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ISRAEL MERCENARY OF IMPERIALISM

Publisher's Note

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ZIONISM

The establishment of the state of Israel is closely tied to the activities of the international Zionist organization. It is impossible to separate the birth of this state from the history of Zionism. Therefore, these brief notes on the events that led to the creation of this mercenary state of imperialism in the heart of the Arab world, as well as its subsequent activities, will begin with an explanation of the term "Zionism," which has circulated in the global press for more than half a century.

Zionism takes its name from Mount Zion, located near Jerusalem in Palestine. However, the organization that adopted this name was founded far from Jerusalem, outside Palestine. It was established in Switzerland, in the city of Basel, in 1897, under the banner of uniting all the Jews of the world to create a Jewish state in Palestine. Until then, no organized effort had been made by Jews to realize such political aspirations.

The leaders of the Zionist movement, from the very beginning, fell under the direct control of the great imperialist powers — initially Germany, later England, and finally the United States of America. Both the idea of creating a "Jewish state" and, later, the state of Israel itself were used as a tool to mobilize Jews from all countries in the interests of international imperialism.

The primary characteristic of the early stages of Zionism was its deeply racist, reactionary and counter-revolutionary nature. It emerged as a movement aimed at distancing Jews worldwide — and not only Jews — from the revolutionary movement that had begun to gain momentum among the working class at the end of the previous century.

In the 1890s, Austrian journalist Theodor Herzl, of Jewish origin, wrote a pamphlet entitled The Jewish State. This book, supposedly influenced by the "Dreyfus Affair" in France, had almost no scientific value and, under normal circumstances, should have been forgotten over time. However, its contents attracted the interest of not only Wilhelm II and the King of Italy but also English ministers, the Rothschild barons of France and traitorous leaders of the working class who called themselves socialists. The central idea of Herzl's book was to unite Jews based on racial identity, isolate Jewish workers from the expanding international workers' movement in the countries where they lived and ultimately use the Jews to combat this movement. Herzl openly stated in his book: "All our youth, all those who are now aged 20 to 30 years, will abandon their confused socialist ideas and join me."

This was a highly valuable service for monarchs and all reactionaries of the time. As a result, the darkest reactionary forces publicized these ideas and warmly welcomed this initiative, offering their full support to bring it to fruition. The realization of Herzl's ideas led to the convening of the Basel Congress

^{*} Dreyfus — a former French officer of Jewish origin, was falsely accused of espionage in favour of the Germans.

and the formation of the international Zionist organization in 1897.

The founders of Zionism hurried to justify the support they received from the international reactionary forces. Wherever possible, they sabotaged the revolutionary workers' movement. They took an openly hostile stance toward the Great October Socialist Revolution. One of the Zionist leaders, Chaim Weizmann, a collaborator with monarchies of all kinds, went so far as to justify the brutal persecution of Jews living in Tsarist Russia who supported the Socialist Revolution. He justified this by claiming that the "Bolshevization of the Jewish working masses" had to be prevented. The Zionists actively participated in drafting plans for counter-revolutionary operations aimed at overthrowing Soviet power, plans that were formulated in the headquarters of imperialist powers in the West. All revolutionary movements that arose in Europe after the October Socialist Revolution, in one way or another, faced opposition from Zionists.

Based on the program and activities of this global Jewish organization, Lenin defined Zionism as a reactionary nationalist movement. This definition remains relevant even today. Over the past few decades, Zionism, while adapting to various historical circumstances, has embodied the most negative tendencies of Jewish nationalism. Modern Zionism is an ideology and an organizational system of the pro-imperialist Jewish bourgeoisie, whose core essence is anti-communism. It is precisely this anti-communist spirit of the inter-

national Zionist corporation — composed of financial, religious and commercial magnates — that has helped Zionism grow stronger and become a tool of U.S. imperialist policy.

Zionism is fundamentally anti-people and devoid of principle. "The end justifies the means"—this infamous slogan is inscribed on its banner. But what goal does Zionism, as an ideology, set for its followers? In reality, Zionism, as an ideology, has discredited itself and transformed into a worldview rooted in the practical needs of the pro-imperialist Jewish bourgeoisie. The central, though concealed, goal of Zionism is the accumulation of wealth by any means for the international Zionist corporation. It fights for the interests of its class allies and the patrons of this corporation — the monopolies of the United States, West Germany and England — which aim to establish global dominance. It is a struggle against socialism and communism, against the working class and national liberation movements.

Zionism is organized on racial principles. Today, its primary organizational and ideological centre is the World Zionist Organization, which operates openly in 60 countries. Its range of activities is extensive — from religion to espionage. The highest body of the World Zionist Organization is the World Zionist Congress, while its executive body is the Jewish Agency, which has two branches: one in New York and the other in Jerusalem. The president of the World Zionist Organization is Nahum Goldmann, a wealthy figure closely tied to the largest American monopolies.

In 1936, when Zionists were actively collaborating with nazi leaders in Germany, they established the World Jewish Congress. Since then, this congress has skilfully exploited Jews and now has branches in 67 countries. Nahum Goldmann is also the president of this congress.

The budget of the Zionist corporation is unlimited, as numerous major capitalists, primarily Americans, participate in and finance it. In foreign media, Zionism is often mentioned as a term that has fallen out of use or as an outdated political concept. However, this is far from the truth. Zionists have deliberately tried to obscure their activities. The sprawling network of Zionist organizations, which has a single central leadership, a unified program and enormous financial resources, actively participates in the behind-the-scenes dealings of international imperialist politics. Nowhere is this more evident than in the manoeuvres to seize and colonize Palestine.

PALESTINE

For nearly 40 years — from the Basel Congress in 1897 to the so-called Baltimore Program in 1942 — Zionists attempted to conceal their ultimate goal of creating a state in Palestine. Upon the conclusion of the Basel Congress, Theodor Herzl wrote in his diary: "If I were to summarize the results of the Congress in a single phrase — something I will not do publicly — I would say: in Basel, I founded the Jewish state. If I were to say this today, everyone would laugh at me. But perhaps in five years, and certainly in 50 years, everyone will see it."

Fearing that the word "state" would provoke opposition from the Arabs, the Zionists adopted the term "homeland" and appealed to Jews around the world to create a "national homeland." However, this play on words did nothing to change their intentions or weaken the efforts of Zionist leaders to colonize Palestine. It should be noted that, in the beginning, the Zionists also considered a part of then-Uganda and a portion of Argentina as possible locations for their ambitions. However, due to changing international circumstances, the entanglement of imperialist interests and the religious significance of Palestine among Jews, they decided to concentrate their efforts on this Mediterranean territory.

The geographical location of Palestine made it a focus of special interest for imperialist powers. The Middle East region, situated at the crossroads of land and sea routes connecting three continents — Europe, Asia and Africa — and home to more than half of the world's oil reserves, was a magnet for all imperialist forces striving for global domination or control of a significant portion of the world. Before the First World War, German imperialism sought to establish control over the region through the Berlin-Baghdad axis. During the First World War (1914-18), the governments of France and Britain decided to launch a military expedition in the Dardanelles and the Gallipoli Peninsula against Turkey, which was then an ally of Germany. The aim of this expedition was to gain control over the entire Middle East.

These imperialist ambitions were quickly exploited by international Zionism, particularly as popular independence movements in the region began to gain momentum. Lacking confidence in their own strength and long-term prospects in this part of the world, the imperialist powers decided to enlist the Zionists as a mercenary force, which they could leave in place to safeguard their interests in the event of their withdrawal.

And so, the Zionist machinery was set into motion. At the Basel Congress, the Zionists formulated a detailed program for the colonization of Palestine. This colonization program, while not fundamentally different in essence from the plans of imperialist powers for the conquest of various parts of the world, had its own unique characteristics. The defining feature of this program was that Jews were to go to Palestine "to create a Jewish nation

there and to establish a Jewish state." Unlike imperialist powers like Britain, for example, which occupied parts of Africa or Asia and then exploited the local populations and their national resources for their own interests, the Jews were to go to Palestine to displace the indigenous population, evict them from their homes, and settle in the abandoned lands and properties themselves. Zionist colonization of Palestine — a region already densely populated by Arabs — was entirely incompatible with the continued existence of the native population. The Zionists framed the issue in stark terms: Arabs or Jews. Naturally, presenting the question in this way was bound to encounter strong resistance from the Arab population of Palestine. This is why the term "homeland" was chosen instead of the more explicit word "state."

However, the Zionists understood that resistance would not come solely from the long-established inhabitants of Palestine the Arabs. At that time, Palestine was under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, and the Turks would not view favourably the establishment of a foreign community with clear political ambitions in a part of their empire. Therefore, the Zionists focussed their efforts on influencing the Ottoman Empire to overcome this obstacle and obtain its consent. Through direct and indirect means, the Zionists promised the Sultan various rewards and loans to grant them free rein in Palestine. However, these efforts produced no significant results. The parties failed to reach an agreement in their negotiations. As a result, the colonization program, ten years after the Basel Congress, had almost come to a standstill. The official policy of colonization — the formal Jewish invasion of Palestine — required changes and new methods. Thus, the Zionists began to encourage the quiet migration of Jews to Palestine, initiating a strategy of creating facts on the ground. This approach involved gradually implementing their colonization goals through covert and incremental actions.

It must be said that even this manoeuvre did not bring any significant success to Zionism throughout the period leading up to the First World War.

Firstly, the Zionist organization had failed to expand its influence among the Jewish masses dispersed across the world. Up to that point, the organization had managed to recruit no more than 1 per cent of the global Jewish population into its ranks. Through their activities and slogans, the Zionists alienated the broader Jewish population, most of whom did not believe that isolating themselves in Palestine would solve their problems.

Secondly, due to contradictions between the major imperialist powers, Zionist leaders still had not secured the support of the Ottoman Empire or several other European powers to grant them control over Palestine. As a result, after 30 years of Jewish immigration to Palestine, Jews made up less than 8 per cent of the country's population.

The First World War altered the trajectory of events and the interests of imperialist

powers operating in the region. This shift in circumstances was skilfully exploited by the Zionists.

However, before delving into the countless scenes and behind-the-scenes manoeuvres that played out in and around Palestine as a result of the First World War, it is worth briefly examining the history of Palestine. This historical context will help in understanding the events that followed.

Historical records indicate that the first traces of human presence in Palestine date back to the Paleolithic era. Like most parts of the world, Palestine witnessed, over the centuries, the arrival of numerous tribes, clans, kings and military leaders from distant lands, each leaving their mark on the region. While the passage of centuries erased most of these traces, some have been preserved.

At the end of the fourth millennium BC, Semitic tribes appeared in Palestine, later referred to as Phoenicians. In the third millennium BC, Palestine was inhabited by tribes known in history as the Canaanites and Amorites.

Situated at the crossroads linking the Mediterranean basin to the lands of the East, Palestine became a battleground and a contested territory for many ancient states and wandering hordes. In the first half of the second millennium BC, the soldiers of the Egyptian pharaohs arrived in the region. In the latter half of that millennium, it was conquered by the Hittite tribes, followed by the Philistines, who gave the land its present-day name.

Between the 15th and 13th centuries BC, the land of Palestine was invaded by Jewish tribes originating from Arabia. Two centuries later, they established a slave-owning state here under the leadership of Solomon, known as the Judeo-Israelite Kingdom. After Solomon's death, this kingdom was divided into two: the Kingdom of Judah and the Kingdom of Israel. (Israel was the second name of Jacob, the mystical founder of the Jewish people. According to biblical legend, the ancient Kingdom of Israel derived its name from him.)

In 722 BC and 586 BC respectively, these two states were conquered — the Kingdom of Israel by Assyria and the Kingdom of Judah by Babylon. When Babylon was subsequently conquered by the Persians, Palestine became part of the Persian Empire. About two centuries later, in 332 BC, Palestine was conquered by Alexander the Great. It later became the object of two wars between Ptolemaic Egypt and the Seleucid Empire of Syria. In 63 BC, Palestine came under Roman rule. Following the collapse of the Roman Empire, it became part of the Byzantine Empire.

The Arabs arrived in Palestine in the 7th century AD, turning it into a privileged province of the Umayyad Caliphate. Jerusalem, which until then had been regarded as a religious centre for Jews and Christians, became an important religious centre for Muslims as well. Arabs settled in Palestine and became the predominant population of the region, despite the continuation of foreign conquests. At the end of the 11th century and the beginning

of the 12th century, Palestine was conquered by European feudal lords during the Crusades. They remained there until 1187, when the Egyptian king Saladin recaptured Jerusalem, though the coastal areas remained under foreign control until the end of the 13th century, when this part of the country also fell into the hands of the Egyptian Mamluks.

At the beginning of the 16th century and until the end of the First World War, Palestine was under Turkish rule and part of the Ottoman Empire.

This is, in brief, the chronology of Palestine's history up to the British occupation. For 13 centuries, this land was inhabited by Arabs and was recognized as an Arab country.

As a community, in language, culture and social composition, the inhabitants of this land were identical to the neighbouring Arab communities during those 1,300 years. The aspirations of the Palestinian people were the same as those of the surrounding Arab populations. Like the other Arabs of neighbouring countries, the Arabs of Palestine sought freedom and fought for independence from Ottoman rule, which had been imposed on all these lands for three centuries. Ninety per cent of Palestine's population consisted of Arabs who had lived there since the 7th century AD. The Jewish community made up only a very small portion of Palestine's population. Furthermore, the majority of these were Arabic-speaking Jews who, throughout Arab history, had lived in peace and harmony with Arab Muslims and Christians. They lived in Palestine in the same manner as Jews lived in other parts of the world, and it was unimaginable at the time that a day might come when this small minority, along with Jews scattered across various countries for centuries, would rise against the rightful inhabitants of this land and claim dominion over the entirety of Palestine. Such a claim would be based solely on the notion that this was once the land of mystical figures mentioned in the Bible!

