

W.P.O.I.

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WORLD
PUBLIC
OPINION
AND ISRAEL

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FOREWORD

In this book, fifth in the series «World Public Opinion and Israel» we reproduce the main chapters of the book «Arabs and Israel», an Indian interpretation of the Palestine Problem by a well-known Indian writer, Mrs. Manorma Dewan.

Mrs. Manorma Dewan is a leading commentator on social and political affairs in the Indian press. She has made her mark in the field of Hindi, Urdu and English journalism. Born in Lahore in 1935, she is holder of an M.A. from the Punjab University in Political Science with specialisation in International Affairs.

She has made an extensive tour of most of the countries of the Middle East including Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, U.A.R., Kuwait, Iraq and the Gulf area and has specialised in the problems of the area for the past eight years.

She has interviewed several eminent personalities including President Nasser, Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the late Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri.

U.A.R. State Information Service

SO SAID THE MAHATMA

«I have all my sympathies with the Jews. But sympathy does not blind me to the requirements of justice. The cry for the national home for Jews does not make much appeal to me. Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense that England belongs to the English or France to the French. It is wrong to impose the Jews on the Arabs. If the Jews have no home but Palestine, will they relish the idea of being forced to leave the other parts of the world in which they are settled ? Or do they want a double home where they can remain at will ? The Palestine of Biblical conception is not the geographical tract. It is in their hearts. But if they must look to Palestine of geography as their national home, it is wrong to enter it under the shadow of British guns — nothing can be said against the Arab resistance in the face of overwhelming odds».

Mahatma Gandhi

Article in Harijan, November 12, 1938

MANORMA DEWAN

ARABS AND ISRAEL

(AN INDIAN INTERPRETATION OF THE PALESTINE PROBLEM)

AFRO ASIAN PUBLICATIONS



PREFACE

Objectivity, it is said, does not mean an equidistance from truth and falsehood. It is impossible to be impartial between justice and injustice. This book, therefore, makes no pretension of being «objective», if that means being neither here nor there. Nevertheless an attempt has been made to study the genesis and the nature of the Arab Israeli conflict with the aid of authentic records and indisputable facts. Through the study of this material, the author has reached conclusions, which one hopes could remove prevalent misconceptions about the problem.

While committing these pages to print the author deems it her pleasant duty to thank all those who with their advice and guidance have provided her with the fullest co-operation in the completion of this work. I am particularly grateful to Dr. M.S. Agwani, Professor and the Head of Department of West Asian Studies, Indian School for International Studies, for his guidance in searching the source material. Thanks are also due to Mr. Ranbir Singh, Chief Editor of Daily Milap and Mr. Yunus Dehlvi, Editor, Shama Group of Publications for their sustained interest in my writings on West

Asia. The present work in a way is a product of those writings. It is needless to say that responsibility for opinions expressed and any error committed, is entirely of author's, and none of those who were kind enough to help her could be held responsible for it. Thanks are also due to the libraries of the Indian Council of World Affairs and All India Congress Committee, where the bulk of the research was conducted. I am grateful to Dr. Clovis Maksoud and Mr. Mohammed Wahby of the Arab League, for making available some of the valuable research material. I would also like to record my sincere gratitude to Mr. G. H. Jansen for his article « Why Gandhiji Rejected Zionism » published in the « Statesman ».

The author has also made good use of the material sent by the Israeli Consulate in Bombay which has proved valuable in understanding Israeli point of view and knowing some startling facts about that state.

Manorma Dewan

New Delhi,

May 30, 1966.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

The total sale of the first edition within three months of its publication is a tribute to the conscience of thousands of those who consider the Arab-Israeli conflict as a standing threat to world peace. From the appreciation and encouragement the author has received for her work, it is obvious that the thinking section among our people considers the creation of Israel as a grave threat to the freedom of the whole of the Afro-Asian region and not merely to the Arabs. The author would like to thank all those who have given their valuable suggestions and advice for the improvement of the present edition. Many of their suggestions have been incorporated through a thorough revision of the text. New data regarding fresh problems like the Israeli aggression on Syria has also been included in the second edition. The author would welcome comments and suggestions on this humble effort of hers and hopes that while revising for the third edition she will as much benefit from readers' guidance as she has during the present work.

Independence Day 1966

M.D.

USURPATION AND MUTILATION

It has been rightly said that India's response to world problems should not emanate from expediency. It should emulate moral principles enunciated for our guidance by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru.

The following survey is intended to present a brief outline of the Palestine problem from which the reader could himself form a sound judgment about the rights and wrongs in this conflict.

Palestine has always been a part of the Arab world which stretches from the Atlantic Ocean to the Persian Gulf. Its inhabitants have always been among the most progressive and ingenious among all the Arab people. As an ancient land, it has been Holy to the three great religions, Christianity, Islam and Judaism.

Palestine was occupied at the dawn of history by Cannanites who emigrated from the Arabian Peninsula. Lying on the cross-roads of the Middle East, Palestine was successively invaded by different peoples; Philistines, Hebrews, Greeks, Romans, Persians, Crusaders and Turks.

In spite of successive conquests, Arabs of Palestine always remained not only the owners of most of the land but also maintained a numerical majority of over 95 per cent in its population. Palestine always remained an Arabic-speaking land and its history as well as its commerce and economy, formed part of the Arab world. Its destiny, too has always remained linked up with neighbouring Arab countries. It was these facts which prompted a historian of world repute of the stature of Prof. Arnold Toynbee to reject categorically the Zionist claim that Jews have a right in Palestine on the ground that it was the land of their ancestors. Prof. Toynbee has expressed his belief, "that after a lapse of 1800 years it could not be said that Palestine was the land of the Jews. Otherwise, the United States of America should now belong to the Red Indians and the situation in England and in many other countries of the world should be different. In my opinion, the Jews have no right in Palestine except their right to personal property. They do not have the right to establish a State. It is most unfortunate that a State is established on religious basis."

Coming to the recent history, we observe that prior to 1914, Palestine was part of the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire. In the World War (1914-1918), it was occupied by the British. It may be relevant to note that British occupation was facilitated because of the promises by the allies, especially by the British Government to Arab leaders notably

Amir Faisal that this would mean the end of the Ottoman empire and the beginning of complete national independence for the Arabs. This in itself shows that the Arab people right from the beginning were basically secular in their struggle for national independence and had supported the Allied cause only in the belief that it would free them from the bondage of an Empire which professed to have religious sanctions of Islam as its basis. How these hopes of Arab nationalism were to be razed to the ground we shall see later.

Shocking Facts

At the time of the British occupation Palestine population was about 700,000. Of these less than 50,000 (about seven per cent of the total) were Jews. It should also be noted that most of these Jews were of Arab origin and only religiously professed Judaism. They had lived happily and peacefully side by side with their Muslim and Christian brethren, thanks to the Arab traditions of tolerance. Since culturally and linguistically they formed a part of the same people, nobody, even an expert like T.E. Lawrence, could distinguish a Palestine Jew from the rest of the Palestinians.

The area of Palestine was about 10,000 sq. miles. It was mostly owned by the Arabs, since they formed the bulk of the population. Palestine was the only country in the Middle East which knew no feudal estates or big landlords. The State

owned part of Palestine comprised mostly forests, desert and inhabited areas. Jews owned less than 2 per cent of the whole area. Most of these lands were acquired by the Jews from the Turkish regime in the beginning of the century. As we have already noted the British occupation of Palestine was achieved with the aid of the Arabs who wanted to be free from the Ottoman yoke.

Operation Treachery

But no sooner had the war ended, the Arabs became aware of the fact that Britain had been misleading them. Lord Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary, issued on November 2, 1917, the notorious Balfour Declaration, in which Britain promised to establish a "National Home" for the Jews. In a letter addressed to Lord Rothschild, leader of the then Zionist movement and a powerful business magnate, Balfour wrote, "I have much pleasure in conveying to you on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to and approved by the Cabinet.

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which might prejudice the civil and religious right of existing non-Jewish communities in Pal-

estine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

I shall be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation. Pt. Nehru in a newspaper article in 1937, had rightly called the declaration as "a great betrayal of Arabs by Britain".

Lord Balfour in his own diary, the extract of which could be found in volume 2 of Documents of British Policy had written "in Palestine we do not propose ever to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants. Zionism is of far greater importance to us than the desires and prejudices of the 7,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land. I do not think Zionism will hurt the Arabs. But they will never say they want it. As far as Palestine is concerned the powers have made no statement of fact which is not admittedly wrong, and no declaration of policy, which at least in the letter, they have not always intended to violate" Nothing could be a more candid and at the same time shameless admission of the treacherous policy which the British have followed in Palestine.

Along with the Balfour declaration other secret agreements had been concluded among the Allies to partition Arab territory among themselves, such as the Sykes-Picot agreement. When the British and their Allies met to settle the problems of Arab lands captured from the Turkish Empire during

the war they started proceeding with the imperialist policy they had planned, from years, to cover this policy with some moral camouflage so the Mandatory System was invented. The mandate for governing Palestine was granted to Britain by the League of nations, "till local population be in a position to govern itself".

Operation Enslavement

Under the mandate Palestine was ruled like any other British colony of those days. The administration had instructions that it should work for the eventual establishment of the Jewish State in Palestine. This was done through various means, For instance Arabs were not allowed to participate in either Government or administration. All senior posts were filled by British and Jewish officials. The High Commissioner in the first years of the mandate was himself a pro-Zionist Jew. The departments of migration, travel and nationality were under Jewish directors.

