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ARAB PALESTINIAN **RESISTANCE**

7

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PALESTINE LIBERATION ARMY - PEOPLE'S LIBERATION FORCES

Arab Palestinian **RESISTANCE**

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FROM THE RECORD

«... It is American support which enables the present leaders of Israel, in defiance of world opinion to annex and encircle Arab Jerusalem, to plant Israeli settlements on land seized from the Arabs, to prolong the misery of the refugees - and, by these acts, to make it certain that there will be further conflict in the Middle East. »

Thirty European leaders in the EURABIA Committee letter to President Nixon - May 14, 1973 ■

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Editorial

The Security Council discussion of the Middle East conflict has now come to an end—a highly frustrating end. Prior to the vote-taking stage, the Council had before it a draft resolution submitted by U.N. representatives of non-aligned countries.

The draft resolution strongly deplored Israel's continuing occupation of the territories seized in the Israeli 1967 war of aggression; expressed serious concern at Israel's lack of cooperation with Dr. Jarring, the Special Representative of the U.N. Secretary-General; and declared that changes in the occupied territories introduced by the Israeli authorities in violation of the political and other fundamental rights of the inhabitants of the territories, would not be recognized. The resolution also voiced the conviction that a just and peaceful solution of the Middle East problem should take into consideration the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people.

Fourteen delegates to the Council, including representatives of permanent members, voted in favour of the resolution; but the representative of the United States voted against it, which meant that the resolution was vetoed and killed. This veto by the United States representative did not come

as a surprise to us. However, it did confirm a number of facts, including the following:

- (1) that the U.S. Government is neither interested in the Jarring mission nor in finding a just and peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict and that all talk by U.S. officials about peace in the Middle East is mere deception.
- (2) that the United States approves of Israel's defiance of the world community and of Israel's persecution of the Arabs living under Israeli rule.
- (3) that the real enemy of the Arab people is first the United States and then Israel, which is the immediate perpetrator of Zionist-imperialist crimes of aggression against the Palestinian Arabs and the Arab countries.

With this new anti-Arab veto by the United States Government and the recent \$250 million grant to Israel to cover Israel's military purchases in the U.S., the Arabs everywhere should know who their arch enemy is and should act accordingly in respect of American interests in the Middle East.

Resistance

■ by : M. T. Bujairami

Political scene

With the 25th anniversary of the establishment of Israel, there seems to loom a new bid to annihilate the Palestinians, in an attempt to eliminate the «corpus delicti» of the old crime which was committed in 1948. Everything in the Middle East indicates that the big plot against the Palestinians is approaching the last stage - the stage of physical liquidation.

Israel seems to have developed a «relish» for the spectacular «tour de force» which triggered the bloodbath in Lebanon (April 10) on the trails of the brutal raids of Israeli commandos who struck at the Palestinians in the very heart of Beirut.

Ironically, the Israeli attack which claimed the lives of a considerable number of Palestinians took place on the 10th of April, which is a significant day in the Palestine calendar. It was on the same day of 1948 that the massacre of Deir Yassin was perpetrated by the fanatic trigger-happy Zionist gangs, who killed some 250 unarmed Palestinian women, children and old people in cold blood and in broad

daylight. Israel's raid into Beirut on the 25th anniversary of the Deir Yassin massacre was meant to be a bitter reminder that the Israelis want to finish the «process» of annihilating the Palestinians who have survived the holocaust of 1948. The green light signal to go ahead was beamed from Washington.

Alarmed by the worsening fuel crisis, the U.S. is already implementing a new plan to ensure the continued flow of Arab oil. The Nixon administration feels that the need is really so urgent that it is imperative to eliminate any potential obstacle that threatens the continued flow of oil in the foreseeable future. The situation in the Middle East, Washington feels, is precarious, volatile, and highly explosive. The protection of the huge American interests needs stability in an area which can be described as anything but stable.

According to Washington, the only way to «stabilise» this part of the world is to urge a tough campaign of «pacification» similar to the campaign waged against the Koreans in the early fifties and

the Vietnamese in the early sixties! The initial step in the implementation of the plans designed to annihilate the Palestinians have already been taken. These plans, in simple words, consist of doing everything possible to weaken the Arabs at any cost, and to strengthen Israel and enable her to strike anywhere at any time. The conference of American diplomats in the Middle and Far East, held not long ago in Teheran was in fact a meeting of «real action» intended to facilitate putting the plans into effect in the field, not merely on paper, after studying the whole situation, preparing detailed assessments and considering the roles of the various allies and clients who are to contribute to the operation.

Thus, Israel is called upon to deal with Egypt, Syria and any other Arab countries that may give them support. Iran is to deal with Iraq and the Arabian gulf, and the reactionary forces in Jordan and Lebanon are to deal with the Palestinians, with Israel «giving them a hand» should that task prove too difficult for them!

As a supplementary part of this entangled plot, America wants to see the inter-Arab conflicts escalate and proliferate, with the possibility of carrying out some tricks, by the fifth column or some C.I.A.

cloak-and-dagger agents, here and there, in order to facilitate the invasion-from-within process. The last resort, which can be called at anytime if anything goes wrong, is of course, the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean assisted by the various American sea and air bases which surround the Middle East in Cyprus, Greece and Ethiopia. These are the broad outlines of the plot to keep the Arab world «under control».

In addition to the oil shortage in America, there seems to be another reason which makes it necessary for Uncle Sam to accelerate the implementation of the plot. The stench of corruption inside America, as exposed by the Watergate affair, is becoming an increasingly unbearable headache for Nixon and his Republican party. The outlet is to divert the attention of the American people away from it, towards an even greater crisis outside America. Hence the urgent need to create such a crisis; and the Middle East is the most suitable arena in the present circumstances.

The Middle East is better than Indo-China for such purposes, although Indo-China is not totally excluded from the scene, in line with Nixon's famous style of «keeping all options open». Israel in fact would be only too happy to oblige Uncle

Sam and treat him to a sort of spectacular performance to prove that it is a «friend in need.» For by aggravating the situation and launching a new large-scale invasion of the Arab countries, Israel would kill several birds with one stone and suit her own purposes as well.

Under the same old pretexts that were used to justify brutal Israeli acts of aggression and intimidation, General Dayan will complete the task of getting rid of the Palestinians, the «troublemakers» of the Middle East. He will also be waging a «preventive war» to forestall any Arab attempt to regain the occupied Arab territories; and, who knows? he may even emerge as the hero who «brought the Arabs to their knees!» This may considerably improve his position as the best candidate for the Israeli premiership, a post which everything in Dayan's career indicates that it has always been one of his most coveted ambitions.

These are Israel's aims and lines of policy nowadays. Israel is in the mood for a new aggression and wants to bring about a large conflagration. The evidence is not hard to find in the words and deeds of the Israeli leaders themselves in both the military and political fields. For example, there is a huge military build-up in the north along both the

Syrian and Lebanese fronts. Israel continues to issue statements about her military might, the numbers and special features of her sophisticated weapons, both American and Israeli-made, or «newly-developed».

According to a recent statement by Golda Meir, Israel is even ready to go as far as Bab-el-Mendeb, near South Arabia to «secure» passage for Israeli or Israel-bound ships. According to the Israeli chief-of-staff, David Elazer, Israel's arms are reaching and ready to strike against the Palestinians anywhere in the world.