MUTUAL INTERESTS

Up until the First World War, British policy in the Near and Middle East was based on the understanding that the interests of the British Empire in the region were better secured by the rule of the Ottoman Empire than by any other rival power. The declining Turkish Empire posed no unavoidable threat to Britain in this area. It was a different matter, however, if France, Germany or the United States were to gain influence there. The presence of the Ottomans effectively "preserved" the region as a buffer zone that Britain could seize at a later time. When Turkey joined the Central Powers during the war. Britain changed its approach and decided to bring Ottoman rule in the Arab world to an end — in its own favour. To this end. Britain promised the Arabs autonomy in order to incite uprisings against the Turks in 1916. Meanwhile, other Allied powers (France and Tsarist Russia) also sought their share of the collapsing Ottoman Empire. They could not allow Britain to dominate all those territories. As a result of this clash of imperial ambitions, a secret agreement was reached in the summer of 1916 between Britain, France and Tsarist Russia to divide the Ottoman Empire. Naturally, the British, who had long dreamed of exclusive control over the Near and Middle East, signed this agreement reluctantly. As later events would show, they sought opportunities to undermine it. Britain could never accept France expanding into this strategically vital region for its empire. By the early 20th

century, British imperialism viewed Palestine as a corridor critical to maintaining its hegemony over India, Egypt and various parts of Africa. Thus, even then, the British began attempting to create a state in this territory that would act as a guarantor of British interests in the emerging political order of the Middle East. Britain regarded Palestine as an outpost for protecting the Sinai Peninsula, the Suez Canal and the routes leading to India and southern Africa. Additionally, it was seen as a base for future economic and military expansions into Syria, Jordan, Iraq and the Arabian Peninsula.

The British schemes to undermine the secret agreement with France mobilized the Zionists, who sought British support for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, promising that it would serve British interests. Up until this point, the Zionists had maintained a two-faced approach, unsure which side would emerge victorious in the war: Britain and its allies, or Germany. Once it became clear that victory was leaning toward Britain, the Zionists aligned themselves with Britain and cut off contact with Germany.

At the end of 1917 and the beginning of 1918, British forces occupied Palestine. From the outset, it became evident that the interests of the British occupiers and the international Zionist organization were aligned. Britain was confident that a Jewish community in Palestine would remain perpetually dependent on Britain and that it would require, if not indefinitely, at least for a long time, the continued

presence of the British in Palestine. Furthermore, the British occupiers, by sowing discord between Arabs and Jews, could paralyse the national liberation movement, making it easier to maintain control over the country. On their part, the Zionists were confident that Britain would provide the Jewish community in Palestine with the necessary support and backing during its establishment and consolidation against the Arab population.

The arrangement was mutually beneficial. In November 1917, the British government made a statement that entered diplomatic history as the "Balfour Declaration" (named after Lord Balfour). According to this declaration, Britain undertook to assist in the establishment of a "Jewish homeland" in Palestine. Under this pretext, even after the end of the First World War, Britain kept its troops in Palestine. The Zionists hastened to provide various forms of support to ensure that Britain would be granted the mandate over Palestine. This objective was achieved. At the San Remo Conference in 1920, Britain secured the mandate over Palestine, a mandate that was later formalized by the infamous League of Nations in 1922. Thus, Palestine became a British colony.

Several statements by key Zionist leaders, made at various times but conveying the same essence, shed light on the intertwining interests of the Zionists and the British occupiers in Palestine:

"Our return (to Palestine) also aligns with the vital interests of those states that have ambitions in Asia... Britain is a great power. Britain... will understand us and our aspirations."

— Theodor Herzl

"Since the vital interests of the British Empire are now threatened by the communist state in the north (referring to the period following the October Revolution), this empire must understand the value a Jewish national state would have for it." — Richard Crossman

"We know what you expect from us. You want us to safeguard the Suez Canal. We must protect your route to India through the Near East. We are ready to take on this difficult task. But you must allow us to become a suitable power capable of fulfilling this task." — Max Nordau

"The truth is, the Zionists are prepared to grant Great Britain the right to establish military, naval and air bases in Palestine, provided that it agrees to the creation of a Jewish state in 60 per cent of Palestine's territory. The establishment of military bases in Palestine is also being proposed to the United States, should they be willing to take responsibility for its protection." — Nahum Goldmann, President of the World Zionist Organization (1946).

It is difficult to speak more plainly.

The British occupation brought double oppression for the Arab population of Palestine: both British colonial oppression and Jewish terror, which was encouraged and supported by the occupying authorities. The British actively fomented national discord between the Arabs and the Jewish minority. They wide-

ly used the Zionist bourgeoisie as a tool to strengthen the colonial regime and suppress the national liberation movement. In return, the Zionist bourgeoisie received numerous privileges from the occupying authorities.

British monopolies, particularly those with significant participation from Jewish capitalists in Britain and the United States, were granted extensive concessions in Palestine. Zionist colonial trusts seized control of 25 per cent of Palestine's best lands, expelling the Arab peasants from their properties with the help of British soldiers. The influx of British and American capital (mostly from Jewish capitalists in these countries) into Palestine encouraged a form of colonial capitalist development: investments were directed primarily into banks, trade, plantations and military infrastructure. Meanwhile, the Arab national bourgeoisie was systematically excluded from various sectors of economic life.

Britain not only opened Palestine's doors to the capital of the upper Jewish bourgeoisie but also actively encouraged Jewish immigration from other countries to settle in Palestine. At the time when the British government assumed its colonial mandate, Palestine had a population of approximately 700,000. Of these, only 50,000 were Jews, a ratio of 1 to 14. As a result of British policies supporting Zionist colonization, by 1937 the Jewish population had grown to 460,000 — nine times more in just 17 years! After 30 years of British occupation (from 1917 to 1947), the Jewish community in Palestine had increased twelve-

fold, making up one-third of the country's population. This was an entirely artificial and abnormal demographic increase.

After the Second World War, as a result of the weakening of the British Empire and the loss of many of its colonies, Britain's interest in its alliance with the Zionists began to wane. The resurgence of Arab states and the strengthening of the national liberation movement in the region seriously threatened British influence. The close alliance with the Zionists was causing new problems for Britain throughout the Arab world, forcing it to scale back its support for the Zionist movement to some extent. However, the Zionists, for their part, also recognized that Britain was losing power and began searching for a stronger ally. They observed that the United States had gained dominance over Britain in many parts of the world, including the Middle East. U.S. policy needed the Zionist network as a tool both in this region and in others. As expressed by American Senator Edwin Johnson, "Jewish Palestine is needed by American monopolies as an anchor and outpost in the Middle East."

This shift provided the Zionists with an opportunity to change their patron at a critical stage in their long struggle for the conquest of Palestine. The Zionists turned their attention to Washington.

AN IMPORTED STATE

As a result of the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism and the intensification of the struggle for spheres of influence between Britain and the United States, the British government was forced to bring the issue of Palestine to the United Nations in an effort to extend its mandate over it. The "resolution" of this issue by the UN, with some changes in the actors involved, essentially repeated history. While the League of Nations had nearly 30 years earlier legitimized the Anglo-Zionist alliance, the UN, under American influence, effectively legitimized the American-Zionist alliance. Although Britain lost its mandate over Palestine, the United States and other colonial powers gained the opportunity to establish a Zionist colonial state at the crossroads of Africa and Asia, on Arab land in Palestine.

In 1947, the UN General Assembly approved a resolution to establish a special commission to study the situation in Palestine and draft appropriate recommendations. Some members of the commission proposed dividing Palestine into two independent states — one Arab and one Jewish. Other members proposed creating a federal state. On November 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly, disregarding Arab opposition, approved the resolution for the creation of two independent states on the territory of Palestine — one Arab and one Jewish. The borders and territories of each state were defined: the Arab state would cover 11,100 square kilometres, and the Jew-

ish state 14,000 square kilometres. The city of Jerusalem and its surrounding areas were declared an independent administrative zone with a special international regime.

At the time the United Nations made this decision. Palestine had a population of 1,845,000 people. Of these, 1,237,000 were Arabs, and 608,000 were Jews. It is evident that even in the allocation of territories for the two proposed states in Palestine, a great injustice was done to the Arabs: while they made up nearly twice the population of the Jews, the territory assigned to them was approximately 3,000 square kilometres smaller. The UN General Assembly, under American and British pressure, gave preferential treatment to the Jewish community: geographically, the state of Israel was spread out like a cancerous growth across the entire territory of Palestine (see Map No. 1), dividing it into isolated fragments. Even if the Arabs had created their own state, their ability to communicate with one another would have required passing through territories designated for the state of Israel. This partitioning of the land gave the Jewish state the potential to take control of the entirety of Palestine.

Through such manoeuvres and on these foundations, an imported state was born in Palestine. This may be the first instance in history where a minority took control of the entire state apparatus of a country and used it to oppress and displace the native majority population. Moreover, most of the citizens of this artificially created state had not lived on

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this land 20 or 30 years earlier, and at the time of the state's establishment, they did not constitute a nation.

As might be expected, the Arabs reacted with deep indignation to this decision by the global organization, which, according to its own charter, was established to protect the rights of peoples. This decision not only failed to resolve the issue of Palestine but was laden with explosive potential. That explosion was inevitable, both because the Arabs could not accept the loss of their homeland and because the Zionists, supported by the American and British imperialists, were intent on continuing their colonization efforts.

But let us follow the course of events.

According to the UN resolution, the British mandate over Palestine was set to end on May 1, 1948. The UN General Assembly's resolution for the creation of two states in Palestine was to come into effect two months after the withdrawal of British forces. During the transitional period, the UN Palestine Commission was to assume the administration of Palestine, handed over by the British.

The Zionists, however, disregarded these timelines and began acting as a government well in advance. Long before the aforementioned UN decision, during the British occupation, the Zionists had established various state institutions in Palestine, a dense espionage network and armed units tasked with expelling Arabs from their lands. These clandestine organizations, funded by the upper Jewish bourgeoisie both within and outside

Palestine and actively supported by the British occupiers, were immediately mobilized. As they withdrew, the British played their long-calculated game. The evacuation of the British army, numbering 100,000 troops, was carried out in stages, starting from the coastal areas, where Jewish settlements were more concentrated, and moving inward toward the central regions. The territory vacated by the British was quickly occupied by the Zionists, with British assistance. The Zionists hastened to implement their policy of creating facts on the ground. They worked tirelessly to crush Arab resistance to the partition of Palestine and to establish the state of Israel as a fait accompli before the UN General Assembly's decision officially came into force. In a message from the leader of the Zionists in Palestine, David Ben-Gurion, dated January 8, 1948, he stated: "We have long known that international decisions can be overturned. We remember the decisions made by the victorious Allies regarding the partition of Turkey after the First World War, But then Mustafa Kemal came onto the scene and overturned all those plans... The issue will be decided by the power of arms, not by formal resolutions."

And the power of arms was indeed wielded by the Zionists with the utmost brutality. In the history of Zionist aggression against the Arab people of Palestine, the massacres at Deir Yassin, Ain ez-Zeitun and Salah ed-Din in April 1948 will remain unforgettable. These massacres, aimed at expelling Arabs from their lands, were not isolated incidents;

they were part of the ominous shadow that had fallen over the Arab people of Palestine. In his book Palestine: The Lost Heritage. Sami Hadawi writes: "Even before May 1, 1948 — the expiration date of the British Mandate — before the first Arab soldier set foot in Palestine, and two months before the official proclamation of the state of Israel under the UN resolution on the partition of Palestine, the Zionists had illegally occupied part of the territory designated for the Arab state, as well as most of the international zone of Jerusalem. Six months before the establishment of the state of Israel, more than 300,000 Muslim and Christian Palestinians were expelled from their homes." In this atmosphere of terror, the Zionists declared the establishment of the state of Israel on May 1, 1948 — six weeks ahead of the deadline set by the UN General Assembly resolutions. At the helm of this new state was the high Zionist bourgeoisie.

The Arab people of Palestine, completely unarmed, were left defenceless against the attacks of well-organized and well-trained Jewish militias, which had been prepared and supported by the British. It became evident even then that the Zionists would not be satisfied with the territories allocated to them by the UN. Thus, the entry of the Arab League's armies into Palestine to protect the local Arab population and the territories designated for the Arab state was not an attack on a legally existing state; it was a response dictated by the Zionists themselves, who had threatened the Arab population with extermination.

The Zionists, who had already proclaimed their own state, went to war with the Arab countries. This war lasted for one year — from the spring of 1948 to the spring of 1949 — and entered history as Israel's first war of conquest against the Arabs, a war inspired and driven by American and British imperialism.

As a result of this war, the map of Palestine, as determined by the UN General Assembly, underwent significant changes. The state of Israel, which had initially been allocated 14,000 square kilometres, expanded its borders to 20,700 square kilometres, including the Negev Desert, which had been designated for the Arab state of Palestine (see Map No. 2). The remaining part of Arab Palestine was occupied by the Arab Legion, led by the British proxy, King Abdullah of Jordan, while the Gaza region, covering 250 square kilometres, came under Egyptian administration but was not incorporated into Egypt.

Israel's new conquests erased even the last possibility for the creation of an Arab state in Palestine. For the people of this land, the greatest tragedy in their history up to that time began.

SIRIA HAIFA TEL AVIV JERUSALEM GAZ IZRAEL

THE STOLEN HOMELAND

During the years 1948-49, the majority of the Arab population of Palestine lost everything: their homeland, their land, their homes and their livelihoods. Out of the 1,237,000 Arabs living in Palestine in 1947, nearly one million were forcibly expelled from their homeland. For 19 years, they have wandered in refugee camps in Jordan, Svria, Lebanon and other countries, living extremely difficult lives — hungry and destitute. All their land and wealth remained in the hands of the Zionist occupiers. According to the Israeli press itself, the wealth of the displaced Arabs amounts to the colossal sum of 1 billion and 832 million Israeli pounds. (The number of refugees and the value of stolen property increased dramatically as a result of the June 1967 aggression.)