The most glaring instance of the pro-zionist policy of the British Government was its decision to throw open the gates of Palestine to Jewish immigration. The Jewish agency and other Jewish organisations carefully picked immigrants from those who had served in the allied armies during the war. Others were given military training before their departure for Palestine. As a result of the machinations the percentage of Jews in Palestine rose from 7 per cent in 1918 to 33 per cent

of the population in 1947. The percentage of Arabs dropped from 93 percent to 67 per cent during the same period, in spite a rising birth-rate among them.

The British Government saw to it that such laws were promulgated which could enable the Jews to seize Arab lands. Whereas the immigrant cultivators were provided with all sorts of loans and other facilities, Arab farmers were heavily taxed to the extent of 35 per cent of their produce. Considerable areas of Arab lands were sold by Court orders for payment of taxes which had been doubled during the British regime. The mandatory Government granted huge tracts of state lands to immigrant zionists on nominal rents or even completely free. By 1934, taxes on Arab properties had risen to four times compared to those paid in 1918. Meanwhile the percentage of Jewish owned land rose steadily from less than 2 per cent in 1918 to 6 per cent by 1947.

All this had provided Zionists with a strong edge over their Arab counterparts. Moreover, the British permitted the formation of Zionist military squads under the cloak of sporting clubs and scout groups and even connived at the supply of arms to a Jewish «Defence Guard» under the excuse of arming the immigrants for their self-defence. Apart from this by 1940 they had helped set up a number of secret terrorist organisations of the zionist such as Irgum, Stern and others.

Arabs on the other hand had by that time been totally disarmed. They were forbidden to own or carry firearms under pain of death. Arabs were actually condemned to death and executed for carrying arms and even for the possession of ammunition. Whenever the Arabs protested against the imperialist policy, and such protests were as numerous as they were bitter, the British authorities acted to curb them with an iron hand. According to an official British estimate by 1947 British troops had killed a total of 10,000 Palestinian Arab and had hanged 167 Arab patriots. Apart from that, Arab quarters were blown up, Arab towns such as Jaffa and Jineen were wiped out, thousands of Palestinians were interned, a score of villages were burnt, their nationalist parties were dissolved and their leaders persecuted and jailed. Heavy collective fines were imposed on Arab towns and villages. on top of this all, the British complacently connived at the activities of the Zionist terrorist mobs which had let loose a reign of terror under the very eyes of the British troops and officials.

Our national movement, represented by the Indian National Congress, was emphatic in its condemnation of the British policy in Palestine and has followed a constantly Pro-Arab attitude. In a remarkable research article Mr. Mohammed Wahby has shown that in 1928 for an example the Indian National Congress warmly assured the Palestinian Arabs of its full sympathy towards their

struggle to free themselves from the grip of Western imperialism, which in its view was also a great menace to the Indian struggle.

In 1937 the Congress condemned in unambiguous terms the imperialist machinations and the reign of terror unleashed with a view to coerce the Arabs in accepting the proposed partition of Palestine.

In its session at Haripura in February, 1938, the Congress passed the following resolution, "The Congress condemns the decision of Great Britain as a mandatory power to bring about the partition of Palestine and the appointment of a Commission to carry out this project. The Congress records its emphatic protest against the reign of terror which is still being maintained in Palestine to force this policy upon the unwilling Arabs. The Congress expresses its full sympathy with the Arabs in their struggle for national freedom and their fight against British imperialism."

With the outbreak of war, the Zionist took advantage of the world wide sympathy shown to Jews suffering from the Nazi persecution. During this period they started accumulating arms and organised the Zionist military organisation, the Haganah, in a big way. Arabs on the other hand were helpless since most of the Arab countries had either become a theatre of war or were under actual imperialist domination.

Operation Mutilation

In the meantime, Zionists started working eagerly to woo the American Public opinion and influence the Government. With a vast Jewish population in America having strong links in political and financial spheres this was not difficult. In consequence of this policy on May 11, 1942, the Congress of the World Zionism held in New York decided to make Palestine a Jewish commonwealth and expel its Arab population. So strong was Zionist pressure that in the presidential campaign, both Roosevelt and his rival, Dewy, sought to attract the Jewish vote by promising to carry out this decision. In February, 1944, the American Congress declared, "the doors of Palestine shall be open for free entry of Jews into that country and there shall be full opportunity for colonization, so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth." Nowhere did the champions of democracy freedom and rights of man ever pause to think of the rights and plight of the Arab population which, in spite of the unabashed pro-Zionist policies of the British, constituted two-third of the total population of Palestine.

By the end of war, Palestinean Arabs found themselves facing a powerful front composed of Britain, America and the Zionist international, all aiming at transforming Palestine into a Jewish State, expelling its Arab inhabitants and thus est-

abolishing the worst form of colonialism in the heart of the Middle East.

The first move towards this direction was made in the spring of 1946 when a mixed Anglo-American Commission was sent to Palestine to 'study the question.' In its report the Commission recommended that Palestine should be thrown open to Jewish immigrants unconditionally and that 100,000 Jews should be admitted at once in compliance with President Truman's demand made to the British Government in August, 1945. The British Government convened another conference in the winter of 1946 to solve the Palestine question. The proposals submitted to this conference by Arab delegates were summarily turned down by the British Government. Britain then decided to submit the question of Palestine to the United Nations, which at that time was a merely western dominated show, and Britain knew that through western pressure imperialist plans could easily be carried out.

On the request of Britain, the United Nations held an extraordinary session of the General Assembly in May, 1947. It was then resolved to send to Palestine a Commission of representatives of 11 States. In the report, 8 members of the Commission favoured the partition of the country and the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. The district of Jerusalem was recommended by them to be made an international district.

The representatives of India, Iran, and Yugoslavia on the Commission recommended making Palestine a federal State. India with bitter experience of the partition fresh in her mind was naturally opposed to the partition and had along with all other Asian members of the United Nations been trying vigorously but unsuccessfully to stall the partition resolution. But their efforts proved of no avail in face of the strong U.S. pressure for getting the majority recommendation of the commission accepted by the Assembly. Chaim Weizman, the leader of the Zionist movement and the first President of the Jewish State later established in Palestine, mentioned in his memoirs (published in 1949), that the partition resolution was passed after a strong personal intervention of President Truman himself.

Truman too was candid enough to declare openly «I have no Arab constituents». Obviously for him the American Jewish vote mattered more than the rights of the Arab majority.

The Arabs bitterly opposed the resolution and put forward three alternatives which were all reasonable and just. In the first instance, they agreed to the establishment of a united federal state of Palestine in which Jewish population could enjoy fullest rights and protection. Alternatively, they offered to get the matter settled through a plebiscite in Palestine. As a last resort, they wanted to get the justification for the partition resolution tested before the world court.

But this was not to be. The big powers were too preoccupied with their own power politics to pay any heed to the cries of truth and justice. When the partition resolution was passed, the total population of Palestine was estimated to have reached to 2,115,000 persons, of these, despite all the efforts of the British authority to bring in as many immigrants as possible, 1,310,000 or two thirds of the total population were Muslim and Christian Arabs ; 70,000 or one third of the total population were Jews ; and 35,000 others. Jewish land ownership in the whole of Palestine was only about 6 per cent in 1948. This was in spite of the fact that in the past 30 years its percentage had increased three-fold.

But in spite of this the proposed Jewish State of Palestine was allotted 56.47 per cent of the area of the country and the Arab State only 42.88 per cent of the area (4,476 sq. miles) and international zone of Jerusalem about 0.65 per cent (68 sq. miles). What ultimately happened to even this ludicrously unjust plan of partition and how it was still further twisted to suit the Zionist propose, we shall later see.

The resolution in the General Assembly was passed on 29 November, 1947. This was perhaps the only resolution where all the Afro-Asian States as a bloc had opposed its passage while the big powers were vehemently committed to it. The significance of this alignment should never be lost

sight of while trying to decide the merit of the respective case.

In the meantime, Britain had declared that she would withdraw from Palestine on May 15, 1948, from the Port of Haifa in August, 1948 and the mandate would expire by then. But she would continue to maintain order and public security and protect human lives and property until the final withdrawal.

As soon as the partition was decreed, the Zionist terrorist gangs started a systematic policy of arson, massacre and pillage of Arab lives and property. The British authorities true to their policy of which we in India had seen something only a few months before, not only kept quiet but actually encouraged this reign of terror. Similarly, the U.S.A. and the mighty organisation of the U.N. passively looked on and in fact many among the influential circles in America actually applauded the Zionist actions.

Encouraged by these overt and implicit tokens of encouragement Zionist military organisation Haganah went about destroying Arab villages capturing Arab towns and looting Arab properties. One of the most deplorable of such acts was a massive attack, done without any provocation on the Arab village, Deir Yassein, where a small Arab community lived surrounded by Jewish settlements around the Jerusalem district. Most of the Arab inhabitants including children, women and old men

were massacred and their houses destroyed. The surviving ones were literally pushed out naked into the Arab areas. Similar acts of terrorism took place practically all over Palestine especially in the areas which the Zionists considered vital for them.

Arabs learnt to their bitter disillusionment that while no one in the world moved to save them, British authorities went about in a systematic manner in helping the Zionists even till the last moment of their withdrawal. Britain for instance had promised not to withdraw from Haifa until August, 1948 and under this pretext had prevented its Arab inhabitants from arming themselves for self-defence. Yet, she made a quick decision to evacuate from Haifa on May 15 ; they gave up the Jewish areas which formed strategic position in the town to the Zionists, leaving the Arabs defenceless. Zionists took advantage of this situation and intensified their violent anti-Arab campaign. Arabs of Jaffa and New Jerusalem were also expelled with the fullest British connivance from their homes, which their ancestors had occupied since pre-historic times.

Israel Proclaimed

On May 15, 1948, Britain withdrew from Palestine. By that time the Zionists had already occupied most of the towns and had seized lands which were not included even in the notoriously unjust partition resolution. The Zionists at once proclaimed their new State under the name of Israel, which

was promptly recognised by America with other big powers following suit.

