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**ARAB PALESTINIAN
RESISTANCE**

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PALESTINE LIBERATION ARMY - PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FORCES



Arab Palestinian **RESISTANCE**

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Editor: **M. KHURI**

FROM THE RECORD

In 1819, Achad Ha'am, the prominent Zionist writer, said of the Jewish settlers in Palestine:

«Serfs they were in the lands of the Diaspora and suddenly they find themselves in freedom. This change has awakened in them an inclination to despotism. They treat the Arabs with hostility and enmity, deprive them of their rights, offend them without cause, and even boast of these deeds; and nobody among us opposes this despicable and dangerous inclination».

EDITORIAL

The Nixon administration has announced that it has been decided to resume supplying Israel with Phantom planes. The pretext given for the decision is that Soviet arms shipments to the Arab countries might disturb the «balance of power» in the Middle East and that the United States is committed to maintaining this balance.

The decision was especially surprising in view of the recent resolution of the UN General Assembly, adopted in mid-December, which expressed appreciation for Egypt's positive attitude to Ambassador Jarring's peace initiative, and called on Israel to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories and to respond favourably to the peace initiative of the UN mediator.

The General Assembly resolution, which was approved by 79 votes to 7 with 36 abstentions, provided yet another proof of Israel's growing isolation in the international field. This isolation, however, and Israel's continued defiance of the world community seems to be of little concern to the United States government.

The US decision to supply with offensive weapons the party branded by the United Nations

as the defiant aggressor may sound odd and unexpected. But a careful study of the relations between Israel and the United States, since the establishment of the Zionist state and to the present day would show that the American government has consistently helped Israel, notwithstanding the fact that Israel has insistently followed a policy of expansion and aggression.

To cover up Israel's role as the chief agent of world imperialism in the Middle East and to serve America's substantial oil interests in the Arab countries, U. S. leaders sometimes talk of an American «even-handed» policy in the Arab-Israeli conflict and a «balance of power» in the Middle East region.

The U.S. decision to resume supplying Israel with Phantom planes confirms the truth of the Arab contention that the policies of Israel and America are coordinated and identical and that all talk of American «neutrality» and «balance of power» in the Middle East region, is mere eye-wash. ■

Resistance

Political Scene

by: M. T. Bujairami

■

What are the prospects of the situation in the Middle East in 1972? This is an important question, but the answer is in no way easy to find.

■

Everything indicates that the area is rapidly heading towards war, with the serious possibility that the dimensions and repercussions of this war may get out of control as a series of violent explosions. It is obvious, however, that nobody can put the blame on the Arabs for the mounting tension in, and continuous deterioration of, the Middle East situation.

Israel is as stubborn as ever in her attitude; and the whole world has now come to realize her expansionist policies that are fully backed by the United States of America. In fact the United States

can now be considered a full partner in the occupation of Arab territories because it is the only country in the world which is providing Israel with the means with which to tighten the Israeli grip on these territories.

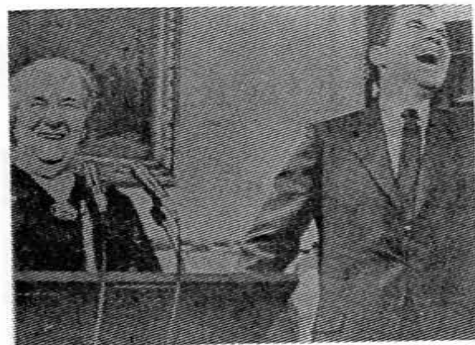
Time and again the international community has condemned Israel's failure to comply with numerous U.N. resolutions; time and again the world has reaffirmed the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by force. Moreover, even America herself, as Israel's chief ally, has told the Egyptians that she cannot ask them for more concessions, thus acknowledging the justice of the Arab stand.

Yet, instead of exerting some form of pressure on Israel to take a more reasonable or moderate attitude, America has shown itself deplorably vulnerable to a carefully-timed and well-designed campaign of Israeli-Zionist pressure. The brief period in which America seemed to be following an independent policy or an «even-handed» one, towards the Middle East has now come to an abrupt end. Thus Uncle Sam has swung back to the old,

traditional attitude of blind and biased support for Israel.

American policy, in fact, is likely to become even more sensitively responsive to forms of Zionist pressure through all channels of Zionist influence, since 1972 is a year of presidential elections in the United States. Such occasions have almost invariably been seized by presidential candidates to compete in pledging more and more American commitments to give Israel whatever the Israeli leaders may ask for. If John Lindsay becomes a candidate, for example, it is almost certain that he will go as far as giving Israel a «carte blanche».

Meanwhile, there have been reports, or rather speculations, of the possibility of reviving the Jarring mission. As usual, Israel gave vague hints that she may change her position and comply with American requests in this respect. But the Arabs



have learnt through previous, bitter experience, that this means nothing at all.

In January 1971, Israel expressed a desire to resume contacts with Dr. Jarring in the very last week before his report was due to be submitted to UN Secretary-General U Thant in early February, 1971. That resumption of the Jarring mission was eventually deadlocked by Israel, because whereas Egypt gave a positive reply to Jarring's questions, Israel gave an evasive reply.

At present Israel and America want to play the same game again. After the failure of all previous initiatives, both inside and outside the U.N., for any kind of peaceful settlement or even an interim agreement for the re-opening of the Suez Canal, the American Secretary of State, Mr. Rogers, contacted both the Egyptian and the Israeli foreign ministers to tell them that America would place her

«good offices» at the disposal of the concerned parties to find a way out of the deadlock.

To understand the «sincerity» of this «generous» American offer, one has to notice that while this offer was being made, the American congress passed a resolution to give Israel a «loan» of \$350 million to buy offensive arms, and sophisticated, military equipment. At the very same time, American pilots of fighter-jets were being despatched to Israel.

That was not the first time America exercised a double-faced policy of preaching something and practicing another. Yet, Uncle Sam continues to «advise» the Arabs to exercise self-restraint and to trust the White House!

In fact, America and her NATO allies seem to be currently busy contriving another large-scale plot against the Arab Nation; and it seems also that



Israel has a significant role in America's global strategy. In this respect, it seems that America is, in one way or another, reviving the policies of the late John Foster Dulles.

The sudden escalation of the war in South East Asia just before Nixon's forthcoming visit to Peking and Moscow may be taken as one aspect of this strategy. Also the brutal air raids on North Vietnam and the resumption of hostilities in Korea under the pretext of taking precautions against the possibility of a so-called invasion from North Korea.

As far as the Middle East is concerned, the strategy of America and her allies can be summarized as follows:

Since the loss of NATO bases in Malta seems imminent and almost inevitable, the Americans and their allies are seeking some alternatives. Several

prospects are being probed in this respect. Thus the United States, in addition to her sixth fleet in the Mediterranean, is trying to convince her NATO allies to have another NATO fleet there, and wants Britain, Italy, Greece and perhaps Turkey to contribute to the formation of such a fleet under the pretext of counter-balancing Soviet maritime power in the Mediterranean.

Moreover, America seems to consider it essential to continue, and even to enhance, her support of Israel—as another way of compensating for the loss of the strategically important position of Malta. It seems also that Iran has her pre-designated role in this general strategy. In other words, America and her NATO allies want to open yet another front against the Arab Nation at the present critical time when the possibilities of another conflagration in the Middle East seem to be constantly increasing.



Apart from Israel, Iran is the only country in the world that has been given American Phantom planes. Furthermore, Iran has obtained from Britain the largest hovercraft fleet that any single country in the world possesses. To this may be added the fact that it is Iranian oil that is keeping the Israeli pipe-line in business between Eilat on the Gulf of Aqaba (the Red Sea) and Askalan on the Mediterranean and the other fact that Britain saw fit to give three Arab islands to Iran at the present crucial stage of the Middle East conflict.

NATO seems to be also interested in opening fronts against the Arabs. On such potential front relates to the encouragement, enhancement and even material support currently being given to the insurrection in Southern Sudan in order to prevent the Sudan from joining the State of the Federation of Arab Republics which now includes Egypt, Syria

and Libya. The West may find it convenient to its aims to develop this insurrection into a civil war in order to prevent the Sudan from assisting Egypt in case of war flaring up between Egypt and Israel. It should be noted in this connection that Uganda's General Eidi Amin received his military training in Israel, and his regime may thus be used to help the Sudanese rebels in the south in collaboration with Israel. **NATO** may even think of using the bases in Cyprus and Ethiopia to give military assistance to Israel in case of a big conflagration, although Israel's little Hitlers continue to boast that they need nobody's assistance to defeat «all the Arabs any time»!

Meanwhile, Israel continues to behave as if she were staying in the occupied Arab territories forever. More Arab families are being uprooted from their tented camps and thrown into the desert of Sinai, or just deported across the river Jordan. More Israeli colonies and fortifications are being constructed at a very speedy rate. Some such colonies are being currently built in the Nablus area. More and more lands are being confiscated from their rightful Arab owners to make room for Jewish

immigrants imported from everywhere. Detention, arbitrary internment, brutal torture, persecution and concentration camps have become matters of everyday life for the Arab inhabitants of the occupied territories.

But notwithstanding all this, and in spite of the series of massacres perpetrated against the Palestinians in Jordan last year and the year before, the Palestinians continue to put up a staunch resistance not only in Gaza, in south Palestine, but also in upper Galilee in the north. They have even fought a battle fifty miles deep inside Palestine, in a place to the north of Haifa, last month.

The Arabs have given every chance for a peaceful settlement to succeed. They have been patient and have exercised self-restraint for a very long time. Nobody in the world can deny them the right to regain their land. In their struggle to regain their inalienable rights, they are not only fighting for their survival and doing their duty towards their captured homeland, but they are also struggling to implement the will of the international community — the will that has been expressed through numerous U.N. resolutions. ■

ORIENTAL JEWS

by: Odeh Abu Rdeneh

■

Demonstrations in March, April and May of last year in Israel by the Black Panthers are a sharp and timely reminder that the «Jewish State» does not solve the «Jewish Problem». The Black Panthers are Jews of Oriental origin who are demonstrating, not only against their poverty per se, but against what they, as non-European Jews, consider racial discrimination.

Racial discrimination against Oriental Jews is clearly illustrated by these statistics:

EDUCATION

Eighty percent of Jewish youth in Israel, between the ages of 14 and 17, who are **not in school**, come from Israeli Jewish families originating in Arab countries. (This information was contained in an announcement made by the Israeli Ministry of Education and Culture in April 1971)¹.

1 — **The Jerusalem Post** (Weekly Overseas Edition), No. 5. 47. April 27, 1971 Page 5.

Presently, sixty percent of those children entering compulsory primary schools are Orientals. At the secondary school level, the percentage drops to twenty-five percent. The lowest percentage is at the decisive university level—a mere ten percent². Panther leader, Reuven Abergil explained «in our schools there are teachers with no qualifications, teaching in buildings that are falling apart. In Beit Hakerem schools, the children have no laboratories»³.

