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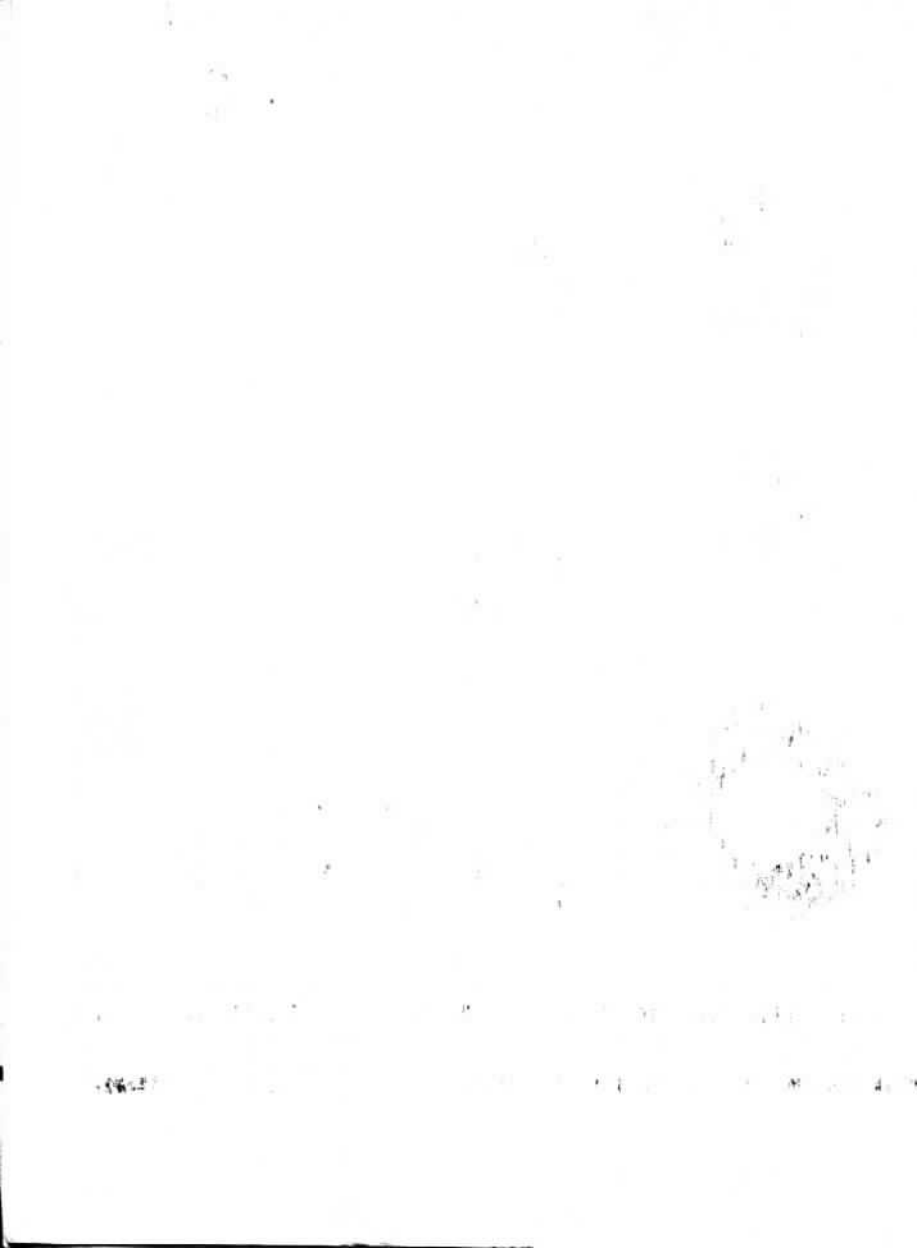
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**AND THE CURRENT AGGRESSION IN THE MIDDLE EAST**



# **WORLD PUBLIC OPINION**

**AND  
THE CURRENT  
AGGRESSION  
IN THE MIDDLE EAST**



## FOREWORD

*It does not require a very high degree of political acumen to discern the obvious truth that a prolongation of the present crisis in the Middle East is a dire threat to World Peace.*

