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ARAB PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE

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Correspondence:

The Editor,
Resistance,
P.O.B. 3577
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Editor: **M. KHURI**

The liberation of Palestine from an international viewpoint is a defensive act necessitated by the demands of self-defense. That is why the people of Palestine, who desire to befriend all peoples, look forward to the support of all nations who love freedom, justice and peace, to restore the legitimate situation in Palestine, establish peace and security in its territory and enable Palestinians to exercise national sovereignty and freedom.

Palestine National Covenant
Article 18 of the

Editorial

«Time» magazine reported in its issue of December 21 that Golda Meir told an Israeli Labour Party rally held in Tel-Aviv early this month (December, 1970) that US Ambassador Walworth Barbour had once said to her: «Look here, Mrs. Meir, we've established that Israel is not a satellite of the United States. Now I think we ought to make it clear that the U.S. is not a satellite of Israel.»

The story reported by «Time» magazine is interesting and significant. It reflects the close alliance between world imperialism represented by the United States and world Zionism represented by Israel, the spearhead of imperialist aggression in the Middle East. The story was given circulation in order to persuade world public opinion that the United States has a Middle East policy independent of commitments to Israel and aiming to promote the establishment of a just peace in the region.

Such maneuvers, however, will deceive no one. Indeed, if the United States were serious about establishing peace in the Middle East, she would insist on Israel complying with U.N. resolutions

Editorial

requiring Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territories and calling for the repatriation of Palestinian refugees. Instead of doing this, Washington encourages Israel's defiance of the world community by endorsing Israel's policies of aggression and supplying Israel with the weapons she needs to carry out these policies.

But notwithstanding U.S.-Israeli maneuvers and schemes of aggression, and despite the genuine desire of the Palestinian people for a just peace that would end their tragedy and give them back their rights, they categorically refuse and shall continue to oppose in every possible way any infringement of their right to liberation and repatriation.

In this attitude they have the full support of the Arab people. For their cause is the cause of the entire Arab nation and of all the peoples of the world because it is the cause of freedom, self-determination and a homeland. The Palestinian Arab people shall continue their struggle to liberate their homeland and are confident of final victory and of the backing of all peoples of the world, who love peace, progress and justice. ■

Resistance

POLITICAL SCENE

by: M. T. Bujairami

The present lull in the usually turbulent situation of the Middle East is like the tranquillity in the eye of the cyclone. This eye is currently embodied by the cease-fire, which will expire early next year. All the parties concerned are moving swiftly to prepare for the coming stage which, it seems, may be decisive in determining the destiny of this part of the world for many years, or even generations.

Political Scene

Despite all the blind, unconditional support by America and her allies for Israel, the latter is somehow restless and deeply worried, although this uncomfortable feeling of nervous uneasiness is cleverly concealed behind a thick mask of pretended indifference and self-confidence.

America is unable, or unwilling, to convince her protégé to re-establish contacts with Dr. Jarring, who is to submit his report to the UN Secretary-general on January 5th, on results of his mission. The international envoy cannot but hold Israel responsible for the failure of the said mission.

Meanwhile, various organs of the United Nations, including the General Assembly in its 25th session, have adopted reports and resolutions recognizing the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and calling on Israel to desist from imposing collective punishment on the people of the occupied territories and to stop subjecting Arab prisoners to torture. Other resolutions call for the repatriation of the Palestinians expelled after the aggression of 1967, and demand that Israel stop establishing new colonies in the occupied territories. Thus although the Arab military fronts have been inactive in recent weeks, the Arab cause has been gaining ground in international circles. More than ever before, world public opinion is becoming aware of Israeli

intentions and sympathetic with the justice of the Arab cause.

It is this isolated position and the increasing condemnation by the international community that lies behind Israel's feeling of frustration and disappointment. Hence the frantic Israeli pressure for more American support. This pressure, to which America has proved to be so susceptible, is making Washington feel uneasy. The American weekly newsmagazine «Time» asserts that the American ambassador to Israel tried to tell Golda Meir that he wanted to «establish the fact that USA is not an Israeli satellite.» Meanwhile, Melvin Laird, the American Secretary of Defense was bewildered when he saw Dayan's list of weapons demanded from the Pentagon. «These guys want stuff I've never even heard of,» he said. The American-Israeli efforts at co-ordination have not been confined to Dayan's recent visit and the exchange of letters between Meir and Nixon. General Aharon Yarev, chief of the Israeli military intelligence has paid a secret visit to Washington.

Other people have also been playing a role in the game of recent overt and secret contacts. King Hussein, for example, has been conducting a series of meetings and direct talks with senior Israeli officials. Even the Israeli press could not fail to

refer to these contacts. A correspondent of «Time,» the American weekly, gave a detailed account of the last of these meetings, held between the King and Yigal Allon in an air-conditioned car in the Negev Desert north of Eilat sometime last month. Their major point of agreement, according to press reports, was the necessity to continue the physical liquidation of the Palestinians because «they represent a troublesome element, a nuisance to both Israel and the King, and thus should be neutralized.» The king received «firm» Israeli promises of assistance to carry out this task of «common interest.» It is in line with this agreement that Jordan's present government continues to persistently provoke Palestinian freedom fighters and commit, as well as prepare for, new massacres with complete disregard of successive pacts and agreements signed with the representatives of the Palestinian resistance movement. Instead of acting from common Arab motives and taking the necessary measures to consolidate the Eastern Front in order to apply more military pressure on Israel, Hussein's government seems to be more intent on seeing Palestinian freedom fighters placed between the Jordanian anvil and the Israeli hammer. Thus, the behaviour of the Jordanian authorities indicates that a new extermination campaign may be launched against the Palestinians soon and definitely before the expiration of the present cease-fire with Israel on February 5th, 1971.

It is strictly for this criminal purpose that America is giving Hussein a thirty-million dollar shipment of weapons, to be delivered before the said date, while a chorus of coordinated American-Jordanian-Israeli statements speak, explicitly and implicitly, of a so-called «Palestinian state» and of Palestinian participation in the formulation of any potential settlement in the Middle East. This new move is intended to create confusion among the Arabs by fragmentizing the unity of their attitude to their first cause.

Meanwhile, Israel continues to conduct political moves and maneuvers on the international level. Even Israel's little Hitler, Dayan, is talking about peace and the possibility of resuming contacts with Jarring, while Abba Eban holds top-secret meetings with Israel's ambassadors to Western Europe. It seems that Israel now realizes that the world will not tolerate another large-scale Israeli aggression against the Arab countries. It is, therefore, easy to explain the lines along which the Israeli aggressors are moving at the present stage. They exert further pressure on America to continue its financial, political and military support, which would include:

a) the simplification of procedural matters and routine measures in order to facilitate and

accelerate the delivery of arms shipments when demanded by Israel without any questions or hesitation on the part of the United States.

b) prompt American intervention in case of any successful Arab attempt to recapture the occupied Arab territories. In this connection, it should be noted that Vice-President Agnew has recently declared that America will not stand idle «if Israel is invaded.» And of course, according to Agnew, an Egyptian attack to recover Sinai, will be considered «an invasion of Israel,» while Israel's occupation of Sinai for well over three years is merely a mere «defensive» matter and a justifiable move.

c) Israel also wants America to use her U.N. «veto» to foil any attempt by the UN Security Council to condemn Israel or possibly impose sanctions against her for not abiding by successive UN resolutions, the last of which were adopted during November and December, 1970.

d) Israel also wants America to abandon Rogers «peace initiative» under the pretext that the Egyptians have «violated» the terms of the cease-fire; Israel even demands that the Egyptians immediately sign an official cease-fire agreement for an unlimited period of time, without Israel being required to do anything. In other words, both Israel

and the United States want the subject of the Jarring talks to be «what more concessions have the Arabs to make in order to be spared another large-scale attack?» Meanwhile America continues plotting to promote subversive, counter-revolutionary activities in every Arab country in order to weaken the Arab capacity for protracted struggle and resistance. An inter-Arab war of attrition may be attempted.

As for Israel's «peaceful intentions,» they are well reflected in the fact that its military industries have increased their production by 400% since the June war. Israel's military budget for 1971-1972 is £750 million. The Jewish agency, Israel's extension abroad will have a budget exceeding \$601 million, as compared to last year's \$356 million. Furthermore, Israel plans to produce supersonic Super-Mirage fighters with engines to be supplied by General Motors next year. Yet, Israel continues to pose before the world as a poor small country and the «victim of Arab bellegirency!»

The Arabs, realising the threat of these imperialist-Zionist-reactionary plots against the very existence of the Arab Nation, are beginning to take steps to mobilize capacities and co-ordinate efforts in the current struggle for survival. Moves in the direction of unity are beginning to emerge as the

only means to face the big challenge. Unity, on the local and national levels would be the right answer; and the first steps in this direction have been taken as a basis of determined resistance that would eventually lead to victory. ■

THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE: ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA

by: Dr. George Tomeh

The following article is largely based on a research project undertaken by Dr. George J. Tomeh, Permanent Representative of the Syrian Arab Republic to the United Nations. It is hoped that the elaborate research project, aimed at recording the relationships between the two racist governments of Israel and South Africa, will be published more fully at a future date.

Dr. Tomeh was Chairman of the U.N. Security Council in November, 1970:

In its quest for solutions to global problems and consequently, in its desire for world peace, the Security Council should have a comprehensive view

Unholy Alliance

of all the factors that comprise a problem. Thus, while discussing the problem of Namibia and the obduracy of the racist regime of South Africa, among the issues which are of the utmost importance in view of their far-reaching consequences is the flow of arms into South Africa as well as the local manufacturing of war arsenal. Of equal importance is the flow of capital into South Africa, which has led to the increasing arrogance of the racist regime. It is equally imperative at this stage to expose the real friends and allies of the most censured regime in the world today. It may also be appropriate here to state that South Africa has proved a zealous supporter of Israel at the United Nations.