JOBS

The following statistics apply to the middle sixties:

Only 7 percent of the scientific and technical workers are Oriental Jews⁴, while two thirds of the unskilled Labor force is Oriental. The 120 member Knesset had sixteen Orientals before 1965 and only 21 after⁵. There is but one Oriental Jew (Police Minister Sholmo Hillel) in the 18 member Israeli Cabinet⁶.

2 — **The New York Times** (New York), May 27, 1971, Page 8.
3 — **The Jewish Post and Opinion** (New York), April 2, 1971.
4 — **Ha'aretz**, June 4, 1971.
5 — **The New Left Review** (London), No. 65, January-February, 1971, Page 6.
6 — **The Evening Star** (Washington, D.C.), May 29, 1971. Page A5.

Mordechai Ben Porat, an Oriental, and a delegate to the Israeli Labor Party Convention (April, 1971) quoted the following:

«Only 2.9 percent of the positions on the three top grades of civil service are held by Orientals, and of the two hundred executives of government and public companies only eight or nine are from Oriental communities»⁷.

INCOME

The income gap between Israelis of western origin and Israelis of Asiatic and African origin has widened, Oriental Jews becoming relatively poorer and European Jews becoming relatively richer. Following are comparisons between the incomes of the upper (European) and lower (Oriental) fifths of the Israeli population: «The lowest fifth received 7 percent of the total income in 1954, 5 percent in 1963 and 4.7 percent in 1968. During that span the share of the top fifth rose from 38 percent to 42.7 percent»⁸.

The above statistics become more significant when it is recalled that Oriental Jews account for some 60% of the Israeli population. In Israel, however, numbers do not seem to matter. According to Professor Talmon of the Hebrew University,

7 — *New Middle East* (London), No. 32, May 1971 Page 9.

8 — *Ha'aretz*, June 4, 1971.

Israel is, «a direct continuation of the culture and society of the Jews of Eastern Europe»⁹, despite the fact that these same European Jews are the minority in Israel.

HOUSING

Histadrut Secretary-General, Itzhak Ben-Aharon, is one of the few concerned voices on the vital housing issue.

«If there is money for security and money for new immigrants, there ought to be enough money for a working man to live as human being in Israel»¹⁰.

There is a depressing lack of urgency about the plight of Oriental Jews. On all sides—from Finance Minister, Pinhas Sapir, Housing Minister, Sharef, Absorption Minister, Nathan Peled—the response is the same: «Security and immigration come first. Everything else must wait»¹¹.

One of the strongest gripes of Oriental Jews is that new immigrants from the «United States and the Soviet Union are getting public housing immediately, while there is none for Moroccans who have lived in these slums for years»¹². Israeli officials

9 — *New Middle East* (London), No. 33, June 1971 Page 36.

10 — *American Examiner Jewish Week* (New York), June 3, 1971, Page 3.

11 — *Ibid.*

12 — *Look* (New York), June 15, 1971, Page 26.

estimate that Oriental Jews «account for more than 70 percent of those living in substandard housing...»13.

«Look at the Russian Jews—they come here and get good new apartments», said one garage worker in Katamon, a Jerusalem suburb. «I have been waiting here for 20 years hoping for better living space»14.

«How can a family of eight living in two rooms contain themselves when they see new apartments being built for others?» asks Mrs. Shoshanna Almoslino, Chairman of the parliamentary labor committee, «the situation is explosive» 15.

This policy of discrimination against Oriental Jews was and is consciously pursued. In the words of *Newsweek*, «in order to attract Jews from technologically advanced nations, Israel provided housing for immigrants from the West. As a result the plight of the... 'Oriental Jews' from North Africa and Arab countries... was pushed to the bottom of a long list of priorities»16.

13 — *Newsweek* (New York), April 19, 1971, Page 60.

14 — *The New York Times* (New York), May 24, 1971, Page 8.

15 — *Newsweek* (New York), April 19, 1971, Page 60.

16 — *Newsweek* (New York), April 19, 1971, Page 60.

A tense and angry meeting between Prime Minister Golda Meir and «five serious» Hebrew University students (four of the students were of Oriental origin) provoked this comment on the part of the students, «she displayed no sensitivity at all to the problems of Oriental Jews»17.

MAY RIOT

Already, explosions are occurring. On May 18th (1971) Jerusalem witnessed the worst riots in recent Israeli history. Dark-skinned Jews marched off toward the business section of Jerusalem, blocking Ben Yehuda street and shouting «Medinah mish-tarah!» «Police state!»18.

Shortly, Ben Yehuda Street was transformed into a battlefield. Demonstrators hurled stones, bottles and Molotov cocktails at the helmeted police. «And in return the police responded with unprecedented violence, clubbing demonstrators and sympathizers over their heads and backs. Appalled bystanders tried to drag the enraged policemen away from bleeding youths cringing on the ground»19.

When the riot ended five hours later, more than 100 demonstrators had been arrested.

17 — *The Jerusalem Post Weekly* (Jerusalem), May 18, 1971, Page 15.

18 — *Newsweek* (New York), May 31, 1971, Page 33.

19 — *Ibid.*

And in the bleak slum areas of Jerusalem where the Black Panthers live there was talk of «blood for blood»²⁰.

CONCLUSION

The potentially dangerous nature of the situation led Prime Minister Golda Meir to say that, «unless Israel tackles her social problems with determination, there is a danger of war between the 'haves and the have-nots' (a euphemism for **European and Oriental Jews**) which could be much more frightening in its implications than any war with Israel's external enemies»²¹.

Following the recent riots in Jerusalem, one of the leaders of the Black Panthers declared that there are «3,000 registered Black Panthers»²² in Israel and that support is increasing. A prominent **Panther supporter is Elie Eliachar, a retired politician** of Oriental origin. I am all for what these young people are doing—for too long we Oriental Jews have lived for promises that never materialized»²³.

20 — Ibid.

21 — *The Cleveland Jewish News* (Cleveland), April 16, 1971, Page 14.

22 — *New Middle East* (London), No. 32, May 1971, Page 20.

23 — *The New York Times* (New York), May 24, 1971 Page 8.



The privileged status of European Jews has been preserved, if indirectly, by the Middle East conflict. As possibilities for a peaceful settlement with the Arab States improve, Oriental Jews are demanding the same rights as Western Jews, the result of which is acute internal strife. According to Mr. Eliachar, «If we ever get peace in the Middle East, we will have civil war at home»²⁴.

All of which reveals that in Israel «the milk is just a little sour and the honey slightly bitter»²⁵.

24 — Ibid.

25 — *American Examiner-Jewish Week* (New York), June 3, 1971, Page 3.

One Israeli educator, Yehuda Nimni, is more explicit in his criticism. The Black Panther problem confirms, he says, «not only the failure of the State (Israel) but also the failure of the Zionist movement»²⁶.

It must be kept in mind, however, that the rise of the Panthers does not indicate their willingness to join forces with the Arabs in their struggle against Zionism. On the contrary, it appears that the Panthers are only interested in getting a slice of the Zionist pie in Israel.

Oriental Jews are surely aware that the Arabs under Israel's occupation are being exploited to a far greater degree than they are, yet no Panther has expressed his solidarity with the oppressed and exploited Arabs. Rather, Oriental Jews resent being identified by the European Jew as «Arabs blacks and natives of any kind, who are considered as 'inferior' by these settlers (European Jews)»²⁷. ■

26 — *Tadmit Newsletter* (Tel Aviv/Vol. 1 No. 24. June 1, 1971, Page 2.

27 — *The New Left Review* (London), No. 65, January-February, 1971, Page 6.

Resistance Operations

(December 1971)

On December 1, a Palestinian commando unit, operating in the occupied Gaza Strip, clashed with an enemy patrol at the refugee camp of El Bureij near Gaza town, inflicting heavy losses on the Zionist patrol.

On December 2, a Palestinian commando unit launched a rocket attack, on the Israeli port of Eilath, scoring direct hits on enemy installations. The enemy was seen evacuating a number of casualties sustained as a result of the attack.

On December 3, a Palestinian commando group shelled the residence of the Zionist intelligence officer Shlomo Haddad, at Beit Zion, in the Nathanya region. The intelligence officer was killed as a result of the attack.

On December 5, Palestinian commando fighters clashed with the enemy patrols in a violent battle

in the Arrabat El Bitouf region, in Upper Galilee, inflicting heavy losses on the Zionist soldiers.

On December 12, a commando detachment attacked an Israeli military vehicle, patrolling the main road leading to Beersheba with hand grenades and machine-guns, killing the driver and wounding an Israeli soldier. The vehicle was set on fire and destroyed.

On December 16, a commando unit clashed with an Israeli patrol in Gaza city, using in the fight which ensued hand-grenades and light weapons. The enemy suffered heavy losses.

On December 17, a commando unit clashed with an Israeli patrol in a face-to-face battle, using machine-guns and hand-grenades. Most of the enemy patrol were killed or wounded.

On December 17, Palestinian commandos planted a number of mines on an enemy military road in Upper Galilee. One of the mines went off under an enemy vehicle, destroying it and killing, or wounding, its occupants.

On December 17, a group of commandos, attacked an Israeli patrol at the Jebaliya refugee camp, in the Gaza Strip, using hand-grenades and machine-guns. The enemy admitted that one soldier was killed and two others wounded.

On December 18, a Palestinian freedom fighter placed highly explosive charges at an enemy mili-

tary barrack at the Yiftah settlement, in Upper Galilee. The charges exploded, destroying the barrack and killing or wounding many of its occupants.

On December 19, a commando unit planted a mine under the railway line between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, near Kilometer 13. The mine went off under the train, derailing it and causing several casualties. One of the coaches was damaged.

On December 20, a commando unit shelled Qiryat Shemonah settlement with heavy rockets. Rescue squads were rushed to the scene to evacuate casualties.

On December 23, a Palestinian commando unit rocketed enemy military vehicles and machine-gunned the Ferdawi Camp in the Golan Heights, scoring direct hits on enemy targets, damaging one enemy vehicle and causing heavy losses and casualties among enemy forces.

On December 25, a commando unit launched a surprise attack against enemy camps in the Fishkol region, using machine-guns and rockets in the attack, which resulted in destroying one of the enemy barracks, and in killing or wounding a number of enemy soldiers.

On December 25, a commando unit attacked an enemy military vehicle at the Rimth Heights at the foot of Mount Hermon. The unit used machine-guns and rockets in the attack, which resulted in killing

or wounding a number of enemy soldiers and in destroying the vehicle.

On December 25, a commando unit, using rockets and other weapons, attacked enemy troop concentrations in the Brekhtah region, destroying an enemy armoured troop transport car. The enemy was seen evacuating casualties by a helicopter. An enemy half-tracked vehicle, an armoured troop transport and a barrack were destroyed. Not less than 15 enemy soldiers were killed or wounded.

