

Association of
Arab-American
University
Graduates

\$2.00

INFORMATION PAPER No. 20
October, 1976

*Zionism and the Problem
of Palestinian Human Rights*

James J. Zogby
Shippensburg State College
Pennsylvania

Association of
Arab-American
University
Graduates

\$2.00

INFORMATION PAPER No. 20
October, 1976

*Zionism and the Problem
of Palestinian Human Rights*

James J. Zogby
Shippensburg State College
Pennsylvania

In pursuance of its objective to disseminate accurate and scientific knowledge about the Arab world, its achievements, problems and development, the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Inc., (Box 7391, North End Station, Detroit, Mich. 48202) thought it in the public interest to publish the essay which appears in this Information Paper. From time to time, the Association will bring out Information Papers on relevant questions in the hope of providing the public with the necessary information and background for an informed assessment of critical matters that affect Arab American relations. It is the hope of the Association that such information will promote understanding and thereby strengthen good relations between the American and Arab communities.

The Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Inc., was established in December, 1967, incorporated as a non-profit educational and cultural organization in the state of Michigan in 1968 and obtained tax-exempt status from the Internal Revenue Service in 1970. The Association aims at promoting knowledge and understanding of cultural, scientific and educational matters between the Arab and American peoples. Membership is open to all college graduates who are U.S. citizens or permanent residents and who are of Arab-speaking origin. Associate membership is open to U.S. citizens or permanent residents interested in furthering the aims of the AAUG.

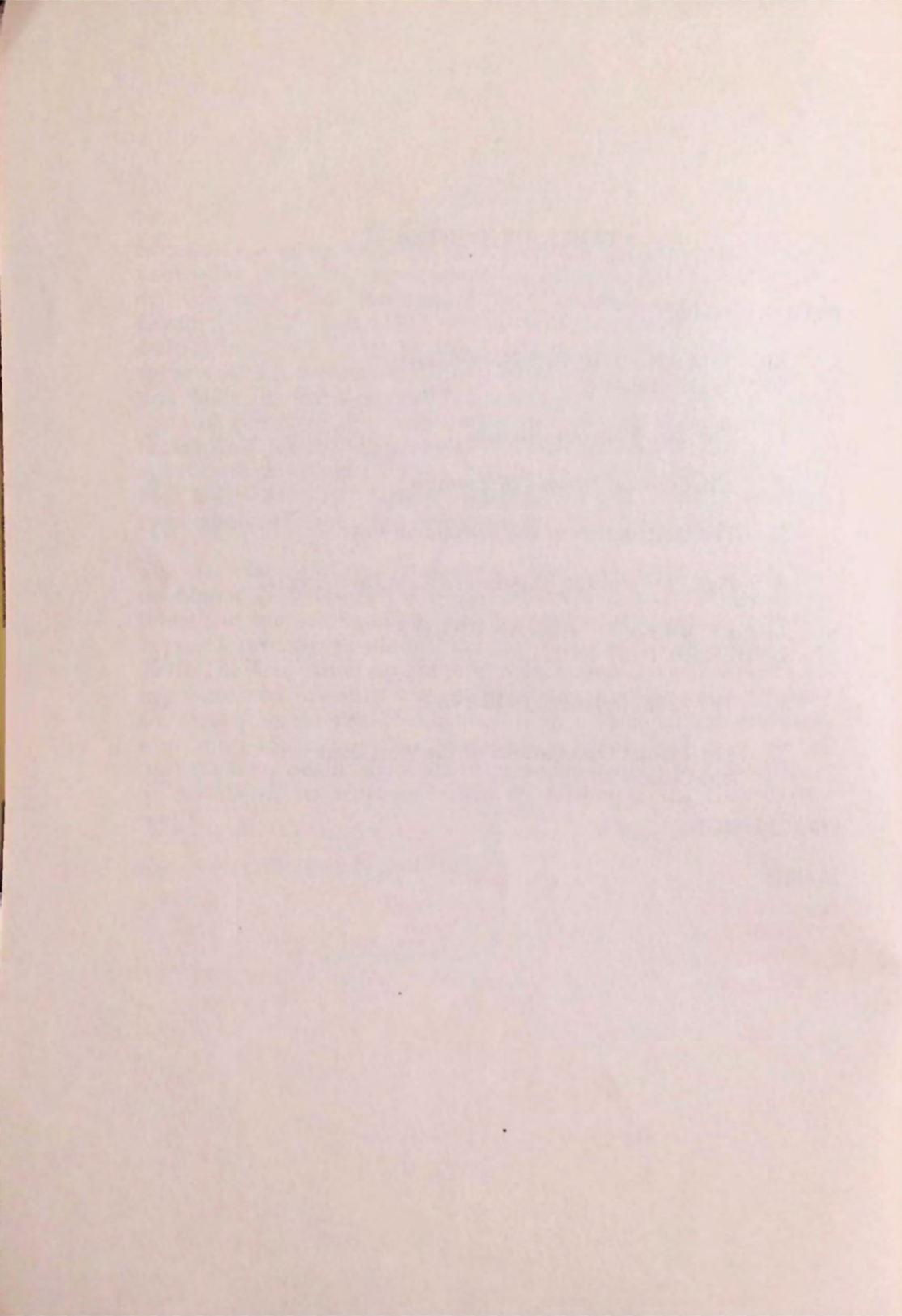
For further information write to:

Secretary
AAUG
P.O. Box 7391, North End Station
Detroit, Michigan 48202

© AAUG, 1976

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
I ZIONISM AND THE ORIGIN OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL	4
1. The Two Faces of Zionism	4
2. The Colonial Designs of Zionism	6
3. The Destruction of the Palestinian Revolt	11
4. Plan "D" and the Expulsion of the Palestinians	11
II THE PROBLEM OF HUMAN RIGHTS UNDER ZIONIST RULE.	16
1. The Arabs in Israel: 1948-1967	16
2. The Zionist Occupations of the West Bank and Gaza: 1967-1975	20
CONCLUSION.	29
NOTES	34



INTRODUCTION

This year will mark the twenty-ninth anniversary of the United Nations partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish regions, and the twenty-eighth anniversary of the first Middle East War of 1948. In the West these actions are commemorated as the events which paved the way for the founding of the State of Israel—"the return of Jewish rule to the land of Zion." For the people of the East, however, they have a very different meaning. There, the year 1948 is known as the "Year of the Disaster"—the year of the destruction of Palestine.

As a result of the "1948 Disaster" the native people of Palestine have been forced to live their lives either as stateless refugees, in exile, waiting to return to their homes, or as aliens in their own country living under Israeli military rule. The Israeli conquest of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in 1967 further compounded this national tragedy of the Palestinian people—creating 428,000 new refugees, while at the same time placing another one million Palestinians under Israeli military rule.¹

While these events have produced a nightmare for the Palestinian people they have, for the most part, been ignored in the West. The repeated Palestinian appeals for recognition and justice have not been heard, especially here in the United States, above the din created by those who noisily celebrate the "joys of the Jewish homeland" and the military victories of the Zionist state that make that "homeland" possible. That this Jewish "homeland" (and the 1967 expansion of it) was based on the displacement of the Palestinian people and the denial of their human and legal right to self-determination is ignored in these celebrations.² Also ignored is the intense suffering that this displacement and denial of human rights has caused.

In recent years a significant international movement, initiated by the non-aligned and socialist nations, has emerged to demand an end to the continued Israeli violation of Palestinian human rights. Conspicuously absent, however, from this democratic movement have been some representatives of the Western "democracies."³ While some segments of the populations of these nations have expressed their opposition to the continued violations of Palestinian

rights and, in particular, to the 1967 Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, many of the influential humanists and civil libertarians of the West have remained heavily influenced by the propaganda of their governments and the Zionists. They, therefore, have been staunchly pro-Israeli, giving blank-check approval to most of Israel's political and military actions. At the same time, they have remained shamefully silent in the face of Israel's systematic denial of Palestinian rights. Since it is of great importance, for both political and profoundly human reasons, that this three decade-long suffering of the Palestinian people be relieved, it is imperative that this silence be ended.

With the emergence of the powerful Palestinian national organization (the Palestine Liberation Organization—P.L.O.) in the post-1967 period, the vast majority of the nations of the world have come to realize that a solution to the Middle East conflict cannot be achieved over the backs of Palestinian people (as was attempted in 1948). The P.L.O. has repeatedly demonstrated that Palestinians can and will continue to resist any attempt to make peace by ignoring their existence, their rights, and their needs. In particular the P.L.O. has demanded that, as a first step toward a lasting peace, the Israeli occupation of their lands must cease and their democratic and human rights must be respected. It is only when these basic and humane conditions are met that any real progress toward a resolution of the Middle East conflict can begin.

As was noted above, a sizable majority of the nations of the world support such a path toward peace, and at this point only a handful of nations from the West remain outside the pale of world opinion on this matter. For peace to come the international movement in defence of Palestinian rights must be expanded to include more representatives of these powerful Western nations. But this will only come about when the Zionist myth-history, that is widely accepted in the West, is dispelled and the true history and nature of the conflict is understood, especially by those concerned with human rights. Only then can proper attention be paid to the history and plight of the "forgotten" Palestinian people, to the true history of the Zionist movement, and to its record of repression against Palestinians.

Once these facets of the conflict are understood, it is hoped that the civil libertarians and humanists in the West will be moved to end their silence and join the international chorus demanding an end to the Israeli occupation and justice for the Palestinian people.

* * * * *

This short paper will examine some aspects of the Middle East conflict. In particular, it will investigate the continuing Israeli occupation of Palestinian lands, the roots of this occupation, and the systematic violation of human rights that has characterized it. It is hoped that this effort will in some small way serve the purpose described above: that it will help to clarify this issue and thus be of some assistance to those who wish to know both the truth behind the current Middle East conflict and the road that must be taken to bring a just and lasting peace to that troubled part of the world.

* * * * *

I. ZIONISM AND THE ORIGIN OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

It is important to note from the outset of this examination that the question of human rights cannot adequately be discussed if it is merely presented in terms of numbers of political prisoners (no matter how great their numbers might be) or as lists of acts of torture (no matter how barbaric these acts might be). It is, therefore, the intent of this paper not to merely catalogue the Israeli state's acts of political repression in the occupied lands, but to understand them—that is, to investigate how and why they occur. In order to do so, it is necessary to place these acts in the context in which they occur, and to explore the nature and intent of the agent that is responsible for them—the State of Israel.

1. THE TWO FACES OF ZIONISM

What is this State of Israel?

In a word, it is a "settler colonial" entity. It is the product of a colonial movement of some European Jews whose dream it was to found an exclusive Jewish colony in Palestine. In the words of Israel Zangwill, one of the founders of this movement (called "Political Zionism"⁴), it was a movement begun by "a people without a land" in search of "a land without a people." As we shall see, however, Zangwill was only partially correct in this statement, for while it was true that his colonial movement had no land, it must be pointed out that the land "found" by this movement *already had a people*.⁵ In this period (at the end of the nineteenth century), when the Zionist movement set its sights on Palestine, it was populated by approximately 550,000 Arabs.⁶

It is this fact, that Palestine already had a people, that turned the "dream" of this so-called "Jewish national liberation movement" of Zionism into a nightmare of colonialism for the native Arabs of Palestine. For given this contradiction, fulfillment of the Zionist "dream" in Palestine could only be realized by the displacement and/or expulsion of the native Arab population.⁷ And this was, as we shall see, the task the Zionist organization set out to accomplish.

Thus while the language of Political Zionism spoke of “the dream of an independent Jewish nation” and “the vision of a redeemed Jewish people”—this “dream” and “vision” were not intended for the native Arabs. For them, the reality of Zionism, as they experienced it, was quite another matter.

* * * * *

We should note from this that from its very inception and by its very nature, this Zionist movement (and the state that it bred) contained two contradictory images—like a schizophrenic. It had one face for the West and its own people. At the same time, it had a very different face for the Arab native.

In the West today, one only sees the front face of this vision—and the image of little, brave, democratic Israel—struggling for freedom and dignity. This is the Israel of the “dream.”

And yet, in reality, there is the hidden face of Zionism—Zionism as it exists for the Palestinian. This is the Israel of napalm, of military occupation, of forced evacuations, and of tortured and maimed political prisoners.

It is not only that this “other side” of Zionism is not frequently seen that causes it not to be recognized here in the West. Since this schizophrenia is in reality a disease, it is extremely difficult, once one is conditioned in its delusions, to break its hold and see reality as it is.

This schizophrenia has a name—racism—and it is not peculiar to either Political Zionism or Israel. In fact, it is both the *raison d’être* and logical outcome of settler colonialism, everywhere.⁸ This was true of the French in Algeria; it is true of South Africa and Rhodesia; and it is also true of the United States of America. The U.S. was the nation, you will recall, that was founded on the principle of the recognition that all men were entitled to the right to “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” In practice, of course, this was only applied to *white men* of property. For in the “democratic vision” of the U.S.’s “founding fathers,” women had no place. Neither did the so-called “Indians” who were not even considered human—in fact, they were viewed merely as an obstacle to be removed from the “frontiers,” like the trees. And those captive Africans who were held prisoner in the South to work as slaves, they also had no citizenship rights and no recognized human rights.