The Jewish Telegraphic Agency of January 20, 1970, reported from London that,

«The South African Government has begun to organize the export of tanks to Israel marking «a new stage of their co-operation.» The South African tank is a sixty-five-ton giant «armed with a heavy gun and designed according to the model of the British new tank.» This is an apparent reference to Britain's new Chieftain tank which Israel has been trying to buy from Great Britain.»

This relationship between the two racist states is both old and new. In the Tricontinental Bulletin of June 1968 we read the following;

«The first news of a projected plan to enable Israel to intervene in South Africa against the oppressed and exploited African people has now come to light. We have on several occasions made specific reference to the aggressive imperialist-inspired actions of Israel. Now, although South Africa is already producing jet fighter-bombers at the Atlas Aircraft Corporation plant near Johannesburg, Israel has entered the field as a prospective supplier of aircraft to be used against (African) militants. It is reported in the South African press that the deputy director general and the chief engineer of Israeli Aircraft Industries, the biggest aircraft production organization in the Middle East, were among a group of sixty prominent Israelis who visited South Africa recently as guests of El-Al, the Israeli airline.»

The acts of the Israelis and the Zionists prove beyond any doubt that military, commercial, cultural, and financial relations do exist at the present time with South Africa, in utter contempt of all United Nations resolutions. Such relations have even existed prior to 1947 and the establishment of the State of Israel, when Zionist terrorism was at its height.

On the diplomatic level, it was as early as 1950 that the first Israeli Premier, Moshe Sharett, paid



an official extended visit to the Jewish community of South Africa. Barnet Litvinoff, in his recently published book, «A Peculiar People,» remarked that as a result of this visit, «The Transvaal Nationalist Party in 1951 opened its ranks to Jewish membership for the first time.» In describing the escalation of diplomatic relations between the two countries, Litvinoff also mentions as significant Prime Minister Malan's own visit to Israel, in June 1953. Litvinoff writes, «This is the only occasion on which the head of a «European» government has visited Israel while still in office.»

The «Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Daily News Bulletin,» May 6, 1969, reported that a leading pro-government Afrikaans daily has urged closer relations between South Africa and Israel and declared that «Israel's survival in the Middle East is a fundamental part of our own security.»

«Die Vaderland» continued to laud Israel as a small country which controls «to an important degree, the passage of Russian Communism to the east of our continent of Africa and to our strategic oceans.» The editorial argued that, as a result of Israel's control of the east bank of the Suez Canal, South Africa has gained «a large material as well as strategic advantage.»

Nathan Weinstock in his book, «Le sionisme contre Israel» (Zionism against Israel), states that Pretoria is one of Tel Aviv's main trading partners, but that their relations do not end there. Weinstock writes:

«We have seen that the Franco-Israeli nuclear projects presupposed South African collaboration. The two countries clearly have a common interest on the African continent—to bar the way of colonial revolution—just as in their relations with the West: Pretoria and Jerusalem both fear the loss of the support of the imperialist powers. That is precisely the reason for their desire to build an independent nuclear shield. This sameness of views, based on the similarity of their colonial structure, was already recognized during the first few years of the Jewish state. But that is not all. The preposterous South African Jewish community, which is accounted for by the fascinating ways of Zionism—a fact which is accounted for by the political context is one of the main financial backers of the Zionist movement. It follows that Israel, eager to make use of these contributions of capital, must win the favour of the Pretoria authorities for fear that they may obstruct the transfer of Zionist funds.»

In citing further evidence of this collaboration, Weinstock writes:

«Thus, in June 1967, South Africa authorized the transfer of Zionist funds, proceeds of collections for Israel: \$18 million. In exchange, Tel Aviv agreed to invest part of that sum in South African government stock. It was only natural that this rapprochement should take concrete form in January 1968 through the establishment of an Israeli-South African friendship society headed by the extreme right-wing Minister Begin, who once presided over an organization of the same type in France which was promoted by Soustelle. Was this by chance? A week or so after hostilities began, it was learned that an Israeli aircraft had succeeded in shortening the flight from Tel Aviv to Johannesburg by twelve hours by flying over the Sinai Peninsula instead of going by way of Teheran. Among the factors which precipitated the Sinai campaign, Moshe Dayan cites the strengthening of the Egyptian blockade of the Red Sea in 1955, which had led to the suspension of air links with South Africa.

It was the Tricontinental Bulletin issued in Havana, Cuba, that revealed in June 1968 the news of a projected plan to enable Israel to intervene in South Africa against the oppressed African people. Having in the past on several occasions made specific reference to the aggressive, imperialist-inspired actions of Israel, the Bulletin was set to reveal the cooperation between Israel and South Africa in the

field of armaments, especially aircraft, to be used against African revolutionaries.

Of equal importance are the so-called «cultural» visits of Israelis to South Africa, some of which are widely publicized. The lecture tour of South Africa by Israeli archaeologist Yigal Yadin during which he was acclaimed as a popular hero, received an impressive coverage. The Jewish Chronicle of April 12, 1968, reported:

«He (Yadin) went with the intention of giving three lectures on his Massada excavations and the Bar-Kochba caves in the Judean Hills; he was pressed to give five, but gave seven altogether—three in Johannesburg, two in Cape Town, where there was a «black market» in tickets, and one each in Durban and Port Elizabeth.

Professor Yadin, who was accompanied by Mrs. Yadin,... received the degree of Doctor of Science from Witwatersrand University. The citation recorded the «University's esteem for the Hebrew University, the Land of the Bible and its people.»

This «esteem» had, in the past, positively contributed to the establishment of the State of Israel. In fact an Israel veteran, Colonel Benjamin Kagan,

in his book, «The Secret Battle for Israel,» gives an account of the development of the Israeli Air Force, with the help of «friendly» governments. Colonel Kagan, introduced as a man who played an important role in scavenging the world to collect the aircraft and parts that went to make up the early Israeli Air Force, is uniquely qualified to tell his story.

From this book, it is evident that the Zionists' relations with South Africa were always cordial and friendly. Haganah's representative there recruited «volunteers» freely and without any obstacles from the government. The Haganah in 1947-1948 had no more than a handful of pilots in its own forces, and «South African pilots constituted the second largest group after the Americans.»

In late 1947, Boris Senior, son of a wealthy family and an ex-lieutenant in the South African Air Force, along with Cyril Katz, attempted and failed to ship to Israel twenty fighter planes by sea. Later, they flew two Bonanza commercial planes. After some reverses, Senior reached a Jewish settlement in the Negev. One South African pilot was shot down by Egyptian artillery in June 1948; another was lost, together with his plane, the following month.

Armaments, as well as volunteers, arrived from South Africa with the blessing and authorization of the officials of that country. During the 1948 war, planes were openly purchased by the Zionists from South Africa.

Besides the United States—which has, in its recognition of a statement by the Under-Secretary of State Joseph Sisco, not denied the facts with regard to its military volunteers—South Africa may be the only other country to give permission to South African pilots of the Jewish faith to join the Israeli Air Force whenever the need arises.

Leslie Rubin, professor of government at Howard University and former member of the South African Senate, wrote in an article entitled «Dialog: South African Jews and Apartheid»:

«But as a community, the Jews of South Africa present a different picture. The South African Jewish Board of Deputies, which speaks for them, has adopted a policy which it is pleased to call one of non-intervention, or neutrality; individual Jews are free to express whatever view they please, but the Board refrains from comment on government policy. What this policy has meant in practice during recent years is that when new government

apartheid measures bring untold suffering to millions of non-whites, the Jewish community remains silent while Catholic and Episcopalian archbishops or other Christian leaders protest.

When the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 unleashed a flood of outraged protest throughout the world, the Board of Deputies had nothing to say.

In fact, it is an open secret in South Africa that the Board does all it can to discourage individual Jews from opposing government policies. I was told more than once while in Parliament that my prominence as a critic of apartheid and a spokesman for the African people was an embarrassment to the Board of Deputies. Other Jews in public life experienced similar attempts to persuade them to tone down their opposition to the government.»

This conspiracy of silence practiced by the South African Jewish community over its government's policy of apartheid, is yet more deplorable when we hear the chief rabbis of the South African Jewish Community delivering their eulogies at the mass for Dr. Verwoerd. Rabbi Professor Abrahams is reported to have described Verwoerd as «a man of sincerity and of deep integrity... a moral conscience underlay his policies: he was the first man to give apartheid a moral ground.» The Senior Rabbi

of the Progressive Jewish Congregation, Rabbi Arthur Super, eulogized Dr. Verwoerd as,

«One of the greatest, if not the greatest prime minister South Africa has ever produced.

«Here was a man who, like Moses of old, has led his people through the promised land after sixty years of wondering. He had the courage and the strength to establish the Republic of South Africa and so dissolve in one act the old heritage of hatred, communal jealousies, blurred loyalties, old grudges and past grievances which were preventing South Africa from becoming one nation.»

The future seems to hold stronger ties of cooperation between the two countries. Let us not forget that South Africa contributed a number of figures to Israel's public service: notably M. Comay Israeli representative to the United Nations, Abba Eban, the foreign minister, Ambassador Lourie and many others. Economists predict that the value of Israeli exports to South Africa will reach \$15 million in 1970, as compared to \$9.1 million in 1969. These same economists state that Israeli imports from South Africa in 1969 amounted to \$9 million, and explain the increase in export to South Africa as the result of the Economic Conference held in Jerusalem

in 1968 when exports of \$5.7 million value in 1967 rose to \$9.1 million in 1968.