On December 25, a Palestinian freedom fighter hurled a hand-grenade at an enemy military vehicle in Gaza city, damaging it and killing or wounding its occupants.



On December 26, a Palestinian commando unit shelled enemy forces at the Ruwaisah Camp, in the Golan Heights, using rockets and machine-guns in the attack, which resulted in the destruction of an enemy barrack.

On December 26, a commando unit launched a surprise attack against enemy concentrations and military vehicles in the Birket el Naggar, Ras el Assi and El Saddam regions in the Golan Heights, using rockets and machine-guns. An enemy military vehicle was set on fire, a barrack was destroyed and not less than 12 soldiers were killed or wounded.

On December 26, a commando unit laid an ambush to enemy patrols, on the Salha and Kafr Burim road, destroying an enemy military vehicle.

On December 26, a commando unit shelled enemy forces stationed at the Ruweisat el Alam camp, in the Golan Heights, using rockets and machine-guns. An enemy barrack was destroyed.

On December 27, a commando unit clashed with enemy troops in the Salha region, in upper Galilee, and killed or wounded several enemy soldiers.

On December 27, an enemy military spokesman admitted that Palestinian commandos had attacked an Israeli patrol near Tiberias and that two Israeli soldiers had been wounded.

On December 27, Palestinian commandos blew up a water pipe in the Gaza Strip, cutting water supplies from enemy settlements. ■

THE PALESTINE REVOLUTION

■

The following article by Khaled Fahoum, Chairman of the Palestine National Council, is based on an address delivered by the author of the article at the Fifth Conference of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, which was held in Cairo, 10-13 January, 1972.

■

When the Zionists announced, at the Basle Congress of 1897, their plans for the acquisition of the Arab country of Palestine and based their claim to it on historical and religious association, few people in the West sought to discover the truth regarding Jewish association with Palestine: its short duration, the small part of Palestine which had been controlled by the Jews and the irrelevance of historical and religious association to claims regarding right of possession to a country.

Again when in 1917, the British Balfour Declaration promised the Jews a «National Home» in Palestine, few people outside the Arab homeland questioned the motives and justice of a promise which was given before British troops had occupied Palestine and at a time when the Arabs constituted 92 percent of the population of the country.

When a few years later the British occupied Palestine and were given a mandate to govern the country, an unholy alliance between British imperialism and the Zionists opened the country to successive waves of Zionist invaders. Moreover, the British mandatory government placed the country under political, economic and social conditions designed to enable the Zionist Jews to colonize Palestine.

As a result of this policy which was pursued for well over 25 years of British mandatory rule, Israel was established in 1948 and the majority of the Arab population of Palestine were driven out of the country by the Zionist invaders. The Zionist invasion and the establishment of Israel represent a clear example of settler colonialism achieved through the combined efforts of imperialism and world Zionism.

Nevertheless one often hears questions like the following: Why do the Palestinian refugees insist on returning to their homeland? Why don't the Arab states absorb the refugees in their land? Why do

the Arab states refuse to recognise Israel? Why do the Arabs refuse to negotiate with Israel for peace?

The falseness of Israeli claims that they desire peace is revealed by the words and deeds of Israeli leaders. Israel's occupation of Palestine and parts of the neighbouring Arab states, her refusal to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories or to implement UN resolutions regarding Palestine and her attempts to foil all peaceful efforts exerted during the past five years can only be explained as motivated by Israeli expansionism.

Zionism, in fact, is a colonialist movement organically linked with imperialism and diametrically opposed to all progressive and national libera-



tion movements throughout the world; while Israel constitutes a human and geographical base of world imperialism, a springboard in the very heart of the Arab world designed by the imperialists to prevent the Arab people from realising their aspirations — freedom, unity and progress. Therefore, can the Palestinians be blamed for having resorted to the force of arms to recover their land and legitimate rights? Lenin spoke of just wars; and our war is a just one. Gamal Abdel Nasser, our great leader, was right when he said: «What was taken by force can be restored only through force».

The Arab people of Palestine have continuously struggled against Zionism and Imperialism from

1917 until 1948. They have resumed their armed struggle since 1965. Our people are still waging a violent war against the forces of Israeli occupation and of imperialism.

Our people's armed struggle will continue until it achieves its objectives. Our people have the right to struggle, using all possible means, in order to recover their land and so that they may live on it peacefully like any other people in the world. The struggle for national liberation and against imperialism and its base — Israel is a legitimate war of liberation. World peace can never be achieved if peoples were to retreat before the forces of tyranny and oppression.

We cannot stand still while we face the manoeuvres of the Zionist movement and of Israel, which aim at foiling all attempts to establish peace and security not only in the Middle East but in every corner of the world. The liquidation of the Zionist movement would save the Jews from imperialism and exploitation. It is necessary for the realisation of a permanent peace which could only come about through the formation of a democratic state in Palestine.

This state is to include both Arabs and Jews. They will work and live without any discrimination, exploitation or persecution. The Palestinian Arabs are fighting for the day when a new Palestine will be created, the Palestine of tomorrow. Our revolution extends a friendly hand to all those wishing to

live in a democratic and tolerant Palestine, free of all forms of discrimination based on race, colour or religion.

We are fully aware of the long road that lies before us. We know that the realisation of this aim is not easy.

A foreign power is attempting to suppress our struggle with the help of an Arab reactionary force. The reactionary regime in Jordan, in collusion with the United States, has launched a number of murderous campaigns against our freedom fighters in Jordan. It continues to launch such campaigns with a view to liquidating our revolution and changing the Palestine conflict into an internal Arab conflict — a policy identical with the American plan for the «Vietnamization» of the war in Indo-China.

Despite the brutality of the reactionary regime in Jordan, we agreed to negotiate and left for Jeddah. We accepted the Egyptian-Saudi mediation to implement the two agreements of Cairo and Amman with Jordan, for no other reason than our belief in the unity of the Jordanian and Palestinian peoples.

We reject the proposed fragmentary Palestinian state to be set up on part of Palestine's soil. Such state would be a mere tool in the hands of Zionism and imperialism. We refuse to deal with the aggressor; and all plans initiated by him to establish some sort of self-government for the inhabitants of the occupied territories are mere deception and a camou-

flage, intended to cover up Israel's aggression and its continued occupation of our land.

Israel's recent announcement that the occupation authorities plan to hold municipal elections in the towns of the West Bank aims at perpetuating the Zionist occupation of Arab lands and at giving it some form of legitimization. It also aims at paving the way for establishing a Palestinian State that would be a virtual Israeli colony.

By continuing to change the status of Jerusalem and to evacuate the Arab inhabitants of Gaza and to blow up their houses, and by continuing to establish new Zionist settlements in the occupied territory, Israel is challenging international laws and conventions and the authority of the United Nations.

The Palestinian Revolution does not stand alone in the present struggle; it is an integral part of the Arab Liberation Movement and of the World Liberation Movement. In spite of the difficulties we face, we are optimistic because all the Arab and world liberation forces stand by us. The aggressions we are subjected to are only a reaction to the growth of our revolution and the awareness of our people. Our struggle against the Zionist aggression is a contribution to the world struggle against imperialism and racial discrimination.

The Palestinian resistance movement, in spite of the brutality of the Zionist, imperialist and reactionary offensive, continues to fight, to pursue the political struggle and to strengthen its ties with the sons of Palestine, especially in the occupied

territories. After the 1967 war Palestinian identity has become a reality and a force not to be underestimated in the Middle East. The Palestinian people today are an armed and a fighting people, not a nation of neglected refugees as before.

Our Arab Palestinian people look to all peoples and to all liberation movements of the world to stand by them and to support the following four points:

(1) Strengthening the Palestinian Resistance by all possible means is the duty of all peace and freedom-loving countries and peoples. The Palestinian Revolution is an indivisible part of the Arab and of the world liberation movements.



(2) No one may speak for Palestine or take decisions regarding its fate in the absence of the Palestinian people and their legitimate representatives.

(3) The right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and their right to self-determination in accordance with the U.N. Charter, should be recognized.

(4) The Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O.) represented by the Palestine National Council and the P.L.O. Executive Committee is the sole representative organization of the Arab people of Palestine. ■

US POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST ■

by: E. Dimitriyev and V. Alexeyev

■
The following exposition of the duplicity of US policy in the Middle East and its subservience to Israel and world Zionism is based on a more comprehensive treatment of the subject, which appeared in the November-1971 issue of the Soviet Magazine «International Affairs».

■ PEACEMAKER DISGUISE

US PROPAGANDA has tried hard to convince world opinion that Washington's Middle East policy is «flexible» and «sensibly pragmatic», and that any accusation of a one-sided, overtly pro-Israeli approach to the Arab-Israeli conflict against the present Administration is «groundless», for the USA's main objective is to establish peace and tranquillity in the Middle East. The US press, radio and television

have gone all out to present the USA as a peace-maker and to persuade the Arab countries that they cannot secure the return of the Israeli-occupied territories without US assistance.

The loud advertising campaign over the «fresh» US initiatives and «constructive proposals» is in fact designed to conceal the inability of the Republican Administration to break the vicious circle, which results from the USA's patent pro-Israeli stand throughout the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In a sense, the key to realising the essence of Washington's Middle East policy lies in the answer to the question of why the United States, which virtually initiated and inspired the 1967 Israeli aggression against the Arab countries, has been so painstaking in concealing its support for the 1956 Anglo-Franco-Israeli aggression against Egypt. The answer comes from the USA's political, military-strategic and economic interests in the Middle East.

It is no mistake to regard Washington's main political objective in the Middle East as a desire to retain and ensure its economic and military-strategic positions in the area. While posing as a champion of the peoples' fight for freedom, US imperialism has been oppressing the progressive Arab régimes throughout the postwar period.

The hypocrisy and the anti-Arab nature of the USA's Middle East policy became especially obvious in 1956, during the preparation and in the course of the tripartite aggression against Egypt.

The USA's position in that period resulted from a desire to remain «pure» and «stainless» in the eyes of the Arabs, and also to weaken the positions of Britain and France to the utmost. It may appear at first sight that Washington had no part in the aggression against the Egyptian Republic, but the facts show up US politicians and state leaders as bare-faced hypocrites.

The USA had been informed about the preparation of an attack on Egypt, but throughout the summer and autumn of 1956 did nothing to avert it. What is more, the facts show that the USA completely approved of its allies' actions.

The failure of the Suez venture did not merely mean defeat of the aggressors, but also of the US policy of getting others to work for its strategic goals. Just then, Washington changed its tactics, declaring its intention to act as the major military force in the Middle East. This was first implemented within the framework of the Dulles-Eisenhower Doctrine in the summer of 1958, when ships of the US Sixth Fleet sailed into Beirut port and landed Marines on Lebanese territory. The aggressive action in Lebanon, the plots against Syria and republican Iraq, and the overt support of the 1967 Israeli aggression against the UAR, the Syrian Arab Republic and Jordan, exposed the doctrine's reactionary essence and its overt anti-Arab tendency.

