



PALESTINE


A STOLEN HERITAGE

ISMAIL ZAYID



 Territories of Palestine proposed under the U.N. partition plan for the establishment of a Jewish State.

 Territories of Palestine seized by Israel in 1948 and 1949 in excess of the U.N. partition plan.

 Territories seized by Israel in June 1967.



Published by
The Middle East Action Committee

© Copyright 1974

Price: \$1.00

Printed by

INTERNATIONAL GRAPHICS PRINTING SERVICE

6476 Sligo Mill Road, Takoma Park, Maryland 20012.

INTRODUCTION

One of the great ironies of this age of mass media is the unavailability of factual reports to the common man. Manipulation of the sources of information and the political orientation of those who control the media makes "truth" a rare commodity indeed. Only a serious researcher can know through subtle but incessant efforts made by interested quarters to place a curtain of falsehood between the people of the Middle East and the people of North America and Europe. This little booklet is presented in the sincere hope and desire to bridge the gap of mis-information between the people of the West, particularly Canada and the U.S., and the suffering multitudes of the Middle East, specifically Palestine. The author of this booklet has presented a fully documented report on the history of the Palestine problem. The facts published here cannot be challenged or ignored if one is interested in reality and does not wish to live in the fictitious world created by 26 years of unremitting propaganda. If this booklet creates greater understanding of the Palestinian cause and helps dispel some of the fog of misunderstanding between the people of America and the Mid-East, it will have served its purpose. The author, Dr. Ismail Zayid, who has taken great pains to achieve objectivity, is a Jordanian university professor who has worked in England and in Canada

K Siddique

PREFACE

News reporters speak of war between Arabs and Israelis, oil stoppages by the Arabs causing economic unrest in the world and a 'tiny Israel' surrounded by hordes of enemies refusing to recognise it or negotiate with it. These reports, however, present one side of the story only; the other side, which they suppress or of which they are themselves ignorant, is that this 'tiny Israel' is a country which came into being by putting an end to the existence of another country, Palestine. Israel is a country that has continued, since its creation, to develop and utilize its military power for territorial expansion at the expense of its neighbors, to flout all universally-accepted principles of international law and to defy and hold in contempt the United Nations, the very organization that created it. Its people, collected from different lands, forcibly displaced the indigenous people, the Palestinians, who have been dispersed into a dozen lands; its land is a land occupied, but not owned nor otherwise rightfully acquired, by its present occupants. This is, in brief, the Palestine 'problem.' Fifty six years ago there was no such 'problem;' there was only Palestine itself and its people forming an integral part of the Arab homeland. Today, in the land of Palestine, a new state has been created. The original inhabitants have been expelled, their country and

their lands have been usurped by an alien people. A great deal of falsification of history by the Zionists, through their control of much of the Western World's communications' media, continues to misinform public opinion and condone this injustice. How this has succeeded has been graphically described by William Zukerman in the *Jewish Newsletter*, December 7, 1958:

"To this observer, nothing demonstrates more sharply the terribly uncanny power of modern propaganda to control minds, swa/ emotions and brutalize people than the Zionist propaganda on the Arab refugees during the last decade. It literally succeeded in turning black into white, a big blatant lie into a truth, a grave social injustice into an act of justice glorified by thousands. It has turned clever people with more than average intelligence into starry-eyed fools, believing everything they are told; and has converted kindly and gentle men and women with a strong sense of mercy into callous fanatics, insensible to the suffering of any people except their own. In no other way can this writer explain the many paradoxes which the Arab refugee problem has created in Jewish life."

It is in an attempt to redress this imbalance that some of the basic facts about Palestine are being presented here.

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

The name of Palestine is derived from the Philistines who lived there since history began.

The present people of Palestine, the Palestinians, are the Arabised descendants of the Philistines, the Canaanites and other tribes who inhabited Palestine long before the Israelites first came to Palestine after their exodus from Egypt in the 12th century B.C. Professor Maxime Rodinson, of the Sorbonne in Paris and himself Jewish, stresses that "the Arab population of Palestine was native in all the senses of the word and their roots in Palestine can be traced back at least forty centuries." Thus the Palestinians' claim to their country is firmly based on long continued possession of the land, the only claim that entitles, by international law, any people to their country. Jewish claims to Palestine, based on long-extinct historical connections, would make complete chaos in our present world, if taken seriously.

Another, equally incredible, claim to Palestine, often used by Zionists, is that the Arabs have failed to develop the land to its best advantage and they are themselves capable of "making the desert bloom" and thus more entitled to it. If this criterion was to be allowed, we would be again back in the infamous Nazi "*Drang nach Osten*" era, entitling the super race to other people's land.

CONFLICTING PROMISES

During the First World War, Palestine like many other countries was part of the Muslim Caliphate based in Turkey. In 1915, Great Britain encouraged the Arabs to join with her against Turkey, promising them independence after the war. In 1916, however, Britain, in complete contradiction with her earlier agreements with the Arabs, made a secret agreement with France and Russia, known as the Sykes-Picot Agreement, by which the Allies would split between themselves the Arab countries and part of Turkey. In 1917, in an attempt to keep Communist Russia in the war on the side of the Allies, amongst other reasons, Britain, hoping to use the strong Jewish influence in the Bolshevik party, issued a letter written by Arthur Balfour, the then British Foreign Secretary and addressed to Lord Rothschild stating:

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people ... , it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." To refer to the Arabs who constituted, at the time, 92% of the population of Palestine as the non-Jewish communities is not merely preposterous but deliberately fraudulent.

