraw, he is ignoring the fact that this refusal is the cause of the present deterioration of the M.E. situation and that he himself shares in the responsibility for the deterioration, through the backing he gives to the aggressors.

Egypt and Britain Agree to Help Make the Gunnar Jarring Mission Successful

Mr. Mahmoud Riad, U.A.R. Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister has paid an official visit to London. The visit was part of Mr. Riad's tour of various European capitals to explain Egypt's policy. He ended his visit to London with a press conference which did much to confirm the present gloomy but widespread impression that peace in the Middle East is still far away.

He began by declaring that in his talks in the capitals he had visited, he was searching for a just peace based on a withdrawal by Israel from the territories occupied by her in 1967.

Mr. Riad said that his talks in London had been «fruitful, constructive and satisfactory,» and implied that the British Government would help guarantee any settlement.

Mr. Riad's visit to Britain was part of Cairo's current diplomatic campaign to outline latest Egyptian thinking on the Middle East and to expound to world public opinion the real situation in the area, at a time when everything indicates that the flaring of war is imminent and that it is the only means left to the Arabs to force the Zionist invaders to withdraw from their occupied territories.

British informed sources have said that the talks which the Egyptian Foreign Minister has held with the British Foreign Minister, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, centred on the means which could lead to a peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis. They have also stated that Britain shall do her best, through the four-power talks, to render the Jarring Mission successful.

Israel Defies UN on Jerusalem

On the same day, on which Israel announced its return to the Jarring talks, Dr. Joseph Bourg, Israeli Minister of the Interior stated at the Jerusalem Trading Club, that the Holy City «shall never be divided again or become a border city.» He added

that «the rights of all religious sects in the Holy City shall be maintained, so far as they shall not derogate Israel's sovereignty over the city.»

On another occasion, one day later, Bourg declared that Israel was determined to keep the Gaza Strip and would not allow it to return to Egypt, and that the Israeli government was taking the necessary measures for its final annexion to Israel.

Such statements and declarations by responsible Israeli leaders confirm Zionist expansionist ambitions and refute Israeli allegations, to the outside world, that Zionist expansionism is a figment of the Arabs' imagination.

Yet Arab experience during the past 25 years proves that the Zionist movement is nothing but a colonialist expansionist movement aimed at occupying large parts of the Arab Homeland, for the purpose of realizing the Zionist dream of «Greater Israel,» extending from the Nile to the Euphrates.

Clashes Renewed in Jordan

The Arab Higher Follow-up Committee, headed by former Tunisian Premier, Bahi Ladgham, has failed in its efforts to put an end to clashes between the Palestinian commandos and the Jordanian authorities. The circles plotting against the Pales-

tine Resistance movement and the Palestine cause it seems, are bent on continued provocations and defiance which has produced the present atmosphere of tension, prevailing in Amman and other towns of the East Bank.

Although Mr. Bahi Ladgham, so far, has avoided, in his series of reports, to hold any of the parties, responsible for the tension and clashes, which have flared in several parts of Jordan, yet it has been plain enough, from his demands for the release of people arrested, permitting the passage of commando vehicles, and for non-harrassment of the commandos, that the Jordanian authorities have been the cause of such tension and that they have intentionally provoked the clashes.

American Aid to Israel is a Threat to Peace

Senator Fullbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has announced in the American Congress, that the large amounts of aid given by the U.S. to Israel encourage Tel Aviv in refusing the resumption of the Jarring talks aimed to ensure a peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

In his testimony before a Joint Congressional Committee, he has declared that the U.S., in the current fiscal year, has allocated 7 billion dollars for arming foreign governments and that the lion's share would go to Israel. ■

ON THE ORIGINS OF THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT

II

Continued from last month

In the face of the inadequacy and historical inaccurateness of the common explanations of the origins of the Zionist movement, we have to look elsewhere for a more «scientific» and comprehensive explanation.

Above all, such an explanation must take into account the socio-economic context out of which the Zionist movement grew and within which it developed. It can not satisfy itself with idealistic phraseology about the devotion of the Jews to «the sacred trust of their faith» or any similar subjectivist interpretations.

It is an established fact that one of the main historical achievements of the modern bourgeois classes (particularly Western Europe) was the construction of the modern unified nation-state on the ruins of the decayed and outmoded feudal dispersion. In this sense, the unified nation-state proved itself to be the most convenient political structure for the growth of modern capitalism, its free development and unhindered expansion. As a result, the historical phenomenon of bourgeois nationalism came into being.

These realities became established most firmly and at first in Western Europe, where the middle class was strongest. In other areas of the European continent, where the middle class was still relatively weak or in the process of formation and consolidation, the establishment of unified national states was

delayed for some time (the second half of the 19th century. e.g. Italy, Germany, the Balkans).

Zionism is the nationalist movement of the Jewish middle class (more specifically of the middle and lower bourgeoisie) in Europe. Since it belongs to the category of the later nationalist movements of Western Europe we find it highly influenced and saturated with the contents and methods of the latter (particularly German nationalism).

The Zionist movement, moreover, is the product of the massive revolutionary transformation that overtook Europe with the rise of capitalism and the bourgeois classes and the ultimate victory of their economic, social and political system.

At the same time, it is also true to say that the Zionist movement is a powerful reaction on the part of the Jewish bourgeoisie against the local Christian European middle classes on account of the fierce and bloody economic competition between them.

This fierce competition expressed itself in many forms. The most decisive was the anti-Semitic movement among the non-Jewish Europeans. Anti-Semitism helped to push the Jewish bourgeoisie to look for a private national free market of its own,

outside Europe altogether. Under such circumstances no one will compete with the Jewish bourgeoisie over the domination of this market, and especially no one will compete with it on «uneven» terms as was the case in European countries.

It was under such circumstances that serious talk started about the «Jewish nation» and the «Jewish state» among the ranks of the Jewish middle class and its spokesmen. The European bourgeois classes succeeded in unifying and expanding their «national territories» under various ideological pretexts. Similarly, the Jewish bourgeoisie selected for itself a territory which it called historically its own (Palestine), and then went on to conquer it and constantly expand its area under the ideological pretexts of defending the sacred «fatherland,» «unifying the land of our ancestors» etc..... In classic bourgeois style, the Zionists naturally spoke about the «Jewish homeland» or the «promised land of our fathers and forefathers» and not about the unified national market which the Jewish bourgeoisie needed so badly.

Since it was impossible to carve out such a market, with all the social and political structures that it implies, in Europe itself, the Jewish bour-

geoisie started looking very early for possible territories overseas: Uganda, Argentina, Palestine, etc... etc.....

This tendency to look for the national homeland abroad was quite natural considering that the Zionist movement matured at the time when European capitalism had already reached its highest stage, viz. imperialism. At that time colonial and imperialist ventures in Asia, Africa and Latin America were in full swing. We may summarize the point by saying that Zionism is basically the «national problem» created by the Jewish bourgeoisie for the sake of the Jewish bourgeoisie — in the age of the highest state of capitalism and in imitation of the other European middle classes and their nationalist movements.