For years, Israeli propaganda has claimed that the Arabs of Palestine voluntarily left their homes and lands to move to neighbouring countries. There is no more truth in this propaganda than in the fables of the Bible. The Arab population could not have abandoned their homeland willingly to become wanderers. They did so out of sheer desperation, fleeing the terror and horrific massacres carried out by the Israeli army. Both in 1948-49 and after the June aggression, the international press has been filled with evidence of the monstrous massacres organized by the Zionists against the Arab population of Palestine. It suffices to mention just a few of these

atrocities.

How does the English historian Edgar O'Ballance describe the behaviour of the Zionists in his book The Arab-Israeli War of 1948: "Their policy consisted of inciting Arabs to leave their homes, and they extensively used psychological warfare to force the Arabs to act in this way. Alongside the continuation of the war, they expelled Arabs from their villages. The activities of Jewish terrorist organizations sowed widespread panic, and the massacre in Deir Yassin added to the endless stream of refugees, flowing like a flood." In another part of his book, the English historian states: "Israeli forces would pass through the streets of the city of Lydda and announce orders through loudspeakers for the immediate departure of all residents. Those who refused to leave were dragged through the streets by the triumphant Israelis... Within two to three days, all Arabs were expelled from their homes, including those living in the outskirts of the city. The Arabs were forced to head towards the Jordanian city of Ramallah... The Israeli army openly drove Arabs towards neighbouring Arab lands."

O'Ballance mentions the village of Deir Yassin. This small Arab village near Jerusalem no longer exists. Deir Yassin will remain a testimony written in blood in the history of Palestine.

April 9, 1948 — one month before the establishment of the state of Israel. Members of the Zionist terrorist organization "Stern" entered the village of Deir Yassin and killed

254 Arabs, half of them women and children. The bodies of the murdered were thrown into wells. Not a single living resident remained in Deir Yassin... Days later, the houses in this village were demolished with bulldozers. "Wherever the Israeli army passes, not a single Arab will remain standing" — said Yigal Allon, commander of the Israeli strike units. (Allon later attained the rank of general and served as a minister in the Israeli government.) This phrase of this modern-day Attila was reinforced with actions. Arab neighbourhoods in Jaffa and Haifa were destroyed. Hundreds of villages were demolished and erased from the map... On October 29, 1956, the first day of the tripartite aggression against Egypt, a unit of Israeli border police stopped residents of the Arab village of Kafr Oasim, who were returning from their fields, and executed them on the spot. Forty-three people were killed under a hail of bullets, many of them children. That same evening, another massacre was organized in the neighbouring village of Umm al-Fahm. It later became clear that a special order had been issued by the Ministry of Defence to terrorize all Arab villagers as a preventative measure to suppress any protests against the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression.

"In an equally brutal manner, terror erupted during and after the aggression of 1967. Repeating the practices of the nazis during the Second World War, the scorched-earth tactic was implemented in the occupied territories of Jordan, and entire populated centres were destroyed. On June 21, 1967, Jordan

filed a protest with the UN Security Council regarding the destruction of the city of Qalqilya. The Agence France-Presse reported: "The Israelis used mines, explosives and bulldozers to demolish the city. Around 12,000 residents of Qalqilya, left homeless and without any means to survive, were forced to set up tents or makeshift shelters in the nearby hills."

Two members of the British Parliament — Ian Gilmour and Denis Walters — who visited Jordan immediately after Israel's aggression in June, stated that the Israeli army was employing nazi-like strategies in the occupied territories under the slogan of "living space." Here are some excerpts from the notes of the British MPs:

"Refugees told us that a carpenter and many other residents of Bethlehem were informed that if they did not leave within two hours, their homes, along with themselves, would be blown up. So, they left. In one village where an employee of the UN agency for refugee assistance resided, after the commander of the Israeli military unit spoke with the Arab village elder, word spread that any Arab who remained in the village after one hour would be killed. All the residents fled their village, and 'fortunately,' soon after leaving, they came across buses sent to transport them to the Jordan River. Refugees recount that in many other cases, they were subjected to prolonged intimidation. For instance, Israeli soldiers would knock on the doors of Arab homes several times each night. After some time, the children would become so traumatized that the family would be forced to leave the village.

"People whose homes were destroyed and whose property was looted... decided it was better to accept the miserable rations given to refugees in camps than to face complete annihilation on their own land. Not only was a large part of the city of Oalgilya levelled, but ten other villages were also flattened using bulldozers. In Jerusalem, we saw piles of stones and bricks remaining from the demolished Arab homes, which will be used to create a large square and a parking lot in front of the Wailing Wall. The stance of the Israelis and the refugees becomes even clearer when it comes not to expulsion, but to the return of the Arabs. Certainly, most people in England think that Israel has agreed to the return of the refugees and that this return will inevitably happen. Nothing could be further from the truth than such a belief. On one of the last days of June, 144 people were indeed allowed to return by crossing the Allenby Bridge, passing before the lenses of television cameras. Unfortunately, no such cameras were present at the other three bridges to capture on film three times as many refugees crossing, on the same day, in the opposite direction."

From the early years of the state of Israel's existence, Zionist leaders openly declared that their goal was to turn Palestine into a "purely" Jewish state. They began to argue that the removal of Arabs from Palestine would "miraculously simplify Israel's task," as expressed by Israel's first president, Chaim

Weizmann. This was the foundation of the state's entire chauvinist policy towards the Arab population and the issue of Arab refugees, who remain scattered in camps set up outside the borders of Palestine.

The forced displacement and expulsion of Arabs in 1948 became an international issue. The outrage of people around the world rose against Zionist violence. Faced with this situation, even the General Assembly of the United Nations could not stand idly by. In December 1948, in a special resolution, it emphasized the right of the Arabs of Palestine to return to their homeland. The resolution obligated Israel to compensate all those who voluntarily chose to remain outside Palestine. However, the Israeli government, backed by the great colonial powers — the United States and Britain — categorically refused to allow the refugees to return to their homes. Even a promise made at the beginning of 1950 to allow the return of 100,000 refugees was never fulfilled. Ben-Gurion declared, "The only fair solution to the refugee problem would be their resettlement in Arab countries." Former Foreign Minister Golda Meir reaffirmed this statement by the Prime Minister in even more categorical terms: "The solution to the refugee problem," she stated in parliament on May 24, 1960, "can only be one: their resettlement in Arab countries. Period."

Such stubbornness would not have been possible without the unconditional support and assistance of the United States. The American government, in an effort to maintain its influence in Arab countries, occasionally makes statements and pretends to "exert its influence" on Israel to accept the return of some refugees. But, in reality, the U.S. government supports what the Zionists say: the resettlement of Palestinians in neighbouring countries.

As a result of this chauvinist policy, Arab refugee camps emerged in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and elsewhere. Around one million people have wandered in these camps for 20 years, waiting to return to their homes. But instead of a resolution, the problem has only grown more complex. During Israel's June aggression, the number of Arab refugees in these camps increased significantly, and conditions within them deteriorated drastically. Most of these people survive on handouts from the United Nations. The official Jordanian press has published data showing that the food rations provided by the "benevolent" UN in these camps are often smaller than those given in nazi camps. The Beirut newspaper Orian recently published a report by a Lebanese journalist on her visit to refugee camps in Jordan following Israel's most recent aggression. The report reads: "What I saw in the inferno of the Jordanian camps surpasses the limits of imagination. Refugees from the western part of Jordan seemed to have forgotten how to speak: the women only groaned, the children opened their mouths only to cry from hunger, and the men, hunched over, cast their gaze far away, toward Jerusalem... How many people are there in total? No one can say for certain.

According to data from the Ministry of Reconstruction and Development, their number reaches 150,000. One-third of them are Palestinian refugees, expelled in 1948 from Jaffa, Haifa, Tel Aviv and who had settled on the West Bank of Jordan. Now these unfortunate souls have been forced to relocate again... All the schools and mosques are filled to capacity. Classrooms designed for 30 students now house more than 200 people. Over 60,000 others are sheltered with relatives or friends in Amman and other towns and villages."

The author of this account continues: "I visited a new camp located 48 kilometres northeast of Amman. The air, hot like embers, raises large clouds of sand. The sun burns mercilessly: 40 degrees in the shade. The camp commander, Haleb Avaid, is unable to cope with the flood of refugees. He has been provided with 500 tents, which can accommodate a maximum of 2,000 people. However, 9,000 people have already arrived, and more continue to come... Around a water tanker, behind a large trough, children and adults crowd and fight for water. Nearby, a woman is crying: she holds an infant in her arms who is writhing with fever. Another woman approaches us and says, 'I arrived last night. I slept under the open sky. There is no tent for me, and no one will take me into theirs. There are tents here where four families live together, averaging 16 people. There are even tents housing as many as seven families.'

"Thousands upon thousands of people have passed near Israeli outposts set up on the western bank of the Jordan River. They crossed the river using the debris of two bridges that were destroyed by Israeli aviation on the first day of the war. Many of them crossed the river at shallow points, using ropes stretched from one bank to the other. A man tells me he is searching for his two daughters, who had gone to fetch water from a stream and have since disappeared. Then, a woman grabs my dress and says, 'I lost my son as he was crossing the river. He's five years old and doesn't know how to swim... Another woman says her daughter was lost on the road. She couldn't turn back... What might have happened to her? Could they have killed her?""

But it is not only the Arabs expelled from Palestine who endure the miserable conditions of the camps. Even those Arabs who have not yet been expelled from their homeland live under constant anxiety and a permanent state of martial law. Immediately after its creation, the state of Israel imposed harsh colonial rules in Arab towns and villages. Zionists, who have long complained about the persecution and discrimination of Jews, became rabid racists as soon as they took power.

In 1945, the British colonizers, in order to suppress any national liberation movement, imposed military administration on all Arab villages in Palestine. These rules of colonial administration closely resembled those implemented in military barracks. With the departure of the British and the proclamation of the state of Israel, nothing changed. The Arab population continued to live under a state of

martial law or a form of "house arrest." In the villages and towns inhabited by Arabs, the entire state administration consisted of military personnel. Over 80 per cent of the population was forced to live in ghettos (this is how the zones of military administration are referred to by Jewish settlers who came from Europe). Without a special permit from the Israeli military command, an Arab citizen could not leave their village — not to seek work, not to go to the market and not even to visit a doctor. A progressive Jewish lawyer wrote several years ago in the magazine New Outlook, published in Tel Aviv: "If anyone wants to understand the reason behind the hatred that Israeli Arabs feel for our military regime, they only need to take a 45-minute ride on an Arab bus from Haifa to Nazareth, as I have done a hundred times. There isn't a single trip during which the bus isn't stopped by the military police, who brutally check the travel permits of Arab passengers, while Jewish passengers are left entirely alone. Any Arab who doesn't have their travel permit with them is immediately taken to the police station. The only other place I've seen this happen is South Africa, where the white minority government imposes the same military rules and laws on the movement of African nationalists. Any person of conscience would feel relieved if such a hateful practice disappeared from Israel."

The Jewish commanders of military zones are vested with unlimited powers: they can confiscate Arab land if such action is deemed to serve the "interests of the state," they can

make arrests and imprison people without trial, and they can even expel individuals beyond the borders of the state of Israel.

These unrestricted powers are widely exercised by the Jewish military administration. This is especially evident in matters of land confiscation. A few examples from contemporary press reports suffice to illustrate the scale of arbitrariness involved in these practices.

In the village of Kafr Tira, the peasants had 40,000 dunams of land confiscated out of a total of 48,000 dunams belonging to the entire village. In the village of Qalansawe, 12,000 dunams were confiscated out of a total of 18,000. In Umm al-Fahm, 128,000 dunams were confiscated out of 145,000 total. In 1961, Moshe Dayan — then Minister of Agriculture (and later Minister of Defence) — introduced a bill in the Knesset (the Israeli Parliament) on the "concentration of lands." This bill, which was later passed into law, had severe consequences for Arabs, resulting in the seizure of their lands and the displacement of thousands of families from Palestine.

Discrimination against Arabs remains a constant feature in all areas of daily life. The daily wages of Arabs are 20 to 30 per cent lower than those of Jews. The daily income of an Arab peasant is half that of a Jewish farmer. The law on compulsory education does not apply to Arab villages. For instance, while an average of 29 Israeli pounds is spent per Jewish student in Tel Aviv, only nine pounds are allocated per student in the Arab city of Nazareth. Higher education for Arabs is almost

entirely inaccessible. Although the number of doctors in Israel is relatively high due to immigration from various countries, health care services for Arab residents remain at the level of those in colonial territories. Regions with more than 30,000 residents often lack even a single hospital. In 1961, out of 4,500 tractors available to Israeli agriculture, only 11 were in use in Arab villages.

The Zionists have elevated racism to the level of national policy. Racial discrimination is applied not only against Arabs but also against Jewish immigrants coming from countries in the Near and Middle East. Relations between the Arab and Jewish populations are almost entirely prohibited. Villages inhabited by Jews are considered "off-limits" to Arabs. At various meetings or festivals held in Arab regions, representatives of Jewish organizations are not allowed to attend. The press, radio, military and schools make every effort to incite chauvinism among Jews and to cultivate feelings of contempt toward the Arab masses.

The entire chauvinist policy of the Zionists against Palestinian Arabs aims at the dispossession and displacement of the rightful inhabitants of this land.

CONTINUATION OF AGGRESSION

The first war between Israel and the Arab countries ended with a ceasefire agreement between Egypt and the government of Israel, signed on February 24, 1949. This agreement defined the ceasefire boundary line and provided for the formation of an Egyptian-Israeli commission under the chairmanship of a United Nations representative to oversee compliance with the terms of the agreement.