This racism, as is well realized in the U.S., not only infects one’s vision, but, as a disease, it is extremely difficult to cure. Like a

cancerous weed it grows and multiplies, breeding enormous and frightening crimes. And all the while, the perpetrators of these crimes, blinded as they are, are oftentimes unaware—unable to recognize the criminality of their own actions.

It is this same racist disease—this same blind contempt for the native—that is found at the very roots of the Political Zionist movement. And it is this racism that is responsible for this movement's history of political repression that shall be discussed below.

2. THE COLONIAL DESIGNS OF ZIONISM

Political Zionism, as a movement, developed in Europe in the midst of the epoch of the imperialist conquest of Africa and Asia, and its ideology clearly reflects this period.⁹ It sought to convert and recruit the Jewish people of Europe to support a movement that would colonize and settle Palestine.

From the outset, its plan was to establish an European Jewish colony—that would bring civilization to the “savage” world. The European Jewry who were to be the “bearers of this civilization” were, in the words of Max Nordau (one of Zionism's founders),

a people more industrious and more able even than the average European, not to speak at all of the inert Africans.¹⁰

While the founders of this movement shared with their European contemporaries a racist contempt for the rights of the peoples of Asia and Africa and while they had the will to establish a colony in either of these two continents, they lacked the means to accomplish this end. Thus, after having agreed in 1898 that they would seek to gain hold of Palestine, in order to gain possession of this land, Zionism had to seek out each of the European imperialist powers of the day, in search of a patron that would support its plan. Toward this end, Theodore Hertzl, the founder of the Zionist Organization, courted in turn, the Ottoman Sultan, Bismark and the German Kaiser, and even the Russian Czar.¹¹

When it became clear, however, that Great Britain would have the upper hand in international affairs, the Zionists concentrated their efforts on winning British support for their colonial scheme. Hertzl wrote to the British colonialist Cecil Rhodes, whom he termed the “colonial expert” (because of his efforts in colonizing south and east Africa), seeking both his advice and his seal of approval.¹² He

felt that with Rhodes' approval he would be better able to convince Great Britain to support his movement.

The British, however, needed very little convincing. They had designs of their own on Palestine and had as early as the middle of the 19th century recognized the potential role that Jewish colonization could play in the fulfillment of their Middle East ambitions. They, therefore, became willing patrons of the Zionist movement. Speaking on this subject in 1876, Lord Shaftesbury addressed his colleagues in Parliament:

Syria and Palestine will before long become very important...The country wants capital and population. The Jews can give it both. And has not England a special interest in promoting such restoration? It would be a blow to England if either of her two rivals should get to Syria...Does not policy there...exhort England to foster the nationality of the Jews and aid them to return...to England then naturally, belongs the role of favoring the settlement of Jews in Palestine.¹³

A more straight forward summary of the British Imperial design for the Arab East was given in 1914 by the prominent and influential military-political editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, Herbert Sidebotham. In an essay on the "Palestine question," he concluded:

That on general strategic grounds it is exceedingly desirable that the present too contracted frontiers of Egypt should be extended...that a buffer-state in Southern Syria might be expected to work with equal effectiveness as in India, and with greater smoothness...and that if this buffer-state became a dominion or genuine colony it would be a source of great strength to us in the Eastern Mediterranean, both political and ultimately military; and finally, that the only possible colonizers on a great and worthy scale in Palestine are the Jews.¹⁴

Thus the fit between the British and Zionist designs was so perfect that Max Nordau commented that if Political Zionism hadn't existed, "Britain would've invented it."¹⁵

* * * * *

The term "colonialism" is used to describe the policy of several of the European imperial powers of this period to conquer, and then administer and exploit foreign lands and people. In a few instances large colonial settlements (of Europeans) were established by these powers and then utilized as the instruments of conquest and

administration. This was the case, for example, in the French colony in Algeria, and Cecil Rhodes' African colonies. This form of "colonialism" should be termed "settler colonialism" in order to distinguish it from the more typical form of "colonialism" found, for example, in the late 19th and early 20th century British rule of Egypt and India. In these cases large settlements of civilians were not used to maintain control.

The Zionist colonial scheme in Palestine is a unique form of "settler colonialism." This is so for one significant reason. While the British wanted control of Palestine, and the Zionist movement was to be their agent—the Zionists did not wish to merely administer the colony and exploit the native people of Palestine. *They sought to replace them.*¹⁶

Thus, given this intention, from the very outset of this movement, the question was asked—What to do with the Arabs of Palestine?

The British idea, in keeping with their three century old imperial tradition, was to simply move in, to ignore the wishes of the native people, and, if necessary, to repress them. Lord Balfour, the author of the infamous declaration that formally pledged British support for the Zionist colonies, wrote that

In Palestine we do not propose even to go through the form of consulting its inhabitants as to their wishes; Zionism is of far greater importance to us than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that land.¹⁷

Herbert Sidebotham, waxing more philosophical, expressed the same thought this way:

It is a false view of democratic principles which holds that because a race or nation happens to occupy a certain territory that that territory is its own for all time. Nor has any race the absolute right to determine its own future at the expense of some other race which may have more to give to the world.¹⁸

All of this suited the Zionist founders well. When they finally acknowledged the presence of a large Arab community in Palestine, Hertzl and Nordau never envisioned their "pure race" co-existing with what they identified as those "near savages." They might be used for a short time as beasts of burden. Hertzl wrote in his *Diary* that

if we move into a region where there are wild animals to which the Jews are not accustomed, for example, big snakes, I shall use the natives to exterminate them.¹⁹

Then he adds that with that job done, the natives *would be evacuated* to nearby countries.²⁰

That their colony be exclusively Jewish—in the words of Israel Zangwill, one of Hertzl's colleagues, “as Jewish as England is English”—was important to the Zionists not only for their own designs but also for the impression they sought to create for their patrons. One of Hertzl's pledges to the imperialist powers in his manifesto *The Jewish State* was that he would ensure that his colony would be

a rampart of Europe against Asia...an outpost of civilization against barbarism.²¹

Thus from the very beginnings of the Political Zionist movement, there was within it a clear racist current that sprang from its goal to establish an exclusively Jewish state in Palestine.

* * * * *

It should be noted that this racism was not just an abstract slogan of the Zionist founders. Rather, it was the very guiding principle that gave character and form to the Zionist organization and policy in Palestine. This is clearly demonstrated by the major institutional forms assumed by the Zionist colonizers during the early part of this century. The Zionist policies toward land and labor in Palestine were established by the Jewish Agency's Jewish National Fund (JNF). These policies were blatantly exclusivist. For example, the constitution of the JNF declares that:

Land (in Palestine) is to be acquired as Jewish property...and title taken to the lands is to be taken in the name of the Jewish National Fund, to the end that the same shall be held as the inalienable property of the Jewish people...

The Agency shall promote agricultural colonization based on Jewish labor, and in all works or undertakings carried out or furthered by the agency, it shall be deemed a matter of principle that Jewish labor shall be employed.²²

In the leases given to Jews who sought to establish themselves on this JNF-acquired land, the lessee is asked to *assure* the Jewish Agency that *only Jewish labor* will be employed on this land. Article 23 of the lease reads:

The lessee undertakes to execute all works connected with the cultivation of the holding only with Jewish labor. Failure to comply

with this duty by the employment of non-Jewish labor shall render the lessee liable to the payment of a compensation of ten Palestinian pounds for each default.²³

The lease further stipulates that if the lessee continues to violate the agreement and hires Arab labor, after having been warned, the *land may* be taken back by the JNF "without any compensation whatever."²⁴

This Zionist policy toward Arab labor was further developed along exclusivist lines by the so-called "socialist" Palestine Worker's Party (MAPAI) and the labor union it controlled "The Hebrew Workers' Union" (the HISTADRUT). Both of these organizations were exclusively Jewish²⁵ and both fought bitterly during the British Mandate to displace Arab workers in Palestine. David Hacoben, a leader of MAPAI, in a speech before his party in November of 1969, discussed the role played by these Zionist "socialists" during the British Mandate and noted the lengths to which he and his comrades went in their fight against the Arabs. During the course of his speech he acknowledged that they:

refused Arabs membership in the Histadrut;

stood guard at orchards to prevent Arab workers from getting jobs there;

poured kerosene on Arab produce;

and even attacked Jewish women who brought goods in the Arab market.²⁶

The purpose of these efforts, as well as those of the JNF (noted above), was simply to break the back of the native Arab economy and to foster the development of an independent Jewish economy at the expense of that of the Palestinian Arabs.²⁷ And, of course, the ultimate goal of these efforts was nothing more than to facilitate the fulfillment of the Zionist "dream" of an exclusive Jewish State.²⁸

* * * * *

The "vision" of Zionism was to establish an exclusive Jewish state in Palestine. In this "vision" the Arab people native to Palestine were, at best, a nuisance. They were called "Red Indians"²⁹ and were, like their namesakes, to be removed from the country of their birth, and it was through the two Zionist institutional forms, discussed above, that this Zionist dream was to be realized.

3. THE DESTRUCTION OF THE PALESTINIAN REVOLT

The Palestinians, however, did not (and still to this day, do not) accept the fate of losing their homeland. Like the native American Indians they rose up, time and again, in rebellion against this Zionist scheme. During the period of the British Mandate (1919-1948) these Palestinian efforts both to terminate the Mandate and frustrate the Zionist plans for their country culminated in their tremendous revolt of 1936-1939.³⁰ This revolt saw them liberate and administer almost 80% of their Palestine. It was only ended in 1939 by the massive injection into the country of one-third of the British standing army, combined with the indiscriminate use of the Royal Air Force. In their effort to subdue the Arab revolt the British also organized and armed the Zionist settlers into what were called "Night Squads."³¹ Over 50,000 Zionists were given military training during this period, and in the face of this overwhelming force the Palestinian revolt was soon crushed.³² The Arab casualty toll was devastating—19,000 dead or wounded.³³ The British used other weapons against the Palestinians during this period. They placed the entire population under a brutal Emergency Military Administration. Under this Administration the Palestinians were deprived of all of their civil rights. As a result of these measures they lost their national leadership. In 1938 alone over 5,600 Arabs were imprisoned and detained without trial, while another 200 were sent into exile. (Also in this year 54 Arabs were hung.) In addition, these Emergency Laws provided for collective punishments of civilians (illegal according to the "Geneva Conventions" on the conduct of war) and property confiscation. As a result of these provisions, hundreds of Arab homes, orchards and vineyards were destroyed and the livestock of whole villages were confiscated or slaughtered.

Describing the tragedy of these events for the Palestinian people, Abu Salma, one of the most famous of the nationalist poets of this period, wrote

Behold the Fatherland lies slaughtered.
The people scattered
The land laid waste
Its graveyards filled with bloody memories.³⁴

4. PLAN "D" AND THE EXPULSION OF THE PALESTINIANS FROM THEIR HOMELAND

At the end of their great national revolt, the Palestinian people

were disarmed and their ability to further resist the Zionist and British schemes checked (at least for the time being). The Zionists were, on the other hand, now a strong armed force³⁵—protected by the British and with a firm resolve to move toward a realization of their “dream.” As expressed by Joseph Weitz, Head of the Colonization Department of the Jewish Agency, it was that

...it must be clear that there is no room for both peoples together in this country...We shall not achieve our goal of being an independent people with the Arabs in this small country. The only solution is a Palestine...without Arabs...And there is no other way than to transfer the Arabs from here to the neighboring countries, to transfer all of them: *Not one village, not one tribe should be left*...Only after this transfer will the country be able to absorb millions of our brethren. There is no other way out.³⁵

This was, as we know, nothing more than a restatement of the racist Zionist “dream” to establish a pure Jewish state. It expresses perfectly the logic of the vision of Zionism. It was the land of Palestine they wanted—not the people. Thus, as they envisioned it, for the land to become theirs, the people had to be removed.

* * * * *

The 1948 War almost brought this Zionist “dream” into reality—producing, at the same time, a nightmare for the Palestinian people. The vehicle which the Zionist forces used for the realization of their goal was called “Plan Dalet” (or “Plan D”).

As the military and political situation in Palestine changed during the Post WWII years 1945-1947, the Zionist leadership changed their tactical military plans for the conquest of the land and the establishment of their Jewish state. During these three years their plans went through three phases—Plans “A” through “C”.³⁷

When in October of 1947 the United Nations voted to partition Palestine into two states—one Arab and one Jewish, and when in December of 1947 Great Britain announced its intention to evacuate its forces from Palestine by May 15, 1948; the Zionists, then, developed their final military plan for the conquest of Palestine—Plan “D” (Dalet).