Consequently the Zionist movement was fully characterized by all the traits of the socio-economic environment in which it grew and developed. It carried with it the traits characteristic of the European capitalist nations in the age of imperialism: viz. chauvinism, racism, inverted anti-Semitism, economic and territorial expansionism, as well as the Gospel of colonialism and the «sanctity» of exploiting the non-European natives abroad. This

brought Zionism (as it did to European imperialism in general), into bitter conflict with the nascent nationalist movements developing in the «East» and struggling against European colonialism and foreign domination and exploitation. **More specifically this brought Zionism into a bitter and continuous struggle against the Arab nationalist movement.** Arab nationalism, unlike Jewish nationalism, was neither aggressive, nor expansionistic nor colonialistically minded. In fact it could not be any of these things for it was simply one of the many anti-colonial liberation movements that arose in the three continents which fell under the yoke of European imperialism and exploitation. The Arab nationalist movement was weak, on the defensive, and sought no more than independence from foreign rule at home. This is why the history of the struggle of the Arab nationalist movement against the colonial and neo-colonial powers (France, Britain and the U.S.A.) was never separate from its violent opposition to the Zionist colonization and usurpation of Palestine. They were the two sides of one and the same coin.

Herzl, the most important figure of the Zionist movement, was fully aware of the influence of the bourgeois nationalist movements in Europe on the

rise and development of the Zionist movement. He was also fully aware of the decisive role of the middle class in this whole operation, as well as of the existing fierce competition between the Jewish bourgeoisie and the local middle classes. He understood more clearly than any one before him **the need and necessity for the Zionist movement to completely identify itself with the imperialist interests of a great power like Britain.**

Herzl, for example, says:

«To create a new State is neither ridiculous nor impossible. Haven't we witnessed the process in our own day, among nations which were not largely middle class as we are, but poorer, less educated, and consequently weaker than ourselves? The government of all countries scourged by anti-Semitism will be keenly interested in obtaining sovereignty for us.»(7)

In other words the Jewish bourgeoisie was sick and tired of living under the patronage of a «Host-nation» and preferred to have its own «nation» and independent state where it has to compete with no one over the domination of the national market.

Therefore Herzl says clearly that the Jewish question is mainly centered in the middle classes considering that the Jews themselves are a bourgeois people as he stated it.(8)

Following is a statement by Herzl about the fierce competition that went on between the Jewish and non-Jewish bourgeois classes:

«For in the ghetto we had remarkably developed into a bourgeois people and we emerged from the ghetto a prodigious rival to the middle class. Thus we found ourselves thrust, upon emancipation, into this bourgeois circle, where we had a double pressure to sustain, from without. The Christian bourgeoisie would indeed not be loath to cast us as a peace offering to socialism, little though that would avail them.»(9)

It should be clear by now that the state which Herzl proposed to establish for the Jews was meant to be a liberal capitalist state; lead, built, and dominated by the Jewish middle class, and protected by some great imperialist power in return for vital

services rendered to its interests. Herzl states this in no ambiguous terms:

«We must not visualize the exodus of the Jews as a sudden one. It will be gradual, proceeding over a period of decades. The poorest will go first and cultivate the soil. They will construct roads, bridges, railways and telegraph installations, regulate rivers, and provide themselves with homesteads, all according to predetermined plans. Their labor will create trade, trade will create markets, and markets will attract new settlers — for every man will go voluntarily, at his own expense and his own risk. The labor invested in the soil will enhance its value. The Jews will soon perceive that a new and permanent frontier has been opened up for that spirit of enterprise which has heretofore brought them only hatred and obloquy.»(10)

It should be noted here that the instruments and methods contemplated and actually utilized by the Zionist movement in the colonization of Palestine were neither new nor original. They were the common stock-in-trade agencies previously utilized by the European capitalist ruling classes in forging their overseas empires. These agencies included such

things as commercial companies, banks, institutions and houses of finance, colonies, etc... The Zionist movement also had its own tools to do the job of colonizing Palestine. The Ideal imitated by the Zionists in all these colonial ventures and imperialist projects was the East India Company and its role in the exploitation and subjugation of India and South East Asia. In fact the adoption by the Zionist movement of the well-known agencies and tricks of colonization led the American President H. Truman to make the following comment about the National Jewish Fund: «America's Point Four, projected fifty years earlier.»(11)

The contemporary Israeli politician and writer, Uri Avneri, has acknowledged as much in stating the following:

«Suivant l'exemple de Cecil Rhodes, Herzl désirait obtenir une Charte pour fonder ce Foyer national qu'il se représentait comme une Compagnie à Charte, bâtie sur le modèle popularisé par la colonisation Britannique. Terre ancienne, terre nouvelle décrit en détail la société régie par cette Charte, société à établir en Palestine au lieu d'un Etat normal.»(12)

It should be clear by now that the Zionist projects for the colonization and eventual domination over Palestine were no more than faithful reproductions of the projects devised by the capitalist ruling classes in Europe to build their overseas empires.

Naturally the Jewish bourgeoisie (as it expressed itself in the Zionist movement) could not have succeeded in attaining its objectives of creating a Jewish state in Palestine without putting itself at the full service of the vital interests of the imperialist powers in the Middle East. This was the only way to convince a great imperialist power like Britain (and later the U.S.A.) to adopt the political cause of Zionism and to work systematically for its realization (eg. the Balfour Declaration). It would have been quite impossible for the Jewish bourgeoisie to take the colonial road in building its own national state and free market without dependence on the great imperialist powers of the day. The Jewish middle class was too weak to do it on its own. But in another sense it was very powerful. I mean powerful *vis a vis* the indigenuous underdeveloped foreign-dominated Arab population. The Zionist movement came to Palestine laden with the

fruits of modern science, technology and the modern methods of social organization, all acquired in Europe after the industrial and bourgeois revolutions. This explains in part the successes which the Zionist movement has been able to score against the Arabs in the Middle East.

Modern capitalism generated the Jewish Question in Europe. In the ages of imperialist expansion colonial powers sought to solve the Jewish Question in a way that would serve their interests overseas (the Suez Canal, the road to India, etc....), thus Israel came eventually into existence over the ruins of the Palestinian people. However, the imperialist solution has only succeeded in creating the newest and largest ghetto that the Jews have ever known. Established, sustained and constantly expanded by brute force and artificial external imperialist support. Consequently, Israel is surrounded, isolated and threatened by a most hostile environment. Finally it is our view that Israel will cease to be the last ghetto only if the Palestinian Armed Struggle eventually leads the forces of national liberation in the Middle East into a protracted revolution against the imperialist presence in our area. This presence is symbolized in Western capitalist investments, the Zionist state of Israel and the reactionary Arab regimes. The circumstances leading to the downfall

of imperialism in the Middle East alone will permit a genuinely historical solution of the Israeli-Palestinian problem whereby the Palestinian people regains its elementary right of self-determination on its own national territory. ■

References

- 7) *Ibid.*, p. 220.
- 8) *The Zionist Idea*, p. 210.
- 9) *Ibid.*, p. 218.
- 10) *The Zionist Idea*, p. 221.
- 11) B.A. Rosenblatt, *The American Bridge to the Israeli Commonwealth*, 1st. ed, N.Y. 1959, p. 35.
- 12) *Les Temps Modernes*, p. 709.

