

ARAB PALESTINIAN
RESISTANCE

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Vol. II No. 8 - May 1970

- **The Palestine Problem: An Introductory Survey** **Dr. Constantine Zurayk**
- **Zionism and German Imperialism** **Dr. Abdul Fattah Haykal**
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Commando operations constitute the very core of the Palestine people's war of liberation. They must be escalated, extended and protected. Educational possibilities and the masses' potential of the Palestinian people must be organized and must be used in support of the armed Palestinian revolution. Complete coordination of the resistance activities of all classes of the Palestine Arab people and of the other Arab masses must be achieved in order to ensure the continuity, escalation and victory of the revolution.

Article 10 of the
Palestine National Covenant

Editorial

On May 15, 1948, twenty two years ago, Israel was established in Palestine against the wishes of the people of Palestine and in complete defiance of the principles of justice and self-determination.

Since its creation, Israel has acted the part it was intended to act, namely as a base for world imperialism to enable the imperialists to penetrate into the very heart of the Arab Homeland and impede Arab aspirations towards liberation, unity and progress.

Despite the efforts exerted by the Zionists and Israel to conceal their role as the tools and agents of world imperialism, this role has been discovered by the peoples of the three continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America as can be seen in resolutions on

Editorial

Palestine adopted by successive conferences of Afro-Asian and non-aligned countries. One of these resolutions denounces Israel as «an instrument, in the service of imperialism and neo-colonialism not only in the Middle East but also in Asia and Africa.»

The creation of the aggressive and expansionist Israel as an imperialist base in the very heart of the Arab Homeland has been a chief cause of Middle East tension and instability. The planting of a foreign body in the Arab Homeland has destroyed the unity and territorial integrity of the region. Israel's expulsion of one and a half million Arab refugees from their ancestral homeland in Palestine has plagued the area with a highly explosive problem. Moreover, Israel's acts and policies — its refusal to withdraw from occupied Arab territories and to repatriate the Arab refugees as well as its continued commission of grave acts of aggression — have confirmed the truth of the solemn warning given by an Arab delegate to the United Nations: «You can choose to create Israel or you can choose to create peace. You can't choose both.»

Resistance

**THE PALESTINE PROBLEM:
AN INTRODUCTORY SURVEY**

by Dr. Constantine Zurayk

The following are extracts from an introductory address on the Palestine problem delivered by Dr. Constantine Zurayk, distinguished Professor of History at the American University of Beirut and a leading Arab thinker, to World Conference of Christians for Palestine. The Conference in which 35 participated was held at Beirut, Lebanon, May 7-10, 1970.

Introductory Survey

8% of the population and lived in peace and harmony amidst the overwhelming Arab majority. That minority owned only 2% of the area of Palestine.

By 1946, as a result of the Balfour Declaration and its implementation by Great Britain as Mandatory Power, the Jewish population had risen almost 11 times from 56,000 to 608,000 while the Arab had, by natural growth, slightly more than doubled from 644,000 to 1,293,000. Thus, the Jewish percentage had grown through immigration from 8% to almost 32%

of the total population; but, in spite of the vigorous efforts and temptations of Zionist agencies and the policy and measures of the Mandatory Power, the Jewish property in Palestine, according to the official statistics submitted to the United Nations, did not exceed 5.55% of the country's area.

While this was the actual situation, the United Nations decided in 1947 to partition Palestine. According to this partition scheme, the Jewish state was to cover an area of 11,500 sq. km, while the Arab did not exceed 11,000. The Jews who had owned less than 5% of the total area of Palestine, were now given 50% of it, including most of its fertile lands. As for the population, since 1948, the Jewish state was to contain 500,000 Jews, and the Arab state 1,000,000. It is to be remembered that the bulk of this Jewish population had been imported to the country

during the Mandate. and that less than one third of them had acquired the Palestinian citizenship.

Between the UN decision of November 29, 1947 and the actual close of the Mandate and the withdrawal of the Mandatory Power on May 15, 1948, the Jewish regular and irregular forces seized further territory including most of the Arab cities of Palestine and scores of Arab villages. They not only forcefully overran and occupied the territory lying within the proposed Jewish state with such cities as Tiberias, Haifa, Beisan, Safad, Lydda and Ramleh, but also cities and scores of localities in the territory assigned to the Arab state including Jaffa and Acre, as well as the New City of Jerusalem. This process continued through the Arab-Israeli war with the result that the area which the Jewish forces seized in 1948 and 1949 extended 6300 sq. km. beyond the 14,500 assigned the Jewish state, and the total area which thus fell under Israeli control rose to almost 80% of the country.

Of the 1,300,000 Palestinian Arabs, more than a million became refugees in Arab countries, and their immovable and movable property was confiscated and allotted to Israelis. I shall not dwell on the terroristic methods used for the removal of this population. The massacre of Deir Yassine on April 9, 1948

will always remain a symbol of these methods, I will merely remind you that the proposed Jewish state included about 510 thousand Arabs, slightly more than the Jewish population, so that this state could not be Jewish, in the sense of the Zionist ideology, unless the Arab element was removed from it or reduced to a minimum.

Then, as you know, following the June 1967 War, the rest of Palestine together with Sinai and the Golan Heights came under Israeli occupation, and more than 300,000 Palestinian Arabs were again displaced and took refuge in other Arab countries, some for the second or third time.

The upshoot of all of this — and this is the first fundamental historical fact that I wish to place before you — is that a people, the Palestinian Arabs, has been deprived of its homeland and has totally become either homeless or under occupation.

The second historical fact is that the people, who has thus been deprived, had been living in this land for thousands of years. It is wrong to say that the Palestinian Arab possession of Palestine goes back only to the Arab conquest of the 7th century. A.D. The Palestinian Arabs are not merely the remnants of those conquerors, who in any case were relatively few in number. They represent the original population of Palestine as well as all the people who entered that land whether peacefully or by

have done? It is one of the glaring ironies of history and a symptom of the sickness of our modern society, that this aggression, which takes the form of the bluntest kind of colonization falls in this era of «decolonization.» Even the harshest kind of colonialism that has ever been known has kept the colonized peoples in their lands. Here the Palestinian Arabs have not only been denied their right to their land; they have been uprooted from it and driven off to seek refuge elsewhere. And the world of to-day has allowed this flagrant violation to take place, and still allows it to continue.

This, I submit, is the crux of the situation. But there is, it is often said, another side to this woeful story. The Jews have long suffered from intolerance, discrimination and persecution and, under Nazi rule, this persecution reached a most inhuman scale of oppression and massacre. The world owes them a debt; the guilt against them must be compensated.

This, indeed, is a world problem and the Arabs have always been ready to bear their share of it. But that it should be solved only at their own expense, and at the expense of their national birthright is wholly unacceptable by them and violates the most elementary principles of freedom, justice and human dignity.

It is also said, and particularly in these times: We grant you that a grave injustice has been committed against the Palestinian Arabs. We realize that

they have been deprived of the natural and universally recognized right to freedom and self-determination. But, in our world of today, one has to be «realistic.» In the last thirty or forty years certain «facts» have been created and you cannot undo them. It is better to acknowledge them and to follow the line of accommodation and compromise. To those who say this, whether in good faith or in order to cover up their guilt or to serve their policies and interests, let us point out the following:

1) If they themselves were in place of the Palestinian Arabs, if the whole or part of their national patrimony were claimed by a people who had a historical connection with it, not two thousand years ago, but five hundred years ago, and if this people, armed with the means of modern technology and the support of great powers and a worldwide organization, succeeded in establishing a state on it and driving its population away from it, would they have accepted the «accomplished fact?» Would they have met this situation with resignation and equanimity as they advise the Arabs to do? Let those who are ready to face the question truthfully and conscientiously remember the sin of doing unto others that which they are not willing to do unto themselves.

2) It is surprising – and indeed ironical – that all but a small minority of those who advise the

acceptance of accomplished facts hardly raise a finger or utter a word of protest in the face of new «facts» which are being created day after day by Israel in further violation of Palestinian rights and international decisions or conventions, such as the establishment by Israel of its seat of government in Jerusalem and then the incorporation of the Arab sector in it, both in defiance of U.N. resolutions, the grazing of Arab villages to the ground, the establishment of colonies in occupied territories, the refusal to admit a U.N. international commission to investigate violations of human rights in these territories. How long is this process of establishing new «facts» going to continue? Members of the Israeli Government are very candid about their policy in this regard. They say they will persist in this way until the Palestinians and other Arabs are forced to accept the new, created «facts» and the conditions that they impose. The advice tendered to the Palestinian Arabs to accept the accomplished facts of the past is, to say the least, an encouragement for the continuation of this dangerous and immoral policy.

3) The ultimate issue is whether we are to continue, in this day and age, to deal with this problem, or indeed any other national or international problem, in terms of force, taking the shape of superior technology, Big Power support, financial resources etc. – or in terms of principle and right. The call for the acceptance of *faits accomplis* is, in

the last analysis, a call to resignation in the face of superior force. If this had taken place consistently throughout history, no independence movement, no struggle for political, economic, social or intellectual liberation would have succeeded or even started. In the conflict between principle and right on the one hand, and «accomplished facts» supported by force on the other, I have no doubt where men of the caliber and the outlook of those gathered in this assembly will stand.