Seeing the ever-expansionist policy of the new State and continuing acts of aggressive violence by Zionist terrorists the Arab League had eagerly asked the United Nations as also the big powers, to intervene and stop this organised hooliganism. But no one moved.

In such a desperate situation the Arab States decided to march into Palestine. The aim of their action was to stop the continuing flight of the Arabs from the Israel territory, prevent Israel from over-running the rest of Palestine, and to check Zionist acts of terrorism. Arab States, both individually and collectively, made it repeatedly clear that if the United Nations or any other big power could get these aims fulfilled, they would not take to such a recourse.

The United Nations which had kept quiet over these pleas of the Arabs moved at once to intervene under obvious British and American pressure when the actual fighting broke out between the Arab armies and the Israelis. The aim of this intervention was obviously to prevent an imminent maulling of their pet creation. The Security Council ordered an immediate cease-fire and Count Bernadotte of Sweden was sent to Palestine to act as a mediator. The cease-fire lasted four weeks, during which the Arabs strictly observed all its provisions. The Israelis however exploited the occasion, and helped

by the United States and Britain, strengthened their position.

In a flagrant violation of the cease-fire agreement, foreign volunteers poured into the Israel side. Even professional soldiers were sent on loan from Britain and the United States. Huge amounts of modern arms were also rushed to Israel. Consequently, fighting potential of Israel was more than doubled during this period.

Even the United Nations mediator Count Bernadotte had to warn the Security Council that, «it could not be ignored that unrestricted immigration to the Jewish area of Palestine has created pressures and economic and political disturbances which would justify present Arab fears of ultimate Jewish expansion in the Middle East.» In his reports, he had also mentioned continuing cease-fire violation by Israelis. But nothing moved the powers who were bent upon protecting and encouraging their hireling for furthering their imperialistic designs.

On the expiry of the truce the Arab armies proceeded to finish their job, but the Security Council again stepped in and ordered the continuation of the cease-fire.

Horried by the atrocities committed by the Zionists, the U.N. mediator Count Bernadotte, made some proposals to the Security Council for the solution of the problem. The Israelis found these proposals unfavourable to them, and true to their pattern of violent behaviour, Zionist terrorists assas-

sinated him in broad daylight in the Israeli occupied part of Jerusalem. So horrible was this act that the Security Council in spite of the open preference shown to Israel by its permanent members, had to pass a resolution which, among other things, condemned Israeli authorities for not being able to protect the life of Count Bernadotte in the first instance, and then not being able to apprehend the culprits. It is, however, ironic that in spite of this condemnation, Britain and America went on encouraging cease-fire violations by Israel and did not even care to see that the partition resolution was even verbally respected by the Zionists.

Constant Aggression

In consequence of the efforts and endeavours made by the United Nations and the pressure put upon by western powers on Arab countries truce agreements were signed in Rhodes in winter and spring of 1949 between the Arab Governments of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel. These agreements were clearly stipulated to be temporary in nature and had explicitly made it clear that they do not amount to a political recognition of the State of Israel by the Arabs.

It is not commonly known in India that as a result of the so-called Armistice agreements, which remain in force till the present day, except when they are unilaterally violated by Israel, the Zionist State controls 8,000 sq. miles of Palestinian territory which is 77.40 per cent instead of the 56.47

per cent allotted to the Jewish State under the partition plan. In other words, Israel now occupies a land area of about 14,150,000 acres or 21 per cent in excess of the land assigned to it under the United Nations resolution of 1947. Those in India who seem to have suddenly taken Israel as an «avatar» of correct international behaviour and the champion of the United Nations ideals, would do well to take note of the situation.

Usurpation not Partition

It is obvious from the above survey that the so-called partition of Palestine is entirely different from partitions of other countries like India, Korea, Germany and Vietnam. However painful all these partitions might have been, yet the fact cannot be denied that the people on both sides remain what they were before the partition. In some cases like that of India and Pakistan there has been an unfortunate movement of refugees across the borders. This is highly regrettable and indeed tragic. But those who moved across the borders belonged to the sub-continent. In case of Palestine, the original inhabitants of the land were brutally thrown out and those who came to take their place had no relation whatsoever with the area. Palestine is the only instance in world history where a whole people have been dispossessed through a naked force of arms and an entirely alien community has been transplanted with the aid of different forces of the world imperialism working in strong collusion.

CRIME AND CONSEQUENCE

A few years ago while walking in the Arab part of the Holy city of Jerusalem, I came across an old man in tattered clothes who would every day climb a hill top in the morning and remain perched there till the very evening gazing into far away areas. I saw him in that position during all the three weeks I stayed in the city. I was naturally eager to know who he was and what he was gazing. With the help of an Arabic-knowing friend I asked this man what was he looking far off.

With deep wrinkles of anguish covering his face the man replied in a sorrowful quietude «My home». Then he pointed his thin and weird finger towards a place about a mile away in the other part of the Holy city, which has since 1948 been occupied by the Israelis. There stood a palatial building looking like an academic institution. After pointing towards that the man again resumed his mysterious gaze and left us to wonder about the cause of his anguish.

We learnt from a nearby shopkeeper that this man had a house right on the place where the Israelis have now constructed a military academy for training freshly arrived immigrants. The man was

thrown out 15 years ago from his house, his wife, two sons and a daughter were slaughtered cold-bloodly by Israeli terrorists and he had to run for his life into this part of the city. The old man whose name was given as Assem Bin Ahad is a symbol of the suffering which over a million Arab refugees from the Holy land have undergone during the last 18 years. He along with his over a million compatriots are a living testament to the torture and brutality of the alien Zionists and the immobile conscience of their western protectors.

We have already shown in our historical survey how these people were thrown away from their homes. How abhorrently immoral was this act was adequately underlined by the greatest moral authority of our times, the Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhi. While writing in Harijan in August, 1947 when the agony of communal riots must have been upper-most in his mind, he did not forget to mention «another suffering» caused on innocent people because of bigotry and terrorism. He wrote, «The Jews have erred grievously in seeking to impose themselves on Palestine with the aid of America and Britain and now with the aid of naked terrorism. Why should they depend on American money or British arms for forcing themselves on an unwelcome land.»

U.N. Resolution

The most telling example of the Israeli arrogance in the face of the world public opinion is her

consistent refusal to implement the United Nations Resolution 194 (111) of 11 December, 1948. In this resolution the General Assembly had resolved that «the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so, at the earliest practical date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss or damage to property which, under principles of international law, and in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible.»

What was the Israeli response to this ? David Ben Gurion the then Prime Minister of Israel, declared that «force of arms, not formal resolutions, will decide the issue.»

The United Nations has been consistently passing resolutions almost every year during its General Assembly sessions asking for compliance of its resolutions regarding the Arab refugees. All of them have gone unheeded by Israel.

Justification for Defiance

It may be interesting to know the reasons which Israel has generally advanced for her non-compliance of these resolutions. Some of them were explained to the author by Moshe Sharett, the former Foreign Minister of Israel, who had come to India on the eve of Israeli British and French aggression on Egypt on a totally futile mission to mislead Indian public opinion, that these refugees had gone out of Israel of their own accord.

In this connection he mentioned some alleged radio broadcasts by Arab Radio stations which in 1947 and 1947 had allegedly instigated the Arabs to leave their homes since Arab armies were going to march into Israel. This in fact is a convenient line of propaganda which Israel has been indulging ever since its inception. But never have the Israeli spokesmen mentioned any date or timing of such broadcasts. The B.B.C. keeps complete records of all foreign broadcasts and no one has ever come across a single Arab broadcast supporting Israeli allegation. On the other hand, it is on record that Arab countries had eagerly wanted that the indigenous population remains where it was. It would have been in the interest of Arab armies to have sympathetic local population to be in the area in which they wanted to march, rather than get the area cleared of them.

How these people were thrown out is amply confirmed by the findings of such authorities as, for instance, the report of U.N. Mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte who had said in his report to the United Nations that there have been numerous reports from reliable sources of large-scale looting, pillaging and plundering and of instances of destruction of villages without military necessity. The liability of the provisional Government of Israel to restore private property to its Arab owners and to indemnify those owners for property wantonly destroyed is clear.» (U.N. Document A/648).

Truth Indicts

Similarly, a historian of the stature of Prof. Arnold Toynbee has written. «If the heinousness of sin is to be measured by the degree to which the sinner is sinning against the light that God has vouchsafed to him, the Jews had even less excuse in A.D. 1948 for evicting Palestinian Arabs from their homes than Nebuchadnezzar and Titus and Hadrian and the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition had for uprooting, persecuting, and exterminating Jews in Palestine and elsewhere at diverse times in the past. In A.D. 1948 the Jews knew, from personal experience, what they were doing ; and it was their supreme tragedy that the lesson learned by them from their encounter with the Nazi Gentiles should have served not to eschew but to imitate some of the evil deeds that the Nazis had committed against the Jews.

The evil deeds committed by the Zionist Jews against the Palestinian Arabs, that were comparable to crimes committed against the Jews by the Nazis were the massacre of men, women and children at Deir Yasin on the 9th of April, 1948, which precipitated a flight of the Arab population, in large number, from districts within range of Jewish armed forces, and the subsequent deliberate expulsion of the Arab population from districts conquered by the Jewish armed forces...» (A Study of History Vol. 8, page 290).

The fact that numerous Jews both in and outside Palestine have expressed their abhorrence over

the Zionist crimes against the Arabs is a testimony not only to the righteousness of the Arab cause but also an irrefutable proof of the fact that like all those unscrupulous politicians in India and other countries who speak in the name of religion to further their own political ends the Zionists too have no respect for the dictates of their own religion, Judaism, which had given one of the noblest moral codes to the world.