The Zionists objected to the U.N. partition plan since, even though it included the absolute bulk of the Jewish inhabitants (80% of them) and Jewish-owned land of Palestine, it was still only 45% Jewish and only 9.4% Jewish-owned. Arabs, then, were 55% of the

population of this proposed Jewish state and they owned 34.24% of the land. This, according to the Zionists, was unsatisfactory. And, as David Ben Gurion says, in *Rebirth and Destiny*, they were determined to make their region "more Jewish and larger."³⁸

Plan "D" was put into operation from April 1 to May 15, 1948, before the British departure from Palestine (and, it should be noted, before the entrance of any Arab army into Palestine).³⁹ Specifically, it sought, by a combination of military and psychological means, to:

1. Evacuate the major Arab cities and towns: Haifa, Akka, Jaffa, Lydda—thereby destroying the cultural and political centers of the Arab population.
2. Establish a "safe corridor" from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.
3. Capture and "purify of Arabs" the Eastern and Western Galilee.⁴⁰

The overall goal of Plan "D" as noted by Walid Khalidi in his important research study on "Plan Dalet," was:

The destruction of the Palestinian Arab community and the expulsion and pauperization of the bulk of the Palestinian Arabs...calculated to achieve a military fait accompli upon which the state of Israel was to be based.⁴¹

or, in the words of Yigal Allon, leader of the Palmach, to "clean the Area" of Arabs.⁴²

"Plan Dalet," then, was specifically designed to increase the size of the Jewish state while at the same time removing its Arab population. It sought to accomplish this mainly by means of terror campaigns against the Arab civilian population. One such campaign, was the massacre at Deir Yassin. The horrible events that took place in this Arab town were recorded by the Red Cross Chief Delegate to Palestine, Jacques de Reynier, who reported finding 254 old men, women and children murdered, with bodies stuffed into a well in the center of town.⁴³ Menachim Begin, leader of the IRGUN, the Zionist terrorist squad responsible for this massacre (and today leader of the "LIKUD," the second largest political grouping in the Israeli Knesset) described the purpose of this barbaric act. After Deir Yassin, he wrote that,

Arabs throughout the country, induced to believe wild tales of "Irgun butchery," were seized with limitless panic and started to flee

for their lives. This mass flight soon developed into a maddened uncontrolled stampede. Of the almost 800,000 who lived in the present territory of the State of Israel, only 165,000 are still there. The political and economic significance of this development can hardly be overestimated.⁴⁴

Yigal Allon (who is today Israel's Foreign Minister), then leader of the Zionist shock troop force, the Palmach, has similarly described the use he made of this terror tactic to evacuate the Arabs from parts of Palestine. "There were left before us," he states, "only 5 days before the threatening date May 15."⁴⁵ That was the date of the British departure from Palestine, and, therefore, the date by which the Zionists hoped to complete their "Plan D." "We saw," he continued

a need to clean the upper Galilee and to create a Jewish territorial continuity in the entire area of the upper Galilee...We, therefore, tried to a tactic...which worked miraculously well. I gathered all the Jewish Mukhtar, who have contact with the Arabs in different villages, and asked them to whisper in the ears of the Arabs that a great Jewish reinforcement has arrived in Galilee and that it is going to burn all of the villages of the Huleh. They should suggest to these Arabs, as their friends, to escape while there is still time. And the rumor spread in all the areas of the Huleh that it is time to flee. The flight numbered myriads. The tactic reached its goal completely.

The regular Jewish army, the Haganah, also used this tactic. Bertha Vester, a Christian missionary stationed in Palestine at that time, reported hearing Haganah sound trucks driving through Arab villages warning:

Unless you leave your homes, the fate of Deir Yassin will be your fate.⁴⁶

And, as they approached Jerusalem, the Haganah trucks announced in Arabic:

The road to Jericho is open! Flee from Jerusalem before you are all killed.⁴⁷

In the Galilee, the Haganah used aircraft to drop leaflets with messages designed to frighten the Arab villagers into fleeing. Some warned of smallpox infection, others warned of massacres. An example of one of these warning leaflets reads:

All people who do not want this war must leave together with their women and children in order to be safe. This is going to be a cruel war with no mercy or compassion.⁴⁸

These, and other atrocities, and threats of atrocities by the Zionist forces continued to produce hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees.⁴⁹ And, in the end, by means such as these, "Plan Dalet" accomplished its goal—or better, almost accomplished its goal. While it was true that the hoped for "two-fold miracle" of Ben Gurion—a state, larger and more Jewish—had become a reality, it had not become a *pure* Jewish state. As Menachim Begin noted, 165,000 Arabs still remained. It is to their story that we shall now turn, for while these Arabs were not expelled from their homeland, they have experienced the logic of the Zionist "dream" as it has been extended to yet another ugly conclusion—systematic repression of those Arabs who remained with the land.

II. THE PROBLEM OF HUMAN RIGHTS UNDER ZIONIST RULE

1. THE ARABS IN ISRAEL: 1948-1967

Those Palestinian Arabs who remained in their homeland after 1948 were given what can, at best, be described as "third-class citizenship" in the Israeli state.⁵⁰ What made their lives most difficult was the harsh and arbitrary military rule to which they were subjected. This military rule was but one aspect of the repressive "Emergency Defence Laws" which were put into effect in 1949 by the new Jewish state.

These "laws," as was noted above (in Section I), were originally introduced into Palestine by the British in the late 1930's. When they were later used against the Zionists after World War II, Jewish lawyers and humanitarians in Palestine spoke out in a unified voice against them. For example, the noted attorney, Ya'acov Shimshon Shapiro, who became Attorney General and then Minister of Justice of Israel after 1949, criticized these laws of the Mandatory Government in 1946, calling them "unparalleled in any civilized country." "There were," he said,

no such laws in Nazi Germany...

There is only one form of government which resembles the system in force here now—the case of an occupied country...

It is our duty to tell the whole world that the Defense Laws passed by the British Mandatory Government of Palestine destroy the very foundation of justice in this land...

He concluded his remarks with the judgment that "no government has the right to pass such laws."⁵¹

Others were equally vociferous in their condemnations of these "laws." It seems ironic, then, that immediately upon assuming state power in 1948, the Zionists would adopt these very same "laws"—with little protest from these same Jewish jurists and intellectuals. This change in attitude can be explained by the fact that these "laws" were now to be applied to the Arab population of the new state.

Collectively the "Emergency Defence Laws" functioned to: establish a military administration over the Arab sectors of the state, giving it the power to impose collective punishment (Articles 119 and 121); institute internment without recourse to judicial process (Articles 110 and 111); use forced exile without judicial recourse (Articles 109 and 112); confiscate Arab lands for "security reasons" (Article 125); and impose prolonged total or partial curfew over entire regions (Articles 124, 126, and 132).⁵²

As a result, the Arab people who remained in Israel have, since 1948: been denied most of their civil rights including freedom of the press and the right to form any independent political party or organization;⁵³ had over 4,000,000 dunams of their land (approx. 4 dunams = 1 acre), together with all of the stores, homes, orchards⁵⁴ and other properties of their refugee kinfolk, confiscated by the state;⁵⁵ and, having lost their lands and any control of their own lives, they have been reduced to a cheap pool of labor exploited by Jewish-owned industry.⁵⁶ In addition, these Arabs have been subjected to a severe, politically repressive military occupation which has involved forced exile or the arrest and detaining of thousands of them (without being tried for or charged with any crime) and the regular use of prolonged twenty-four hour curfews over entire Arab regions.⁵⁷ The curfew, for example, in the "Little Triangle" region (which has the second largest concentration of Arabs living in Israel) was in effect for over fourteen years.

This military rule continued to be imposed over all of the Arab regions of the state for over 17 years. In 1965 politicians were able to have the Knesset (Israeli Parliament) pass a bill which formally rescinded the "Emergency Defence Laws." Most of the provisions in these laws, however, were retained in other forms. In any case, while the "laws" were formally rescinded, the military occupation and the denial of civil rights continued unabated.

While the measures of these Emergency Defence Laws have produced extraordinary hardships for the Palestinian Arabs living under Israeli occupation, the details of the oppression suffered by them goes well beyond that caused by these or any other formal acts of the Jewish state. These Palestinians have, after all, been reduced to aliens in their own homeland. They have lost hundreds of thousands of their kin and their identity as a people, and they have seen the conditions of their existence forcibly altered against their will. Most importantly, they are victims of discrimination in almost every area of human activity.

In the field of education, for example, the Palestinian Arabs in

Israel have had a state-controlled system imposed upon them. Not only are the goals of this system hostile to their interests as a people, but the education that it provides is woefully insufficient. Since the creation of the Jewish state, in this area of public education as well as in the other areas of state involvement, the attention and aid given to meeting Arab needs has left much to be desired.⁵⁸ There has been a chronic shortage of schools, books, materials (especially in the sciences) and inadequately trained faculty.⁵⁹

The content of this state-controlled educational system is designed to meet Jewish and not Arab needs. A number of Israeli researchers who have studied this question concluded that the materials prepared for Arab students could only serve the purpose of diminishing their pride and sense of being Arab since they presented a distorted view of Arab history and culture and presented the students with an insufficient background in Arabic language and literature.⁶⁰

While the percentage of Arab students who graduate from this system is well below the percentage of Jewish graduates (the ratio is 10 to 1), even those who do finish fare poorly in this state which considers them aliens.⁶¹ A survey done by a Zionist magazine in the mid-1960's found that of the 465 Arab secondary school graduates who had remained in the country, over 20% were unemployed, while another 7% were only able to find employment as laborers.⁶²

As was noted above, the Arabs in Israel have for the most part lost their independent economic base (which was their ownership of the land) and have instead been largely transformed into a cheap pool of laborers for Jewish-owned industries.⁶³

What agriculture remains in Arab hands is poor and is unable to compete with Jewish agriculture since it is denied the large amounts of state aid given to these Jewish enterprises.⁶⁴ The rest of the Arabs in the state have been forced (in order to economically survive) to leave their homes and villages and find work in Jewish towns. Since the provisions of the military administration do not permit the Arabs to leave their towns and live in the Jewish quarters, they must travel daily to and from work—at great hardship and personal expense.

There are other indices that can be pointed to that make clear the details of discrimination against Arabs in employment. They are, for example, recipients of the lowest paid jobs in the state and are the first to be fired in times of economic decline (the Arab unemployment rate is double the Jewish rate).⁶⁵ Finally, it should be noted that while the only trade union in the state—the HISTADRUT—reluctantly opened its doors to Arab workers in 1960,

they still remain underorganized and underprotected. By 1970, for example, less than 50% of the Arab workers of the state had been unionized.⁶⁶

While these forms of institutional discrimination have created severe difficulties for the Arabs living under Zionist occupation—the most disturbing area is in the field of social relations. Six decades of intense Zionist ideology and practice—which is at its core anti-Arab and racist—have left their mark on the psyche of the Jewish people of the state. A clear example of this can be found in a study of the attitudes of Israeli children done by an American psychologist, Dr. George Tamarin.⁶⁷ His study sought to investigate what the effect might be on the minds of young Jewish children who were being educated in Israeli schools where the Bible is used as a history text. His sample included 1,066 school children and solicited information from them with regard to the *Book of Joshua* (which is used in Israeli schools from grades 4-8). The children were questioned on Chapter V, verses 20-21, which describes the massacre of the people of Jericho by Joshua's army. It reads:

and they utterly destroyed all that was in the city, both man and woman, young and old, and ox and sheep, and ass with the edge of the sword.

The children were then asked two questions: "Had Joshua acted rightly?" and "Suppose that the Israeli army conquers an Arab village...should they do the same to the village as Joshua did to Jericho?" Differing slightly from school to school, between 66% and 95% of the children interviewed agreed that Joshua had acted correctly. What was most disturbing, however, was that at least 30% were in favor of the Israeli army using this as a model for dealing with the Arab villages.

Clearly such an attitude in children does not come merely from their schooling but also as a reflection of attitudes derived from their entire adult world and the ideology of the state itself.⁶⁸ A Louis Harris poll of April 1, 1972 showed that between 60-85% of those adult Israelis interviewed felt Arabs to be "intellectually inferior," "more inclined to irrationality," "lazier," etc., than Jews.⁶⁹ And a study done by an Israeli researcher Yochanan Peres found similar evidence of ingrained anti-Arab racism.⁷⁰ In response to the statement, "Arabs will not reach the level of progress of Jews," Peres found that an average of 84% of those interviewed agree. A higher percentage, 87%, agreed that "Arabs understand only force." Similar anti-Arab bias was noted in response to questions about "inter-

marriage with Arabs" (82% opposed); "living next door to an Arab" (66% opposed); and "there should be fewer Arabs in Israel" (92% agreed).