This extraordinary and contradictory letter, later dignified by the title "Balfour Declaration," written by a British Foreign Secretary to an individual British Jew, was later to become the basis of the modern Jewish claim to Palestine. It is clear that this declaration has no shred of legality, under international law, and it is worth pointing out the following facts:

1. In 1917 the Jews constituted 8% of the 700,000 population of Palestine.²
2. When the Declaration was made, British troops had not yet set foot on Palestinian soil and Britain did not have any claim, by right or even conquest, to Palestine to be able to give it away to a third party.
3. The famous British historian, Professor Arnold Toynbee, described the British action in issuing this Declaration in these words: "We were taking it upon ourselves to give away something that was not ours to give. We were promising rights of some kind in the Palestinian Arabs' country to a third party..."³

Arthur Koestler, the well-known Jewish writer, summed up the Balfour Declaration as a document in which "one nation promised a second the country of a third..."⁴

PALESTINE UNDER BRITISH MANDATE

In 1922, Palestine was placed, by the League of Nations, under British Mandate. Despite its assurances to protect Arab rights in Palestine, Britain proceeded, having appointed British Zionist Jews to the top and key positions in the Administration governing Palestine, to enact laws assisting Jewish immigration to Palestine and acquisition of land by Jews. By 1935, subsequent to the rise of Hitler to power in Nazi Germany, the Jews had come to form nearly 30% of the population. The Arabs, dismayed that they were being slowly swamped in their own country by foreign immigrants, rose more than once in revolt against the immigration policy of the British Government. Finally an all-out rebellion broke out between 1936-1939. The British Government was forced to issue its 1939 "White Paper" limiting Jewish immigration into Palestine.

AFTER WORLD WAR TWO

Soon after 1945, the U.S.A. Government took over, from Britain, the role of guardian of the Zionist movement, which had been conducting a savage campaign of terror against their erstwhile protector, Britain. The Zionists took every action to prevent the settlement of the Jewish survivors of the Nazi horrors in America or elsewhere and, capitalising on the world's sympathy for the survivors, flooded Palestine with illegal immigrants. President Truman applied pressure on Britain which, feeling war-exhausted, handed back in 1947 her mandate over Palestine to the League of Nations' successor, the United Nations. The U.S. Government took the lead in sponsoring the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine, by partitioning the country. At the time the population of Palestine was

estimated about 2 million. The Jews constituted 34% of the population and owned less than 6% of the land area of Palestine.⁵ The devised Partition Scheme, before the U.N., remarkably allotted 56% of the land to a Jewish state, 42% to an Arab state and 1% including Jerusalem as an international sector.⁶ Not surprisingly, the Arabs refused, while the Jews accepted the scheme.

A two-thirds majority vote was required by the General Assembly to pass the resolution, but twice, when the vote was due, a postponement was called. It was obvious that the proponents (U.S.A. & U.S.S.R.) did not have the necessary votes. Frenzied lobbying and pressure by the U.S.A. was undertaken. The Liberian delegate, when approached to support the partition, replied that he considered the method of approach as "attempted intimidation."⁷ Later the Liberian and Philippines Governments changed their opposition to a vote of support for the scheme. Sumner Welles affirmed: "By direct order of the White House, every form of pressure, direct or indirect, was brought to bear by American officials upon those countries outside the Moslem World, that were known to be either uncertain or opposed to Partition."⁸

On 29th November, 1947, the partition resolution was passed by the General Assembly. James Forrestal, then U.S. Secretary of Defense, wrote: "The methods that had been used to bring coercion and duress on other nations in the General Assembly bordered closely on scandal."⁹

THE PALESTINIANS EVICTED

As from 29th November 1947, a state of tension had been created between Arabs and Jews in Palestine. The British Government announced its plans to withdraw from Palestine on 15th May 1948.

The State of Israel had been all but born and it now only remained for the Zionists to make sure that when it came into official being, on 15th May 1948, it should be as Chaim Weizmann, Israel's first President, promised in 1921 that "Palestine will be as Jewish as England is English."¹⁰ So they set to work on the unarmed defenceless Palestinian Arabs to "persuade" them to leave their homes. Jewish terrorist groups such as Irgun Zwei Leumi were brought in when other methods failed. On 9th April 1948, the Irgun Zwei Leumi led by Menachem Beigin, until recently an Israeli Cabinet Minister and at present leader of the Opposition in the Israeli Parliament, attacked the small Arab village of Deir Yassin near Jerusalem. An account of this barbaric massacre was given by Jacques de Reynier, the Chief Delegate of the International Red Cross, who was able to reach the village and witness the aftermath of the massacre: "Three hundred persons" he said, "were massacred ... without any military reason or provocation of any kind; old men, women, children, newly-born were savagely murdered with grenades and knives by Jewish troops of the Irgun, entirely under the control of their chiefs."¹¹

Dov Joseph, one time Governor of the Israel sector of Jerusalem and later Minister of Justice, called the Deir Yassin massacre a "deliberate and unprovoked attack."¹² Arnold Toynbee described it as comparable to crimes committed against the Jews by Nazis.¹³ But Menachem Beigin said "The massacre was not only justified, but there would not have been a state of Israel without the victory at Deir

Yassin."¹⁴ Unashamed of their deed and unaffected by world condemnation, the Zionist forces, using loud-speakers, roamed the streets of cities warning Arab inhabitants "The Jericho road is still open," they told Jerusalem Arabs. "Fly from Jerusalem before you are killed, like those in Deir Yassin."