A strong indictment of the Zionist crimes has come from a highly respected Jewish religious leader from Israel. Rabbi R. Benjamin who had said in 1958. «In the end we must come out publicly with the truth : that we have no moral right whatsoever to oppose the return of the Arab refugees to their land... that until we have begun to redeem our sin against the Arab refugees, we have no right to demand that American Jews leave their country to which they have become attached, and settle in a land that has been stolen from others, while the owners of it are homeless and miserable.»

Double Talk

A convenient argument for Israeli refusal to comply with the United Nations Resolutions, has been that their state cannot accommodate all these people. Moshe Sharett too gave this reason in the interview mentioned above, I had asked him if that was so then why was it that Israel claims it can accommodate at least four million more of Jewish immigrants. Mr. Sharett had obviously no answer

to the question. He could neither deny that his State was incapable of accommodating all the Jews in the world — this is the very basis of its proclaimed philosophy, neither could he agree to accommodate those homeless refugees in their own homes because that would have divested Israel from the very postulate of its existence, which is nothing less than bigotry and hate for the people who inhabited Palestine.

The only answer, which Mr. Sharett gave like all Israeli apologists was that Arab States, whose territory was about 70 times larger than Israel, could well afford to rehabilitate them in their own midst.

This is an obvious travesty of logic and justice. If this could be taken as a basis, then every robber could say that since the man whose property he has robbed has a brother, who owns a much larger estate than himself, he could well afford to go to the brother and leave the robber in peaceful possession of his loot. One could well ask the Zionists and especially their Western patrons that if they were so eager to provide a home for the Jews why did they not do so in countries like Australia, New Zealand or as Prof. Toynbee has said in Central Europe where the Jews could have found more amenable and familiar surroundings than Palestine. The Americans and the British could have well afforded to provide Zionists with a land area many times bigger than their present State, if they had only the question of Jewish misery in mind.

Who is to Blame

Israeli propagandists have also tried to make out that Arab States are using the refugees as pawns in the game of power politics and that the refugees are by nature lethargic to work constructively for their own rehabilitation. This is a fantastic lie to say the least.

I have had the opportunity to meet hundreds of these refugees during my tour of the Arab world. I can say with the fullest of confidence that these people are as energetic and resourceful as were our own refugees settled in Punjab and elsewhere. It is a matter of common knowledge that Palestinian people have been considered one of the most highly industrious and intelligent of all the Middle Eastern people. They could not have turned lethargic and sluggish after the Israeli brutalities.

A still more authoritative rebuke of this Israeli propaganda has come from Dr. John H. Davis, former Commissioner General of the United Nations Relief and Work Agency (UNRWA) for Palestine. This organisation looks after more than half a million such refugees in camps scattered in Jordan, Syria and Egypt and provides work and employment to these people in the hope that one day they will be repatriated to their original homes. In a speech delivered before the Conference of voluntary agencies in Geneva on 18 January, 1961, Dr. Davis declared «the Palestine refugee problem has defied political solution, not because of alleged whims of

Arab politicians or the reputed shiftless nature of the refugees, but because of depth and universality of the conflict between Arabs and Israelis.» He also said that Arab Governments till 1961 had spent over 95 million dollars as their contribution for the welfare of the Arab refugees. Over and above they have spent about 38 million dollars in direct aid to the refugees in various goods and services since 1948. Their contribution to the refugees welfare is over 5 million dollars per year. Dr. Davis concluded that «according to authentic records Arab States had spent till 1961, 50 million dollars for the refugee welfare.»

The solution

I had the occasion to meet not only Dr. Davis but also numerous other officials of the UNRWA, none of whom belonged to countries which could be called anti-Israel or pro-Arab. All of them, including Dr. Davis confirmed the fact that the only solution of the problem was for Israel to show reason and implement the U.N. Resolutions. They were emphatically unanimous that the United Nations aid could not be continued indefinitely but the day it is stopped it can create a volcanic situation in that part of the world. «It was, therefore, doubly necessary for the United Nations to see that these people get their due, so that United Nations obligations are fulfilled and peace in the area is secured,» he said.

The same view has been reiterated in Afro-Asian and non-aligned meets like the Bandung, the Belgrade and the Cairo Conferences. Jawaharlal Nehru, for instance, while speaking at Bandung in 1955 had categorically supported the Arab cause by saying that it was above all a human problem and the Afro-Asian community should make fullest endeavour to get this solved. Ever since Indian representatives in the United Nations, as also our leaders like Nehru, Shastri, President Radhakrishnan and Vice-President Dr. Zakir Hussain, have unambiguously been making the demand that Israel must honour the rights of the Arab refugees and fulfil its commitments *vis-a-vis* the United Nations.

As Gandhiji has said it should be clearly understood in this connection that the basic problem of Palestine is between the Arabs of Palestine and the Jews who want to come abroad to settle there. Unless the Jews are able to convince the local Arabs of their *bona fides*, no basis could ever exist for the Jewish entry into Palestine.

Even now this conflict continues to be basically a human one in which there are only two parties — the Israeli intruders and the Arab inhabitants who have been rendered homeless by the intruders. Israel, however, refuses even to recognise the entity of the other party to the conflict. It has not only refused to implement U.N. and Afro-Asian calls but has also refused to negotiate with the representatives of the Arab refugees with an equal obstinacy.

To over a million and half such refugees, whose number is fast multiplying, and who are still waiting in pitiable conditions for the day when justice is done to their cause, the words of Count Bernadote written a few days before his martyrdom are still as valid as they were at the time of their writing. In his report to the U.N. Security Council, the noble Count had said : «It is undeniable that no settlement can be just and complete if recognition is not accorded to the right of the Arab refugees to return to their homes from which they had been dislodged. It would be an offence against the principles of elementary justice if these innocent victims of conflict were denied the right of return to their homes while Jewish immigrants flow into Palestine and indeed, offer the threat of permanent replacement of the Arab refugees who have been rooted in the land for centuries.» (U.N. Document A/4648).

SIN AND ARROGANCE

Recently, a Member of Parliament, well-known for his legal acumen, had stated in a public meeting that those who do not accept Israel as a lawful State tend to flout the authority of the United Nations under whose resolutions it was established. This is a familiar argument paddled around the world by Israeli propagandists. It is indeed strange that a State who has done more than any other country to flout the U.N. authority should have the impunity to invoke the authority of the United Nations for its totally illegal behaviour.

We have already seen how Israel has consistently been refusing to comply with the United Nations resolutions about Palestinian refugees. It is however not the only point where Israel has tried to ignore the U.N. authority with an arrogance characteristically reminiscent of the Nazis.

According to the U.N. resolution, No. 181(II) of 29 Nov. 1947 which recommended the partition of Palestine, Israel was allotted only about 55 per cent of the total area of the country. But today it is in occupation of more than 77 per cent of the area. It is a common misconception that this area

was enlarged after the Arab-Israel conflict. Records however tell a different story.

Take for instance the City of Jerusalem. About it the U.N. resolution had stated—that the city of Jerusalem shall be established as *corpus separatum* under a special international regime and shall be administered by the United Nations, and had entrusted the Trusteeship Council «to discharge the responsibilities of the administering authority ».

Israel 'complied' with it with the occupation of this zone even before the British left and any soldier from any Arab State was on the Palestinian soil. Along with it they had occupied other areas reserved for the Arab State and rendered lakhs of Palestinian Arabs as refugees.

On 7 December, 1949, the Israelis moved their capital and Parliament to Jerusalem. In face of such arrogance the U.N. Trusteeship Council was forced to adopt the following resolution on 20 December, 1949. It had stated :

« (The Council,)

« Concerned at the removal to Jerusalem of certain ministries and central departments of the Government of Israel ;

« Considers that such action ignores and is incompatible with the provisions of paragraph II of General Assembly resolution 303 (IV) of 9 December 1949 ».

Zionist Response

In response to this, David Ben Gurion declared with all arrogance : « The United Nations... was fit... this year to decide that our eternal citadel should become a corpus separatum under international control. Our rebuttal of this wicked counsel was unequivocal and resolute : the Government and Knesset at once moved their seat to Jerusalem, and made Israel's crown and capital, irrevocably Jewish for all men to see.» (Ben Gurion, *Rebirth and Destiny of Israel* : p. 362).

Continued Defiance

Israel has ever since stubbornly refused to implement this part of the U.N. resolution. Its spokesmen have continuously been emphasising that under no condition shall Israel vacate the areas including the city of Jerusalem, occupied by it.

Take another instance. This concerns the resolution under which the State of Israel was admitted to the United Nations. Unlike any other State accepted in the membership of the United Nations, Israel's admission was approved under certain specific conditions which were clearly embodied in the preamble. They were.

« Noting furthermore the declaration by the State of Israel that it unreservedly accepts the obligation of the U.N. Charter and undertakes to honour them from the day it becomes a member of the United Nations ;

« Recalling its resolution of 29 November, 1947, (on boundaries) and 11 December, 1948, (on repatriation and compensation of refugees) and taking note of the declaration and explanations made by the representatives of the Government of Israel before the adhoc political committee in respect of the implementation of the said resolution ;

« The General Assembly decides to admit Israel to membership in the United Nations». (U.N. resolution No. 273 of 11 May, 1949).

As soon as Israel gained admission, her Government declared that their country was a sovereign one and the United Nations had no jurisdiction to interfere in the Jewish State territory, despite the fact that its sovereignty was conditional on its fulfilling certain requirements.