4) The Palestine problem is not only a problem of the recent past, or of the present; it is a problem of the future. Much of ink and volumes of verbiage have been spent, or rather misspent, to expound the reactionism of the Arabs and the progressiveness of Israel. That Israel is more advanced technologically because its settlers came armed with the tools of the modern development of Europe and the U.S. and have not ceased to be supported by such tools – this we do not deny. But the ideology on which it rests, identifying as it does religion with people and race, is a return to a concept that has been out-dated and out-lived. It is a reversal and a reaction, rather than a «progressive» movement as it is pictured to be. It contradicts the trends of the future, and even those of the present. These trends are, as we all know, towards the building up of secular, democratic states in which members of all religions, cultures and ideologies, live in harmony and creative interaction.

This is what the Palestinian Arabs are proposing and fighting for: to create a secular, democratic, progressive Palestine in which Christian, Moslem and Jew will live peacefully and enjoy equal rights. Herein, I submit, rather than in racial and exclusive Zionism, lies the way of the future.

5) Viewed in its broader terms, the Palestine problem is not exclusively Palestinian. It has its Arab context. For although the Palestinian people have their own identity arising from their attachment to a particular land and of a sense of community which has developed among them through history and particularly through their recent tragic experience, they are also bound to the other Arab peoples by ties of common language, culture, history, interests and aspirations. Thus these peoples share with their Palestinian brethren the colossal injustice that has been perpetrated against them and join them in their struggle for the recovery of their rights.

Furthermore, the Arab peoples are engaged in an active and widespread effort of development: building up their unity and constructing their new life politically, economically, socially and culturally. The Zionist incursion hurts this development in more than one way. It forces them to divert to the means of defense vast resources which are sorely needed for constructive peaceful progress. It implants in their midst, and in a most strategic part of

their territory, a foreign body which cuts some of their vital means of communication and separates their Asian from their African sector. It causes them to be involved in international tensions and turns their lands into an arena of a highly explosive and dangerous power conflict. But, above all, it exposes them to a dynamic world movement – Zionism – and to its expansionist state – Israel – which to-day occupies some of their territories, whose ideology and the support it receives from the United States in particular set no definite limits to its ambitions, and which has time and again achieved its objectives by **faits accomplis** and in open disregard and violation of UN decisions. In supporting the Palestinian Arab right, Arabs are also defending their own right to protect their lands and their future and to carry out their constructive peaceful development.

6) But the Palestine problem extends beyond Palestine and the Arabs. It is a universal problem. It concerns every one assembled in this hall today. This is so for more than one reason. In the first place, since the world has today become so small and interrelated, nothing which takes place in any part of it, no matter how remote, can fail to have its effects on the other parts. Secondly, the present situation, unless steps are taken to remedy its basic cause, is bound to deteriorate and to endanger the peace, not only of the Middle East, but of the world at large. Lastly, but most importantly, this problem

is a challenge to all of us with respect to the vital question in national and international conduct, namely, the **standards** to be applied therein — whether within our respective nations or in our international relations, we are to be bound by principle or expediency, by the respect of right or the pursuit of interest, by commitment to the values we proclaim or by the disregard and betrayal of these values. Upon our response, as individuals and as nations, to this paramount challenge, depends the future peace of mankind, as well as its true progress.

7) Finally, in regard to no other country in the world is this challenge as relevant and as imperative as it is in regard to Palestine. The land which gave birth to two of the great monotheistic religion-Islam, the land to which the world owes a supreme legacy of moral and spiritual values this land should, above all lands, be the place where principle is respected, right recognized and values preserved, protected and enhanced. Any other conduct, any conduct which disregards or betrays principle, right or value is unworthy of it and of its noble tradition. Let us all, in thinking about it and in working for it, beware of such disregard or betrayal. Rather, let us make of it a test — indeed the decisive test — of the soundness, the sincerity and the depth of our commitment. By doing so, we will not fail in our endeavor. In truth, neither we, nor the world as a whole, can afford to fail. ■

ZIONISM AND GERMAN IMPERIALISM

by Dr. Abdul Fattah Haykal

The just struggle of the Arab nation against Zionist imperialism is part of a more general struggle against the world imperialist powers led by the United States. In fact, from its inception, Zionism has been the tool and ally of imperialism in the suppression of peoples and in exploiting their rich resources.

Although there are common interests of world imperialism as a whole, every imperialist power has its own particular interests; and clashes of interests

among imperialist countries have often led to world crises and wars. Zionism, likewise, has its own special interests and goals.

In this article it is proposed to deal with relations between Zionism and German imperialism. Herzl was sure that his aims which he expounded in his book «The Jewish State» (1896) could not be achieved without the help of one or more of the imperialist countries. The contacts he made with the Germans, among others, played an important role in the early attempts of the Zionists. From the beginning, the Zionist leaders offered their services to the imperialist powers in return for the help they requested from these powers. Herzl said that the Jewish state in Palestine would be a frontier post protecting the «civilized» world against the barbaric Asians, thereby revealing the mutual interests of Zionist imperialism.

During the Second Zionist Congress at Basle, Herzl uncovered the Zionist aims and predicted that there would be European competition for mastery in the Near East; Herzl, therefore, offered Zionist aid in subduing the peoples of the area and protecting European interests from what he called «the barbaric peoples of the East.» Israel today is pretending to fulfill the role Herzl envisaged, by claiming itself to be the bulwark of civilization and the protector of

European interests. If nothing else, the Napalm bombs employed by Israel prove its «civilizing» role!

Early Zionist Movement and German Imperialism

From the very start, the Zionist movement had relations with German imperialism. The German language was used at the Zionist congresses and in Zionist books and pamphlets. The German Jews felt that they were qualified to lead the «Jewish people» because of their superior education. Furthermore, the German Jews who immigrated to the United States kept in touch with their mother country.

More important, however, were the political interests linking the Zionist leaders with German imperialism. In the early days of the Zionist movement its leaders considered undertaking the construction of the Baghdad Railway which was designed to give German imperialism precedence over British imperialism in the Middle East. To achieve this precedence was the main reason behind the visit of Emperor William II to the area in 1898.

William II Receives Herzl

The Zionists considered this visit a suitable occasion for bargaining with the German Emperor

and the Turkish Sultan, Abdul Hamid. In an effort to gain the friendship of the Ottoman Empire, the Zionists collected donations for the Turkish Red Crescent during the war between Turkey and Greece. This was one of the proofs of the Zionist policy of employing all possible means in order to get nearer to their goals.

Following the first Basle Congress of 1897 the Grand Duke of Baden, Frederick Von Baden, received Herzl and expressed his sympathy for the Zionist program. The Duke also talked to William II about it and persuaded him to meet a Zionist delegation in Jerusalem when he arrived there. The news brought a feeling of joy among the Zionists, who decided to send Herzl, Wolffsohn and Baudheimer to the Middle East. The Zionists tried to impress upon the German leaders that a Jewish state in Palestine would bring peace and would protect German interests in it. The Germans, in turn, expressed support for the Zionist aims, and during meetings between William II and the Zionist leaders in Istanbul and Palestine, the German Emperor gave a promise to support the Zionists' efforts.

Zionist-German negotiations

When Emperor William II met the Zionist delegation in Jaffa on November 2, 1898, Herzl sum-

med up the Zionist objective by saying that the Zionists were planning to establish a Jewish colonization company in Syria and Palestine and that they hoped to get the Emperor's support for their efforts. This proves that the Zionist imperialists, from the very start, were planning to expel the rightful owners of the land and to settle in their place. It also proves that they were aiming to conquer not only Palestine but also Syria and other parts of the Arab homeland. The German reply was not completely favourable because the German imperialists at the time, did not think it fit to damage their relations with Turkey. However, the Germans did not reject the Zionist offer but said there was room in the area for everyone, thus reserving for themselves the point of vantage of bargaining with the Zionists at the expense of the people of the area.

Although Herzl did not give up hope of securing German imperialist support, he announced at the fourth Zionist Congress, held in London in 1900, that Great Britain would appreciate the Zionist aspirations. This is the way Zionism works; for it matters little to which imperialist power it allies itself with, so long as this alliance serves its own interests. But Herzl's decision was not final, because the Zionist leaders still turned to the German imperialists and rejected what was called the Uganda project.

Settlement Outside Palestine: The «Uganda Project»

Herzl accepted the British offer to settle European Jews in what is now known as Uganda. But most of the Zionist leaders, especially the Germans, rejected the proposal because it would bring German-Zionist cooperation to a final end. At the time, the German Bank was entrusted with building the Baghdad Railway. To this project the Zionists gave their full support and convinced the German imperialists that the railway would help transport hundreds of thousands of German Jews to Palestine, thus opening new channels for German domination of the area.

Zionist attitude to German Imperialism During

World War I:

When World War I broke out, the Zionists took sides with the German imperialists. Their attitude was explained by Baudenheimer who said that the Jews in Poland, Russia and the other occupied territories were advised to collaborate with the occupation forces in return for German support for the Palestine project.

Fifth Column

Zionist leaders formulated their plans for cooperation with the Germans and submitted these plans to the German Foreign Ministry. According to these plans liaison offices were to be opened in Germany, the occupied countries, and neutral Copenhagen. The German imperialists realized that they could use the services of these offices, so they persuaded the Zionists to send a delegation to the US to win for Germany the support of American Jews. But the Zionists, on their part, were not prepared to put all their bets on the Germans, so some of the Zionist leaders began to call for a neutral position in order to be on the safe side in case the Germans lost the war.