The Jewish leaders, both in Tel Aviv and abroad, under the encouragement and direct support of imperialist powers, did not cease their hostile activities against the Arab countries. One million Palestinians were left outside their homeland. The Zionists' desire for further expansion of Israel's borders turned into an uncontrollable obsession. This policy, combined with the support and encouragement of American, British and West German imperialism, was bound to push Israel toward new adventures.

The movement of Middle Eastern peoples to strengthen their independence and break free from the clutches of oil monopolies became a troubling issue for many Western capitals. In this situation, Israel was expected to continue and intensify its role as a mercenary—a tool of imperialism in the Arab world. The establishment of the state of Israel and the expulsion of Arabs from Palestine did not mark the end of the mission assigned to international Zionism. This was only the begin-

ning, merely the securing of a tool, a base that would serve to implement the broad, long-term plans of imperialism.

This was confirmed by the developments that followed.

In July 1956, the Egyptian government announced the nationalization of the Suez Canal. This entirely lawful act by the Egyptian government, aimed at strengthening the country's independence and returning a looted asset to Egypt, caused a genuine uproar in international imperialist circles. Alarms were raised in London, Paris and Washington. An armed aggression was prepared against the newly established Republic of Egypt, and Israel was assigned a special role in this aggression.

On October 22, in a place called Sevres, on the outskirts of Paris, Israel's Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, held a secret meeting with key figures from the British and French governments to finalize plans for a military attack against Egypt. These plans had been drafted earlier in October during a meeting between Guy Mollet and Eden. The final agreement was signed by Pineau on behalf of the French government, by Patrick Dean on behalf of the British government and by Ben-Gurion. The agreement between the governments of Eden, Guy Mollet and Ben-Gurion stipulated that the joint attack against Egypt would begin with Israel, followed immediately by attacks from the British and French armies. To create a pretext for the attack, Israel would claim it was being threatened by Egypt.

On October 29, this plan was put into action. The Israeli army attacked Egyptian army positions. Several columns crossed the border and headed toward the Suez Canal. The next day, on October 30, in accordance with the Anglo-French-Israeli agreement concluded at Sevres, the British and French governments issued an ultimatum to Egypt and Israel. In this ultimatum, both sides were called upon to immediately cease hostilities and withdraw their armies from the Suez Canal zone. The ultimatum demanded that the Egyptian government, within 12 hours, approve the occupation of key points along the Suez Canal — Port Said, Ismailia and Suez — by British and French forces.

Subsequent events unfolded entirely in line with the Anglo-French-Israeli conspiracy. The Israeli government, naturally, immediately accepted all the conditions set in the Anglo-French ultimatum, as it was already aware of and had previously agreed to them. (Among other things, Israel was asked to withdraw from the Suez Canal zone, even though, at that time. Israeli forces were still far from the canal and had not yet reached the area mentioned in the ultimatum!) The Egyptian government, as anticipated by the plot's architects, rejected the ultimatum the following day, October 31. Thus, the British and French armies found their pretext and, on the same day, launched their attack against Egypt. Port Said, Cairo and other Egyptian cities were barbarically bombed.

As a result of the determined resistance of

the Egyptian people, the wave of anger among all Arab nations and the protests of other peoples around the world, the aggressors were forced to abandon their adventure without achieving their intended objectives. The occupying armies, despite their manoeuvres and plotted schemes, were ultimately compelled to withdraw from the occupied territories. However, while the British and French aggressors retreated to where they had come from, the third aggressor, Israel, continued to occupy the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip for months. The Israeli government attempted to act as it had in 1948-49, when it refused to relinquish occupied lands. The imperialist powers, especially the government of the United States, rushed to assist the Israeli aggressors in pursuing these goals. Initially, the U.S. supported Israel in holding onto the occupied territories, but when it became evident that this was impossible, they sought to replace Israel's presence in these lands with their own forces. The U.S. Mediterranean Fleet moved closer to the shores of Gaza and offered its "services" to "protect" the Arabs from Israel! When the Arabs did not fall into this trap, the Americans presented themselves under the flag of the United Nations. According to contemporary reports, Abba Eban, the former Israeli ambassador to Washington and now Israel's foreign minister, and Christian Herter, then U.S. Secretary of State, had previously agreed that there would be "no Egyptian administration" in Gaza.

In addition to Gaza, the United States

also attempted to gain control over the Gulf of Aqaba. The American government proposed several projects for this region. Three of these projects were: the plan for "free navigation" through the Gulf of Aqaba, which violated the sovereignty of the Republic of Egypt and Saudi Arabia; the plan to "internationalize" the Strait of Tiran leading to the Gulf of Aqaba (this plan bore a strong resemblance to Dulles' proposal to internationalize the Suez Canal in 1956); and the plan to create a puppet "Arab state" in the Sinai Peninsula, which would serve as a tool in the hands of Israel and other imperialist powers.

These predatory plans were rejected by the Arab peoples and could not be implemented.

At the beginning of 1957, the so-called "Dulles-Eisenhower Doctrine" nounced in the United States of America. This "doctrine" was a new attempt by American imperialism to bring the entire Near and Middle East under its control. The creation of new Arab states and the strengthening of the movement for independence had significantly weakened the position of the old colonial powers in the region — Britain and France. The authors of the "Dulles-Eisenhower Doctrine" reasoned as follows: if one imperial power is forced to withdraw from a certain region of the world, then another power must take its place. And that power must always be one: America. Under the "Truman Doctrine," the United States replaced Britain in Greece and Turkey. Under the "Dulles-Eisenhower Doctrine," they sought to replace Britain and France in

all the countries of the Near and Middle East. In the offices of the U.S. State Department. the term "power vacuum" was invented. This physical-mathematical term was needed by the theorists of the "Dulles-Eisenhower Doctrine" to justify their expansionist activities. According to them, with Britain and France withdrawing from the Near and Middle East, a "vacuum of power" had been created in the region — a "void" that had to be "filled" by another external force: the United States of America. The authors of the "doctrine" openly claimed that the rightful inhabitants of these countries, the Arab peoples, were incapable of filling the "void" left by the British and French colonizers!

A more offensive and demeaning argument against the Arab peoples is hard to imagine.

However, this "doctrine" found a foothold in the Middle East. That foothold was the government of Israel. After the failure of the Suez adventure, the Zionists seized every opportunity to act against the Arab countries. They became an integral part of all the hostile activities of the imperialist powers in the region. In 1957, the Israeli government publicly declared that it was aligning itself with the "Dulles-Eisenhower Doctrine," thereby placing its territory at the disposal of the United States. This alignment with the goals of American imperialism in the Near and Middle East meant that the Zionists and the state of Israel, in the most open manner, aligned themselves with the new colonial powers that had emerged in this part of the world.

After aligning itself with the "Dulles-Eisenhower Doctrine," the Israeli government significantly intensified its provocative activities against its neighbours and openly declared that it would continue, in the future, its fight for new conquests. Calling for a renewed attack on the Republic of Egypt "at the appropriate time," the former Chief of Staff of Israel, Moshe Dayan, wrote on July 24, 1959, in the Jerusalem Post: "The Sinai campaign was an expression of a certain policy, and that policy has not changed... Egypt must know that Israel is fully capable of choosing the right moment and identifying Egypt's weak points, and it will not hesitate to exploit such an opportunity. We are ready to fight the Arabs for a third, fourth, seventh and eighth time." Ben-Gurion, for his part, stated that peace with the Arabs was still far away and that Israel now needed "more military strategy than diplomacy."

Zionist leaders began drafting plans for a Jewish empire, which will be discussed in another chapter.

In the 1960s, the Israeli government undertook yet another act of aggression against the Arab countries. This was not an armed aggression, but in terms of its impact, it could be compared to a military attack. This refers to the unilateral diversion of the Jordan River's flow. In February 1960, the newspaper *Information d'Israël* admitted that the issue of the distribution of the Jordan River's waters had become "the most dangerous problem in Arab-Israeli relations."

The Jordan River flows through the territories of Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Israel. A large portion of the territories in these states depend on the waters of this river for survival. Diverting the flow of the Jordan River would turn entire regions along its banks, spanning thousands of kilometres, into deserts.

The United States of America, seeking to take control of an inter-Arab initiative, presented the so-called "Johnson Plan" in June 1953. This plan proposed the shared use of the Jordan River's waters by Israel, Syria and Lebanon. According to the plan, an American company offered loans to the interested countries, and the work would be managed by that company. The Arab countries agreed to review this plan, even though it placed Israel in a privileged position.

While discussions were ongoing, the Israeli government began unilaterally digging canals to use the Jordan's waters. This was done with the knowledge of the Americans, even though they were the authors of the plan under negotiation. The talks lasted two years until, eventually, the United States halted them, giving Israel a free hand. Within four years, Israel's project to reroute the Jordan River's waters into a new channel neared completion. The pumping of 320 million cubic metres of water per year began, over a distance of 176-248 kilometres, extending to the Negev Desert.

The conference of Arab foreign and defence ministers, held in Cairo in June 1960, warned Israel that the unilateral diversion

of the Jordan River would lead to war. In response to this warning, Tel Aviv carried out a new provocation along the armistice line with Syria. At dawn on March 17, 1962, two Israeli battalions, supported by artillery, aircraft and 40 tanks, launched an attack on Syrian positions on the eastern shore of Lake Tiberias, which had been designated as the main reservoir for the new course of the river. This attack occurred just days after the visit to Israel of Robert Kennedy, the brother of the American President, who toured the area around the lake and observed the canal construction work.

THE BUNDESWEHR AND TZAHAL

At first glance, everything resembles a scene from a crime movie. Along the highway from Paris to Bonn, a car without any identifying markings glides by. The man at the wheel appears nervous, frequently turning his head to see if anyone is following him. The car merges into the flow of other vehicles, and passersby would never imagine that inside it sits the future Minister of Defence of Israel, Shimon Peres.

At that time, few could understand why Shimon Peres was so careful to avoid the public eye and chose such an unusual route instead of the regular one to travel from Tel Aviv to Bonn. It took many years to fully grasp the seriousness and secretive nature of Peres' mission.

Statisticians have noted that between December 1957 and June 1960, Peres met 12 times with the former Minister of Defence of West Germany, Franz Josef Strauss. Strauss, for his part, did not remain indebted to his guest from Tel Aviv. He visited Israel five times and was always received as an honoured guest.

The Israeli newspaper *Haaretz* drew attention to the fact that "many politicians and various figures have visited Israel, but none of them has ever been received with such honours and intimate warmth as Strauss... He visited military bases and tank units, toured weapons depots, and inspected centres for the war industry and aviation. He gained insights

into the best aircraft, attended tests of new anti-tank weapons and was a guest at the construction site of the atomic reactor."

To prevent the public from asking too many questions about these meetings, it was decided that visits by high-ranking military officials would generally be kept secret. Sometimes, the route would pass through Paris; other times, Strauss would send a special aircraft to pick up his Israeli counterpart. Over time, however, it became clear that these behind-the-scenes meetings were used to work out the details of an agreement for West Germany to supply arms to Israel. After the defence ministers prepared everything, another secret meeting took place on another continent and at a higher level: on March 14, 1960, at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York. two elderly men — Chancellor Adenauer and Prime Minister Ben-Gurion — "accidentally" met. The details of the agreement made at the New York hotel became known only four and a half years later. According to that agreement, Adenauer's government had committed to supplying arms to Israel as part of "reparations" that the Federal Republic of Germany would pay for the Jews killed during Hitler's era. Truly an unprecedented case: the murderers of Jews, now holding commanding positions in Bonn, had decided to compensate the victims they themselves had killed!

Adenauer agreed to provide Israel with \$822 million worth of goods and industrial equipment. This amount was intended to serve a three-fold purpose: to turn Israel into

a market for consuming goods produced by the West German industrialists; to make it a foothold in the Near and Middle East; and, finally, to use Israel as a testing ground for Bundeswehr weapons.

Bonn's plans extended far and covered all sectors. From the so-called economic agreement, the focus quickly shifted to strengthening ties between the Bundeswehr and the Tzahal (the Israeli military). Under the guise of "reparations," tanks, airplanes, cannons, anti-tank missiles, submarines and other military equipment — which had little to do with "reparations" — began pouring into Israel.

It is worth pausing to examine certain aspects of this cooperation, particularly in the military field.

For several years now, entire contingents of uniformed individuals, who look very different from Bundeswehr soldiers — darker-skinned and, most importantly, belonging to different races and languages — have appeared from time to time in the barracks of Rendsburg and Munsterlager in West Germany. These soldiers come from Israel to gain experience from the West German military in the use of the most modern weapons, which the Bundeswehr possesses and which are secretly supplied to Israel. By mid-1967, 5,000 soldiers and officers of the Tzahal had trained in the barracks and military camps of West Germany.

The route followed by weapons from Bonn to Israeli ports or railway stations is often an odyssey in itself. Frequently, the arms being shipped are disassembled and then packed into crates labelled as canned goods or marmalade. In other cases, the shipments are sent from ports in the Federal Republic not directly to their destination, but first to other countries, where they are reloaded onto ships bound for the port of Haifa. A third method used to deliver these supplies involves purchasing weapons in other countries, while the bill is sent to Bonn for settlement. For example, M-48 tanks were sent to Tel Aviv via Italy. The British Ministry of Defence sold Israel the submarines "Totem" and "Turpin," while the Israeli government paid nothing for them — the cheque was settled in Bonn.

Why does Bonn follow these indirect methods?