The objective behind the Deir Yassin massacre was to terrify the Arab civilian population, and force them to flee to secure for the Zionists the land without the people. The plan succeeded and they fled in terror, to save their lives. Before May 15th, 1948, while the British Government was still responsible, the Jews had occupied many purely Arab cities like Jaffa and Acre and scores of villages-that were in the territory assigned by the U.N. Resolution for the Arab State-and evicted more than 300,000 inhabitants from their homes.¹⁵ In an attempt to stem this tide, the neighbouring Arab states sent their armies on 15th May 1948 into Palestine. On 15th July 1948 the U.N. imposed a final truce between Israel and the Arabs, by which time Israel had occupied an even larger part of the territory allotted to the Arab State in Palestine. Despite the truce and in defiance of U.N. orders and in violation of the final Armistice Agreement between Israel and Egypt on 24th February 1949, the Israelis, utilising their military superiority, attacked the Egyptian army and occupied still more territory. This included, for interest, the Arab village of Um Rashrash, where the port of Eilat on the Gulf of Akaba was later built, which was occupied on 10th March 1949.¹⁶ Yet, years later, the 'right' of free passage to it was to be demanded not only by Israel but, amazingly, by the unknowing misinformed world public opinion.

By 1949, Israel had occupied 78% of the land of Palestine and evicted or caused to flee more than 750,000 Palestinian refugees. It is the plight of the Palestinian refugees, who now number 1.5 millions, and the fate of the Palestinians, who now number 2.5 millions, as a people, which have remained the most pressing problems.

The Swedish U.N. Mediator in Palestine, Count Bernadotte, in his report submitted to the General Assembly on 16th September 1948, stated:

"It is, however, undeniable that no settlement can be just and complete if recognition is not accorded to the right of the Arab refugee to return to the home from which he has been dislodged by the hazards and strategy of the armed conflict between Arabs and Jews in Palestine ... It would be an offence against the principle of elemental justice if these innocent victims of the conflict were denied the right to return to their homes, while Jewish immigrants flow into Palestine and indeed offer the threat of permanent replacement of the Arab refugees who have been rooted in the land for centuries."¹⁷

This statement cost Count Bernadotte dearly. On the next day he and his French assistant were assassinated in the Israeli sector of Jerusalem by Jewish terrorists.

On 11th December 1948 the General Assembly discussed Bernadotte's report and resolved: "that refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date."¹⁸ This resolution has been annually re-affirmed by the U.N. ever since, but Israel continues to defy the U.N. and prevent the return of the refugees to

their homes.

It is of interest to note here that Zionist propagandists initiated, in an attempt to shirk their responsibility towards the refugees, a campaign stating that the refugees left their homes of their own free will, obeying orders broadcast to them by their Arab leaders. Erskine Childers, an Irish Journalist and author, devoted months to look into this claim and found it baseless. He examined the American and British monitoring records of all Middle East broadcasts throughout 1948 and reported: "There was not a single order or appeal or suggestion about evacuation from any Arab radio inside or outside Palestine in 1948. There is repeated monitored record of Arab appeals, even flat orders, to the civilians of Palestine to stay put."¹⁹

An appropriate comment on this lie, which was being repeated by the American Zionist Rabbi Kaplan, is that made by Nathan Chofshi, a Jewish writer who emigrated in 1908 from Russia to Palestine. He stated:

"If Rabbi Kaplan really wanted to know what happened, we old settlers in Palestine who witnessed the flight could tell him how and in what manner we, Jews, forced the Arabs to leave their cities and villages ... Here was a people who lived on its own land for 1300 years. We came and turned the native Arabs into tragic refugees. And we still dare to slander and malign them, to besmirch their name. Instead of being ashamed of what we did and of trying to undo some of the evil we committed by helping these unfortunate refugees, we justify our terrible acts and even attempt to glorify them."²⁰

CONTINUING AGGRESSION

The State of Israel owes its existence to a resolution of the U.N. General Assembly. Ironically, however, it has, since its creation, continued to hold in contempt and defy the resolutions and will of this world body.

All U.N. efforts and resolutions to settle the Palestinian conflict faltered because of Israel's defiant determination not to withdraw to the frontiers assigned to it by the 1947 U.N. partition resolution or to allow the refugees to return home. Israel's policy was, from the outset, to impose itself by force and to cow the neighbouring Arab States by brutal raids and reprisals, killing hundreds of civilians in retaliation for individual infiltrators who crossed the new military border-that separated the Arab villagers from their fields and orchards - to pick the fruit of the trees they themselves planted and to see their homes. These villagers initially went across unarmed, but later, after being attacked, carried personal arms and used them.

While not a single Arab State once attacked Israel or was condemned for any aggression against Israel, in violation of the 1949 Armistice Agreement, Israel was condemned, by the General Assembly and Security Council, for more than 40 aggressions against the Arab States. Outstanding among those aggressions was the Israeli invasion in October 1956 of the Gaza Strip and the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula. This attack was perpetrated in collusion with France and Britain who wanted to occupy the Suez Canal, recently nationalised by the Egyptian Government.

