THE DAISTING

ROGERS "ISRABL"

& THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

The United States government, through Secretary of State Rogers, made public—for the tenth time?—its proposals on the "Arab-Israeli deadlock." The New York Times (Dec. 10,

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1969) reported that the speech was "more than two months in preparation." The section dealing with Israeli withdrawal was "shrouded by qualification" and that dealing with Jerusalem was "deliberately vague."

Secretary Rogers tried to recirculate an old and worn-out coin: "Our policy is . . . a belonged one. We have friendly ties with both Arche and Israelic." The United States

balanced one. We have friendly ties with both Arabs and Israelis." The United States attempt to pose in simulated friendship to the Arabs is unconvincing. Given that the United States:

-Prodded the Lebanese authorities (an alliance of the bourgeoisie and landowners) to destroy the Palestinian guerrillas;

-Permitted American citizens to fight in the Israeli armed forces;

-Encouraged the Israeli militarists to launch the

-Supplied and still supplies the Israeli air force with Phantom and Skyhawk planes at a time when this air force napalms Arab civilians;

-Plundered and still plunders through its multinational corporations the oil wealth of the Arabs;

-Aimed and still aims at the political fragmentation of the Arab nation in order to prevent a united Arab society from appropriating Arab wealth.

Given all these and similar policies, Secretary Rogers had to try very hard to convince the Arab people of the friendliness of the United States establishment. The Arab people, for far too long, have been at the receiving end of these policies;

and Arab wounds have cut much too deep for a weak sedative, like this speech, to have the desired effect. Let us examine briefly some of his more ambitious attempts at Arab persuasion.

1] "Following the third Arab Israeli war in 20 years, there was an upsurge of hope that a lasting peace could be achieved. That hope has unfortunately not been realized."

These are moving words. Let us translate them: Following the third and most devasting Arab defeat in 20 years, there was an upsurge of hope (who experienced it?) that a lasting peace could be achieved; that is:

-Israeli occupation of an additional territory three times larger than that formerly occupied;

-The death of about 20,000 Arab soldiers by Israeli naplam and fragmentation bombs;

--The subsequent displacement of about one million Arabs from the Golan Heights, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the towns along the Suez Canal.

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Editorial

VIETNAM AND PALESTINE

Israeli Premier Golda Meir's support for the Nixon Administration policies in Vietnam once again points up the quid pro quo which exists between Israel and the U.S., on the one level, and the Israeli policy of covering one's bets, on another level Before the June, 1967. War the Johnson administration was able to derive come satisfaction from untching American liberals, who opposed him in Vietnam clamoring for U.S. intervention in the Middle East on the side of Israel. Now tract is bappy that the November 3, 1969, address by Nixon on Vietnam "contains much that

encourages and strengthens small nations the world over", as Mrs. Meir indicated in her statement supporting Nixon's speech.

It is not difficult to translate Meir's support. In the event that Israel is unable to stem the growing Palestinian guerrilla movement, Israel will depend on the timely military assistance of the U.S. in an attempt to crush the Arab revolution. Moreover, Israel is more than willing to support the U.S. in its attempts to quell the struggle for self-determination and nation liveration throughout the world, to assure continued American political and economic support for the Zionist program in Pales

This alliance between Zionism and American Imperialism has placed American liberals in an uncomfortable, if not dangerous, position and, ultimately, will expose the contradiction of their support for U.S. policies in the Middle East. However much they might feel that the creation of Ismel at the expense of the Palastimum people explates Western crimes against the Jews, these western liberals are now contronted with supporting that explants he supporting that explains he supporting the most flavour expression of U.S. imperialism.



ACHESON OPPOSED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ISRAEL

In his new book, Present at the Creation: My Years at the State Department, former Secretary of State Dean Acheson bares for the first time his opposition to the establishment of the Israeli state in "Arab Palestine" (Acheson's own expression). The differences over the Palestine question marked his only major disagreement with President Truman.

"I did not share the President's view on the Palestine solution to the pressing and desperate plight of great numbers of displaced Jews in Eastern Europe. The numbers that could be absorbed by Arab Palestine without creating a grave problem would be inadequate, and to transform the country into a Jewish state capable of receiving a million or more immigrants would vastly exacerbate the political problem and imperil not only American but all Western interests in the Near East. From Justice Brandeis, whom I revered, and Felix Frankfurter, my intimate friend, I had learned to understand, but not to share, the mystical emotion of the Jews to return to Palestine and end the Diaspora. In urging Zionism as an American Government policy, they had allowed, so I thought, their emotion to obscure the totality of American interest."

This book marks the first public pronouncement in this vein by an important American official since James Forrestal.

A total of 478 military operations were undertaken against the enemy in occupied Palestine during the month of November by the eight commando organizations affiliated to the Palestinian Armed Struggle Command (PASC). This is against 454 operations in October, 429 in September and 480 in August.

PASC includes Fatah, the Palestine Liberation Army, the Popular Forces, the Sa'eqa, the Arab Liberation Front and three splinter groups of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

The 478 operations in November, the overwhelming majority of which were carried out by Fatah, resulted in the loss or damage of 255 military vehicles; 130 barracks; 80 gun and machine gun emplacements; 40 bridges and railway culverts; 20 water lines and different installations.

PASC's military spokesman said enemy casualties were very high but gave no numbers. He listed commando casualties at 11 killed and 4 injured, against 19 killed and 17 injured in October.

Following is a brief roundup of Fatah's major operations during November:

NOVEMBER 5: A special task force of Fatah commandos succeeded in placing timed incendiary bombs in the central storehouse of the cotton factory in Dehota, west of Sodom and southeast of Beersheba. A huge fire erupted in the adjacent storehouses. Enemy material losses were described as extremely high. Flames could still be seen at the site the following day.

NOVEMBER 7: Mortar attack on Neot Hakikar settlement south of the Dead Sea, destroying vital installations. Other Fatah squads killer and wounded several enemy troops when they ambushed a tracked vehicle and a military jeep in the Beit Yosef and Shuwayer areas respectively, both in the northern Jordan Valley.

NOVEMBER 8: Fatah commandos mortar Israeli military camp and advanced post in the Mindassa region, in the central Jordan Valley.

NOVEMBER 9: Fatah commandos blow up crude oil pipeline north of Eilat as well as a big section of the railway and a water pumping station in the occupied Gaza Strip.