This boastful arrogance, however, is paradoxically coupled with another attitude in which Israel once more tries to pose as the poor, innocent and peaceful lamb surrounded by the savage, blood-thirsty Arab wolves. Golda Meir has declared that she thinks Egypt is up to something, maybe a surprise attack against Israel. Great propaganda noises come from both Israel and the pro-Zionist mass media about the number of aircraft Egypt is supposed to be preparing for this allegedly imminent Arab onslaught. Israel has always drummed up such noises about being threatened in order to wage vast devastating aggressions against one or more Arab countries.

In the political arena, Israel is also moving to stir up a new campaign of hatred against the Arabs in order to prepare the necessary atmosphere in which her crimes against the Arabs both inside and outside the occupied areas, can be tolerated and condoned. Israel claims that she is only trying to protect humanity from the Arab «terrorists» and «outlaws»! In additions to tracking down the Arabs and killing them in the streets of Europe, Israel wants to propagate a number of nasty rumours about them. Hence the Israeli-manipulated rumours about the alleged plans of the Black Septemberists to «kidnap» some members of the Royal Families of Scandinavian countries. Zionist agents are also trying to create trouble between the Arabs and a number of European countries, notably France and Italy.

Israel's recently-developed relish for the spectacular can also be seen in the visit by «Queen Elizabeth II» to Ashdot, which was carried out to commemorate Israel's 25th anniversary, despite the great costs incurred by the owners of this great luxurious ship. This relish was also manifested in the huge military parade in Jerusalem, carried out in a provocative way through the streets of the old Arab section of the Holy city.

The U.N. protests and pleas of the Security

Council to Israel to desist from such actions were all treated by the Israelis with arrogant contempt. Israel, under the American umbrella, has thus challenged the whole of the international community and got away with it.

Meanwhile, inside the occupied territories, the Arab inhabitants continue to suffer from recurrent campaigns of detention, torture, house-demolitions and land confiscations. There were also Israeli statements about the necessity to benefit from the waters of the Litani river deep inside Lebanon.

Confronted with this state of affairs, the Arabs are expected by both Israel and America to desist from entertaining even the faintest idea of changing the present status quo, and to give this status quo their blessings and to allow Israel to change it into a permanent fait accompli.

Because the Arabs refuse to seek «peace» at the expense of their own territory and dignity, they are accused by Israel of being blood-thirsty belligerents! Like Salome in the Bible, Israel wants the Arabs to give her the head of the Palestinian Resistance on a silver tray. Should they refuse, they will bear the consequences of incurring the wrath of Zion upon themselves, and possibly upon their posterity as well. As for justice and human rights... etc. these, to Israel, are matters of secondary importance, because, to Israel, the end justifies the means! ■

ISRAEL'S SILENT WAR

(July 1972 - May 1973)

●

Zionist propaganda has reversed the picture of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, depicting the Palestinian Arabs as the «terrorists» and the Israelis as the «victims» of terrorism. The following account of Israel's «silent war.» consisting of terrorist attacks against the Arabs --Palestinians, Syrians and Lebanese-- between July 1972 and May 1973 provides facts revealing the falseness of the Zionist picture.

●

Since the 1967 war, the Israelis have killed hundreds of Palestinians, Egyptians, Syrians and Lebanese. The Zionist policy is simply that the «Arabs need a big stick», and that in the modern world napalm dropped with electronic precision from American Phantoms is the most efficacious stick available. If 46 children less than 11 years old are burnt to death in a small village school in the Delta in Egypt (8 April 1970), it is not because the Israelis mistook the Bahr al-Bakr school for a military installation - non-existent in that region - but because they wanted to give the Egyptians «a good lesson» and to convince them that the Sinai was occupied forever. When cities of Ismailia, Suez and Port Said were bombed into deserts, it was because the Israelis did not wish to have Arabs living close to the newly-seized territories. Some inhabitants of these cities understood: they left their homes to live as «internal refugees». Some did not - these died under the bombs of the Phantoms. What did it matter ? «There are too many Arabs anyway», as Ezer Weizmann has so candidly said. (1)

So the Israelis leave the Egyptian dead, a memorial to the West's indifference and contempt for Asian and African lives. But the Palestinians, the Syrians, the Lebanese, are treated differently. They are terrorists, and Israel is performing a service to

the western world by killing them. The Palestinians are criminals, all of them, because they inhabited a country that the Zionists wanted. They were driven out, those who survived, and lay down on the land nearest to their homes. The Syrians and the Lebanese then became criminals by association because they allowed the Palestinians to stay. They should have driven them further away from Israel, to Turkey, to Greece, anywhere. But because they became accomplices they too must die - until they «learn their lesson».

And all are magically transformed into terrorists - the child of 8, run over by a tank on his way to hospital, the woman of 80, the peasant struggling in his tobacco field who is of «military age», even, in one famous incident, two cows in a Lebanese village. The «terrorists» might have drunk their milk, who knows ?

All this indiscriminate slaughter, which meets no resistance because the peasants, the old women and the babies are not equipped to deal with Phantoms and napalm, and do not even have proper shelters because they don't realize that everyone is threatened, all this slaughter is a reflection of the guilt that the Zionists are forced to suppress in order to live with themselves. They have committed a crime against the Palestinians, and if all

the Palestinians are dead the crime will no longer exist. The morning after the butchery in Nahr al-Bared and Baddawi refugee camps, the Israeli radio commented in its Arabic-language service «... and we killed hundreds of them (**Palestinians**)» as the triumphant conclusion to the news report. As though they were speaking of rabbits.(2)

It may seem strange in the context of these hundreds dead, that we should trouble to list just over thirty cases of attacks on Palestinians. However, we believe they are significant for two reasons.

Although most of the people actually injured were totally innocent of any political activity (**postmen, secretaries, employees in banks**), the intended victims were all actively engaged in the Palestine struggle. They were not military fighters, but people of intellectual stature and moral influence who believed that, once the exclusivism of Zionism has been undermined, the Jews could learn to regard Arabs as human beings instead of an irritating inconvenience. Because these people were respected and listened to by both Palestinians and westerners, they constituted a danger to Zionism. By assassinating a few dozen leaders the Israeli secret service hopes to eliminate the catalysts so that the Palestinian people, left rudderless, would

learn to accept its natural role of hewers of wood and drawers of water in the occupied territories. By assassinating a few dozen writers and intellectuals the Zionists could prevent the spread in the west of a dangerous new concept: that the difference between 'the innate superiority of the Aryan to the Jew' and the 'divinely-granted superiority of the Jew to the non-Jew' is a difference of degree and not of kind.

The second significant point is that, in killing these particular people, the Zionists were obliged to be more circumspect than usual. No one in the west is much concerned if a hundred Syrian villagers are killed by mistake, but indiscriminate methods cannot be used in Stockholm or Paris or Rome. «Extra» people can be killed by primitive devices in Beirut or Cairo or Algiers - they are almost certain to be Arabs anyway. But in Cyprus or France much more sophisticated methods have to be used, so that the press and police of the country concerned will not be too exasperated. In the words of the Israeli military correspondent of **Maariv**: «... advanced and special means are adopted, for this is a continuous and very difficult war». The Zionists have been encouraged by the success of this policy to continue their campaign. Until «the conscience of the civilized world», so quickly

aroused by the death of a westerner, can also stretch to include the Palestinians in the human race, these assassinations will continue.