THE ARABS UNDER ISRAELI RULE

Not only did the Israelis refuse to allow the return of the refugees to their homes, but they consummated the tragedy by seizing all their property in one of the greatest acts of plunder in modern history. The confiscation of Arab land was not confined to the holdings of the refugees but extended to the 200,000 Palestinians, who remained in their homes in 1948, by a series of extraordinary laws and regulations of legalised robbery. These included "Land Acquisition Law," the "Abandoned Areas Ordinance, 1949," the "Absentee Property Regulations, 1948" and others.²¹ The injustices, to which the Arabs in Israel were subjected, went far beyond the expropriation of their farms and property, and included flagrant infringement upon their basic human rights and civil liberties. Derek Tozer, a British correspondent, writing in *The American Mercury*, stated: "The official policy of the Government (of Israel) is unequivocal. Arabs, like the Jews in Nazi Germany, are officially 'Class B' citizens, a fact which is recorded on their identity cards."²² William Zukerman, Editor of the *Jewish Newsletter*, said "a more flagrant case of discrimination is hard to find even in the annals of the chauvinistic twentieth century."²³

The height of this inhumanity is clearly portrayed in the massacre of Kafr Qassim, an Arab village in Israel. On 29th October 1956, 52 villagers, men, women and children, were shot individually at point blank range on returning at the end of the day to the village from their fields, with their cattle or on bicycles and trucks. Their 'crime' was that a curfew was imposed on their village an hour earlier, and was never communicated to them. At the time of shooting the murderous police officers fully knew this fact.²⁴ This was then only the latest in a continuous series of Israeli massacres of Arabs, acts of brutality, inhumane eviction and plunder that Arnold Toynbee had in mind when he stated in his great work on history of the world:

"In A.D. 1948, the Jews knew from personal experience, what they were doing; and it was their supreme tragedy that the lesson learned by them from their encounter with the Nazi gentiles should have been not to eschew but to imitate some of the evil deeds that the Nazis had committed against the Jews."²⁵

THE 1967 WAR

The preparations for territorial expansion, that Israeli leaders had been promising their people, were finally complete. The pretexts for invasion had to be created.

On 7th April 1967 an armoured Israeli tractor, backed by regular Israeli forces started cultivating Arab land in the Syrian-Israeli Demilitarised Zone. Syrian small-arm fire, from the Golan Heights, was immediately answered by a massive Israeli military action using artillery, tanks and aircraft. Several Syrian villages were bombed. It is relevant to note here, that repeated Israeli encroachments on the Syrian-Israeli Demilitarised Zone had been taking place in violation of the Armistice Agreement of 1949 and in defiance of the orders of the U.N. Truce Supervision Organisation [UNTSO] and the Security Council. Israeli propaganda had skilfully manipulated world public opinion creating the story of unprovoked Syrian gun attacks against Israeli farmers cultivating 'their' land and used it as a *casus belli*. The land is not theirs and they had evicted the rightful owners and cultivated the land in violation of the 1949 Armistice Agreement. General Von Horn, Chief of the U.N. Truce Supervision Organisation, commented on this: "It was unlikely that the

Syrian guns, located on the plateau overlooking the Demilitarised Zone would ever have come into action had it not been for Israeli provocations."²⁶

On 10th May 1967, General Rabin the Israeli Chief of Staff said that Israeli forces might "attack Damascus and change its Government."²⁷ Israel's Prime Minister made similar threats in their Parliament. These threats were followed by Israeli troop movements. Syria called for aid from Egypt with whom she had a mutual defense pact treaty. Egypt, in an attempt to dissuade the Israelis from attacking Syria, moved its troops into Sinai and requested the withdrawal of the U.N. Emergency Force from the border, as she was entitled to do; Israel had refused in 1956 to allow the U.N. troops to be on its side of the frontier. Egypt, on 22nd May 1967, closed the Straits of Tiran to Israeli Shipping and to strategic war materials. President Nasser of Egypt repeatedly declared that Egypt would not attack, though it would resist aggression against her or any Arab country. This closure was unhappily the pretext Israel wanted to attack Egypt, while persuading much of the misinformed Western public opinion that this interference with the freedom of navigation to her port of Eilat was an act of war. No one in the West seemed to remember that Egypt was exercising her right of sovereignty over her territorial waters and was willing to accept the decision of the International Court of Justice, at the Hague, on this issue. They remembered even less that the very port of Eilat, for which freedom of navigation is demanded as of right, was in itself illegally occupied by Israel, in violation of the 1949 Armistice Agreement.

While efforts were being actively made by the Security Council and the Great Powers to solve the dispute by peaceful means, as required by the U.N. Charter, Israel was alarmed that the pretext it so carefully prepared was slipping slowly away from her hands. A day after firm assurances, by U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. to Egypt that Israel in turn will not attack, Israel on 5th June 1967 struck massively in a surprise attack destroying Egyptian and Syrian air forces on the ground. This lightning attack was followed by occupation of the Gaza Strip, the Sinai Peninsula, the West Bank of Jordan and the Syrian Golan Heights.

MORE REFUGEES

As in 1948, the war resulted in the displacement of more Palestinians. 350,000 people were forced out by terror, expelled or left from fear. The Security Council and the General Assembly called on Israel on 14th June 1967 and 14th July 1967 to facilitate the return of these refugees. Israel pretended to comply, allowing 14,000 to return-while during the same period evicting 17,000 others-then would not accept any more.²⁸

THE AFTERMATH OF THE 1967 WAR

Contrary to Israel's expectations, her massive victory did not whisk the Palestinians out of existence, nor enable her to impose her *diktat* upon the Arabs.

The Palestinians, having waited for 20 years in their miserable refugee camps hoping to move world conscience and trusting in the U.N. to allow them to return to their homes and restore their legitimate rights in their homeland, found it all in vain. The U.N. passed resolutions but did not enforce them, when they conflicted with the wishes of Israel and her guardian the U.S. world public opinion was deaf to the Palestinian cries while it was all ears to Zionist propaganda and demands to import 3,000,000 Russian Jews.