NOVEMBER 10: Fatah explosive charge wrecks the Israeli Immigrant Absorption Center in Afula, central town of Jerzeel valley in north central Palestine. During the same day, November 10, Fatah commandos launch heavy missile and mortar attacks on Israeli observation post in Maghtas area as well as on Kefar-Ruppin settlement both in the northern Jordan Valley.

NOVEMBER 11: Fatah commandos foil attempt by Israeli patrol to cross Jordan River into the east bank on the Abu Seido area. Enemy confesses one casualty. Heavy mortar raid by Fatah on Yardena settlement in the northern Jordan Valley.

NOVEMBER 12: Fatah and Arab Liberation Front commandos blast a 40-meter stretch of defensive fortifications, including a minefield, in the Umm Sedra region in the northern Jordan Valley, and ambush enemy patrol and tracked vehicle in Umm Tuta. Fatah freedom fighters kill two Israeli troops and injure three others in ambush near the Neve-Ur Kibutz. Fatah commandos also destroy an enemy troop carrier, killing all its occupants, in Turkmaniyeh. Fatah snipers kill three Israeli troops — two in Tellet Moussa and one in Zor Shishan.

NOVEMBER 14: Fatah commandos blow up pipeline gathering system between Haifa refinery and storage tanks.

NOVEMBER 15: Fatah freedom fighters launch rocket and mortar attack on enemy positions in the Sha'ar Hagolan kibutz in the Jordan Valley.

NOVEMBER 16: Fatah commandos launch heavy missile attack on enemy camp in Tellet Najjar, east of Jericho. Enemy confesses seven casualties. Another Fatah unit wipes out an enemy ambush. Fatah commandos also mortar Yardena settlement in the northern Jordan Valley. Enemy admits six casualties.

NOVEMBER 18: Fatah and Arab Liberation Front forces launch a heavy attack on enemy artillery positions in Ein Soura in the central Jordan Valley. Another joint force shells enemy head-quarters and ambushes in Turkmaniyeh.

NOVEMBER 19: Fatah freedom fighters silence Israeli firing posts at al-Alami project near Jericho. Fatah snipers kill three enemy troops in Junaidiyeh:

NOVEMBER 20: Fatah commandos kill all members of an Israeli foot patrol in the Yardena area in the northern Jordan Valley.

NOVEMBER 22: Fatah commandos attack main enemy camp in the Shuwayer area in the central Jordan Valley. During the same day, "The Volcano of Assifa" operation was carried out by Fatah commandos against petrol storage tanks on Shemen Coast southeast of Haifa port.

NOVEMBER 24: Fatah commandos wipe out an Israeli engineering corps foot patrol in Beit Yosef settlement in the northern Jordan Valley.

NOVEMBER 26: Fatah commandos launch a missile attack on an enemy military position on Tellet Najjar in the central Jordan Valley. Another Fatah unit attacks the enemy's military headquarters in Mindassa in the central Jordan Valley.

NOVEMBER 29: Fatah freedom fighters attack enemy military positions in Al-Khatib area in the central Jordan Valley. Fatah snipers kill five enemy soldiers in various parts of the northern Jordan Valley.

NOVEMBER 30: An enemy foot patrol in Zor al-Ramlieh was completely wiped out by Fatah commandos. Fatah snipers kill four Israeli soldiers in Jordan Valley.

other side other spirate

"I hold no grudge against Golda," said the outgoing minister of Postal Service in Israel, "but I continue to differ with this system of 'one' public representative for half the population."

Mr. Israel Yeshe'yahu, a Yemenite Jew who had been instrumental in persuading the rest of his coreligionists to leave Yemen for the land of milk and honey, had some bitter words to say last month when he was forced out of the government. Suddenly his eyes were opened and he began to see the light.

In an interview with the Hebrew newspaper Ma'ariv of December 12, 1969, the minister remarked: "After forty years it became clear to me,

to my deep sorrow, that the Ashkinazim have not let down the barriers."

These sentiments were occasioned by the formation of a new government in Israel, from which the two oriental Jews of the previous government suddenly found themselves excluded. "The new line-up is reported to be much like the old one" (N.Y. Times, December 8, 1969): that is, it is a government made up of diverse parties coalesced in the interest of expressing national unity in a time of national crisis. "But," Mr. Yeshe'yahu exclaimed, "in times of emergency, what kind of government is this—that out of 24 ministers, there is only one to betoken about half the Jewish population of the country."

The other oriental in the former government was the minister of police, Mr. Sasson, who got wind of Mrs. Meir's intentions preceding these developments and voluntarily tendered his resignation. Mr. Yeshe'yahu had wanted to continue in his office, but Mrs. Meir, having other plans, asked him to quit . . . and he burst out with: "Why me in particular?"

It took Mr. Yeshe'yahu forty years to discover one aspect of Zionism, i.e., its exclusiveness. One would hope it takes him less time to find out why the policy-makers singled him out "in particular." He will find out why, undoubtedly, when he embarks on his new engagement. His plans are the following: "Because the gap between the various classes has widened since the six-day war; a gap, to my sorrow, which has ethnic overtones, I will dedicate myself to constructive work which will narrow that gap, if it proves impossible to bridge it completely."

Ironically, Israeli spokesmen have been claiming that the six-day war brought the various ethnic groups in Israel closer to each other.

Unless Mr. Yeshe'yahu has been totally out of touch with what goes on around him, it is difficult to understand how he could be taken aback by the behavior of his fellow Zionists from the West. Israeli spokesmen have, time and again, stressed how Western their society's outlook is.

Is the minister unaware of Ashkenazi attitudes towards the oriental cultures? or does he fancy himself to be Western by association! Does he know of the discrimination in housing and employment perpetrated against oriental Jews, or not? How many Iraqi or Yemeni students are there in the universities? . . . and how many of them are in high positions in government or business? As a member of the party which has ruled Israel since its establishment as a state, the minister has been among those who put into practice Israel's policy towards the Arabs. Certainly, he is aware of the motives behind such policies. Now, it seems, he himself has become the target of discriminatory actions.

Late as it may be, Mr. Yeshe'yahu's discovery and plan of future work are steps in the right direction. The revolt against domination by one ethnic group over another in that state is long overdue.

The Palestine liberation movement has undertaken the struggle to do away with such primitive vestiges of colonialism in that area. It calls upon all oppressed peoples in Palestine to join its ranks. Should Mr. Yeshe'yahu be faithful to his declared principles, he would see eye to eye with the movement.

FATAH ROCKETS HAIFA TANKS

HAIFA – Fatah bazooka rockets hit fuel storage tanks in east Haifa November 21, sending flames and smoke leaping over Haifa Bay. A military spokesman for the Palestinian Armed Struggle Command said.

