

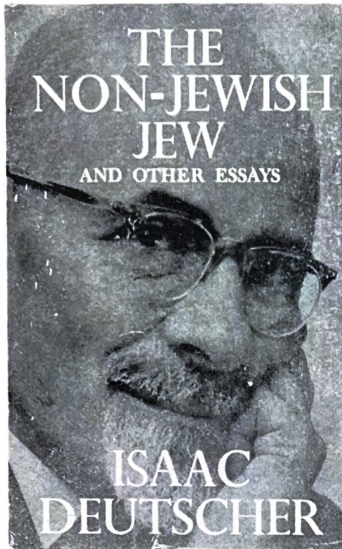
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the facts ABOUT THE PALESTINE PROBLEM

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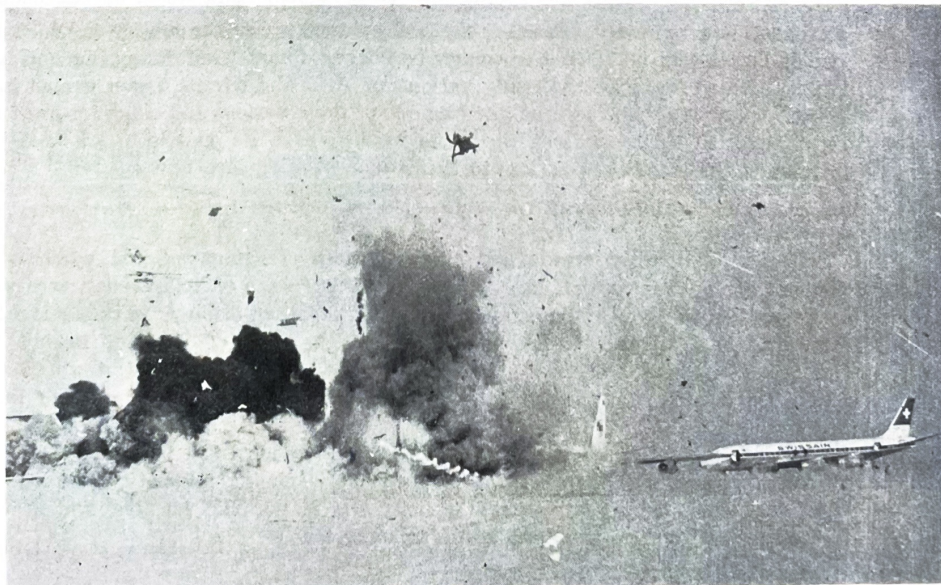
By
TWO NON-ZIONIST JEWS:

Hal Draper in the ISRAEL-ARAB READER
and

Isaac Deutscher in THE NON-JEWISH JEW
(p.1-5)

THE STORY OF ISRAEL

THE HIJACKINGS :



SOME WESTERN VIEWPOINTS (p. 6-11)

THE STORY OF ISRAEL

BY

TWO NON ZIONIST JEWS :

RESTING ON FALSE BASIS

«Towards the end of the 19th century, a movement arose which did in fact set itself the aim of destroying the nation which inhabited Palestine then; and moreover it did so. That movement was the Zionist movement.»

(Hal Draper, The Israel-Arab Reader, ed. Walter Laqueur, pub. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1969, p. 288)

«The rise of India, Burma, and Ghana, etc., from colonial subjection to independent statehood has been an organic, social and political process in a way in which the rise of Israel was not. What is worse, Israel has found itself in conflict, open or latent, with so many of the rising nations of Asia and Africa. Israel cannot have it both ways: it cannot present itself as one of these nations and claim for itself the rights due to them and, at the same time, pursue its own interests, real or imaginary, in steady opposition to them or in haughty aloofness.»

(Isaac Deutcher, The Non-Jewish Jew & Other Essays, pub. Oxford University Press, 1968, p. 122)

«Conjuring up Biblical myths and all the ancient religious-national symbols of Jewish history, the propagandists whipped up that frenzy of belligerence, arrogance and fanaticism of which the Israelis gave such startling displays as they rushed to Sinai and the Wailing Wall and to Jordan and the walls of Jericho. Behind the frenzy and arrogance, there lay Israel's suppressed sense of guilt towards the Arabs, the feeling that the Arabs would never forget or forgive the blows Israel had inflicted on them : the seizure of their land, the fate of a million or more refugees, and repeated military defeats and humiliations. Driven half mad by fear of Arab revenge, the Israelis have, in their overwhelming majority, accepted the 'doctrine' that holds that Israel's security lies in periodic warfare which every few years must reduce the Arab states to impotence.»