«The killing of Kanafani must not be an isolated action... Now, more than ever before, the Palestinian leaders must be open to personal terrorism. The killing of Kanafani shows that this is possible, that it can be carried out, and that it involves no particular difficulties.»

(Uri Dan, Maariv, July 10, 1972)

■ Israeli terror campaign ■

(Before 1972, rockets fired on PLO HQ in Beirut, employees slightly injured. Rockets fired on Wadie Haddad's home, injuring his wife and child, badly damaging house).

1972

July 8 Ghassan Kanafani, novelist and editor(3)
July 8 Lamees Najm (his 16-year old niece)
July 18 Emile Khayyat, Rif Bank employee
July 19 Dr. Anis Sayegh, director of Palestine
Research Center
July 19 Abu Hassan
July 20 Shafiq al-Hout
July 20 Marwan Dajani
July 20 Ghassan Kanafani (letter posted before
his assassination on July 8)
July 24 Dr. Azmi Awad and his wife (Red Cres-
cent doctor)
July 25 Bassam Abu Sharif
September 14 Mohammad Shaath, Los Angeles accoun-
tant.
October 4 Librairie Palestine, Paris.
Responsibility claimed by Massada(4)
Movement for Action and Defence.
October 8 PLO office, Beirut and guerilla office in
Shatila refugee camp
October 16 Wa'el Zuaiter
October 25 Abu Khalil (in Algiers)
October 25 Mustafa Awad Zeid (in Tripoli)
October 25 Two Libyan passers-by in street as Zeid
opened letter bomb.
October 26 Secretary and another employee of Im-
port-Export Bank in Beirut

bomb in car killed
bomb in car killed
letter bomb seriously injured
letter bomb hands and eyes injured
letter bomb discovered
letter bomb discovered
letter bomb discovered
letter bomb discovered
car bomb discovered
hook bomb seriously injured
bomb in home child injured
damaged by bomb
two bombs material damage
gunned down at his apart- killed
ment entrance in Rome
letter bomb seriously injured
letter bomb blinded and paralysed
injured
letter bomb injured, one seriously

October 26 Egyptian police officer who checked three suspected letters at Cairo Post Office

October 29 Farouq Qaddoumi

October 29 Hayil Abd al-Hamid (in Cairo)

November 1 Egyptian Embassy attaché in London

November 29 Omar Sufan, Red Crescent in Stockholm (who took precautions while opening the letter)

November 29 Adnan Hammad (in Germany)

November 29 Three employes in Tunis Post Office while sorting mail

November 30 Ahmad Awadallah (Copenhagen)

December 4 Izzedine Kallak (in France)
(In November the Jewish Defence League had sent GUPS a threatening letter like the one sent to Zuaiter before his assassination).

December 8 Mahmoud Hamshari (PLO representative Paris)

1973

January 25 Hussein Abu Khair, PLO representative in Cyprus)

March 31 Ziad Helou

April 6 Dr. Basel Kubaissy

April 10 On the 25th anniversary of Deir Yassin, the Israeli government despatched two assassination squads to Beirut to murder some Palestinians. The squads found three PLO leaders at home and machine-gunned

injured

parcel bomb, Cairo discovered

letter bomb discovered

letter bomb discovered

letter bomb lost fingers of hands

letter bomb seriously injured

parcel bomb injured

letter bomb seriously injured, lost one arm

letter bomb discovered

bomb in home electrically detonated lost a leg, died on January 8

bomb in hotel bedroom electrically detonated killed

bomb in car charge exploded prematurely

gunned down in Paris street killed

them in their sleep. They also machine-gunned the wife of one (but missed the children, who managed to shin down the fire escape) and killed an elderly Italian lady who was staying in the same apartment building. Another murder squad killed two Lebanese shop-keepers in their beds (apparently just for fun) and five Palestinian guerillas in a battle. The most(5) vicious touch came in the Israelis' treatment of the dead body of one of the leaders: because he was official spokesman, they pumped a magazine of cartridges into his mouth; because he was a Christian, they arranged his body in the form of a crucifixion.

April 10	Mohammad Yusif Najjar
April 10	Mrs. Yusif Najjar
April 10	Kamal Adwan
April 10	Kamal Nasser (PLO official spokesman)
May 2	Mrs. Nada Yashruti (Palestinian Women's League)

gunned down in his bed killed
gunned down in her bed killed
gunned down in his bed killed
gunned down in his apart- killed
ment
ambushed by 3 men with killed
machine-guns at entrance to
her apartment

- (1) Haaretz, 25 September, 1972. Weizmann is head of the Herut party in Israel.
- (2) 8.30 a.m., February 21, 1973
- (3) Unless otherwise stated, the crimes occurred in Beirut.
- (4) The Jewish Students Front
- (5) The second nastiest aspect was perhaps that of the New York Times, which after months of sanctimonious horror at Palestinian violence, called the Israeli State's foreign-policy-by-murder «brilliant», «imaginative» and «daring».

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THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF ISRAEL

●

The first crucial characteristic of Israeli society is that it is a society of immigrants. In 1968 the adult (15 years and over) Jewish population of Israel consisted of 1.7 million people of whom 24% were Israeli born and only 4% of Israeli parents. In such a society classes themselves, not to mention class consciousness, are still in a formative stage. This is because an immigrant has a mentality of «having turned a new page in life.»

●

With the change in geography, social environment and often occupation the immigrant tends to become oblivious of the social role and class. Seeing that all the advantageous positions in the new society are held by the earlier incumbents, his tendency is to climb the social ladder through sustained hard work. He finds his social role as transitional and considers his social position more in terms of his ethnic and geographical origins, rather than in class terms. Such a social consciousness is obviously a barrier hindering the working class from playing an independent role, let alone a revolutionary role aiming at a total transformation of society. No working class can play a revolutionary role in a society when the majority of its members desire to improve their situation individually within the existing social framework, by leaving the ranks of their class.

It would, therefore, be futile in the near future to expect an effective role from the Israeli working class or even to hope for a meaningful activity inside its class proceeding from the same assumptions and expectations that apply in a classic capitalist society.

The second important feature of Israeli society is that it was and is a colonialism; that its settlers came to Palestine, seized or bought land and decided to live there. This society including its working class was thus shaped through a process of colonization. This process which has been going on for

the last eighty years was not carried out in a vacuum, but in a country populated with other people, and at their cost.

This permanent conflict between the settlers' society and the indigenous displaced Palestinian Arabs has never stopped and has shaped the very structure of Israeli sociology, politics and economic. In a famous speech at the burial of a Kibbutz member killed by the Palestinian guerrillas in 1956, General Dayan declared:

«We are a settlers' generation and without the steel helmet we cannot plant a tree or build a house... It is our generation's destiny, over life's alternative, to be prepared and armed, strong and harsh. Let the sword drop from our fist and our life will cease(1)

And like all territorial colonialisms, Israeli one too is based on expansionism. In a TV interview given to Sidney Grusen of New York Times, Moshe Dayan answered the question : Is it possible that Israel should absorb the large number of Arabs whose territory it had gained control of, in the following words :

«Economically we can, but it is not in accord with our aims for the future. It would turn Israel into a bi-national or a poly-Jewish Arab state and we want to have a Jewish state. We can absorb them, but it wouldn't be in the same country ... We want a Jewish state like the French want a French state.»(2)

So Zionism is also territorial expansionism.