With the distortion of the Israeli image abroad, the Zionist leaders are only too happy to receive the South African Government's blessings. In fact as late as April, 1970, Judge Maisels, outgoing chairman of the South African Zionist Federation, in an address to the 31st South African Zionist Conference in Johannesburg praised the government for its «sympathy and understanding» for Israel. But he warned against «signs of hostility towards Israel and Jews» by a break-away political faction and urged, «Let us not treat these signs lightly, and as Zionists let us not overlook our duty to create a strong cohesive Jewish community in this country.» «We are fortunate,» Judge Maisels said, «that the overwhelming mass of the peoples in this country have shown a sympathy and understanding for Israel and its problems.» That has also «been well evidenced by the Government of this country» in its «fair and reasonable attitude and, more particularly in relation to the transfer of funds collected for humanitarian purposes in Israel.»

As long as the Zionist leaders in Israel and the Jewish community in South Africa continue to pursue their policy, there is little fear that they will lose their South African friends. Previously, the

Afrikaners could not forgive the Jews who supported an apartheid policy at home and opposed it abroad. As Litvinoff explains it in «A Peculiar People,» this schizophrenia incensed the Afrikaners.

«Had not the Jews practiced race-purity from Old Testament times, and was this doctrine not vindicated in the perpetuation of the Jewish strain over the centuries and the latter-day return to the ancestral land? The place allocated in Israel to the Arabs was in Afrikaner eyes no different from the separate development being advocated for the races of South Africa.»

This competition in the practice of racism is emerging to the open. Neither the Afrikaners nor the Israelis consider that they owe the world an explanation or an apology. ■

REVIEW OF EVENTS

(November, 1970)

U. Thant Reveals a Secret of the June, 1967 Aggression

Since the 5th of June 1967, Zionist propaganda and news media have been depicting Israeli aggression against the Arab countries committed on that date as a measure which Israel had to take because of an Arab threat to its existence. The Arabs have strongly denied these false Zionist allegations ever since, and have given many proofs refuting these allegations and establishing Israeli aggressiveness and Zionist ambitions in the Arab Homeland.

In a recent speech U.N. Secretary-General U.

Review of Events

Thant brought to light significant facts revealing the role played by Israel in the interval preceding the June, 1967 aggression and showing how the Tel Aviv authorities had prepared for the aggression before it took place.

In his speech U. Thant said, «Israel refused to co-operate with the United Nations before the war and rejected, during the critical moments preceding her aggression against the Arabs, the proposal of appointing an international mediator.»

U. Thant also made it clear that Israel has continued to refuse to co-operate with the U.N. and has strongly opposed stationing U.N. forces on her territory.

U.S. Alignment with Zionism

In the last week of November, Robert Maclosky, U.S. State Department spokesman, asserted his country's complete alignment with Israel and stressed its unconditional support for the continuation of Zionist aggression against the Arab people.

In an official statement, he reiterated the American view that a settlement of the Middle East crisis should include adjustments in the Israeli frontiers of 1967.

The statement was made in commenting on the meeting held between the American Secretary of State, William Rogers, and the Israeli Foreign Minister, Abba Eban.

After the meeting, Abba Eban stated that the subject which worried Israel at the time was securing complete American support for what he called «secure frontiers» for Israel.

Meanwhile, U.S. arms continue to be shipped to Israel under pretext of preserving the balance of power between Israel and the Arab countries. The United States is giving Israel a \$500 million credit to pay for these arms shipments. Galili, Israeli minister without portfolio, declared that the said credit was of considerable importance to Israel, not only militarily but also politically.

Syria Joins Arab Federation

The Arab 4-member Federation, comprizing the UAR, the Sudan Syria and Libya is rightly regarded a significant achievement in the struggle of the Arab people for unity.

All Arabs, and particularly the Palestinian people, approve of this step because they are fully convinced that Arab strength lies in Arab unity and

that the liberation of the occupied territories requires the mobilization of the potentialities of all the Arab countries.

The Arab masses throughout the Arab world have welcomed the Cairo Declaration and Syria's becoming the fourth member of the federation established by it.

U.S. Spying for Israel

The United Arab Republic has revealed that the U.S. has been spying for Israel by sending U-2 reconnaissance planes over Egyptian territory. Such reconnaissance sorties are considered by the U.A.R. a hostile act committed for the purpose of serving enemy objectives, and a definite violation of the U.N. Charter and of U.N. resolutions.

This was announced in an interview between U.A.R. Ambassador, Salah Jawhar and Donal Berguess, Head of the Commission in charge of American interests in the Spanish Embassy in Cairo. Mr. Jawhar handed Berguess a memorandum containing the following points:

1. At no time did the U.A.R. agree to American reconnaissance flights over Sinai.
2. The cease-fire arrangements do not include

reconnaissance flights to supervise enforcement of the cease fire. The U.A.R. has not asked the U.S. to undertake such reconnaissance flights over Sinai or the Canal zone at any time.

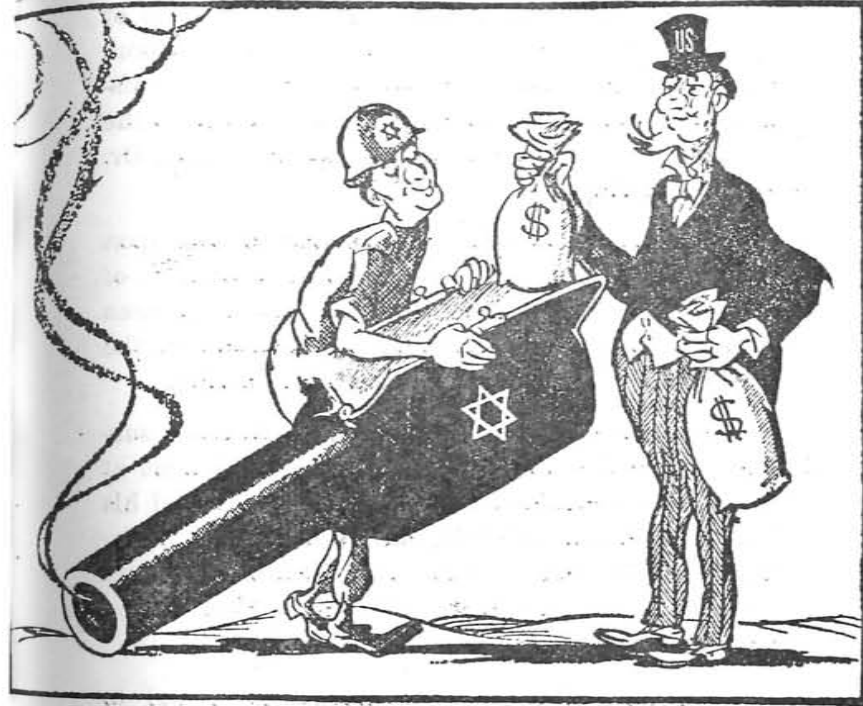
3. America has bestowed upon herself the right of sending U-2 planes over Egyptian positions. American officials have revealed that American reconnaissance planes have taken several photos of Egyptian positions.

4. International law does not permit U.S. reconnaissance flights over U.A.R. military positions and the consequent transmission of information to the enemy who still occupies Arab territories.

On November 10, Burguess informed the U.A.R. that the U.S. had stopped reconnaissance flights over Sinai and that, for the time being, she had no plans to resume these flights.

Dayan's Visit to Washington

Within the framework of American aggressive moves in the Middle East, the Zionist Minister of Defense, Moshe Dayan, is visiting Washington for talks with President Nixon, senior American Officials, and with U.S. Defense Secretary, Melvin Laird. Dayan will continue Israel's dialogue with



«Loans» for a «civilized and peaceful» musician

the Nixon Administration regarding Israel's participation in M.E. peace talks and the discussion of military and political issues pertaining to the region, News Agencies have indicated that Dayan will discuss conditions under which Israel will return to the talks under the auspices of U.N. special envoy, Dr. Gunnar Jarring.

Observers note that Dayan's visit follows upon U.S. statements on the necessity of a settlement of the Middle East crisis. The U.S. has lately been talking about Israel resuming participation in the peace talks under the auspices of Dr. Jarring.

The Soviet paper «Pravda» has expressed surprise at Washington talking about a settlement at a time when President Nixon has emphasized his determination to maintain Israel's military superiority by giving Israel large quantities of arms and weapons and by reinforcing U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean.

Pravda explained U.S. moves as aimed to enable Israel to resume the peace talks from a «position of strength.»