False Neutralism

This claim of a neutralist Zionist policy was intended to deceive world opinion and to show that the Zionists were not involved in the struggle between the imperialist powers. But in fact both factions of the Zionist movement were very active. In England Chaim Weizmann was closely cooperating with the British, while at the same time a Jewish brigade was formed in the British army headed by Vladimir Jabotinsky. On the other hand, Ben Gurion was in Palestine trying to persuade the

Turks to allow the formation of a Jewish brigade to defend the land against any attack. When his efforts failed Ben Gurion escaped to the United States and formed a brigade there, this time to help the British against the Turks. At the same time other Zionist leaders like Baudenheimer were working with the Germans on the Eastern Front. This ensured success for the Zionists, regardless of who won the war.

The Balfour Declaration

When on Nov. 2, 1917 Balfour promised the Zionists a national home in Palestine, Weizmann said that in 20 to 30 years a million Jews could be brought to Palestine to bring with them civilization and the ability to guard the Suez Canal. The same promises which had been given to the German imperialists, were now made to the British and with the added attraction of guarding the Suez Canal. Meanwhile, the Zionists who were allied to Germany were embarrassed, and the German imperialists told a gathering of Zionists in Berlin, by way of apology, that they had intended to do what the British did if it had not been for their alliance with Turkey.

When Germany lost the war, the Zionist supporters of Germany had to remain in the shade. But in spite of this, relations between Zionism and the



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German imperialists were never completely severed even during the Nazi persecution of Jews.

The Zionist aggression of June 1967 against the Arab Nation gives further proof of the cooperation between Zionism and all forces of imperialism and of the fact that the Zionists in the Middle East will always remain the watch-dogs of imperialist interest in the area.

Physical and Psychological Violence in Israeli Prisons

On April 27, Arab prisoners in the Israeli-occupied territories, numbering well over 10,000 began a hunger strike against brutality by the Israeli authorities. This brutality has been admitted by all neutral observers.

Reporting on Israeli persecution of the Arab inhabitants of the occupied territories, a correspondent of the British weekly «The Economist» wrote the following in the magazine's issue of March 21, 1970:

«The allegations of brutality to prisoners under interrogation appear to be substantiated by such evidence as is obtainable by a visiting foreign journalist. The similarity of these stories from widely

different sources suggests that these are not necessarily isolated incidents. Your correspondent has spoken to three people who claim to have been badly beaten or tortured with electrical devices; and he is satisfied that the first-hand account of their experiences lends weight to evidence obtained from other sources. He has also spoken to a number of lawyers, both Arab and Jewish, who have complained to the Israeli authorities about the treatment of their clients. In some cases these lawyers have been denied access to their clients for periods of more than six weeks, well in excess of the official interrogation period during which prisoners are held incommunicado.»

A former prisoner in the Occupied territories and a graduate student of the American University of Beirut, Asa'ad Abdul Rahman, gave an account of the psychological and physical torture to which the Israelis subject Arab prisoners, at a press conference held at the Alumni Club of the American University of Beirut on November 21, 1958:

«The moment one is arrested, one is subjected to two influences simultaneously: inducements and threats. The threats take many forms; you are threatened with beating or torture, with the arrest of those dearest to you (your father, mother, sister or brother), with the blowing up of your home, with

the rape of your nearest women relatives, with imprisonment in cells containing Israeli thieves and murderers; if you are a woman, with imprisonment in cells containing Israeli prostitutes.»

«The cells are often powerfully lit day and night without interruption. They are sometimes fitted with loudspeakers which continuously broadcast sounds and words deliberately calculated to break your nerves (e.g. the sound of weeping or wailing, the appeal of a mother or a sister, etc.). Sometimes the cell is fitted with blowers which direct strong waves of cold and hot air alternately.»

Within this general environment of psychological torture the prisoner is subjected to one or more of various forms of physical torture, including the following:

1. The prisoner is made to strip completely of all clothes. The body is whipped or beaten with sticks. No part of the body is spared. The beating and whipping continues until blood is drawn. Salt is thrown on the lacerations and the beating is resumed.
2. Lighted cigarette ends are applied to various parts of the body.
3. The prisoner is forced to sit naked on cactus leaves, fixed on platforms.



4. Enormous dogs are let loose on the prisoner, who is usually handcuffed with hands behind the back. The dogs are trained to throw the prisoner on the ground. The prisoner is ordered by an interrogator, whip in hand, to get up on his feet as soon as he falls down, and so on.
5. The fingers of the hand are placed on the edge of an open door and the door is slammed on the fingers.
6. Finger nails are pulled out with ordinary pincers.
7. The prisoner is injected with pepper solutions.
8. The prisoner is suspended from the ceiling, from his wrists or ankles.
9. Electric shocks are passed through the ear lobes, the chest, and the genitals.
10. The prisoner is injected with solutions which, he is told, induce almost instant insanity. He is shown what he is told is an antidote, which he will be given, if only he will confess in time.
11. Water hoses are applied to the mouth or anus and the water is turned on.

12. One of the prisoner's arms is firmly tied to the fixed bars of a window, the other to the handle of a door. The door is slowly opened in the other direction.

The torture methods of the Israelis, which are sadistic and reminiscent of Nazi concentration camps practices, follow two axes: the psychological and the physical. These two axes often intersect to produce a compound effect.

Included in the torture techniques of the Israelis are the so-called parties. At these parties beating is usually harsh but their basic ingredients are jeerings and insults by groups of soldiers accompanied by shooting at close range.

Describing such a party, to which he was taken, together with a Bedouin companion, an Arab prisoner says:

«On Friday, 29 December, 1967 two members of the Israeli Military Police appeared. At the sight of them my Bedouin companion shouted a warning that they were members of the staff of the torture camp. They asked for me and for another prisoner named Khalil Buhais whom I had not met before. Our hands were handcuffed and shackles were put on our legs. We were then led, blindfolded, to a lorry.

We climbed to the back of the lorry where we were chained to a ring in the floor. In this manner we travelled to Sarafand, a 40 minutes drive. The strain on our wrists was considerable and the manner in which we were tossed about produced nausea.

«As soon as we arrived at our destination and got off the lorry, we were met with slaps and blows accompanied with jeers and a continuous flow of curses from a group of soldiers. Our escort led us across ditches and trenches filled with stinking water into which we stumbled because, being blindfolded, we could not see our way. Our clumsy attempts to climb out of the trenches were met with more jeers, laughter, curses, and blows. Suddenly there was firing, very close to us and for a while, I thought that I had had it.»

The use of such methods of torture have often resulted in the death of the prisoner subjected to torture.

In connection with the many and varied methods of physical and psychological violence to which Arab prisoners are subjected in the occupied territories, it should be pointed out that these prisoners are all civilians of both sexes and that conditions prevailing in Israeli prisons are themselves effective means of psychological violence to which all detainees are subjected. ■

MEN IN THE SUN

(short story)

by: Neyrouz Malek

The following short story by Iraqi fiction writer Neyrouz Malek tries to catch the spirit of enthusiasm for the Palestine revolution, which is manifested by the younger generation of the Palestine Arab people.

The book he was holding close to his eyes had black cover with a bright sun in the middle sending its beams across the dark background. The title of the book was **Men in the Sun**, and he had gone

through its contents many times. The man put the book down on an old desk and looked around at the bookshelf which his son Said had made a long time before. He had looked at the books on this shelf so many times that he could remember the order of the titles without seeing them. And although we were sitting in the room with Said's father [Abu Said], he did not seem to be conscious of our existence. He was gazing out through the window at the blue sky.

And then we heard him speaking, not to us to be sure, but to himself: «Said saved his few pennies day after day, and then whenever he had enough of them he went out to the camp's bookstore and purchased a book. And no sooner did he get home than he sat down and read the book in one sitting. I asked him often what secret charm attracted him so much to these books; and he used to say: «I don't know yet. So far I've found nothing, but I'll keep looking.»

Abu Said paused just long enough to get a cigarette out of his pocket and lit it, then after taking a few nervous short puffs, he picked up that same book again. He stared at the sun on the cover and his eyes seemed so red that you'd think it was a real sun burning his eyes. «**Men in the Sun,**» he murmured, and then looked at us as if discovering our being there for the first time. He said: «Said

came in one day a couple of years ago holding his book in his hand, and spent the whole night reading it. When he woke up the next morning he announced that the book was great and inspiring.

«We were extremely surprised, his mother and I, when we noticed that after that day he never opened a book again. Instead, he began to go away in the morning and stay out a few days at a time. And whenever he came back, he seemed quiet and exhausted. When one day he came home wearing the camouflaged commandos uniform we were not surprised; we silently gave him our blessings.

«The days went by, and we saw Said only once every few weeks, and even then he was in a great hurry to go back to where he came from.»

The cigarette between Abu Said's fingers had been completely burnt, but he did not seem to feel the heat on his rough skin and nails. He threw it out of the window and then continued: «One day I asked him playfully why he did not read anymore. he said: 'books were useless in the present struggle.' This, he said, was what he had learned from the book with the Sun on the cover, the one about men who die for their country in order for the others to live. On that same day Said gave each one of us an affectionate goodbye, and then went away for the

last time. He never came back from that trip.» The tears went down in the lines of Abu Said's wrinkled face. He looked so much older. He went on: «Since then, I've read this book many times in memory of Said, and had I not been so old and weak, I would have gone Said's way.»