From this policy alone, the Palestinian Arabs who have been deprived of their lands, their livelihood and their country are entitled to wage a patriotic war against the Israeli regime, and by any analysis revolutionaries and radicals must support them, at least until they have gained their right of self-determination.

Marx dictum that «a people oppressing another cannot itself be free» is not merely a moral judgement. He meant that in a society whose rulers oppress another people, the exploited class which does not actively oppose this oppression inevitably becomes an accomplice in it. Even when this class does not directly gain anything from this oppression, it becomes susceptible to the illusion that it shares a common interest with its own rulers in perpetuating its oppression. Such a class tends to trail behind its own exploiters rather than challenge their rule.

The experience of fifty years does not contain a single example of Israeli workers being effectively mobilized on material or traditional issues to challenge the Israeli regime itself. On the contrary the Israeli workers nearly always put their national loyalties before their class loyalties. This may change in the future but for the present this is a reality, which cannot be ignored by the Palestinian revolutionaries in framing their strategy and tactics.

The third crucial factor of Israeli society is the ethnic character of the Israeli proletariat. The ma-

majority of the most exploited strata within the working class are immigrants for Asia and Africa.(3) At first sight it might appear as if repudiation of class divisions by ethnic divisions might sharpen internal class conflict within Israeli society. Yet this has not been so. Their discontent has not been directed against their conditions as proletarians, but against their condition as 'orientals'.

In mid-sixties, two-thirds of those doing unskilled work were orientals; 38% of the orientals lived three or more people to a room, whereas only 7% of those from Europe did so; and in the Knesset only 16 of the 120 members were orientals before 1965 and only 21 after it.(4)

However, lacking class consciousness, the oriental worker interprets their conditions in ethnic terms. «I am exploited and discriminated against because I am an oriental.» he says, «not because I am a worker.»

Moreover, in the present context of the Israeli society the oriental workers are a group whose equivalent would be the «poor whites» of the U.S: Such groups resent being identified with Arabs, blacks and natives, who are considered «inferior» by these settlers. Their response is to side with the most reactionary characteristic and racist elements in the establishment; most supporters of the semi-Fascist Herut Party are Jewish immigrants from Asia and Africa.

This fact should be remembered by those whose revolutionary strategy is based upon a future alliance of Arab Palestinians and the Oriental Jews, whether on the basis of their common exploited condition or on the basis of a cultural affinity they might supposedly have as a result of the Oriental Jews having come from Arab countries.

A unique characteristic of Israeli society is that it benefits from unique privileges. It enjoys an infuse of material resources from the outside of unparalleled quantity and quality. It has been calculated that in 1968, Israel received 10% of all aid given to the under-developed countries.(5)

«Israel is a unique case in the Middle East; it is financed by imperialism without being economically exploited by it,» says N. Halevi, an Israeli economist. According to Halevi, during the 17 years, 1949-65, Israel received \$6 billion more of imports of goods and services than she exported. For the 21 years 1948-67, the import surplus was in excess of 7-1/2 billion dollars. This means an excess of some \$2650 per person during 21 years for every person who lived in Israel (within the pre-June, 1967 borders) at the end of 1968. An in this supply from abroad only about 30% came to Israel under conditions which call for a return outflow of dividends, interest or capital. This is a circumstance without parallel elsewhere, which severely limits the significance of Israeli developments as an example to other developing countries.

Over 70% of this \$7-1/2 billion deficit was covered by net unilateral capital transfers. They consisted of donations raised by the United Jewish Appeal, reparations from German government and grants by US government. 30% came from long-term capital transfers—Israeli government bonds, loans by foreign governments, foreign capitalist investment, and world Jewry. In other words the growth of Israeli economy was based entirely on the inflow of capital from outside, mainly from the United States and Britain.

If imperialism finances Israel to this fantastic extent without exploiting it economically, what does it get in return. The question was answered by the editor of the daily paper Ha'aretz as far back as in 1951:

«Israel has been given a role not unlike that of a watchdog. One need not fear that it will exercise an aggressive policy towards the Arab states if it will contradict the interest of USA and Britain. But should the West prefer, for one reason or the other, to close its eyes, one can rely on Israel to punish severely those of neighbouring states whose lack of manners towards the West has exceeded the proper limits.»(7)

In the early fifties the anti-imperialist struggle intensified throughout the Arab world. Britain, already too weak to defend its old position, had to accept US dominance in this part of the world as in others.

These two imperialist powers tried to create

a military alliance of Middle Eastern countries to serve as a link in the chain of anti-Soviet alliances stretching from Scandinavia to Korea, and to strengthen Western domination in the Middle East. This policy encountered great difficulties because of the opposition of the Arab masses and the refusal of the Egyptian and Syrian governments to participate in the military pacts.

The Israeli government on the other hand was always too willing to participate in such schemes, not only because of the traditional links between Zionism and imperialism, but also (and more specifically) because of Israel's adherence to the status quo which made it a natural ally of imperialism—an ally who identified his own national interests—indeed his very existence—with the imperialist presence in the Middle East.

The entire Israeli economy is founded on the special political and military role which Zionism fulfils in the Middle East as a whole. If Israel is viewed in isolation from the rest of the Middle East, there is no explanation for the fact that 70% of the special inflow is not intended for economic gain and not subject to considerations of profitability. But the problem is immediately solved when Israel is considered as a component of the Middle East.

The fact that a considerable part of its money comes from donations raised by Zionists among Jews all over the world does not alter its being a subsidy by imperialism. What matters is rather

the fact that the U.S. treasury is willing to consider these funds, raised in U.S. for income tax exemptions. These donations depend on the goodwill of US treasury and it is only reasonable to assume that this goodwill will not continue were Israel to refuse the role of a watchdog of US interests in this area.

It is obviously in the interest of Israel to develop relations with Afro-Asian regimes, to forge economic ties with them and to strengthen pro-Israeli influence there. At the same time US imperialism often finds it more convenient to funnel its aid through the «third country» technique, rather than directly organise aid activity which has come under cloud recently in many parts of the world.

The activities of the Israeli trade union Histadrut through its so-called Afro-Asian Institute are worth noting. The Institute created in 1960 has become an important link in its international activity. Upto 1969, it «trained» over 2000 delegates from trade unions and co-operatives, from 85 Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. It organises seminars and workshops in various Asian and African countries, forges political and trade union links and indulges in subtle pro-Israeli propaganda. It was the former students of the institute, now occupying high positions in their respective countries that took initiative to organise these seminars. Some of the countries where these seminars were held are: Nigeria (twice), Dahomay, Togo, Ivory Coast,

Liberia, Singapore, South Korea (twice), Ceylon, India and Nepal. In 1970 alone, its programme of seminars and workshops extended to such countries as Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana, Zambia, Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea, etc.

George Meany, that outstanding collaborator of Nixon in his dirty war in Vietnam, and the President of the AFLCIO which finances the Afro-Asian Institutes called its institute «a national centre which has worked for the cause of democracy and liberty in the free world, particularly in Asia and Africa.» (8)

Israel also provides direct military and economic assistance to African States. This programme began in 1960 and includes both general assistance to neo-colonial governments and aid to forces on the southern periphery of the Arab world which strengthens further imperialist interests.