The pro-Israeli line of the US government's Middle East policy depends not only on Washington's

and Tel Aviv's identical goals in this area, for there is also the influence exerted on the USA's domestic politics by the pro-Israeli and Zionist circles inside the country. The numerous Zionist organisations (United Jewish Appeal, American Jewish Congress, Zionist Organisation of America, and others), financial and economic groupings with prevailing Jewish capital, and the pro-Zionist employees of the US propaganda apparatus are those who shape the pro-Israeli mood in the USA.

A professor of Harvard University wrote in this connection that the Zionists are able not only to control a substantial number of Jewish votes and, not less important, the financial and organisational resources of the Jews, but also to blackmail anyone who opposes their political aims with regard to Israel. The Zionist organisation, B'nai Brith, which has some 500,000 members, usually initiates the most dirty anti-Arab provocations.

The New York Times, which can hardly be suspected of sympathising with the Arabs, wrote: «The pro-Israel lobby utilises a complex of devices, ranging from knowledge of how to make maximum use of the American press to political pressure through Congress to secret exchanges of military intelligence».

■ DEADLOCKED

WASHINGTON'S present Middle East policy is marked by stepped-up subversive activity against

the progressive Arab regimes, a desire to delay the onward march of the Arab world's historical development, and continual attempts to impose a «position-of-strength» settlement on the Arabs on Israel's conditions.

The USA's «important interests in the Middle East», is behind the US government's reluctance to influence Israel and to impel her rulers to heed the voice of reason and the demands of world opinion for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories and the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

The Israeli aggression in June 1967, which was made possible only because of allround US support, has not toppled or weakened the progressive regimes in the Middle East. What is more, the Arab peoples have rallied together in the face of the common danger, discerning the USA's role in the acts of the Israeli aggressors.

Israel's aggression against the UAR, Syria, and Jordan has helped many Arab governments to realise that their common goal is struggle against imperialism and its spearhead, Israel, and that only unity of the Arab countries can help to withstand the imperialist plots in the Middle East.

The scale of the USA's support for Israel and the imperialist nature of its policy towards the Arab countries have given President Sadat good cause to say that «the USA, persisting in its policy,

which presents a serious threat to the present and future of the Arab nation, is a direct accomplice in Israel's aggression against the whole Arab nation». Numerous concrete facts bear this out.

The widely advertised «flexibility» of US Middle East policy manifests itself only when there is need to «torpedo» an initiative of the peaceloving forces aimed at finding a way out of the long-drawn-out crisis, whereas Washington's «sensible pragmatism» apparently consists in following the traditional principle of its Middle East policy: «What is good for Israel, is bound to be good for the United States».

While Israel, after 1967, retained a serious military advantage and carried out air-raids on the territory of neighbouring Arab states with impunity, Washington believed its Middle East line to be infallible. The supply to the aggressor of the most modern weapons, the torpedoing of every effort to get the Middle East settlement out of its impasse, the stubborn insistence on the Arab states' direct talks with Israel, and the support of the Israeli leadership's openly obstructionist line in the matter of a settlement, have all given the US government confidence that the Israeli occupation of the Arab territories would last as long as it was necessary to bring the Arab countries to their knees and to force them to accept a settlement on Israel's terms.

The US government, whose representative had also voted for Security Council Resolution in 1967,

appeared not to see anything reprehensible in the Israeli leadership's bluntly obstructionist line, preferred to overlook the lawless action of the Israeli occupationists in the age-old Arab territories, and tacitly encouraged the raids into Arab territory. Washington's politicians were not perturbed by the death and destruction wrought by the US Phantoms with Israeli markings on the workers of Abu Zaabl and the school-children of Bahr el Bakr.

But times change. The steps taken by the Arab Republic of Egypt and the other Arab states to strengthen their defence potential had a fairly speedy effect on the political situation. The US government has now found it useful to pretend that it is very much concerned about the unsettled Arab-Israeli dispute, and has declared for all to hear that peace in the Middle East is a vital goal of US foreign policy.

One should not assume, however, that there have been any real changes. The USA's deliberately active Middle East policy was designed to cover up the old bankrupt plans of saddling the Arab states with a settlement benefiting Israel alone. True, it is only fair to say that these plans are now being presented in a new wrapping.

At the same time, Washington has tried to give its own interpretation of the Egyptian government's recent initiative. On February 4, President Sadat issued a constructive proposal envisaging the possibility of reopening the Suez Canal for international

navigation provided there was a partial withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the Sinai Peninsula and their unconditional withdrawal from the east bank of the Canal to intermediate positions. Egypt's suggestion of Israeli withdrawal is organically linked with a comprehensive settlement on the basis of all the provisions of the Security Council's Resolution of November 22, 1967.

This interpretation of the Egyptian government's constructive initiative has repeatedly appeared in official Egyptian documents, which are well known to the US government. Nevertheless, the US government has laid emphasis on achieving an understanding only on the re-opening of the Suez Canal, deliberately ignoring the whole problem of a settlement. US Secretary of State, William



Rogers, has virtually admitted as much during his numerous press-conferences in the course of his Middle East tour last spring. He tried to sugar the pill by presenting his steps in search of a solution of the navigation problem as a «first link», the easiest part of the whole settlement.

It would be naive to expect the Arab states and the Arab Republic of Egypt to rise to this bait, and even more naive to think that the US government, attempting to reach a solution of the navigation problem, has changed its previous policy of unconditional support of Israel and its expansionist line, a policy of providing Tel Aviv with extensive military and economic aid. Pursuing its old line in respect of Israel, the US government tends to «forget» that it is thereby giving Tel Aviv a chance to continue its aggression and consolidate its hold on the occupied Arab territories.

Washington's double dealing in the Middle East also came out in the visit to Israel by Assistant Secretary of State Joseph Sisco, who went there, it was said, to achieve «temporary peace». US propaganda was quick to advertise his visit as «another» US initiative aimed at eliminating the Middle East crisis. However, this initiative proved to be nothing but a continuation of the old policy based on the desire to press a surrender on the Arabs and to protect the interests of Israel and the imperialist monopolies backing her.

As to the peace plan discussed in his talks with

the Israeli leaders, Israel's Ambassador to Washington, Yitshak Rabin, admitted that «Sisco did not bring along any concrete US proposals on a possible temporary agreement».

The question is why did the US official undertake such a long trip. Perhaps his aim was to shore up Israel's military and political positions under cover of the much-advertised «peace initiative». According to Moshe Dayan, when the Israelis told the US diplomat that the Gaza strip would never be returned to the Egyptians, «his response was not negative». What more is there to say?

Consequently, nothing has changed in practical terms. The United States has continued to provide Israel with extensive military and economic support, and Israel, with US connivance, has continued to occupy the age-old Arab territories, defying the United Nations, violating the provisions of Security Council Resolution No. 242, and blatantly sabotaging the mission of the UN Secretary-General's special envoy in the Middle East, Dr. Jarring.

In his speech of 16 September the President of Egypt, Anwar Sadat, stressed: «The USA is intentionally deceiving and leading astray world opinion». About what «devotion» to peace by the United States is it possible to speak, since up to now the US government has not spoken out on such issues of vital importance for the Arab states as the deadline for a withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories and the future of Arab-Israeli borders after a settlement.

The facts prove that Washington's Middle East policy is in a dead end, the attempts of the Republican Administration to present the USA as a benefactor of the Middle East nations are doomed to fail, and the blatantly pro-Israeli line of US diplomacy and its attempts to undermine the positions of the progressive Arab regimes will not yield any political dividends. The reason for the failure of the USA's Middle East policy lies in its utter lack of prospects.

The Arab nations have learned to distinguish friend from foe. They remember how Gamal Abdel Nasser used to say that the US position was identical with that of Israel's and there is no doubt in any one's mind about this. Life has been providing daily proof of these words. ■



PALESTINE QUESTION IN WORLD PRESS

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Our «world press» extracts for this month include:
(1) a letter by the Archbishop of Canterbury published in the London «Times» issue of December 22, 1971 in which he points out that Israel's Jerusalem «master building plan» is disfiguring the Holy City. (2) a commentary on «Israel's Diplomatic Intrigues» published in the Moscow «New Times» in December 1971.

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Jerusalem Disfigured (The Times of London – December 22, 1971)

Dr. Ramsey, writing on the rebuilding of Jerusalem in his Diocesan News Letter for January says: «There can be none of us who has not been moved by the sufferings of the Jews in Europe in the past, or by recent sufferings of Arabs who have lived for years as homeless refugees.

«The way to peace is not to dwell on the past, but to act as justly as possible for the future and to avoid actions which are bound to contain the seed of future conflict.

«The old city of Jerusalem is sacred to Jews, to Christians and to Muslims. Each of these religions respects the devotion to Jerusalem felt by the others. It is a city which belongs to all three; and the practical recognition of this by whoever, at any time, rules or controls the city is essential to peace.

«We know that the Israeli Government is striving to provide new housing for the people. It is, however, distressing that the building programme of the present authorities is disfiguring the city and its surroundings in a way which wounds the feelings of those who care for its historic beauty and suggests an insensitive attempt to proclaim as an Israeli city, one which can never be other than the city of three great religions and their peoples.

I hope that by calling a halt to the building programme there may be one welcome step towards the peace of Jerusalem. We pray for the peace of Jerusalem and for the peace of all nations.

Israel's Diplomatic Intrigues (New Times – No. 50, December 1971)

The beginning of the winter season has been marked by the intensification of diplomatic manoeuvres on the part of Israel. Early this month Premier Golda Meir went off to the United States.

Before that Foreign Minister Abba Eban visited London. And other Tel Aviv leaders, including Deputy Premier Yigal Allon, delivered themselves of foreign policy statements.

What has prompted this outburst of diplomatic activity? It pursues at least two aims: to hamper the discussion of the Middle East issue at the U.N. General Assembly and to get the United States to supply Israel with more offensive weapons, notably Phantom jets. The Israeli leaders divided among themselves the roles each was to play in the achievement of these aims. While Eban sought to give the impression in London that Israel was «prepared to consider any solution of the problems facing the Middle East,» Allon went about frightening one and all with the prospect of the «fourth round of fighting» between Israel and the Arabs. As for Premier Meir, she left for Washington, Allon claimed, with the aim of «deepening understanding between Israel and the United States.»

From Tel Aviv's point of view, such «understanding» means only one thing—Washington's unconditional support of the aggressive plans of the Israeli extremists and satisfaction of their demands for destructive weapons. This is precisely what Premier Meir talked about with President Nixon for two hours, according to press reports. After their meeting, the White House Press Secretary said they had a useful and satisfactory exchange of views

on steps to be taken to meet Israel's long-term requirements in modernizing its armed forces and maintaining their level in line with the U.S. policy of preserving the present balance of military power. Secretary of State William Rogers was likewise reluctant to reveal America's hand and made the same ambiguous statement after his meeting with Mrs. Meir about preserving the «military balance.»