For a long time, the government of the Federal Republic of Germany has attempted to pursue a two-faced policy: on the one hand, providing active support to the Zionists in Tel Aviv to threaten Arab peoples; on the other hand, attempting to display gestures of friendship toward Arab countries in order to maintain its influence there as well. In an effort to cover its tracks, Adenauer's government made several public declarations and offered "guarantees" that it would not continue arming Israel against Arab countries. However, these declarations were never honoured. As a result, the anger of public opinion in Arab countries steadily grew, ultimately leading to the severing of diplomatic relations with Bonn.

Diplomatic manoeuvres and indirect methods never weakened the military cooper-

ation between Bonn and Tel Aviv. This collaboration grew stronger with each passing year. By the end of 1966, the Bonn government had spent 660 million marks on arming Israel. This nine-figure sum included not only tanks and submarines but also nuclear installations in the Negev Desert. Until recent years, the Negev Desert was mentioned only in geography textbooks. However, it is precisely this remote corner that has drawn the attention of the Israeli military command and the generals of the Bundeswehr. The strictest military regime has been imposed there to conceal the nuclear research conducted with the direct involvement of the Federal Republic of Germany. The Dimona nuclear reactor, named after a settlement in the desert, operates at full capacity. The West German newspaper Handelsblatt reported that since 1963, Israel's nuclear reactor has produced eight kilograms of nuclear material annually. "This means," the newspaper writes, "that starting in 1963, Israel has the capability to produce one nuclear bomb every six months." At the beginning of 1967, the American magazine Newsweek, citing high-ranking officials in Tel Aviv, reported that the Israeli government intended to fully realize this capability within a year. This prediction by the American magazine was reinforced by the fact that, in the spring of 1966, it was decided that the Atomic Energy Commission would be chaired by Prime Minister Eshkol himself. Rumours about an Israeli nuclear bomb increased, and their primary purpose was to intimidate and pressure Arab nations. Just two days before the aggression against the United Arab Republic (Egypt), Jordan and Syria began, on June 3, 1967, West Germany's *Die Welt* wrote that Israel could, within a relatively short period — five to ten years — produce ballistic missiles with nuclear warheads. It is entirely clear that this rhetoric was aimed at instilling fear among the Arab peoples.

The tone of the reactionary press in the West is becoming increasingly threatening towards Arab countries. This propaganda tries to exalt the so-called "miracles" that the Israelis are allegedly capable of, even though these "miracles" neither exist nor ever will. Their purpose is clear: intimidation.

The shared interests between Bonn and Tel Aviv, even in the field of nuclear weapons, are rooted in the mutual goals of the militarists in both countries. By cooperating with Israel, Bonn gains access to the Negev Desert testing grounds for its nuclear experiments, while Tel Aviv seeks to leverage support from its West German allies for its own nuclear ambitions.

Scientists working for the Bundeswehr are the principal leaders of Israel's nuclear research. A special bilateral council coordinates activities in the field of nuclear physics. This council is chaired by Professor Gentner of the Max Planck Institute in Heidelberg. He oversees 50 scientists and 40 West German weapons experts working in Israel. Some of these experts are directly involved in the operations at the Dimona reactor mentioned earlier. Meanwhile, Israeli scientists study nuclear

material processing technologies at scientific institutions in Karlsruhe and Hamburg.

In addition to scientific support in the field of nuclear weapons, West German marks also fund all the industrial installations in the Negev Desert. In 1966, the Bonn government allocated 160 million marks solely for the "industrial development of the Negev Desert." According to *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, a new agreement was reached to repeat this amount in 1967.

Over the past two years, Israel has become a "Mecca" for the highest-ranking figures in Bonn. In 1966, former Chancellor Adenauer visited. That same year, the President of the Bundestag, Gerstenmaier, visited Israel for the second time. The media mogul of West Germany, Springer, frequently books flights to Tel Aviv. He made this trip both on the eve of June 5 and two weeks after the aggression. In April 1967, Chancellor Kiesinger hosted Ben-Gurion, while Bonn's Foreign Minister Brandt met with his Israeli counterpart, Eban.

The June aggression against Arab countries was applauded in Bonn. The German militarists could not contain their enthusiasm for Israel's victory and hurried to count their contributions to this "blitzkrieg," as they referred to Dayan's operations in the Sinai Desert. Arab villages were still burning under napalm, and the wounded had not yet been evacuated from the battlefields when, on June 10, the magazine *Bild Zeitung* announced in large headlines: "The weapons that helped Israel achieve military victory were supplied by the

Federal Republic of Germany."

The outcomes of the June 5 war further strengthened the ties between Bonn and Tel Aviv. Visits at various levels intensified. On June 22, Shimon Peres, Deputy Minister of Defence, appeared in Bonn once again. He arrived as the special representative of Prime Minister Eshkol to request an increase beyond the two billion marks already agreed upon in March. The envoy from Tel Aviv presented a new list of weapons Israel needed for its next confrontation with the Arabs.

On the other hand, the stream of West German "pilgrims" to Israel continued to grow. By late October, it was reported that the Israeli embassy in Bonn had never issued as many visas as it did that autumn. Leading the list of West German travellers to Israel was former Federal Chancellor Erhard. He was immediately followed by the Vice President of the Bundestag, 12 bankers led by the Vice President of the Federal Bank, officials from the ruling Christian Democratic Union party and leaders of right-wing trade unions. It is worth noting that the guests from West Germany did not hesitate to visit the newly occupied Arab territories. They congratulated the West German scientists and specialists who had helped the Israelis achieve their "historic victory" and promised further assistance. In a pompous ceremony, Erhard was awarded an honorary doctorate from the Weizmann Institute. Following Adenauer, he became the second person from West Germany to hold this title.

IN THE NAME OF COLONIAL POWERS

A few years ago, a French figure — Roland Pre — stated: "We must consider Israel as an ally in that part of the world that is turning its back on us. We must view Israel as an instrument for Western penetration into the underdeveloped states of Africa and Asia. Therefore, I believe we should allow Israel to enter the European Common Market." In these few lines, the entire essence and purpose of Israel's policy towards the newly independent African countries is encapsulated. Throughout its history, Africa has known many kinds of missionaries — Portuguese and British, French and Belgian, German and American. In recent years, the new African states have also come to know another kind of Western missionary — Israeli missionaries.

Israel's orientation toward Africa is one defined in the capitals of Western Europe and Washington. The Zionist leaders in Tel Aviv, with their special focus on Africa, are pursuing two main objectives: first, direct gains through the colonial exploitation of these countries via various joint ventures and partnerships; and second, rewards from London, Washington, Bonn and other Western capitals as compensation for the services Israel performs in Africa on behalf of the old colonial powers. A commentary in the French newspaper *Le Monde* dated January 1, 1958, is highly revealing in this context. *Le Monde* stated that in Tel Aviv, "there is a firm belief that

their country is called to play the role of mediator between Europe and the underdeveloped countries of Africa. The latter, they argue, view Western colonizers with suspicion, whereas they harbour no such doubts about Israel, a young and small nation. Our country, they say, has specialists who can be 'resold.' Meanwhile, Europe has capital that can be exported. Why not join our forces to develop the so-called underdeveloped countries?"

An even clearer expression of this idea came from the American Senator Lyman in a speech delivered on April 20, 1959. Lyman stated: "This small Israel is already, in many ways, serving the interests of the free world... One of its key services can be expressed through fostering friendly relations with the peoples and new states of Africa, not only in its own name but also in the name of Western democracy and freedom."

Zionist leaders have worked hard to justify all the hopes of their imperialist patrons. During a tour in America and Western Europe, former Prime Minister Ben-Gurion informed the governments of these countries about the "modest but successful activities of Israel in Africa." At a press conference in The Hague, Ben-Gurion expressed satisfaction, noting that now "Europe understands even more clearly what role Israel can play in Africa."

To obscure the real reasons behind the Zionists' interest in the "black continent," the yellow press often attempts to highlight the so-called "commonalities" between the

state of Israel and African nations, portraving both as "developing nations" with "shared problems," among other things. In reality, the issue lies elsewhere. Israel's "role" in Africa manifests itself in various ways — from sending specialists and establishing joint ventures to offering loans and organizing training courses and seminars for preparing personnel for African states. For several years, in a number of African countries. Israel has established mixed enterprises in which Israeli capital plays the leading role. In Nigeria, Israel has founded six companies with an annual turnover of 15 million pounds sterling. The construction conglomerate Solel Boneh has extended its branches to Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria and Ethiopia. Israeli firms such as Mekorot, CIM, Meir Brothers, Dizengoff West Africa and others have become embedded in Africa's economic landscape. The profits generated from these ventures differ very little from the colonial exploitation that these countries once endured — or still endure under the old colonial powers. In fact, only the forms and names have changed. In these joint enterprises, Israel acts as a tool of international capital, as these firms are almost entirely financed by American, British, and West German monopolies, among others.

The same applies to the field of "aid" programs, loans and credits for African countries. According to data from the British magazine *The Economist*, in 1966, the Israeli government provided \$20 million to African countries, distributed as follows: \$8 million

to Nigeria, \$4 million to Ghana, \$3 million to Liberia, \$2.8 million to Kenya, \$1.5 million to Ivory Coast and so on.

There are other chapters in Israel's intervention program in Africa. According to the magazine Acta Africana, between 1958 and 1963, Tel Aviv sent 1,095 specialists in various fields to African countries. Within a single year (1963), 424 Israeli experts were active in 30 African countries. During the same period, the number of foreign students receiving Israeli scholarships reached 6,165, of whom 3,443 were Africans. Several permanent courses for participants from Africa are conducted through the channels of right-wing Jewish unions. These unions were established and are managed by the professional associations of Histadrut, which is actively supported by American yellow unions.

For seven years now, Israel has also established and operated a higher Afro-Asian institute to train union and cooperative leaders from these two continents. Doesn't it create the impression that the Zionists in Tel Aviv are becoming excessively concerned with the fate of unions and cooperatives in the countries of Asia and Africa? Where does this overwhelming interest in preparing cadres for social and cooperative organizations in these countries come from?

The answers to these questions can be found in the following facts.

One of the two directors of the institute for training union and cooperative leaders for Africa and Asia, established in Israel, is George Meany, the president of the executive committee of the American Federation of Labor. Meany is a long-time agent of imperialism within the ranks of the American working class and a fervent supporter of American aggression in Vietnam. The other director of this institute is the Zionist Eilat, Israel's former ambassador to England.

The second fact: Histadrut pays only half of the expenses for maintaining this institute. The other half is funded by American yellow unions led by George Meany. Explaining this "generosity" from the reactionary leadership of the American unions, their vice president, Walter Reuther, said: "Israel and Histadrut are capable of playing an important and vital role in building a bridge between the West and the new states of Africa and Asia. Israel can fulfil this mission because the people of these new states view it without suspicion. That is why we actively support and fund the Afro-Asian institute under Histadrut."

It is not difficult to understand that a small country like Israel, which itself survives on foreign aid and is entangled in the claws of foreign monopolies, does not have the resources to provide millions of dollars in loans to African countries, offer scholarships to thousands of foreign students or establish specialized institutions for training cadres for other continents. Israel is not a country that produces capital or has discovered treasures like those in fairy tales. As we will see further below, its economy is a transplanted, imbalanced and parasitic economy, one that is

artificially sustained through external financing. It is not an independent national economy. Israel is the only country in the world where foreign aid amounts to \$100 per capita per year. And naturally, obtaining all this aid does not come without conditions. A portion of these funds merely passes through Israeli banks, while their ultimate destination is predetermined for purposes of subversion and exploitation of African peoples. The budget of the Israeli government is always in deficit, yet loans are granted to Ghana, Nigeria or Sierra Leone. How can this be explained? Such guestions are frequently raised by members of the Knesset to the Minister of Finance, as there is no provision in the Israeli budget for such expenditures. The Minister of Finance, however, never answers these questions directly!

Israeli leaders, as expressed by Levi Eshkol, believe that intervention in Africa could bring them "prosperity for generations to come." These predictions are based on the experience of colonial powers, which for generations amassed immense wealth at the expense of African and Asian peoples. It must be said that, in some respects, the profits of Zionist colonialists in these countries are not insignificant. At least for now, African enterprises help Israeli capitalists stabilize their finances and offset losses elsewhere. In trade with African countries, Israeli exports are twice as high as imports, whereas in trade with the U.S. and Europe, imports exceed exports three-fold, creating a significant trade deficit.

However, today's Africa is not the same



Eshkol: "We received guarantees from the United States when we approached them for weapons. They told us: 'Don't spend your money. We are here. Our Sixth Fleet is here."

as it was in the last century. Historical experience has taught Africa many lessons. The goals of Zionist intervention — as agents of the old colonialists and representatives of neo-colonialism — are becoming increasingly evident. The Third Conference of African Peoples, held in March 1961, classified Israel among the imperialist states, describing it as a country that extensively employs neo-colonial tactics on the continent. Similarly, a meeting of several African heads of state in Casablanca condemned Israel as a base of imperialism.

The African peoples have many reasons to evaluate the state of Israel in this way. Israel not only engages in economic colonial exploitation of these peoples for its own benefit and on behalf of imperialist monopolies, but it has also committed numerous crimes in the field of political and military intervention against the peoples of Africa. If we examine the official documents of the United Nations, we will see that in discussions on any issue related to Africa, the representative of Tel Aviv has consistently sided with the colonial powers and opposed granting independence to these peoples. The Israeli government has always been on the side of the enemies of African peoples. Israeli officers sent to Africa have assisted and trained the mercenary armies of Tshombe and Mobutu. They have readily supported reactionary forces serving imperialism in the Congo, Southern Africa, Angola and Mozambique. Patriots in these countries have often been shot and killed with Uzi rifles, manufactured in Israel. When the Algerian people, during the days of their independence, faced the terrorists of the OAS,* they simultaneously encountered Zionist agents who actively supported the fascist criminals trying to preserve colonial rule in Algeria.