That this racism (both institutional and subjective) exists with such intensity, it should be noted, is no accident—for it is the logical outcome of the ideology of Zionism as it has become manifest in the daily activity of the state founded upon its principles.

From the very appearance of this movement in Palestine it has worked to build an exclusive Jewish state. Toward that end it has harassed and excluded, then expelled and repressed the native Arabs of that land. That the state built on this "vision" and this history would come to embody this racism was inevitable. That the Jewish people of this state would become victimized by this exclusivist ideology and would themselves become racist was, unfortunately and even tragically, also inevitable.

Such is the story of the Palestinian Arabs who have, since 1948, lived under Israeli occupation.

2. THE ZIONIST OCCUPATIONS OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA: 1967-1975

By early 1967 the number of Arabs under Zionist rule had doubled to almost 320,000. Then came the June war of that year and the Israeli occupations of the rest of historical Palestine—the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip. While these occupations caused over 425,000 Palestinians to flee, once again, for their lives—they also brought another 750,000 Palestinians under Zionist military rule. In this regard the 1967 occupations were significantly different and far more problematical to the Zionist movement than those of 1948—they had produced no *double miracle*. Tremendous amounts of new land were seized, but far too many Arabs remained in these lands for them to be easily annexed to the Jewish state. Compounding this problem and further frustrating the Zionist desires for immediate annexation was the fact that in November of 1967 the U.N. Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 242 calling upon Israel to return all of the occupied lands. In 1948 only the General Assembly had acted in an effort to put a brake on Zionist ambitions. With continued Western backing, however, the Zionists were able to successfully flaunt the General Assembly resolutions on the rights of the Palestinian refugees.⁷¹ A unanimous Security Council resolution, however, could not be so easily ignored. Thus, while the Zionist strategy for the West Bank

and Gaza displayed the same contempt for the human rights of the Arab people—because of the large numbers of Arab people involved in this occupation and the limited amount of international pressure against it—this occupation was forced to take a slightly different form.⁷²

The key elements of the occupation once again included: the use of a severe, repressive military occupation; extensive land seizures by the state for the establishment of Jewish colonies; and the economic integration and exploitation of Arab land and labor for and by the Jewish state. This occupation, however, did not offer the Arabs the veneer of “citizenship rights” as did the occupation of 1949, since the state could not conceive of adding over 750,000 Arab citizens to its numbers.⁷³ Thus these Palestinians have none of the empty formal rights given to their brethren of pre-'67 occupied Palestine. Thus when the “Emergency Defence Laws” were resurrected and rehabilitated in order to apply to the new territories—their application was, this time, to be even more harsh. The Palestinians of Gaza and the West Bank living under this military occupation have no political parties or organizations to which they can belong or in which they can participate. In fact, it is even a crime for them to have in their possession the newspapers of a Palestinian, or Communist, or Arab Nationalist party.⁷⁴ They have no freedom of press, speech or assemblage. Further they have been, since the occupation, subject to: land confiscation; collective punishment; forced exile; arrest and/or detention without charge—all carried out in the name of “national security” by the military occupation forces.

This occupation has also resulted in severe exploitation of both the Arab people of Gaza and the West Bank and their land. From 1968 to 1972 the Israelis seized over 1.6 million dunams of West Bank lands—mainly for the establishment of Jewish colonies or military installations.⁷⁵ While this policy of land expropriation was not an unusual one for the Israeli occupiers, in the area of labor exploitation the Zionists charted a new course. They abandoned their unique form of settler colonialism (as was described in Section I) and came instead to operate as a traditional colonialist regime.⁷⁶ As of 1973, for example, over 70,000 Arab laborers daily leave their homes and are bused into the pre-'67 Jewish state to work in the lowest paid, dirtiest jobs available.⁷⁷ They are prohibited either from joining the HISTADRUT or from forming a union of their own. Thus they have no protection or the economic benefits that result from unionization. In addition, since, by law, Arabs are forbidden the right to take up residence near the place of their

employment—they must return each night to their homes. Because of the high cost of transportation, and the long travel distances involved (in some instances over 150 miles per day) some are forced to illegally remain overnight in the Jewish towns.⁷⁸

The colonialist economic exploitation of the Palestinian people has taken another traditional form—they have become a *captive market* for Israeli industrial and agricultural products.⁷⁹ By 1970 the Israelis were dumping more than 300 million Israeli pounds (at that time equal to approximately \$100 million) of merchandise into these areas yearly.⁸⁰

Thus in but a few years of rule the Zionist occupiers had destroyed the independent economic base of these Arab regions and transformed them into “dependencies” to be exploited at will. As harsh, however, as this aspect of the occupation has been, clearly the most harsh has been the political repression imposed by the military administration. In its first five years (1967-1971), according to statistics compiled by the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights,⁸¹ this military occupation has resulted in:

a) the demolition of 16,312 Arab homes. Over 500 of these were for an urban renewal project in occupied Jerusalem—the building of an open lot to accommodate visitors to the Wailing Wall. These demolitions have created tens of thousands of *new refugees*, many of whom have like the millions of their brethren before them, been forced into exile (22,000 new refugees were created in the Gaza Strip alone between 1967-1971).

b) over 800 Palestinian activists have been forced into exile for their opposition to the occupation. Since 1971 when these statistics were compiled this figure has more than doubled and has included such notable Arab figures as the President of Bir Zeit College—the only Arab college in the occupied territories. His crime was merely one of speaking out against the occupation since Israeli authorities have never even hinted that he was involved in anything more than that. Other Arab leaders to be expelled without any specific charges being leveled against them have included: the Chairmen of the West Bank Teacher’s Association, and the West Bank Red Crescent, and a number of mayors, teachers, doctors, and priests.

c) 14,000 Palestinians were imprisoned and detained from 1967 to 1971. Of this figure only 4,000 have ever been charged with any crime and been brought to trial—the rest were charged with no crime. Many of these are Palestinian activists whose only crime involves speaking out against the occupation. Some are school children arrested and held for actually demonstrating their support

for the Palestine Liberation Organization and Palestinian self-determination. Others are the families of "wanted persons," i.e. Palestinian activists whose whereabouts are unknown to the military authorities. Hence, their families are held hostage.

In all these cases it must be remembered these 10,000 detainees *were never charged with any crime*. The majority of the 4,000 Palestinians who were convicted during this period were convicted of crimes relating to their opposition to the occupation—either political or military. With regard to them, it should be noted here that opposition to foreign occupation of one's homeland by any means, including armed struggle, has always been recognized as, not only a right *but a duty*. This has been repeatedly affirmed by the United Nations General Assembly.⁸²

It is in this area of political repression that the Israeli occupation has shown the greatest disregard for Palestinian human rights. Each year since this occupation began in 1967, the U.N. Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories⁸³ has issued its report which has pointed out the severity of this repression and condemned it. In this report they have cited, in particular, violations involving:

the use of torture; collective punishment; deportation and expulsion of citizens of the occupied lands, the policy of arbitrary mass arrest and detention; the destruction and demolition of villages, and the expropriation of lands by force.

Each of these charges are substantiated by the Special Committee, and the details of repression that this evidence provides make even more clear the harshness of the Israeli occupation. The most odious of these violations of human rights are the systematic uses of mass arrest and internment and torture. Each of these will be described below.

With regard to the practice of mass arrest and detention (without "due process"), in one section of their report the Special Committee simply cite articles from Israeli newspapers demonstrating the extent and severity of this practice. The following examples are from only one month, April of 1974:

On 4 April 1974, *Ma'ariv* reported the arrest of 70 persons at Nablus during the previous night.

On 4 April 1974, *Ma'ariv* reported the arrest of "several secondary school students" at Jenin and Tulkarm.

On 8 April 1974, *Ma'ariv* reported the arrest of "dozens of suspects" at Nablus, Tulkarm and the Gaza Strip.

On 8 April 1974, *Ma'ariv* reported the arrest of "several persons between 20 and 30 years of age" at Tulkarm.

On 10 April 1974, *Ma'ariv* reported the arrest of "several persons" at Tulkarm.

On 19 April 1974, *Ma'ariv* reported the arrest of 160 persons, "most from the occupied territories," at Bnei-Barq. Of these, "140 were held and questioned all day and all night by agents of the police and the security services." On 21 April 1974, *Ma'ariv* reported their release.

On 21 April 1974, *Ma'ariv* and the *Jerusalem Post* reported the arrest of 20 persons, most of them from East Jerusalem.

On 24 April 1974, *Ha'aretz* reported the arrest of "dozens of Arabs" from the West Bank and East Jerusalem: 10 from Nablus, 4 from Tulkarm, 3 from Jenin and the rest from Ramallah and other towns in the West Bank. Those arrests were described by *Ma'ariv* on 24 April 1974 as preventive detention to forestall disturbances on Israeli Independence Day. On 28 April 1974, *Ma'ariv* reported the release of these persons.

On 24 April 1974, *Ma'ariv* reported the arrest of "a group of terrorists" at Ramallah.

On 24 April 1974, *Ma'ariv* reported the arrest of 20 persons from East Jerusalem.

On 28 April 1974, the *Jerusalem Post* reported the arrest of five persons from East Jerusalem and "scores of others" in the West Bank.

On 28 April 1974, *Ha'aretz* reported the arrest of "more than 40" persons in East Jerusalem. On 2 May 1974, *Ha'aretz* and *Ma'ariv* reported the arrest of "dozens" of persons at Nablus.

On 2 May 1974, the *Jerusalem Post* reported that "scores" of persons in the West Bank were still in custody for a second week.

This policy of mass arrest and detention has resulted in the harassment and internment (and oftentimes, as we shall see, torture) of over 2,500 Arabs each year.

With regard to the use of torture, Amnesty International, and United Nations Special Committee reports both cite the systematic use of such practices as:⁸⁴

1. sexual assaults;
2. beating to obtain information, including: beatings of the genitals, and the use of alternate burning and freezing of parts of the body;
3. forced witnessing of the beating of a comrade or member of one's family;
4. and the use of outlawed (by the "Geneva Convention") mechanical torture devices such as: electrical shock and forced feeding devices.

One doesn't necessarily want to prolong the discussion of this subject, but it has been so ignored in the West (while it is so well known in the rest of the world), and the evidence is so overwhelming, that it is imperative to present some of it here in order to correct the false impression that exists in this country with regard to the true nature of the Israeli occupation.

What follows are three examples of this policy of torture. They are summaries of case histories extracted from the report published in April of 1970 by Amnesty International. The portion of the report cited was entitled: "The Treatment of Certain Prisoners under Interrogation in Israel."

1. Mr. A. from Gaza; Town or place of residence: Jerash Camp, Jordan; Date of Arrest: 6 June 1967; Age: 30; Place(s) of detention: ATLIT; Charges and/or trial: Nil. Period of Interrogation and/or detention: 2 months—released August 1967.

Nature of Allegations: After being taken prisoner on the second day of the June War, complainant was kept in solitary confinement for a week. At the end of this period he was beaten by a group of soldiers, and on the following day taken to a cell where he was strapped to a table and flogged. During this time he was told to confess that he was a guerrilla and asked for information concerning guerrillas generally. He was returned to his cell with four broken teeth. On the following day the procedure was repeated; but in addition he was stood up against a wall, when his chest was slashed with a knife which inflicted seven parallel wounds and at the same time had one

arm badly cut. His back and hands were burnt with lighted cigarettes. (Photographs of injuries and medical reports available.)

2. Mr. C. from El Bireh. RAMALLAH—motor mechanic; Town or place of residence: Amman, Jordan; Age: 26; Date of Arrest: 12 July 1968; Place(s) of detention: RAMALLAH-SARAFAND; Period of interrogation and/or detention: 7 months—released 13.2.69; Charges and/or trial: Nil.

Nature of Allegations: Arrested in his house at 3:00 in the morning and taken to RAMALLAH H.Q. where he was beaten into unconsciousness. This interrogation continued for 3 weeks. He was later transferred to SARAFAND where interrogation entailed the following treatment:

(i) being handcuffed, hands behind back and feet shackled and being suspended by the wrists from a window bar. In this position he was whipped and one of the interrogators would stand on his feet shackles greatly increasing the strain.

(ii) attaching alligator clips to his ears and genitals and passing an electric current through them.

(iii) inserting a biro type refill into the penis until it bled.

3. Miss D. from NABLUS, student; Town or place of residence: Amman, Jordan; Age: 18; Date of Arrest: 14 March 1969; Place(s) of detention: NABLUS; Period of interrogation and/or detention: 43 days—released 26 April 1969; Charges and/or trial: Nil.

Nature of Allegations: Arrested with her mother and sister and segregated. Interrogated at Nablus Police Station. Asked whether she knew a certain girl, on her replying "no" she was grabbed by the hair by the chief interrogator and thrown to the floor where she was beaten in front of her mother, who was accused of hiding a member of the guerrillas in her house. When her mother pleaded with the interrogator to stop beating her daughter, she was struck on the forehead with a rod which cut it open.