We therefore come to the conclusion that at least on five points the State of Israel continues to defy the U.N. decisions which had been most clearly and unambiguously stated in the various decisions concerning ;

- (a) *Partition of Palestine* where she continues to hold at least 20 per cent more area than allotted to her by the U.N. resolution ;
- (b) *Repatriation and compensation of refugees.* Israel continues to defy not only the famous resolution of 1948 of the General Assembly which had clearly asked her to provide a choice to the refugees between

repatriation to their original homes or proper compensation ; but has also ignored 16 subsequent reaffirmations of this resolution by the United Nations.

- (c) *Membership in the United Nations.* Israel till date has not fulfilled a single obligation to which her U.N. membership was conditional.
- (d) *Illegal occupation of Jerusalem.* Israel has made Jerusalem her capital which was meant to be an international zone.
- (e) *Armistice Agreements.* Israel has constantly defied and violated armistice agreements arrived at under U.N. auspices by constructing fortifications in demilitarized zones and constant attacks on her neighbours.

Lame Excuse

As an attempt to make up for their sins of defiance of the U.N. resolutions. Israeli propagandists usually try to make much out of the Security Council resolution of September 1, 1951, in which it had called upon Egypt to terminate restrictions on the passage of international commercial shipping. The U.A.R. along with all Arab States continues with its policy of blockade of Israeli shipping. Obviously this cannot be construed equivalent to the Israeli defiance of the U.N. resolutions.

President Nasser has himself declared in an interview on 8 October, 1959 that « the resolutions concerning Palestine are an indivisible entity—the right of the refugees to return to their own homeland, their right to their properties or compensation for their properties, and their right to the Palestine territory cannot be divided... the only starting point would be to implement *all* United Nations resolutions. United Nations resolutions cannot be imposed on us alone while Israel is allowed to ignore them. »

The Arab attitude towards their obligations to the United Nations is thus clear and unequivocal. Israelis on the other hand continue to maintain that all the resolutions except the one concerning the partition of Palestine (they reject the boundaries portion of it) and that of 1951 concerning the passage of Israeli ships through Suez, were dead and gone. This is a curious attitude of heads I win and tails you lose. It is for an impartial reader to judge for himself who is flouting the U.N. authority, the Arabs or Israel ?

Unique «Distinction»

Apart from these resolutions which have been consistently defied by Israel, the Security Council has on six occasions passed strictures against Israeli attacks on the territories of neighbouring Arab countries.

The United Nations has condemned Israel more than 25 times for the same offence. No other

member of the United Nations has ever had the 'distinction' of having been censured so many times by this august body. These condemnations become still more weighty and noteworthy when one realises that it would have been extremely difficult to get a resolution through the Security Council because of the power of veto by permanent members who include some of Israel's staunch supporters. The fact that even they were compelled to share this censure shows the utter defiance and arrogance of the Zionist State towards the world body. It is noteworthy that not a single Arab State has been ever condemned by the United Nation for aggressive action by its armed forces against Israel.

The most serious violation by Israel of peaceful international behaviour was of course her attack on Egyptian territory in 1956 which proved the forerunner of the tripartite aggression on Suez. The U.N. General Assembly in its resolution of 2nd November, 1956 had clearly noted that «the armed forces of Israel have penetrated deeply into Egyptian territory, and «expressing its great concern», the General Assembly urges Israel promptly to withdraw all forces behind the armistice lines». After the passage of this resolution the General Assembly had to pass five resolutions most of them with an almost unanimous vote, between the period of 4 November, 1956, to 2 February, 1957 asking Israel to comply with the U.N. resolutions of her aggression in Sinai and the Ghaza strip.

The hands of Israeli authorities still remain blood stained with the murder of the U.N. Mediator, Count Bernadotte. The Security Council in its resolution of 18 September, 1948 is on record, «of feeling deeply shocked by the cowardly act which was committed by a criminal group of terrorist». A day later the Council expressed its condemnation of Israel in a more explicit manner by observing in its resolution (S/1045). « Notes with concern that the provisional Government of Israel has to date submitted no report to the Security Council or to the Acting Mediator regarding the progress of the investigation into the assassination » —and (ii) reminds that Government that all its obligations and responsibilities must be charged fully and in good faith.»

No country in the world has been the object of so many censures and condemnations by the United Nations for violation of the Charter, and is guilty of such an open defiance of the U.N. decision.

The recent Israeli naked aggression against Syria committed through large-scale bombing of the Syrian territory is the most flagrant example of the Israeli defiance of all the dictates of a correct international behaviour. Still more surprising is the fact that in spite of Israel's own confession that it has resorted to bombing of Syrian territory, the Security Council under pressure from Western

powers has decided to ignore Israeli sin and arrogance in the matter. The incident has confirmed the belief that dominant powers in the United Nations are bent upon protecting and encouraging aggression against the Arabs.

MYTHS AND REALITIES

Arabs like secular nationalists in India have consistently maintained that their opposition to Israel does not stem from their alleged antipathy towards any religion, least of all towards Judaism. It is a matter of commonsense that themselves being semitics Arabs could never be anti-semitic as the Nazi Germans were, or as many Europeans and Americans still are. The Jewish faith is regarded by Muslims as a sister religion, their prophets are common and the Jews along with the Christians are considered 'Ahl-e-Kitab', the people of the book by Muslims. It is, therefore, inconceivable that Arab opposition to Israel could ever emanate from the grounds on which it came from the Western world.

Arabs however maintain that there is a vast difference between the Jewish faith and the philosophy of Zionism. Whereas a Jew is one who follows a particular religion, the Zionist is one who believes that all Jews are an exclusive nation who can only find salvation under a separate sovereign state, and who cannot and should not be loyal to the country in which they were born and are still living. It is against this fanatical and bigoted approach that the Arabs are fighting and it is

this aspect of the problem which is particularly noteworthy for us in India, who themselves have tried hard to fight the communal monster and are dedicated to the ideals of a progressive and a secular state.

Let us now see what Zionism is and how has it been practised. Through years Zionism has come to acquire two meanings; the first is what may be described as Spiritual Zionism, a kind of spiritual association with the Holy Land where the Jewish Religion developed, and from which it spread throughout the world, and they would have been glad to see a few schools established there, or charity institutions or even a University, but they did not believe in the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. This was the aim of the other kind of Zionists, which are now considered as the one and only Zionists and who, however, should be really called "the Political Zionists", and their movement is more accurately described as political Zionism, especially by Jewish writers who do not approve of the movement. In fact Zionism is now divested of any spiritual connotation and has since been used as a political doctrine.

Genesis

Zionism, then, in its political sense, is a movement begun by an Austrian journalist, Dr. Herzl, by the end of the last century, aiming at the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine; or rather at turning Palestine into a Jewish State, and enor-

mous efforts and funds were poured into the realisation of this project.

It is on the basis of Herzl's book 'The Jewish State' that two years after the publication of the book in August 1897 a conference was held at Basle which marked the beginning of Zionism as an international movement. Opening the Conference, Herzl outlined the purpose of the meeting and said, "we are here to lay down the foundation stone of the house which is to shelter the entire Jewish nation".

In 1907 Weizmann to whom goes the credit for giving an organisational shape to the ideas propounded by Herzl declared that "political Zionism means to make the Palestine question an international one. It means going to the nations and saying to them; — we need your help to achieve our aim."

This was done at the expense of the Arabs who had nothing to do with the persecutions to which the Jews were subjected. It is an irony of history that whereas apparently the Zionist movement was supported by the so-called progressive groups like the Labour Party because of a constant pressure from the pro-Zionist leaders who exploited the sympathy which the progressive movement had for the suffering Jews in Europe, the backbone of this movement, was provided by the arch reactionaries and capitalists of Britain.

Reasons for British interest in the creation of Palestine were obvious. By the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, the British aim had been crystallized as the dismemberment of the Ottoman empire and the establishment of the British hegemony from the Suez to the South China Sea. It was in the context that on one hand the British authorities tried hard to encourage communal movements in India to disrupt the national movement which had started gathering momentum in the beginning of the 20th century, and on the other tried to wedge a dagger in the heart of the Middle East by giving encouragement to a movement aimed at transplanting European population, in an area, which had become strategically most important for the British, in view of their interest in the Indian Empire.

Great Myth

The justification for this movement was simple but fundamentally false, namely that Jewish people all over the world are descendants of the ancient Jews: that their ancestors were driven out of Palestine; and that they were now simply returning to their home. In other words the Zionists decided that the Jews were not merely a religious group; but are physically, the blood-descendants of the ancient Jews of Palestine. In fact the Zionists do not care very much about religion, and are notoriously irreligious, but they insist on being "One People."

Thus the myth was propagated, that all the followers of the Jewish faith in all parts of the world were descendants of the children of Israel and that they were aliens in their homelands in Europe. From this it was easy to argue that the Jews were a people without a home, a statement which the Zionists were anxious to exploit to the utmost, although it condemned the Jews to the status of aliens in all the countries to which they legitimately belonged. Scientific investigation, however, has demonstrated beyond all shadow of a doubt, that the Jews of Europe are of a common European origin. They had as much right to their European homes as any other community.

Still more false has been the historical and the so-called Biblical basis of the Zionist claim to the areas now called Israel. As is well known the name Israel in ancient times several centuries B.C. was the designation of the land around Nablus in the northern part of the Palestine plateau. This area is now occupied in part by Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. The modern State of Israel has only a small portion of it, that also it took through a naked aggression in clear defiance of the United Nations decision.

Thus the territory of ancient Israel was entirely different from modern Israel. This is also the basis of Israel's constant urge for aggressive expansionism. The reason why the Zionists preferred and got this area of Palestine from their imperialist patrons is clear and simple. Compared to the

territory which comprised ancient Israel, the area presently occupied by Zionists was not only more fertile but also is strategically much more important both as a coastal belt and as also because its occupation could sever the continuity of the Arab world by cutting Egypt from the Arab Asia.