The Palestinians, finding all their country under Israeli occupation and its entire people either expelled or under alien rule, lost faith in the world community and came to realise that, even in this era of so-called civilisation, International Law and U.N. Charter, might is right and what is lost by force can be regained only by force. They intensified, therefore, their resistance by guerilla attacks against Israeli military personnel and objectives. The Israelis retaliated by ruthless bombardment using: Phantom jets and napalm against the defenceless men, women and children in their refugee camps in Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. The Palestinian resistance was vilified by Zionist propaganda and their captured members were savagely tortured in Israeli hands. The International Red Cross has at no time been given full access to these prisoners. In desperation, some Palestinian groups resorted-in retaliation for this savage torture and the massacres committed in the refugee camps-to acts of violence against civilians including hijacking of aircraft which culminated in the Munich tragedy in which the role of the Israeli and German Governments was less than innocent. Unpardonable as these acts in themselves are, it behooves all to remember the state of desperation the Palestinians reached and what caused it.

ISRAELI EXPANSIONIST AIMS

Present day occupation of Palestinian, Egyptian and Syrian territory by Israel can be better understood with the background of Zionist territorial aims explicit in the declarations of the movement's leaders right from its inception. Theodor Herzl, the father of Zionism, in his book "*Der Judenstat*" (The Jewish State) drew the frontiers of the proposed state: "The northern frontier is to be the mountains facing Cappadocia (in Turkey); the southern, the Suez Canal."²⁹

In 1919 the Zionist delegation to the Paris Peace Conference submitted a plan for the Zionist state which included Palestine in its entirety, Jordan, the Syrian Golan Heights, Southern Lebanon and parts of Sinai.³⁰

On 3rd May 1943, General Patrick Hurley, personal representative of President Roosevelt in the Middle East, reported to the President:

"The Zionist organisation in Palestine has indicated its commitment to an enlarged program for:

1. A Sovereign Jewish State which would embrace Palestine and probably eventually Trans-Jordan.
2. An eventual transfer of the Arab population from Palestine to Iraq.
3. Jewish leadership for the whole Middle East in the fields of economic development and control."³¹

On 14th May 1948 when Ben Gurion announced the creation of the State of Israel, he refused to declare its boundaries and said later in 1952 that the state "has been resurrected in the western part of the land of Israel," and continued: "It must now be said that it has been established in only a portion of the land of Israel."³²

Moshe Dayan as Chief of Staff of the Israeli army said on the Israeli radio on 12th February 1952, "It lies upon the Israeli army to carry out the fight with the ultimate object of erecting the Israeli empire."³³

These are only a few of the declared objectives of Israel's leaders, the same leaders who to the outside world present themselves as doves of peace and examples of injured innocence.

ISRAELI EXPANSIONISM REVEALED

During, or immediately before, the 1967 war, Israeli leaders continued to declare that they have no territorial expansionist aims. Levi Eshkol, the Prime Minister, amongst others, declared on 5th June 1967 that Israel has no territorial ambitions and said, "We do not demand anything except to live in tranquility in our present territory."³⁴ These protestations soon vanished and on 9th June 1967, the same Eshkol declared: "A new political reality in the Mid-East has been created," and a month later he told the correspondent of *Der Spiegel* that "Israel intends to keep the former Jordan part of Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip."³⁵ The list of Arab territories scheduled for retention soon lengthened and included the entire West Bank of Jordan, the Syrian Golan Heights and much of Egyptian Sinai.

On 22nd November 1967, the Security Council unanimously passed its now well-known Resolution No. 242 calling on Israel to withdraw from the territories it occupied in June 1967 and declaring the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory by force. The Security Council, amongst others, had obviously forgotten other territories Israel occupied by force in 1948. Despite that, Israel remains in arrogant defiance of the will of the Nations of the world, in occupation of these territories and refuses to cooperate with the U.N. representative, Dr. Gunnar Jarring, who was appointed as an intermediary to enforce this resolution. This defiance would not have been possible without the massive U.S. supply of arms to Israel, including Phantom Jets and the unconditional political support by the U.S. which is tantamount to an encouragement to continue this occupation, in contravention of U.S. duties and responsibilities, as a great power and permanent member of the Security Council, to enforce the Charter of the United Nations.

This state of affairs has continued since 1967 and the Arab Governments and their people waited for six years for the world body to exert itself and enforce its resolutions, but to no avail. Every effort, to secure peace, was shattered by Israeli intransigence and by-now undisguised expansionist aims with the U.S.A.'s unflinching support. This support was finally capped by the U.S. veto of an otherwise unanimous Security Council resolution in June 1973 calling on Israel to withdraw from occupied Arab territory. During the debate, the Egyptian Foreign Minister asked the council what message was he to take back to his people who have waited for six years to regain their land. After the U.S. veto, he stated that the only message he was able to take to his people was that they will either have to forgo their territory or liberate it by force of arms. In October 1973 the inevitable war came. It is the highest form of hypocrisy and dishonesty to describe Egyptian and Syrian attempts, at liberating their own land, as aggression. This would be equivalent to describing the Allies Normandy invasion in 1944 as aggression against Germany.

ANTISEMITISM

For hundreds of years, the Jews have suffered various forms of persecution, dispossession and discrimination at the hands of many European nations. This culminated in the horrific crimes committed by the Nazis in Germany during the Hitler regime. Yet, throughout history, the Jews led in all parts of the Muslim world a prosperous life, entirely unmolested, In Spain, Egypt and elsewhere during the days of the Muslim Empire, Jewish culture was at its happiest and contributed to the Muslim civilisation, in Medicine, Science and Literature. It is ironic, however, that it should be the Arabs, completely innocent of Jewish

persecution, who have to pay the price of crimes committed by the nations of Europe. These nations now sit in the Judge's seat preaching about antisemitism to the Arabs-Semites themselves-and demanding of them acquiescence to dispossession and persecution by Jews.