Simultaneously with these moves, Abba Eban has declared in Tel Aviv that the prospects of peace in the Middle East have diminished because of the basic difference between the Arab and the Israeli points of view. ■

ON THE ORIGINS OF THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT

I

Prepared by:
Research Center
Palestine Liberation Organization

We may summarize the central thesis of all prevalent explanations of the Zionist movement, which are more often than not, derived from Zionist sources, in the following manner: **Zionism is the modern and contemporary manifestation of the historical phenomenon of the preservation of the Jewish people over the ages through the agency of their national, spiritual and religious bond.**

The historical validity of this thesis rests on a number of assumptions:

a) That before the destruction of Jerusalem in Roman times the «Jewish Nation» was **in no way different from other normally constituted nations**. However, as a result of the wars with the Romans the Jewish «Nation» was dispersed to the four corners of the earth.

b) In the diaspora, the Jews as a whole **absolutely refused**, century after century, **any kind of assimilation** into the life of the communities amongst which they happened to live.

c) As a result, **the Jews formed**, throughout the history of the diaspora, **a homogeneous and tightly-knit mass of people** bound together by devotion to their religion and «Nationality». In more flowery but typically Zionist language, the Jews held together by attachment to their «national idea,» and to the «sacred trust of their faith.» **This condition is supposed to have led to their isolation, suffering and persecution.**

d) Consequently, the Jews as a «race» or «people» or «nationality» are supposed to have a certain set of essential and distinguishing character-

istics which **separate them from other people** and give them their alleged «uniqueness.»

e) That the history of the Jews is nothing but the continuous life of a single people or «Nation,» in the modern sense of the term.

The following remarks are intended to show the historical inaccuracy and falsity of the assumptions on which rest the prevalent explanations of the origins of the Zionist movement.

The assumption that the Jews were dispersed all over the ancient world after the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem by the Romans is **strictly false**. For instance Leonard Stein argues in his book on Zionism that **the Jews settled in various areas outside Palestine long before the fall of Judea**. He estimates the number of Jews in Palestine prior to the advent of Christianity at about 700,000 compared to 4 million distributed all over the Roman Empire.(1) Again Abraham Leon argues, in his classic book on the Jewish Question, that **the dispersal of the Jews does not at all date from the fall of Jerusalem.**(2) He points to the evidence provided by Arthur Ruppin(3) to the effect that **well before the fall of Jerusalem more than three-fourths of the Jews no longer lived in Palestine.**

Leon continues his argument by showing that, to the masses of the Jews dispersed in the Greek and later, in the Roman Empires, **the Jewish kingdom of Palestine was of completely secondary importance.** The tie with the «mother country» was manifested solely in religious pilgrimages to Jerusalem, which played a role similar to that of Mecca, for the Indian Muslims in our times. Leon mentions in support of his argument that shortly before the fall of Jerusalem, King Agrippa said to the Jews «There is no people upon the habitable earth which have not some portion of you among them.»(4)

In other words, contrary to accepted assumptions in explaining the origins of the Zionist movement, **the diaspora was historically neither the product of a cataclysmic act of violence nor the result of a sudden and unexpected accident.** Leon gives us the serious explanation for the Jewish dispersal all over the ancient world in the following paragraph:

«The Diaspora was consequently not at all an accidental thing, a product of acts of violence. The fundamental reason for Jewish emigration must be sought in the geographic conditions of Palestine. The Jews in Palestine were the possessors of a mountainous country which at a certain time no longer sufficed for assuring its

inhabitants as tolerable an existence as that among their neighbors. Such a people is driven to choose between brigandage and emigration. The Scots, for example, alternately engaged in each of these pursuits. The Jews, after numerous struggles with their neighbors, also took the second road... Peoples living under such conditions do not go to foreign countries as agriculturists. They go there rather in the role of mercenaries, like the Arcadians of Antiquity, the Swiss in the Middle Ages, the Albanians in our day; or in the role of merchants, like the Jews, the Scots and the Armenians. We see here that a similar environment tends to produce similar characteristics among peoples of different races.»(5)

The idea that the Jews from the beginning of their history have formed a «nation» in the modern sense of the term is simply absurd from the point of view of historical accuracy. It completely disregards the fact that nations, in this sense, are the product of the living forces of history and no people may be considered to possess the properties of «nationhood» permanently, always and from the very beginning of history. The emergence of nations is part of the process of our modern historical epoch. Accordingly it is quite absurd to speak about the «Jewish nation» (except metaphorically) at a stage of history where

the Jews lived a tribal, nomadic life, or lived within the framework of a feudal social order.

We should note also that **the idea that the Jews have always formed a nation in the modern sense of the term is really not the product of serious historical research.** It is rather the result of the re-writing of Jewish history by Jewish nationalists and Zionists in the 19th century in order to serve certain present and immediate political objectives and interests. Zionism as a bourgeois nationalist movement has a powerful stake in the re-writing of history so as to prove that its origins go back deep into the ever present, but dormant Jewish «nationalism.» In other words Zionism benefits from viewing itself not as something novel produced by modern historical forces but as the revival of something that had been lying in the Jewish people all through and from the very beginning of their history.

As for the widely accepted claim that the Jews maintained themselves by rejecting all forms of assimilation into the human environment they found themselves in, it also can not withstand critical historical examination. In fact the history of the Jews is **both the history of the preservation of Judaism and the history of the assimilation of large sections of Jews into the social order within which they lived.** For example Arthur Ruppin mentions that «in' Northern Africa, in pre-Islamic times, great

numbers of Jews were engaged in agriculture, but of these, too, the vast majority had been absorbed by the local population.»(6)

All in all, the Jews in Medieval times were **fully integrated into the general social order** contrary to the usual Zionist claims about the «tragic isolation» of the Jews from their surroundings. This explains why Hebrew disappeared quite early as a living language. The Jews everywhere adopted the languages of the peoples among whom they lived and into whose social order they were well integrated.

The hatred to which the Jews were subject in various degrees, at different times and in different societies (ancient and medieval anti-Semitism) can not be seriously explained by talking about the «tragedy of Jewish isolation.» their «separateness» and devotion to «the trust of their faith.» Such purely idealistic explanations tend to obscure the issue instead of shedding light on it.

The origins of this sort of negative sentiment against the Jews in ancient and medieval times is to be found in the traditional antagonism towards the merchant in societies based on a natural economy concerned primarily with the production of use-values. And it is well known that certain strata

of the Jewish population were the traders and merchants of the societies within which they settled and integrated themselves. However, the hostility of societies and classes that live from the land towards trade does not mean that they can dispense altogether with that activity. The land owner, for example, might hate and despise the merchant but he can not manage without him.

Before finishing with the topic, here is one more observation about the «tragic isolation» of the Jews. Contemporary human societies are organized along the lines of the modern nation-state. However, we should always remember that before the rise of this form of social organization, empires and states used to be internally constituted out of a welter of distinct human communities and groups each living in relative isolation from the others. In the plastic society of the decentralized feudal states, for example, each group of men lived according to its own customs and under its own special jurisdiction. The specific organizational form of the Jews was the **Kehillah**. Each cluster of Jews was organized into a community (Kehillah) which lived its own social life and had its own juridical organization, i.e. it enjoyed a large measure of autonomy.

In other words, the «isolation,» autonomy and in-group tightness which characterized the tradi-

tional life of Jewish communities was nothing unique or particular to the Jews themselves, devised by «wicked» forces in order to make them suffer. This was simply the characteristic condition of the life of all such communities which happened to fall within the bounds of a decentralized feudal state. The ghetto in its reprehensible sense is a later product of middle class-dominated European society.

To be continued next month



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The Man Who Never Died

(short story)

by: Abdul-Samad Hasan

A true-to-life description of an exciting episode in the life of a Palestinian freedom fighter.

A cloud of dust was racing the bus southwards, and seemed to overtake it every time the bus stopped to take another passenger or to let out one. Finally it stopped at the entrance of a little dirt road and he had to step slowly down the high steps. He

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started to walk on the dirt road whose course was winding and narrow like a dead brown snake. It was a clear day, but the horizon was veiled with a layer of grey darkness mixed with humid thick air. And the lamps on both sides of the road sent only spots of light on the side at every interval of the trip. He walked a few meters, and then stopped and got his hand out of the pocket of his uniform. His hand was clutched over an old pack of cigarettes, but was loosened long enough for him to get out one cigarette and then fill his lungs with a deep breath of smoke.

Then he went on through a tragic silence of the road and of his loneliness. He walked past two thick rows of palm trees and then stopped automatically at a door made of thin cracked wood. The door itself was fixed in an opening of a low mud wall whose top was armed with the thick green branches of ivy. Once more he pulled his hand from his pocket and gave the door a few loud fast knocks. The door was opened just enough to show the face of a young woman surrounded by a damp darkness of the kind that one feels only in ancient monumental sights. He went in pronouncing her name «Mariam» while she held to his arm with a surprised frightened happiness.

He walked into the darkness like a man, etherized taken into the operation room, and the yard

through which they walked seemed to be conscious of the morning that was to dispel its darkness. They entered through a little door made of cracked wood into a room that had the feeling of warmth and a slight air of ingratitude for the dim light that came from a lantern fixed on the wall. They both did not care a bit what happened to the darkness outside but lost themselves in the intimacy of their long-lost whispers. He walked in the direction of the slight beams to the lantern and turned it up a bit to get more light from the slowly-burning little wick.

«Is something the matter?» she asked in a trembling voice.

«Yes,» he said quietly, «I have a serious wound in my arm.» And very carefully he took off his military shirt showing a bloody streak on his arm. It was a deep wound covered with dark dry blood sticking to the hair on his brown skin. «It's two days old,» he murmured, not listening to her offer to wash it for him. She touched the swollen arm and felt all the masculine power of her man staring at her through the bloody wound. He sat next to her and the small beams of light coming from behind them made them appear, in the light of dawn, like two angelic shapes surrounded by a thin cloud.

«The room is cold,» he said. She said: «It's the mud; cold in winter and warm in summer. It's been

awful without you here. We haven't heard from you for a long time. Huda was here this morning. How is her father, and why didn't he come with you?»

He answered: «He did not want to come. He wanted to stay there and guard the land of the fathers, Jaffa, Haifa, and Jerusalem. Jerusalem, which is still in mourning for that death in June.»