*The issues are clear-cut; the final scene is set; the Arab lines are drawn. The Arabs have made their purposes clear. Peace is the boon they seek; pacifism, the bane they shun.*

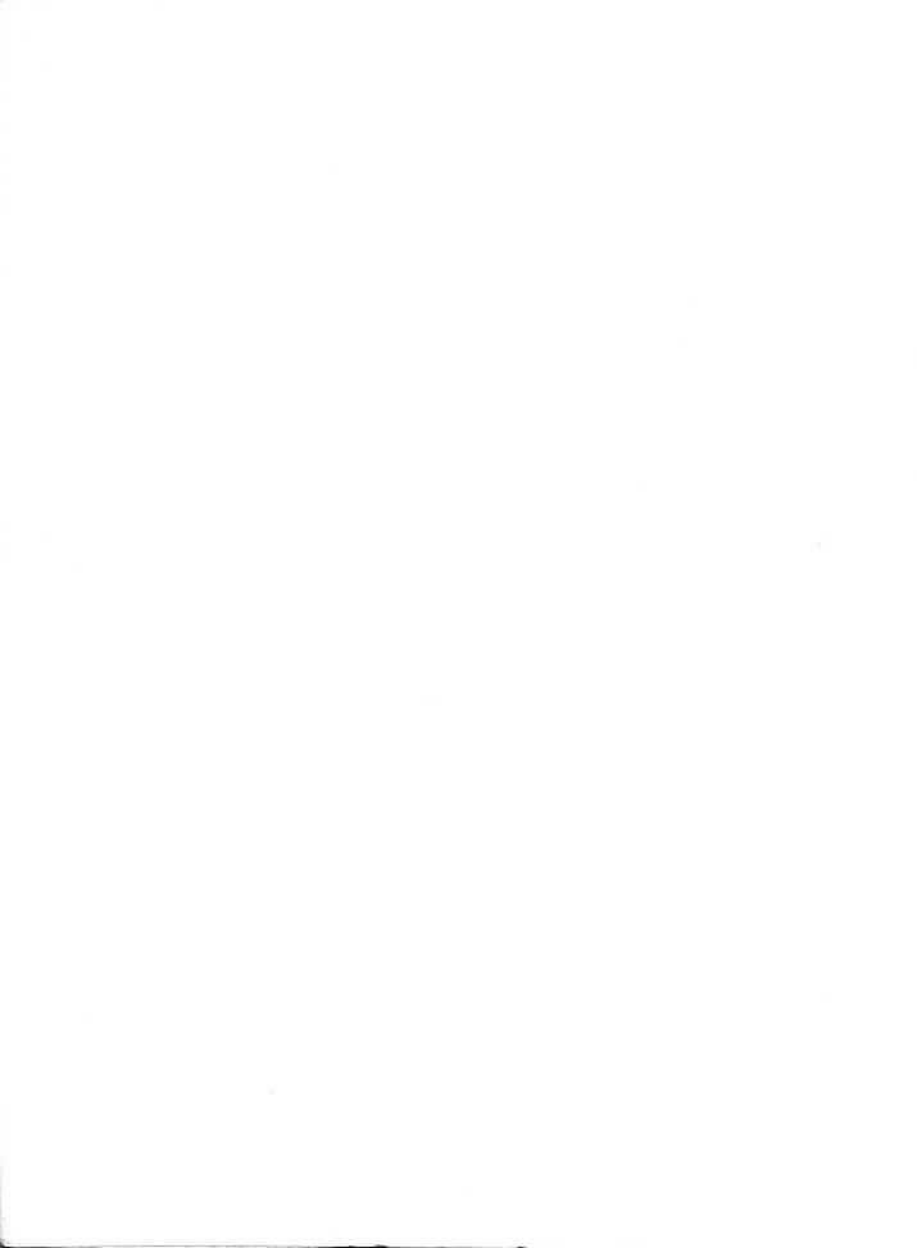
*The leading article from "The Nationalist" which we present here, deals with many of these vital issues.*

*It exposes the true nature of the so-called 'state' of Israel — rapaciously expansionist — the real aggressor, the sole instigator.*

*It also shows how Egypt has left no stone unturned, no avenue unexplored in its humanitarian search for a true peace based on justice.*

*As these lines go to press, the prospects for peace look bleak and we would do well to ponder here the truth of Nasser's dictum : What might hath taken, Might shall restore.*

*UAR State Information Service*









## **THE NATIONALIST**

After a lapse of several months, Israel has decided to return to the U.N. peace talks under Ambassador Gunnar Jarring. In this article, the "Nationalist" reviews the background to the whole problem of the Middle East and what has led to the current ceasefire and the present peace talks in New York.