When a large number of African countries, contrary to the wishes and efforts of the imperialist colonizers, achieved independence, Israeli leaders changed their stance and joined the camp of the neo-colonialists. They sought to present themselves as friends of the African peoples, established diplomatic relations with them and offered "aid." Zionist leaders even declared that African countries had "the same problems" as Israel, claiming that Africa's path was "Israel's path."

Both the "aid" and the "advice" on which path Africa should follow came from across the ocean. Israel was indeed a model, but what kind of model? A model of dependence on American imperialism and of bloody terror.

^{*} French Secret Army Organization.

A NEW EMPIRE?

In the autumn of 1957, at a time when Syria was threatened by an aggression in which Israel was to participate, the international press revealed the details of a strategic plan by the Israeli General Staff. This plan sheds light on Israel's current policies and the June aggression against the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Syria.

The Israeli General Staff's plan provided a detailed analysis of the political and economic situation of the country and its neighbours, while also assessing the military potential and readiness for war of both sides. The operational plans of the general staff of any state reflect, in a concentrated form, the goals of the ruling class of that state. Therefore, to better understand Israel's current position and the stance of its supporters, it is worthwhile to mention some details of this plan.

The plan stated: "The main objective of the state of Israel consists of gathering all Jews, scattered across various countries of the world, which requires a permanent emigration to Israel within a generation." (Two years later, on January 31, 1959, in a speech in Rehovot, former Minister of Defence Shimon Peres stated that the mass immigration of Jews would allow Israel to call up an army of one million people, at which point "no Arab state would be able to withstand it.") Along with the task of doubling the population, the plan also emphasized the necessity of expanding Israel's territory at the expense of neighbour-

ing countries. Recognizing that this territorial expansion could only be achieved through war, the authors of the plan also outlined military operations aimed at a redivision of the Arab world: "The main goal is to seize Arab territories, establish our control there, and allocate the material resources to the Jewish population and national minorities living in Israel's territory." The plan envisioned the annexation of territories stretching to the Suez Canal, along the Litani River and as far as the Persian Gulf. Moreover, according to the authors of the plan, this was only the "minimum program."

Regarding the territories that should become part of the state of Israel (along with their corresponding justifications), the strategists in the General Staff in Tel Aviv write the following: "Southern Zone: The Gaza region. The occupation of this region guarantees the security of our vital centres, creates the possibility of controlling the southern part of the Sinai Peninsula, and ensures access to the port of Eilat. The Sinai Peninsula: The occupation of the Sinai Peninsula will prevent an Egyptian attack, as Egypt itself will face the risk of an assault from our side. Eastern Zone: The West Bank (the triangle), Mount Hiron, including the desert region. The occupation of these territories enables Israel to strengthen its borders with Iraq and Saudi Arabia. Northern Zone: Galilee-Hermon-Litani. An attack in this region allows for the capture of these sectors: Hermon, Laja, Yarmouk and Northern Galilee, up to the Litani River."

Furthermore, the Israeli General Staff's strategic plan envisioned the creation of several new states, which, by being in constant conflict with one another, would weaken to the point of becoming satellites of Israel. The plan stated: "To destroy Arab unity and intensify sectarian disputes among them, measures should be taken at the beginning of the war to create several new states on Arab territory: a Druze state (the desert and Mount Tadmor); a Shiite state (in the Eretz and Asher regions of Lebanon); a Maronite state (the mountain ranges of Lebanon up to the current northern border of Lebanon); an Alawite state (Latakia to the Turkish border); a Kurdish state (northern Iraq); and a state or autonomous district for the Copts. Arab territory (including the desert) will be divided among these aforementioned states."

According to this plan, the following territories would remain Arab: Damascus, Southern Iraq, Egypt, and the central and southern parts of Saudi Arabia. "It is desirable for these territories to be separated from one another by a broad, non-Arab corridor." The plan also accounted for the possibility of Israel's defeat if it acted alone in implementing this strategy. Therefore, it outlined a special role for the United States, Britain and other imperialist countries, which would immediately come to Israel's aid. The plan emphasized: "The United States of America is interested in a confrontation between Israel and the Arab countries, and therefore, they will support Israel if it starts a war with the Arab nations. The U.S.

interest in the strategic points of the Middle East is explained by its aim to strengthen its position in this oil-rich region."

Additionally, it stated: "During the war, the main source of dollar reserves will come from the United States."

Further, the Israeli General Staff's plan also outlined methods for orchestrating propaganda and creating a smokescreen to conceal the true reasons behind the launch of a military attack against Arab countries. At the time, the Israeli government attempted to deny the existence of this plan. However, shortly after, several foreign press outlets published the full text. Following this, Tel Aviv opted for silence. In truth, even before the publication of this plan, David Ben-Gurion's government had already revealed its intentions. As early as 1950, Ben-Gurion openly declared: "We must fight enthusiastically, both on the path of conquests and on the front of diplomacy, to thus create the Israeli empire (emphasis mine — YM), which would encompass all the lands between the Nile and the Euphrates." This call was repeated by Moshe Dayan in a radio address in 1952: "The burden of preparing for war falls once again on the Israeli army. It must accomplish the ultimate goal: the establishment of the Israeli empire."

Such declarations continued in subsequent years. The Israeli magazine *Haboker*, in its April 1964 issue, published a statement by Ben-Gurion in which he said: "The territory of Israel would have been much larger if Moshe Dayan had been the head of the Gen-

eral Staff in 1948."

This compliment from the former Prime Minister toward the general, who had been trained in British officer schools, sparked heated debates at the time. Senior officers who commanded the Israeli army during the first war against the Arabs sought instead to shift the blame onto Ben-Gurion himself. One of them, the current Minister of Labour, Allon, wrote: "When the Minister of Defence (at that time, the Minister of Defence was Ben-Gurion) ordered a ceasefire, our armies were on the verge of achieving brilliant victories on all fronts — from the Litani in the north to the Sinai in the south. If the war had continued for just a few more days, we would have crushed the Arab armies and liberated all of our national territory" (!?).

From these two statements, it becomes clear that even the borders of 1964 were far from satisfactory for the Israeli Zionist leaders. According to them, Israel's "national border" and its "historical lands" extend far beyond Palestine. Zionist leaders have a completely different understanding of the map of Palestine, one that is entirely at odds with what is recognized and accepted in all geography textbooks. These ambitions of Zionist leaders have deep roots. In Theodor Herzl's Memoirs, it is explicitly stated that the goal of the Jews is the "revival of the Palestine of David and Solomon." In the second volume of his *Memoirs*, while discussing negotiations with the Turks over the creation of a "Jewish homeland," Herzl wrote: "The Turkish government asked us to pay 40 million francs. In exchange, they offered to grant us a concession to build a railway from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean Sea, and to allow us to establish colonies in Palestine on a territory of 70,000 square kilometres."

The founder of Zionism, Herzl, even back then, envisioned Palestine as covering 70,000 square kilometres, although in all the geographic maps of the time — when Palestine was under the British Mandate — it never exceeded 26,000 square kilometres. Nevertheless, Herzl, to clarify his ambitions further, wrote elsewhere in his *Memoirs*: "The territory of Israel must stretch from the Nile to the Euphrates, although initially, for purposes of consolidation, a transitional period will be necessary... As soon as the Jewish population comprises two-thirds of the total population, it will be possible to establish Jewish political domination."

In 1917, a Zionist organization supported by the British published a magazine entitled *Palestine*. This magazine focussed primarily on "explaining" the borders of the "future Jewish homeland." In an article entitled "The Borders of Palestine," published on February 15, 1917, the magazine wrote: "The borders we refer to are the borders of tomorrow's Palestine. The lands we need include the inheritance of the 12 Israelite tribes mentioned in the Bible. In addition to these, we also need other territories to ensure the unity and security of our homeland. Here are our borders: to the west — the Mediterranean Sea; to the

north and east — a line stretching from the north to Sidon, and in the south to Damascus, descending to Tiberias and the Dead Sea..." The current Israeli government, throughout its existence, has taken these aspirations of the founders of the Zionist organization into account and has regarded the borders of the state of Israel as temporary — as a transitional phase that must be overcome. The students remain loyal to their teacher. The only difference between the statements and Memoirs published half a century ago and the strategic plan of the Israeli General Staff, as cited above, is that the latter is more concretely defined and is now being implemented. With the third large-scale aggression against Arab countries in June 1967, the state of Israel nearly tripled its territory compared to what it held as of June 4, 1967 (see Map No. 3). Under Israeli military occupation the Sinai Peninsula. the entire West Bank of the Jordan River, Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip and part of Syria fell.

This new expansion into Arab territories further intoxicated Zionist leaders, both in Tel Aviv and beyond Israel. The noise and chauvinist slogans reached a new level. "The invincibility" of Israel, "the genius" of Dayan, "the realization of the dream" — these themes filled the pages of the Zionist press and the screens of cinemas endlessly. Tel Aviv radio told its listeners: "For decades to come, military academies will glorify Israel's air operations as the finest example of military art, comparable only to the decisive successes of the German Luftwaffe during the 1939 attack



on Poland."

We, too, could not find a more fitting comparison for the Israeli criminals than the Hitlerite bands.

In the statements of Eshkol, Dayan and other Jewish leaders, there is a remarkably rapid escalation toward their ultimate objective — retaining the occupied territories and even expanding them further in the future.

A few hours before the Israeli army launched its new attack on Arab countries, on the evening of June 4, Prime Minister Levi Eshkol gave a speech on national television. Observers noted that the Prime Minister appeared very tired and nervous. Struggling to control himself, he stated: "Israel does not want to seize even one inch of Arab land. Its main goal is to live in peace with its Arab neighbours."

In reality, the decision to start the war against the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Syria had been made, as was later revealed, 36 hours before Eshkol gave this speech. Only a few weeks later, Tel Aviv began escalating its territorial claims on Arab countries. From declarations such as "we do not want even one inch of Arab land," they shifted to: "We will keep Jerusalem at any cost." Later, the Israeli government leaders began speaking about the "borders" of 1967, until Eshkol eventually declared: "There is no more natural border than the Suez Canal." Moshe Dayan, who sets the tone for Tel Aviv's policies, speaking before the congress of the RAFI party, known for its chauvinism, listed the ancient Jewish cities mentioned in the Bible and said: "We need the land where our ancestors were born." He "warned" the Arabs with brutal clarity: if they attempt to reclaim their lost lands, the Israeli army will head for Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad and Amman.

Amid these chauvinist outbursts, the theory of "Lebensraum" (living space), borrowed from Hitler, is once again re-emerging. Emotional appeals are being made to Jews in the "diaspora" (Jews living in other countries) to come to Israel and populate the occupied territories so the world will be faced with a fait accompli. In Tel Aviv and Washington, plans are being drafted once again for a "federation of Middle Eastern states," with Israel as its nucleus. Some points from the Israeli General Staff's 1957 strategic plan are resurfacing. For instance, General Allon, the Minister of Labour, lamented that during the attack on Syria, the objective of capturing the Jebel Druze region and establishing an "autonomous government" there was not achieved. On November 23, 1967, in an article in the magazine Ot (the organ of the "Mapai" party), General Allon wrote: "We made a mistake by not attacking Syria earlier, but only on the fifth day of the war... Because of these hesitations, Israel lost its only opportunity to capture Jebel Druze and establish an autonomous government there that would have been ready to cooperate with us."

The military victory has so intoxicated the Zionist chauvinists that they have lost all sense of reality.

THE FIFTH COLUMN

A small villa on the outskirts of the Syrian capital, Damascus. Surrounded by evergreen trees, the building appears tucked away in a corner of a vast park. The only noticeable feature in this peaceful, green setting is a sign at the entrance: "The American Friends of the Middle East."

Yes, this was (or, more precisely, had been) the headquarters of the Syrian branch of this American organization, "The American Friends of the Middle East." On the surface, nothing unusual: cultural and scientific exchanges. However, behind this innocent-looking sign lay, for a long time, the "fifth column" in Syria — an intricate network of American and Zionist espionage. In the spring of 1967, a few months before the Israeli aggression against Arab countries, it was revealed that "The American Friends of the Middle East" and its branches in Arab countries had for many years been financed by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of the United States. Additionally, a significant source of funding for these organizations came from a Zionist fund in America named after Ernest Rabbat. which has direct ties to Israeli intelligence. The mission of "The American Friends of the Middle East" was not only to collect information and organize sabotage for the benefit of the CIA but also on behalf of the Israeli intelligence agency, Shin Bet.

It is often said that Shin Bet was created in 1948, along with the state of Israel. However,

its history is much older. In the 1930s, in the territory of Palestine, with the help of British intelligence, a Zionist terrorist organization called Haganah was formed. The Haganah was the first to launch armed attacks against the Arab population. It killed and plundered Arabs using methods akin to those of the Mafia or the Ku Klux Klan. And it was from the ranks of the Haganah that today's Israeli intelligence, Shin Bet, emerged. Over time, Shin Bet gained increasing influence within Zionist leadership circles, both in the Tel Aviv government and in international Zionist organizations. Many of Israel's current government leaders, including Defence Minister Moshe Dayan and Foreign Minister Abba Eban, came from the ranks of Shin Bet.

For more than 30 years, the invisible threads of Shin Bet have stretched and crossed like a spider's web across both sides of the Suez Canal, throughout oil fields and into the capitals of the Arab world. This spider web has taken on various forms, adapting to the situations and tasks assigned to it by the major imperialist powers and Israeli reactionaries. In most cases, the actions of *Shin Bet have* remained concealed, and many may never be uncovered. However, traces of this hidden hand have occasionally surfaced in the international press. I will highlight just two examples.