* * * * *

Finally, I wish to close this section by sharing some thoughts from a courageous woman, Ms. Felicia Langer. She is an attorney in Israel, who is also a member of RAKAH. She has played a major role in the defence of human rights in Palestine. Writing, in an open letter published in the *London Times* (June 17, 1974), she says:

I am a lawyer in Israel, and during the years of occupation I have

often appeared in the military courts in the occupied territories and Israel to defend opponents of the occupation. I must point out that there is no legal way of opposing the occupation. Peaceful demonstration, protest strikes, distribution of leaflets are heavily punished. Hundreds of my clients are in jail for having chosen these forms of resisting occupation.

For giving any form of help to a person suspected of anti-occupation activity—sometimes even for giving a glass of water to a suspected son, brother or sister—the military courts impose prison sentences. According to one particularly harsh law, any person who suspects that another person intends or is about to commit an offence against the military laws in force in the occupied territories, and who does not prevent him from doing so or inform the authorities at once, is himself guilty of an offence, punishable by up to five years' imprisonment or a fine of about 1,000 Israeli pounds.

Many of my clients who were charged with this offence were brothers, fathers, sisters or even mothers of suspected persons and would rather go to jail than inform on their own kind.

Ms. Langer then cites examples of repression, including: house demolitions, forced evacuations, deportations, and internment. Then she concludes:

But the most painful problem is that of the violence, beatings and torture to which suspects are subjected during interrogation by members of Shin Beth (Israeli security service). During the years of my practice I saw more than once marks of beating on the faces and bodies of my clients. There is hardly a trial whose records do not contain a testimony in which the accused complains of beatings and/or torture. I have made hundreds of complaints on this matter to the competent authorities, but their reply is invariably: "Your complaint is unfounded."

One of my clients, Mohammed Salaman Otowan, aged about 56, was arrested on April 29, without specific charge but because he had let a room in his house to someone suspected of being a communist. Thirty days later he was released. No charges were brought.

He was called again for questioning on June 2. Next day he came to my office and showed me yet another summons from the police to come for questioning that same day. His hands were shaking; his face was yellow. He told me that on the previous day he had been questioned by four people who beat him on all parts of his body, especially the back of his neck and his genitals.

Suddenly he felt ill. My clerk came to help him. Mr. Otowan then told my clerk that he had a haemorrhage in his testicles and penis as a result of beatings by the police. My clerk saw his swollen and bleeding genitals. He was then seen by a doctor who sent him to hospital. The man was taken to the Hospice State Hospital in East Jerusalem, where he was seen by representatives of the International Red Cross.

The question is, how long will this go on?

One can only answer this question, by stating that these violations of human rights, described here, will in fact only be ended when the occupation itself is terminated. For as the Special Committee stated in the conclusion to its report, *the act of occupation is, by itself, a violation of human rights*, as well as the source of the other violations of Palestinian rights that have been presented in this section.

CONCLUSION

As has been demonstrated time and again, Israeli policy is not responsive to the demands for justice for the Palestinian people that have been issued repeatedly by the great majority of the nations and peoples of the world. For as long as the Israeli government is able to receive black-check military and political support from the West, it sees no reason to alter its position. Thus, only when the international movement for the defence of Palestinian rights is joined by these powerful nations of the West will the Zionists feel pressured to end their inhumane occupation of Palestinian lands.

In addition to the aid they receive from the West, there is another reason that accounts for the Israeli sensitivity to the attitudes of the Western states and their disdain for those of the rest of the world. And that is the racism that lies at the heart of the Zionist ideology. This has been clearly demonstrated on a number of occasions by Zionist leaders. For example, Abba Eban, whom many feel to be one of the most eloquent spokesmen for the Israeli viewpoint, has demonstrated this attitude in his numerous attempts to slander positions taken by the United Nations on the Palestine Question. After the U.N. decisions both to allow the P.L.O. to present its case in 1974, and to characterize Zionism as a form of racism in 1975, Abba Eban in the *New York Times* "Op. Ed." articles termed the U.N. "morally mad" and "inhuman." Their decisions, he stated, were to be ignored since they were the product of the "Afro-Asian-Arab-Socialist Bloc," and what, he implied, would they know of morality? Morality, respect for human decency and freedom, these virtues, according to Mr. Eban, are only to be found in the West and are therefore only appreciated by the West.

Other Zionist representatives have uttered similar condemnations of the U.N. decisions to recognize Palestinian human rights. While ignoring their own repeated use of terrorism in the history of their Zionist movement, including the recent indiscriminate bombing raids against Palestinian refugee camps, as well as the fact that for more than 28 years they have denied the Palestinian people their simple right to self-determination, Zionist apologists have insisted on insulting and degrading the leader of the P.L.O. as he appeared

before the U.N. to plead (for the first time in their history) the case of his disinherited people. The Israeli U.N. Ambassador, Yoseph Tekoah characterized the appearance of the Palestinians before the General Assembly by saying that

Today bloodshed and bestiality have come here to collect the spoils of the United Nations surrender.

What, one might ask, would be the Zionist response to a Palestinian leader characterizing an Israeli official in such disgraceful language? Racism, however, is blind to decency. To the Zionist, the Arab is not a human being, has no rights, and is, therefore, due no respect. In the racist Zionist image of reality, the Phantom jet with its napalm and anti-personnel bombs that maim and kill from the air is clean and innocent, while the lone commando, whose people are dispossessed or living under occupation, is a beast.

After the U.N. General Assembly actions of November of 1975, equating Zionism with racism and calling once again for an end to the occupation of Palestinian land, the Israeli government chose to combine its verbal reply with a more traditional Zionist response. On December 1, the Israeli Cabinet declared its intent to proceed with the establishment of new Zionist colonial settlements in the occupied lands. To make the point of their contempt both for Palestinian rights and life and the United Nations even more clear, on the following day, December 2, thirty Israeli Phantom jets repeatedly bombed and rocketed not "terrorist" bases but Palestinian refugee camps. At the conclusion of this massacre, 107, mainly women and children, lay brutally murdered while another 175 were wounded (many with severe burns and lost limbs). While the U.S. news media at first attempted to portray the massacre as a "retaliating raid" (although no one was quite sure what it was in retaliation of), the Israeli leadership in brutal honesty declared that the raids were their response to the P.L.O. victories in the U.N. The military spokesman for the raids stated that these attacks underlined his Israeli government's policy that the Palestinians will be recognized and dealt with "only on the battlefield" and not at the U.N.

Thus these two actions—the terror raids and the establishment of new colonies—were the Israeli reply to the world's demand that they respect the human rights of the Palestinian people. And in this we see, once again, a clear example of logic of Zionism—they are a civilized nation of the West. By definition, then, their actions are moral and humane. Their enemies, on the other hand, are barbarians who have no rights and understand only force.

* * * * *

The desire of the Zionist movement to establish an exclusive Jewish state and to keep that state open at all times to waves of Jewish immigration from abroad, has created both the problems of anti-Arab racism (institutional and subjective) and also the need for the state to continue to expand into Arab lands in order to be able to absorb more immigrants.⁸⁵

During WWII, in the midst of the horrifying massacre of 6,000,000 Jews by the Nazi movement, the pretext under which the Zionist experiment operated changed from its original colonialist intent to a scheme to provide security for the world's Jewish people. Thus, during this period, instead of combating anti-Semitism where it occurred, the Zionist leadership put forward their colonial plan in Palestine as *the* solution to the problem of finding security for world Jewry. And thus instead of the nations of the West, it was the Palestinian people who were made to pay the price for the horrible crimes committed against Jewish people.

In a real sense, the schemes of Zionism are not only anti-Arab, they are also anti-Jewish. It is not the Palestinian who has corralled millions of Jews into a ghetto-like arsenal-state where their security and well-being are constantly threatened—it is the Zionist movement which has done this. And it is not the Palestinian who has denied Jewish people the opportunity to live at peace in an integrated democratic state—again, the fault lies with the Zionist movement.

The Palestinian desire for a secular democratic state where all can live in peace, is the fulfillment of the universalistic prophetic tradition of Isaiah. In the face of this vision, Zionism joins hands with European anti-Semitism and declares “that Jews and non-Jews can never live together assimilated into one human society”—“that Jews and Gentiles are essentially different”—“that Jews are a separate race and nation, regardless of the country of their birth.”⁸⁶

The Zionist Leo Pinsker wrote in his famous *Auto-Emancipation* (New York: 1944, p. 9) that the non-Jewish peoples of the world are suffering from a “psychic aberration” called “Judeophobia” which is “incurable.” He states in full that

Judeophobia is a variety of demonopathy with the distinction that it is not peculiar to particular races but it is common to the whole of mankind...as a psychic aberration it is hereditary and as a disease transmitted for 2,000 years it is incurable.

Hertzl himself agreed with this assessment. He thus admitted in

his *Diaries* "the emptiness and futility of efforts to combat anti-semitism." Rather, he continues,

I (now have) a freer attitude toward anti-Semitism...it will do the Jews no harm. I hold it to be a movement useful for the development of the Jewish character. [All quotes from the *Diaries of T. Hertzl* (New York: 1961, pp. 6-10)].

A similar antipathy towards improved Jewish-Gentile relations, and support for Hertzl's "utilitarian" view of anti-Semitism is found in Israel today. For example, in Article No. 59 of the *Basic Principles of Government* approved by the Israeli Knesset in 1959, it states that it is the goal of Zionism and the state of Israel

to fight against all signs of assimilation of Jews into the countries of their origins.

And from the editorial pages of the Israeli newspaper *Davar*, the official organ of the ruling MAPAI, comes this plan devised by its editor,

I shall not be ashamed to confess that if I had the power as I have the will, I could select a score of efficient young men—intelligent, decent, devoted to our ideal and burning with desire to help redeem the Jews—and I could send them to countries where Jews are living in sinful self-satisfaction, to plague these Jews with anti-semitic slogans, such as "bloody Jews" or "Jews go to Palestine."

I can vouch that the results, in terms of considerable immigration to Israel from the countries would be 10,000 times larger than the results brought by 1,000's of our emissaries who have been preaching for decades to deaf ears.

Thus Zionism instead of liberating Jewish people, seeks to ensnare them out of the homes of their birth and cause them to move to Israel to support its colonial ambitions in Palestine.

After twenty-eight years, we must ask the question, "Has history shown that the establishment of the exclusivist and expansionist state of Israel has made possible real security for the Jewish people; or has it demonstrated the opposite?"

Since the Palestinian people have refused to act as pawns in this experiment and be dispossessed by this alien movement that came to take their lands and homes, it can only be concluded that the experiment of Zionism has failed. It has not provided security for Jewish people—rather it has locked them into an unending cycle of violence. And its cost, in life, liberty and property, to the Palestinian

people, is so great as to defy calculation. Efforts, not only to defeat the Palestinians, but to devastate them and destroy their will to resist, have all failed. They have refused to acquiesce to the denial of their right and they continue to demand the right to return to their homeland. Peace and security for all the peoples of the area will not come about until that Palestinian human right is recognized. But as this study has attempted to make clear, that will not come about until Zionism, as an ideology, is exposed and defeated and rejected, and the state built on its principles radically transformed.

In the place of the exclusivist and expansionist Jewish state, there must finally emerge a secular and democratic state—for this is the only true human vision that recognizes the aspirations and protects the human rights of all who reside within it—all of the peoples of Palestine—Muslims, Christians and Jews. This is (and has historically been) the position taken by progressive Palestinian leadership. It is not merely a demand for their rights nor should it ever be characterized as a threat to Jewish people—rather it is an open hand extended today to the Jewish people of Israel to join with them in erasing the walls of division and hatred and constructing in their place a truly integrated and humane state, where all may live “side by side on the basis of full equality.”

NOTES

¹As a result of these traumatic events, today 450,000 Palestinians live as "citizens" of the Jewish State, with another 1,050,000 Palestinians living under military occupation in the West Bank and Gaza. The rest of this nation have been "dispersed among the nations" with: 1,000,000 living in Jordan; 500,000 in Syria and Lebanon; 350,000 in other Arab countries; and 150,000 in the Americas.

While some of these Palestinians have settled in exile, the vast majority of this "nation in exile" are living "in-transit" waiting for the opportunity to return to their homes.

²The human right to self-determination is understood (at least in the abstract) in the West—since it was one of the "Fourteen Points" enunciated by Woodrow Wilson at Versaille in the post-World War I peace treaty deliberations.

Many in the West, however, fail to recognize that there is also a legal right that the Palestinians have. During the 1948 War hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were expelled or forced to escape from their homes and their properties fearing (as all civilian refugees do) for their lives. They, of course, fully intended to return to their homes after the fighting.