The explosions caused by the direct bazooka rocket hits shook the port city at 8:40 p.m., local. Flames and additional explosions continued until the following day.

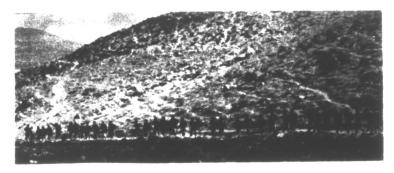
It was the fifth major Fatah operation in Haifa this year and the third within a month. It also came only 24 hours after Zionist authorities announced they had smashed a Palestinian "sabotage ring responsible for recent blasts in Haifa."

Oil installations in the port city of Haifa have so far been the target of four major Fatah attacks June 24, August 15, November 14 and November 21. On October 22-23 five Fatah bomb blasts in 24 hours rocked residential quarters in Haifa as a warning against continuation of Zionist policy to blow up the houses of Palestinian Arab civilians. The Israeli authorities admitted 22 casualties in the October 22-23 explosions.

Unable again to conceal the November 21 Fatah attack on Haifa oil installations, Israel Radio reported that two tanks were hit directly and firemen were trying to put out the blaze while army units pressed a hunt in the area for "suspects."

Israeli police officials said a night watchman sighted and fired on a car leaving the scene of the fire, but the car escaped undamaged.

Fatah bazooka rockets ripped the Haifa fuel tanks only 24 hours after Israel announced in Haifa she had arrested 31 Palestinian Arabs in police raids culminating in the rounding up of six men in Acre were "responsible for recent blasts in Haifa."



KARAMEH BATTLE REVIVED

In an atmosphere reminiscent of al-Karameh battle, Lebanese civilians and artillery units joined Fatah and other Palestinian commandos in successfully thwarting an Israeli helicopter borne attack on South Lebanon December 3.

Licking their wounds, the enemy troops, estimated at 400, withdrew while dropping smoke bombs to cover their heavy losses. They officially confessed only six casualties, including the death of one of the commanding officers of the helicopter-borne raid at the Arkoub area, on the slopes of snowcapped Mount Hermon.

A spokesman for the Palestinian Armed Struggle Command said commando casualties were nine dead (six from Sa'eqa and three from Fatah) and 13 injured (eight from Fatah and five from Sa'eqa). The spokesman said several Lebanese civilians, including a woman were injured.

The spokesman said the enemy paved the way for its helicopter-borne attack with intermittent heavy artillery fire against the Arkoub area starting 5:30 a.m., December 3, and until 8:15 a.m., when enemy artillery fire was intensified to cover the areas of Kfar Shouba, Habbariyah and Wadi Assal. The commandos returned the fire until 10:10 a.m.

Helicopter-borne enemy paratroopers were landed in the area at 10:15 a.m. A violent clash between the Palestinian freedom fighters and the enemy paratroopers followed 15 minutes later. The commandos were able to gain full control of the battle, forcing the enemy to send at 11:00 a.m. a new wave of helicopter-borne reinforcements which in turn came under heavy commando fire.

The enemy started his retreat under heavy artillery and smoke screen cover around noon. The enemy was forced to evacuate the area completely by 1:00 p.m., leaving behind weapons and ammunition but carrying his dead and wounded.

Arab states that a policy of unrelenting belliperson toward famel will not achieve their objective nor advance their own aspirations for a better life and an escape from poverty. If the United States does not lose its nerve and not allow itself to be maneuvered into pressing Israel to accept measures which could compro mise its security, current radical Arab and Soviet policy will fail, the bankruptcy and total negativem of its premises will be exposed, and a new era of opportunity and enlighteament can open in the Middle East." Congressional Record (12/12/69).

Congressman Podell (N.Y.):

"Mr. Speaker, the very recent speech by Secre tary of State Rogers on the Middle East has sent a tremor of acute apprenhension through every friend of Israel in the United States. Its tenor was pro-Arab and utterly unrealistic. In effect, Israel is requested to give up all her tangible and dearly won gains in return for an Arab promise, which will probably not be forthcoming and worthless if given. The Kremlin seems to be doing rather well in terms of what the State Department is thinking.

"Mr. Speaker, Israel's leaders and friends also read history. They will not only refuse to go Czechoslovakia's way, but will stand firm, President Nixon and Mr. Rogers will have taken a first step down a devious and dishonorable road. I fervently pray they retrace their steps

"Never did I think to see the day when the United States would cravenly crawl on its belly to the likes of Nasser, our worst Arab enemy. and beg for his favor at the expense of our bravest and tiniest ally. Such shame beggars description."

-Congressional Record (12/11/69).

Senator Fulbright (Ark.) had this to say:

"Mr. President, on December 9, before the 1969 Galaxy Conference on Adult Education in Washington, D.C., Secretary of State Rogers delivered a statesmanlike address which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record ...

Spiegel, entitled "\$500 Million Drive is Set by UJA.

"Mr. President, the purpose of this is to illustrate what seems to me a rather inseemly attack by the Prime Minister of Israel upon the Secretary of State while, at the same time, the U.J.A. is promoting a program to mise \$500 million in this country, which, as everyone knows, is tax deductible and which adds to the foreign exchange of Israel, for the purchase of anything, including arms."

Theodore C. Sorensen, who plans to run for the Senate seat from New York, recently made the requisite "tourist trip" to Israel. Following are a few of his observations, published in an article in Holiday (December 1969):

"Life goes on here very much as it always has."

"When doctors warned of the psychological damage being inflicted upon children awakened nearly every night to be rushed into an underground bunker, several shelters were converted into children's dormitories and every child under the age of eleven slept there every night. Another bunker was made into a teenage discotheque to encourage the young people to stay close to it after dark."

"Yet the jokes go on. 'My wife says we have to show our spirit by shopping at that super-market that was blown up," one man tells another in a radio skit. "That's not so bad. It's one of Jerusalem's better stores," replied his friend. "Yes but we live in Tel Aviv!"

"Hourly newscasts are tuned in by most of an anxious population. Sabotage and guerrilla strikes take a toll that is exceedingly heavy for a tiny nation that sanctifies human life. Every family has kin in the service, every citizen knows soldiers who have been killed. But there was none of the oppressive atmosphere I have seen in other nations preoccupied with questions of security."