«How were you hit?» She interrupted. «It happened during an air raid. They're very frequent on that front. The night turns into burning fire, and the dead cannot be distinguished from one another; they all turn into black shapes. But the soldiers stay with it. They fight back as though death were an aim in itself.»

For a while there was silence in the room, and the middle-aged woman worked patiently on the wound, cleaning it with pieces of cloth as gently as she could. She looked at him, only to find out that he was waking up from a short disturbing sleep.

«Were you dreaming?» she asked.

«I was there, Mariam, in the midst of the fire, fighting, fighting. And then suddenly I was running in an open space full of black bodies, and the fire was raging all around me. But I did not run back. I

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kept going forward, fighting, in spite of the bombs and the black dead bodies.»

Mariam put her hand on his lips, asking him gently to stop, and fearing that his condition might get worse. Then she asked him to tell her honestly what happened to Huda's father. He said: «He swore that he wouldn't come back until he performs the prayers at Al-Aqsa Mosque in Occupied Jerusalem. He asked me to say hello to her.» Mariam asked. «Will he ever come back?»

The man shivered as if a bad chill overtook him. «The last time I saw him he was nursing a wound on his face. His blood seemed precious and clear. But he's not dead. None of us is dead, and we shall continue the fight.»

Mariam pressed his shaking body to hers. He was extremely tired, so he gave himself up to a long relaxing sleep. ■

Resistance Operations

1 - 6 November 1970

In November 1970, the Palestine Liberation Forces (P.L.F.) launched a number of attacks and carried out several military operations against the Zionist enemy, including the following:

On November 1, P.L.F. fighters launched an attack, with heavy rockets against Nahal Mahola Settlement, in the Jordan Valley. The enemy, admitted the attack but did not mention the losses sustained as a result of it.

On November 2, P.L.F. commandos planted

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mines on the unasphalted road leading to Jdaide Village in Upper Galilee. The mines exploded under an enemy patrol vehicle, destroying it, and killing or wounding seven of its occupants. Enemy ambulances were rushed to the scene to evacuate casualties.

On Nov. 2, P.L.F. freedom fighters shelled, with mortars and machine-guns, Afikim Settlement in Upper Galilee. A Zionist military spokesman, admitted the attack. Later on, news agencies reported that five Israeli soldiers were wounded as a result of an attack launched by the Palestinian commandos against an enemy patrol in the region.

On Nov. 2, Palestinian commandos foiled enemy attempts to proceed into the Al-Aitaroun Al-Arida region, inside Lebanon, in the direction of our positions in the central sector. In this operation, enemy mechanized units and tanks, moved under cover of a heavy barrage of artillery and mortar fire. Nevertheless, the commandos repulsed the enemy attack with a heavy barrage of fire from various weapons, including anti-tank guns and mortars. The enemy was forced to retreat to the heights surrounding Aitaroun. At 12 o'clock, the enemy resumed the attack, throwing into the battle considerable reserve forces, but was again repulsed and forced to retreat

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once more, leaving behind a large amount of arms and ammunition.

The enemy was seen evacuating casualties by means of military ambulances and two helicopters. As a result of the attack, the enemy sustained more than 30 casualties. Our casualties were three wounded men, one of whom died from his wounds.

On Nov. 3, an enemy transport vehicle was destroyed and all its occupants were killed or wounded, when a mine, planted on the road to the south of Quasima, east of Sinai, exploded under it.

On Nov. 3, a P.L.F. fighter threw a hand grenade at an enemy military vehicle, in the city of Gaza, putting it out of action and inflicting injuries on its occupants.

On Nov. 6, P.L.F. units launched a surprise attack, with heavy mortars and machine-guns, against an enemy position at Al Shuwa'ir Camp. The shelling lasted for 90 minutes, scoring direct hits and setting the camp ablaze. Enemy ambulances, were rushed to the scene to evacuate the casualties. Enemy installation at the camp and a wireless station were destroyed.

On Nov. 6, two bomb blasts ripped through Tel

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Aviv's central bus station, during the Sabbath eve rush hour on Friday, killing at least one person and injuring 34 others, five of them seriously. Panic broke out as the explosives rocked the rambling station and people rushed in every direction. The blasts shook the station when it was crowded with thousands of people.

The explosives, placed by Palestinian commandos, exploded in a series, the first blast coming from a charge placed in a wall. Twenty minutes later, a second charge, placed in a plastic dustbin, went off near a crowded snack-bar at the end of the bus platform. Military ambulances and taxis were rushed to the scene to evacuate the casualties. Enemy police rounded up several Arabs for questioning and angry by-standers turned on Arabs who happened to be there and who had nothing to do with the explosions and began manhandling them. Several of them had to be given first aid. ■

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE AND THE ARAB STATES

by: Ibrahim Al-Abid

The following «Questions and Answers,» designed to throw light on the Palestine issue and the Palestinian resistance movement, are based on material included in Mr. Al-Abid's book «A Handbook to the Palestine Question,» published by the P.L.O. Research Center, Beirut, Lebanon:

DO THE ARAB STATES CONTRAVENE THEIR INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS BY SUPPORTING THE PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT?

The Arab states and the other friendly nations support the activities of the Fidayeen on the basis of the following principles:

1) The illegality of the creation of Israel.

2) The right of the Palestinians to self-determination.

On the basis of these two principles, the Arab States — foreign countries as well — have the right to interfere for the sake of redressing the legal chaos which has resulted from the Israeli attitudes and measures. For, in international law, interference in the affairs of a state in order to subject it to accepted international law is permissible.(1)

Furthermore,

«Just as the right to self-defense is uncontested in private relations, so it is in international relations... The U.N. Charter considers it the only acceptable deviation from the principle of the prohibition of war and the use of force.»

«The participation of the Arabs in the resistance movement, therefore, is principally a preventive measure meant to stop Israel from realizing its plans, plans which have become known and which aim at destroying the regional integrity of a number of Arab States.»(2)

IS THE PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT SUBJECT TO DIRECTIONS FROM THE ARAB STATES?

The Palestinian resistance movement has produced leaders and political and military cadres from among the ranks of the Palestinian people. From its inception, the movement has striven successfully to realize and safeguard the independence of the Palestinian commando activity from the viewpoint of orientation, finance, armament and action.

However when the Palestinian resistance movement denies all quarters the right or privilege to patronize it, it is not motivated by provincial bigotry. On the contrary, the movement believes that «the battle for Palestine will shape the fate of the whole Arab nation. If labelling it «The

Battle for Palestine» has created a delusion that it is limited to the Palestinian soil only,... the obvious truth, which the enemy admits, is that the battle is against the Zionist invasion of large areas of the Arab homeland involving several Arab states... The Arabs of Palestine are determined to remain in the vanguard of the armed struggle which will inevitably develop into a war of liberation, then into a total revolution...» (Resolutions of the Political Committee of the Fourth Palestinian Congress).

Furthermore, «The Arab people of Palestine believe in Arab Unity. But to play its role in bringing it about, the Palestinian people must, at this stage of its patriotic struggle, preserve its Palestinian character and constituents, deepen awareness of its existence, and oppose any projects aiming at diluting it.»(3)

The participation of the Arab masses in the armed Palestinian struggle is a national and revolutionary duty. Under no circumstances can the backing of these masses be criticized, just as the backing which American, British, and French progressives give to the Vietnamese can in no way be considered as belittling the pioneering Vietnamese revolution, or, as placing it under tutelage. The

cause of liberation is the duty of all revolutionaries. How much more should this be incumbent upon the Arab masses, themselves subject to the Zionist expansionist danger? ■

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PALESTINE QUESTION IN WORLD PRESS

Two world press extracts dealing with the Palestine question and current Middle East developments are given below: (1) a discussion of «The Lessons of the Drama in Jordan» by Yugoslav writer Alexander PRLJA (Yugoslav Review of International Affairs, November 5, 1970). The discussion ends with the conclusion that «even after everything that happened in Amman and Jordanian towns, the Palestinians and their commando organizations remain potentially and practically an extremely significant element in the entire Middle East situation.» (2) a commentary entitled «Middle East: Another Chance» by Soviet political commentator D. Volsky (New Times, November 18, 1970). The commentary condemns the obstacles «raised by Israel and its patrons to obstruct the achievement of a just peace in the Middle East.»

(1) The Lesson of the Drama in Jordan

The first week of November was regarded by many observers as in a sense crucial from the standpoint of the further development of events in the Middle East. The three-month ceasefire announced on August 7 was running out and many were wondering whether the guns on the Suez Canal and the Jordan River would speak up again. Most observers predicted that the ceasefire would be extended. They have proved to be correct. The U.A.R. government has decided to extend the ceasefire for another 90 days, and the Jordanian government has announced that it will observe the truce, provided the enemy does not attack. Tel Aviv, for its part, has promised to refrain from military action.

The Arab states have agreed to the continuation of the ceasefire despite the fact that the past three months brought no resumption of the Jarring mission. Under various farfetched pretexts Israel has been rejecting contacts with the U.N. special representative while engaging in activities in the Canal zone which even the Western press has described as infringement of the ceasefire. Israeli Vice-Premier Yigal Allon has frankly declared that Tel Aviv «has not been resting on its laurels during these last three months» but has used them to strengthen its armed forces.

As is known, it has been receiving fresh supplies of U.S. offensive weapons: Phantom jets and now also tanks of the latest makes. It has also been urgently reinforcing the «Bar-Lev Line» of defences built after the six-day war on the eastern bank of the Suez Canal.