The fact that the present State of Israel does not conform to old Biblical boundaries has been made use of to their advantage by the Zionists in another way too. This provides them with a constant hankering after the extension of their frontiers.

How strong is this urge for aggressive expansionism can be gauged from the motto Israeli Parliament adopted for itself. Significantly it reads, «Your boundaries, o ye Israel, extend from the Euphrates to the Nile». Constant statements of Israeli leaders have made it clear that this motto is not merely a theoretical one but is a practical guideline to the policy of the State. Mr. Ben Gurion, the then Prime Minister of Israel, had, for instance, officially stated in his annual report for the year 1951 that "we have not inherited vast territories, but after 70 years have entered into the initial stage of our independence, *in a part of our small country.*" Such statement can be multiplied manifold.

For putting their policies into action, the Zionist State made many serious attempts, one which has been partially successful was of course

the usurpation of the territory which was marked for the Arab State of Palestine and of the international zone, even much before the establishment of the new State. Under the cover Armistice Agreements with the Arabs, Israel has been constantly trying to extend and consolidate its position in areas like the demilitarized zones in which it has no right whatever.

The most flagrant instance of Israeli policy of aggressive expansionism was its long premeditated attack on Sinai Peninsula in Egypt as a part of the tripartite aggression on Suez. General Moshe Dayan, the architect of this aggression, has described it, as "an attempt to extend our frontiers."

Ben-Gurion himself declared in the Israeli parliament that «the army did not make an effort to occupy any territory in Egypt proper and limited its operations *to free* the area from northern Sinai to the tip of the Red Sea." Referring to the island of Tiran in the Gulf of Aqaba, he described it as the island of Yotva, south of the Gulf of Elath, which was 'liberated' by the Israeli Army (New York Times, 8 December, 1956).

Expanding Aggression

A constant threat from Israeli expansionism is also posed by the fact that the in-gathering of all the Jews in the world remains the prime object of the Zionist State. Israeli leaders make no secret of the fact that if they could help they would like

to accommodate all the Jews of the world in their new State. Ben Gurion, for instance, in an important interview to the American magazine "Look" had stated on 1st April, 1958 that "we should most arduously try to absorb four million Jews in Israel".

It is obvious that a country which can hardly sustain even its present population of a little over than 2 million, could not easily accommodate more than double of its present population within its present boundaries. The irony of Israel's attempts to entice the Jewish population of the world, especially from the advanced countries, becomes still more ludicrously apparent when one realises that the same State has been constantly refusing to comply with an almost unanimous world opinion for the rehabilitation of about a million Arab refugees who had been thrown from their homes on the ground that it is difficult for her to do so in view of the limited space it has at its disposal. A vast number of immigrants especially from areas like Europe and America can only be accommodated in the new territories which Israel has been endeavouring to acquire at the expense of neighbouring Arab States.

Threat to Judaism

There is yet another aspect of Israel's endeavour to get the maximum number of Jewish immigrants, which is equally dangerous and sinister, not only for the neighbouring Arab countries, but also for the world Jewry. The philosophy of

Zionism is based upon the erroneous presumption that a Jew wherever he may be, lives with hostile surroundings around him. Zionist "philosophers" from Herzl to Eshkol have constantly been saying that absolute loyalty to the Jewish State should be a part of the faith for every Jew wherever he may be living .

This actually lends weight to the Nazi arguments that the Jews cannot be trusted, and should be thrown out from the "Aryan" lands. Zionism has accentuated the Jewish problem instead of solving it. No country in the world especially an Afro-Asian nation like India, could ever permit this sense of extra-territorial loyalty among a section of its citizens. It not only disturbs the political system of a country which may have a sizable Jewish population, but is also a constant emotional disturbance for the Jews themselves who are consistently being needled to support and be loyal to a State situated thousands of miles away. Zionism is thus a repudiation of all the good work which great Jewish philosophers like Spinoza had done throughout the centuries for making the Jewish adjustment easy and practical. Spinoza had maintained that actually there is no Jewish problem in Europe. Its is only a problem of adjustment with the population of European countries which is predominantly Christian and suffer from certain anti-Jewish prejudices. He was of the opinion that with the advent of scientific modes of thinking and broadening of the European culture Jewish assimilation in the mainstream of Europe

will be easy and almost automatic. During our own times a great Jew of the stature of Albert Einstein had also entertained the same views and was opposed to the establishment of a Zinoist state on the ground that religion and Statehood could not go together in the present-day world. It was on this ground that he had refused to accept the presidentship of the new State, in spite of the strongest pressure from his co-religionists from Europe, America and Israel.

Bitter Coincidence

Zionism stands today as a symbol, not only of a constant aggression against its neighbours but also the embodiment of a medieval philosophy which equates religious beliefs with political institutions. This theocratic approach of the Zionist State is very much similar to the communal politics, of which we have become bitterly aware from the last half a century, and for the sins of which this sub-continent has been paying through blood and tears. It may be an interesting subject for an Indian or an Arab historian, to find out the reasons why it was only in Palestine and India, the two areas which were under the British colonial domination, that communal politics could not only take roots but also flourish in spite of the staunchest opposition from the nationalist movement. Furthermore, why was it that the policy of encouraging these theocratic and communal trends was adopted and patronised by the ruling power almost at the same time,

that is, the period between 1907 and 1921, and culminated in the same year, 1947.

The nature of the extra-territorial loyalties, which the Zionist State demands from its co-religionists all over the world is underlined in the followings words inscribed in its proclamation of independence. «The State of Israel will be open to the immigration of Jews from all countries of their dispersion». (State of Israel, Official Year Book, 1950).

Elaborating these laws, Ben-Gurion had told the world Zionist Congress held in the Israeli occupied part of Jerusalem in January, 1961 that «since the day the Jewish State was established and the gates of Israel were flung open to every Jew who wanted to come, every religious Jew had daily violated the precepts of Judaism and the Torah of Israel by remaining in the Diaspora». He denounced all Jews outside Israel as Godless (Jewish Newsletter, New York, January 9, 1961).

Zionist Fascism

It is apparent that the nearest ideology to Zionism is Fascism. Like the Hindu and Muslim communalisms of the sub-continent, Zionism and Fascism too are similar to each other in more ways than one. They too sustain each other through their constant emphasis on hatred, violence and mythical racial superiority.

In its working too Zionism resembles Fascism to a remarkable degree. Like the Nazis, Zionists too command global loyalties from people living in far away lands, on the basis of hatred against fellow human beings. Zionism too draws its sustenance from the urge for territorial expansionism and considers physical violence as the ultimate of all reason and logic. Like the Nazis, Zionists too have both secret and front organisations in different countries, whose job it is to mislead public opinion at home, to raise funds and to organise support for the State with which these people have no link except a mythical religious connection.

Zionism in action resembles Fascism in another remarkable way. It is in the matter of treatment which it offers to about quarter of a million Arabs belonging to the Christian and Muslim faiths, living in Israel. There have been numerous instances of the inhuman treatment meted out to these Arabs by the Israeli authorities. Some of these complaints have been taken note of by the various organisations of the United Nations.

We could, however, ignore all such complaints as mere expressions of resentment of a frustrated minority, as has been attempted to be made out by Israeli propagandists, only if proper official orders had not existed making Arabs third class citizens of the Zionist State.

Arabs for instance are not allowed to move about freely in any part of Israel and are not

allowed to go out of the country. They have to carry identity cards with letter «B», marked on them indicating their inferior status. For travel to any area outside their municipal limit they have to obtain special permission from military authorities.

There is no other country in the world where a section of its population is legally singled out for a discriminatory treatment merely because it's religion happens to be different from the one professed by its rulers. In Israel Arabs belonging both to Christian and Muslim faiths, have been officially subjected to various regulations of Martial Law since 1948 which have rendered their status as even less than that of third class citizens. This is perhaps the Israeli concept of socialism in action.

Arabs cannot be employed in the Armed forces, and can neither get jobs in important Government departments such as the police and the Foreign Service. Arabs are prevented from forming their own political parties and are prohibited from making any contacts with the outside world, which the authorities may think of «an important political nature». They can neither go to meet their friends and relatives across the borders nor are they permitted to come back to their country once they leave the land. The most shameful aspect of all such restrictions is the fact that they form a part of the official laws and regulations.

Against Jews Too

It would however be a mistake to think that discrimination is being practised against non-Jews alone. It has been a logic of communalism that it never falls short of its victims. If the adherents of other faiths are not available, new victims are created from the faith whose cause such communalism professes to champion. This has happened both in India and Pakistan. But its most acute form can only be seen in Israel. The fervour for religious unity has not prevented Zionists settled from western lands from actively pursuing a discriminatory policy against Jews immigrating from Asio-African countries.

A glaring instance of such discrimination came to light two years ago when in a letter published in the Bombay weekly *Blitz* of May 9, 1964. A group of Jews from India who are now settled in Israel had bitterly complained against the humiliating policy of discrimination in matter of jobs, land acquirement, matrimony and even for the right of burial by the Israeli authorities who are predominantly drawn from the western settlers. Many of these Indian Jews in fact have since then come back to their original homes in India.

Another instance of the discriminatory treatment against the Afro-Asian Jews came to light through a report in the Israeli newspaper Jerusalem Post Weekly which carried in its issue of 2nd August, 1963 a news item about protest and sit-

down strike by Indian Jews against the «Chief Rabbinate's directive concerning the «Jewish legal purity of the community». They had demanded that either this order be withdrawn which had in fact debarred Indian Jews from marrying among other Jews, since their «racial purity» was in doubt, or that they be repatriated to India. Could there be a more glaring example of Fascistic attitude towards race and religion than these instances of discrimination against the coloured Jews ?