HUIMphrey Knows ... everybody knows

HUBERT HUMPHREY:

"WE ALL KNOW THAT THE ISRAELIS CANNOT MAINTAIN -NOR DO THEY WISH TO MAIN-TAIN - THE PRESENT OCCUPIED TERRITORY.'

THE WASHINGTON POST, Dec. 15, 1969

DAYAN: "The struggle in which we are nowadays involved is that of reconstituting the Historical Israel."

L'ORIENT, July 7, 1968

EBAN: "It is a matter of security and principle that the map of the Middle East should never again look the same as it did in June 1967."

THE TIMES, January 28, 1969

EVANS & NOVAK REPORTING FROM JERUSA-LEM: "Would Israel really seize and hold part of Lebanon? 'Certainly' we were told by a military authority here, "If the blood of our children is on the ground, we attack. And once we get there, I think we stay."

THE WASHINGTON POST, November 26, 1969

(Continued from Page 1)

These factors, inter alia, seem to have given the American establishment an "upsurge of hope." It is superabundantly clear that Arab "pacification" is a prerequisite for a "just and lasting peace."

"Unfortunately," he says these hopes were dashed but refrains from giving the reason. Or, was ill-fortune the reason? We were not aware that the Department of State, in its general adoption of Machiavelli's Philosophy, also accepted the Florentine's view that the workings of "fortune" are a motive force in human history.

What dashed these hopes? Towards the end of his speech, the Secretary of State speaks of "a new consciousness among the young Palestinians Secretary Rogers who is fairly forthright need not be so indirect. It is the revolutionary consciousness of the oppressed Palestinian people translated into armed struggle, the uncompromising support of the Arab people, and of progressive forces around the world including the support of progressive, anti-imperialist Americans that dashed these hopes. As Palestinians, as Arabs, we are proud of this principled internationalist support.

2] "It was obvious (to "this administration") that a continuation of the unresolved conflict there would be extremely dangerous, that the parties to the conflict alone would not be able to overcome their legacy of suspicion to achieve a political settlement . . .

How and for whom would the continuation of the conflict be "extremely dangerous"? Why is the United States so anxious for a settlement?

-The increasing human and material strength of the Fedayeen movement and the escalation of their operations against the forces of the European ruling establishment in Israel;

-The growing radicalization of the Arab masses as evidenced in the greater popular acceptance of revolutionary violence and the strategy of the people's war as the path of liberation:

-The sharpening awareness in Arab consciousness of the organic link between Zionism, imperialism and Arab reactionaries and the consequent overthrow, after June, 1967, of the so-called "moderate" regimes of Iraq, Sudan and Libya and the exacerbation of the conditions of other "responsible" Arab regimes;

-The worsening of the Israeli balance of payments due to sharply increased armament expenditures:

-The fear for American and other western investments in Arab oil amounting to billions of dollars with their fabulous annual returns of not less than a billion dollars;

-The anxiety, in case of a change of regime, over the possible withdrawal (and utilization in Arab defense and development) of approximately 12 billion dollars deposited chiefly in British and American banks by a few oil-producing Arab states, and the adverse effects of such a withdrawal on the British and American balance of payments and, especially, on the stability of the British pound:

-The closer ties between several Arab states and the Socialist countries evidenced in a marked increase in their flow of economic and cultural transactions and, especially, in the Soviet presence in the Mediterranean and in the recognition of the German Democratic Republic.

These and similar developments are so many factors making the situation, indeed, "extremely dangerous". It is these "dangers" which haunt the United States and impel her to seek a quick settlement of the Arab Israeli conflict.

Furthermore, Secretary Rogers moralizes about the "legacy of suspicion" between Arabs and Israelis and regards it as a major obstacle to a settlement. Formerly, "fortune" was invoked. Now, "suspicion" is employed as an explanatory category of international events. There is no such legacy! The Arabs do not suspect - they know that Israel is an expansionist, racist, militarist and theocratic settler state which disrupted the geogra-

(Continued on Page 5)

phic continuity of the Arab homeland. The Arabs know - they do not suspect - that the Zionists in establishing Israel terrorized, uprooted and displaced the overwhelming majority of the Palestinian people from their ancestral home. They know, for instance, that the Irgun terrorist gang [which committed the Deir Yassin massacre (April, 1948) in which some 250 Palestinian villagers were murdered, among them more than a hundred women and children] became Herut, the second largest party in Israel. Presently known as Gahal, this party holds six out of a total of 24 posts in Mrs. Meir's latest cabinet. Among its ministers is Gahal's leader, the butcherer of Deir Yassin, Mr. Mehachem Beigin. Gahal's platform calls for an Israel "on the two sides of the Jordan"; i.e., the second largest party in Israel maintains that Israel, despite the 1967 expansion, has not attained its lebensraum since it is presently confined to one side of the Jordan River. The remaining factions of the Israeli establishment, while advocating a similar goal, are more reticent. All these are facts, not suspicions.

The Israelis, unless they suffer from amnesia, know they cannot suspect, that they displaced the Palestinians and that the Palestinians intend to return. That is why the Israeli establishment is especially worried about the Palestinian awakening. These, too are facts and not suspicions.

3] The "basic and related issues (of the Security Council resolution of November, 1967) might be described as peace, security, withdrawal and territory." Later, he adds: "It is our hope that agreement on the key issues of peace, security, withdrawal and territory will create a climate in which these questions of refugees and Jerusalem . . . can be solved . . ."

For the United States government, the basic issue is not the national existence of the Palestinian people in their ancestral home, which existence was negated by Israel. The Palestinians are "refugees", not a people. In the Secretary's speech, the Palestinians are further reduced to a mere "dimension of the Arab Israeli conflict." And if Secretary Rogers credited the Palestinians with the role of a "dimension", Premier Meir conjured away their entire existence. She told the Sunday Times (June 15, 1969):

"There was no such thing as Palestinians... It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist."

Secretary Rogers, reversing what is primary and derivative, thinks that the so-called "refugee problem" would be solved once the questions of territory, navigation in international waterways, etc., are settled. This is an illusion.

The only acceptable solution to the problem consists in dismantling the intruded Israeli settler state and establishing in its stead a multi-ethnic, multi-religious community in Palestine free from the exploitation of man by man, class by class and people by people, a socialist community that guarantees the civil and human rights of all its people, an indivisible part of a United Socialist Arab World. Surely, the Palestinians would not want to return to an Israeli state which would treat them as third class citizens. (They do not qualify for second class citizenship since that category is strictly reserved for the dark skinned Oriental Jews). Neither appeals to "world conscience" nor compromises with the United States-as some misguided Arabs think-but only the protracted armed struggle of the Palestinians and other Arab peoples against Zionism, imperialism, racism and Arab reaction would secure these objectives.