After the War, however, the Israelis refused to permit them to return and instead passed a series of laws enabling themselves to provide a "legal" veneer to their confiscation of over a million acres of Palestinian refugee land and well over a hundred and fifty thousand Palestinian-owned homes and stores. While these Israeli "Absentee Property Regulations" satisfied their own conscience, it never satisfied that of the United Nation's General Assembly. In 1949 the General Assembly's Conciliation Commission on Palestine announced that fully 80% of the land and property of the State of Israel was legally Arab-owned. The General Assembly demanded in that year that Israel give the Palestinian refugees either compensation or repatriation. *The choice* was to be made by the legal owners of the property—the Palestinians. Each year since 1949 the General Assembly has reaffirmed this position—and Israel has never complied.

Many Palestinian refugees still have the deeds and/or keys to their properties. Thus, the homeland to which they wish to return is not, for them, an abstraction—it is really the land of *their* homes.

³While they have not initiated any of the efforts to defend Palestinian rights, in a number of recent United Nations decisions, a number of Western nations have voted with the international majority in support of the Palestine Liberation Organization, in support of the rights of the Palestinian people, and in opposition to Israel's continuing policy of violence and repression against Palestinian Arabs. They include: Sweden, France, Mexico, Portugal, among others. Other major Western (or pro-Western) states such as Britain, Italy and Japan have also voted favorably on some pro-Palestinian resolutions. Only the U.S. has consistently voted against Palestinian rights.

⁴The movement being described here is that of Political Zionism—it must be clearly distinguished from Religious Zionism. In fact, many Religious Zionists have opposed (and still do oppose) Political Zionism, since they consider it alien to the religious message of Judaism.

See, for example: *Zionism Reconsidered*, ed. Michael Seltzer (New York: MacMillan, 1970); *Zionism, the Dream and the Reality, a Jewish Critique*, ed. Gary W. Smith (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1974).

⁵A fact which Zangwill recognized later in his life when he rejected the Zionist movement

and most of its tenets. See: "Israel Zangwill's Challenge to Zionism," Hani Faris, in *Journal of Palestine Studies* (Spring, 1974).

⁶"Palestine's Arab Population," A.B. Zahlan, in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. III No. 4 (1974), pp. 34-36.

⁷That this contradiction would develop and would be the cause of tension and violence between the two communities was noted even by some Zionist thinkers who cautioned their comrades and even urged them to rethink their plans in Palestine. As was noted above, one of these was Israel Zangwill, himself. Another Zionist leader who came to the same conclusions was Ahad Ha'am who in 1891 wrote:

We are all in the habit of thinking that all the Arabs are wild men of the desert and do not see or understand what is going on around them. But that is a great mistake...if we ever develop in Palestine to such a degree as to encroach on the living space of the native population, they will not give up their place.

[Quoted in *Palestine Diary*, by John and Hadawi, (Beirut: 1970), pp. 18-19].

⁸Comparative analyses of "Settler Colonialism" as it is practiced in various parts of the world can be found in: *Settler Colonialism in Southern Africa and the Middle East*, George Jabbour (Khartoum, Sudan: 1970); and *Settler Regimes in Africa and the Arab World*, ed. Ibrahim Abu Lughod (Wilmette, Ill.: 1974).

⁹This point is well developed in "The Non-Colonial Zionism of Mr. Abba Eban," Fayiz Sayigh *Middle East Forum*, Vol. 42 No. 4 (1966).

¹⁰*Max Nordau to His People* (New York: 1941), p. 73.

¹¹Hertzl's negotiations with the Sultan: "Turks, Arabs, and Jewish Immigration into Palestine, 1882-1914," in *Middle East Affairs*, No. 4, ed. Albert Hourani, St. Anthony's Papers (London: 1965).

¹²A copy of the letter sent by Hertzl to Rhodes can be found in *The Complete Diaries of Theodore Hertzl*, ed. Raphael Patai (New York: 1960), Vol. III, pp. 1193-1194.

¹³*History of Zionism 1600-1918*, Nahum Sokolow (New York: 1969), Vol. I, pp. 206-207.

¹⁴"British Interests in Palestine 1917," Herbert Sidebotham in *Haven to Conquest*, ed. Walid Khalidi (Beirut: 1971), p. 133.

¹⁵*Nordau*, op. cit., p. 57.

¹⁶See: *The Other Israel*, ed. Arie Bober (New York: 1972), pp. 10ff.

¹⁷"Memorandum by Mr. Balfour Regarding Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia," in Khalidi, op. cit. pp. 201-202.

¹⁸*British Imperial Interests in Palestine*, Herbert Sidebotham (London: 1934).

¹⁹Raphael Patai, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 88.

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹*The Jewish State*, Theodore Hertzl (New York: 1943), p. 30.

This theme reoccurs time and again in expressions of Zionist attitudes toward Palestinians. An example of this can be seen in a speech delivered by Chaim Weizman during the 1936-39 Palestinian revolt. A section of Weizman's speech and the Arab reaction to it are found in *The Arab Woman and the Palestinian Problem*, M.E. Mogannam (London: 1937), p. 295.

In 1936 after the Palestinian Arabs had rebelled time and time again in an effort to gain independence in their homeland and expel the Zionist colonial movement—they began a nationwide strike. It lasted six months—the longest national strike in history. In

the midst of this strike, Chaim Weizman, then leader of the Zionist movement, in a speech to a Zionist conference in Tel Aviv appealed for international pressure to help break the strike. In his talk he characterized the struggle in Palestine in this way:

On the one side [the Arabs] the forces of destruction, the forces of the desert...and on the other side [the Zionist] standing firm are the forces of civilization and building. It is the old war of the desert against civilization, but we will not be stopped.

²²While various Zionist organizations and individuals expressed different sentiments about their attitudes toward Arab labor—this Constitution and the following agreements created the *real structure* of Arab-Zionist relations in Palestine. See: *Palestine Diary*, ed. John and Hadawi (Beirut: 1970), Vol. I, pp. 225-226.

²³*Ibid.* pp. 224-225.

²⁴*Ibid.* pp. 224-225.

²⁵After the 1948 foundation of the Jewish state these practices were continued. Those Arabs who remained in this state were to be given full citizenship rights; however, these rights existed only on paper. The HISTADRUT, for example, only permitted Arab memberships in 1960. Some individual unions, however, still refuse to permit Arabs to join, e.g. the Writers Union. In addition it should be pointed out that Arabs have the worst and lowest paying jobs in the state and even where they do equal work with Jewish workers they receive less pay. See: *Israel Today: War or Peace*, Hyman Lumer (New York: 1970). Now the ruling party of Israel, MAPAI, only opened its doors to Arab members in 1973. Membership is selective and open only to a few Arabs.

²⁶Quoted in *Ha'aretz* (Nov. 15, 1969).

Other Zionist institutions during this period also functioned in this same way. A.S. Hoffman, a Chairman of the Israel Bank Leumi referred to these Mandate period tactics, in his annual report message for 1953. In it, he said,

...in order that the Jewish farmers might be able to sell their products it was necessary to initiate a campaign of persuasion—and sometimes even use force—to make the urban population buy the dearer Jewish agricultural products.

[Quoted in *The Economy of Israel*, Alexander Rubin, (London, 1960), p. 99].

²⁷This is the thesis of "The Impact of Zionist Colonization of Palestinian Arab Society Before 1948," Nathan Weinstock, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. II, No. 2.

An example of the impact that these anti-Arab policies had can be seen in the evidence given by George Mansour, a Palestinian labor leader, to the convened Peel Commission in 1937. Describing the labor situation of the Arabs, Mansour stated that

In 1935 1,000 workers in Jaffa were unemployed...at the end of 1935 the number of unemployed in Jaffa reached 2,270. In 1937 the number of unemployed in Jaffa reached 4,000, in Haifa 4,500, in Qalqilia and six neighboring villages 1,300, and in Bethlehem and Nazareth areas about 7,470 of the labor force was unemployed.

²⁸It should be emphasized here that there were some organizations of religious Zionist and anti-Zionist Jews in Palestine which repeatedly opposed the racism and exclusivist designs of their fellow colonists. One of these was the IHUD (the movement for Rapprochement between Arabs and Jews) founded by Prof. Judah Magnus. The IHUD counted amongst its important members Martin Buber. Though it was small in numbers it fought vigorously to defend Arab rights and to oppose the establishment of an exclusivist Jewish state. The Palestine Communist party, which like the IHUD had both Arab and Jewish members, was the most significant anti-Zionist organization to which Jews in Palestine belonged.

The major anti-Zionist and democratic forces in the country were the progressive Arab organizations. They opposed the Zionist plan for a Jewish state and proposed instead a

representative democratic government. They opposed unchecked increased Jewish immigration into the country and any continuation of the British Mandate. In no way could they be portrayed as anti-Jewish since it was not the Jewish religion or even Jewish people that they were opposed to—rather they fought the Zionist movement and its efforts to take control of their homeland.

Even from the very beginning of the British Mandate—before these progressive Arab organizations came into being—the traditional Arab leadership was not anti-Jewish. The following incident should make this very clear. Faced with the repeated provocation of Zionist demonstrations calling for a Jewish army and a Jewish government (when, in this early period the Jews were only 8% of the population of Palestine), the leaders of a great many of the Arab cultural and religious organizations of Palestine banded together and sent the following petition to the British Military Authority in Palestine:

We have noticed yesterday a large crowd of Jews carrying banners and overrunning the streets shouting words which hurt the feelings and wound the soul. They pretend...that Palestine, which is the Holy Land of our Fathers and the graveyard of our ancestors, which has been inhabited by the Arabs for long ages who loved it and died in defending it, is now a national home for them...

...We Arabs, Muslims, and Christians have always sympathised profoundly with the persecuted Jews and their misfortunes in other countries as much as we sympathised with the Armenians and other weaker nations. But there is a wide difference between this sympathy and the acceptance of such a nation in our country...ruling over us and disposing of our affairs... In conclusion, we Muslims and Christians desire to live with our brothers and the Jews of Palestine in peace and happiness and with equal rights.

²⁹This observation was made by Vincent Sheehan (an American journalist who was in Palestine in the 1920's on assignment by a Zionist publication—*New Palestine*). An article representing some of his impressions of the Arab-Zionist conflict in that period are found in Khalidi, *op. cit.* pp. 273ff.

³⁰"The Arab Revolt of 1936," Yehuda Bauer, *New Outlook* Vol. 9, No. 7 (1966), p. 24; B. Kalkas, "The Revolt of 1936" in *The Transformation of Palestine*, (I. Abu-Lughod, ed.) Evanston, 1971.

³¹It should be pointed out that it was not only this "force" that finally brought an end to the Palestinian revolt. Two other factors were of great importance to the British in their efforts to end this revolt. To put them quite bluntly, they were: British duplicity and the stupidity of the pro-British Arab kings of Jordan, Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

In an effort to diffuse the Arab revolt, in 1939 the British issued a pledge to the Palestinians (it was called the MacDonald White Paper). In this "pledge" the British promised to support a number of the Arabs' demands, in particular: to limit Zionist immigration into Palestine, and to guarantee that it was not their intention that Palestine would ever become a Jewish state. These pledges confused and divided the Palestinian national movement. In particular, some elements of the bourgeois and traditional leadership of the Palestine population wanted to believe the British assurances and hence worked to help end the revolt. The British client kings (who depended on British support) worked to gain support for an end to the revolt and a disarming of the fighters.

These two factors combined to help break the unified Palestinian national will to fight for their cause until victory. With the will of a section of the movement thus weakened, the ability of the superior British force was greatly enhanced. And, in the end, it was decisive.

³²See: *The Army of Israel*, Moshe Pearlman (New York: 1950), p. 30. *The Struggle for Palestine*, J.C. Hurewitz (New York: 1968), p. 42.

³³These and other statistics relating to the impact of the British-Zionist offensive that crushed the 1939 Revolt can be found in Khalidi, *op. cit.* pp. 846ff.

³⁴Translation is by Dr. Emile Nakhleh.

³⁵See works cited in fn. 24 above, and conclusions in Bauer, *op. cit.*

³⁶"A Solution to the Refugee Problem: An Israeli State with a Small Arab Minority," *Davar* (9/26/67).

³⁷Plans A through C can be described as follows:

Plan "A" was operative from February 1945 until May 1947. During that time, the Zionists hoped to win the "unconditional support" of the British government, enabling them to take control of the entire country. They, therefore, devised a plan to control the Arab population under their "minority rule."

When the British turned the Palestine question over to the U.N., and an announcement for "partition" was imminent, the Zionists, realizing that all the Arabs were opposed to any division of Palestine, organized Plan "B"—i.e., the neutralization of any Arab interference with "partition."

Plan "C" from November 1947 to April 1948 was a "holding action," designed to maintain the Zionist military initiative, until the exact U.N. and British intentions were made clear.

Plan "D", as we shall see in the text was unique. Edward Luttwak and Dan Horowitz in *The Israeli Army* (New York: 1975) describe it as follows: "Plan D called for the *permanent* seizure of Arab villages and the expulsion of their inhabitants."