(Deutcher, op. cit. pp. 128, 129)

THE WARS OF ISRAEL

«Still, we must exercise our judgement and must not allow it to be clouded by emotions and memories, however deep or haunting. We should not allow even invocations of Auschwitz to blackmail us into supporting the wrong cause. I am speaking as a Marxist of Jewish origin, whose next-of-kin perished in Auschwitz and whose relatives live in Israel. To justify or condone Israel's wars against the Arabs is to render Israel a very bad service indeed and to harm its own long-term interest. Israel's security, let me repeat, was not enhanced by the wars of 1956 and 1967; it was undermined and compromised by them.»

(Deutcher, *op. cit.* p. 149)

«More and more Israeli leaders are oriented toward a « preventive » war, since military force was their only answer to the problem created by their own crimes. This was the traditional answer of the militarist and expansionist mentality; it is the same answer as was recommended by General MacArthur on how to treat Koreans and Chinese and other such « gooks » — you show them who's master — that's what they can understand, etc. The answer of the Israeli militarists was, similarly : kill and terrorize the «g oks » and « teach them a lesson » so that they won't do it again.»

(Draper, *op. cit.* p. 297)

« This victory is worse for Israel than a defeat. Far from giving Israel a higher degree of security, it has rendered it much more insecure. If Arab revenge and extermination is what the Israelis feared, they have behaved as if they were bent on turning a bogey into an actual menace. »

(Deutcher, *op. cit.* p. 142)

1. « General Dayan, the hero and saviour, with the political mind of a sergeant-major, ranting about annexation and venting a raucous callousness about the fate of the Arabs in the conquered areas... (' What do they matter to me?' ' As far as I am concerned, they may stay or they may go.') Already wrapped in a phoney military legend — the legend is phoney for Dayan neither planned nor conducted the six days' campaign — he cuts a rather sinister figure, suggesting a candidate for the dictator's post.»

(Ibid., p. 149)

2. « Dayan acted as a kind of Marshal Ky for the Middle East and appeared to be doing his job with startling speed, efficiency, and ruthlessness. He was, and is, a much cheaper and far less embarrassing ally than Ky. »

(Ibid. p. 132)

THE PLIGHT OF THE REFUGEES

3. « Along the border areas, Palestinian Arabs were pushed over the line into the Gaza Strip, or into Jordan, and then they were shot on sight as infiltrators if they tried to come back. It was in ways like this which I sketch here only briefly — that Israel's rulers created the massive Arab refugee problem. Literally they surrounded the country with a circle of hatred — **hatred which they themselves had caused** — the hatred of the despoiled Palestinian Arabs looking over from the other side of the border and seeing their own lands being tilled by strangers whom the Zionists had brought from thousands of miles away to take their place.»

(Draper, *op. cit.* p. 296)

2. «There was plenty of room in Israel for such hundreds of thousands of Jews (from Yemen and Morocco) but in the negotiations over the Arab refugee problem there was not a dunam of land that could be spared. The decisive thing to remember is that, from the Zionist viewpoint, for every single despoiled Arab who would be readmitted to Israel there was a Jew who could therefore not be ingathered.»

(Ibid. p. 298)

«The European survivors of Hitler's death camps are not the Jews who run Israel; their terrible fate has been a tool used by the men who run Israel, so that the crimes of the Nazis have been used to deflect the attention of world public opinion from the crimes committed in Palestine.»

(Ibid. p. 288)

« This terrible plight (of the Jewish refugees) and this great world sympathy were not enough to open the gates of a single Western country to those Jewish refugees !»

' Morris Ernst, the famous civil liberties lawyer who was involved at the time, has told the story, among others: about how the leaders of the Zionist movement exerted all the influence they could muster to make sure that the U.S. did not open up immigration to these Jews — for the simple reason that they wanted to herd these same Jews to Palestine.'