Again Abu Said seemed carried so far away by his memories and thoughts that we felt we were in separate worlds. He got out another cigarette with hands which could hardly hold the match steadily long enough to light it. I held his hand for him while he pulled a deep breath of smoke. He did not seem to be conscious of my assistance. He simply went on: «When I saw my second son, Basel, standing before me one day with the green and brown uniform, I didn't immediately recognize him. He was thirteen when he left home in the morning, but looked more like twenty in the afternoon. He smiled confidently and told me that Said was waiting for him somewhere in heaven. He said he dreamed of Said riding the Sun and beckoning for him to ride the same way. I realized then that Basel, the good obedient child, was waiting for me to tell him what to do. And in spite of all the love that I had for him and of the pleadings of his mother to stay with us, I could not prevent him from doing what he felt he had to do.

«Ever since that day, Basel has been coming home once every few weeks, and then for a few minutes to eat a bite and ask for our blessings. Only this morning he was different. He acted strange in a way. He looked at us as if he was far away, and yet he was eager to look some more. And then when he was ready to go, he kissed everyone of us, and I saw a few tears steal out of his eyes. That was in the morning, and now who knows? Maybe he also is riding the Sun.»

With this Abu Said held the book in his hand again and stared at the Sun on the cover. We all felt that he only could see those Men in the Sun. ■

ISRAEL'S IMPERIALIST MISSION IN AFRICA

Africa Research Group

The natural riches of the African continent have always been the coveted spoils of imperialist interests. In recent years, the United States has developed new techniques — both direct and indirect — for intensifying the neo-colonialist repenetration of Africa. In implementing these techniques Israel and other «friendly states» act as America's indirect representatives. The following is a summary of a study of this important theme by the Africa Research Group, which appeared in a recent issue of Tricontinental magazine:

Israel's services to imperialism have not been confined to the Middle East. For over ten years, Israel has played a relatively invisible, but strategically important role in Africa as a servant of the US organized «free world» empire.

US imperialism uses Israeli diplomatic, military, and «development» institutions to further its own objectives of tying post-independence Africa to the West and undermining revolutionary movements which threaten Western hegemony. Israel's own long-range political and economic goals have also been strengthened by «foreign aid» programs in at least 15 African countries.

In overall terms, Israeli aid to Africa is statistically insignificant: her technical assistance made up only about 0.05% of the total amount of external aid received in Sub-Saharan Africa. That aid has been dispersed among: Ethiopia, Tanzania, Nigeria, Mali, Central African Republic, Congo (K), Kenya, Niger, Ghana, Uganda, Senegal, Togo and lesser amounts to several other states. At the same time, the character of these programs and their **strategic impact** demand serious attention.

Israel's initial penetration in Africa came on a small scale in 1957 when her own national interest prompted her to seek political allies in the Third World. Israel was unhappy in 1956 because the Suez affair had identified her too closely with the interests of Great Britain, France, and the United States. It had reinforced Arab efforts to brand Israel as a «tool of imperialism» and provided too much hard evidence for political comfort. The growing strength

of Moslem communities and the emerging Afro-Asian solidarity movement, born at the Bandung Conference in 1955, threatened to isolate Israel politically and economically. She sought to improve her international position by fashioning mechanisms which could undermine the emerging alliance between Asian, Arab, and African nationalisms. From their inception, these mechanisms have reflected the needs and interests of neocolonialism, even as they have pretended to subordinate themselves completely to African aspirations or have cloaked themselves in the rhetoric of idealistic mission.

The evidence shows that: 1) the US Government helped shape the style and substance of Israeli assistance programs to Africa; 2) the US and its allies helped finance those programs through the use of the semicovert «third country» technique; 3) Israeli assistance programs have been concentrated in strategically important areas — particularly in specialized military training with direct «counter-insurgency» (i.e., counterrevolutionary) applications; 4) these Israeli programs serve the interests of a **relatively** small-scale Israeli imperialism and integrate nicely into a multinational US imperialist strategy.

Detailed information about Israeli programs is most readily available in little-known but revealing

reports prepared by «experts» on the payroll of US imperialism itself. Not surprisingly, the most complete survey and analysis of Israeli programs was prepared by a staff member of the US Agency for International Development (USAID) responsible for administering the US's foreign aid program; **Israel and the Developing Nations: New Approaches to Cooperation** (1967), was written by Leopold Laufer, a State Department official and former policy adviser to the US propaganda organ, the Voice of America.

Since the US Government has been involved in shaping and assisting the Israeli program, it is not surprising that its «expert-agents» should then be involved in evaluating this program.

US Strategists Decide to Use Israel

America's growing cadre of Africa strategists decided that an Israeli presence could be useful in Africa. The late Arnold Rivkin, an economist who headed the Africa Research at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's CIA-organized Center for International Studies who later went on to a key role at the World Bank, was one of the first Americans to set out publicly the assumptions which underlay

the US decision to take advantage of the convergence of interests between the US and Israel on the African front. In his book **Africa and the West**, he outlines the way the US could support Israeli penetration:

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. (1)

Israel «Imports» Knowledge from the US, Exports it to Africa

Between 1951 and 1962, Israel received \$ 15 million in aid and assistance from the United States. From 1950 to 1964, the UN and its specialized agencies — themselves often shaped and controlled by the US — spent over \$ 5 million on experts and fellowships for Israel.

(1) Arnold Rivkin, *Africa and the West*, Praeger, 1961 p. 89.

The programs built a network through which US expertise was «imported» into Israel only to be «exported» by Israeli nationals somewhat later. The US was pleased with the «multiplier effect» that this aid had in broadening the impact of a US-conceived strategy. Henry Chalfant, former US Mission Director in Israel, quite frankly admitted this intention when he wrote:

Israelis selected for training abroad were carefully chosen with a view to returning to Israel as disseminators of skill and knowledge to others. This «multiplier effect» is an essential element of any program of technical assistance. (2)

The Scope of the Israeli Assistance Program

Israel's program of assistance to Africa assumes several basic forms: 1) highly trained Israeli «experts» are placed at the disposal of African states, often in strategically important positions; 2) various categories of African personnel, including

(2) Leopold Laufer, *Israel and the Developing Countries: New Approaches to Cooperation*, Twentieth Century Fund, New York, 1968.

students, civil servants, labor leaders, and military cadre are given specialized training in Israel itself; this training is usually provided quickly and efficiently; and 3) Israeli businessmen and their governments have set up joint economic enterprises with African states and private business.

In the first category, most of the important specialized assistance is military and paramilitary in nature. Nonmilitary assistance programs utilize the «parallel training approach» — that is, while Israeli experts serve abroad, Africans are given specialized assistance in Israel. This assistance has been highly diversified, embracing everything from poultry training in Guinea to setting up national lotteries in Dahomey; from youth movement organizing in Gabon to pediatrics in the Upper Volta.

Before he became Defense Minister, General Dayan took an active interest in shaping Israel's agricultural programs in Africa. This reflects the militarization of agriculture in Israel itself. Since the kibbutz system and most Israeli collective farms are closely tied into the national defense effort, this agricultural program has been organized on paramilitary lines. It is this highly political model of organization which Israel «exports» to Africa.

Israeli efforts seek to assist neocolonial states

in mobilizing their populations for «development.» In the area of youth mobilization, Israel developed the **Gadna** (Youth Battalions) and **Nahal** (Fighting Pioneer Youth), which have been used as models for similar programs in African states. In theory, these programs are nonpolitical; in practice, they create politically potent and militarily useful bodies. Laufer explains what they do:

Gadna (youth battalions for boys and girls aged 14 to 18) offers sports, hiking, camping, crafts, group discussions, and cultural activities, as well as physical work and some paramilitary training. Nahal, which takes up where Gadna leaves off, is for young men and women of military age and includes paratrooper regular military training, followed by agricultural settlement in difficult or dangerous places.

By 1966 Israeli experts had organized these «nation-building» programs in 13 African countries: Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chad, Dahomey, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Malawi, Niger, Senegal, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, and Zambia. Other Israeli advisers carried on similar activities in Bolivia, Ecuador, Costa Rica, and Singapore.

Specialized training in Israel is provided on several levels. Government ministries offer courses

as do quasi-government agencies such as the Israeli labor complex Histadrut. Histadrut, a nominally «socialist» but not anti-imperialist union, sponsors its own Afro-Asian Institute for Labor Studies and Cooperation in Tel Aviv, headed by Eliahu Elath, Israel's first Ambassador to the United States. It turns out 30 to 50 «trained leaders» every three to four months. Significantly, this institute was launched with a \$ 60,000 grant from the AFL-CIO [American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations] in 1960. Disclosures by prominent journalists in the United States have since revealed that the international programs of the AFL-CIO are virually integrated into and coexistent with the CIA's international labor strategy.

Most Israeli training programs are short-run and highly concentrated in nature. More than 9000 «trainees» from the Third World have been exposed to Israeli seminars, conferences, and training courses. Only a few hundred students have spent more than a year in the country. Most of these courses are for middle-level personnel and concentrate, according to Laufer, on «transmitting new ideas and attitudes.»

These courses have enhanced Israel's political reputation on the continent while performing an important ideological and training function for imperialism.