Other sources on "Plan D" include: *The Edge of the Sword*, Lt. Col. Netanel Lorch (New York: 1961), pp. 87-89; "The Plan Dalet," W. Khalidi, Middle East Forum, November 1961, reprinted in *Why Did the Palestinians Leave?* (London: nd) pp. 32-46.

³⁸*Rebirth and Destiny of Israel*, David Ben Gurion (New York: 1954), p. 292.

³⁹Khalidi, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 42; also see *The Decadence of Judaism in our Times*, Moshe Menuhin (Beirut: 1967), p. 118.

⁴³Translated from French and reprinted in Khalidi, *op. cit.*, pp. 761-766.

⁴⁴*The Revolt*, Menachim Begin (New York: 1951), p. 163.

⁴⁵From *Ha Sepher Ha Palmach* (Tel Aviv: 1953), Vol. II, p. 286 translated by Khalidi in "Plan Dalet," *op. cit.*

⁴⁶Quoted in "The Other Exodus," Erskine Childers, *The Spectator* May 12, 1961.

⁴⁷*Ibid.* For another example of this tactic, see: *Promise and Fulfillment*, Arthur Koestler (New York: 1949), p. 207:

Haganah (radio stations)...warned the Arab population to keep clear of the billets of the foreign mercenaries who had infiltrated into the town, warned them to send their women and children away before any new contingents of savage Iraqis arrived, promised them safe conducts and escorts to Arab territory and hinted at terrible consequences if their warnings were disregarded.

Also see: *The Middle East 1945-1950*, G. Kirk (London: 1954), p. 264.

⁴⁸ Khalidi, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

There are many other examples of both physical and psychological terror being used by the Zionist forces in a systematic campaign against the Palestinian Arab population in an effort to prod them into fleeing from their land.

The two best pieces of research on this question are: *Why Did the Palestinian Leave?*, W. Khalidi (London: nd) and "The Wordless Wish: From Citizens to Refugees in *The Transformation of Palestine*", ed. Ibrahim Abu Lughod (Northwestern: Evanston, 1971).

⁴⁹ The quotations from Zionist leaders (including Begin, Allon, Weitz and Ben Gurion) demonstrate clearly that this was the intent of the terror tactics of "Plan D." This point must be emphasized—the Palestinians became refugees as a result of an intentional Zionist terror campaign. By their own words these Zionist leaders have not only admitted this fact—they have celebrated it.

This fact (and their own admissions) clearly refutes the often-repeated Zionist fabrication which tries to prove that the Palestinians fled from their homes because their own leaders ordered them to do so.

It should be pointed out that the Irish journalist Erskine Childers has brilliantly researched this question. His work conclusively proves that there is *no* evidence that any such Arab orders were given—in fact, he discovered that there were, instead, many orders issued from Palestinian leaders on all the fronts demanding that their countrymen return to protect their property. In addition, Childers has also investigated those few sources used by the Zionists to make their claim and has found them to be either quotes taken out of context (he supplies the full text) or distortions of statements made.

See his two works: "The Other Exodus" in *The Spectator*, May 12, 1961. "The Wordless Wish: From Citizens to Refugees," in *The Transformation of Palestine*, ed. Ibrahim Abu Lughod (Northwestern: Evanston, 1971).

⁵⁰ The term 'third class' citizenship is used to describe the situation of the Arabs in Israel so as to distinguish their plight from that of Israel's 'second class' citizens—the Oriental Jews (who are the majority Jewish group in the state). After two decades of discrimination, the Oriental Jews of Israel have developed their own powerful independent civil rights organization—the Black Panthers. The Arabs, however, are prohibited by law from forming any independent organization to work for their rights. In the late 1950's they attempted to form such a group—al Ard ("the Land"). It, however, was soon abolished by the Israeli military administration and the courts. Activities on behalf of Arab rights are carried on today mainly by RAKAH (the "new" Communist party) and the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights.

⁵¹ Quoted in *The Arabs in Israel*, Sabri Jiryis (Beirut: 1968), pp. 3-6.

⁵² An outline of these laws was given in *ibid.*, pp. 20-26.

⁵³ This was noted in a footnote above. A complete study of this problem has been done by Sabri Jiryis (who was an Arab lawyer in Israel for many years). His study is called *Democratic Freedoms in Israel* (Beirut: Institute for the Palestinian Studies, 1972).

⁵⁴ These orchards, once confiscated, yielded the Jewish state tremendous revenues. Don Peretz writes in his *Israel and the Palestinian Arabs* (Washington: Middle East Institute, 1958) that:

In 1951-1952 Arab [citrus] groves produced 1,250,000 boxes of fruit, of which 400,000 were exported. Arab fruit sent abroad provided nearly 10 percent of the country's foreign currency earnings from exports in 1951. In 1949, the olive produce from abandoned Arab groves was Israel's third largest export, ranking after citrus and diamonds.

⁵⁵ The Israeli government itself admits to this, and also to the destruction of over 374 Arab villages in this portion of occupied Palestine. Complete documentation of the Israeli state's actions in these matters can be found in:

"The Legal Structure for the Expropriation and Absorption of Arab Lands in Israel," Sabri Jiryis in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. II, No. 4 (1973), and *The Papers of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights*, ed. Adnan Amad (Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 1973).

There is a "Catch-22" quality to these "legal" land seizures by the Israeli state that should be noted here.

First, the Jewish state refused to permit the refugees to return to their homes (this refusal even included those 40,000 "refugees" who, though they had been displaced during the 1948 fighting, were still residing somewhere within the state, hoping to return to their homes).

Then, these property owners were "officially" declared "absentees" and their properties "abandoned" (in the "Absentees' Property Law of 1950" and the "Abandoned Areas Ordinance of 1948").

Finally in 1953 the "Land Acquisition Law" was proclaimed by the state. This "law" completed the process of land seizure by turning the "absentee" land over to the state.

⁵⁶"From Peasantry to Wage Labor and Residual Peasantry: The Transformation of an Arab Village," Henry Rosenfeld, *Peoples and Cultures of the Middle East*, ed. Louise Sweet (Garden City: 1970), Vol. II, p. 155 and pp. 166-167. *The Histadrut*, Layla Qadi (Beirut: 1967), p. 27.

⁵⁷Jiryis, *op cit.*, p. 25.

One horrifying example of the effects of this policy was the (by no means isolated) "incident" at the Arab village of Kafr Qasim. In 1956 the military authorities placed the village under curfew. The curfew was imposed at mid-day (on the day of the Israeli invasion into the Sinai) without warning. The majority of the villagers were out of the village at work. When they returned to their homes in the afternoon, they were, without warning, fired upon ("like target practice") by the Israeli soldiers. In the end, 47 unarmed and unsuspecting men, women and children were massacred that day at Kafr Qasim. After attempting to avoid taking action on the "incident," Israeli officials finally brought charges against all who were involved in this act of coldblooded murder. All who were directly involved were convicted, but after appeals and pleas for leniency were heard, the longest sentence served for this crime was less than one year.

⁵⁸See: "Strangers in their own land," Jiryis, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-174.

⁵⁹For examples of such criticism see: *Les Arabs en Israel*, al-Ard, Co. (Beirut: nd); "Palestine into Israel," Uri Davis, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. III, No. 1 (1973); "Arab Secondary Education in Israel," Ze'en Schiff, *New Outlook*, May, 1960; *The Literature of the Palestinian Resistance, 1948-1968*, Ghassan Kanafani (Beirut: 1968).

⁶⁰These researchers, for example, noted that while Arab students spend 256 hours a year studying the Hebrew *Bible* (Jewish students spend 640 hours), they are only given 30 hours of study with the *Qur'an* (Jewish students do not study this at all). The *New Testament* receives no attention in this educational system.

As Jiryis notes, "The history of the Arab people is represented as a series of revolutions, killings, feuds, plunderings and robberies...Jewish history is, on the contrary, glorified and enriched." (*Arabs in Israel*, p. 153).

An excellent study of this aspect of discrimination against Arabs in Israel can be found in "Palestine into Israel," Uri Davis (an Israeli) in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. II, No. 1, (1973).

⁶¹"Palestine's Arab Population," A.B. Zahlan, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. III, No. 4 (1974), p. 63.

⁶²"Arab Intellectuals are not Integrated," Atallah Mansour, *New Outlook* (June 1964), pp. 26-31.

⁶³Rosenfeld, *op. cit.* "Commuters and Entrepreneurs," Yosef Waschitz, *New Outlook* (Oct.-Nov., 1975), pp. 46-51.

⁶⁴*Essays on the Israeli Economy*, ed. Yusuf Shibli (Beirut: 1969), p. 87. Y. Waschitz, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁶⁵For example see: "Palestinian Arab Villages in Israel," Edris Khalidi, *The Arab World* (May-June, 1972), p. 26; "Combating Unemployment in an Arab Village," M. Watad, *New Outlook* (May 1967), p. 52.

An excellent example of this form of economic discrimination against Arabs occurred recently at the Dimona Fibers plant in Israel.

Due to a suspension of production of some of Dimona's lines of fabrics, the management announced that it was being forced to dismiss some 345 employees (many of whom were Jewish). The Jewish employees protested and demanded that management instead fire all its Arab employees. In the end, management yielded and all 145 Arab employees were ordered removed from the premises. This story was reported in both *Ha'aretz* (8/20/1974), p. 4 and *The Jerusalem Post* (8/20/74, p. 10).

⁶⁶*Israel Today, War or Peace?*, Hyman Lumer (New York: 1970), p. 14.

⁶⁷*New Outlook* (Jan. 1966), pp. 49-58.

⁶⁸Evidence that such racism is taught to children by their adult world can be found in an article on racist anti-Arab stereotypes found in children's literature produced in Israel—"Anti-Arab Children's Literature" in *Ha'aretz Weekly Supplement* (9/20/74).

The author of the article, Tamar Meroz, states, for example, that the singlemost common theme running through these books is that

The Arabs slaughter Jews for pleasure and the pure Jewish child then defeats the 'cowardly pigs'.

⁶⁹*Time Magazine*, April 1, 1972.

⁷⁰"Ethnic Relations in Israel," *People and Politics in the Middle East*, ed. Michael Curtis (New Brunswick: 1971), pp. 45ff.

⁷¹The original United Nation's General Assembly Resolution (Resolution 194 of Dec. 11, 1948) giving the Palestinians the right to either return to their homes or be compensated for their losses was passed by a vote of 35 For - 15 Against (8 Abstentions).

This same resolution has been affirmed every year since that date. On Dec. 7, 1973, for example, the General Assembly passed Resolution 3089, by which it

Declared that...the enjoyment by the Palestinian Arab refugees of their right to return to their homes and property, recognized by the General Assembly in Resolution 194 of Dec. 11, 1948, which has been repeatedly reaffirmed by the General Assembly since that date, is indispensable for the achievement of a just peace.

The vote on this resolution was 87 For - 6 Against (33 Abstentions).

It might also be noted that on the same date the Assembly passed a much more strongly worded statement affirming the right of the Palestinian refugees of the 1967 War. And "deploring the refusal of the Israeli authorities to take steps for the return of the displaced inhabitants," that resolution was passed 110 For - 4 Against (12 Abstentions).

⁷²The lands of the West Bank and Gaza (with the exception of Arab Jerusalem) were not formally annexed to the state. Instead, in an effort to present a "front face" to the West, these lands became the "Administered Territories." In Israeli jargon, however, the West Bank regions lost their Arab names and became Judea and Samaria—in order to make clear, regardless of lack of formal annexation, the real intent of the Israeli "administrators."

As shall be demonstrated below, the "administration" has been harsh. Considerable amounts of Arab lands have been seized in order to make way for Zionist settlements, and the West Bank, which once had a prosperous economy before 1967, has been reduced to a colonial dependency on Israel. (For example, the per capita income of West Bank Arabs under Israeli occupation only reached its pre-'67 level in 1972!)

The Israelis, however, have attempted to portray a different picture to the West. The title of a recent Israeli book on this subject demonstrates this point clearly: *The Cursed Blessing*, Shabtai Teveth (New York: Random House, 1971).

In addition, there are numerous pamphlets on the occupation distributed by the Israeli government with such titles as "Where Arab and Jew Meet in Friendship" and "Back to Normal Life."

⁷³This problem has created a serious internal Israeli debate. The two major positions taken in this debate are referred to as the "territorialist" position which calls on the state to keep as much territory as possible regardless of the number of additional Arabs this would add to the state, and the "populationalist" position, which gives absolute priority to need to maintain an overwhelming Jewish majority. This latter tendency would, therefore, be willing to give up some of the occupied lands in order to protect Israel from the danger of absorbing too many Arabs.

This fear of the "populationists" was expressed by Golda Meir who was quoted in *Newsweek Magazine* (special issue on the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of Israel) saying how tired she was of waking up each morning and worrying how many new Arab babies were born on the West Bank during the night (also see *Ha'aretz* 10/25/72).