(Ibid. p. 292)

PROGNOSIS : A GRIM FUTURE

«In this stridently militaristic Zionist state, the current of Jewish humanism, which was one of the glories of the Jewish people from Maimonides to Spinoza and after, is today represented only by a minority — a minority whose voices are rarely heard abroad, and hardly at all in the U.S.; but it is this minority which represents the only Israel with whom one can identify.»

(Draper, *op. cit.* 290)

«It may be that, in the Middle East entanglement, the Arabs, or some of the Arabs, can survive this conflict. But it is doubtful whether, in the long run, the Jews of Israel can. What the Zionists have made out of Israel is a new ghetto — a state ghetto with state boundaries. That's not a new life for the Jews; that is more of the old life of which the Jews have had more than their share. This generation of Zionist hawks ruling Israel is a curse. No matter how many more great military victories they win, the sea of Arab peoples ringing them cannot be eliminated from the picture, and hatred grows. It may be another decade or two before the Arab states become modernized enough to wage war effectively; and then it will take more than euphoria over military heroes to point a way for Israel.»

(Ibid p. 300)

« As if infected with the old European concept and disdain for Asians and Africans (a disdain of which Europeans are slowly but surely curing themselves through bitter experience), the Israelis are evidently underrating the potentialities of their neighbours and their capacity for progress. Ben Gurion appears at times to be one of the last depositories of the philosophy of the white man's burden.»

(Deutcher, *op. cit.* pp. 121-122)

«They (the Israelis) might at least take a more sober view of their predicament and chances and beware of being carried away by their new-fangled and already red-hot nationalism. They also ought to get used to the idea that their state is not above criticism : it is an earthly creation not a Biblical sanctity, not a 'chosen' nation-state.»

(Ibid., p. 124)

«What a fate it is for the Jewish people to be made to appear in this role ! As agents of early capitalism they were still pioneers of progress in a feudal society; as agents of the late, over-ripe imperialist capitalism of our days, their role is altogether lamentable; and they are placed once again in the position of potential scapegoats. Is Jewish history to come full circle in such a way?»

(Ibid p. 151)

«I am entirely willing to denounce anyone who wants to destroy any existing state including Israel; but some thought should be given to this recent history by those who are willing to denounce **only** the threat to destroy Israel.»

(Draper, *op. cit.* p. 295)

the hijackings

6 September 1970



The ordeal that lasted two days... and made world headlines.



The ordeal that is 22 years old... but never makes the headlines.

Some western viewpoints

The Ultras...

« What these gangsters hope to gain from this deadly exercise in ransom and threat is a renewal of the Arab-Israeli war.

« The world cannot tolerate a threat of this kind to international air travel... The massive dose of criminal activity ought to convince every nation that this outrage has gone on long enough. »

(The Washington Post, quoted in the Herald Tribune, 10 September 1970)

« The Hijackers do not represent the Arabs ; they do not represent the Palestinians; they do not even represent the guerillas. But if they are allowed to get away with their demands, these distinctions will not matter. »

(The Times, 10 September 1970)

« No sane person can view with anything but revulsion the fact that almost 200 innocent people have been held hostage in a burning desert. »

(The New York Times, quoted in the Herald Tribune, 10 September 1970)



The Hostages

... and a more balanced view

« On the level of ethics, it is quite obvious that one cannot fail to react indignantly. But on the mere level of political analysis, one is bound to admit that the Palestinians have never been so spoken of as since they practised these methods. It is a thousand pities that they were not enough spoken of before. »

(From Combat, quoted in the Herald Tribune, 12 September 1970)

« These sad acts of desperate courage (dangerous lunacy in our comfortable context) have their parallel (and indeed their cause). Have the Jewish people forgotten Irgun, Haganah, Israel ? Have they forgotten What it is to be homeless, dispossessed, with nothing in the present and no hope for the future ? Do they really think that the bomb attacks, the grenades, the guerilla operations (all far more costly to the Arabs than to the Israelis) are the acts of men without a real grievance, who are for some inexplicable reason (though Semites themselves) anti-semitic ? Or do they think that the Arabs are not people with motivations and feelings like everybody else ?