## **THE MIDDLE EAST : PAST AND PRESENT**

Thrice in our life-time, the Middle East had seen emotions erupting into hot wars. The reason for all this is the Arabs' continued rejection of the existence of Israel, their continued demand for the restoration of Arab rights to Palestine and Israel's playing of a bridgehead role of international imperialism against Arab nationalism.

In Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice" we find the following passage : "Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions ? Fed with the same food, equipped with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and

cooled by the same winter and summer, as a christian?" These same questions can now be put to the Zionists who are displaying racist arrogance to the Palestinians and the Arab people. Wild chauvinistic and Zionist propaganda, the fanning of war hysteria, and hostility and hatred of the Arabs are all weapons the Israeli ruling circles have borrowed from the Nazi arsenal.

One wonders, then, how the Jews, who did suffer a great deal during the last war, should be the ones perpetrating injustices now to their fellow-human beings. One would expect that they would be the ones knowing suffering, deprivation, hard camp life and a longing for a home.

## ACT OF AGGRESSION

The problem in the Middle East started with the creation of the State of Israel in 1948. This was a crime committed by the international community, and especially the United Nations, against the Arab people. Swedish nobleman, Count Berandotte, appointed by the first Secretary-General of the UNO to mediate between the Arabs and the Zionists in 1949, expressed the fear that the U.N. had been mistaken in voting for the partition of Palestine and the creation of the State of Israel. But since many countries, including the big powers, recognised the new state, he thought it was impossible to reverse the decision. Mwalimu, addressing the TANU National Conference at Mwanza in October, 1967, said : "The establishment of the State of Israel was an act of aggression against the Arab people . . the international community accepted this. The Arab states did not and could not accept that act of aggression. . . . The Arab states cannot be beaten into such acceptance".

The Arabs opposed the proposal to partition Palestine on the ground that it was incompatible

with law and justice and the principles of democracy. Partition, they maintained, was against the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants. The Arabs also questioned the legal competence of the U.N. to recommend the partition of their ancestral homeland. But, as Stephen Penrose writes in his "The Palestine Problem : Retrospect and Prospect" : "It was American pressure which brought about the acceptance of the recommendation for the partition of Palestine . . . . voted by the General Assembly on November 29, 1947".

### ORIGINAL JEWS

Professor Cattani, himself of Jewish descent, in his book "The Palestine. The Arabs & Israel" shows clearly that even in terms of Jewish population or ownership of land, the principle of partition could not be justified. He illustrates very clearly that in terms of population, the Jews constituted in 1947 less than one third of the inhabitants of Palestine. Only onetenth of them were part of the original inhabitants and belonged to the country. And in fact, the majority of the original Jewish Palestinian community of Arab-speaking and strictly orthodox Jews did not favour partition nor the establishment of

the Jewish state. Two prominent Jewish intellectuals did raise their voices against this injustice. Dr. Magnes, the late Rector of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, said that, "as far as I am concerned, I am not ready to achieve justice to the Jew through injustice to the Arab .. I would regard it as an injustice to the Arabs to put them under Jewish rule without their consent". And Professor Alber Einstein in his book "Out of My Later Years", declared : "I should rather see reasonable agreement with the Arabs on the basis of living together in peace than the creation of the Jewish state".

When there was no peaceful adjustment of the future of Palestine, an explosive situation brewed up, and the first armed confrontation did occur. The Arabs lost. The reasons are not difficult to find. Professor Cattani, in the book quoted above, stated : "Politically, the Jews had more cohesion than the Arabs. Financially, they possessed much greater resources. Militarily, they were better prepared, trained and equipped for an armed conflict. For several years, they had enforced a compulsory military training of all Jews able to carry arms. Most Jewish immigrants were already military trained since they came from countries which applied military service.