Nonetheless the U.A.R. and Jordan agreed to continue the ceasefire. They did so in the hope that it would make possible a resumption of the Jarring contacts and an effective search for ways towards a just Middle East settlement. The Arab leaders also undoubtedly took into account the general processes at work in the Arab world and in Israel.

Highly indicative in this respect was the discussion of the Middle East problem at the 25th U.N. General Assembly. Despite the intrigues of the Israeli and U.S. diplomats, the Assembly adopted the draft resolution of the Afro-Asian and non-aligned states which qualifies as inadmissible, the acquisition of territory through war and demands the withdrawal of the Israeli from the occupied territories and the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. The Assembly called for the earliest possible implementation of the November 22, 1967, Security Council resolution and for the resumption of the Jarring mission.

Neither the blackmail of Israel, which threatened completely to block the ways leading to a settlement, nor the backstage activity of the U.S. delegation, which sought to counterpose to the non-aligned resolution, variants more in keeping with Israel's nor yet the attempts to set the sponsoring Afro-Asian countries at loggerheads—none of these maneuvers were able to prevent the resolution from being approved by the General Assembly. It was adopted by the votes of 57 states, 16 voted against and 39 abstained. It is symptomatic that of the Western Great Powers, only the United States joined Israel in opposing the resolution. France, as expected, voted for it and Britain abstained.

The voting showed that Israel is finding itself increasingly isolated even in the Western camp. Tel Aviv is getting jittery. Whereas in the initial period after the six-day war it considered its international positions fairly stable, it is not so confident now. It is no accident that the Israeli government and press, reacted so violently to the October 31 Middle East statement of Britain's Foreign Secretary Douglas-Home. Although it contained virtually nothing new as compared with the November 1967 resolution of the Security Council, Tel Aviv took it as an indication that its foreign policy stocks had fallen. The Israeli press accused Britain of «betrayal,» and some extremist leaders went so far as to

all but demand that sanctions should be taken against it. Even the soothing assurances given by London to Golda Meir, who had rushed there post-haste, failed to calm the Tel Aviv hawks.

Obviously, they are worried not so much by Britain's stand in itself as by the fear that their outright sabotage of a Middle East political settlement might dampen pro-Israeli sympathies even among the Western ruling circles.

Israel is in a state of mounting ferment. The economic situation has sharply deteriorated. The rapid growth of military expenses—they are now several times bigger than before the six-day war—has brought higher taxes and a drop in real earnings. Taxes are indeed exorbitant, amounting to nearly half of people's wages. The papers speak of a decline in business activity and of strikes which have become a regular feature of Israel's economic life. Prices, above all of foodstuffs and other necessities, are soaring. The «guns before butter» policy of the Golda Meir Cabinet is leading to an increasingly obvious overstraining of the economy, which even the U.S. dollar injections are unable to overcome.

Despite all the obstacles raised by Israel and its patrons, the present situation is favourable for

stepping up the effort to achieve a just peace in the Middle East.

(2) Middle East: Another Chance

Against the background of the Jordanian drama, it is not hard to see why it took place and is in effect still in progress. The turning point was the appearance of the so-called «Rogers Plan for Peace in the Middle East.» As is known, President Nasser accepted the plan after his visit to the USSR on July 23. It was then accepted also by the Sudan and Libya. The plan was, of course, also acceptable to the Amman Court of King Hussein. But Rogers' plan for peace in the Middle East said not a word about the position and fate of the Palestinians and their armed organizations. Consequently, it was easy to surmise that the Palestinians could not agree to the plan and also that President Nasser and the other Arab governments—with the exception of Hussein's—found it difficult, if not well-nigh impossible to concur with a plan that seemed, apart from other things, to «abandon the Palestinians altogether» and leave them to their own devices. When President Nasser did nonetheless agree, while putting forward his own interpretation of the Rogers

Plan as it related to the commandoes and Palestinians, it was clear to the commandoes that their position was far more complex than it had ever been before.

They are simply not responsible to anyone, as an independent military factor, not to any of the biggest powers (as they do not depend on any of them), nor to Israel (as a long-term challenge along these lines is disagreeable, not to say highly dangerous for Israel), nor to the Arab governments who find a political solution indispensable because of the situation they found themselves in after the June war and because of the increasingly powerful influence on the political life of those countries, wielded by the big powers that help them in the military effort of the present semi-belligerent situation along the front with Israel).

To put it otherwise, on the eve of the September conflict, the King and his Bedouins, many of whom are far readier to risk a civil and fratricidal war than King Hussein himself, got what they had waited for—the green light for their settling of accounts with the commandoes. This time, overtly or covertly, the green light came from all quarters, which had never been the case before. But all these quarters had made an erroneous assessment of the ratio of military forces and the position in Jordan.

All of them, more or less, calculated that the King's army would be able to end the whole business in a day or two, following which the commandoes would remain simply a political factor and an ace of spades for the Arab world in later bargaining with Israel and the big powers in the effort to find a lasting political solution to the entire Middle East crisis.

It would therefore be interesting to consider why the recent dramatic events in Jordan were instructive and in what way.

It should be stated at the outset that no one doubts today that the King's military commanders, traditionally anti-Palestinian and pro-Western (the outstanding role being played by Generals Zeid Ben Shaker and Habes Madjhali, products of military training by British General Glub Pasha) were dead set on finishing off the commandoes. The dimensions of the operations, the number of casualties, and the horrible devastation in Amman (which was, however, magnified in the initial reports) confirm that they had been so resolved.

What hardly anyone expected, however, was the military readiness of the Palestinian commandoes to put up resistance. They were not only not «finished off» in a day or two but stood firm a full two weeks. Only when it became obvious that the

bloodshed should not be permitted to continue on that scale did Arab intermediaries and Cairo appear on the scene. In Amman, the commandoes suffered a serious «physical» blow, but their military power is far from broken. On the other hand, in the northern towns of Irbid, Ramta and Djerash, no inroads were even made on the military strength of the commandoes and the centres of the towns remained under their control until the signing of the Cairo protocol.

These are the unexpected lessons of the recent drama in Jordan. When all the Arab capitals grasped that the commando movement was too strong for its military power to be smashed in a few hours or days, the late President Nasser took vigorous and ultimately successful measures to mediate. According to the agreement signed in Cairo, King Hussein had to accept certain limitations on his sovereignty by concurring with the establishment of a commission for arbitration consisting of six Arab countries under the leadership of the Premier of Tunisia, Bahi Ladgam. This commission was invested with the right of making decisions on each individual case of violation of the Cairo agreement on the armed peace. It does not suit Hussein but, practically speaking, he cannot expel it from his country. According to the agreement which he himself signed, this Arab commission is responsible exclusively

to the Arab League and, theoretically and legally, both Hussein and the commandoes must bow to its decisions. This is, in itself, sufficient illustration of the accuracy of the assessment that there can be no question of a victory by the regular army although the commandoes are the ones who, speaking strictly in a military sense, suffered more serious blows, largely from the King's tank units.

Neither do the other provisions of the Cairo and the later Amman agreements between Hussein and Arafat do anything to refute the thesis that, after all is said and done, there were no victors and no vanquished in Amman. The commando centres will remain in the towns and the Chief HQ and Central Committee of the Palestinian Revolution will even have the right to military protection from their commandoes. On the other hand, the Palestinian People's Militia will no longer patrol the centres of Jordanian towns with weapons, as had hitherto been the case, but without them under normal conditions. (the weapons will be stacked in a special depot supervised by the Palestinian leaders and representatives of the regular army). But the actual commando bases will be located in the vicinity of the towns, where guerrillas will continue to be trained. The army has undertaken an obligation not to obstruct this training in any way. In talks with representatives of either of the parties engaged

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in strife until yesterday. the impression is gained that representatives of Palestinian organizations feel that the recent Cairo compromise was not unfavourable for them. Moreover, today they are the principal exponents of the thesis that the agreement must be implemented consistently. Quietly and discreetly but vigorously for all that, the King's commanders voice their dissatisfaction with the upshot of their «squaring of accounts» action.

Where there is no victor there is of course no vanquished. Consequently, one can only go along with the assessment, gaining ground, that even after everything that happened in Amman and other Jordanian towns, the Palestinians and their commando organizations remain potentially and practically an extremely significant element in the entire Middle East situation. This is the main lesson to be drawn from the recent tragic events in Jordan. ■

ISRAEL'S ROLE IN AFRICA

by Africa Research Group

In the following article, the Africa Research Group examine Israel's role in the neo-colonialist repenetration of Africa by world imperialism — a role which has been vigorously and repeatedly condemned by Africa's progressive leaders, notably in the recent Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Conference held at Tripoli (Libya), 9 - 11 November, 1970.

Israel will soon unveil its own version of the U.S. Peace Corps in an attempt to defuse mounting criticism in Africa of its pro-Western development projects.

Plans for the Israeli volunteer force, disclosed in a confidential newsletter published in London, are intended to give the Israeli diplomatic effort in Africa a more idealistic image in the face of increasingly frequent attacks by progressive African leaders. This peace corps maneuver will be complemented by an expanded program of jointly sponsored development efforts.

The projects, staffed by Israelis, will have the capital supplied by Western powers which include the United States, West Germany, Canada and the Scandinavian countries.

By giving its development efforts more of an international look and less of an overt political tone, Israel hopes to blunt growing African displeasure with the Zionist state's aggressive posture in the Middle East, and to undermine any revolutionary African-Arab solidarity.