The Scapegoat

(short story)

by: Yahya Makhlof

«The Scapegoat» describes the feelings of a young Palestinian from the West Bank following its occupation by the Zionists in June 1967, and how the event transformed him from a «coward» into a «fighter» dedicated to the cause of liberating his country.

He looked at the increasing number of wrinkles on his hands and at the bulging knuckles of his fingers, and then he raised his head and gazed at his estranged face in the mirror. Around him he could faintly see some people playing dice and cards, but he closed his eyes and brooded over his misery and hunger.

And again he looked at the mirror, for he could not help gazing at it, as though he was seeing his face for the first time. That man in the mirror, he thought, who is wearing my clothes has strange features, strange hands, and a strange tongue. What will she say when she sees me after so many years?

One of the men at the next table spread before him a newspaper with big red headlines; he then folded it angrily and struck the board with his fist, saying: «We have lost the battle because of imperialist conspiracies!» He loosened his necktie and dreamt of her image passing before his eyes. Deep in his heart he was calling her name, but her picture faded away, and he felt more the estrangement of that face in the mirror, and felt like throwing the ashtray at it and breaking it to pieces.

The waiter brought him a glass of dark strong tea. He drank half of it in one sip; it was bitter, and everything around him seemed confused and half-seen. And through his half-closed eyes he saw all the faces which looked like broken mirrors reflecting his strange ugly face.

Another man argued: «No, we've lost the battle because...» but a gust of wind carried the newspaper away into the streets where it was stepped on by an

ugly shabby-looking beggar. The argument continued. He stood up; his hand went into his pocket feeling the few piasters left there. He threw some of them on the table and walked away. And he was lost in the crowded street, and felt more and more that feeling of estrangement. He pushed his way through the people, and in his mind an argument went on. He reviewed the memories of his university studies in Europe, his Ph. D. exams which he had failed just before returning to the East Bank. They were bitter memories, and the only refuge he could find to forget them was the image of her angelic face. How could he go to her, and when he did, how could he lift his face and look at her, and what would he say when the moments of silence were over?

There were hundreds of refugees waiting in front of the Red Cross building. He stood in line hoping to have a chance to send a message to his mother who remained behind on the West Bank. And he felt that he was doubled a hundred times and then another hundred to form his long line of miserable human beings. He imagined them trudging along the roads of the West Bank, their feet melting on the earth burnt by the Napalm bombs, their backs scathed by the splints of falling timber and stones. A bitter feeling of hatred passed through his mind and made his head dizzy. An old man said

addressing a young fellow: «We have lost the battle because we've deserted our religion and our Lord.» He tried to divert his attention from that argument. He took refuge in the image of her angelic face, but that face appeared to him only for a moment and then changed into a dim spot of light. And then he busied himself with a pencil and paper trying to write the message to his mother, while a deep feeling in his heart urged him to weep. He did not know why he felt like a child; and he felt that his mother was trying to bathe him and scrub his back. The soap got into his eyes and he wept, wept bitterly while her gentle hands scrubbed his back. He could not write a single letter. He folded the paper, put it in his pocket, and pushed his way through the crowds getting away from that place.

Ever since I was a child I have felt weak and faint of heart. They've always called me the big coward. And whenever we stayed at my aunt's late, I was afraid to return home alone, so they sent with me my cousin Nadia who was two years younger than I. I've never been a man. I've never taken part in a political demonstration. The word «patriotic» has always been for me a name in a book; an abstract name with no tangible meaning. And what am I to do now? I feel that I have to give my life so that we can win a victory.

He walked through the streets like a man who had just woken up after dreaming that he had been whipped a hundred times. More people, more crowded streets, more refugees, and the few piasters in his pocket getting fewer and fewer. Tomorrow or the day after he would sleep on the sidewalk, covering himself with a few newspapers. He hit the air with his fist; and now do I dare knock on your door? He got into the first bus he saw. He had a feeling of being strangled in a cave a mile long. Cobwebs were the only thing to be seen. A voice behind him said: «We have lost the battle because we've stuck to time-worn tradition!» Another voice answered: «It was because of those effeminate young men letting their hair grow like beetles and wearing those tight trousers and...!» He looked in vain for a cigarette in his pockets. Everyone of us looks for a scapegoat, a coat-hanger to lay on it his own mistakes and shame.

He rang the bell, and after a long moment of terrifying silence, a maid opened the door. His heart beat fiercely on his ribs. When the maid said that her master was not home, he was about to turn back with dejected spirits. She asked if he would like to leave his name. He said: «Tell him I am a relative of Nadia, his wife. The maid apologized and asked him in, and then disappeared for one minute. Then

Nadia walked in; she was like the impossible, but inevitable; a beautiful radiant face wearing the usual friendly smile. At first she did not know, but gave him a hospitable though questioning look. But then the look changed into one of the surprise and she stretched her hand to shake his. He was in a daze but he remembered the maid who was still in the room, and swallowed the words which were almost on his lips.

He was left alone for a while, and then Nadia came back leading a young beautiful girl in. «My daughter, Intesar,» she said. He felt that this was a mild reminder that she was married now. A few moments of uneasy silence passed, and then she broke it asking him about his university studies. He said that he had to quit his studies in order to come back home and take part in defending his country. And for all her politeness and tact, she could not hide a look of surprise which appeared on her face. She was about to say something, but checked herself. The words he felt sure were going to be: «Since when have you become brave and courageous?» But she interrupted his thoughts asking about her aunt, his mother. He said: «She has sworn that she would not leave her home even if that was going to cost her her life.» He added that he had been to the Red Cross center trying to send her a message. The

silence weighed heavy on him, and then he took his leave.

Once more he was in the cafe, but there was no mirror, no strange ugly face, no ashtray. There were but a few young men around. One of them asked: «How can we win?» Another answered: «Arms; this is the only means left for us to regain the homeland!» **Yes, he thought, arms and armed struggle are our only way.**

He stood up, and he saw himself in the mirror. But this time he had a tall figure, with a determined look on his face. He remembered the message to his mother; he took the slip of paper on it: **«Mother, I shall be a man... I swear by the West Bank!»** ■

Resistance Operations

(December 1970)

On December 4, Palestinian commandos fired bazookas on an Israeli military post, in the Golan Heights, causing serious damage to the said post.

On December 5, an Israeli soldier was injured when a Katyusha rocket crashed into the Dafna Kibbutz in Upper Galilee.