In 1951, an incident occurred in Iraq that reminded people of the Reichstag fire orchestrated by the nazis: the Baghdad Synagogue was bombed. In Israel and international Zion-

ist circles, there was an uproar about the "persecution" of Jews in Iraq and across the Arab world. The leaders of Tel Aviv threatened retaliatory measures. But what was the truth of the matter? The Baghdad Synagogue was set on fire by agents of Shin Bet to provoke the emigration of Iraqi Jews to Israel and to sow hostility between Arabs and Jews.

Three years later, Shin Bet agents undertook a high-level operation — an attempt to incite a conflict between Egypt and the United States. In the history of the Zionist leaders' misadventures, there will undoubtedly be a chapter dedicated to the "Lavon Affair." It stands as one of the most disgraceful scandals involving Tel Aviv's highest circles.

In 1954, negotiations were taking place between Britain and Egypt regarding the revision of the exploitative 1936 treaty. The Egyptian Republic demanded the withdrawal of British troops from the Suez Canal zone. The Israeli government sought to sabotage these negotiations. The British military presence in the Suez Canal was seen by Tel Aviv as a guarantee for the state of Israel. When it became clear that Britain was being forced to sign the agreement for troop withdrawal and that Egypt's persistent demands were gaining traction, the Israeli government resorted to open provocations. This led to a spy thriller that later became known as the "Lavon Affair."

At the time, in 1954, Pinhas Lavon was the Minister of Defence in Sharett's government. Ben-Gurion, furious that the Knesset had not granted him full dictatorial powers as he had

requested, kept his distance from the government, residing in a villa in the Negev Desert. However, he continued to control the government's military policy from behind the scenes through his two loyal allies — the Chief of the General Staff Moshe Dayan and the Director-General of the Ministry of Defence, Shimon Peres.

When it became apparent that British troops could no longer remain in the Suez zone and Egypt's position was strengthening, Israeli intelligence ordered its agents to carry out a series of sabotage actions against the U.S. and British diplomatic missions in Egypt. The provocations were organized in such a way as to create the impression that they had been orchestrated by the Egyptian government. The intended result of these events, according to the planners, was to disrupt the negotiations for British troop withdrawal and provoke a conflict between the United States and Egypt.

Thus, on July 15, 1954, almost simultaneously, fires broke out at the library of the U.S. Embassy in Cairo and the U.S. Information Service centre in Alexandria.

The Egyptian government took strict measures and the saboteurs were caught. In January 1955, they were executed. Investigations revealed that all these acts were the work of Shin Bet agents. The capture and exposure of Shin Bet agents placed the Israeli government in a very unfavourable position, especially in the eyes of its patron, the U.S. government. As a result, someone in the upper Zionist circles had to be punished to create the impression

that the Tel Aviv government was unaware of what had happened. Acting on Ben-Gurion's orders, Dayan and Peres placed the blame on Lavon, the Minister of Defence. Following their instructions, the head of intelligence, Gibli, framed the case to make it appear as though the orders had been issued personally by Lavon without anyone else's knowledge. Five different commissions investigated the "Lavon Affair," yet none could confirm that this was an act carried out solely by Lavon. Nonetheless, in the end, the Minister of Defence resigned and was replaced by Ben-Gurion himself. The matter was effectively closed.

Eleven days after this change in the Ministry of Defence, the Israeli military orchestrated one of the bloodiest border incidents in the town of Khan Yunis in the Gaza region. This attack on Gaza, along with another in the Sinai Peninsula, resulted in Israel occupying the demilitarized zone in El-Auja and its communication lines, which later played a significant role in the aggression against Egypt in the autumn of 1956.

But let us return to the "fifth column."

Within Israel, Shin Bet has become a sort of shadow government, with plans that extend far and wide. As its influence in Israel grows, its ties with the U.S. CIA also deepen. The collaboration between Shin Bet and American intelligence was particularly evident in the preparation for the most recent aggression. American intelligence, determined to ensure Israel's victory in this war at any cost, mobilized its entire network across the Arab

countries. Before the aggression began, the Israeli General Staff was provided with all the necessary details about the state of the Arab armies.

Recently, a book entitled Israel's War for Existence was published in the United States. This book was written by a group of American authors who served in various United Nations organizations in Israel, Jordan and the United Arab Republic. The title of this book clearly reflects the political sympathies of the authors, as well as the "services" these emissaries of Washington have rendered in this region. They placed signs at the gates of their villas, like the one on the outskirts of Damascus, or with the initials of the United Nations, while engaging in entirely different activities. Nevertheless, their book holds some value. It sheds light on a very dark corner of the broader American and British conspiracy against the Arab countries. The book openly acknowledges that the infamous CIA of the United States has, for a long time, intensified its conspiratorial activities across all the Arab countries. Before the Israeli aggression began, the CIA, through its network, managed to collect detailed information on the military situation in the Middle East: the balance of forces, the capabilities of each country's military, troop deployments, operational plans, supply depots and supply routes. The Israeli General Staff was provided with all the figures related to the Arab armies, their movements, and even details such as the exact location of each aircraft on its runway and the fuel depots

at the airfields. American intelligence gave Israel comprehensive reports on the airbases of the United Arab Republic, particularly those in the Sinai Peninsula. The authors of the aforementioned book confirm that President Johnson was not caught off guard by the news of the outbreak of hostilities, and he was not at all concerned about Israel's fate. The American intelligence service had already provided him with all the details, along with the note that, if Israel launched the war first, it would be able to destroy all Egyptian air forces within 24 hours. The claims made in this book are further corroborated by official reports from the United Arab Republic, which revealed that downed Israeli pilots were carrying American maps that detailed all the targets to be bombed. Equipped with these maps, Israeli pilots were so well-informed about their bombing targets that they wasted very few bombs on decoy aircraft. They even knew which fuel tankers were empty.

This was the role of "The American Friends of the Middle East," who, for a long time, roamed these countries and continue to attempt to do so under the green banner of "United Nations forces" or other labels.

IN THE CLUTCHES OF AMERICAN MONOPOLIES

Without a doubt, as time goes on, the full extent of the backstory behind Israel's June 1967 aggression against the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan will come to light. Even now, Zionist leaders occasionally lift a corner of the curtain and the global public learns specific details about the organization of this conspiracy. In every instance, the hand of the United States appears as a dark stain.

The American news agency UPI stated that "the plans for the military operations were developed by the Israeli General Staff over many years." Of course, there is no doubt about this. This aggression was neither accidental nor the result of preparations made over a few days or months. But the question arises: did only the Israeli General Staff participate in crafting these plans? It is a wellknown fact that as soon as the aggression began and during its execution, detailed "analyses" and "recommendations" by military observers were published in the American press, advising when, where and how Israeli military operations should be carried out. The American press emphasized that lessons from the Vietnam War should be taken into account by the Israeli General Staff.

In Tel Aviv, this advice from the American press was not ignored. Following the example of the American aggressors in Vietnam, the Israeli military used napalm in many sectors of the Jordanian front, bombed field hospitals and targeted ambulances. The influence of Pentagon generals on the development of military operations against Arab nations was not limited to "advice and recommendations." It was far more active. From March to May, the United States supplied Israel with 250 aircraft and 400 tanks. The arrival of these hundreds of war machines within two months clearly demonstrates that the attack on Arab countries was meticulously planned in advance and that the decision to launch it had been made at the highest levels in Washington and Tel Aviv.

In an interview published in the American weekly U.S. News & World Report on April 17, 1967, Prime Minister Eshkol revealed that Washington had given him "solemn guarantees." "When we asked the United States for weapons," Eshkol declared, "they assured us by saving: 'Don't spend your money. We are here. Our Sixth Fleet is here." (And indeed. the American Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean closely monitored all operations and acted as a shield for the aggressors both at sea and in the air). A few days before the Israeli aggression began, a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, Bryan Dorn, drew this parallel: "Our obligations and guarantees to support Israel are just as real and determined as our obligations and guarantees to support South Vietnam."

To quell the vigilance of Arab nations and mask Israel's preparations for war, several highly specialized American and British disinformation outlets carried out a dense propaganda campaign for weeks, claiming that Israel's military potential was much smaller than that of the Arab countries. These outlets published figures stating that Israel had no more than five armoured divisions and 200 aircraft. In reality, on June 5, Israel deployed eight armoured divisions and 500 aircraft against the United Arab Republic alone. A portion of this military machinery was operated by around 1,000 "volunteers" — pilots and technicians — who had previously served in the U.S. military and arrived in Israel just before the aggression began.

The United States' particular interest in strengthening and, if possible, expanding Israel's reach deeper into the Middle East has deep roots and pursues strategic objectives for the entire region. For the U.S., supporting the Tel Aviv clique has always been a cornerstone of its interests in the Middle East. The importance of an American presence in the region's oil-rich fields and at this crossroads of international routes was clearly articulated by the American historian Ber in his book, The Centre Where the Fate of East and West is Decided. Reflecting on the lessons of past wars, during which imperialist powers sought to use the Middle East as both a reserve and a springboard, Ber writes: "The American General Staff not only remembered the lessons of World War II but also understood very well the importance of the Near and Middle East as a springboard... as an essential element for strengthening NATO's southeastern flank. Based on this, it has concluded that this region holds a decisive role in implementing its

global strategy of containment and intimidation." In his conclusions, Ber states, "The U.S. is trying to achieve what the Germans could not accomplish with General Rommel."

Naturally, if these goals could not be achieved during Rommel's time, they are even less likely to succeed today, when the Middle East is awake and a number of independent. freedom-loving states are growing stronger on its soil. Nonetheless, the imperialists do not abandon their efforts. In 1955, the U.S. orchestrated a military bloc in the Middle East, though only one Arab country, Nuri Said's Iraq, joined it. When the Baghdad Pact lost Baghdad three years later, the only place in the Middle East where Washington's emissaries could "tie their horses" was Israel. From then on, American imperialists focussed their attention on this country, hoping to tilt the balance in favour of U.S. imperialism.

During the first 14 years of its existence, Israel absorbed \$4.5 billion in foreign capital through various channels. Every sector of its economy fell into the hands of imperialist monopolies. By 1960, more than 47 per cent of the national budget's revenue came from foreign "aid." The influx of this capital not only opened Israel's economic gates to American monopolies but also allowed these monopolies to dictate the country's policies and way of life. The government of Ben-Gurion passed a special law to encourage foreign investment, a law reminiscent only of nations that have entirely lost their independence. Under this law, foreign investors were granted the right

to transfer all their profits out of Israel, while foreign enterprises were exempt from taxes for five or even ten years, alongside many other privileges.

As early as 1957, half of the invested capital in Israel was American, while 20-25 per cent came from West Germany. Even the Institute for Industrial Investments fell into the hands of American monopolies and became an institution that distributed loans originating from across the ocean. American capital penetrated every corner of the country. Zionist sources reveal that American participation in the private sector initially accounted for 32.8 per cent of total foreign investments; the British held 11.6 per cent, Canadians 7.5 per cent and the French 3.2 per cent. By 1956, American participation increased to 56 per cent, and by 1957, it had reached 73 per cent. By 1959, over 20,000 Americans owned bonds in Israel's industrial sector, while several hundred others owned various enterprises that made up a significant portion of the country's economy. Starting in 1958, the Israeli government began selling off its enterprises. Within a single year, 12 industrial enterprises were sold to American monopolies. This sell-off has continued annually, and the point is nearing where there will be nothing left to sell. In 1961, American companies secured the right to extract mineral salts from the Dead Sea until 1999. An American aluminium company exploits phosphates in the Negev Desert. A group of American capitalists, led by Rothberg, has taken ownership of chemical factories.

As expected, this type of economic development did not lead to the strengthening of the country's independence but the opposite. As the director of the Bank of Israel noted. the influx of foreign capital does not bring the country closer to economic independence but pushes it further away. Two indicators that grow year after year in Israel's budget are national debt and the trade deficit. By 1964, the state budget deficit reached \$528 million. A year later, in 1965, the deficit doubled, reaching \$1.04 billion. Each year, around 20 per cent of the budget is spent on repaying foreign loans. Adding to this, around 40 per cent of the budget is allocated to military expenditures. This makes it even clearer where the dollars borrowed by the Zionist clique in Tel Aviv from American, British or West German monopolists are being spent.

Dependency on American capital has deeply influenced all aspects of life in Israel. All political parties in the country (more than ten in total), ranging from those that call themselves "leftist" to openly fascist ones, regularly receive bribes from the Zionist organization "United Jewish Appeal," which is controlled by the Americans. According to the American banker James Warburg, this organization allocates over \$4 million annually to Israeli political parties. The American embassy in Tel Aviv has special funds dedicated to purchasing the loyalty of political parties, state officials and media outlets whenever the embassy needs their services.

In this state, established under the slogans

of being the "Homeland for All Jews" and the promotion of a "Jewish Paradise," people have been divided according to their countries of origin into preferred and non-preferred categories, as well as into millionaires and beggars. Immigrants arriving from Europe and the United States are classified as "elite Jews." while those coming from Africa, Asia or Arab countries are categorized as "impure Jews" or "black Jews." Members of the "Israelite sect" who arrived from India are not even allowed to marry in Israel because they are considered "impure Jews." Government authorities argue that Jews from India and Arab countries have not been sufficiently exposed to Jewish culture over the past nine centuries. To protest against this discrimination, immigrants from these regions have formed committees and occasionally organize demonstrations, but these protests almost always end badly for them.

During the June 1967 aggression, the Paris-based newspaper International Herald Tribune published a letter from one of its readers, the American Barney Zosenbaum, which stated: "When I visited Israel for the third time earlier this year, I felt that terrible things were happening in this country. Two hundred thousand people are unemployed, or about one-tenth of the population... I must admit that during my last trip, I became disillusioned. The enthusiasm that gripped me in 1948 cooled this time... An Israeli acquaintance once told me with a grim expression that the classic way to eliminate unemployment is to arm the unemployed with rifles. Such a solution, he said, is like injecting adrenaline into the veins of an industry that has stalled due to a lack of raw materials. Later, it became evident that this Israeli was not speaking idly." From its earliest days, Israel became a country of the harshest capitalist exploitation. The upper Jewish bourgeoisie, primarily from Europe and America, continued to enrich itself, while the broader Jewish masses who had been lured to Palestine in search of an escape from capitalist exploitation fell into even deeper misery and greater poverty. Today, Israel has approximately 2,000 millionaires. Ten per cent of the population controls as much national income as 50 per cent of the country's population combined.