The latter category included the provision of military advisors to the Chad government's anti-guerrilla campaign (counterpart of US government's counter-insurgency programmes, in fact a part of it) and aid, both military and economic, to the guerrilla movement in Southern Sudan. Israel also helps through economic and technical assistance, the Ethiopian terror campaign against the Eritrean liberation movement. Even Tanzania has not been able to resist Israel's blandishment, where the latter has trained air force, navy and army personnel and has supplied arms and advice for the

establishment of para-military agricultural settlements modelled on pioneering settlements in Israel itself.

Israel thus acts as a neo-colonial agency for the imperialist aid and training programmes. This is the price that U.S. extract from the Zionists for providing the Israeli government with huge sums to bolster its fascist rule over Palestine and to act as a watchdog over imperialist interests in the Middle East. ■

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- (1) Moshe Dayan, *New York Times*. May 5, 1956.
 - (2) C.B.S. June 11, 1967 *Le Monde Supplement* July 22, 1967.
 - (3) The vast majority of those who immigrated before 1948 were of European origin. Later its trend was reversed. By 1966 only half of the Israeli population were Europeans.
 - (4) Prof. Halevi, *The Economic Development of Israel: 1948*.
 - (5) *Journal of Economic Literature*, Dec. 1965, p. 1177.
 - (6) Shoken in *Ha'artz* quoted by Machover, 'Zionist Establishment', 1967. p. 36.
 - (7) *ibid*, p. 37
 - (8) *New York Times*, *International Supplement*, 7 October 1970 .

THE U.S. , ISRAEL AND ETHIOPIA



Although the opening speech of Emperor Haile Selassie at the African summit conference last May (1973) supported the demand of the international community that Israel should withdraw from the occupied Arab territories, the attitudes taken by the Ethiopian delegation to the conference regarding the various items on the agenda gave further proof of the three way political-military linkage of the United States, Israel and Ethiopia and of Israel's «colonial master» role in that country. The linkage, which is designed to serve the interests of world imperialism in the African continent, is manifested in the existence of American military bases in Ethiopia as well as in Israel's efforts directed toward the economic exploitation of the country.



■ U.S. Military Bases

The chief American base in East Africa is Kagnev Station, which is situated in Eritrea, a country that shares with the Ethiopian masses the

oppressions of Ethiopia's reactionary regime. Of the importance of this base and the imperialist ties of the U.S.-Israel-Ethiopian linkage, Roberto Correa Wilson, writing in the February-1972 issue of **Tri-continental**, said:

... Kagnew Station in Eritrea is as important as Okinawa or Danang for the global policies and strategies of the United States.

... Progressives point out that Kagnew's electronic sensors cover the Arab nations and are planted deep in Soviet territory and in other socialist nations. More than 1500 American specialists work on the base.

... The Israeli police are training an anti-guerrilla contingent that operates mainly in Eritrea and are training the Emperor's secret service. The Federal Republic of Germany contributes to the replacement of Ethiopian military equipment with yearly payments of 1 million dollars.

... Aside from the 1 1/2 million dollars yearly rent for Kagnew, Ethiopia receives more than half of all American military aid to African nations. According to latest figures, the aid program has already spent 100 million dollars or more.

■ **Israel's Economic Exploitation of Ethiopia**

Israel's economic exploitation of Ethiopia has been investigated in an article entitled «Israel and Ethiopia», published in the Fall-1972 issue of «Resistance in the Middle East». The article said:

Through the years, Israel's economic ties with Ethiopia have steadily expanded, with the result



that, by now, Ethiopia is one of Africa's largest purchasers of Israeli goods.

As early as 1952, Israeli investors participated in establishing the INCODE meat packing plant in occupied Eritrea. In 1970, Israel's exports to Ethiopia totalled 4.3 million dollars, with electronic goods and textiles providing nearly half of this amount. Since 1966, Israeli exports to Ethiopia have doubled, reflecting Israel's increased development of its Red Sea trade route.

In return, Ethiopia's exports to Israel were 2 million dollars in 1970, consisting mainly of agricultural items. The **Israeli Economist** (Feb. March, 1972) described the situation as follows:

«Israel imports 250 million dollars worth of grains a year, mostly wheat. It would like Ethiopia to be able to supply 10 percent of that in a few years... the money saved on the price and the difference in freight costs make the experiments on grain strains worthwhile.»

As the **Israeli Economist** points out, «trade figures do not come anywhere near showing the whole picture.» Another aspect of Israeli penetration of Ethiopia is investment. Israel's standard practice, as in other African nations, has been to seek profitable «joint ventures,» in which Africans or their governments nominally retain a portion of ownership. For example, Abadir Cotton, a ranch covering more than 5000 acres, is backed by private capital from Israel and capital from the Ethiopian regime. A recently-signed contract will permit the Israeli firm Koor to manage the ranch for another five years.

Israel's business role in Ethiopia has developed in conjunction with long-established «technical assistance» schemes, sponsored by the Israeli Foreign Ministry. These programs, labelled «humanitarian» by Israel, presently include urban planning in Addis Ababa, efforts to increase the yield of Eritrean fisheries, and management of the Sciences Faculty at Haile Selassie University.

Moreover, the Ethiopian Geological Institute in the Ministry of Mines is entirely manned by Israelis. This team of visiting specialists has recently mapped 100,000 square kilometers in the Tigre region (**bordering Eritrea**) by use of aerial photographs. In this way, Israel is gaining first-hand knowledge of Ethiopia's potentially exploitable natural resources. Use of maps for counterinsurgency is also postulated.



political and economic measures against her «individually or collectively.»

A strong worded resolution passed at the summit's final working session, fell short, however, of meeting Arab demands that all members should sever, or at least temporarily suspend, diplomatic relations with Israel.

The resolution said Israel's attitude «might lead OAU member states to take at the African level, individually or collectively, political and economic measures against it.»

The resolution referred to «the danger emanating from the deterioration of the situation in the north-east of Africa as a result of the continued aggression perpetrated against the territory of Egypt and other Arab countries - a danger which threatens the security, territorial integrity and unity of our continent.»

It declared: «Israel not only persists in refusing to implement (U.N. and OAU) resolutions but also continues to practise a policy with a view to creating in the said territories a state of «fait accompli» aimed at serving its expansionist designs.»

The resolution deplored Israel's «systematic obstruction» of all peacemaking efforts, and her negative attitude to the mission of 10 African heads of state who attempted to find a solution to the crisis.

It also noted with satisfaction that the Arab Republic of Egypt has spared no effort to reach a just and durable solution of the problem.

■ Intransigence Of Israelis

The resolution said that it was the massive military, economic and other aid, as well as the political and moral support granted to Israel by certain powers which enabled it to pursue its aggression and encourage it to commit acts of terrorism, especially the tragic act of shooting down the Libyan civilian aircraft which resulted in the loss of innocent lives.

It said it was the intransigence of Israel and its systematic refusal to abide by the will of the international community, (which) constitutes a threat to the security of the continent.

The African leaders agreed, therefore, to strongly condemn the negative attitude of Israel, its acts of terrorism, and its obstruction of all efforts aimed at a just and equitable solution of the problem in accordance with the Security Council resolution 242 of Nov. 22, 1967.