A similar "populationist" concern with the high Arab birth rate was expressed by the editorialist (S. Schnitzer) in *Ma'ariv* on Oct. 29, 1967. He wrote that:

a high birth rate is not a question of destiny, but a danger against which society must defend itself by all means... Viewing the matter in long-range terms we must act, and appeal to the loyalty and economic interests of the Jews of Israel, and convince them that large families are essential to their survival. We must at the same time tell the Arabs that they cannot allow themselves to maintain the highest birth rate in the world in our small and poor country.

Some Israelis, however, are not at all troubled by such problems of demography (or even morality). They opt for traditional Zionist solutions. In an interview in *Ma'ariv* (Dec. 6, 1974), Lt. Col. Aharon Davidi stated his opinion on how to deal with the large numbers of Arabs in the occupied lands. He stated that the "problem" should be solved "in the most simple and humane fashion: by transferring all of the Palestinians from their present locations to the Arab lands."

This position is not Lt. Col. Davidi's alone. It is the perspective of the growing extreme right (and "religious") wing of Israeli politics. It is, for example, the position of the Jewish Defense League. See a copy of the letter expressing this viewpoint, which the J.D.L. sent to Arabs of the West Bank—urging them to leave (in *Yediot Aharonot* 1/3/73).

One final example of this position can be found in an article in *Mahanaim* (4/69), the official publication of the Rabbinate of the Israeli Defence Forces. After quoting from Exodus 23 (30-31), in an effort to prove that the biblical injunction demands that "aliens" be expelled from the "Promised Land" but not exterminated, the article continues:

(Thus) we must carry out an orderly and humane transfer over a relatively extended period of time, rather than abruptly. It must relate to the fertility of the Israeli population and its ability to replace the evacuees, lest the land become desolate... The Arabs who inhabit this land are an essentially alien element to it and to its fate and should be dealt with according to the rules which applied to the aliens of antiquity, our wars with them were inevitable... Only those facing Jerusalem represent the true sons of the land...the situation is clear and its outcome is clear; either the Arab element ceases to worship

Mecca and starts worshipping Jerusalem or it returns to Arabia and leaves the sons of Zion... Those who will disturb will be expelled.

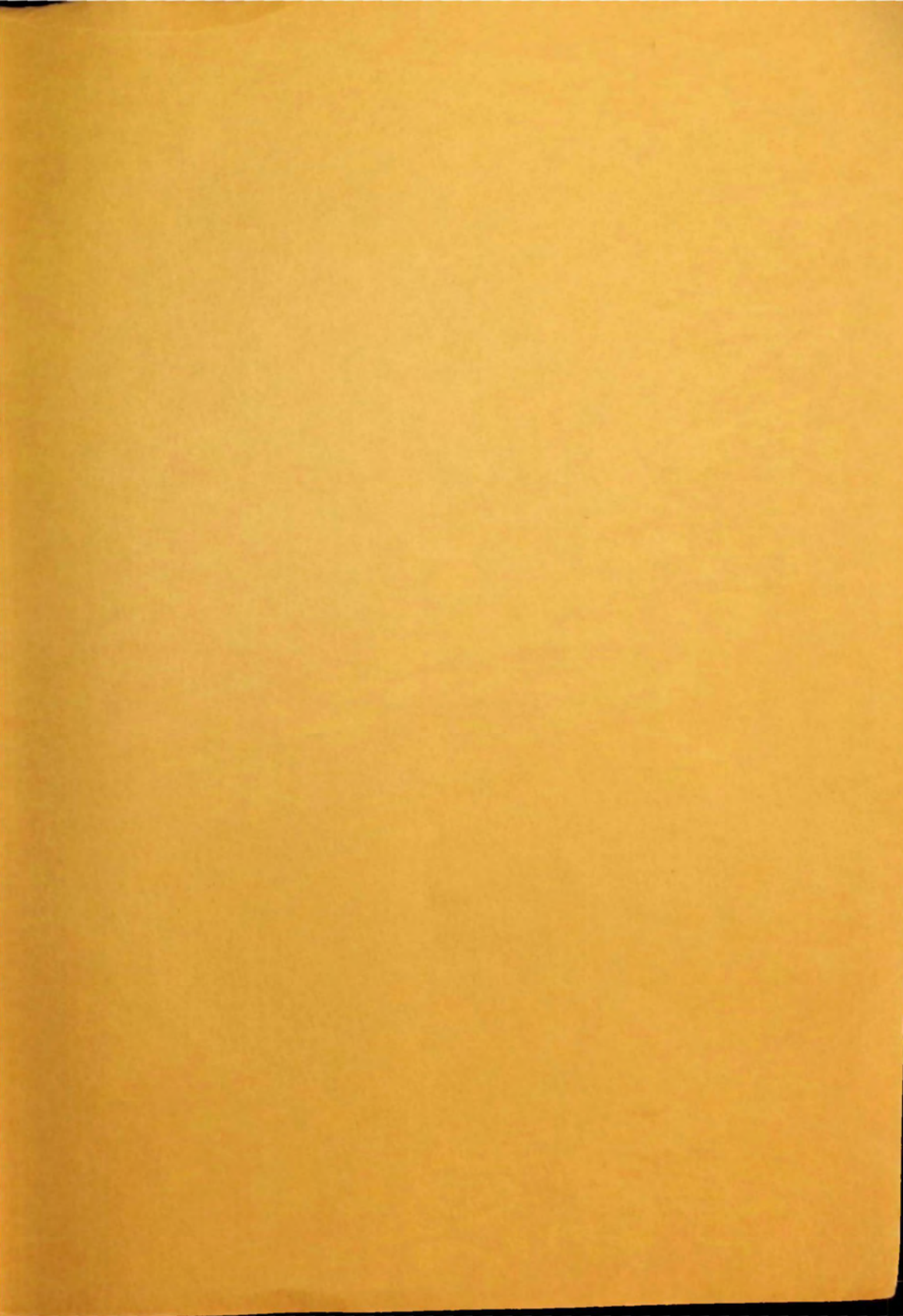
- ⁷⁴ See an article in *Zu Ha-Darach* (1/15/69) which reports on the repeated arrests of those selling or buying *al-Ittihad*, the Arabic Communist newspaper, on the West Bank. This paper is legal in the pre-1967 Jewish state and is, in fact, the newspaper most widely read by Arabs living there.
- ⁷⁵ "Report on Palestinian Emigration and Israeli Land Expropriations in the Occupied Territories," *Journal of Palestine Studies* Vol. III, No. 1 (1973), pp. 115-118.
- ⁷⁶ There are some Israelis who feel that this transition of the Zionist movement from a "unique" settler colonial to traditional colonialist regime began in 1948 with the origin of the state itself. Speaking of the relationship that exists between the Israeli state and the Arab people, Uri Averneri (a member of the Israeli Knesset) said in 1964 that in Israel there is a colonial regime as far as the Arab population is concerned. This creates a situation which does not have a parallel in the world... Israel is the first country ever to have a colony within a colony within the motherland itself—[it is] a country which maintains a colonial regime within its own borders. [in *New Outlook*, Vol. VII, No. 7 (Sept. 1964), p. 50].
- ⁷⁷ Statistics cited in *Israeli Economic Policy in the Occupied Areas*, Sheila Ryan, in *MERIP* No. 24 (January, 1974), p. 10.
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 17.
- ⁷⁹ That this colonial exploitation of the occupied lands is a conscious design of the Israeli state is clearly indicated in the Israeli Ministry of Defense report on *Development and Economic Situation in Judea, Samaria, the Gaza Strip and North Sinai: 1967-1969, A Summary* (Oct. 1970). In this report it is stated that "the (Arab) areas are a supplementary market for Israeli goods and services on the one hand, and a source of factors of production, especially unskilled labor, for the Israeli economy on the other."
- ⁸⁰ "Foreign Trade Summary," Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Monthly Statistics of the Administered Territories*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Jan. 1971).
- ⁸¹ *Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights (The Shahak Papers)* ed. Adnan Amad, (Beirut: 1973).
- ⁸² There are many U.N. resolutions which speak directly to this point. On November 30, 1973 the General Assembly passed by a vote of 97 For – 5 Against (28 Abstentions) Resolution 3070 which condemns all governments which do not recognize the right to self-determination and independence of peoples, notably the peoples of Africa still under colonial domination and the Palestinian people. Earlier, on December 6, 1971, the General Assembly passed Resolution 2787 which affirms man's basic human right to fight for self-determination of his people under colonial and foreign domination. The vote for this resolution was 76 For – 10 Against (33 Abstentions).
- ⁸³ It should be pointed out that each of the three major international human rights organizations used in this study—Amnesty International, The International Red Cross, the United Nations Committee on Human Rights—have not been permitted by the Israeli government to carry out their investigations unhampered in the occupied territories. Each of these groups have condemned or censured the Israeli government for its failure to comply with their investigations, and have then carried out their investigations as best as they were able. Their researches, which are remarkably thorough, have included the extensive uses of Israeli sources (inc. media reports, written affidavits, and interviews) and interviews with victims.
- ⁸⁴ *Report on Torture*, Amnesty International (New York: 1975), pp. 231-234.

⁸⁵ Each year various Zionist agencies spend considerable amounts of money and energy promoting "aliya"—i.e. propagandizing and promoting the "responsibility" of every Jew to emigrate to Israel. This "responsibility" is one of the central beliefs of Zionism.

Immigration into Israel is facilitated by the "Law of Return" which provides that every Jew has the right to immigrate to Israel and to become a citizen immediately upon his/her arrival. To qualify under this racist law (racist because it includes only Jews and *excludes* the native people of that land who are at present refugees in exile), one must prove that he/she is a Jew or prove that his/her ancestors up to the third generation are Jews or that his/her spouse is Jewish. (Once having arrived the citizen is bound by two other Israeli laws which involve one carrying a registration card certifying one's religion and being bound in marriage, divorce, burial, etc. to the orthodox religious code and courts!)

In any case, the "aliya" propaganda network and the "Law of Return" have, until recently, netted the state approximately 60,000 new Jewish immigrants a year. Many of these new immigrants are settled in new Jewish colonies created by the state in Arab regions in an effort to "Judaize" these Arab areas.

⁸⁶ Expressing this view, in the extreme was Nahum Sokolow, who states that absolute purity does not exist, but relatively the Jews are doubtless the purest race among the civilized nations. [Sokolow, *Op. Cit.*, p. 189].



AAUG PUBLICATIONS

I. Monograph Series:

Hagopian & Paden, <i>The Arab-Americans*</i>	
N. Aruri (ed.), <i>The Palestinian Resistance to Israeli Occupation*</i>	\$3.50
A. Jabara & J. Terry (eds.), <i>The Arab World: From Nationalism to Revolution*</i>	\$3.50
Abu-Lughod & Abu-Laban (eds.), <i>Settler Regimes in Africa and the Arab World</i>	\$4.95
Abu-Laban & Zeadey, <i>Arabs in America</i>	\$5.95
N. Aruri (ed.), <i>Middle East Crucible</i>	\$7.95

II. Audio-Visual Series:

<i>Palestine Is The Issue</i> (43-minute filmstrip)	\$100.00
<i>Palestine: Holding On</i> (57-minute filmstrip)	\$125.00

III. Bibliography Series:

<i>The Arab Israeli Conflict: An Annotated Bibliography</i>	\$2.00
<i>Women in the Arab World: An Annotated Bibliography</i>	\$2.00

IV. Information Papers Series:

<i>Israel's Occupation of Palestine and Other Arab Territories*</i>	
<i>Arab Areas Occupied by Israel in June, 1967</i>	
<i>The United States, Israel and the Arab States*</i>	
<i>The Balfour Declaration: An Appraisal in International Law</i>	
<i>Dynamics of Land Alienation [in Palestine] and The Demographic Transformation of Palestine</i>	
<i>The Wordless Wish: From Citizens to Refugees</i>	
<i>The Middle East: Five Perspectives</i>	
<i>Altered Realities: The Palestinians Since 1967*</i>	
<i>Middle East History and the West</i>	
<i>The Civil Rights of Arab-Americans: "The Special Measures"</i>	
<i>Arabs and Jews: Possibility of Concord</i>	
<i>Three Studies on National Integration in the Arab World</i>	
<i>Two Studies on Israel</i>	
<i>The Development of Palestinian Resistance</i>	
<i>Legal Status of Israel and the Occupied Territories</i>	
<i>Jewish Critics of Zionism</i>	\$3.50
<i>Two Studies on The Palestinians Today and American Policy</i>	
<i>Arab Peace-Efforts and the Solution of the Arab-Israeli Problem</i>	\$2.00
<i>Israel's Violation of Human Rights in Arab Territories Occupied in June, 1967</i>	\$2.00
<i>Zionism and the Problem of Palestinian Human Rights</i>	\$2.00

Each Information Paper is available for \$1.00 unless otherwise indicated.

*Out of print.