4] On the question of borders, Secretary Rogers, in a courteous gesture, echoes Abba Eban: "The boundaries from which the 1967 war began were established in 1949 armistice agreements... Those boundaries were armistice lines, not final political borders."

it is not true that the 1967 boundaries were established by the Armistice agreements and American foreign policy makers know this. Israel, for instance, after signing the Egyptian-Israeli agreement invaded Egyptian territory and annexed an outlet on the Gulf of Agaba and was condemned by the U.N. Security Council. What is now Elath was Um al-Rashrash. Based on that act of aggression, Israel demanded the "right" to navigate the Gulf and the United States wants to assure her of that "right." This illustrates the eclectic attitude of the United States towards these agreements.

It is true, however, that the 1949 armistice agreements did not define final boundaries. But the Department of State rewrites history to meet the exigencies of its agruments. It wrests these agreements out of their historic context in order to justify present Israeli territorial claims. Final borders were not agreed upon because Israel had occupied 77 percent of the area of Palestine instead of the 56 percent allotted to it by the U.N. Partition Plan of November, 1947. After the signing of the armistice, the U.N. Conciliation Commission secured the agreement of the Arab states and Israel to the Lausanne Protocol (May, 1949) which states, among other things, that in arriving at a final territorial settlement, the Partition Plan would be taken as "the basis of discussion with the Commission." Clearly, then, the intention was to reduce, not expand, the Israeli-occupied area. [It should be recalled that Israel tactically consented to the Lausanne Protocol because the U.N. stipulated that Israel should abide by the U.N. resolutions on Palestine as a condition for Israeli membership in the world organization. Once it was admitted Israel refused to negotiate about its territory on the ground that it was a "sovereign member" of the world community.]

We have pointed out these facts not in defense of the Partition Plan or the Lausanne Protocol but to further illustrate the cynical attitude of the United States and Israel towards the Palestine problem and the question of international agreements.

As far as the Palestinian people are concerned, neither the Partition Plan, nor the armistice agreements or the Security Council resolution of November, 1967, are acceptable. They are morally and politically null and void, since they were all made in absentia, without consulting the Palestinians, and in complete and flagrant disregard of the Palestinians' right to self-determination.

5] "The Security Council resolution endorses the principle of the non acquisition of territory by war and calls for withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the 1967 war." (Note that he speaks of withdrawal from "territories occupied") and not from "the territories occupied"). The Secretary goes on to say that the United States supports this principle. But, two paragraphs later, he qualifies this support by calling for "changes" in the pre-war borders "confined to insubstantial alterations required for mutual security."

Two principles of international politics may be inferred from these statements: First, territorial changes should not be made by war but by negotiations following the defeat of one of the antagonists. Second, of two states in conflict, the defeated state should surrender an "insubstantial" part of its territory to the victor as a guarantee of their mutual security.

On the supposed strength of these principles, the United States government expects the Arabs to believe that their security will be enhanced by surrendering Arab territory to the Israelis! and what is more, that Israel would not be acquiring this added territory by war but by negotiations! The far-sighted wisdom of imperialist mentality!

6] Those Arabs, especially in official circles, who thought that the Nixon administration will be more "even-handed" than its predecessor may benefit from noting the practically identical policies of the two administrations. In particular, they may note the following statement by Secretary

Rogers:

"We have made clear repeatedly in the past two-and-one half years (i.e., before Nixon acceded to the Presidency) that we cannot accept unilateral actions by any party to decide the final status of the city (Jerusalem)."

This "we" is revealing. It indicates the continuity of American policy from the Johnson to the Nixon administration. It is a systemic "we"; both administrations represent the interests of the predominant socio-economic forces in the American system. That Johnson got a significant percentage of what is called the "Jewish vote", whereas Nixon got practically none of it did not issue in different policies. It is the neocolonial interests of the American establishment in our lands which actuates American policy irrespective of administration. And just as there is a continuity of policy towards Vietnam, so there is towards Palestine.

The noise made by Abba Eban, and the tender protestation of Mrs. Meir that Secretary Rogers by "equating" Arabs and Israelis violated Israeli purity and innocence, do not disturb the United States. The noise, the tender protestation and the Secretary's proposals—each is a part of the general orchestration. Presumably, simple-minded Arabs would take the American proposals seriously simply because Israel pretended—falsely—to be against them.

71 Ironic indeed are Secretary Rogers' repeated expressions of concern for the "territorial integrity" of Israel at a time when Israel occupies Sinai, the West Bank, the Golan Heights, and when Israeli Premier, Mrs. Meir, states on American TV that the Israeli forces along the Suez Canal "have no place to go but Cairo," This may seem odd, but it is not. The United States uses the pretext of Israel's safety to maintain Israel (in the words of I.F. Stone) as a middle eastern Prussia. As a garrison state, Israel will continue to be a "viable" bridgehead of imperialism, to be unleashed when western investments and interests are threatened. The European ruling establishment in Israel has enthusiastically accepted this role and turned Israel into the inveterate class and national enemy of the Arab masses.

But the Palestinian guerrillas allied with Arab revolutionaries and supported by progressive humanity are determined to defeat this design. What was once Palestinian despair has metamorphased into a Palestinian historical force challenging the racist Zionist establishment and radicalizing wider sections of the Arab people. The resistance has made clear that the anti-Zionist struggle is inseparable from the Arab anti-imperialist struggle. The Palestinian national revolution is becoming a catalyst of the Arab social revolution. It is an integral part of the third world national liberation movement.

That is why the Israeli rulers, Arab reactionaries, and the imperialists want to crush it!

That is why we wholeheartedly support it!

SO BLOW, WINDS OF THE PALESTINIAN
REVOLUTION!

-Analyst



The Israel FATAM is fighting

This is the third and last in a series of on-the-spot reports written by Nick Medvecky who was touring the Middle East.

JERUSALEM—The greatest thing that strikes you when you leave the Arab countries and enter Israel are the differences in the culture and the level of material wealth.

A Westerner feels completely at home in Israel. Miniskirted girls, wide avenues, traffic signs and lights, supermarkets and the complete freedom of the English language allow one to freely mix and mingle here. The abundance of discotheques, theatres, transportation facilities and lush parks provide good and easy-to-get

But always in the back of one's mind remains the thoughts of war on all borders. The fear clearly expressed when, while sitting in a sidewalk cafe, a truck suddenly backfires. Everyone jumps and then sighs with a relief when it is discovered that it's not a bomb.