And, of course, there were other factors which operated against the Palestine Arabs and greatly diminished their chances in any conflict with the Jews. For these reasons, the intervention of the Arab states was not effective and could not prevent occupation of the large area of Palestine.

In November, 1957, the Indian weekly, "Blitz", published a secret material of the Israeli General Staff on plans to set up a "Greater Israel" from the Euphrates to the Nile. The plan was for Israel to occupy the Gaza area and the Sinai Peninsula, and to reach the Suez Canal, to seize extensive territories in Jordan, Lebanon and Syria, up to the borders of the existing Arab states. Looking at the map of the Middle East now one could see that much of the plan has been attained as a result of the June 1967 war.

### **SOLE GOAL**

The dramatic incidents of the war have attracted more attention and received more publicity than its real causes. And in regard to causes, it is essential to distinguish between cause and pretext. Israel claimed at first that it did not start the war except in self-defence against the attack, which Egypt

launched against it on July 5, 1967 in the air and on the ground. This allegation has been shown to be false and Israel does not rely on it any longer. Israel further claimed that its sole goal in using force was to defend itself against Egypt's blockade resulting from the closing of the Straits of Tiran on May 22, 1967, to Israel navigation and to ships carrying strategic war material to Israel. However, as has been amply proved already, the closure of the Straits of Tiran was not the cause of but only the pretext for the war. It was only a link, an important link for that matter, in a chain of events which had started earlier. The Straits of Tiran was played up, both by imperialist and zionist propaganda, to such an extent that it has obscured the real causes of the war. An examination of the sequence of events which preceded the war shows that the roots of the armed conflict lie in certain provocative acts committed by Israel before the closure of the Straits of Tiran in order to create the required conditions for the achievement of certain aims in a war for which the blame could be thrown upon the Arabs. The Syria-Israel Demilitarised Zone was the scene and the starting point of these provocative acts. General Von Horn, in his book, "Soldiering for Peace", described one incident of

Israeli cultivation of Arab land as "part of the premeditated Israeli policy to edge east through the Demilitarised Zone towards the old Palestine border. and to get all Arabs out of the way by fair or foul means . . . . " .

These were the real reasons for the Israel-Arab War of June 5, 1967. Every step taken by Israel from April 1967 until the war day was carefully and accurately planned, first to get Egypt involved in the fray and then to make the world believe that Israel was the little defenceless country persecuted by the Arabs, threatened by its evil neighbours, struggling to survive and to defend its existence. Israel's propaganda was mobilised everywhere and she neglected nothing in the psychological preparation of world public opinion.

On the question of denial to Israel of the passage along the Straits of Tiran, this, of course, was Egypt's own right to decide whom to allow such a passage. Professor Fisher of Harvard University, in his letter to the "Sunday New York Times" of June 11, 1967, in fact observed that :

" It is debatable whether international law confers any right of innocent passage through such waterway. Despite an Israeli request the International Law Commission in 1956 found no rule which



would govern the Straits of Tiran. Although the 1958 Convention of the Territorial Seas does provide for innocent passage through such straits, the United States representative, Arthur Dean, called this a 'new rule' and the UAR has not signed the treaty".

## REFUGEE PROBLEM

And in view of the Israeli bombing and raids of Arab villages and cities was Egypt then, to quote again Professor Fisher, "required by international law to continue to allow Israel to bring in oil and other strategic supplies through Egyptian territory-supplies which Israel could use to conduct further military raids?" That was the critical question of law.

One of the problems being tackled by U.N. is that of refugees. There are about 2,500,000 refugees within the mandate of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. This refugees problem is greatest in the Middle East. Because of the situation described above, the refugee population is ever increasing. Unlike other places where refugees have started intermingling with the peoples of the host countries and adopting a normal life the Palestinians have refused to be diverted from,

actively working for the return to their homeland.

Back in 1948, the U.N. General Assembly in paragraph II of its resolution 194 (III) recommended:

"That the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live in peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity should be made good by the governments or authorities responsible".