They called again for Israel's unconditional withdrawal from all occupied «African and Arab territories» and declared that all changes effected by Israel in the occupied territories were null and void.

■ Palestinian Rights Supported

The heads of state pledged themselves «not to

recognize any changes leading to a fait accompli or likely to jeopardize the territorial integrity of the Israeli aggression. »

They also recognized that the respect of the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine is an essential element in any just and equitable solution, besides being an indispensable factor for the establishment of permanent peace in the region.

The Summit «draws the attention of Israel to the danger threatening the security and unity of the African continent as a result of its continued aggression and refusal to evacuate the territories of the state victims of that aggression, and declares that the attitude of Israel might lead OAU member states to take at the African level, individually or collectively, political and economic measures against it, in conformity with the principles contained in the OAU and U.N. charters.»

■ **Big Powers Urged Not To Encourage Israel**

The leaders called on the big powers giving Israel military, moral and political support to refrain from doing so, and designated the foreign ministers of Nigeria, Chad, Tanzania, Guinea and Algeria to be spokesmen of the OAU on the matter of the U.N. Security Council together with other African council members.

They entrusted Gen. Yakubu Gowon, the Nigerian leader who is the current OAU chairman, in the U.N. General Assembly.

The resolution was passed by acclamation, with Malawi abstaining. ■

WHAT ARE THEY CELEBRATING ?



May 1973 marked the 25th anniversary of the establishment of Israel. Zionists and their supporters celebrated the event with complete disregard of the great injustice which the creation of Israel has imposed on the Palestinian people. The occasion, however, evoked protests from various quarters in all parts of the world, not excluding anti-Zionist Jewish circles and Israeli progressives and liberals.



On May 11, the London Times carried a report reminding the world of the great injustice to which the Palestinian Arabs have been subjected. Among other things, the report said:

«Twenty-five years ago, on May 15th, 1948, the State of Israel was established in Palestine. While

the Zionists claim that they have established a modern and democratic state, the story which the Palestinians tell from experience is a tale of exile, of the loss of their homes and their land, the continued refusal of the foreign settlers to allow the indigenous Palestinians to return, of torture, of brutality, and the failure of the world to respond to this injustice.

«Mrs. Meir, the Israeli Prime Minister, has stated on a visit to Britain that the Palestinian people did not exist. She has told the Israeli Parliament that there is no question of their being allowed to return to their land.

«As the Israelis celebrate the creation of Israel twenty-five years ago, the Palestinians have nothing to commemorate. They exist in refugee camps and carry out a national struggle in the hope that one day they will return to their homeland.

«May 15th is known as Palestine Day--a day for the world to remember the injustice which Israel's creation has imposed on the Palestinian people. Against the background of this injustice, and misery, what is Israel actually celebrating?»

The statement issued by the «Organization of the Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America -- OSPAAL,» on the occasion of the elapse of 25 years since the creation of Israel, made special reference to the Israeli crime committed on April 10, 1973 in which three Palestinian leaders were foully murdered by Zionist terrorists in Beirut. The OSPAAL statement said:



«This criminal aggression which violates the most basic principles of international sovereignty, reveals the anti-Arab, expansionist policy of aggression pursued by Israel and Zionism for dozens of years as well as the genocidal Israeli-U.S. alliance. OSPAAL calls on all its member organizations and all the progressive forces and governments to condemn the criminal Israeli violations and aggressions and to give solidarity and support to the Palestinian freedom fighters and to the Arab people. The peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America stand determined to strengthen their struggle in the face of the new challenge posed by Zionism and world imperialism.»

On May 14 the «Indian Youth Congress» issued a message expressing «full solidarity with the people of Palestine in their just struggle for the liberating of their homeland Palestine, now under

the illegal Zionist occupation aided by the Imperialist powers.» The message added:

«The 15th of May, 1948, will be remembered as the darkest day in the history of the world on which the Imperialist powers succeeded in planting a Zionist state in Palestine, thus completely ignoring the promises given to the Palestinians by the mandatory power and the right of self-determination promised to them under article 22 of the Charter of the League of Nations».

On the same day «The All India Youth Federation» issued a statement which said:

«On May 15, the day of International Solidarity with the People of Palestine, all the fighters of Palestine pledge to intensify their struggle to achieve their cherished goal of the creation of a progressive Palestine, where all the legitimate citizens of that land, irrespective of their religion, will get democratic rights, justice and equality.

«The All India Youth Federation condemns the barbarous attacks of Israeli aggressors on Palestinian guerillas and demands the immediate withdrawal of Israeli aggressors from the occupied Arab lands. The All India Youth Federation also demands the release of Palestinian patriots who are arrested in Israel and the restoration of democratic rights to all the people of Zionist-occupied Palestine.»

But the most telling condemnation of Zionist

rule in Zionist-occupied Palestine has come from anti-Zionist Jews. An Israeli Jew **Dan Vered** has said:

«Israel has recently celebrated its 25th anniversary of Independence. But I ask: Independence for whom and liberation for whom? For more than one million Arabs in Israel and the territories, it has certainly been no holiday and no independence.»

A group of anti-Zionist Jews which included **Alan Adler, Mick Ashley, Elmer Berger** and **Urieh Davis** issued a statement on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the establishment of the Zionist state, in which they said:

«With the approach of the 25th anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel and the dispossession of the Palestinians, we, as Jews reject and condemn Zionist racialism, which has caused, among other violations of Human rights, the expulsion of the majority of the Palestinian people from their country. We also condemn the Zionist persecution of the Palestinians who remained in their homeland.»

★ ★ ★

Against the background of the universally-acknowledged injustice and misery imposed on the Palestinians, we ask with the writers of the London Times report, «What is Israel actually celebrating?» ■

A book review

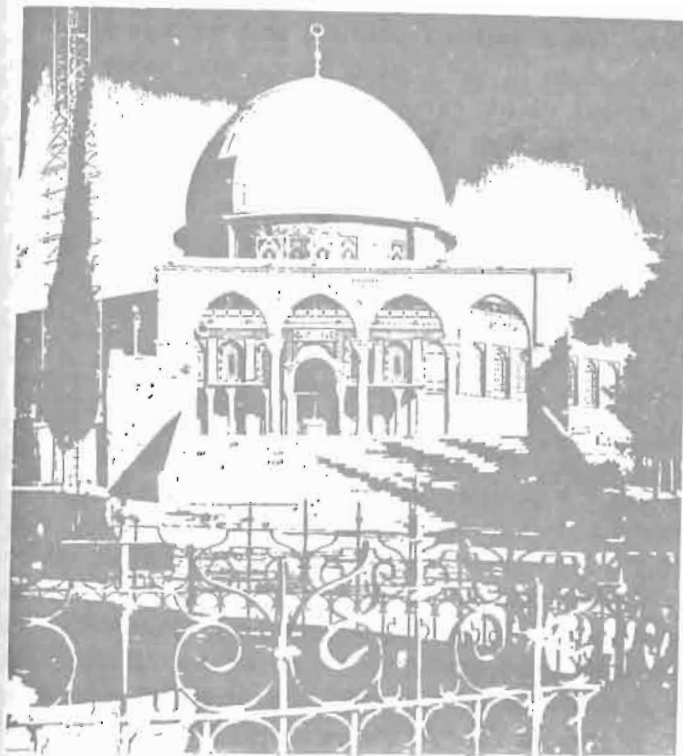
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The subject of the book reviewed below is the fall of Arab Jerusalem to the invading Israelis in June 1967. The reviewer is John K. Cooley, Middle East correspondent of *The Christian Science Monitor*.