Everyday the newspapers carry the names and photos bordered in black of those who died the night before at the hands of the Arab resistance forces.

Since the Six-Day War of June, 1967, Israel's worries have gone from bad to worse. They had established new borders, what were then thought of as easier to defend. They had captured and occupied Gaza and all of the Sinai Peninsula to the Suez Canal, Jerusalem and all of the West Bank to the Jordan River, and the Golan Heights stretching into southern Syria. The mountains bordering their northern frontier with Lebanon completed a chain that was much easier to defend, from a military viewpoint.

The major chink in this line of reasoning was the growth of Fatah, the Palestinian guerrilla organization. With the Israelis defeating the Arab armies of Syria, Jordan and Egypt, great social forces were no longer held in check. Before, any attempt by anyone to establish an independent Palestinian force was quickly met with severe repression and imprisonment.

Arab leaders had proclaimed to the world that THEY would find a solution to the Palestinian's suffering. They had established dummy organizations that followed their orders and called for "Jihad" (Holy War) on Israel.

All this played right into the hands of those Israelis who sought national unity behind the concept of an exclusive Jewish State. They got it. Almost unanimously Israelis believe that a Jewish State is synonymous with survival.

Fatah's leaders saw the reactionary role of the Arab governments and rejected the racist concept behind the call for Jihad. During the lull directly after the Six-Day War they recruited over 3,000 Fedayin (commandoes) and gathered tens of thousands of small arms and munitions off of the nearly deserted battlefields.

In the past two years they have successfully fought, not only against the Israelis, but the Arab regimes as well and established a powerful and independent Palestinian entity.

During my tour of Syria and Jordan I can testify that they operate as a "State within a State", completely free of control from those two regimes. They are quickly moving to that position within Egypt and Lebanon as well.

As one travels throughout the Arab world, the direct proof of Fatah's power is easily testified to; Fedayin working in fields with the Arab farmers, revolutionary posters and flags of Fatah decorating nearly every public and private structure, doctors, nurses, teachers, engineers freely donating their services to the people through the Fatah institutions; hospitals, medical clinics, and schools. All this and more—something's got to give somewhere.

If it is true that if you teach a child to hate he will manifest that in his adulthood, then it is rea-

sonable to assume that if you teach a child to love he will have a tendency to manifest that.

Fatah's classes not only teach the reactionary history of the Arab leaders, but instruct the people, specifically the children, that the only solution lies in brotherhood with the Jewish masses, lies in fighting for, "a democratic Palestinian State where Jews, Christians and Moslems can live in peace and justice equally." Maybe they're too late.

Wherever I traveled throughout Israel; Jerusalem, Nablus, Rammallah, Bethlehem, Keryat Shmona, Haifa, Tel Aviv, Hebron, or whatever, Israelis see one essential problem, one main cause to their troubles, the Arabs.

In the main they don't see nor do they differentiate between the Arab leaders and the Arab peoples, between the revolutionary groupings and the reactionary regimes. Often I hear, "All of the Arabs are united in one goal: to throw us into the sea."

If I attempted to explain the differences between the Arabs they reject the concept out of hand and simply state, "You were fooled, they lied to you." If I press on and explain what I saw, what exists in fact, many say, "You say what they wanted you to see." I found it difficult to win any arguments against that line of reasoning.

Often I ran against the statement, "The Palestinians are Arabs, aren't they? Well then, the Arabs should take care of them."

This was no isolated statement and neither were any of the other ones. The Israelis, almost unanimously, view the Arab peoples in a monolithic and generalized manner. "Good" Arabs are those who have taken Israeli citizenship, "bad" ones are virtually all of the others.

European and American influence on the country is tremendous. The farms, factories, agricultural communes (Kibbutzim), transportation, communication, attitudes, etc., are all dominated to one degree or another by Western science, technology and ideology.

As I traveled across the country I saw tens of thousands of housing units going up. Much of this activity centered in the occupied areas.

While in the Arab countries I was filled with stories of how the Israelis "Israelize" an area they conquer.

After conquering a territory they, through one means or another, get rid of the Arab inhabitants and develop the area by occupying it with settlers; Israeli citizens or recent Jewish immigrants. This is accomplished by building free or cheap housing units, public buildings and services, and through the use of Kibbutzim.

Forthwith, the area is now Israelized, now an accomplished fact and the Israelis are now willing to "negotiate from the fact." The Israelis assured me that this was only lying propaganda, "Something you'd expect from the Arabs."

Much of this activity centered in occupied Jeru-

They say that Jerusalem doesn't count, that it has been "annexed." Aside from the fact that the annexing of conquered territories is contrary to international "law", none of this housing was being built for the Arabs. The Israelis assured me that the Arabs are getting adequate housing. I never saw any of it.

The Israelis I spoke to also assured me that no Arabs were being forced from their homes. I registered a bit of surprise at this statement as I had just come over from the Arab side of the border and had visited a number of refugee encampments that were reputed to hold in excess of 1,600,000 persons, approximately 130,000 of these from the West Bank alone (during the Six-Day War).

The Israelis claim that they settle, almost exclusively, only unoccupied areas; swampy areas, etc. One Israeli benevolently looked upon this process as land development, or "urban renewal".

Another Israeli, Moshe Dayan, the Defense Minister, in a speech to the students of Haifa on March 19, 1969 (a copy of this speech was made available to me by the Israeli Jewish Agency), stated:

"... we must establish Jewish, Israeli settlements in the occupied territories, not only in the Golan, and not with the intention of later abandoning them. Not just tent encampments which can be put up and taken down in a day. We should set up such settlements only in areas from which we are convinced that we shall not withdraw, in accordance with what we consider a suitable future map."

I must presume that aside from the good intentions of some Israelis there are those in the leadership who have and are carrying out other intentions. Jerusalem has been annexed, and all of the other occupied territories are being settled.

The Arabs I spoke to also feel that the Israeli leaders have no wish for social and political equality with their Arab neighbors. That they wish to set up an exclusive Jewish State and to establish a measure of control over the economic life of the Arabs.

Abba Eban, Israel's Foreign Minister, concurred with this view in part by stating in his latest book, The Voice of Israel, that he wishes Israel to be to the Arab world what the U.S. is to Latin America.