A recent organization of African Unity (OAU) ministerial council passed a resolution in support of the United Arab Republic in the Middle East. While at the U.N. all, but the most conservative African States, have, voted against Israel, «many left-of-centre African officials,» reports Philippe Decreane in *Le Monde* (June 3), «regard Israel merely as a counter-revolutionary tool which the United States

is using to strengthen American influence in Africa.» Decreane cited the Africa Research Group's exposé of Israeli-American links in Africa which appeared in the Havana-based journal **Tricontinental** and the U.S. magazine **Leviathan** as echoing and illustrating the reasons for increasing hostility toward Israel among African leaders once receptive to Israeli technical and military help.

The article, «David and Goliath Collaborate in Africa» revealed that the U.S. had financed a number of Israeli projects through use of the semi-covert «Third Country Technique.» A recent study of «Israeli Technical Assistance to African Countries» for the Geneva-African Institute offered even more details of Israel's work on behalf of U.S. Imperialism. It cites a number of instances of U.S.-Israeli «cooperation» including the setting up of a technical instruction school in Guinea «at the request of the U.S. government.»

Many of Africa's militant leaders have condemned Israeli intervention in their countries.

In Chad, the liberation movement now fighting a French expeditionary force has attacked Israel for training and advising a special para-commando security force for Chad's repressive regime. This counter-insurgency force was trained, interestingly,

in Congo-Kinshasa, a pro-Western state whose own para-commandos (led by General Mobutu, the country's president) were also Israeli-trained.

The Sudan's revolutionary Government has announced seizing «staggering quantities» of Israeli-supplied arms from the breakaway rebels in the country's south.

Earlier, Nigerians condemned Israel for giving military aid to the abortive Biafran secession.

South Africa's liberation movement, the African National Congress, joined the attack by publishing a blistering condemnation of the little known «Israeli-South Africa axis» in its magazine **Sechaba** (April 1970). Charging that «Israel and South Africa both serve imperialism in the Afro-Asian world,» author Brian Bunting documents the expanding links between Israel and the racist South African government.

According to Bunting, South African officials, including its pro-Nazi prime minister, have spoken warmly of Israel and praised its military maneuvers as well as its occupation and control of Arab lands. During a currency crisis when all extensive transfers of money out of South Africa were prohibited, the apartheid regime permitted large transfers of private

funds, with contributions also from the ruling Nationalist Party, to Israel, after the June 1967 six-day war.

In September of that year General Mordechi Hod, Commander of the Israel Air Force paid an official visit to South Africa and addressed a selected group of white officers at the Air Force College. He lectured on Israeli surprise attack methods. His visit came at a time when South Africa was threatening Zambia with air strikes for harboring freedom fighters.

Other Zionist leaders, including David Ben Gurion, have subsequently visited South Africa and met with government officials. As additional evidence of the growing bonds between the two states. Bunting cites a **Johannesburg Star** report of January 3, 1969; «Israel will try in the future to maintain closer and fuller links with South Africa.» The correspondent said that for years Israel had played down her relationship with South Africa «because the assumption was that closer links with South Africa would be detrimental to Israel's friendly relationship.. There has now been a complete reappraisal of the situation.. The pro-South African faction has, so it seems, won the day.»

As relations between Black Africa and Israel

cool for a number of reasons — the Middle East crisis, new attempts at Arab-African Unity, the spread of Islam in Africa —, the Zionist state may move closer to the Apartheid Republic. Israel's important diamond finishing industry has for years serviced South African diamonds while South Africa's influential Jewish community has long agitated for closer bonds between the two countries.

Israel's politically inspired Africa programs are reaching a crossroad. **Le Monde** says «Israel's honeymoon in Africa is over.» As the images of Israeli beneficence melt away, Israel's links to racism and imperialism become more apparent. ■

Documents

Last month, November 1970, a number of important documents relating to the Palestine question were either adopted by, or submitted to, international bodies and organizations. We present below the text of (1) UN General Assembly Resolution No. 2628 adopted on November calling, among other things, for «withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict. (2) Recommendations of the Report of the three-member Special Committee which was submitted to the U.N. Secretary-General on November 2, 1970 and which found that «Israel is pursuing policies and practices which are in violation of the human rights of the population of the Occupied Territories. (3) Resolution on the «Imperialist-Israeli aggression on the Arab countries and the Arab Palestinian people» adopted by the IXth Council Session of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization held in Tripoli (Libya), 9-11 November, 1970.

I. Resolution 2628 of November 4, 1970

The General Assembly,

Seriously concerned that the continuation of the present grave and deteriorating situation in the Middle East constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security;

Reaffirming that no territorial acquisition resulting from the use or threat of force shall be recognized;

Deploring the continued occupation of the Arab territories since 5 June 1967;

Seriously concerned that Security Council Resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, which was unanimously adopted and which provides for a peaceful settlement of the situation in the Middle East has not yet been implemented;

Having considered the item entitled *The situation in the Middle East*,

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

2. **Reaffirms** that the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East should include the application of both the following principles:

(a) withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;

(b) termination of all claims, or states of belligerency, and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

3. **Recognizes** that respect for the rights of the Palestinians is an indispensable element in the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the **Middle East**;

4. **Urges** the speedy implementation of Security Council Resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, which provides for the peaceful settlement of the Middle East, in all its parts;

5. **Calls upon** the parties directly concerned to instruct their representatives to resume contact with the special representative of the Secretary-General in order to enable him to carry out, at the earliest possible date, his mandate for the implementation of the Security Council Resolution in all its parts;

6. **Recommends** to the parties that they extend the cease-fire for a period of three months in order that they may enter into talks under the auspices of the special representative of the Secretary-General

with a view to giving effect to Security Council Resolution 242 (1967);

7. **Requests** the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council within a period of two months, and to the General Assembly as appropriate, on the efforts of the Special Representative and on the implementation of Security Council Resolution 242 (1967);

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

II. Recommendations of the Special Committee on Human Rights in Israel-Occupied Territories

A Special Committee set up by the General Assembly has reported that Israel is pursuing, in the occupied territories in the Middle East, «policies and practices which are in violation of the human rights of the population of those territories.»

The Special Committee's report to the Secretary-General (A/8089), issued on 2 November, follows an investigation earlier this year by the three-member group, officially called the «Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories.»

In its report, the Special Committee proposes «as a temporary practical measure» that the Assembly recommend to the States whose territory is occupied by Israel that they appoint immediately either a neutral State or States whose territory is occupied by Israel, or an impartial international organization to safeguard the human rights of the population. A neutral state or organization nominated by Israel would be associated in this arrangement.

The State or States or international organization thus nominated, says the Special Committee, might be authorized to:

- Secure the scrupulous implementation of the human rights provision of the 1949 Geneva Conventions relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War and the Protection of Civilian Rights in Time of War, and investigate alleged violations of those and other applicable international instruments;
- Ensure that the population of the territories are treated in accordance with the applicable law; and
- Report to the States concerned and to the General Assembly.

The Special Committee also recommended that

the General Assembly call on Israel, among other measures, to:

- Cease immediately and prevent all policies and practices of collective punishment;
- Cease immediately and prevent the torture of prisoners of war and of imprisoned or detained persons, and apply to them the provisions of the 1949 Geneva Conventions and the United Nations Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners;
- End the indefinite prolonged detention without trial of all prisoners by releasing them or affording them a fair trial.
- Discontinue the policy of establishing Israeli settlements in the occupied territories and withdraw all Israeli settlers from settlements already established;
- Repeal all measures to alter the status of occupied Jerusalem and restore it to the status subsisting before the outbreak of hostilities; **and**
- Restore the judicial system in the occupied territories to the status it enjoyed before the occupation.

The Assembly established the Special Committee in resolution 2443 (xxiii) of 19 December 1968.

However, as a result of the delay in the appointment of members—Ceylon, Somalia, Yugoslavia—the group did not carry its investigations until this year. It heard witnesses in London, Beirut, Damascus, Amman, Cairo and Geneva between 1 April and 2 May and a witness in New York on 12 June.

In a letter transmitting the report, the Chairman of the Special Committee, H.S. Amerasingh (Ceylon), noted that «a major obstacle» facing the Committee at the outset was «the refusal of the Government of Israel to cooperate with it,» and that the Committee was «therefore not in a position to visit the occupied territories for more thorough verification of the allegations made before it.»

III. Resolution of the IXth Council Session of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization The Imperialist-Israeli Aggression On The Arab Countries And The Arab Palestinian People

The increasingly tense situation arising from the continued aggression on three Arab countries and the Arab Palestinian people poses a threat to world peace and security and to the national liberation movement.

The Council of Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity in its Ninth Session in Tripoli, November 9-11, 1970, regards with growing concern the continuation by

American imperialism and other imperialist countries of supply of all types of up-to-date armaments, including tanks, aircraft and electronic weapons, to Israel, in addition to its stand in international gatherings in support of the aggression and protection of the aggressor and, furthermore, its permission to American nationals to join the Israeli army while still maintaining their American citizenship.

The Council draws the attention of Afro-Asian peoples to the fact that the imperialist plan in this region aims to strike against the movement of Arab resistance to the aggression and to weaken the Arab liberation movement and to undermine the international liberation movement.

The events of last September in Jordan and the appalling massacres which were waged against the Palestinian and Jordanian peoples, and which were the outcome of an American—imperialist—Zionist—reactionary plot, are aimed at the liquidation of the Arab Palestinian resistance and the petrification of the Arab national liberation movement. They are also meant to bring about the collapse of one of the main elements of the battle, which is the Palestinian resistance, and to weaken the front of Arab countries in confrontation with the aggression. The Council, notwithstanding the failure of this plot, also draws attention to the dangers besetting

the Palestinian resistance and calls for its protection and vindication.