On Dec. 6, a battle flared between the Palestinian commandos and an enemy mechanized unit at Dhahiriyah village in the Hebron area. The commandos used automatic weapons and hand grenades in the battle, which lasted for one hour. The enemy sustained a number of casualties.

On Dec. 6, Palestinian freedom fighters blew up three chemical plants in the occupied territories.

Fires were started, continuing for several hours and causing heavy damage and a large number of casualties among the Israelis.

On Dec. 9, Palestinian commandos blew up the telephone and power network in Jerusalem. The explosion led to a power failure and a disruption in telephone communications, in addition to the destruction of part of the power station.

On Dec. 11, Palestinian freedom fighters attacked an enemy bus with a hand grenade in the Sejayieh quarter of Gaza town. The enemy sustained casualties and the bus was heavily damaged.

On Dec. 12, a commando fighter threw a hand grenade at an enemy military patrol in Gaza. An enemy soldier was wounded.

On Dec. 14, Palestinian commandos blew up the Tel Aviv university laboratory causing an extensive fire. For several hours, firemen failed to put down the big fire, which continued to rage and extended to other sections.

On Dec. 14, Palestinian freedom fighters put out of action an Israeli military vehicle in the occupied Goza Strip, killing or wounding its occupants.

On Dec. 15, Palestinian commandos set off a

number of charges at the Israeli labor office in Gaza. The blast caused considerable damage and wounded several soldiers.

On Dec. 17, two Israeli soldiers and a civilian army employee were wounded as a result of a hand grenade hurled by a Palestinian fighter in Gaza town.

On Dec. 17, a special group of Palestinian commandos blew up a coffee house in Jaffa, setting it on fire. On the same day they set fire to biscuit and canned food plants in the industrial area between Jaffa and Tel Aviv.

On Dec. 18, Palestinian commandos scored direct hits on seven Israeli soldiers, when they attacked a bus taking them along the Jerusalem-Hebron road. The commandos seized some arms in the operation which took place north of Nahalin village.

On Dec. 19, Palestinian commandos planted highly explosive charges in an Israeli coast-guard boat, completely wrecking it. The boat was the «Sharon» and bore the number 17. The explosives went off at dawn, while the ship was near Ras-Al-Nakura.

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On Dec. 19, a water reservoir serving the settlement of Carmiel in Western Galilee was breached by explosives planted by Palestinian commandos. This was announced in Haifa by the Israeli water company Mekarot.

On Dec. 20, Palestinian commandos set off explosives at an Israeli police post, of the Jabalia camp in the Gaza Strip, wrecking part of it and wounding several enemy policemen.

The Palestine Resistance movement has announced that a special commando group shelled the Israeli sector of Jerusalem with 130 Katyusha rockets on Dec. 20. A spokesman of the movement said that two of the rockets damaged two buildings, including one near the residence of Israeli President Zalman Shazar. It is believed there were a number of casualties.

On Dec. 29, Palestinian fighters launched two Katyusha rocket attacks from Jordanian territory against the town of Beisan. The attack resulted in damaging a house and a number of cars. ■

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

The Arabs, Zionism and Anti-Semitism

by Ibrahim Al-Abid

The following questions and answers designed to throw light on the Palestine issue and the Palestinian resistance movement, are based on the author's «A Handbook to the Palestine Question,» published by the P.L.O. Research Center, Beirut, Lebanon.

I. DOES ZIONISM PROFIT FROM ANTI-SEMITISM?

Zionists have nothing to lose from the creation of a feeling of insecurity among World Jewry. Dr. Nahum Goldman, President of the World Zionist Organization, warned Jews that «a current decline

of overt anti-Semitism might constitute a new danger to Jewish survival..... Jews nearly everywhere are equal citizens, both politically and economically ... However, the disappearance of anti-Semitism in its classical meaning, while beneficial to the political and material situation of Jewish communities, has had a very negative effect on our internal life...» (From a speech given at the opening of the world Jewish Congress in Geneva (July 23, 1958 and reported in the New York Times).

Another warning came from Rabbi Mordechai Kershblum, of New York, who told the Zionist General Council, «I always fear lest the anti-Semites have adopted a new method. Instead of torture and persecutions, they say, «Give them peace and they will disappear of their own accord.» (Jerusalem Post, January 14, 1966, p. 8).

Perhaps the most important exploitation of anti-Semitism, as a device to achieve Zionist ends, was revealed in an article in Davar, the official organ of the Socialist Labour (Mapai) Party, the newspaper of Israel's governing party. Editor Sherrun wrote: «I shall not be ashamed to confess that, if I had the power as I have the will, I would select a score of efficient young men—intelligent, decent, devoted to our ideal and burning with desire to help redeem Jews—and I would send them to the count-

ries where Jews are absorbed in sinful self-satisfaction, plague these Jews with anti-Semitic slogans, such as «Bloody Jew,» «Jew go to Palestine» and similar intimacies. I can vouch that the results, in terms of considerable immigration to Israel from these countries, would be ten thousand times larger than the results brought by thousands of emissaries who have been preaching for decades to deaf ears.» (Quoted in Kemper, New York Yiddish paper, July 11, 1952).

II. IS ARAB RESISTANCE OF ZIONISM, ANTI-SEMITIC IN NATURE?

The representative of the Arab Higher Committee was asked by the Anglo-American Commission (1946) about the attitude of the Arabs towards anti-Semitism. He answered: «It is our enemy. Had it not been for anti-Semitism, Jews would not have come here. Jews were good neighbors to us before there was any Zionism.»(1)

On the other hand Nissem Rejwan, as well as many other Israelis and Jews, concedes that in Israeli schools and kindergartens, the term «Arab» is an insult and that Israeli society in general treats its Arab members with reserve, suspicion and often hostility.(2)

Sabri Jiryis, a very balanced Arab writer living in Israel, mentioned in his book «The Arabs in Israel» that Israel's rulers are very anti-Arab:

«Among them is David Ben Gurion himself, who is one of the men who devised the nervous system of the State of Israel, basing it on a concept that has long been dear to him and which is dear to many of today's Israeli leaders—hatred of the Arabs and all things Arab. No other intelligent political leader has been so completely dominated by an idea as he has been by this.»

On April 30, 1958 the newspaper, Haaretz, published a report which revealed Ben Gurion's real attitude to the Arabs. «Ben Gurion,» it said, «refused the identity card issued to him because it was written in Arabic as well as Hebrew.» Commenting on this report in the periodical, Haolam Hazeh, on 7 April 1958, Uri Avneri wrote: «Ben Gurion has always been utterly reactionary in his opposition to anything Arab. The Prime Minister of Israel has never visited an Arab town or village since the establishment of the State. (In July 1959 he visited the Druze village of «Julis» in a helicopter). When he visited the Jewish town of Upper Nazareth, he refused to visit Arab Nazareth, only a few hundred metres away from the Jewish town. In the first ten

years after the establishment of the State, Ben Gurion did not receive a single delegation of Arab citizens, though, under party pressure he did condescend to receive the Arab members of the Knesset who were subservient to the Mapai; this was his only meeting with Arabs, and during it he made them insincere promises. In December 1958 he met these deputies for the second time, on the occasion of the elections. Ben Gurion, who learned Greek so as to be able to read Plato, and Spanish so as to be able to read Cervantes, has never found it necessary to learn Arabic, so as to read about the splendid treasures of Arab civilization. And although it is now 53 years since he came to Israel, he has never understood one word printed in Arabic press or broadcast over the Arabic radio.