■

■ **Abdullah Schleifer. *The Fall of Jerusalem*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972. 247 pp., \$7.50 hardcover; \$3.50, paperback.**

We are over six years distant from the Six Day War, but just as the war's consequences still trouble the world, so do the basic political, social and economic flaws that helped bring it on still rend the Middle East. The war's central and fundamental issues, the future of the Palestinians and the future



of Israel, remain unresolved. It is good at last to have an account of that war from a Western-trained writer and journalist, who sees this anguished episode of history not as a Western outsider, but as one who lived through it.

The author writes from a rather unique perspective. Schleifer was born in the United States of Jewish parents. In his youth he edited *Kulchur*,

an avant-garde literary and social quarterly, while Cuba, the Algerian revolution and the rise of black nationalism in the United States were some of the mileposts of his career as a journalist. In 1964 he returned to New York after living in Morocco and was converted to Islam at a Brooklyn mosque. His next destination was Jerusalem, where he watched the approach, the action and finally the aftermath of the third Arab-Israeli war in 1967. Since then he has been one of the foreign correspondents reporting and interpreting Middle East events from Beirut, for *Jeune Afrique* and as a free lance writer.

Anyone with this background would be bound to have a viewpoint of the Palestine struggle that is at least unusual for a Westerner of Jewish origin. Perhaps this viewpoint is one of the reasons why only a Marxist house would publish his book, which is well-researched and documented, as well as written with vision, style and grace. Publication of an early abridged Arabic version by *Al-Nahar* in Beirut led to the banning both of the book and of its author in Jordan. Perhaps this is not surprising, as he indicts the traditional Arab elites, especially the Jordanian, for leading an ill-prepared Arab world into a disastrous confrontation with Israel. This indictment is no less searching than his discussion of Zionism.

The book moves on several planes of symbolism in which Schleifer, interpreting Arab thought and ways as a committed radical, communicates to us the spiritual and moral catastrophe which over-

took the Arab world in 1967 as a catastrophe in which Jerusalem was the metaphysical as well as the geographical centre. A sense of reverence for Jerusalem itself is felt from the start. The City—as the simple title of Schleifer's first chapter reads—is an expression of universality as well as real estate: in a way, that larger polis which Constantinople was to all Greeks, and Alexandria was to the poet Cavafy and his admirer, Lawrence Durrell. At the same time, its traditional character reinforces its ancient identity as the focus of veneration for three religions. While acknowledging the passionate involvement of the Jews with Jerusalem, Schleifer finds that «amid the biblical familiarity of Arab ways» the «Western, the Zionist sense of «Return» is unbearably abstract.»

The course woven by different cultural and historical forces in the political struggle for Palestine occupies the author's attention throughout. Historically he follows the Zionist movement's various threads and tendencies through the maze of Zionist congresses in Europe, its drift into terrorism, and its transition, in the 1940's, from a British to an American alliance. What he sees as the «symbiotic relationship» between the Zionist movement and anti-Semitism is disclosed in the failure of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and his representative, Morris Ernst, in trying to find a way, against obdurate Zionist opposition, to absorb all displaced Jews into American and other Western societies.

In the final analysis, Zionism for Schleifer is

a movement of settler colonialism, akin to that of South Africa, and dependent upon Western aid and power for its survival; yet his account of its activities and links with the US is not a crude one. In a revisionist analysis of the history leading up to the June War, he rejects the Nasserist thesis, later corrected by Nasser himself, of direct US-Israeli «collusion» in preparation of the war and the surprise Israeli air strikes. But Schleifer does see a clear long-existing Israeli war plan for conquest of new territory and a «sometimes fumbling, sometimes intuitive mesh of two allied Establishments»—the US and the Israeli—«whose upper echelons engaged at least in continuous coordination, jockeying for their own state interests as they saw them, within an overall agreed-upon (and possibly even unspoken) context.» Schleifer believes that «perhaps only the most surface aspects of that coordination are as yet on record.» He suggests delving further into some «Pentagon Papers» on the Middle East prepared by such mandarins of US policy-making as Julius Holmes, McGeorge Bundy, and those who operate in that tough-minded California «think-tank,» the Rand Corporation.

On the other side, he is highly critical of the failure of Arab states to back their verbal support for the displaced Palestinian Arabs with deeds, attributing this in large measure to «an indifference and cynicism bred by the corruption of ruling elites, coupled with underdevelopment, susceptibility to Western pressure, and the difficulty of sustaining

«Arab nation» unity (given the bitter clashes of leading personalities and rival pan-Arab ideologies)...» Even in Jerusalem, just before the war, he recalls, «The atmosphere was magical. No one did anything but stand around, congratulate each other, and praise Gamal Abdul Nasser. Somehow this one man, by sheer weight of his audacity, was going to overwhelm the enemy in an amazing manner that could in no way affect the life-style or activities of the people most intimately involved in the struggle.» Schleifer found the Arab civilian population of the city disarmed, both **physically** and morally, against the backdrop of «a festival at Aqaba two weeks earlier at the height of the threats against Syria, and the king allowed by his advisers to spend the day at the resort reviewing water skiers and beauty queens.» Following the disaster, there are frank descriptions of varying types of reaction to occupation, personified by the collaborator, the one who adjusts to seek economic survival, and the rarer man or woman who chose resistance at the cost of a broken career, loss of a home or livelihood, or life itself.

A highlight of the book is the description of the war itself, preceded by a much needed summary of the process leading up to war which brings to light some often obscured considerations. The author points out how scholars and newsmen sympathetic to Israel have passed over the fact—borne out by his citation of the May 12, 1967 briefing of the Israeli military intelligence chief, General

Aharon Yaariv, in which Yaariv said he personally advocated a major military operation against Syria and by other, newer evidence—that some, at least, of the Israeli Establishment truly envisioned a strike against Syria. Therefore this was apparently one, as Theodore Draper and many of the fashionable historians seemed so sure, simply a «paper tiger» dreamed up by Soviet intelligence. There is also close attention to the still unclarified exchanges between Ralph Bunche, General Rikye, the UNEF commander, U Thant and the Egyptian government on the withdrawal of the UN forces from Gaza and Sinai in May 1967.

In the account of the battle for Jerusalem, there are no absolute heroes or total villains among Schleifer's Arab personae. However, the Mayor, Rouhi al-Khatib and such men as Bahjat Abu Garbiyeh, one of the resistance leaders, emerge looking much better than, say, Brigadier General Ata Ali, who commanded the pathetically meager and under-armed garrison of one brigade (despite his belief on June 5 that four more Jordanian brigades would soon appear to defend the city against the onslaught of the Israeli paratroops and armour), or the PLO leader, Ahmed Shuqairy. Schleifer singles out valiant actions by some of the Jordanian defenders which he says he saw, as well as less valiant ones by some of those in authority.