Some anonymous «officials» quoted by the Washington Evening Star were less reticent, however. They stressed that it had already been decided in principle to sell Phantoms to Israel and that it only remained to fix the date for their delivery.

Washington is thus again encouraging the Israeli expansionists. But while America's support does encourage them in their truculence it is powerless to strengthen Tel Aviv's international position and put an end to its isolation. The General Assembly discussion is making this plain. What is more, in siding with the Tel Aviv hawks, the U.S. ruling elements risk a further decline in their own political stocks. Commenting on Mrs. Meir's talks in Washington, the Cairo Al-Akhbar writes: «Continued U.S. support of Israel's aggression is a poor investment that will not bring Washington any dividends». Nor will it enhance its prestige, we may add. ■

(December 1971)

REVIEW OF EVENTS

■ Soviet Union Pledges Support to the Arabs

The Soviet Ambassador in Cairo, Vladimir Vinogradov has declared that the Soviet Union will support the Arabs, in their efforts to regain the territories occupied by Israel, whether the Middle East decision is peace or war. He pointed out that his country's pledge of support shall be carried out not by words but by deeds.

The Soviet pledge came at a time when the situation in the Middle East was growing obscure and when it was decided to reactivate Gunnar Jarring's peace mission, which had been suspended since last March, after Israel had failed to give specific commitments in reply to the memorandum submitted to her by Dr. Gunnar Jarring on February 8, 1971.

The UN mediator had asked the Israelis to

commit themselves to withdrawal from the Arab territories which they occupied in June 1967. But they gave a negative reply to his request.

■ UN General Assembly Adopts Resolution on Middle East

Egyptian Foreign Minister, Mahmoud Riad, has declared that the resolution adopted by the majority of UN General Assembly members in the first half of December 1971, is rightly regarded as a defeat to both Israel and the U.S. The Arab press hailed, as a diplomatic victory, the UN Middle East resolution which called on Israel to accept the principle of withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and stressed the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force.

Mr. Riad said that U.S. abstention when voting on the resolution reflected the double-faced attitude of the U.S. Government which had promised support to Dr. Jarring's mission but backed out when it came to voting.

It is to be noted in this connection that countries of the Eastern and of the Western blocs voted in favour of the resolution, a fact that underlines Israel's isolation in the international field.

■ U.S. Decides to provide Israel with More Phantoms

At the time when observers were expecting the

U.S. Government to exert pressure on Israel to modify its intransigence, the Nixon administration announced that the U.S. would give Israel the Phantoms she had asked for.

President Nixon made this decision known just before announcing his other decision regarding his intention to run for a second term as President.

The timing of the two decisions clearly indicates that President Nixon is after Zionist Jewish votes in the next presidential elections. The pretext for the Middle East decision, however was «balance of power» in the region.

In a television interview, Mr Nixon said, «The U.S. will not permit military imbalance in the Middle East».

Secretary of State, Mr Rogers, explained the American concept of military balance in a manner that implied it meant the continuation of the present Israeli superiority in respect of offensive arms and weapons.

This American stand gave another proof of Washingtons' biased and one-sided attitude to the Middle East situation.

■ Resistance Operations in 1971

The Zionist occupation authorities have admitted that the Palestinian commandos carried out 700 military operations inside the occupied Arab territories. An enemy spokesman reported that the Gaza Strip witnessed more than half of these operations.

Admission by Israel of these operations is especially significant because it comes after the severe blows directed against Palestinian resistance by the Jordanian regime. It provides adequate proof that the Jordanian campaign has not succeeded in eliminating Palestinian resistance as had been hoped for by the enemies of the Palestine Revolution. On the contrary, resistance operations have continued in the various parts of the occupied Arab territories. An important resistance operation has been the recent attack launched by Palestinian commandos against the town of Safad, which is deeply situated behind the ceasefire lines.

■ Municipal Elections in the West Bank

Within the framework of the Zionist policy aimed at imposing the «fait accompli» of their occupation of the Arab territories, and particularly of the West Bank, the Israeli authorities have announced that municipal elections in the West Bank will be held next spring. The announcement has the aim of making world opinion believe that the present situation in the Holy Land is stable and that the inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories are given full freedom to elect their representatives.

Reports from the West Bank, however, indicated that the staunch stand of the Arab inhabitants will foil enemy plans to mislead world opinion. ■

HANNA FARHA

As the Night Dies I Shall Return

Mother as the night dies I shall return
I will return with the budding of the roses
I am southward bound as a winging dove.
Have you some parting word for me?
Perhaps some thought to guide?
Some God-inspired words to impart before the
confrontation?
I am not going there to sow the seeds of terror among
a restless people
Nor do I return to my fatherland to rout the
strangers there entrenched
Or strip them of their clothing or their shoes.
I go rather as if to kiss the sanguine lips of a land
whose heart is rent.
What might those lips say as I with naked lips
draw near
Unto that bosom home my father built for those of
his own blood
some two decades gone?
Those children were beautiful in your eyes, mother,
and so remain.



That image time has etched into your mother's
consciousness
Will there remain impressed, until as infection it
spreads
to those yet unaware of a lost children's plight.

As one we shall await His words,
After that relentless war, did not God move among
those
Unnamed aliens, from unnamed distant lands?
Among those who brought our bosom land to its
unknown fate?
In God that fate will become known,
We will know the stranger down to his very
heartbeat
We will know his every thought from the moment
of his escape
And settlement, or can we call it that, in our land?
I promise you that I'll not interrupt Him,
And even to the alien I'll say, «Now your silence
must be eternal.»
But to the mihbaj I will shout, SING,
And I will sing and dance, when God has had His say.
I know Mother that God's story will not be heard
in one hour, nor one year, nor even twenty,
But I will listen, and the alien will keep silent
this time,
Silent in my bosom home, not one of them will dare
To move or breathe lest he disturb God's presence,
Until the story ends.
And the story shall end,-unlike other stories,-
This one is unique, told in a world bereft of reason,
In a crazy world, arrogant and unaware

A world of jokes which bring more bitterness
than joy,
A world which thinks not of a children's plight.
Would that I could hear from God the story of
crossing
That border river at night, the way lighted
By the whites of alien eyes, And from Him hear
the story
of one who threw himself upon a bomb in an
Amman market place,
Lying down to death as if upon a bed of silk, to
sleep. 2
All of these were children two scant decades past,
Mother dearest,
I'll not return before the night dies,
But wait instead to return to you
with the budding roses.

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- * 1. The Mihbaj is an Arabic coffee grinder, which in addition to grinding coffee, is also used as a musical instrument by Arabs. Additionally, it is used as a beckon to neighbors and friends to gather in fellowship.
- * 2. The story is told of a Palestinian commando who had been sent on a bombing mission to his homeland, but accidentally dropped the bomb in an Amman market. On seeing that it would explode and kill his countrymen, he threw himself upon it, taking the full blast himself, saving many and causing his own death.



ZIONIST COLONIZATION IN PALESTINE: DEBIT & CREDIT.

by: Khalid Kishtainy

The Zionists and their supporters often claim that early Zionist settlement in Palestine bestowed substantial benefits upon the Arab inhabitants of the country. The following objective and well-documented study, taken from a recent book* by the author examines the flimsy grounds for this claim and gives a careful assessment of the debit and credit of early Zionist colonization in Palestine.

A careful study of economic and social conditions prevailing in Palestine in the nineteenth century would reveal a land verging on a great revival, expressed in the dreams of its poets and writers, and indicated in the statistics of the socio-economic experts. Some of the fruits of this forward

* Palestine in Perspective, P.L.O.
Research Center, Beirut.



surging movement have already appeared in such countries as Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Jordan, the countries adjacent to Palestine; there is no reason to suppose that Palestine alone was going to lag behind. There was enough history, tradition, knowledge, social basis, economic organisation and willpower to thrust Palestine into the twentieth century orbit.

The question of whether the Zionist enterprise helped or hindered this process is one of the worst acrobatic exercises on the «ifs» and «might-have-beens» of history. Too many factors must be taken into account. Without the Balfour Declaration, Palestine might have achieved independence earlier; it might have joined Syria and Lebanon in a united Arab state as envisaged by the Arab nationalists. The country would have escaped all of the destruction and strife which has accompanied its history

since 1920. Haifa was made a terminus for the Iraqi Petroleum Company pipeline, a position which was torpedoed with the establishment of Israel. More pipelines might have been laid from Kuwait, Iraq and Saudi Arabia were it not for the Zionist presence. The benefits which the Suez Canal was bestowing on the land east of Sinai were also demolished and the canal itself was relegated because of its successive closures resulting from political developments. The trade and communications position was also wiped out. The Jewish National Home attracted Jewish capital on nationalistic or religious grounds; how much capital could an Arab Palestine—independent or united with a larger Arab state—have attracted on solid economic grounds? Such are some of the possibilities and crossroads of history. The Zionists have undoubtedly an alternative list of possibilities.

Certain developments, however, are a matter of historical records. Early Zionist colonisation did more harm than good to the country. The Jewish immigrants were more of paupers, penniless ideologists, and impractical intellectuals than anything else. Far from improving the health of the natives, they brought with them diseases which were raging in the crowded streets of cold, damp Europe, particularly diseases of the respiratory system. They also brought with them the scenes of dirt, rubbish, and decay known to the history of the medieval Jewish districts of Europe. With the sudden congestion they caused in the small towns of Palestine, the

sewage, rubbish disposal and water supply organisation broke down. The limited funds of the local authorities were thus diverted to the more immediate menace of health hazards. Road building, education and general development were thus denied to the rest of the community.

Apart from a few hundred people, the whole Jewish community that emerged from the Zionist project led an economically unproductive life. The charity money was naturally not meant to give them a luxury life which could overflow with some fringe benefits to the natives. So we can presume here that these people not only lived as parasites on the diaspora but also on the Arab people as well. The colonisation organisations, of course, bought land and paid handsomely for it, causing in the process some appreciation in the price of land. Most of the bulk purchases were made with absentee landlords, like the Sursuqs, who naturally used the money outside the country, little of it reaching the Palestinians. On some of these lands, the fellahin were left to till the fields as cheap labour; in other cases they were simply evicted and valuable expanses of land were left fallow. In 1930, 114,329 metric dunums out of 270,000 dunums held by the Jewish National Fund were left uncultivated.¹

For centuries, the Jews were barred from agriculture in Europe. As a result, when they came to Palestine, they had not the slightest notion of how to dig a canal or transplant a seedling. After the establishment of the Jewish National Home,



they improved their position by importing agricultural specialists from Western Europe and America and sinking vast sums in machinery and equipment. From this, the Arabs learned something by example, a fact which was pounced on by the Zionist publicists as evidence of the benefits the natives gained from the Zionist work. Nothing is mentioned of the other side of the picture. The basis of Zionist agriculture in Palestine was the agricultural skill

of the fellah. The early colonisers had to learn everything from him; ask him what could and could not be done, where to plant vegetables and where to sow wheat, what cattle were most suitable, etc. The fellah, according to the records, was even more generous with his advice to his future tormentors than with his hospitality. To get a picture of the difference in agricultural skill, management and forthrightness, the case of the Montefiore plantation serves as a good example. Sir Moses bought a plantation from the Palestinian Arabs. It was a thriving orchard, a total number of 1407 trees, with a wide range of fruits.