Inspiration to Hitler

While explaining the political aspect of Zionist Fascism one cannot do better than to quote Dr. Herzl, considered the father and prophet of Zionism, who in his «The Jewish State» had written on page 69 that «people are not fit for democracy and will not be so in the future either. Sane and mature policies are not the product of parliamentary institutions. Personalities, which are the product forces of history, best represent the wishes of the people and safeguard the interests and security of the State. It is these personalities and not people who are born to rule and it is their will which should ultimately prevail».

A striking similarity between Hitler's «My struggle» published a couple of decades later, is clear and unmistakable. The concept of the chosen people and the «leader» had thus been propounded much before the Nazi dictator.

HOAX OR MIRACLE

An important aspect of the Zionist State, which is generally overlooked, is the fact that Israel remains dominated by Western immigrants. According to the Israel Year Book 1964-65 about 63 per cent of all immigrants between the period of 1948 to 1963 had come from countries of Europe and America. In a population of little over 2 million Western Jews are over 1,400,000 in number. If one ignores about a quarter million Arabs who enjoy no political status in the Zionist State the overwhelming predominance of the White Jews becomes glaringly clear.

These people not only control most of the skilled professions such as engineering, banking, law, medicine and monopolise the bulk of the foreign trade but also enjoy an overwhelming position in the top and the middle layers of the administration.

Cost of «Progress»

It is this aspect of the racial composition of Israel which must be kept in mind while falling into the temptation of making rash comparisons between the so-called «progress» made by Israel as

compared to Arabs. It has been rightly said that Israel is not a State in the normal sense of the term and has little relevance to the conditions prevailing in Afro-Asian countries. The truth of this statement is clear from the fact that the predominance of immigrants in that country has made it virtually a transplanted community. This community in which immigrants from the most advanced countries dominate, is more akin to the white settlements in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, and in some other colonial pockets than to any country in any part of the world.

As we ourselves had seen in the case of Goa, it is quite possible for a small community externally pampered and its resources inflated through foreign generosity, to claim some 'wonders' in development compared to the surrounding areas. Just as the white settlers in South Africa could claim advance in some fields and that advance is not taken as a valid criterion for comparison with the neighbouring lands, so the White settlers in Israel too might have made some progress in certain fields, but that has little relevance to their capacity to provide us with a guide line for our development. If we start emulating the examples of this highly skilled community which has transplanted itself through naked aggression on an Afro-Asian land, then surely the claim of the Portuguese, South Rhodesian and South African racialists and colonialists should be considered more relevant than their Israeli counterparts.

Alms and Arms

While discussing the so-called «phenomenal» development and progress of Israel, one should not overlook the fact that no country in the world has received so much per capita foreign aid than this tiny enclave of the zionists. According to Israel Economist 1958, that country was provided with a total foreign assistance of 550 million dollars during a period of ten years from 1948 to 1958.

This huge amount was contributed in the following manner :

1300 million dollars from Jews Appeal Fund.

3500 million dollars as remittances from Jews abroad, German Reparations and U.S. Grants and Agricultural Surpluses.

700 million dollars foreign assistance for rehabilitation of new immigrants from wealthy Jews in the U.S.A., France, Britain etc.

Compared to this the total amount of loans and grants given to India over a period of 16 years, i.e. from 1947 to 1963, was of the order of Rs. 31654 million which is approximately equal to 6243 million dollars. Even if we add the aid received during 64-65, the total per capita per annum average of foreign aid for India is less than a dollar to be exact 0.85 dollars. Similarly western aid to all the Arab countries since 1948 till 1964, did not amount to more than 200 million dollars. Compared

to this, Israel on an average has been receiving aid worth over 180 million dollars a year. It has, therefore, been calculated that per capita per annum foreign assistance for Israel works out to over 280 dollars a year. This formidable amount of foreign aid for Israel accounts for 75 per cent of Israeli revenue, which makes it the most heavily subsidised State in the world.

In May 1966, the news came of the American decision to supply a large quantity of the most modern weapons including an undisclosed number of the notorious patton tanks and the F-104 aircraft to Israel.

According to the usually reliable and officially uncontradicted reports the number of patton tanks was over 300 and the number of aeroplanes was about 50. This was in addition to what Israel has been getting through France, Britain and West Germany. Only last year West Germany had supplied a huge quantity of modern weapons to Israel including over 200 medium and heavy tanks.

This in itself was the most shocking exposure of the zionist lie that the world should sympathise with them for being victims of Nazi persecution. By making a huge gift of arms to the zionist State, the present rulers of West Germany who for all intents and purposes have inherited the tactics and the philosophy of Hitlerism had shown that there existed a strong link between the two apparently

contradictory philosophies of hatred, Fascism and zionism.

Outrage against Syria

It is not surprising that Israeli aggression against Syria has come on the heels of the American despatch of arms to their outpost in the Middle East. The trouble over the use of Jordan waters has arisen because of Israeli insistence to divert the river and its tributaries for the benefit of the zionist intruders who are sought to be settled in the Negev Desert. Due to this utilisation Israel would be able to accommodate more than 5 million white immigrants within its « ever-expanding borders ». This will create the biggest threat for the security of neighbouring Arab countries. Economically it will spell the ruin of countries like Syria, Lebanon and Jordan whose economy, to a large extent, is dependent upon the waters of this river which passes through them.

Since the United Nations in spite of repeated requests by Arab countries has totally failed to dissuade Israel from taking up this project. Arab countries themselves were compelled to take steps which could prevent Israel from the misuse of Jordan waters. This is being done through the construction of an engineering project in Syria. In this endeavour of theirs, Arab countries enjoy the fullest support of Afro-Asian nations, especially India. As early as 1963, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru had

assured the Arab countries that India's sympathies were fully with them over the Jordan river problem. The late Lal Bahadur Shastri, too, had said it in most unequivocal terms during a seminar held in New Delhi in the autumn of 1964 that India fully supports the Arab cause on this question. This support has been reaffirmed by Shrimati Gandhi and Dr. Zakir Hussain. Israel has, however, cared little for all such declarations, like a self-confessed international dacoit.

Recent bombings of Syrian territory and the danger of the escalation of this problem into a major conflict stems primarily from Israeli arrogance and disregard for dictates of justice and peace. It is also a direct result of the encouragement Western powers have provided to her aggressive activities.

The way Israel spearheaded the tripartite aggression against Egypt, is of course a very obvious example of its character as a tool of colonialism. Its voting record in the United Nations has also shown that it has consistently sided with Imperialist powers on almost every issue of material importance to the Afro-Asian world. No wonder that Afro-Asian gatherings in Bandung, Cairo and Casablanca have been taking serious note of the threat which Israel poses to peace and freedom in West Asia.

Nothing could thus be farther from truth than an attempt to equate Zionism with Arab national-

ism. Arab nationalism is a secular movement, in which Arab Muslims, Christians and Jews have played an equally significant part. There are Arab Jews just as there are Indian Muslims, Indian Christians, Indian Buddhists and Indian Jews.

On the contrary, Zionism stands for an exclusiveness based upon race and religion and is sustained by most reactionary elements in the world.

Both in its basic « philosophy » and in the execution of her internal and external policies, Israel stands directly opposed to India's policies and interests.

SOLUTION AND SALVATION

Many in India, some of whom are genuinely pro-Arab have often expressed a sincere desire for the peaceful settlement of the Palestine question between the Jews and the Arabs. It is sometimes bewildering to them that Arab leadership in spite of its professed faith in the U.N. Charter and principles of co-existence seems rather reluctant to talk with the Jews.

I myself was under this impression before I undertook an extensive tour of the Arab world a few years ago. Having talked to some of the most important Arab leaders in Arab countries including President Nasser, I have come to the conclusion that the Arab attitude in this regard is both flexible and realistic. It could certainly not be called belligerent or unhelpful. Arabs as a whole are genuinely ready to settle the issue on the basis of justice and peace provided their basic fears regarding the aggressive nature of Israel are removed and some of the fundamental demands whose justice has been recognised by practically the whole world, are fulfilled.

Arabs, however, feel hurt when they hear some of us in India say that they should try to talk peace

with Jews. Arabs feel that it is as meaningless to suggest the opening of a dialogue between the Arabs and the Jews as it would be to say that India should talk to Muslims, or America to Christians or Britain to Buddhists. Whereas the Arabs are a political entity comprising at least three of the major religions including Judaism, the Jews are a religious entity.

Moreover, not all the Jews are Zionists and nothing could be more fallacious than to assume that Israel represents the world Jewry as a whole. Arabs therefore refuse to be treated at par with a group of religious sectarians and could never accept the claim of Israel as the sole representative of all Jews in the world including the Arab Jews. This position of the Arabs should be well appreciated in our country, where we ourselves have been trying to uphold the secular cause and have been refusing to admit any claims territorial or political, emanating from religious basis.

In their love for peace and abhorrence of violence Arabs are not less ardent than ourselves. They however reject the position that the aggressive violence of Zionists could be equated with the revolutionary resistance of the Arabs. The violence of Israel is at par with the violence in which all colonial and racial regimes have indulged and are still indulging in countries like South Africa and Rhodesia. Neither can the Arabs accept the existence of Israel on the argument of it being « accomplished fact ». Doing so would be as immoral as the

acceptance of 'apartheid' on the same ground. The Arab resistance is therefore an integral part of the wider Afro-Asian struggle for national liberation and racial equality. In that context the question of any « adjustment » with an imperialistic regime does not arise.

Arab Governments have rightly taken the line that fundamentally the dispute is between the Zionist aggressors and their victims, the Palestinian Arabs, who are represented by the Palestine Liberation Organisation. Incidentally, this falls exactly in line with the advice Gandhiji gave to a British friend who wanted to solicit Mahatma's support to the Zionists' cause. He had told him as early as 1940 that the only hope for the Jews in Palestine was for them to arrive at a reasonable settlement with the Arabs.