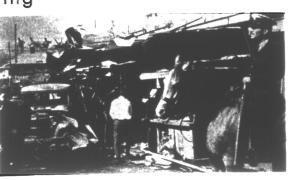
Moshe Dayan, in a June 8, 1969 issue of the New York Times Magazine, stated, "We are Europeans, foreigners, but we are ready to share our standard of living and to treat them as equals." And, "I am against the integration of a large number of Arabs. I think a solution should be found that would not leave too big an Arab minority within our frontiers."

In Israel the culture is different. In Israel the material wealth is at a high level. I can say these same things about America and Americans.

Is racism a product of the Israelis call for a Jewish State?

Golda Meir says: "We sing a lot, we play a lot, we create, we have the theatre, the concerts. Don't believe all our songs are battle songs. I feel sorry for the other side. There is no music there. No culture. No creation." She told this to a gathering of stars who were honoring her on her recent tour at the Beverly Hills Hilton Hotel.

She's Israel's Prime Minister.



The AAUG

-Statement-

The Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Inc., at its Second Annual Convention held at Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan, on the 5th, 6th and 7th of December 1969, examined the continuing struggle of the Palestinian People for a dignified existence in their historic land. Through its principal addresses and a series of panel discussions by distinguished specialists of and participants in the continuing Palestinian Revolution, the Association took note of the various social, political and technical dimensions of the Revolution, some of whom noted the relationship of the Palestinian Revolution to other wars of national and social liberation elsewhere in the world. Finally, conference participants attempted to assess the future of the Revolution. After its detailed examination of the totality of the Palestinian Revolution, the Second Annual Convention unanimously adopted the following statement as expressing its concern and solidarity with the Palestine Revolution.

The Association reaffirms its solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian people; it views that struggle as one emanating essentially from the con-tinued denial, by the combined forces of imperialism-Zionism, of the exercise of the right of selfdetermination by all sections of the Pelestinian community, irrespective of their faith, national origin, language, or color. The right of self-determination is as basic in the U.N. Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Civil and Political Rights Convention, and other inter-nationally recognized human rights; and is as fundamental as free speech in the U.S. Constitu-

Despite the legitimacy of this principle, the People of Palestine together with other oppressed people of the world have been denied the exercise of that right. In the light of the persistent and arbitrary denial of this right of the Palestinians by Imperialist and Zionist forces, the Association endorses the current necessary recourse of the Pales-tinian people to a war of national liberation of their historic homeland and their aspiration to liberate all sections of the Palestinian community from all manifestations of racial and national pre-judice and other forms of human oppression. The Association condemns unequivocally all forms of racial and religious discrimination, from antisemitism to white racism. The Association calls upon all people of the world who believe in the right of national communities to determine their destinies and who are opposed to imperialism to rally behind the Palestinian Revolution and render it full moral, political, and material support. It particularly calls upon the United Nations to live up to its Charter's proclamation of the sacredness of the right of self-determination and to exercise all its powers to uphold the enforcement of that right for the Palestinian People. According to the Geneva Convention of 1949, guerrilla fighters are entitled to the status of Prisoners of War and are not to be treated as common criminals. Equally, unorganized resistance is not to be met with collec tive punishment or reprisals against individuals not involved in particular acts of resistance.

The Association believes that the combined reactionary and counter-revolutionary forces are mobilized and will continue to mobilize sufficient forces and strength to adversely affect the free exercise of the right of self-determination by the Palestinian People. It therefore welcomes and is gratified to note that the Palestinian People are mobilizing their entire resources, scientific and technical, social and political, to bring about a viable and cohesive social system capable of sus-taining a war of national liberation. In particular, the Association views with favor the serious endeavor of the Palestinian Revolution to foster selfgoverning institutions for the Palestinian community in exile. The Association calls upon the Palestinian leadership to continue in its great efforts to liberate the Palestinian community in

In pursuance of this comprehensive Palestinian mobilization for the ultimate success of the Palestine Revolution, the Association adheres to the principle that the potential of the Arab people must equally be brought to bear on the actual con-frontation between the Revolutionary forces of the Palestinians and Arab people against the combined forces of imperialism-Zionism. So that this potential can become actual, a complementary revolutionary transformation of the Arab society is imperative. The Association calls upon the Revolu-tionary forces in the Arab community to coordinate their efforts with those of the Palestinians by exposing the incompetence of the present social system and foreign interests in the Arab world so that a transformed revolutionary system, scientifi-cally competent and freed from all vestiges of a decadent social system, can translate Arab poten-tial into reality. Only by doing so and by achieving world, can the Palestinian Revolution combine its drive for national liberation with that of the Arab

The success of the Revolutionary Palestinian movement will be assured in the view of the Ass ciation, should it continue to develop along the lines it has already charted. The Association believes that the ideological direction and premises of the Palestinian Revolutionary Movement are humanistic, progressive and consonant with the best traditions of Man. That it has related itself successfully to the revolutionary movements of the oppressed people of the world is natural and has enabled it to receive their moral and material sup-port. Just as the Palestinian Revolution has publically supported the just cause of the people of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Black Com-munity in the U.S. The Association registers its gratitude for the continuing support of these com-munities to the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian People.

The Association views with apprehension and serious concern the continued assistance which the imperialist forces have been rendering to the racist exclusivist State of Israel. It believes that this continuing support, particularly on the part of the U.S. Government, whether rendered directly in the form of military assistance (the export of aircraft and lethal weapons) or indirectly through economic assistance and tax exempt donations which are utilized for the manufacture of arms and napalm, seriously reduces the chance for the Americans to play any positive role in ameliorating the existing conflict, further it carries with it the danger of involving the U.S. in another Vietnam-like conflict, endangers World Peace and substantially encourages Israel in its totalitarian policies.

ages Israel in its totalitarian policies.