## **RACIST CONCEPT**

Israel has all along refused to tackle the refugee problem. Its refusal to allow the return of the Palestinian refugees to their homes can be explained only by racist considerations. The root of the Arab-Israel conflict and, in particular, of the refugee problem lies in the Zionist concept of Jewish state in which there is no room for gentiles and much less if those gentiles are the owners of the land and original inhabitants of the country. This racist and religious concept of a Jewish state unpolluted by

gentiles accounts for the driving out of the Palestinians from their country and explains the real reason for Israel's refusal to repatriate them. Only when the international community recognises the Arab rights to Palestine and refuses to accept the act of aggression perpetrated more than 20 years ago as *fait accompli* will this refugee problem be solved. Such a recognition would also go a long way towards solving the Middle East problem.

That is all the background of the Middle East situation. And it explains the reason why the area has been in such turmoil for over 20 years.

One of the most qualitative and positive developments in the Middle East presently is the Palestinian revolutionary movement. Before, the Palestinians were just scattered around in different camps in the countries of their Arab brothers. But now they have become a force to be reckoned with, and no Middle East solution would be valid and workable without their consent and approval. George Habash, the most radical Palestinian leader, has clearly indicated that the fight will continue until Palestine is reborn. "We ought to be honest and admit", he said, "that what we want is a war like the war in Vietnam. . . Our struggle has barely begun; the worst is yet to come".

We have seen that since the establishment of the state of Israel three explosions have rocked the Middle East, and the region has been in turmoil all through. The situation, in fact, remains far removed from settlement as at any time. The world thought that a solution to the conflict could be found in the Security Council's resolution of November 22, 1967. But notwithstanding Dr. Jarring's efforts under such resolution and the consultations held between the great powers to secure its implementation, nothing constructive has been achieved. This is mainly because Israel has not formally and unequivocally accepted the Security Council's resolution, for the reason that it provides for "the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict". Israel is able to show this flagrant flouting of the U.N. resolution and disregard of world opinion because of the full backing, in all spheres, it is getting from the U.S. When the U.S. suggested a cease-fire recently, in the so-called "Rogers Plan", synics were saying that U.S. wanted to lead Israel blind-folded into concessions. But it has become very clear now that the U.S. would not pressure Israel into making any sacrifice or concession.

The U.N. resolution of November 22, 1967,

while, it is true, that it seeks to remove the territorial consequences of the last aggression, does not provide an appropriate framework for a settlement of the basic problem of Palestine. By attempting to achieve a settlement which seeks principally the restoration and the reinforcement of the political and territorial *status quo* that existed before June 5, 1967, the resolution merely aims, in effect, at a return to the situation which has prevailed since 1948 without removing the injustice done to the people of Palestine.

What of the solution, then, to the problem? Professor Cattani, in the book quoted above, seems to be correct in the dose he gives to this festering disease, and no honest man would think of disagreeing with him. "In order to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East," the professor said, "much more is required than was contemplated in the resolution. It is necessary that the political order created by Zionism in Palestine through successive acts of force committed since 1948 be undone and be replaced by a new political structure which would be based upon justice and democracy and which would be free from racism and zionism".

It is such a solution that the Palestinian comandos are struggling for. And it is to the achievement of such a solution that the U.N., the inter-

national community and all of us should be addressing ourselves.

## **PEACE PLAN**

Are those now sitting in New York to talk peace doing the same ? It will be remembered that just over 5 months ago, the late President Gamal Abdel Nasser took every one by surprise by accepting the Rogers' Peace Plan for the Middle East. In essence, Rogers' Peace Plan reiterated the November 22nd Security Council Resolution with one addition - that Egypt and Israel observe a 90-day ceasefire along the Suez Front.

However, by accepting the Rogers' Peace Plan the late President Nasser hoped to get the 22nd November Resolution of the Security Council implemented. Israel, on the other hand, rejected the Security Council Resolution from its very inception because, among other things, the resolution called for the "withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from the territories occupied in the recent conflict". Nevertheless, after much hedging, Israel subsequently accepted the Rogers' Peace Plan.

Since Israel, from the very beginning rejected the 22nd November resolution, it became a matter

of speculation as to why the Israelis subsequently decided to accept the Rogers' proposal. Some Middle East observers believed that because the Israelis are fully supported by the Americans in their war against the Arabs any move by the United States would come only after negotiating with the Israelis and hence Israel could not refuse moves initiated by the United States. That the Rogers' Peace Plan was presented after consulting the Israelis, there is no doubt, for it is inconceivable that the United States could propose any settlement plan opposed by the Israelis.