(From a letter by A.R. Muir, The Guardian, 10 September 1970)

« Maybe hijacking is a sign of weakness, but from the point of view of the PFLP, how else could one defy the great industrial powers that are deciding your fate without even consulting you ? The means available to the Palestinian resistance being what they are, what other action could they have used to produce such devastating effects ? One can't help wondering whether the outcry and indignation would have been the same had there been only Congolese and Indian passengers on these planes. Considered from the Palestinian angle, one can't help regretting that the inconvenience to which the hostages were subjected to for a relatively short time should have aroused more indignation than that suffered by the Palestinian refugees for twenty years, they, too, as «innocent» as the hostages themselves. »

(Gérard Chailiend, Le Monde Diplomatique, October 1970)

« The grim drama being played out on the sands of the Jordanian desert is international blackmail in its basest form. The lives of scores of innocent people have been put on the auction block by a gang of vicious, desperate out-laws ».

(The Washington Post, 9 September 1970)

« It is tragic that these people (the hijackers) do not understand that while their adventurous acts gain credit with politically backward groups in the Arab world and a narrow group of sectarian intelligentsia, they represent a heavy blow to the international prestige of the Palestine resistance. »

(Rude Pravo, Prague, quoted in the Herald Tribune, 12 September 1970)

« It is barbaric behaviour, the product of fanatic mentalities of a type the civilized world has not seen since the Nazis were busily killing innocent hostages in a half-dozen countries of Europe a generation ago. »

(The New York Times, reported in the Herald Tribune, 16 September 1970)



The Five Commandos of the P.F.L.P.

« I do not find myself feeling any anger or resentment against the Arab guerrillas — these people are a desperate people, deprived and driven from their homes, their land; people who witness daily the plight of their old folk, their children, their near and dear ones, struggling to survive in refugee camps, living under subhuman conditions.

And if we but stopped shouting against them we may just be able to hear a proud and dignified people saying in the only way left to them, to us in distant lands — « see our plight and spare us a thought. »

(Letter from Ronnie Sutton in the Guardian, 12 September 1970)

« They have not sacrificed the good will of the world, for they never had it. Similarly with international law, which does not recognize them as a competent party to negotiations. They have gained virtually nothing from international law, and hold it no great sacrifice to forgo legal values for the sake of other things that they value more highly.

For most Friends, the methods and weapons of the PFLP are as abhorrent as those used by the American, the Soviet, the British, the Israel, and many other armies, although less destructive in life than some of them. But if we assume that our own are the only relevant ones in analyzing the motives of other people we shall blind ourselves to possibilities of finding practical answers to the practical questions of policies that confront us. »

(The Friend, 25 September 1970)

« There is little of logic in the horror we feel. The enormity of the Anglo-American attack on Dresden despite continual publicity, is still quite unappreciated in England and America... The essential injustice that the Arab people of what was Palestine, suffered by the creation of the state of Israel, and since then have suffered by the existence and expansion of that state, is obscured, wilfully or neglectfully, by those who despise Arabs, feel sorrow and guilt about the persecution of Jews. »*

(John Gale in the Spectator, 28 February 1970)

* Editor's Note : — Hans Rumpf in his book « The Bombing of Germany » (pub. Friedrich Muller, London 1963, p. 157) says about Dresden that : « There are credible accounts which place the total number of dead at 250,000 (in one night, the 14th Feb. 1945).

« In the international anarchy which now prevails even quite small bodies of ruthless determined wreckers can extort outrageous terms from any nation where public opinion counts and humanity is therefore able to veto the dictates of national self-interest.

It should not be forgotten that the war was directly caused by the abject failure of the Western Powers to prevent the closure of the Straits of Tiran. Faced with the failure of the West to maintain the freedom of the seas, the Israelis took the law into their hands. If the freedom of the skies is to be surrendered equally abjectly, who could blame Israel for taking the action which it is in its power to take ? »

(New Statesman, 11 September 1970)



Leila Khaled

Revolution Airport →

« Guilt is nearly always shared in varying ratios; and in this case, the blood of any innocent victims of Palestinian Arab guerilla operations is not on the guerilla fighters' heads alone; it is also on the heads of the World's Establishment and of the world itself.