Abhorrent as antisemitism is, the most ruthless exploitation of it has been made by Zionists to achieve their aims. An example of this is revealed in an editorial article in *Davar*, the official newspaper of the governing Israeli Labour Party (Mapai). The editor, Sharun, wrote: "I shall not be ashamed to confess that if I had the power, as I have the will, I would select a score of efficient young men-intelligent, decent, devoted to our ideal and burning with desire to help redeem Jews-and I would send them to the countries where Jews are absorbed in sinful self-satisfaction. The task of these young men would be to disguise themselves as non. Jews, and, acting upon the brutal Zionism, plague these Jews with anti-semitic slogans, such as 'Bloody Jew,' 'Jews go to Palestine,' and similar 'intimacies.' I can vouch that the results, in terms of a considerable immigration to Israel from these countries, would be ten thousand times larger than the results brought by thousands of emissaries who have been, for decades, preaching to deaf ears."³⁶

Another effective method of exploitation of the world's repugnance to antisemitism, is its utilisation, by Israelis and Zionists; to silence any criticism of Israeli policies by well-informed writers and politicians who will inevitably find the offensive charge of antisemitism thrown at them. Many distinguished and honorable men like Arnold Toynbee and even Jews like Rabbi Elmer Berger have been called 'anti-semites' by Zionists, but were able, with moral courage, to withstand this offensive charge by which many lesser mortals were cowed.

An equally abominable form of anti-semitism is Israel's treatment of her Arab citizens which led Norman Thomas to declare: "Israel's treatment of Oriental Jews is only a shade better than that of her Arab citizens."³⁷ Alfred Lilienthal, a Jew himself, described how the Oriental Jews, who constitute more than 50% of the population, were looked down upon as an inferior group by the dominant Western and Eastern European Jews, and were forced to do the lowest kind of labor and called "black." Isaac Joseph, speaking for a group of Indian Jews in Israel, said "In India there is no discrimination. In Israel, we are Easterners and apparently inferior."³⁸

WHAT NOW?

Since the creation of the State of Israel in Palestine, 25 years ago, the Middle East has been a cauldron of simmering conflict interrupted by full-scale wars that threaten the peace of the world. For this reason alone, not to mention principles of right and justice, it is incumbent upon every state and individual to exert the limit of their influence to secure a lasting and just settlement of this conflict. This requires the restoration, to the Arab States, of their territory and to the Palestinian people their legitimate and national rights in their country. It is Israel's denial of these rights that form the fundamental cause of this whole conflict. Bertrand Russell, in his last words before he died, spoke of these rights in his message to the International Conference of Parliamentarians held in February 1970:

"The tragedy of the people of Palestine is that their country was 'given' by a foreign power to another people for the creation of a new state. The result was that many hundreds of thousands of innocent people were made permanently homeless. With every new conflict their numbers increased. How much longer is the world willing to endure this spectacle

of wanton cruelty? It is abundantly clear that the refugees have every right to the homeland from which they were driven, and the denial of this right is at the heart of the continuing conflict. No people anywhere in the world would accept being expelled *en masse* from their own country; how can anyone require the people of Palestine to accept a punishment which nobody else would tolerate? A permanent just settlement of the refugees in their homeland is an essential ingredient of any genuine settlement in the Middle East."³⁹

Here lies the crux of the matter, the *national* rights of the Palestinians in *their* country. It is for these rights that the Palestinians have paid the heavy price in blood and tears during their long struggle, since 1917. Without the restoration of these usurped just rights, it is certain that the struggle will continue and there will be no peace without justice in the Middle East.

REFERENCES

- 1 Rodinson, Maxime, *Israel and the Arabs*, (Penguin Books, 1968), p. 216.
- 2 Government of Palestine, *Survey of Palestine*, Vol. 1, p. 144.
- 3 Toynbee, Arnold, *International Affairs*, Vol. 40; 639, 1964.
- 4 Koestler, Arthur, *Promise and Fulfilment*, 1949, p.4.
- 5 Calculated from the *Village Statistics 1945*, Published by the Palestine Government.
- 6 U.N. Document A/364, Add/I, Vol.1.
- 7 Lilienthal, Alfred, *What Price Israel?* 1953, p. 64. 8 Welles, Sumner, *We Need Not Fail*, 1948, p. 63.
- 9 Millis, Walter, *The Forrestal Diaries*, 1951, p. 363. 10 Taylor, Alan, *Prelude to Israel*, New York 1959, p. 23.
- 11 de Reynier, Jacques, *A Jerusalem un Drapeau Flottait Sur la Ligne de Feu*, Switzerland, 1950.
- 12 Joseph, Dov, *The Faithful City: Siege of Jerusalem*, 1948, New York 1960, p. 71.
- 13 Toynbee, Arnold, *A Study of History*, London 1953, Vol. VIII, p.290.
- 14 Beigin, Menachem, *The Revolt, Story of the Irgun*, New York 1951 p.162.
- 15 Hadawi, Sami, *Bitter Harvest*, New York, 1967, p. 108.
- 16 Hadawi, Sami, *op.cit* p. 150.
- 17 U.N. Document A/648, p. 17.
- 18 U.N. Resolution 194 (III), December 11, 1948.
- 19 Childers, Erskine, *The Spectator*, London, 12 May 1961. 20 *Jewish Newsletter*, 9 February 1959.
- 21 Peretz, Don, *Israel and the Palestine Arabs*, Washington 1958, pp. 95-96, 152, 172.