The Council considers that the struggle of the Arab people against the Israeli-imperialist aggression and for the liberation of the occupied Arab territories is a just and legitimate struggle.

The Council supports all efforts and measures taken by the Arab countries for the consolidation of their defence potentialities to liberate their land. Hence the Council supports the endeavours of the United Arab Republic to use all means to defend its territories. It condemns the Imperialist-Zionist campaign of fallacies against the right of the United Arab Republic to use missiles on any part of its territories, this being a national act to defend its territories and to serve the cause of peace.

The Council calls upon African and Asian countries to undertake prompt and effective action for the removal of the traces of the 1967-Aggression which was meant to destroy Arab progressive regimes. The liberation of Arab territories, the ensurance of the rights of the Arab Palestinian people and the vindication of the progressive regimes in the Arab world are all basic conditions for the establishment of a just peace in the Middle East.

The AAPSO Council had, at earlier meetings, recommended the support of the Arab Palestinian

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people's struggle for their return to their homeland and to restore all their legitimate rights and their right to self-determination on their land. Events have proved the truth of the resolutions adopted by the AAPSO, considering that the introduction of the Zionist regime in the heart of Palestine and the expulsion of the Palestinian people from their land constituted an act of aggression carried out by imperialism and colonialism against the Arab people at large and against the peoples of Africa and Asia. The role played by Israel in the service of imperialism and neo-colonialism to deal blows to the Arab liberation movement as embodied in repeated acts of aggression, notably the 1967-Aggression, affirms that it is incumbent upon the Afro-Asian peoples and all peoples of the world to stand with all their might by the side of, and to fully mobilise their efforts to support, the Arab liberation movement in general and the Palestinian in particular. The latter undertakes a heroic role in the struggle against the worst type of settler colonialism and racial discrimination and terrorist Nazi methods of the Twentieth Century.

The struggle of the Arab Palestinian people, who are part and parcel of the international liberation movement, is worthy of the support of all the honest forces of the world.

The Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organiza-

Documents

tion affirms that the struggle of the Arab Palestinian people, represented by their armed revolution, constitutes a support of the struggle of Arab, African, and Asian peoples as well as a support of the struggle of the peoples of the world. Thus, armed struggle is a legitimate right that has been exercised by the oppressed peoples throughout history and the peoples seeking freedom and sovereignty on their lands and the right of self-determination.

The rallying of Arab efforts and the mobilisation of their potentialities in all countries and on the non-Arab plane is an essential need to confront defeat and eliminate the Zionist aggression and the imperialist schemes.

The Council, supporting the mobilisation of Arab potentialities for the battle, and calling upon the world peace-loving countries which work for the removal of the traces of the Israeli aggression on the basis of the United Nations General Assembly resolutions and the resolution of the Security Council of November 1967, also supports all efforts directed to the attainment of a just and honourable political solution on the basis of:

- a) Complete withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories; and
- b) Guaranteeing the national and legitimate rights of the Arab Palestinian people.

The Council calls upon all friendly organisations to apply joint action for securing world public opinion support for the struggle of the Arab countries and of the Arab Palestinian people, for the exposure of the role of Israel and American imperialism to enable world public opinion to exert pressure on governments which support aggression and protect the aggressor. The Council warns the peoples of Africa and Asia against the dangers of the Israeli infiltration into both continents.

The Council hails all friendly peoples, organisations and countries which stood by to support the Arab people in their just struggle, and especially the Soviet Union, who stood, from the very beginning, by the side of the Arab peoples and supplied them with all types of assistance and aid, which enabled these countries to stand firm in the confrontation with all imperialist and Israeli schemes. The Council also hails Asian and African countries which took the side of the Arab right and faced the American imperialist challenge at the United Nations General Assembly.

The Council hails the victory of the Arab people in Sudan and Libya and their revolutionary upsurge in May and September 1969, which came about to support the front of the Arab peoples against the imperialist-Israeli aggression. The Council also hails the persistence of the Arab masses and

the forces of the Palestinian resistance which succeeded in foiling the objectives of the Israeli-imperialist aggression.

The Council is confident that the struggle of the Arab peoples for the liberation of their territories from aggression is dependent, in the first place, on the consolidation of their own forces, and, secondly, on the support of friendly countries. Permanent peace will never be achieved in the Middle East except through the restoration of Arab territories and the restitution of the full rights of the Arab Palestinian people in their land, and the liquidation of the roots of racism and Zionism from the land of Palestine. And victory will be the lot of the Arab countries in this battle. ■

BOOK REVIEWS

In this issue of RESISTANCE, we introduce two important recent publications of the Palestine Liberation Organization Research Center: «Greater Israel,» by Dr. Ass'ad Razzouk and «Wither Israel?» by Khalid Kishtainy. The first is a comprehensive study of Zionist expansionist thought and the second of actual Zionist-Israeli expansion.(1)

(1) Books published by the P.L.O. Research Center are obtainable from: P.L.O. Research Center, Colombani St. off Sadat St., Beirut, Lebanon.

Book Reviews

Greater Israel – A Study in Zionist Expansionist Thought – by: Dr. Ass'ad Razzouk. Published by P.L.O. Research Center, Beirut, Lebanon, Palestine Books Series No. 13–326 pages. L.L. 10.

This book is a translation in a condensed form of Dr. Razzouk's more comprehensive study of Zionist expansionist thought, originally published in Arabic.

Much effort had gone to produce that study. In a foreword to the book, Dr. Anis Sayegh, Director General of the Research Center explains: «The Research Center entrusted Dr. Ass'ad Razzouk with the task of carrying out this long study. To do this he had to go over the hundreds of sources and documents related to the subject, from books to articles and files published by dozens of Zionist associations and prominent personalities in the Zionist movement over the last hundred years. The Center made available to the author the means at its disposal, all its written records and sources, to provide him with all the data directly relevant to the subject.»

In the words of the author, the book is «an attempt at carrying out a historical survey of the

concept of Greater Israel.» It tries to examine its development and the changes made in it from its first appearance in written texts until the «Smaller Israeli State,» established in 1948, undertook the occupation of the whole of Palestine and of areas of three Arab countries after June 1967 Israeli aggression against the Arab countries.

The study is centred on Zionism as an idea, a call and an expansionist movement. It endeavours to point out the data and the factors that contributed to the inception of the idea of «Greater Israel» and traces the development which led it, in stages, to the level of implementation.

Among the features of this comprehensive study are the use of the original texts, religious or non-religious, Jewish or non-Jewish; continuous reference to scientifically accepted historical facts and truths with a view to taking them as a basis of the study; the utilization of general geographical facts and the persistent reference to the political map; the exposition of the role of foreign influence and colonialist interests in developing the Zionist

expansionist concept; the evaluation of the movement of «Gentile» Zionism and the delineation of its contribution, direct or indirect, to the shaping of the concept; following up the development of the idea of «Greater Israel» during the period of fifty years which separated the issuance of the Balfour Declaration (1917) from the extension of Zionist aggression through the Zionist-imperialist aggression of June 1967; a careful analysis of the statements made by Israeli leaders and in the Israeli press since that aggression, reflecting changes in the Israeli expansionist mentality; and finally a conclusion of the study in the form of a utilization of the historical data and events to throw light on the fate of the idea of the «Greater Israel.»

The book is a comprehensive study of Zionist expansionist thought. It proves that the idea of Zionist expansion and of «Greater Israel» is as old as Zionism. It shows how the concept has become now an openly proclaimed slogan raised by various organizations and movements in Israel. It stresses the danger to Arab existence constituted by the implementation of this concept.

Whither Israel? – A Study of Zionist Expan-

sionism – by Khalid Kishtainy. Published by P.L.O. Research Center, Beirut, Lebanon. Palestine Books Series No. 29–220 pages. L.L. 8.

This book is a study of the actual implementation of the Zionist expansionist concept with special emphasis on the influence which this implementation had had on the tragedy of the Palestinian people. «This book,» the author tells us «must be read throughout against the silhouette of the refugee behind the barbed wire.»

A special feature of «Whither Israel?» is a series of twenty maps illustrating various features and stages of the Zionist expansionist conception, including maps of: the Kingdom of Solomon and David (mentioned by Herzl as the envisaged Jewish State), Palestine under Turkish administration, Palestine in the Sykes-Picot agreement, British military administration (1918), Israel as demanded by the Zionist organization (1919), the Jewish state as proposed by the Jewish Agency in 1946, Partition autonomy plan proposed by the British Government

in July 1946, UNSCOP partition plan and the Arab and Zionist military response to it, and territories seized by Israel beyond the area of that plan as a result of a series of Zionist aggressions culminating in the June 1967 war.

Kishtainy's study stresses the effect of Zionist expansionist aggressions on the emergence of an Arab resistance movement with a far-reaching philosophy of action and a clear image of a just and democratic solution for the Palestine question and on the Zionist-imperialist alliance and its aims. «Like the 1948 war,» the author states, «the 1967 Six-day War afforded the Arabs an opportunity to re-examine their weaknesses. A far-reaching philosophy of action emerged among the guerrilla fighters. To them, the fight is not against the Jews or the people of Israel, but against Zionism... The war confirmed more than ever that the Zionist government, in alliance with the world of Western imperialism, is bent on undermining the revolutionary progress of the Arab countries. Unlike the 1956 war, the

Resistance

Six-day War revealed Israel as a full partner of that world and not simply as a hireling or an agent.»

The book is well-written. It is not a translation from Arabic. It goes beyond the examination of facts and data and penetrates to the very essence of the issue. ■

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