After a few years under Jewish management, the number of trees fell to only 900 in 1875.² The fiasco was discussed at some length in the diaries, and the biographer of the Montefiores observed: «Knowing that similar gardens and fields in possession of the natives were very profitable, he (Sir Moses) was rather surprised at the result.»³ This is by no means an isolated case. In 1930, Sir John Hope Simpson mentioned that a number of villages bought by the Jews began paying less tithes than before when cultivated by the Arabs. In addition, some 30,000 dunums in the Vale of Esdraelon were converted, not to green fields blossoming with flowers and crops, but to derelict lands covered with weeds and teeming with hordes of destructive mice—since they had been bought from the Arabs.⁴

The Profits and Losses Account

No one, of course, wants to claim that less land has been cultivated since the Balfour Declaration or that the agricultural standard has declined. What is essential to remember is that a decline in agriculture and standard of living would have resulted in Palestine due to the Zionist influx and its uneconomic enterprise, were it not for the presence of another factor, namely the fantastic capital investment. Money offered as a sacrifice to a nationalistic altar kept the show going. When the swampy lands of the Hadera (totalling some 30,000 dunums) were bought, the fellahin warned the Jews of its unsuitability for agriculture and of the endemic malaria threat. «We needn't take our cue from barbarians», was the reply of the confident colonisers. Within a matter of months, the landscape was littered with tombstones of the Jewish settlers and the colony was as good as abandoned. SOS calls were sent to Baron de Rothschild who opened his purse once again to provide funds to tempt Arab labour to tackle the job of draining off the swamps. «The draining of the marshes was due not to the superior skill of the Jewish colonist as compared with the existing 'barbarians', but to the aid of their superior funds», wrote N. Barbour on the episode.⁵

Statistics on the cost of Zionist colonisation, the budgets of the Jewish Agency and the aid given to Israel, are the stock-in-trade of most books dealing with the Palestine question. Arab sources in par-

ticular have amassed volumes of information on this subject. It suffices here to quote a few of the salient facts as an indication. Until the end of 1941, the bill of the Jewish colonisation in Palestine reached five hundred million dollars, according to Dr. Chaim Weizmann.⁶ During the Millionaires' Conference held in Jerusalem in August 1967, Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir stated that the financial aid received by Israel between 1946 and 1966 amounted to seven billion dollars, i.e., more than half the total value of the Marshall Plan of thirteen billion dollars, extended for the recovery of Western Europe between 1948 and 1954, or, conversely, each Israeli received twenty times what each European received.

Such is the picture of the money sunk in the small plots of land reclaimed by Israel. If the accounts were submitted to any banker or company director, he would think the world was going mad and the science of arithmetics had been thrown overboard. If the same accounts were summarised to any citizen of the deprived world where famine and disease are raging for lack of everything, he would simply call it a sin. Israel, which represents only one per mille of the population of the developing world, was receiving ten percent of the entire aid given by the developed world to the developing world. Politicians of Israel took a short cut in answering the puzzled economist by affirming that economic laws did not apply to Israel when it was found that the heavily financed and mechanised

Jewish farms were producing crops far more expensive than those produced by the Arabs, Dr. Ruppin, the agricultural manager of the Jewish Agency, advised the Jewish farmer not to sell his products but to eat them himself! «They have greater value than the money which he will obtain for them». This was why mixed farming was found to be the most convenient.⁷

According to the reports of the Executive to the Zionist Congresses, only one or two of all the settlements managed to balance their accounts. In 1930, Sir John Hope Simpson found only Kfar Yeheskiel, with 59 families, really self-supporting after sinking some £133,329 into the colony. Kiryath Anavim, which was claimed as a great success having made an annual profit of just £164, was discovered to have most of its men actually working as wage earners in Jerusalem bringing in a total of £1,080, paying back nothing for debts or rents, and still sustaining a deficit of £5,115.⁸ The English agricultural experts found the outlay of the Zionist colonies so lavish and «over-capitalised» that it was essential to write off a considerable amount of the outlay.⁹

The sheer waste entailed in the Zionist revival of Palestine caused a number of serious rifts in the Movement. The story of Justice Brandeis and his American supporters who broke away from the Zionist Organisation in the twenties on this particular point is one episode. The World Zionist Organisation was constantly subjected to a barrage

of criticism on this account throughout its history.¹⁰ Max Nordau, Herzl's companion and successor, was critical throughout of the agricultural Jewish colonisation and was certain that it would never be viable.¹¹ S. Klinger of the Revisionist faction wrote: «This monstrous costliness of Jewish colonisation is not only preposterous—it is deadly.»¹² According to his figures, the cost of the settlement of the Greek refugees was £30 per head, the Armenian refugees £40 per head, but the figure for the Jews was £400 per head. In southern Russia where the Soviet government was settling Jews in agriculture with generous help from the Joint Distribution Committee, the cost of settling an entire family was £150-£200 with 82.25% of the expenses returnable.¹³

The story of waste is not confined to the agrarian scene. The numerous housing units with no occupants, the factories which continuously ran at losses, and the overstaffed administration and academic institutions are facts which keep coming to life whenever they cross the barrier of scandals or jokes. One can only refer the reader here to the daily press and periodicals. Far from the alleged picture of excellent management and ingenious revival of the desert, the Zionist enterprise is actually the biggest white elephant ever bred by a rich maharajah. The Jews have often impressed the world with their ways of turning dust into gold; in Israel they are showing how to turn gold into dust. The Jewish Chronicle commented on the economic management of the enterprise in the thirties with

these words: «The crux of the present situation is that Palestine has too much money and does not know how to use it now.»¹⁴ If we take the total cost including armaments, war damages, disruption of the economy and communications of the Middle East, maintenance of Arab refugees, settlement of Jews, and the reclamation of the small swamp and barren lands, we cannot fail to consider the so-called Zionist revival of Palestine as a major economic disaster in the history of man.

Arab Share of the Zionist Revival

The Zionist Jews are free, of course, to do with their money what they like and whatever revival they have managed to procure in Palestine should be still credited to their work. The difficulty here is that it was not their money. The bulk of funds sunk into Palestine came from the taxpayers of Germany, Britain, the United States and every country which sends aid to Israel, provides troops for the peace operations in the area or allows Jewish contributions to be calculated against income tax. To the peoples of such countries and to the internationalists who look at the mass of mankind as one family, the Zionist waste is a terrible setback.

Yet, Zionist enterprise in Palestine was not only carried out at the expense of the world at large but also at the expense of the Palestinians. We have seen how the influx of the Zionist settlers affected the rest of the community and caused the breakdown of public services in the previous century. The

parasitical existence of the Jewish settler on the rest of the community continued well into this century. Considerable governmental sums were spent on providing for the new Zionist settlements. In 1929, the government had to write off loans amounting to £75,619 advanced to the township of Tel Aviv. A memorandum of the Treasury on the subject explained the reasons: «The state of the affairs of the township is due to unsound finance on the part of the Council in embarking upon works, largely unproductive, and services in excess of its means...»¹⁵ The Arabs felt very bitter and made no secret of their opinion. The Zionists replied that they were paying taxes, and allegedly more taxes per capita than the Arabs. The Arabs, on the other hand, were denied access to the valuable state lands which were reserved for and distributed to the Jewish settlers under the heading of promoting the Jewish National Home. Had such lands been distributed to the fellahin, they could have developed them as easily with a bit of foreign aid or credit. The industrial side was completely denied to the Arabs. The fate of this field was determined in 1922 when the whole hydraulic sources of the country were given to the Zionist entrepreneur, Pinhas Rutenberg, under the scheme which bore his name, behind the backs of Arab, British, and international financiers who were considering the project. The Arabs who wanted to interfere in the matter were threatened with deportation.¹⁶

The Jewish National Home was also built on

the sweat of Arab labour and experience. We have mentioned how the early colonisers took their first lessons from the fellahin. The hazardous and strenuous tasks were given to Arab workers not only from Palestine but also from other Arab countries. The draining of the Hadera swamps, for example, was carried out by Egyptian fellahin specially imported for the task. Sudanese workers were also contracted for work in other difficult projects. Once the bare foundation was established, the Zionist Organisation stepped in to call for the boycott of Arab labour. This policy was pursued ruthlessly between the two world wars, but Arab labour was employed here and there, not where and when the Arabs were desperate for employment but when and where their employment was advantageous to the Jews. This was also true after the 1967 war when refugees from Gaza were employed in various building projects at lower prices, arousing the protests of the Israeli trade unions.¹⁷

Not only did the Zionist pioneers learn how to work the land from the fellahin, but they also established the whole future of Israeli economy on what the Arabs had built. Apart from the main item of charity, tourism, and the citrus trade are the two primary sources of income for Israel. Both were introduced and promoted by the Arabs under the caliphate. A great deal of the Arab folk arts, including dancing and decoration, were adapted by the immigrants or incorporated into other genres of art to produce what they now call Israeli art. The

popular dishes in the so-called Israeli restaurants of New York, London or Paris are the «hummus» and «falafil», the two Arab dishes of ordinary folk. Indeed, Israeli cuisine is simply old Arab Palestinian cooking.

The Palestinians, on the other hand, learned practically nothing from the Jewish immigrants in such matters. Dr. Ruppin admitted that the settlers had no appreciation of aesthetic things and went as far as to doubt that they could ever attain a sense of beauty.¹⁸ Arthur Koestler derided the hotch-potch jumble of buildings which he saw in Israel. At best, he could only describe the manner of building with functionalism. The lack of elegance, nice appearance, pleasant clothes and graceful manners so revolted many European visitors and British officials that the Zionists attributed the anti-Zionist attitudes of such people to the ugly appearance and ill manners of the settlers. Even now, when Israelis are reminded of this aspect, they shrug their shoulders indifferently. This is all the residue of the squalid conditions endured for centuries in the ghettos of eastern Europe. Aesthetic background was not the only aspect transplanted from the Russian Pale of Settlement to Palestine. The characteristic psychology of the ghettos with its persecution mania, self-centredness, suspicion, isolation, egoism and scores of neurotic obsessions associated with that life was also transplanted to Palestine. Psychological maladies are known to inflict more disorientations and ill effects on the surrounding people than probably what is

suffered by the subject himself. It is very difficult to assess the extent of the changes which the Zionist colonisation affected on the mental make-up of the Palestine society since its beginning. The backward looking mind of the Zionist, as evidenced in resurrecting an ancient language, an archaic alphabet and a forgotten history and in inflicting clericalism and traditionalism on society, may also prove detrimental to the health of the Arab peoples in the whole area of the Middle East.