«When he visited the Negev, he insisted on the immediate removal of a signpost bearing the Arabic name, Ain Ghadban, saying that he found this Arabic name disagreeable. And when he was asked, in the colony of Bir Ora in the Negev, what the old Arabic name of the site of the colony was, he replied: 'I don't know and I don't want to know.'»

«His refusal of the identity card was just another illustration of David Ben Gurion's fanatical hatred of the Arabs. For we have never heard of him refusing a passport because it was written in

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French as well as Hebrew. But French is certainly a foreign language whereas Arabic is an official language in Israel however much Ben Gurion may despise it.

«It cannot be said that Ben Gurion bears the responsibility for Israel's anti-Arab policy alone; he has advisers, assistants and directors who are even more extremist in their ideas, which they hold to this day, and it is they who have been directing Israel's policy since Ben Gurion retired. But it was he who switched on the green light, and no one has turned it off.»(3) ■

References

- (1) Jamil Shukairi, Collection of Testimonies and Memoranda Presented to the Anglo-American Commission, p. 73.
- (2) «La grande époque de la coexistence judeo-arabe,» Dossier sur le conflit Israélo-Arabe, p. 824.
- (3) Sabri Jiryis, The Arabs in Israel (Institute of Palestine Studies, Beirut), pp. 175-176.

PALESTINE QUESTION IN WORLD PRESS

Two major questions in the Middle East to-day are: the continued attempt by the Jordanian authorities, in collusion with Israel and the United States, to liquidate the Palestinian people and the Palestinian resistance; and the fate of the present ceasefire which is due to come to an end on February 5. Our first «world press» extract, taken from the New York Times issue of October 8, 1970, proves that in their murderous attack against Palestinian resistance, the Jordanian authorities have the full backing of Israel and the United States and that joint U.S.-Israeli military action to defend the hireling Jordanian regime was envisioned and planned last September. The second extract from the Soviet «International Affairs» journal of November 1970, tries to answer the important question «who is obstructing a Middle East settlement?»

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- (1) U.S.-Israeli Military Action on Jordan Was Envisioned (New York Times Oct. 8, 1970)

Washington, Oct. 7 — The United States and

Israel were preparing to take co-ordinated military action in the recent Jordanian crisis, according to American and Israeli sources.

This plan envisioned an Israeli attack on the Syrian tank forces that had entered Jordan if it appeared that King Hussein's army was incapable of stopping them. In this event the United States would have used Sixth Fleet and other units to safeguard Israel's rear and flanks from Egyptian or Soviet attacks from the Suez Canal area.

The plan was not put into effect because the Syrian tanks, harassed by King Hussein's jets and armor, began retreating into Syria. Informed sources here believe that it was the combination of Israel's troop build-up plus American military alerts — both well publicized — that sobered the Syrians and the Soviet Union!!

President Nixon assumed personal direction of the intense diplomatic and military activity as the crisis approached its climax. As the United States-Israeli agreement was being negotiated here it was transmitted, step by step, to the unified military commands overseas and major striking forces — notably the Sixth Fleet — thus committing American power to a contingency plan whose outcome was obscure.



Santa '70

The bond between the United States and Israel in this crisis was their joint determination that King Hussein must not be overthrown.

In fact, an urgent message from King Hussein asking the United States and Britain to consider what military support they could provide him gave impetus to the American planning. But perhaps an equally strong force for quick action was the feeling in Washington that Israel would consider herself compelled to strike the Syrian forces if they continued to penetrate into Jordan in support of the guerrillas, who were challenging King Hussein's authority.

Another, more publicized factor was concern over some 400 United States citizens and 54 hostages, including 38 Americans, in the hands of Palestinian guerrillas in Jordan at the time.

The plan was worked out Monday, Sept. 21, in non-stop American-Israeli consultations at the White House. Many draft agreements passed back and forth as well as cablegrams to and from Israel. But events outraced the paperwork; so essentially, each government relied on the other's oral pledges for co-ordinated military action — in the event either had to use military force. There was no signed agreement.

Both sides recognized that the following contingencies might prompt an Israeli military strike:

- If Syria sent more of the 700 tanks she had in reserve to join the original 250 tanks that entered northern Jordan during the night of Sept. 19-20 and if they began driving south toward Amman.

- If Syria sent units of her 195-Mig air force into action against Jordan's armed forces, thus dispelling any illusion that only «Palestinian fedayeen» were using Syrian equipment against King Hussein.

- If the Iraqi force of perhaps 18,000 men with 200 Soviet-supplied tanks, based at Mafrag, in northern Jordan since the 1967 war, joined in the fighting.

President Nixon assumed direction of the diplomatic activity on Monday morning, Sept. 21, and that day he and his advisers agreed that the United States might have to intervene militarily to safeguard King Hussein's Government and rescue the hostages.

A Holding Operation

Had a decision to actually intervene been reached, one of the two airborne battalions of the

United States Eighth Infantry Division on alert at Mainz, West Germany, would have parachuted into the Amman airport to establish perimeter defenses. The other would have landed soon after, in transport planes, guarded by Sixth Fleet fighters, with vehicles, weapons and material. This would have been primarily a holding operation until reinforcements from the Sixth Fleet, from West Germany or from the United States could arrive.

The principals in the drama were the President, Secretary of State William P. Rogers, Joseph J. Sisco, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs and Henry A. Kissinger, the President's adviser on national security.

Others involved included U. Alexis Johnson, Under Secretary for Political Affairs; Richard Helms, Director of Central Intelligence and Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Of the non-Americans, those most closely involved were Yuli M. Vorontsov, Soviet chargé d'affaires in the absence of Ambassador Anatoly F. Dobrynin, who was on leave and has since returned; the Israeli Ambassador, Itzhak Rabin, and his deputy Shlomo Argov and the Jordanian Ambassador Abdul Hamid Sharaf.

The center of the United States activity was the «Situation Room» in the basement of the White House; one of a complex of specially-fitted rooms created for President Kennedy during the Cuban missile crisis in 1962 by McGeorge Bundy, his adviser on national security. The complex is manned around the clock by officials of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Here, in the soundproofed basement of his residence, the President and his senior aides followed the crisis via reports flowing in constantly from the State Department, the Pentagon, the C.I.A. and Israeli Intelligence sources as well as from United States Embassies in Amman, Moscow, Tel-Aviv, London, Bonn, Paris and elsewhere.

Here and in his upstairs offices, President Nixon decided the balance of public and private diplomacy — public rumours about Sixth Fleet reinforcements balanced by private warnings to Moscow to «lean on» the Syrians; publicized alerts of the 82nd Airborne Division and private intimations to King Hussein that he had nothing to fear from Israel on his flank.