Arabs have always maintained that inspite of the Zionists intransigence which has compelled them to launch a ceaseless struggle against the injustice done to them by the Zionist state, they do not want either to kill or to humiliate Jews in Palestine. But they do want them to live as a part of the Arab world and not like a transplanted communtiy from Europe and America.

Arabs can proudly point out that nearly one fourth of the population of Lebanon consists of Armenian Christians who had taken refuge after the Ottoman persecutions. These people were not only tolerated but were sincerely welcomed by the

local population. The reason was that the Armenians neither tried to rule the land nor were they eager to act as foreigners as did the Zionists in Israel.

Jews in Palestine could also be adjusted and assimilated in the versatile fabric of the Arab world provided they abandon their obsession of being 'chosen' and «superior» people, having close links with lands thousands of miles far away. How strong is this obsession of Israeli leaders with their being a non-Asian community will be apparent from these words of Ben-Gurion who has said «*The State of Israel is a part of the Middle East only in geography* which is in the main, a static element. From the decisive aspect of dynamism, creation and growth, Israel is a part of world Jewry.» Ben-Gurion *Rebirth and Destiny of Israel*, p. 489).

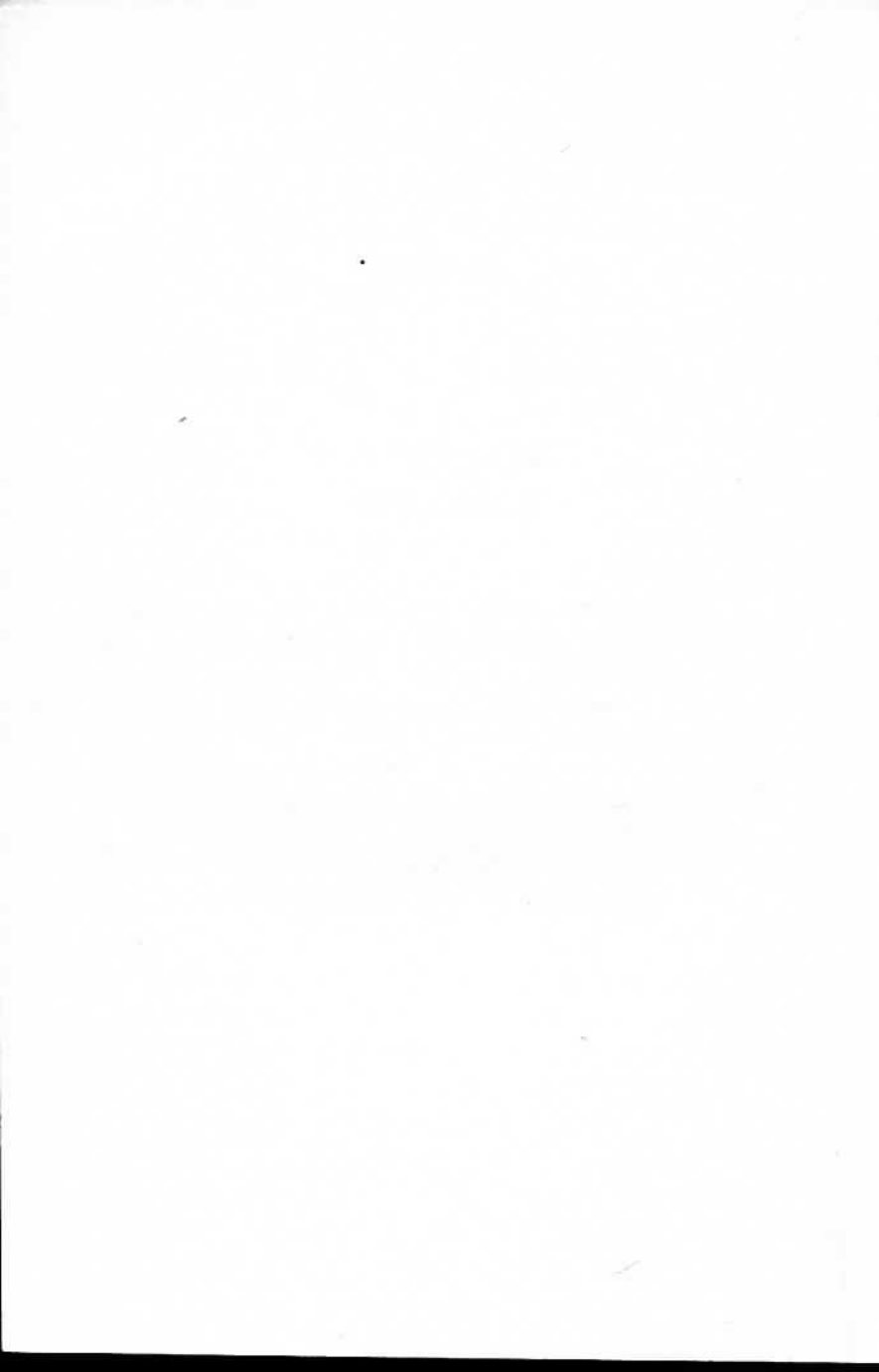
This obviously is a complete refutation of Israeli claim manufactured for consumption in the Afro-Asian world that it is an Asian State and should find a place in that community. A State which takes pride in being sustained by outsiders can never live as part and parcel of the community comprising its neighbouring countries.

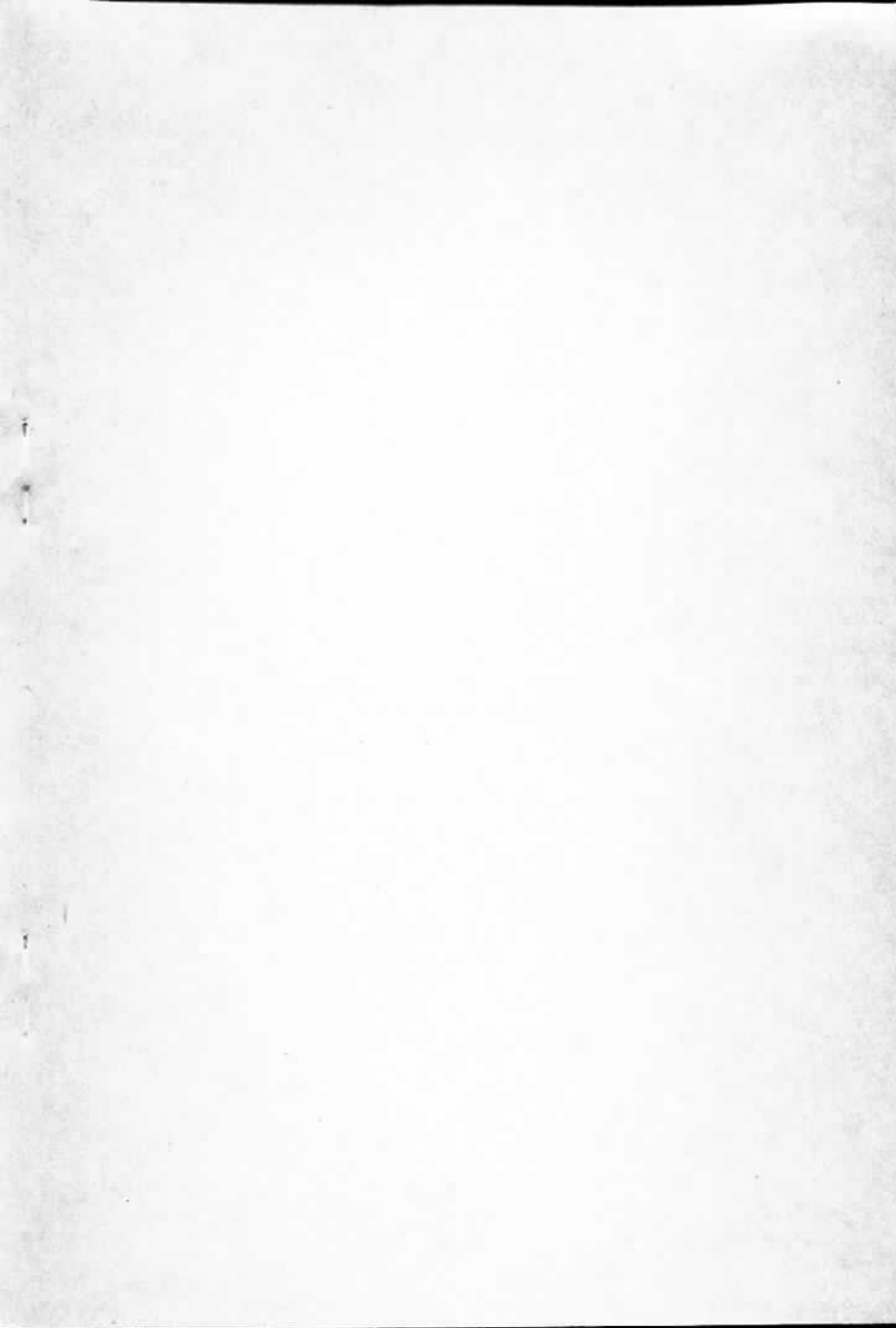
We can do no better than to close this analysis of Arab-Israeli relations by the famous words by Jawaharlal Nehru, who had said in a newspaper article in 1938 that «*Palestine is an Arab country and Arab interests should prevail there.*»

IN MAHATMA'S
FOOTSTEPS

«We oppose Israel not only because of our friendship with the Arabs. But also because we are opposed to the creation of states on religious basis neither can we recognize territorial gains made through aggression.»

Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi
Interview to Al-Ahram, Cairo
10 July 1966.





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