The Zionists may counter such arguments by the material benefits which their project bestowed on the Palestinian Arabs. They find themselves here on firmer ground. After repeating the same case of Palestine as an empty country infested with malaria and ruined villages whose population had died from disease, Mr. Koestler went on to hold the same comparison between the standard of the Palestinians before the Jewish National Home and after. It is shown that their income had increased by a faster rate than that of the Arabs in the neighbouring countries. The Arabs here reply by producing figures which show a faster increase in prices of consumer goods in Palestine than in the same neighbouring countries, but they have difficulty refuting the Zionist claim altogether. It is logical to expect that a portion of the vast sums of money reaching the Jews must have seeped through and reached the pockets of the Arabs.

Another standard used in assessing the civilising



effect of Zionism on Palestine was the increase in the population of the Arab townships and the country as a whole. Indeed, one of the repeated criticisms in the nineteenth century was the fact that the country was empty, which the Zionists took literally. This is, of course, part of the capitalist concept of heaven as a land teeming with a million million inhabitants buying angelic drapery of ten yards of terylene each. The European travellers were looking for markets and the country which had no market was no country. In his famous memorandum to Palmerstone, Lord Ashley simply

dismissed Palestine as a worthless country because it had very few people. Apparently to these gentlemen, it was more criminal to allow a land to be without people, than to see a people without a land.

The present discussion must remain incomplete. The Zionist enterprise is less than a century old. Israel has lived only a score of years. The conflict is gaining momentum from day to day, moving gradually away from periodic war stages to more serious business. Both sides are thinking in nuclear terms and both camps, socialist and imperialist, are becoming more deeply and deeply involved. Will the history of twentieth century Israel be any different from that of the tenth century B.C. Israel? Can the country escape the repetition of the same ruin, destruction and suffering which accompanied the history of ancient Israel? Will the present shrines and temples of the former civilisations escape the tragic waves of destruction, like the acts of the lunatics of whom the fire raiser of the Aqsa Mosque was one? This will really be a miracle, even in a land of miracles. ■

(1) Cmd. 3686, 1930.

(2) A Narrative of a Forty Days Sojourn in the Holy Land, address given by Sir Moses Montefiore, London, 1877, pp. 67, 68.

- (3) Montefiore, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 68.
- (4) Cmd. 3686, 1930, p. 17.
- (5) Barbour, N. Nisi Dominus London, 1944. p. 116.
- (6) Foreign Affairs, January 1942.
- (7) Ruppin, A. Agricultural Colonisation of the Zionist Organization in Palestine. London, 1926. p. 15.
- (8) Cmd. 3686, 1930, pp. 45, 47, 48.
- (9) Ibid., p. 42.
- (10) Cf. Ruppin's reply in the Zionist Review, September 1921.
- (11) Zionist Bulletin, June 1914.
- (12) Klinger, S., The Ten-Year Plan for Palestine, New Zionist Organisation, No. 4, 1938.
- (13) Cmd. 3686, 1930.
- (14) Jewish Chronicle, 28 July 1933.
- (15) Report of the Commission on the Palestine Disturbances, Cmd. 3530, 1930.
- (16) Hansard, House of Commons, 4 July 1922. The story of this affair is discussed in Jeffries, J.M.N., Palestine—The Reality, London, 1939.
- (17) See, for example, Ma'ariv, 8 February 1970.
- (18) Ruppin, op. cit., pp. 124-126.

BOOK REVIEWS

■

The following reviews of two outstanding Zionist books are by British journalist, Irene Beeson, and the well-known Indian Middle East specialist, G. H. Jansen. They were originally written for the Arabic language bi-monthly journal «Palestine Affairs», which is published by the P.L.O. Research Center.

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- **Forged in Fury** by Michael Elkins. (Balantine Books, New York Feb. 1971) — Reviewed by Irene Beeson.

This is a gripping account of Jewish resistance in the Second World War; of the agonizing birth of

that resistance, against impossible odds, in the ghettos of Germany and Poland and the Nazi concentration camps.

In a style that is incisive, harsh, often bitter and sardonic, Michael Elkins describes the horrors of the death camps and how, after millions of Jews had gone «like sheep to the slaughter», a small group of unarmed, inexperienced Jews of the Kovno Ghetto, near the Prussian border, revolted and decided to organize «some resistance, some token of their dignity as human beings...»

Mr. Elkins describes in harrowing detail the painful buildup of the resistance and its spread to the isolated ghettos; the problems faced not only in outwitting the Nazis, but in getting their own threatened people to follow those Jews who believed that since they were all marked for death, better to die fighting; the split in the Jewish leadership between those who believed in «white resistance» (aimed at keeping Jews alive) and the «black resistance» (active, violent resistance).

«Forged in Fury» compels comparison between the plight of the Jews of Europe and the plight of the Palestinians, for out of the tragedy of the first was born the Palestine tragedy and the Arab-Israeli war.

Referring to the vote in the General Assembly of November 29, 1947, partitioning Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state, Elkins comments that

«Many factors compelled the vote, but the long debate offers sufficient evidence that the Assembly took its decision in significant part at least, as an act of contrition».

Mr. Elkins deplors the fact that none of the Western countries was willing, after the war, and despite the horrors that had come to light in Germany, to give refuge to large numbers of Jews.

He writes: «In 1945, the armies of the United Nations liberated the starving Jews from the death camps and the slave labor camps, gathered others in from the forests and the sewers of the ghettos. Liberated them and gathered them in and showed the shape of the shining future prepared for them in the new free world—more camps, new camps.... Here they were fed and clothed and given medical care. They could marry and have children and they could all, presumably, rot».

But was it really the wish of the world Zionist Organization that the remnants of the Jewish people should find hospitable homes in friendly countries where they could settle down in comfort, become assimilated, perhaps, and unlearn the Zionist directive that the Jews must return to the «Promised Land», to Palestine?

Understandably, as a Jew, Mr. Elkins' sympathy is all for the Jews.

So is the sympathy of a non-Jewish reader like

myself, up to the point where Mr. Elkins refuses to see the injustice imposed upon the people of Palestine through the United Nations act of «contrition», which opened up years of suffering and of «rotting» in camps for the Palestinians, who had no part in the persecution of the Jews.

Mr. Elkins is understandably bitter at the world's indifference to the plight of the Jews, but his bitterness runs away with his imagination when he charges that Great Britain «became an active accessory to Arab aggression» and that «the United Nations played a role considerably more passive but equally sordid» (p. 254)... that «the nations demonstrated that the vote had been only a ritual aimed at exorcising the ghost of the Jewish dead and at appeasing the uneasy conscience of the world by incantations devoid of meaning or purpose».

And when Mr. Elkins writes about «Arab aggression» in 1948, he overlooks the fact that the Palestinians who fought were people who had lived in the land of Palestine for countless generations, who were as organically part of the country as the rocks upon which its cities and villages were built. Far from being helped by Britain or any other Western country, the Palestinians were desperately and, as it turned out, ineffectually trying to resist the West's decision to uproot and transplant them to make way for the Jews.

It is strange that Mr. Elkins does not see the

irony or sense the danger of Zionist policy in Palestine.

From the security of what was so recently the home of the uprooted Palestinians, the Jews supported by those at whose hands they suffered so much, are blindly helping to create a nation of desperate people, as desperate as the Jews of Europe in the Second World War.

Like the Jews in Europe, the Palestinians today are also alone, betrayed by all, including their own people, fighting for survival. They too have learned that «no one rescues the defenseless» that «no nation, as a nation, was moved by conscience, or goodwill, or by public outcry»... at their plight.

In the closing paragraph of «Forged in Fury» Michael Elkins writes: «Men denied justice will, themselves, take however much of it they can and in whatever manner open to them. All men. The Jews not least».

The dismal conclusion one draws from «Forged in Fury» is that men, all men, the Jews not least apparently never learn a lesson.

- **«Israel: Two Fateful Years, 1967-1969 by Norman Bentwich. (London: Elek, 1970) — Reviewed by G. H. Jansen.**

In this small but significant work, a veteran Zionist gives expression to a limited degree of disillusionment with the policies of Israel after 1967,

and by doing so becomes one more member of a group of «decent Jews» that is of great usefulness to Zionist-Israeli propaganda.

Bentwich, an English lawyer, was already an active Zionist when he was appointed by the British as the first attorney general of the Palestine Mandatory regime. Even by 1920 he had written much in support of the Zionist case and had produced the vivid comparison of Zionist territorial claims to the skin of a deer which expands or contracts with feeding or the lack of it. It was Bentwich's aim to feed the Zionist «deer» as much as possible and this he did during his term of office in Palestine, and later on as a tireless and influential lobbyist and propagandist for Zionism in Labour Party circles in London.

Now in his old age, Bentwich evidently is having second thoughts about the conduct of the Israelis, though it must be made clear that his worries are no more than mere twitches of his political conscience. Thus he reiterates the arrogant Jewish claim that it was «providence» that helped to bring Israel into existence. He is still a staunch supporter of the Jewish state and even admires the «chutzpah» or impudence with which the Israelis stole the gunboats from the French naval yards at Cherbourg. Hence while he describes Israeli policy as seemingly «harsh» or «inflexible», he does not favour the return of Arab Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty, but only that the Holy Places should be

put under an inter-religious authority. And while admitting that an injustice has been done to the former inhabitants of Palestine, and that they must be paid compensation for their property, he is not prepared to go further than to recommend that Israel should accept a part of those seeking repatriation «after careful sifting» while «the majority» should be resettled in the Arab countries or the new World.

Yet even this strictly limited degree of doveishness manifested by someone like Bentwich is most useful to the Zionist propaganda effort because it blurs, softens and confuses the hard image of the Zionist hawks, without in reality conceding anything substantial or in any way endangering Israel's position. The Zionist propagandists can claim that not all Zionists are unreasonable when a veteran like Bentwich says that Israel should become a «mixed binational state», thus obscuring the crucial fact that what Bentwich is talking about is Israel and not Palestine. Israeli or Zionist doves, so long as they remain Israelis or Zionists, are far more dangerous than the frankly hawkish Zionist-Israeli.