Israel's interest in Africa is also prompted by economic considerations. As a geographically convenient source of raw materials and a market for Israeli goods, Africa has a natural attraction to businessmen. Trade between Israel and African nations is active and growing in volume. The volume of Israeli exports to Africa stood at \$ 11.6 million in 1963; by 1965 it was \$ 21.5 million. Notes Laufer: «It is probably more than a coincidence that the greatest increases have been in exports to those African countries (for example, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, and Uganda) that also have an active technical cooperation program with Israel.» (3)

Israel and the International Counterrevolution - Military Assistance

Israel comes into its special field with sensitive and highly specialized military and police-intelligence training. A myriad of programs quietly provide African states with the type of military and police know-how required to build up effective internal security forces designed to protect those neocolonialist governments, propped up and «deve-

(3) Laufer, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

loped» by US imperialism, from being overthrown by their own populations.

The practical help Israeli military training provides the objectives of US imperialism is best illustrated by the situation in the Congo, one of Africa's richest and most strategically located countries. The US role in the Congo since independence is notorious: by the accounts of such men as Conor Cruise O'Brien, the US played a determining role in structuring the government of the Congo after engineering a UN intervention which helped topple the Lumumba government and impose a servile one. The CIA was deeply involved in all this. (4)

At the prodding of US corporate and financial interests, the US maintained an active role in the Congo, particularly when organized rebellions and guerrilla movements began to threaten US hegemony. In the course of developing effective counterinsurgency techniques, it was the Israelis who took on the task of training the Congo's crack elite paracommando squadron.

Imperialism Finances Israel's Programs

Israel does not disclose the full extent of its aid

(4) See Andrew Tully, *The CIA: The Inside Story*.

program to Africa nor reveal who pays the bills. Funds are known to come directly from Israel's Government, partner governments in Africa, international organizations, and to some extent private sources.

Western support to Israel no doubt makes it possible for her to maintain an active program of penetration. Israel still earns more revenue from monies contributed from abroad than on monies obtained from exports. Without international credits — and contributions solicited abroad with the cooperation and complicity of Western powers — Israel could not survive economically. Its balance of payment problems have always posed real difficulties for the economy. Without finance from non-Israeli sources, her Africa programs would be inconceivable. Acknowledges Laufer:

Israel's achievement in having more than half its effort financed from non-Israeli sources is probably unique in the tangled history of postwar technical assistance operations. This shows how a small country, short of capital but with the will, and objective capacity, can generate a sizeable technical assistance program with little capital investment and negligible effect on its balance of payments position.

Not all of the revenue for these programs comes

directly through the US or imperialist powers. Some of the expenses are met by recipient African nations. However, those nations are often themselves dependent on Western aid; hence the US or some other ally funding an African state enables it to afford the expenses of an Israeli assistance program which itself is receiving disguised or covert support through other channels. The US could also free local currency holding in African states to help finance Israeli training and assistance efforts.

Conclusion

A critique of Israel's role in the world need not be dependent only on a position with respect to complex historical issues being fought out in the Middle East. As our examination of Israel's role and function in Africa demonstrates, there is a considerable body of reliable evidence which points directly to the role of Israel in the interests of the US-directed, neo-colonialist Empire. ■

P.E.N. DENOUNCES PERSECUTION OF PALESTINIAN WRITERS

Zionist persecution of the Arab inhabitants of Zionist-occupied Palestine has not been limited to psychological and physical violence applied to these inhabitants. It has included varying forms of cultural persecution. This prompted the P.E.N. Club of Lebanon to submit the following memorandum to the International P.E.N. Club, which was held at Menton, in September 1969. The memorandum exposes Israel's maltreatment of Palestinian writers and proposes a resolution to deal with Israel's cultural persecution of the Arab inhabitants of Zionist-Occupied Palestine.

The P.E.N. Charter, in Articles 1 and 4, pledges members to oppose any form of suppression of freedom of expression, declares for a free press and affirms a belief in the imperative necessity for free criticism of governments, administrations and institutions. In the Declaration of Human Rights, Articles 13, 17, 18 and 19 provide for the rights of all people

not to be prevented from returning home, not to be deprived of their nationality, to be entitled to asylum from persecution, to have their liberty of expression and opinion guaranteed, etc... Referring to these provisions and in keeping with a long-standing tradition of the International PEN Club, the PEN Club of Lebanon calls on the 36th Congress of the International PEN Club to take note of the following facts and to adopt the following resolution.

The most distinguished Palestinian writers in occupied Palestine (Israel), throughout the past few years, have been subjected to repressive measures in the form of censorship, travel bans, restricted residence orders, deportation and exile.

— The cultural journal «al-Ard» (The Land) was banned and all attempts to revive it have failed; anyone attempting to do so is liable for sentences of up to 10 years' imprisonment.

— No Palestinian cultural journal has ever been allowed to be published.

— The following writers and poets have been arrested: Mahmoud Darwiche, Ali Achour, Samih el Kassem, Salem Gebran, Toufic Ziadeh, Mansour Kardouche, Ali Rafii, Sabri Jeriyes, Habib Kahwaji, are still in prison.

— Among this group, Mansour Kardouche, Ali Rafii, Sabri Jeriyes and Habib Kahwaji, founders of the «Al Ard» journal, were served restricted residence orders upon their release from prison and

must report to police headquarters every morning and evening.

— The writer Habib Kahwaji was subsequently deported to Cyprus, where he is now in exile.

— The poet Kamal Nasser from Bir Zeit was deported to Jordan, where he is now in exile; police took him to the frontier.

— During 8 months' imprisonment in vile conditions, writer Assaad Abdul Rahman was subjected to repeated degrading treatment including mock execution, while blindfolded, before a firing squad; on release, Abdul Rahman was deported to Jordan, where he is now living in exile. He was taken to the frontiers by police, who refused to allow him to see his family before leaving.

— In the presence of the Mayor of Bethlehem, the poet Fadwa Toukane was forbidden by General Moshe Dayan, personally, to continue writing and publishing her work.

— The poet Samih el Kassem, from Rama in Galilee, was arrested in April 1969 following publication of his book «Bird of Lightning.»

— In the schools, more than 53% of the teachers appointed by the Israeli authorities are unqualified, as leaders of the Israeli Histadruth have admitted.

— In university faculties in Israel, one or two of the hundreds of lecturers are Palestinians, while

tens of thousands of Palestinians with university degrees are not able to enter their country.

— The Israeli Histadruth has itself issued a report criticising the very inadequate textbooks provided for Palestinian children in the schools. The writer Sabri Jeriyes has pointed out that Israel's policy of discrimination against Palestinians means that the latter tend to receive inferior education.

— The Israeli newspaper «Haaretz» quoted the following statement by the Israeli Advisor on Arab Affairs: «If there were no Palestinian students, the situation would be better. It would have been easier for us to govern if the Arabs had remained «wood-carriers.» but, in spite of our wishes, they are not. So we shall act accordingly.»

— Classic texts from great Arab literature have been deleted from school books, and inferior texts put in their place, which help debase the curriculum.

— In February and March 1969, Israeli Army soldiers broke dozens of 12-16-year old Palestinian girl students' arms and legs with rifle butts and sticks during demonstrations in Gaza, Hebron, Ramallah and Jerusalem in protest against house-dynamiting and other acts of violence committed by the occupation authorities.

— Individuals suspected of belonging to the Palestinian Resistance movement — regardless of

whether or not they are engaged in writing, journalism or related professions - are indiscriminately assaulted and tortured.

— Palestinian writers are not recognised as individuals, authors, creators or even groups. Israeli writers discriminate against them in exactly the way they accuse the Soviet authorities of discriminating against the cultural life of Jewish minorities in the U.S.S.R.; in their meetings in Palestine, Israeli writers have never brought up the situation of Palestinian literature or discussed the harassment and difficulties to which it is subjected. At the Israeli writers congress in Jerusalem on 7th April 1969, an agonizing — for us — silence veiled the situation of Palestinian writers.

For every measure they have taken, the Israeli authorities will no doubt have a ready excuse. We are not going to examine here in detail the reasons given to classify this or that writer as dangerous and therefore deserving to be silenced, deported or exiled. But we would like to echo the words of Mr. Charles Helou, President of the Republic of Lebanon he himself a former journalist:

«Ill-fated is the state which considers that its security lies in suppression of the free development and expression of thought because that state is built on a need for force and oppression. Such is the case of Israel; in order to exist and survive, that state has felt since its birth that it had to prevent Palestine's

writers and citizens from living in their homes, and expressing themselves in dignity and freedom. Such is indeed the case of that state: as a consequence of its inhuman crimes, Israel has found itself compelled by the inexorable laws of chain reaction to threaten reprisals against the writers of the dispossessed Palestinians and against all their neighbouring peoples.

«In this interminable sequence of violence and reprisals, which point of time should one choose as the start of hostilities and the source of responsibility? The origin of the problem cannot be separated from the origin of the State of Israel based on racism and religious fanaticism; such a state is based on the rejection of thought, of all expression that does not conform to the reasoning and ambitions which an anachronistic Zionism finds in its distorted reading of its Books and Scriptures. There is here an example of the paradoxical way in which human greed can degrade the most sacred texts and of the processes by which human beings come to transform the Grace and the Word of God into a perpetual call to arms.

«In Lebanon, where our faith in God is allied with, and even based on, our faith in man (in his eminent dignity, his liberty of belief, thought and expression), we feel ourselves threatened on our southern frontiers, not by an enemy, but by a con-

ception of man and his world which strives to take humanity back more than 20 centuries. Together with our persons and our existence, the essential values of civilization are being called into question and threatened.»