If you or I, travelling on our lawful occasions, not even in an El-Al plane, but waiting in an airport to board, say, a Scandinavian plane bound for Lima from Copenhagen, were to intercept a Palestinian Arab guerilla fighter's gun bullet or hand grenade, should we be entirely innocent victims ? Let us assume that the imaginary victim is not British (i.e., is not infinitesimally responsible for the Balfour Declaration) not American (i.e., not infinitesimally responsible for the support given to Israel by the United States), not Zionist, not Israeli. Suppose that the victim is a gentile Peruvian. Would not one drop of this victim's blood be on the victim's own head ?

I think at least one drop would be, for the unlucky victim's indifference to the Palestinian Arab's crying grievances would have been one drop in the worldwide ocean of indifference that has been the Palestinian Arab people's bane for half a century.

The Palestinian Arabs have an understandable vendetta against the Israelis, but they also have a grievance against all the rest of us. Half a century of massive indifference to their wrongs has had the same exasperating effect on them as a century of similar treatment has had on the black citizens of the U.S..

The Palestinians are now in the mood for sacrificing their lives if, by wrecking the pillar, they can bring the roof down on their Israeli enemies' heads; and if the crashing masonry were incidentally to stave in the skulls of the rest of the human race, why should the Palestinian Arabs care ? What have the rest of us done to deserve consideration from them ? »

(Arnold Toynbee, Los Angeles Times, 30 March 1969)



« In a situation like this, dealing with men and women without compassion and with a marked bloodlust... What Governments and airlines were wholly unprepared for was that the hijacking would turn, in Europe, into piracy on a scale and of a viciousness that the world has not seen since the eighteenth century... the forceful breakup of organizations like the Popular Front, that are less like patriots and more like groups of roughnecks organized by middle-class layabouts, is a necessity. »

(The Economist, 12 September 1970)

Amina Dahbour



« Quite apart from cheaply dismissing the highly educated and politically conscious PFLP leaders as middle-class layabouts, » your article (September 12th) achieved the distinction of passing judgment on the whole episode without even mentioning the reasons behind the coup.

Nobody can condone the hijacking of aircraft, but mere smug condemnation without suggesting what alternative effective means are open to the Palestinian Arabs for the reasonable attainment of their just goals is the authoritarianism of the self-righteous.

So far the hijackings have caused no innocent deaths. But they have clearly riveted world attention on the one fundamental and just demand of all guerilla groups : that Palestine as a single sovereign state should embrace all Palestinians whether Moslems, Jews, Christians or atheists living together as equal citizens regardless of religion, colour or race. When fully 3 million Palestinian Arabs living today in exile are involved and when all methods to have this basic message recognised by the rest of the world have failed, was the price this time really so high ? »

(Letter from Michael Melcher, House of Commons
in The Economist, 26 September 1970)

Editor's note :

This is not a magazine, nor even a newsletter. No attempt will be made at long-winded analysis or description. It is literally a « factual » sheet.

FACTS will try to present the facts of the Palestine Problem. We think these will speak for themselves and need no comment or elaboration. It is this ignorance of the facts by the outside world that has been responsible for much of the human suffering that has taken place in Palestine. It is time that the facts were known. Only on their basis can disinterested and fair-minded people reach objective and intelligent conclusions. To help such people is our objective.

FACTS is produced by the Arab Women's Information Committee, a voluntary, non-professional, non-profit and private organization of Arab women living in Beirut, Lebanon, who have been appalled at the manner in which the Palestine Problem has been presented so far in the English-speaking press.

The Committee was also much disturbed at reports of the plight of Arab students abroad, very often faced with hostility and without the necessary documentation to back up their arguments.

FACTS will appear regularly and will be usually divided into two sections, the first dealing with background material, the second with current developments.

The background section will concentrate on one or two subjects to illustrate Zionist ideological and strategic thought, statistics pertaining to various aspects of the Palestine Problem, and summaries of the more important historical events and developments of the problem.

The selection of this material is necessarily arbitrary, but it is hoped that as much ground can be covered in successive issues of **FACTS** as space permits.

As to the section on current developments, it will focus attention on the developments that have taken place since 5 June 1967. We also hope to be able to publish supplements on specific issues as the occasion arises.

We shall endeavour throughout to give detailed reference for all the material that we publish. We hope that our efforts will contribute, however modestly, to a better understanding of the Arab point of view on the Palestine Problem.

FACTS welcomes all comments, suggestions and inquiries by its readers.