- 22 *American Mercury Magazine*, August 1957.
- 23 *Jewish Newsletter*, June 1959.
- 24 Hadawi, Sami, *op. cit.* pp.205-211.
- 25 Toynbee, Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 280.
- 26 Von Horn, General Carl, *Soldiering For Peace*, London, 1966, p. 117.
- 27 Cattan, Henry, *Palestine, The Arabs & Israel*, London, 1969, p. 98
- 28 Cattan, Henry, *op. cit.* p. 114.
- 29 Herzl, Theodor, *Der Judenstaat*, 1896.
- 30 Halpern, Ben, *The Jewish State*, Boston, 1961, pp. 303-304.
- 31 United States, Foreign Relations of the U.S.: Near East and Africa, Washington, D.C. 1964, vol. IV, pp. 776-777.
- 32 *Israeli Government Yearbook* 1951-1952, p. 64.
- 33 Israel Radio broadcast, 12th February 1952
- 34 Israel Radio broadcast, from Jerusalem, 5th June 1967.
- 35 From an interview with *Der Spiegel*. Reported in *Jerusalem Post*, 10 July 1967.
- 36 Lilienthal, Alfred, *What Price Israel?* 1953, p. 207.
- 37 Thomas, Norman, *Jewish Newsletter*, September 18, 1961.
- 38 Lilienthal, Alfred, *The Other Side of the Coin*, 1965, p. 223.
- 39 *The New York Times*, 23 February 1970.

“What we have done is to make the world and the Palestinian himself realize that he is no longer just U.N. refugee number so-and-so, but a member of a people who hold the reins of their own destiny and are in a position to decide their future.”

— Abu Ammar (Yasir Arafat, Chairman, Palestine Liberation Organisation)

Appendices

UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS AND ISRAEL

Amongst many others, the principal UN Resolutions (including Security Council Resolution 242) which stand defied and unimplemented by Israel are:

- (1) No. 181 (II) of 29 November 1947 (on Partition)-defining the territory of the 'Jewish State' and providing guarantees for the rights of its Arab inhabitants.
- (2) No. 194 (III) of 11 December 1948 (on refugees) providing for the exercise of the right of Palestinian refugees to make a free choice between return to their homes and compensation. This resolution has been re-affirmed every successive year.
- (3) No. 394 (V) of 14 December 1950 (on rights, property and interests of the refugees) directing the Conciliation Commission on measures for "the protection of the rights, property and interests of the refugees" pending final settlement.
- (4) No. 273 (III) of 11 May 1949 (on admission of Israel to U.N. membership)- The U.N. "decided to admit Israel into membership of the United Nations", "after it had taken note of the declarations and explanations made by the representative of the Government of Israel before the *ad hoc* Political Committee in respect of implementation of its resolutions of 29 November 1947 and 11 December 1948" (on return of the refugees).
- (5) No. 242, of 22 November 1967, by Security Council emphasising the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and demanding withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict.
- (6) General Assembly Resolution 2253 (ES-V) of 4th July 1967 calling on Israel to cancel the measures taken by her to change the status of the city of Jerusalem by annexation. (7) General Assembly Resolution 2254 (ES-V) of 14 July 1967 (on Jerusalem), re-affirming demands in Resolution 2253.
- (8) Security Council Resolution S/Res./252 on 21 May 1968 (on Status of Jerusalem) demanding cancellation of annexation measures.

Appendices

PALESTINIAN POPULATION TRENDS AND DISTRIBUTION AT THE TIME OF IMPOSITION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN PARTITIONED PALESTINE ^{1 & 2}

(U.N. PARTITION SCHEME, 1947)

	ARABS	JEWS	TOTAL
JEWISH STATE	509,780	499,020	1,008,800
ARAB STATE	725,000	10,000	735,000
INTERNATIONAL JERUSALEM ZONE	105,000	100,000	205,000
GRAND TOTAL	1,339,780	609,020	1,938,800

¹U.N. General Assembly Resolution 181, 29 November 1947.

²"The Partition of Palestine", Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut, 1967, P. 31-32.

POPULATION OF PALESTINE

YEAR	TOTAL INHABITANTS	ARABS		JEWS	OTHERS
		MUSLIMS	CHRISTIANS		
1918	700,000	574,000 (82%)	70,000 (10%)	56,000 (8%)	
1922	757,182	590,000 (89%)	73,014 (10%)	83,794 (11%)	9,474 ¹
1931	1,035,821	759,712 (83%)	91,398 (12%)	174,610 (17%)	10,101 ²
1946	1,972,000	1,203,780 (69%)	145,060 (12%)	608,230 (31%)	15,490 ³

¹ Government of Palestine (British Mandate Government) Statistical Abstracts of Palestine, 1941, P. 12.

² Government of Palestine, (British Mandate Government) Statistical Abstracts of Palestine, 1941, P. 12.

³ Appendix 1 to Report of Sub-Committee 1, Official Records of the 2nd Session of the General Assembly, *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Palestinian Question, P. 270.