In view of the ties — and identity of announced purposes — between the International PEN Club and Unesco and Unesco's principles, which as set out in official resolutions have regularly affirmed a commitment to the defense of human rights (ties which Lebanon has always supported in debates at the General Conference of the United Nations Organization),

The strict tradition of the International PEN Club in this field,

The resolutions adopted at recent P.E.N. Congresses and the appeals which PEN International Presidents and PEN International Secretaries have formulated on previous occasions.

It is incumbent upon men of letters and intellectuals meeting at P.E.N. Congresses to examine and condemn any violation of the rights, dignity or liberty of writers in any part of the world and in any ethnic group. ■

Resistance Operations

April, 1970

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

On April 1, P.L.F. fighters launched a heavy attack with rockets against enemy installations, north of the Dead Sea, and set them on fire. An enemy military vehicle was destroyed as a result of the explosion of a mine, planted by P.L.F. fighters, south of the Dead Sea, in the Feifa region. Another mine, planted by P.L.F. men, in the Gharandal region, exploded under an enemy vehicle, a wireless

Operations

apparatus. The car was destroyed and its occupants were either killed or wounded.

On April 5, P.L.F. fighters placed high explosive charges at an observation post and an enemy ambush in the Lebanese Rafiah region, near the Shtolah settlement. The charges exploded, damaging the observation post, killing 5 enemy soldiers and wounding 2.

On April 6, P.L.F. fighters launched a concentrated attack against Abu-El-Sous observation post. The attack lasted for 45 minutes and resulted in silencing enemy fire, destroying an enemy ambush and killing or wounding some enemy soldiers.

On April 8, a mine planted in the road between Yaheef and El Hasb settlements to the south of the Dead Sea, exploded under an enemy military vehicle, destroying it and killing most of its occupants.

On the same day, P.L.F. fighters ambushed enemy military vehicles on the main road from Gaza to Rafah, destroying an enemy civilian transport car and killing or wounding a number of enemy soldiers.

On April 8, two enemy soldiers were killed by P.L.F. snipers in the El Khatib and Junaidieh regions.

On April 9, P.L.F. fighters launched a concentrated attack, with rockets and other weapons, against the Abu Saleem observation post, in the Zara'ah

locality. The post sustained direct hits and a number of enemy soldiers were either Killed or wounded.

On April 9, three enemy soldiers were killed by P.L.F. snipers, in the El Khatib and Turkmaniah regions.

On April 10, P.L.F. fighters launched a heavy attack against an enemy observation post in the Kfar Rupin region, inflicting heavy losses on the enemy, and damaging the observation post.

On April 10, an enemy vehicle was destroyed by means of a mine, planted by P.L.F. fighters on the road to Wadi-El-Jeeb, killing or wounding its occupants.

On the same day two mines planted by P.L.F. men on the road between Hattekar Settlement and the Dead Sea, exploded, demolishing an enemy vehicle and inflicting heavy casualties on its occupants.

On April 10, a P.L.F. unit placed high explosive charges under a high tension power pylon, in the Gaza Strip. The charges exploded, destroying the pylon and interrupting the electric current in the whole region, including the Kartey citron processing plant.

On April 11, P.L.F. men attacked an enemy ambush on the main road between Kuneitrah and Western Hamadaniah in the occupied Syrian

Heights, destroying two enemy tanks and killing or wounding their occupants.

On April 12, a P.L.F. unit placed high explosive charges under a pylon of the power net providing the Maghazi camp, in the Gaza Strip with electricity. The charges exploded, demolishing the pylon and cutting the electric current from the said area.

On April 13, P.L.F. men placed high explosive charges under the railway line to the south of Gaza. The charges exploded, destroying large portions of the rails and stopping traffic.

On April 13, P.L.F. forces attacked, with rockets and other weapons, an enemy position at El Mindasah locality and some neighbouring enemy ambushes, destroying some enemy installations and setting them on fire.

On April 14, P.L.F. fighters launched an attack with rockets and other weapons, against an enemy ambush, at the Turkmaniah locality in the Jordan valley, destroying the ambush and two machine guns.

On April 14, an enemy military vehicle and a troop-carrier were destroyed by means of a mine planted by P.L.F. men in the road leading from Sasa camp to the Kafr Burom settlement in Upper Galilee. Most of their occupants were either killed or wounded.

On April 23, a P.L.F. fighter threw a hand

grenade at an enemy vehicle travelling on the main road from Gaza to Rafah, damaging the vehicle and killing or wounding its occupants.

Joint Operations

On April 14, a joint unit of the P.L.F. and the Assifa forces launched a surprise attack against enemy positions at Tellet-El Najjar, in the Jordan valley. The attack resulted in setting enemy positions on fire, and inflicting several casualties enemy troops.

On April 23, joint units of the P.L.F. and the Assifa forces launched an attack, with rockets and mortars, against the headquarters of an enemy command, at Tellet-El-Najjar locality in the Central Jordan valley. The clash which ensued lasted for two hours.

On April 23, units of the P.L.F., the Assifa and the Arab Liberation Front attacked an enemy command headquarters at the Um-Nakhleh locality, in the Central Jordan valley. The attack resulted in destroying some enemy weapons and an observation post, and in inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy. ■

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

The Right To Return

by: Ibrahim Al-Abid

In this issue of «Resistance» we continue our series of «Questions and Answers» designed to give an objective and factual picture of the Palestine issue and the Palestine resistance movement. The Questions and Answers presented below deal with the attachment of Palestinians to their homeland and their insistence on their right to return to their country after liberating it from Zionist colonialism:

WOULD THE PALESTINIANS ACCEPT SETTLEMENT IN THE ARAB COUNTRIES IF THIS WERE TO ENTAIL A RAISE IN THEIR STANDARD OF LIVING?

The problem as the Palestinians see it is not one of low standards of living but one of a homeland usurped and a dignity lost. They have systematically and persistently opposed all attempts at incorporating them in the economies of their host countries or emigrating them to Canada and Australia.

Insisting on their right to return to their country after liberating it from Zionist colonialism, and to determine their fate on their own soil, the refugees have withstood all temptations of higher standards of living and better opportunities for work in new homelands.

Needless to say, the Arab Governments have had little to do with forming this attitude. At best their position on the issue has been a passive one.

WHY DO NOT THE ARAB COUNTRIES ABSORB THE REFUGEES FROM PALESTINE?

Phrasing the problem in these terms ignores a

basic fact. It is the Palestinians themselves who refuse to be absorbed in their host countries. Writing of this refusal, Jean-Pierre Provins says:

«A refusal, first of all, to crumble, to disperse, to disintegrate by being integrated into other States, even if they are sister states. By clinging together, the Palestinians have been able to spare themselves the «diaspora» which Israelis had destined for them. Although Arab Palestine no longer exists as a State, through the refugee camps it remains an organized body.»

«But these camps are not merely the organized expression of the Palestinian nation; they are also the sociological form which the protest of this people against its expatriation and its expropriation has taken.» 1

«This rejection by the Palestinians of any form of settlement of their situation which does not safeguard their inalienable rights and which does not

(1) «Les camps de réfugiés Palestiniens,» Un jour ou l'autre Israël disparaîtra, Le Communiste, edit. (Paris), p. 37.

lead to their return to their country, is a fundamental element in the attitude of the Arabs. Consequently, the Palestinians are not satisfied with merely meeting the requirements of human solidarity, natural as it may be, even when to this is added the feeling of belonging to the same community.

«These considerations mean that the responsibility of the Arab States towards the refugees involves their political, that is, their concern to take into account and to ensure respect for the legitimate rights of the interested parties themselves.» 2

«The whole Arab attitude can be summed up as a rejection of the political genocide of the Palestinians The Palestinian people constitutes an entity; to split it up in order to integrate it better is purely and simply to dissolve it and remove it altogether from the international scene.» 3

(2) The Seminar of Arab Jurists on Palestine (Algiers, 1967), pp. 125-126.

(3) The Seminar of Arab Jurists on Palestine (Algiers, 1967), pp. 122-123.

DOES THE NEW GENERATION OF PALESTINIANS HOLD ONTO THEIR RIGHT TO LIVE IN PALESTINE?

The struggle for the right to return has not been limited to one generation of Palestinians or another. The Palestinians who lived on its soil a part of their life are not more attached to Palestine than those born in exile.

The desire of the post-1948 generation of Palestinians to return to Palestine is so strong, it reaches at moments a pure mystical state intensified by the bitterness of life in camps, in huts, during bitter winters and scorching summers; a life in exile, without an identity, in the shadow of the insult «Refugee!» which haunts every Palestinian, young and old.

The Palestinians born since 1948 have translated into action their attachment to the land of their origin, and their firm belief in their inevitable return. The two boys who attempted to blow up the Ambassador Hotel, the location of the Israeli army headquarters in Jerusalem, and the young men who flew to Athens and to Zurich to attack an Israeli airplane proclaiming they did that for their country,

and the thousands accused of taking part in resistance activities in the occupied territories, all have been born in exile.

This age group forms most of the basic cadres in the resistance movement, as attested by Moshe Dayan himself in a speech in the Knesset about this movement and the groups which constitute it.