Bentwich is only the latest of many conscience-stricken Zionists. Qualms of conscience began to be felt very early in the Zionist movement, most no-

tably by Ahad Ha-am. Because Ha-am was at odds with the majority policy of the Zionist congresses, as expounded by Weizmann and later Ben Gurion, and because he advocated a vaguely cultural form of Zionism, it is very often forgotten that he was nevertheless a Zionist who settled in Palestine, who made his contribution to the movement, and was honoured by having a street named after him in Tel Aviv. Similarly with Arthur Koestler who also served the Zionist cause for many years, and most effectively when he wrote his powerfully propagandist novel «Thieves in the Night». Only after doing all this did he withdraw from Zionism. Much the same thing seems to be happening to Ben Gurion. After stamping his own hard, unyielding image on Israel, he now professes to be ready to give back almost all captured Arab territory if that sacrifice would produce a lasting peace. So too Bentwich, after a life-time of Zionist service, now gives Israel a mild scolding and as a «reasonable» «liberal» Zionist still contributes to the Zionist cause. The repentant Zionist has become a recognizable Zionist type.

At any one time Jews seem to adopt three attitudes towards Zionism. In their youth they can be non-Zionist or even anti-Zionist; in their vigorous middle years they are activist Zionists; and in old

age they mature into repentent Zionists. Thus when Ahad Ha-am was repenting, Herzl and later Weizmann were active; when Weizmann became repentent, Ben Gurion and Buber and Magnes were active; when Buber and Magnes began to beat their breasts, Ben Gurion and Bentwich were still pushing ahead; and now that Ben Gurion and Bentwich are softening, Dayan is carrying the torch; and one supposes that when Dayan becomes older and wiser, someone like Ezer Weizmann will be doing the dirty work.

When dealing with Zionists there is the temptation to say that one should be thankful for small mercies and that any tendency towards repentence, however partial, is to be welcomed. It is, however, possible for repentence to come too late, for the voice of conscience to speak up only when it can no longer affect the course of events. Such is the case with Ben Gurion and Bentwich. «Beware of Greeks bearing gifts» is a well-known saying: One should be even more wary of those Zionists who, having done their bit for the cause, continue to serve it by putting their newly awakened consciences on belated display.

Bentwich does however make one very profound remark which should be taken to heart by all those who advocate a scholarly «objective» approach to the Palestine problem: «Objectivity about the problems of Palestine and Israel is a contradiction in terms». ■

DOCUMENTS

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Discussion of the «Middle East situation» by the UN General Assembly, in its 26th session, resulted in a Resolution which expressed appreciation for Egypt's positive attitude to Jarring's mission, and reaffirmed «that the acquisition of territories by force is inadmissible» and that the territories so occupied by Israel «must be restored». The full text of the resolution which was adopted in December, 1971 is given below.

■

General Assembly Resolution of December, 1971

The General Assembly,

Deeply concerned by the continuation of the grave situation prevailing in the Middle East, particularly since the conflict of June 1967, which

constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security,

Convinced that the immediate implementation of all the provisions of Security Council Resolution 242/1967/ provides for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East,

Determined that the territory of a state should not be the object of occupation or acquisition by another state resulting from threat or use of force, which is a basic principle enshrined in the United Nations Charter and reiterated in Security Council Resolution 242 as well as the Declaration of the Strengthening of International Security 2734 (XXV), adopted by the General Assembly on 16th December 1970,

Expressing appreciation of the efforts of the commission of Heads of African States undertaken in pursuance of the OAU Resolution of 23rd June 1971,

Gravely concerned by the continuation of Israel's occupation of certain Arab territories since 5th June 1967,

Having considered the item entitled «The Situation in the Middle East»,

1. Reaffirms that the acquisition of territories by force is inadmissible and that, consequently, territories thus occupied must be restored,

2. Requests the Secretary-General to take the necessary measures to reactivate the mission of his Special Representative in order to promote agreement, and assist efforts, to reach a peace agreement as envisaged in Ambassador Jarring's memorandum of 8th February 1971,

3. Expresses its full support to efforts of the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General to implement Security Council Resolution 242 of 22nd November 1967 and to his peace initiative of 8th February 1971,

4. Notes with appreciation the positive reply given by the Arab Republic of Egypt to Ambassador Jarring's initiative for establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East,

5. Calls upon Israel to respond favourably to Ambassador Jarring's peace initiative of 8th February 1967,

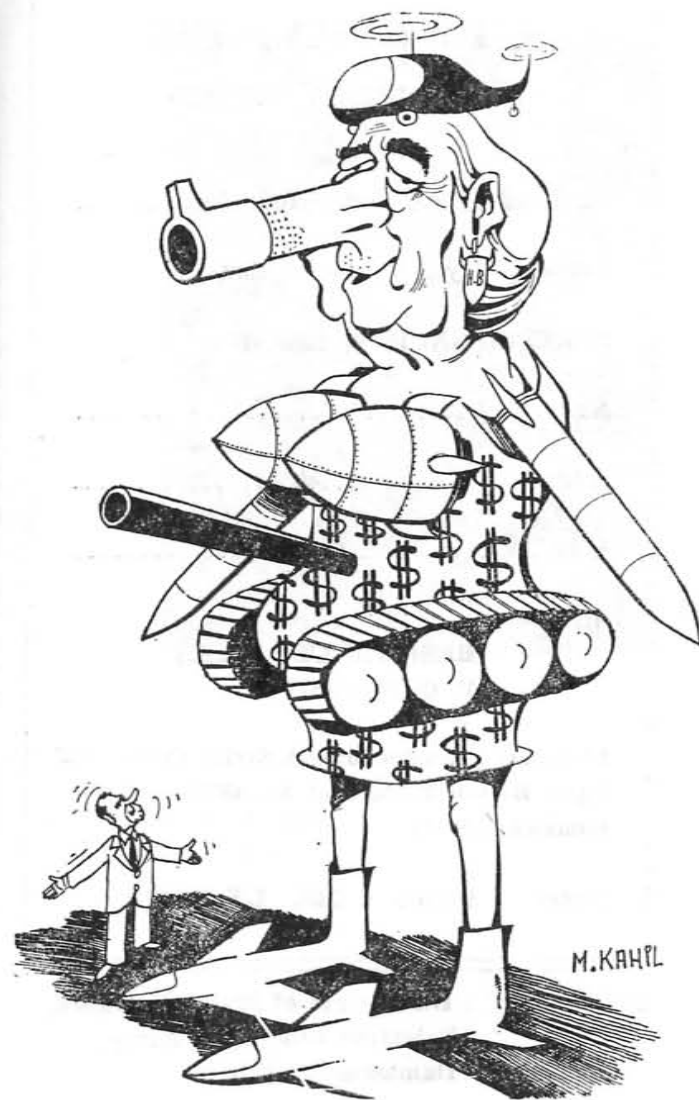
6. Further invites the parties to the Middle East conflict to give their full co-operation to the

Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary General in order to work out practical modalities for:

- A. The establishment and implementation of measures «guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every state in the area»,
- B. The definition and implementation of guarantees for «the freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area»,
- C. The achievement of a just settlement of the refugee problem,

7. Requests the Secretary General to report to the Security Council and the General Assembly as appropriate, on the progress made in the implementation of the present resolution by the Special Representative,

8. Requests the Security Council to consider, if necessary, making arrangements under the relevant articles of the Charter of the United Nations to ensure the implementation of its resolution.



'Golda, you are beautiful.'

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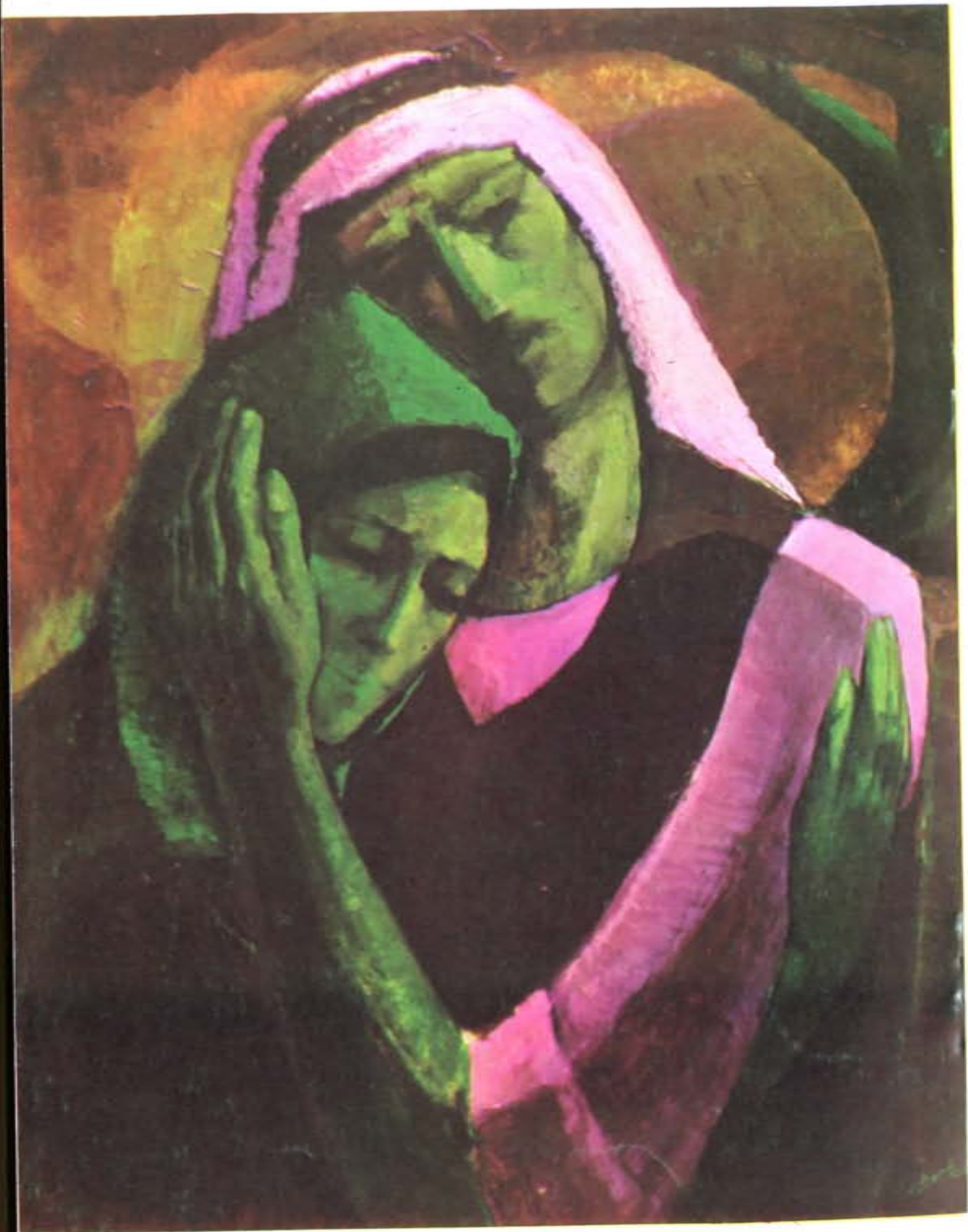
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On 1st January, every year, people begin a new
tenure of life.

While we Palestinians begin a new year of
searching for life.



See Inside cover