During the crisis the 58 units of the Soviet

Fifth Naval Squadron in the Mediterranean kept close to the United States Sixth Fleet, whose three aircraft carriers and 250 planes had started to concentrate between Crete and the Israeli coast from the beginning of the crisis in mid-September. Soviet warships intermingled with the United States warships; while United States helicopters for their part hovered over the Soviet vessels photographing them.

The crisis began developing on Thursday, Sept. 17. On that day King Hussein's newly formed military Government struck against the armed Fedayeen, in a bid to clear them out of Amman and the northern cities and to reassert the royal authority. The King was hoping to complete the operation within 48 hours.

On that same day President Nixon, talking to newspaper editors in Chicago, said that the United States might intervene if Syria or Iraq threatened King Hussein's Government. While the President's words were supposedly off the record, The Chicago Sun Times printed his warning, and later Mr. Nixon was said to have praised the paper for giving his warning world attention.

By Wednesday, Sept. 23, Washington was confident that King Hussein had won, despite the damage to Amman and the continuing sporadic resistance. Two days later on Friday, King Hussein and the guerrilla chiefs agreed on a ceasefire negotiated in Cairo.... Israel was pleased with the outcome, and Premier Golda Meir praised the American role in the affair.

(2) Who Is Obstructing a Middle East Settlement (International Affairs, Moscow, November 1970)

At Midnight on August 7-8, the guns fell silent in the Suez Canal zone. Gunnar Jarring, to whom had been delegated the responsibility of helping to carry out the well-known November resolution of the Security Council, had established contact with the representatives of the UAR, Jordan, and Israel.

In the meantime, the Israeli press was literally flooded with forecasts about how Israeli territorial and other claims against its Arab neighbours would be satisfied. They wrote, in particular, that Tel Aviv could not do without Gaza, Sharm el-Sheikh, the Golan Heights and, of course, Jerusalem. Meanwhile,

as before, it was not difficult to draw the conclusion that it was only a matter of a «minimum programme.»

There is an agreement reached on offering Israel a large amount of armaments and the assignation of special credits for this purpose.

An outburst of military hysteria in connection with the American President's trip to the Mediterranean area reminded the whole world of the year 1958, the American intervention in Lebanon and the British in Jordan, to restore the monarchist regime in Iraq.

Once more the ships of the American fleet cruise along the shores of Lebanon and Syria. The statement of the American Secretary of Defence concerning the intention permanently to reinforce the 6th Fleet is understood by the whole as an intention to exercise pressure on the Arab leaders. It is too much of a coincidence that Washington and Tel Aviv are aggravating international tension so as to screen their veering away from the view expressed in the personal declarations of US politicians

about their willingness to help settle the Middle East conflict.

For the over three years since the end of the June 1967 war, Tel Aviv has been counting exclusively on a military solution to its problems with its Arab neighbours. The cult of power has intoxicated the Israeli hawks, preventing them from making a sober assessment of the situation.

With an eye to getting new consignments of American Phantoms, the Israeli military and the politicians exhibited in the summer of this year a pathological urge to involve the world in any kind of adventure. Anything to continue the aggression in the UAR, Syria, Jordan and other Arab countries! Anything to hold on to captured territory!

Time, however, worked against the Israeli politicians and military men, who depended on force and vainly sought the capitulation of progressive Arab regimes. Even the brazen Zionist propaganda machine could not change world public opinion: Israel became an occupying country, an oppressor, a dangerous adventurist.

A constructive approach and concrete efforts are needed for the achievement of a peaceful settlement in the Middle East, and once again these are threatened with obstructive action by extreme reactionary elements in Israel. Attempts are being made to create round the negotiations in New York an atmosphere of Israeli diktat, an atmosphere of victor parleying with vanquished.

It is clearly no coincidence that there is now talk in Israel of working out some «new» agreement with the Arabs «on absolutely different conditions.» In these discussions it is impossible not to detect a hint of new Israeli moves to disrupt the present ceasefire agreement.

Incidentally, mention should be made in this case of the belated efforts to camouflage the extremely serious violations of the above-mentioned agreement, which have already been perpetrated by Israel and its allies

On the east bank of the Suez Canal, even during the armistice period, the Barlev Line was being

re-equipped and strengthened with additional fortifications. Consequently, in Tel Aviv's current philippics against the UAR can distinctly be heard the traditional street-cry of the market pickpocket: «Stop thief!»

And how to evaluate the Israeli sorties into Lebanon and the artillery bombardments of Lebanese and Jordanian territory? Truly, Tel Aviv has as highly distorted a conception of peaceful intentions as of the necessity for observing the terms of the cease-fire agreement. ■

ISRAEL'S VIOLATIONS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE POPULATION OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

On November 2, 1970 the Report of the U.N. three-member «Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories» was published. The Report found Israel guilty of a wide range of serious infringements of the Geneva Conventions and the human rights of the population of the occupied territories. Although the Report has been described by Israel as «biased and pro-Arab,» its findings, which are summarized below, are confirmed by reports of the International Committee of the Red Cross (published in September 1970) and Amnesty International (published in April 1970), two institutions with unchallengeable reputation for integrity, impartiality and fearless independence:

(a) **On the right to return:** The Special Committee has stated, on the basis of the evidence before

Israel's Violations

it, that it was convinced that «the Government of Israel is in effect pursuing a policy whereby the rights of persons in the occupied territories, to remain there, and those who have fled, to return, is being denied.» (paragraph 70).

(b) **On collective and area punishment:** The Special Committee has found that on the basis of the sum total of the evidence before it, «the collective punishments that have been imposed in the occupied territories are not merely isolated incidents in answer to manifestations of resistance to occupation, but rather, part of a deliberate policy adopted by the Government of Israel.» (paragraph 74).

(c) **On deportation and expulsion:** The Special Committee has stated that according to the evidence before it, the Golan heights were forcibly evacuated of all civilian population immediately after the hostilities and that, since that time, there has been no genuine effort to bring back the inhabitants who had thus fled or had been forcibly ejected. (paragraph 75). Also on the question of deportation and expulsion, in particular the expulsion of leaders, the Special Committee has stated as follows: «The Special Committee has little reason to doubt that the Government of Israel hoped to enervate the

community (of the West Bank) by depriving it of intelligent and active leadership and thereby to reduce the community to a state of passive subservience to the occupying power.» (paragraph 77).

(d) **On the ill-treatment of prisoners and detainees:** The Special Committee has stated that on the basis of Red Cross reports on certain prisons as well as evidence heard by the Committee, it is led to believe that **there is in several prisons, especially in Sarafand Camp, the regular practice of ill-treating inmates.** (paragraph 108). On the question of administrative detainees, the Special Committee has stated on the basis of the evidence before it,... the present procedures leading to administrative detention are unsatisfactory and in practice merely **promote arbitrary arrest of persons and, therefore, detention for indefinite prolonged periods.**» (paragraph 111).