Lastly this new generation has campaigned with zeal for the cause of Palestine, both individually and through the various student organizations to which its members belong. Young Palestinians have been able sometimes to swing large segments of public opinion in favor of the Arabs' legitimate rights in Palestine. ■

**PALESTINE QUESTION
IN
WORLD PRESS**

Edited by: Mitri Hamarneh

Our world press extracts for this month are taken from two sources: (1) an editorial on the Middle East crisis and non-aligned countries published in the March 5, 1970 issue of the Yugoslav **«Review of International Affairs.»** (2) a comment entitled «Pacification or Encouragement of the Aggressor?» published in the Moscow weekly **«New Times»** issue of April 4, 1970.

(1) Middle East Crisis and Non-aligned Countries

If at the present moment Israel sticks to its policy of aggression and expansion, if the American backing for Israel is a long-term policy, if the United Nations is frustrated in the Middle East and the Security Council has failed in its tasks, if the great powers cannot be left to fashion by themselves a solution to the Middle Eastern crisis, the inevitable conclusion is that non-aligned countries must again take an active hand. Can the non-aligned countries influence the march of events in the Middle East? If one is to judge by the sceptics who measure power by economic and military yardsticks, the answer is negative. If one is to judge by the one example only, in this case the Libyan one, the answer is positive. Applying consistently the conclusions of the Belgrade and Cairo Conferences, Libya demanded and obtained the evacuation of the American and British military bases from its territory, which is a considerable concession to the elementary demands of the policy of non-alignment. United, in concrete actions, non-aligned countries can do even more — even in the Middle East. This is, in fact, how the third summit conference of the non-aligned countries was designed. «In any case,» President Tito said, «the new conference should constitute a new step forward, but not in order to establish principles, which are already clear, or to adopt general declarations.

It would have to adopt a programme of concrete actions for the solving of the problems affecting the international community and world peace, such as the liquidation of the vestiges of colonialism, establishment of democratic international relations and equal cooperation, codification of the principles of coexistence, acceleration of the development of the developing countries, disarmament, strengthening of the United Nations and the achievement of its universality.» The non-aligned could do a lot in regard to the Middle East crisis. First, they could provide greater, more systematic and organized political and other assistance to the Arab countries and peoples in their struggle against aggression. Secondly, non-aligned countries could bring up-to-date their policies on the Palestinian question adopted at Bandung, Belgrade and Cairo (in 1955, 1961, and 1964), and complement them with an explicit backing for the Palestinian movement, by recognizing the national rights of the Palestinian people. It could also include the consideration of a general attitude vis-a-vis Israel not only as a policy but as a structure resulting from the colonization of the Middle East. **«Some countries simply ignore the decisions of the United Nations and refuse to apply them. No sanctions are being applied against them,»** these words of President Tito reveal the third possible opening for the non-aligned. There are sanctions against Israel which could be political, diplomatic, economic,

etc. Of course, they would not resolve the problem of the Middle East but it can be supposed that they would influence both Israel and its allies to start reexamining their policies with regard to the Middle East crisis. Fourthly, the non-aligned countries might, just before the forthcoming session of the UN General Assembly, coordinate their policies and demand an integral application, under the threat of sanctions, of the resolutions applying to the Middle East.

An endeavour by the non-aligned toward the solution of the Middle East crisis, which would automatically imply political pressure on the great powers to observe their obligations as members of the Security Council, could be implemented by means of a new conference of non-aligned countries. Such an action would be all the more useful if it was defined before the 25th jubilee session of the United Nations General Assembly. The future of the world organization will depend on the outcome of the Middle East crisis. Without the new action by the non-aligned, this crisis will inevitably spread over to other parts of the world.

Review of International Affairs

(2) Pacification or Encouragement of the Aggressor?

In the Middle East, with the glaringly obvious support of the USA, Israel is continuing to expand its aggression against the Arab states. Where previously the Israeli aggressors tried to explain the hostilities along the ceasefire line as «revenge» against the Palestinian guerillas, now they are expanding hostilities deeper and deeper into the territories of the Arab states and especially of the United Arab Republic without pretext. At first the Israeli aggressors tried to justify their actions by saying that they bombed only military targets, but after the air raid on the iron-and-steel plant in Abu Za'bal, near Cairo, where many workers were killed and wounded, the Israeli military started to bomb peaceful cities deep inside the country without any restrictions. Golda Meir, the Israeli Prime Minister, frankly declared that Israel would continue its air raids even deeper into Egyptian territory, and Moshe Dayan, the Defence Minister, confirmed this. The coincidence of such Israeli actions with the initial deliveries of the supersonic Phantom fighter-bombers from the USA was not accidental. Altogether 50 Phantoms are to be delivered to Israel. But the Israeli military are craving for more, and Tel Aviv has requested the USA to deliver another 25 Phantoms and 100 Skyhawks.

President Nixon declined Israel's request for the additional deliveries of aircraft. The US press would like to describe this decision as an act of «pacification.» Everything however, is much simpler. Nixon and Rogers explained that the request had been temporarily suspended, and that should the USA deem it necessary, it would comply later on. The USA is of the opinion that the present delivery of 50 aircraft makes up for the losses of the Israeli air force, and that the existing balance of power in the air so far satisfies the USA. So we see that the USA frankly encourages the Israeli aggressors, and is quite satisfied with the present balance of power which allows Israel to venture deep into UAR territory on air raids. Isn't that a pat on the back to the aggressor? But should the Israeli aggressors, in the opinion of the USA, get into a tight spot, then the additional planes would be shipped from the USA to Israel without any further delay. Such is the «pacification» effort of the US leaders. Besides this, Israel is to get a «present» from the USA of 100,000,000 dollars to pay her debts and do some miscellaneous shopping.

There is, however, another aspect to the US «pacification» activities. It is the fear of losing the oil in the Arab states and the accruing profits. Increasing resistance to the Israeli aggressors and their US sponsors, the Arab countries ask point

blank — why does the USA, which derives profit from the exploitation of Arab oil, spend this profit on supporting the Israeli aggressors who are attacking the Arab states? This was what those states situated along the front lines — UAR, Syria, Jordan and Iraq, supported by the Sudan and Libya — declared at the February Conference in Cairo. The International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions has given a similar warning at its conference in Cairo. The same issue was raised at the 7th Conference of Arab countries on oil problems which has been held in Kuwait. The US oil monopolies can hardly leave such declarations unnoticed. That is precisely why the USA is making, now and again, pacificatory gestures to the Arab countries, such as the conditional refusal to send additional planes to Israel.

The Arab countries are consolidating their positions in the course of their resistance to Israeli aggression. The guerilla movement of the Palestinians has gathered considerable momentum lately. It is being recognized in international circles, just as the national liberation movements of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and the Republic of South Africa have been recognized.

The situation in Indochina and the Middle East

remains tense and fraught with formidable complications for all the world. The forces responsible for that are not only the direct executors of the will of world imperialism, but also the ruling circles of the USA who are backing the Israeli-Zionist reaction and the puppets in South-East Asia. These circles are still toying with the illusion that they will be able to achieve world domination. But that will never happen, for the balance of power is still, as before, in favour of the forces of progress.

New Times ■

Documents

Israel's flouting of international law, its refusal to withdraw from the Occupied Arab territories and its persecution of the inhabitants of these territories has been condemned, not only by the United Nations and its various organs, but also by a number of progressive international organizations, notably the World Peace Council. Below are the texts of (1) Statement on the Middle East adopted by the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council at its meeting in Moscow (2-6 April, 1970), and (2) Resolution on the Middle East adopted by World Peace Council Representatives of the Arab and Asian Countries, adopted at their meeting in Baghdad, 9-10 April, 1970. The statement and the resolution condemn Israel's aggressive policy, which «could lead to a new conflagration of unforeseeable dimensions.»

(1) World Peace Council Statement on the Middle East, Moscow, 2-6 April, 1970

Of late there has been a further worsening of the Middle East situation, following the stepping up of military acts of aggression on the part of Israel against the Arab countries and the continuous support being given to it by the United States.

The WPC Presidential Committee is bent on alerting public opinion about the dangerous turn of events in the Middle East which is threatening the peace of the world and international security, and which could lead to a new conflagration of unforeseeable dimensions.

Without U.S. backing, it is clear that Israel would be unable to continue to pursue this aggressive policy. The United States, by making a considerable increase in their military, financial and political aid to Israel, are out to fulfill the imperialist plan aimed at overthrowing progressive regimes, in order to impose their domination and to increase their hold over the economic wealth of this region — of the oil in particular.

The recent plots against the Lebanon, the Sudan and Cyprus, which have taken place while American

intervention is spreading in Indo-China, have brought out the close relationship existing between the various outcomes of the same global imperialist plan. The close links which Israel has with the ruling circles of the GFR and the South African racist regime illustrate this and are a danger for the peoples of Africa and of the whole world.

Encouraged by the United States, Israel is intensifying its criminal bombing raids against the populations and civilian objectives in the United Arab Republic, Jordan, Syria and the Lebanon. It has unleashed a wave of repression, terror, torture, murders, destruction of dwellings, in the occupied territories. These actions are arousing the indignation of peoples throughout the world, and the United Nations have condemned many times these violations both of international law and the Rights of Man.

Scorning this condemnation, Israel has established a plan of forced displacement of people, a plan which is already beginning to be implemented, involving 300,000 Palestinian Arabs from the Gaza Strip, with a view to a final annexation of this zone. This is a new proof of the annexationist and racist character of Israel's policy and of the greatly deceptive character of their leaders' peace talk.