The funding of the Zionist program in Palestine by the United States has been manifested in the special tax status granted the Zionist fund-raising apparatus in the U.S., together with U.S. Governmental assistance to Israel, totaling more dollars per capita for the past ten years than for any other country, and it is indicative that Israel is only the visible portion of the Zionist iceberg. Not only is this support crucial for the continued suppression the Arab community suffering the brutal pation of Israel, but it increases the chance for the further totalitarianization of the State of Israel it-self. It will therefore bring about objective conditions under which Zionist forces will have to institute repressive measures against the Jewish citizens of Israel. The Association believes that the revolutionary, progressive, and humanistic program that underlies the Palestinian Revolutionary struggle promises to help the Jewish citizen of Israel in resisting the totalitarian drift implicit in the Zionist Program of political, social and economic repression. It is the hope of the Association that the American people will use their power, talent and concern to persuade the U.S. Government to refrain from rendering any further assistance, directly or indirectly to Israel's expansionism and totali-tarianism. The U.S. should practice its ideals of humanity, equality, and non-discrimination on reli-gious or racial basis. Unless the U.S. does this, whatever credibility it still has in the Mid-East and the world will be destroyed. The Association not only salutes the Palestinian people and their struggle but calls upon all people of the world to rally behind the program of action adopted by the Pales-tinians for the liberation of Palestine from all manifestations of racism, inequality and hatred fostered by Zionism. In concert with the progressive forces of mankind and all men of good will, the Palestinian revolution shall march forward toward the ultimate victory of the principles of equality, justice and dignity for Moslem, Christian and Jew in Palestine. Palestine shall be again home for all people irrespective of their language and land of

David &

Goliath

in Africa

The September, 1969, issue of Leviathan contained a very important article for students of the continuing alliance between the United States and Western Imperialism, on the one hand, and Israel, on the other. The article entitled David and Goliath Collaborate in Africa is a well-researched article written by the Africa Research Group, a movement research and education project that focuses on analyzing the United States' imperialist penetration of Africa.

According to the article, for over ten years Israel has played a relatively invisible but strategically important role in Africa as the servant of the United States-organized Free World Empire. Just as the Central Intelligence Agency needs liberal and social democratic organizations as agents for its own counterrevolutionary activities, so certain departments of the U.S. government have sought to develop a "Third Country" technique for carrying on the work of Imperialism. Although not without her own independent objectives in the Third World, Israel has allowed herself to become a willing accomplice of neo-colonialism and counterrevolution in Africa. With economic aid from the U.S., Britain, France and West Germany, Israel has carried out a selective and highly strategic series of "assistance" programs in fifteen subsaharan African countries. The effect of these programs has not only been to strengthen Israel's own long-range political and economic goals, but also to further U.S. imperialism's objective of tying post independent Africa to the West and undermining revolutionary movements which threaten Western hegemony.

The article goes on to point out that (1) the U.S. government has helped shape the style and substance of Israeli assistance programs to Africa; (2) the U.S. and its allies have helped finance these programs by means of the semi-covert "Third Country" technique; and (3) Israeli "assistance" has been concentrated in specialized military training with direct "counter-insurgency" applications.

One of the chief formulators of the U.S. logic concerning the use of Israel has made some very revealing statements which demonstrate the nature of Israel's programs in Africa. Arnold Rivkin, an economist who headed the Africa Research Project at the CIA-organized Center for International Studies at MIT wrote in Africa and the West (Praeger, 1961) "Israel's role as a third force might also be reinforced by imaginative use of the third country technique. A Free World State wishing to enlarge its assistance flow to Africa might channel some part of it through Israel because of Israel's special qualifications and demonstrated acceptability to many African nations."

The excellent article, filled with specific facts and data, concludes by saying that the true nature of Israel's role and objectives is slowly being unmasked, in part because of her own expansionist behavior in the Middle East, but also in large measure because of the increasingly direct and partisan role which Israel has played by serving imperialism and neo-colonial reaction in such African states in the Congo and Ethiopia. Like their North American benefactor the Israelis have been forced into open counterrevolutionary warfare at home and abroad. The lessons of that fact will not be long in coming home to the African people.

GHATTAS

The Rev. Joseph L. Ryan from Cambridge Center for Social Studies sent the following note to some of his friends, accompanied with a copy of the letter he sent to His Eminence Jan Cardinal Willebrands after the recent announcement of a document on relations between Roman Catholics and Jews.

December 19, 1969

Dear Friend,

Enclosed is a copy of a letter I have sent to Cardinal Willebrands, President of the Secretariat for Christian Unity, about the statement made by Cardinal Shehan in Baltimore on December 10, 1969.

I wish to call your attention to the point I have raised about the paragraph in question and to ask your support of my request that the text be changed.

I am sending copies of this letter to some influential persons in the Catholic Church asking their support for my request that the text be changed.

If you feel the way I do about the paragraph in question, you may wish to write letters to this effect. On a separate page I am giving the names of some persons to whom letters may be addressed. With cordial wishes, I am

Sincerely yours, (Rev.)Joseph L.Ryan,S.J.

Cambridge Center for Social Studies 42 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138 December 18, 1969

His Eminence Jan Cardinal Willebrands Secretariat for Christian Unity I via dell'Erba Rome

The New York Times of December 11, 1969 carried an announcement of a document on relations between Roman Catholics and Jews which was made public the night before in Baltimore. According to the Times account, the "document was approved last week by the Vatican Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity at a plenary session in Rome attended by Cardinal Shehan."

In a separate article, the *Times* of the same date gave excerpts from the above-mentioned document. One paragraph reads as follows:

"It could seem that Christians, whatever the difficulties they may experience, must attempt to understand and respect the religious significance of this link between the people and the land. The existence of the State of Israel should not be separated from this perspective; which does not in itself imply any judgment on historical occurences on (sic) decisions or of (sic) a purely political order."

I am writing to say that I believe that this paragraph, and especially the second sentence, is unfortunate. This paragraph is subject to misunderstanding which will, I believe, hinder the good effect of the rest of the document. Not only is misunderstanding possible; it is inevitable, in fact, it is invited, despite the disclaimers "which does not in itself imply..."

The paragraph speaks about "this link between the people and the land" and about the State of Israel. To bring up this issue and at the same time not to say anything about the issue of the link between the Palestinian Arabs and the land is to bring about a resounding silence. This silence is resounding precisely because the issue of the rights of the Palestinian Arabs has been increasingly brought before the conscience of the world, and of Jews as well as of others. The meaning of the silence is left to the reader. If meanings are drawn from this silence which are contrary to the welfare of the Church and are detrimental to interreligious understanding, the framers of this paragraph cannot be absolved from responsibility.

As a Jesuit who has worked for many years in an Arab country, I am pained that this paragraph should lack the sensitivity one would expect from a document whose aim is religious unity.

Accordingly, I hope that the text will be changed.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours, (Rev.) Joseph L. Ryan, S.J.



H.E. John Cardinal Heenan, Westminster Cathedral, London, England H.E. Lawrence Cardinal Shehan, 408 No.Charles St., Baltimore, Md.21201 Most Rev.Charles Helmsing, P.O.Box 1037, Kapsas City, Missouri 64141 Most Rev.Ernest Primeau, 657 No.River Rd., Manchester, New Hampshire 03105

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