(e) **On ill-treatment of civilians:** The Special Committee has recorded the more serious violations of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which provide norms for the protection of civilians (paragraph 122). It has also shown that **these violations establish Israel's disregard of the provisions of the Convention.**

(f) **On destruction and demolition of buildings, confiscation and expropriation of property:** The Special Committee, referring to Jerusalem, has stated: **«the destruction that went on in Jerusalem is now a matter of public record and the evidence brought before the Special Committee confirms the fact that this has taken place, that those responsible for this destruction are the Israeli authorities, and that the victims are the civilian Arab population of Jerusalem.»** (paragraph 124). Referring to the destruction of certain villages, the Special Committee has stated that destruction could not be justified under the derogation clauses of the Fourth Geneva Convention, (paragraph 126-131).

(g) **On policies and practices constituting interference with the economic and social life and repugnant to religious susceptibility:** The Special Committee has stated that it is not in a position to determine the exact extent to which the occupation has affected the economic situation in the occupied territories as **it had no opportunity of visiting the area (The Israeli authorities refused to cooperate with the Committee)** — (paragraph 138). On the question of interference in education matters, the Committee has stated that **«it feels that proper steps should be taken without delay to regulate the**

education in the schools in the occupied territories in conformity with the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention (article 50).» — (paragraph 141).

(h) **On interference with the judicial system including legal aid:** The Special Committee has commented on **the lack of legal assistance for persons in detention** and on the adverse effect on the legal rights of detainees of the transfer of the Court of Appeal from Jerusalem to Ramallah. (paragraphs 142-144). ■

Documents

During the 25th regular session of the United Nations General Assembly, which ended on 17 December 1970, the Assembly adopted a number of resolutions relating to Palestine. In addition to the November 30, resolution which condemned «those Governments which deny the right of self-determination of peoples recognized as being entitled to it, especially of the peoples of Southern Africa and Palestine,» two resolutions dealing exclusively with the Palestine issue were adopted. The first of these resolutions, in four sections, was passed on 8 December, following a discussion of the Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of the U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine (UNRWA). Among other things, the resolution declared that «full respect for the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine is indispensable to the establishment of peace in the Middle East» and called upon Israel to restore to their homes and camps, persons displaced as a result of the June 1967 hostilities. The second resolution, adopted on 11 December on the Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, called upon Israel «to comply with its obligations under the Geneva Convention and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.»

We give below the full text of each of these two important resolutions:

1. Resolution on United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East

A

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 194 (III) of 11 December 1948, 302 (IV) of 8 December 1949, 393 (V) and 394 (V) of 2 and 14 December 1950, 512 (VI) and 513 (VI) of 26 January 1952, 614 (VII) of 6 November 1952, 720 (VIII) of 27 November 1953, 818 (IX) of 4 December 1954, 916 (X) of 3 December 1955, 1018 (XI) of 28 February 1957, 1191 (XII) of 12 December 1957, 1315 (XIII) of 12 December 1958, 1456 (XIV) of 9 December 1959, 1604 (XV) of 21 April 1961, 1725 (XVI) of 20 December 1961, 1856 (XVII) of 20 December 1962, 1912 (XVIII) of 3 December 1963, 2002 (XIX) of 10 February 1965, 2052 (XX) of 15 December 1965, 2154 (XXI) of 17 November 1966, 2341 (XXII) of 19 December 1967, 2452 (XXIII) of 19 December 1968 and 2535-A (XXIV) of 10 December 1969,

Noting the annual report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, covering the period from 1 July 1969 to 30 June 1970.

1. **Notes with deep regret** that repatriation or compensation of the refugees as provided for in paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III) has not been effected, that no substantial progress has been made in the programme endorsed in paragraph 2 of resolution 513 (VI) for the reintegration of refugees either by repatriation or resettlement and that, therefore, the situation of the refugees continues to be a matter of serious concern;

2. **Expresses its thanks** to the Commissioner-General and the staff of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East for their continued faithful efforts to provide essential services for the Palestine refugees, and to the specialized agencies and private organizations for their valuable work in assisting the refugees;

3. **Directs** the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East to continue his efforts in taking such measures, including rectification of the relief rolls, as to assure, in co-operation with the Governments concerned, the most equitable distribution of relief based on need;

4. **Notes with regret** that the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine was unable

to find a means to achieve progress in the implementation of paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 (III) and requests the Commission to exert continued efforts towards the implementation thereof;

5. **Directs attention** to the continuing critical financial position of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, as outlined in the Commissioner-General's report;

6. **Notes with concern** that, despite the commendable and successful efforts of the Commissioner-General to collect additional contributions to help relieve the serious budget deficit of the past year, contributions to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East continue to fall short of the funds needed to cover essential budget requirements;

7. **Calls upon** all Governments as a matter of urgency to make the most generous efforts possible to meet the anticipated needs of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, particularly in light of the budgetary deficit projected in the Commissioner-General's report, and, therefore, urges non-contributing Governments to contribute, and contributing Governments to consider increasing their contributions.

B

The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolutions 2252 (ES-V) of 4 July 1967, 2341 B (XXII) of 19 December 1967, 2452 C (XXIII) of 19 December 1968, and 2535 C (XXIV) of 10 December 1969,

Taking note of the annual report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, covering the period from 1 July 1969 to 30 June 1970,

Bearing in mind also the letter dated 13 August 1970 from the Secretary-General addressed to State Members of the United Nations or members of specialized agencies,

Concerned about the continued human suffering resulting from the June 1967 hostilities in the Middle East,

1. **Reaffirms** its resolutions 2252 (ES-V), 2341 B (XXII), 2452 C (XXIII), and 2535 C (XXIV);

2. **Endorses**, bearing in mind the objectives of those resolutions, the efforts of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East to continue to provide humanitarian assistance, as far

as practicable, on an emergency basis and as a temporary measure, to other persons in the area who are at present displaced and in serious need of continued assistance as a result of the June 1967 hostilities;

3. **Strongly appeals** to all Governments and to organizations and individuals to contribute generously for the above purposes to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East and to the other inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations concerned.

C

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 resolution 2535 B (XXIV) of 10 December 1969, in which it reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine,

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 Na-

tions 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,

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. **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.

D

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, calling upon the Government of Israel to take effective and immediate steps for the return without delay of those inhabitants who have fled the areas since the outbreak of hostilities, and 2535 B (XXIV) of 10 December 1969,

Gravely concerned with the plight of the displaced persons,

Convinced that the plight of the displaced persons could best 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 persons,

1. **Considers** that the plight of the displaced persons continues since they have not been able to return to their homes and camps;
2. **Calls once more upon** the Government of Israel to take immediately and without any further delay effective steps for the return of the displaced persons;
3. **Requests** the Secretary-General to follow the implementation of the present resolution and to report thereon to the General Assembly.