Israel's obstinate refusal to accept the decisions

Resistance

of the General Assembly of the United Nations and of the Security Council, her declared refusal to return to the boundaries of before 5 June, 1967, confirmed by official statements made by her leaders and ministers, and evidenced by the speeded up installation of para-military and other settlements, compel the Arab countries and peoples to increase their armed forces and means of defence in order to counter air raids and to liberate their occupied territories. The Arab countries are finding sympathetic understanding among all their friends, and disinterested support.

Israel's continuous refusal to accept the United Nations and Security Council Resolutions — before and after 5 June — relating to Palestine, makes it a sacred duty for the Arab Palestinians to fight for the recovery of their legitimate national rights. Palestinian resistance, which is an integral part of the world colonialism and Zionism, is receiving support from all forces of independence and peace.

The Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council calls upon all forces for peace and freedom in the world to act together to prevent a new full-scale war in the Middle East and to bring about a just and durable peace, by:

Documents

- putting an end to air raids and other Israeli acts of war against the people and civilian objectives;
- a total withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories;
- implementing all the United Nations and Security Council Resolutions, especially the 22 November 1967 Resolution;
- recognizing the legitimate national rights of the Arab Palestinian people and allowing Palestinian Arab refugees to return to their homes, in conformity with the repeated decisions of the United Nations.

The forces of peace can and must be brought together and organized around these objectives, in joint activity. Everincreasing sections of the peoples in Europe, the United States and even in Israel, are becoming more and more aware of the grave dangers to peace and security inherent in the expansionist and racist policy of Israel.

The WPC Presidential Committee urges all the forces working for peace to express their solidarity with the Arab peoples and to act vigorously for justice and peace in the Middle East. Let the first

week in June, the International Week of Solidarity with the struggle of the Arab peoples for the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression, be a period of intensified activities towards these ends.

The seriousness of the situation in the Middle East demands of all men who cherish peace the world over that they act promptly and vigorously.

(2) Resolution on the Middle East by Representatives of the Peace Movements in the Arab and Asian countries, Baghdad, 9-10 April, 1970

Representatives of the Peace Movements in the Arab and Asian Countries have agreed that the struggle of the Arab peoples against the imperialist-Zionist aggression, and the struggle waged by the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Japan and Korea is a common struggle against one and the same enemy, namely, U.S. imperialism and its allies.

Providing it with weapons and volunteers, U.S. imperialism thus enables Israel to continue escalating its bombardments and aggressions on the population and civilian targets in the UAR, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. Meanwhile, U.S. political support of Israel encourages the latter to persist in refusing all

U.N. and Security Council resolutions, notably that of November 22, 1969. Israel's rejection to withdraw from occupied Arab territories is demonstrated by its continued occupation of these lands, establishment of new settlements for further immigrants, expulsion of Arab inhabitants, destruction of their homes in complete terrorism and negation of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian Arab people in their country. Israel refused to implement the UN resolutions pertaining to the issue of Palestine before and after June 5, 1967.

The participants declare their support of the resolutions adopted by the W.C.P. Presidential Committee in its meetings in Khartoum in December 1969 and in Moscow in April 1970, pertaining to the Arab countries' rights to rebuild their armed forces in order to remove the consequences of the June 5, 1967 aggression, and their support of the struggle of the Palestinian Arab people for the restoration of their legitimate national rights, including their right to self-determination in their country as recognised by all international conventions.

In this respect, the representatives of the peace movements in the Arab and Asian countries appreciate the effective assistance rendered by the Soviet Union to the Arab countries to enable them to rebuild their armed forces, and the political and

economic support given by the USSR along with the other Socialist and friendly countries. They equally pay tribute to the valuable efforts and the political and material support extended to the Palestinian Arab people engaged in an armed, heroic struggle which is part and parcel of the global struggle against colonialism, imperialism and Zionism, for liberation. The Palestinian resistance enjoys full support on the part of all honest forces in the world.

The Israeli aggression, which constitutes the main instrument of imperialism, the continued air raids as well as U.S. imperialists' conspiracies with their lackies against the Arab countries which today adopt various manifestations as in the Lebanon and the Sudan, — all these are aimed at diminishing the resistance of the Arab progressive countries and the overthrow of their regimes, so as to restore imperialist domination to the area. To this effect, imperialism seeks to disintegrate the ranks of the patriotic, democratic and progressive movement in every country and accordingly to weaken the patriotic, democratic and progressive Arab anti-imperialist front, which is the fundamental weapon of the Arab peoples in their resistance to the Israeli-imperialist aggression for the frustration of its aims and the mobilisation of Arab potentials in this confrontation with their enemy.

The participants hail the efforts made by the

W.C.P. for the mobilisation of world public opinion to demand the halting of bombardments and the exposure of the Israeli aggression, and declare their adherence to the 1970 programme of action on the Middle East and their support of all initiatives aimed at rallying world public opinion to unmask, at a world-wide level, Zionism as an aggressive, racist movement aiming to diminish the global struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

The participants express their support of the International Committee in Support of the Arab peoples, in its various efforts and activities through conferences, seminars, etc., to uphold the struggle of the Arab peoples.

The participants declare hereby their firm determination to reinforce the ranks of their peoples in a global front against imperialism and colonialism led by U.S. imperialism since unity among their peoples is the fundamental weapon against the aggression and schemes of imperialism and for liquidating its influence, as this constitutes the way towards peace based on justice. ■

BOOK REVIEWS

The Palestine Liberation Organization (P.L.O.) Research Center was established in Beirut, Lebanon, in February 1965 as the first institute of its kind in the Middle East. Its main purpose is to collect and classify all information available on the Palestine question for use by the researcher. The Center publishes studies about Palestine in the form of monographs, chronologies, essays and books by well-known authors (1).

We introduce below two books recently published by the Center: «The Palestine Diary» by Robert John and Sami Hadawi and «Selected Essays on the Palestine Question,» edited by Ibrahim Al-Abid.

(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

The Palestine Diary - By Robert John and Sami Hadawi (2 Vols, pp. 876), published in 1970 by the Palestine Research Center at \$ 6.95.

This study contains a fully documented and bibliographed account of the Palestine problem, arranged in chronological order, starting in Volume One with the rise of Arab and Jewish nationalisms in the latter part of the last century, then going into the ambiguously worded promises and pledges of the British Government given to Arabs and Jews during World War I (1914-1918) and the methods used to implement these promises.

Volume Two explains how the Jewish «national home» concept was transformed into a «Jewish state» with the eventual creation of the state of Israel in 1948.

Throughout the period, the events in Palestine are described in the context of Middle East political and other developments, as well as in the larger framework of diplomatic and other activities in the Western world — particularly the United Kingdom and the United States of America.

Although the facts are public, there is nevertheless widespread ignorance of them. **The Palestine Diary** should provide students of the Palestine pro-

blem with basic material on how the question arose that has led to the present crisis in the Middle East.

In the foreword to the book, well-known British historian Arnold Toynbee writes:

«As far as I know, so full an assemblage of pertinent documents is not to be found between the covers of any previous publication...»

«I hope this book will be read widely in the United States and this by Jewish as well as by non-Jewish Americans. If the American Government were constrained by American public opinion to take a non-partisan line in Palestine, the situation in Palestine might quickly change for the better.»

Selected Essays on the Palestine Question - Edited by Ibrahim Al-Abid (pp. 259), published in 1969 by the Palestine Research Center at \$ 2.50.

In this book Ibrahim Al-Abid has selected a wide range of essays that challenge the Zionist viewpoint. These writers come from varying backgrounds and hold varying political views.

Miss Van der Hoeven Leonhard provides the reader with a useful background essay to the Pales-

tine problem, which serves to set the stage for the other essays. In his essay which was originally an address given to the American Council for Judaism, Anthony Nutting gives us the view of an ex-cabinet Minister in the British Conservative party. It is a view that recognizes the wrongs committed by his government to the Arabs, but yet remains optimistic regarding the possibility of a just and honourable settlement for Palestine and the Palestinians.

Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, an Arab who is a professor in America, has two essays in the selection. His first, looks into the future of the conflict and his second, gives a deeply perceptive account of Israel's policy towards the Arabs.

The legal issues involved in the Palestine problem are very comprehensively covered in two essays; the first, by Cherif Bassionni, treats such legal aspects as navigation of Suez and the Straits of Tiran and the use of the Jordan waters, as well as the legal status of Israel. The second by George Tomeh gives a valuable account of the status of the Palestinian refugees.

The Marxists, Abram Leon, Isaac Deutscher and Maxime Rodinson assess the problem in terms of the left. All three are Jews, yet there can be no doubt that these three fine minds present some of the

most powerful arguments in support of the Palestinians. Another Jew, Uri Avnery himself an Israeli, draws a comparison between the crusaders and the Zionists — a comparison that may well prove true in the future.

Two Americans write very sympathetically in favour of the Palestinians. John Davis writes of the plight and injustice of the refugees, while I.F. Stone reviews the Arab-Israeli argument present in Jean Paul Sartre «Les Temps Modernes.» Hisham Sharabi looks at the crisis of May and June 1967 and draws some very well-argued views on its origins and implications for the future.

Altogether, this book provides the reader with some well-balanced, well-written and very intelligent views on the Palestine problem. It is a mine of information and a must for all those interested in the Palestine question. ■



GAZA

**Thorn in the Side
of Israel**