The result, therefore, of American-Israeli connivance was the Rogers' Peace Plan. The question we have to ask is whether both the Americans and the Israelis were sincere in putting forward the Rogers' Plan? From the events that followed, it would appear that both the U.S. imperialists and the Zionists were only interested in one thing - to get a ceasefire on the Suez Front. As far as the implementation of the 22nd November resolution was concerned, the U.S. imperialists and the Zionists were not interested.

Now, why were the Americans and the Zionists so bent on implementing ceasefire on the Suez Front? Just prior to the presentation of the Rogers' Plan,

Israeli aircraft were suffering daily losses on the Suez Front. Besides, the Zionists could no longer penetrate deep into Egyptian territory and bomb civilian and military targets as they used to do. This changed situation posed a serious problem to the U.S. imperialists and the Zionists. In other words, the aggressors were now losing the initiative in the face of determined defence. The only remedy to this daily loss of American aircraft over the Suez Front was to enforce a cease-fire. But it was clear to both the U.S. imperialists and the Zionists in occupied Palestine that the United Arab Republic would not accept an unconditional ceasefire along the front because that would be tantamount to recognising Israel's occupation of the Sinai peninsula.

However, determined to achieve a ceasefire, the Americans and the Israelis agreed to use the bait of the Rogers' Peace Plan which coupled the ceasefire with the 22nd November resolution and which the UAR accepted from the very beginning.

A ceasefire along the canal front was also important for the Zionists because Egyptian Commandos were now crossing the canal and inflicting heavy casualties on the occupation troops. To prevent this crossing, the Zionists in American-supplied planes decided to continuously bomb the area but in the



process were losing many bombers. A ceasefire, therefore, would reduce Zionist casualties inflicted by Egyptian Commandos crossing the canal.

Another reason why the U.S. imperialists and the Zionists were so keen on a ceasefire was to establish a *de facto* occupation by Israel of Arab territory conquered during the June 5th war.

That the United States and Israel were only interested in getting a ceasefire accepted along the Suez Front is borne out by two facts : Immediately after the ceasefire was effected, as a result of President Nasser's acceptance of the Rogers' Peace Plan, Israel withdrew from the talks but expressed her willingness to continue the ceasefire. However, before the first 90-day period expired, President Nasser died. But the late president only accepted the ceasefire on condition that the 22nd November resolution was implemented. The successors of President Nasser, shocked by his untimely death, renewed the ceasefire for another 90 days on condition that if the Security Council resolution, within that period, is not implemented the UAR will not agree to extend the ceasefire.

The second point that goes to show that Israel is keen on having an unlimited duration attached to the ceasefire was Mrs. Golda Meir's proposal

during her address to the United Nations General Assembly when she said : "I hereby announce on behalf of the Government of Israel that we are prepared to continue the present ceasefire without a time limit".

The present ceasefire expires on the 5th of February, 1971. The question now is whether it will be further extended. President Anwar Sadat of the United Arab Republic has made it explicitly clear that the UAR will not renew the ceasefire for a third time unless serious contacts are made towards the full implementation of the November 22nd Security Council resolution. President Sadat made it clear, however, that "on no account shall we surrender for, it will be more honourable for us to die with our boots on, in defence of our land and honor, than to live on our knees, submissive and in surrender to the terms of America and Israel".

The question facing Middle East observers is a lapse of more than four months, in order to implement the 22nd November resolution or merely to seek an extension of the ceasefire. Judging from past experience and recent pronouncement of the Zionists, it is quite clear that the Zionists have no intention whatsoever to withdraw from Arab land occupied during the June 5th aggression. Hence,

the only reason why they are returning to the Jarring talks is to get a further extension of the ceasefire.

In the meantime, the U.S. imperialists and the Zionists have used the ceasefire periods to consolidate colonialism and reaction in the area.

The Palestinian Commandos suffered serious set-backs but these set-backs have been important lessons for them by negative example. The Palestinian Commandos, the most decisive force in the area, far from liquidated, have emerged a stronger force and still pose the most dangerous threat to Zionist colonialism and imperialist exploitation in the area.