★

2. **Resolution on Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories**
The General Assembly,

Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

Bearing in mind the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the provisions of the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilians Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949,

Recalling Security Council's resolutions 237 (1967) of 14 June 1967 and 259 (1968) of 27 September 1968,

Recalling also its resolutions 2252 (ES-V) of 4 July 1967, 2443 (XXIII) of 19 December 1968, 2452 A (XXIII) of 19 December 1968, 2535 B (XXIV) of 10 December 1969, and 2672 D (XXV) of 8 December 1970,

Further recalling Commission on Human Rights' resolutions 6 (XXIV) of 27 February 1968, 6 (XXV) of 4 March 1969, 10 (XXVI) of 23 March 1970, the telegram of 8 March 1968 to the Israeli authorities, the relevant resolutions of the International Conference on Human Rights held at Teheran in 1968, the Commission on the Status of Women resolution 7 (XXIII) of 9 April 1970, and the relevant resolutions of the Economic and Social Council, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and the World Health Organization,

Having considered the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting

Resistance

the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories,

Noting with regret that the provisions of these resolutions have not been implemented by the Israeli authorities,

Gravely concerned for the safety, welfare, and security of the inhabitants of the Arab territories under military occupation by Israel,

1. **Expresses its sincere appreciation** to the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories and to its members for their efforts in performing the task assigned to them;

2. **Calls upon** the Government of Israel to immediately implement the recommendations of the Special Committee embodied in its Report and to comply with its obligations under the Geneva Convention, Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the relevant resolutions adopted by the various international organizations;

3. **Requests** the Special Committee, pending the early termination of Israeli occupation of Arab territories, to continue its work and to consult, as appropriate, with the International Committee of

Documents

the Red Cross in order to ensure the safeguarding of the human rights of the population of the occupied territories;

4. **Urges** the Government of Israel to receive the Special Committee, co-operate with it and facilitate its work;

5. **Requests** the Special Committee to report to the Secretary-General as soon as possible and whenever the need arises thereafter;

6. **Requests** the Secretary-General to provide the Special Committee with all the necessary facilities for the continued performance of its tasks;

7. **Decides** to inscribe on the provisional agenda of its twenty-sixth session an item entitled «Report (or Reports) of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories.» ■

BOOK REVIEWS

Palestine Diary 1971 – by Yousef Khatib. Palestine Publications House (Dar Filistin, P.O.B. 722), Damascus, Syria. 380 pages, L.L. 10.

This is an outstanding annual publication. It is not a book but a real diary, beautifully designed and executed. The author explains the occasion of the publication. «When the Palestine Diary first appeared in Arabic in 1967,» he writes in the foreword to the Diary, «it was well received by readers, many of whom expressed the wish that an English edition of it should be published to enlighten world public opinion concerning the reality of the Palestine issue — a reality which has for long been inaccessible to Western readers owing to two factors: the world-wide brain washing effect of the extremely active Zionist propaganda machine and the inefficiency of Arab information media.»

In its 365 carefully-selected and well-written entries, the Palestine Diary covers several aspects of the Palestine question. The very essence of this question, as one of a people's struggle for liberation, is well expressed in the last two entries of the Diary, entitled «Final Word to the Reader,» as follows:

Book Reviews

«We have now come to end of the Palestine Diary. We regret that we have not given you mere entertainment but have troubled you with a new problem — that of Palestine, the problem of a people expelled from their homeland in order to give every Jew in the world two homelands, the one in which he lives, and Palestine, from which we have been expelled.

Responsibility for our expulsion and the terrible wrongs done to us over half a century lies with World Zionism, Britain and the United States. The United Nations shares in this responsibility through the Palestine Partition Resolution of November 29, 1947, which provided for the establishment of the «State of Israel» on Palestinian soil.

We now say goodbye to you, while «Israel» is threatening with deadly U.S. weapons, our people in Cairo, Amman and Damascus... while Arab workers, peasants and children are being crushed by Phantom bombs and Arab fighters fall every day under the weight of the unequal fight. But they die believing in final victory... in a resurrection... in an awakening of world conscience and that, one day, sooner or later, their children, or may be their grandchildren, will return to the motherland in Palestine and will be permitted to live in it in love and peace.»

YOUSEF KHATIB

PALESTINE DIARY

1971



Book Reviews

Among the special features of the Palestine Diary are the following:

1. Large documentary material, including important quotations from a wide range of Western authors and all the chief documents relating to the Palestine issue.
2. An excellent introductory essay which appears in this issue of «Resistance» under the title «Shylock, Prometheus and the phoenix.»
3. Twelve maps illustrating the various stages of the Zionist invasion of Palestine, and of Israel's expansionism, from 1917 to 1967.
4. Twelve paintings in full colour by outstanding Syrian artists, especially done for the «Diary,» and dealing with the Palestine question and the tragedy of the Palestinian people.
5. Translations of a number of poems by poets of the Occupied Territories including the following gem on «Jaffa» by Rashed Hussein (entry for April 30):

Jaffa, opium chimneys issuing intoxication,
And dry roads that harbour nothing but flies
and boredom,
Silent is Jaffa's heart, stopped with a stone,
And the moon is buried in the streets of thy sky.
Jaffa... knows no moon.
Jaffa blood upon a stone.
I was in Jaffa removing rats from her brow,

Resistance

Lifting ruins from bodies that are denied a grave,
Burying stars in sand, and in walls.

Extracting bullets from their bones, and forcing
back a sigh,

Jaffa, whose breasts gave me orange-milk,
Is parched ... her waves give rain no more.

Jaffa, that has brought eternity to heel upon
her shores,

Is paralysed and broken.

Jaffa, is dwarfed into chimneys that issue
intoxication to the land.

Obviously much effort and exertion has gone into the production of this reliable, useful and practical publication. Bearing in mind that the publisher's House is a «non-profit making establishment with limited resources, and receives no financial aid in any form from any governmental source,» the author-publisher is to be congratulated on having undertaken this relatively ambitious project and on the degree of success he has attained in carrying it out.

Those interested in disseminating the truth about the Palestine question would do well to obtain a copy of the «Diary» and read the entries. If they like them — and we have little doubt that they will — they would render a good service by presenting an English copy of it to a foreign friend, and a convert would then be won to the cause of justice and peace in the Middle East. ■

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Blood-stained Document: The Balfour Declaration

The Balfour Declaration promised the Jews «a national home» in Palestine. It was issued in November 2, 1917; and has, by now, resulted in the dispersion of two-million of Palestinians and in bringing the world to the verge of a global war.

The Palestine Revolution aims to destroy the terrible effects of the Balfour Declaration and all its consequences.

(Courtesy of:

**Palestine Publications House Damascus).
Painting reproduced from the
House's «PALESTINE DIARY» — 1971**

Original painting by:
Syrian artist Ghiyath Al-Akhras



Dear Lord Balfour,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

His Majesty's Government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

I should be grateful if you would bring the knowledge of the Zionist Federation to this declaration to

Arthur James Balfour.

See inside cover.