Appendices

A SAMPLER OF ANGLO-AMERICAN VIEWS about ZIONISM

(pro & con)

con • 1969 • An American Jew, Professor Cohen, said: "Zionists fundamentally accept the racial ideology of the Anti-Semites, but draw different conclusions. Instead of the Teutons, it is the Jew that is the purer or superior race. All sorts of virtues, idealism, etc. are the characteristic qualities of its spirit. Only in Palestine can this spirit find root, and only in the Hebrew language its adequate expression." (*The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time* by Moshe Menuhin, p. 308 [Second Ed. With PostScript, Institute of Palestinian Studies, Beirut 1969])

pro • 1967 • "We think of the Middle East in terms of a fictitious United Nations world in which all countries are supposed to be equal, and in which a civilised modern Western state, like Israel, is put on the same level as superficially civilised but basically underdeveloped Arab communities, like Egypt and Jordan. The truth is that under-developed countries cannot safely challenge an advanced Western State, and should not be encouraged to live in a dream world where they think they can... Dare one hope therefore that Israel's sensational victories could prove an equally momentous landmark in the present relationship of the white and coloured nations, doing much to modify some of the more dangerously absurd pretensions of the latter?" (Peregrine Worsthorne, *Sunday Telegraph*, 11 June 1967)

pro • 1967 • "We cannot accept a veto and support for Egypt from countries whose governments cannot hold their own people within an ordered framework, governments which brandish their swords with one hand and the begging bowl with the other." (Max Beloff, in a letter to *The Times of London*, 6 June 1967)

con • 1961 • "Zionism and anti-Semitism are expressions of an identical point of view. The assumption underlying both ideologies is that it is impossible for Jews and non-Jews to grow together into a single community and that therefore a physical separation is the only practical way out. All the far-flung ghettos of the world are to be gathered into one patch of soil in Palestine to create a single consolidated ghetto there." (Arnold Toynbee, at the annual meeting of the *American Council for Judaism*, 7 May 1961)

con • 1959 • "It is one thing to create a much-needed refuge for the persecuted and oppressed. It is quite another thing to create a new chauvinistic nationalism and a state based in part upon medieval theocratic bigotry and in part upon the Nazi-exploited myth of the existence of a Jewish race." (from a speech delivered by James Warburg, an American writer and prominent banker, at the Mishkhan Israel Synagogue in New Haven, Connecticut [USA], 27 November 1959)

con • 1958 • "The material achievements of Zionism have tended to blind the eyes of many in the West to its real character, just as the material achievements of Nazism and Fascism blinded many to the evil inherent in those creeds. The destructive character of Zionism arises from the fact that, like the rabid nationalisms mentioned, it is determined to do something for its adherents, no matter what the cost to other people. For countries of the Western world to link their Middle East policies in any way with support of such an 'ism' is to court disaster." (from Prof. Fred V. Winnett, *Why the West should stop supporting Israel*, McGill Magazine [Montreal, Canada], 18 January 1958)

pro • 1921 • "There can be only one national home in Palestine, and that a Jewish one, and no equality in the partnership between Jews and Arabs." (Dr. Eder, Member of the Zionist Commission, in 1921)

Appendices

PUBLISHED "ISRAELI" THREATS OF, AND JUSTIFICATIONS FOR, AGGRESSION AGAINST THEIR ARAB NEIGHBOURS: A SAMPLER 1947-1973

"Israel is now a military superpower. . . For the Americans there is nothing more important than a strong Israel. All the forces of European countries are weaker than we are. Israel can conquer in one week the area from Khartoum to Baghdad and Algeria." (Gen. Ariel Sharon, quoted in *Yediot Aharonot* 26 July 1973)

"The Americans have given us weapons. so that we should use them when necessary . . . ; in an extreme case it is permitted to the civilised world' to take control, by force, of the oil sources." (Gen. Yitzhak Rabin, in *Ha 'aretz* 20 July 1973)

"Our fathers had reached the frontiers which were recognised in the Partition Plan. Our generation reached the frontiers of 1949. Now the Six-Day generation have managed to reach Suez, Jordan and the Golan Heights. This is not the end. After the present ceasefire lines, there will be new ones. They will extend beyond Jordan - perhaps to Lebanon and perhaps to Central Syria as well." (Gen. Moshe Dayan, quoted in *The Times of London* 25 June 1969)

"There was no such thing as Palestinians. . . . It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist." (Israeli Prime Minister Mrs. Golda Meir, quoted in the *Sunday Times of London* 15 June 1969)

"We are not after more territory, it is just that we cannot stop." (Gen. Moshe Dayan, *L'Express*, 19-25 May 1969)

"With one charge, we can reach Damascus and Amman." (Gen. Moshe Dayan, *Daily Star* [Beirut], 13 May 1969, reported on *Associated Press* wires)

"We have to prove to the Arabs not only that we can occupy Cairo and Damascus, but also that we can remain indefinitely in our present frontiers." (Gen. Moshe Dayan, *L'Orient*, 1 May 1969, carried over wires of *AFP*)

"If Hussein can't accept our peace conditions, let the Jordanians look for a new king. And if the Jordanians can't stand our peace conditions let them look for another country." (Gen. Moshe Dayan, during an interview, 17 July 1967)

"The Achilles heel of the Arab coalition is the Lebanon. Muslim supremacy in this country is artificial and can easily be overthrown. A Christian State ought to be setup there., with its southern frontier on the river Litani. We would sign a treaty of alliance with this state. Thus when we have broken the strength of the Arab Legion and bombed Amman, we could wipe out Transjordan; after that Syria would fall. And if Egypt still dared to make war on us, we would bomb Port Said, Alexandria and Cairo . . . We should thus end the war and would have put paid to Egypt, Assyria and Chaldea on behalf of our ancestors." (David Ben-Gurion's *Diary* 21 May 1947)