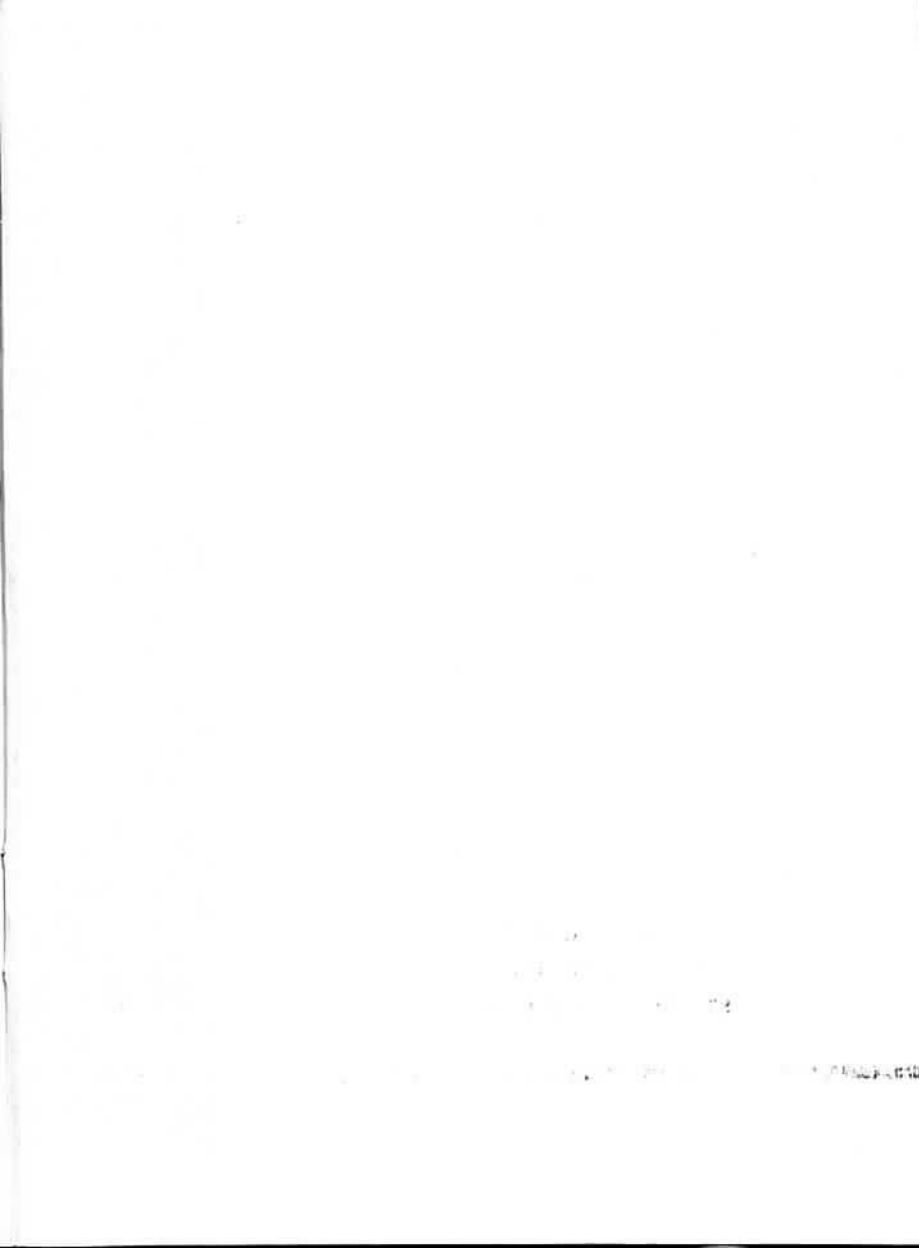
Whatever the pros and cons of the Arab-Israeli ceasefire, the fact remains that it is an uneasy ceasefire. The Zionists, with the support of U.S. imperialism, are determined to realise the map of "Greater Israel" painted outside the Israeli Knesset (Parliament).

President Anwar Sadat of the UAR has said, "it will be more honourable for us to die with our boots on in defence of our land and honour than to live on our knees, submissive and surrender to the terms of America and Israel "



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