Schleifer witnessed instances of brutality and looting as well as of humane behaviour by the vic-

torious Israeli, who are not faceless actors in this book despite his view of the drama from the Arab side. Schleifer charges that the removal of some of the Dead Sea scrolls from the Palestine Archaeological Museum, especially the case of the so-called «Temple Scroll» taken by Israelis from the Bethlehem residence of Kando, the Arab antiquities dealer, were «simple theft according to international law.» He lucidly reports on the non-return of the 1967 West Bank refugees (only 14,027 out of 160,000 who applied returned) and the reasons for this. He passes on the accounts of the occupation by such concerned Israelis as the novelist Amos Kenan, and the beginnings of resistance in the West Bank, quickly snuffed out, and in Gaza, where it persists despite the growing affluence of over 60,000 Gaza and West Bank Arabs who daily commute to labouring jobs in Israel. We are told, too, how he was warned by a Jewish businessman from New York that he, Schleifer, would be expelled from Jerusalem by the Israelis if he tried «one more trick» like reporting, as he did, the Israeli destruction of the Bab al-Magharaba quarter to the American Consulate (which had in turn filed a report to Washington which considerably embarrassed Israel).

The book as a whole contains important original material on the rise of the resistance and the role of the pre-1968 Palestine Liberation Front and its relationship to the Arab Nationalists' Movement, the PLO, al-Fateh and Syria. ■

Documents



The Bologna Appeal and The EURABIA Committee Letter

During the past few months there has been a growing recognition in Europe and the world at large of the fact that Israel's expansionist ambitions and U.S. support for Israel's refusal to accept «the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war - in defiance of repeated U.N. resolutions» are the main obstacles to the achievement of peace in the Middle East.

This recognition is evident in the appeal by the International Conference for Peace and Justice in the Middle East which was held in Bologna (Italy) from May 11 to 13, 1973. It is also evident in the «Open Letter from Europe to President Nixon» published May 14, 1973 by the EURABIA committee. The letter, which was signed by thirty European leaders and intellectuals, calls upon President Nixon «to undo the deadlock and open the way to peace» by declaring his intention «to put an end to American discrimination in favour of Israel in the provision of financial and military aid.»

Below is the full texts of the «Appeal» and the «Letter».



(1)

■ **Text of the Appeal**

The International Conference for Peace and Justice in the Middle East was held in Bologna (Italy) from May 11 to 13, 1973.

It brought together the representatives of international and regional organizations and representative delegations from countries of Europe, Asia, America, Africa, and Arab countries and Israel, reflecting different viewpoints but united in the desire to find the means of ensuring a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

Since the June 1967 war, the situation in this region has continued to deteriorate. The Israeli government continues, after six years, to occupy Arab territories with its armed forces. It is going ahead with the colonization of these territories and redoubling its measures to effect demographic and territorial changes. It continues to defy the decisions adopted by the United Nations. It strives, as do the Arab reactionary forces, to destroy by all means the national existence of the Palestinian people and to weaken the national and social liberation movement of the Arab peoples.

In underwriting this policy, especially by providing financial and military support, the government of the United States bears a major responsibility for the present situation.

This situation threatens peace in the Middle East, in the Mediterranean and in the world.

This conference urgently appeals to the peoples of all countries forcefully to express their determination to achieve a political solution to the conflict in the Middle East through the complete implementation of the U.N resolutions of November 22, 1967, and November 4, 1970, which entail, first of all, withdrawal by the State of Israel of its armed forces from all the Arab territories occupied since June 1967 and recognition of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, and of their right to self-determination; together with the right of all the peoples and all the states of the Middle East to existence, independence, sovereignty and security.

The Conference also addresses this appeal to the parliaments and governments of all countries, in view of their responsibilities for the achievement of a just peace in the Middle East.

The world longs for a lasting peace, based on the principles of the United Nations and the right of the peoples to decide their own destiny.

(2)

■ **Text of the EURABIA Committee Letter**

14 May 1973

Dear Mr. President,

We are writing to you because you hold the key to peace in the Middle East. We believe you should use it—for the sake of us all in the world today. First and foremost, for the peoples of the Middle East — the Israelis, the Palestinians and the Arabs

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of Jordan, Egypt, Syria and Lebanon—who have been living under the curse of war for twenty five years. But also for Europe, Asia and the Third World. And not least for the people of your own country, Mr. President—so far removed from the Middle East conflict but now so dangerously vulnerable to its effects on their daily lives.

As time passes and the menacing deadlock in the Middle East persists, it becomes more and more clear that the main obstacle to peace is now the refusal of Israel's rulers to accept the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war—in defiance of the whole of the rest of the world and of repeated U.N. resolutions.

There can be no hope of lasting peace or even of any meaningful negotiation for peace so long as the expansionist ambitions of Israel's leaders are not curbed. Only the United States has the power to do that. Only you can bring home to Israel's rulers that it is more in their interest to make peace than to persist in retaining land which is not theirs and which was seized from their neighbours by force of arms.

We urge you, Mr. President, to use the power that lies in your hands. This is no agonising decision of the kind you had to take in Vietnam. All that it requires is that you should declare your intention to put an end to American discrimination in favour of Israel in the provision of financial and military aid.

No American lives are at stake. You will be

endangering no vital American interests—on the contrary, you will be protecting the real interests of the U.S. in the Middle East. The only disagreeable consequence will be that you will have to face violent protests from Israel and from Zionist pressure groups in the United States who put Israel's interests above those of their own country. Is this too high a price to pay for peace in the Middle East?

For too long America's standing and credibility in the world at large have suffered because of the subordination of American policy in the Middle East to Israeli interests. In plain terms, it is American support which enables the present leaders of Israel, in defiance of world opinion, to annex and encircle Arab Jerusalem, to plant Israeli settlements on land seized from the Arabs, to prolong the misery of the Palestinian refugees—and, by these acts, to make it certain that there will be further conflict in the Middle East.

Before long the pressure of self-interest will compel the United States to re-think its policy there. How much better it would be for you to make the change now on your own initiative and in the interests of justice, international morality and world peace—rather than to wait until you are forced grudgingly to do so by the pressure of events.

Let us make this clear: we are not urging the destruction or disappearance of Israel. Whatever one may feel about the way in which Israel came

into being and about the injustice then inflicted on the Palestinians Israel is today a fact. Egypt and Jordan have both publicly stated that they now accept the presence of Israel, provided it is an Israel confined behind secure and recognised boundaries. But what they do not accept is an expansionist Israel bent on retaining permanently Arab territory, including Arab Jerusalem, acquired by war in 1967.

Today is the twenty fifth anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel. If the expansionist ambitions of Israel's present rulers can be curbed, the people of Israel may reasonably look forward to a stable and secure future. But if those ambitions are not curbed and Israel continues to threaten and affront the growing power of the Arab World, who can say what the outcome will be or how many more anniversaries Israel will survive to celebrate? True friendship for Israel lies not in supporting Israel's leaders in their arrogant expansionism but in requiring from them conciliation and consideration for the rights of others.

We repeat: the key to peace is in your hands, Mr. President. Use it. Undo the deadlock and open the way to peace.

Yours sincerely,

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Senator and President of the Italo-Arab Chamber of Commerce; Rome.

Col. Sir Tufton Beamish, M.C., M.P.

House of Commons, London.

Sir Harold Beeley, K.C.M.G., C.B.E.

former British Ambassador to Egypt; London.

Professor Regis Blachère,

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The Rev. Professor John E. Chisholm Cssp.,

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