Over 20 years (1947-67), 250,000 Jewish immigrants who came to Palestine were forced to return to where they had come from. This number would likely be much higher if all those wishing to leave the country had the means to do so.

Twenty years of this state — imported into the heart of the Arab world by imperialism — have demonstrated that it is a militarized state and a society divided by racist castes. The gathering of all Jews around Mount Zion did not bring about the utopia so heavily promoted by the upper Jewish bourgeoisie and the leaders of the international Zionist organization. The sweet promises of these agents of imperialism aimed only to create an exploitable asset: the broad masses of Jewish immigrants and the land of Palestine itself. Thousands upon thousands of immigrants from various parts of the

world were confronted with a harsh reality of capitalist exploitation, social injustice, unemployment and racial discrimination.

THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICE CHANGES ITS PATTERN

The American Major General John Norton, commander of the first air-mobile division, pressed a button on the corner of his desk, and the curtain covering the entire surface of the wall opposite him drew back to both sides. The general rose from his chair and placed a hand on his guest's shoulder.

"For you, my general, all doors here are open. No secrets between us. Westmoreland himself has spoken to me about you."

The guest stood at attention and directed his single eye at the familiar map, covered in various colours and intersecting arrows. General Norton began explaining to his guest the details of the American army's operations in South Vietnam.

"Difficult, my general, very difficult. But our army will prevail in this situation," continued the American host, attempting to convey optimism.

"I've seen it with my own eyes (he did not say with my eye) over these past days," replied the guest. "Your armaments are the envy of any commander-in-chief!"

The guest observed everything from the perspective of a commander-in-chief, even though he had come to South Vietnam as a "retired military officer." Perhaps this distant journey would serve as a stepping stone toward that objective.

This "special guest" of the U.S. government was Moshe Dayan, currently the Israeli

Minister of Defence. At the time of his visit to South Vietnam (summer 1966). Davan held no official position in the military of his own country. However, his past, as well as the future awaiting him, required that he gain firsthand experience from the battlefields. But let us proceed chronologically, as even the early years of Moshe Dayan's life carry significant importance. It is said that, as early as the age of 12, he learned to track Bedouins in the desert; by the time he turned 14, he began the career that would elevate him so high within Zionist circles. Dayan joined the secret Jewish organization Haganah, which was involved in terrorizing Arabs. From that time, Moshe fell into trained hands. The British intelligence officer Captain Wingate recognized a born spy in him. "You possess three qualities we need," his instructor told him one day. "You are not only a Jew but our Jew. You know Arabic, and what a man in the Intelligence Service requires most is determination and a sense of duty."

Four years later, young Moshe fully justified Captain Wingate's confidence in him. The Intelligence Service assigned him special tasks not only in Palestine but also in Syria and Lebanon.

In truth, Dayan's fanatical loyalty to his mentor came at a high personal cost. While working as an agent of the Intelligence Service in Lebanon, he lost one eye, but "duty above all" — and even a loss can turn into a victory. His patrons would surely value the loyalty of their apprentice, especially at a time

when they were withdrawing from Palestine and needed trusted individuals to leave in charge of the secret Zionist units preparing to seize the land.

During the ceremonies marking the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, Moshe had no time to participate. He was busy fighting Arabs, no longer shooting from behind



bushes or handing over a rebel — to whom he had pretended to be a comrade-in-arms just the day before — to the British gallows. No, by now Moshe Dayan commanded entire units of Jewish terrorists and could speak to the Arabs in the way he had always wanted — with iron and fire, killing them in the fields, on the streets, in their homes, wherever he pleased.

He knew that this was not only the fulfilment of his duty as a product of the Intelligence Service and its offspring, the Haganah organization, but also his path to climbing higher and higher in the hierarchy of Tel Aviv. Where else could the Zionists find a more loyal man to serve the cause they had created — the state of Israel? Moshe Dayan donned the epaulets of a colonel. Within less than five years, the man with the black patch over his eye was seen wearing a general's uniform. He rose to the position of Chief of the General Staff.

Before this promotion, another event of some significance occurred in Colonel Dayan's life: he completed a course of lectures at the British Military Academy in Camberley. His old friends had not forgotten the man who had lost an eye in their service. This was of great importance to the Chief of the General Staff. Every smile from his old allies signified that his career was still advancing. Now, new services were demanded of the general — on a broader scale, worthy of a Chief of Staff. The simple agent of two intelligence organizations became an operations leader, working alongside two major powers — Britain and France — not merely in ambushes behind enemy lines but on vast fronts against the Arabs.

However, what Moshe Dayan likes to call the "Sinai Campaign of 1956" did not bring him any laurels.

Moshe withdrew into the shadows.

Later, he held a number of positions — Knesset member, Minister of Agriculture — but Moshe's mind was elsewhere. And once

again, he faded into obscurity. Reports about him became infrequent, reduced to a minimum. Some said Moshe had devoted himself primarily to archaeology. Others claimed he spent his time hunting ducks. Perhaps both were true, but even more accurate was that Dayan's "archaeology" had less to do with the ancient temples of Jerusalem and more to do with fresh graves and the legacy of Rommel and Guderian — dusting off the theories of "blitzkrieg." One of the advisors to this amateur "archaeologist" was based in Bonn and went by the name of Strauss.

Moshe Dayan also studied the American "scorched earth" tactics in Vietnam. And he decided to go personally to the jungles. The man of the Intelligence Service changed his patron. From there, he brought back a new "patent," which proved very useful to him.

Seventy-two hours before the latest aggression against the Arab countries, the Zionist clique's attention turned to Moshe Dayan. The general's dream "to fight for the third, fourth, seventh and eighth time against neighbouring countries" seemed to be coming true. Everything he could recall from the Bible flashed before his half-closed eye. "We need the lands of our ancestors," the general shouted on the third day of the war. And the lands burned with napalm, Arab villages vanished, and children and the wounded died of thirst in the desert. Yes, Moshe had learned something from his visit to South Vietnam.

Since then, the man trained by the Intelligence Service has risen very high. He speaks

on behalf of the government and openly demands the position of Prime Minister. He holds press conferences, recites entire phrases from the Bible by heart, weeps at the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem, observes Jewish fasting rituals, rests on Saturdays and defines Israel's "natural borders," which, according to him, extend to the Suez Canal — only to push them a bit further tomorrow in a speech broadcast on the radio.

Dayan and the Tel Aviv clique continue to inflate themselves like a balloon. Now it seems that this balloon has been inflated so much that it is ready to burst. And it is well known that when a balloon bursts, nothing remains of it.

VALUABLE LESSONS

The Israeli aggression of June 5, 1967 against the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan was the logical conclusion of the entire policy and conspiratorial manoeuvres of the American and British imperialists against the Arab countries, starting from the creation of the state of Israel and continuing through its preparation and support for this latest adventure. Israel, this artificially created state, remains a forward base of imperialism in the heart of the Arab world. It serves as a mirror reflecting all the predatory ambitions of international imperialism in the Near and Middle East — a region rich in oil resources and of immense strategic importance.

These imperialist ambitions are identical to those of the American imperialists in Vietnam, even though, for the time being, the methods and means of achieving these goals may differ. Rightly so, the progressive press of the Arab countries, during the days of the June aggression, drew a direct connection between the Israeli aggression, supported by the U.S. in the Middle East, and the ongoing American aggression in Vietnam, in Southeast Asia. They are links in the same chain.

The Israeli aggression of June 5, 1967, and especially the subsequent developments related to this aggression, were a major lesson for the Arab peoples — a lesson that will serve them well in the future.

First, the Arab peoples were once again confronted with the brutality and treachery of

American imperialism and other imperialist powers, which, although times have changed, remain imperialist and treacherous just as they were in the past. Therefore, heightened revolutionary vigilance against American, British or West German imperialism is an immediate duty for the Arab peoples and all the peoples of the world. The imperialists created the state of Israel to use it as a weapon against the Arab peoples, and they have used this weapon and are ready to fire it whenever they see an opportunity that aligns with their enslaving plans.

Second, the Arab peoples learned once again that neither the rubber resolutions of the Security Council nor the demagogic discussions in the UN General Assembly will defend their freedom and independence. The freedom and independence of the Arab peoples will be defended by themselves, with weapons in their hands, with their own forces.

Third, the Arab peoples learned during this tragedy who their true friends are and who only pretend to be friends while, in fact, playing into the hands of the enemy.

As in many other significant international events, during and after the Israeli aggression of June, the Soviet revisionist leadership demonstrated the complete falsity of its "friendship" with the Arab peoples and its close collaboration with American imperialism. The stance of this clique of renegades on this issue represents a separate, damning chapter in the history of modern revisionist betrayals. The demagogy of the Khrush-

chevites took another heavy blow. The whole world witnessed the clownish acrobatics of the Brezhnevs and Kosygins at a time when imperialist aggression was tightening the noose around the necks of the Arabs. During all those days, as well as afterward, the Khrushchevite revisionists' main concern was not to help the Arab peoples, as they claimed, but to exploit this situation to strengthen their collaboration with American imperialism.

For years, revisionist policy has followed a familiar script, in which events unfold as follows: First, a pretext is created, and a great commotion is made about the "confrontation" between the two great powers. Then, nuclear missiles and bombs are brandished, and the horrors and disasters that would befall the world if this "confrontation" occurred are described in detail. Immediately afterward, calls for "wisdom" and "understanding" to save humanity are made. And the "salvation" is not long in coming: the revisionist leaders begin exchanging urgent telegrams and messages with the American President. As a result, "reason" triumphs, the "catastrophe" threatening humanity is averted and the path to a new agreement with American imperialism is paved.

This is what happened in 1956, during the tripartite aggression against Egypt. This is what happened in 1962, with the events in the Caribbean Sea. And this is what happened in 1967, during the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries. In all these cases, as well as in the Vietnam issue, the Soviet revisionist lead-

ership completely submitted to the dictates and conditions of American imperialism.

The Soviet government admitted, through Kosygin's statements, that it was fully aware of Israel's plans to attack the Arab countries. But how did these self-proclaimed "friends" act to help the Arab peoples?

All their "help" focussed on efforts to prevent the Arab countries from crushing the aggression in its infancy, to render it harmless and non-threatening. The revisionist "friends" left no stone unturned in advising the Arabs to show "restraint." And while such pressures were being exerted, Israeli aggression erupted with fury. A pretext to activate the "red teletype" was created. Immediately after the Israeli attack, assurances were given to Johnson that the Soviet government would take no action to intervene in the conflict in favour of the Arab countries. This gave the aggressors significant encouragement to continue their attacks. Meanwhile, the Soviet military fleet stationed in the Mediterranean merely observed the destruction of Arab villages and cities.

Yet, revisionist betrayal did not end there. The development of events led to further exposure of these false friends. At the peak of the armed struggle of the Arab peoples against Israeli aggression — precisely at the moment when these peoples were mobilizing all their forces to confront and defeat the aggressor — the Soviet government, in open collaboration with the American government, imposed a ceasefire on the Arab countries through the

UN Security Council. This ceasefire, remarkably, did not even identify who the aggressor was in this war.

This was the greatest betraval by the Soviet revisionist leadership against the Arab countries. The order to halt the fighting was given at a time when Israel had occupied vast territories from three Arab states — territories that remain occupied to this day. Despite Israel's early territorial gains during the initial days of the war, it could not be claimed that it had won the war in any definitive way. History provides numerous examples of aggressors achieving early territorial successes by exploiting surprise but ultimately failing to win the war. The cessation of hostilities, as later events confirmed, was entirely in favour of the Israeli aggressors. The latter had calculated on a "blitzkrieg," and the Security Council's order to halt the fighting after five days was perfectly aligned with these plans. Even Moshe Dayan himself admitted that the Israeli General Staff had planned for approximately 90 hours of combat. Thus, had the fighting continued. Israel would have been in no position to sustain such a wide front — neither due to the vastness of the Arab territories nor the significant reserves of the Arab countries in both manpower and resources. The Arab countries had only just entered the battle, and most of their forces had not even begun to fight.

The goal of the American resolution in the Security Council for a ceasefire was to consolidate Israel's victories in the early days of the war, at a time when the aggressor's armies had reached the banks of the Suez Canal.

The Soviet revisionists joined and fully supported such a resolution in the Security Council, and this was yet another "help" they provided to the Arab countries!

But this was only the overture. From these events, the Soviet revisionists sought to extract concrete benefits by strengthening their alliance with American imperialism. Thus, they orchestrated the extraordinary session of the UN General Assembly, ostensibly to condemn Israel. This move was not only aimed at covering up the betraval committed at the expense of the Arab peoples but (and this was the main goal) at securing a meeting between Kosygin and the leader of American imperialism, Johnson. Kosygin's pompous speech at the General Assembly was nothing more than a smokescreen to conceal the true purpose of his trip across the ocean. The noise made against the Israeli aggressors shifted into "finding common ground" with American imperialism. The concrete outcome of this "common ground" was that the General Assembly, dominated by the American government and Soviet revisionists, took no measures against the Israeli aggressors. On the contrary, it legitimized their aggression. In the final session, the Soviet delegation voted alongside the American delegation to transfer the issue back to the Security Council. The Soviet revisionists' campaign, which had begun with much fanfare, ended in inglorious failure. The only tangible result of this campaign was a renewed Soviet-American rapprochement at the expense of the Arab peoples, a rapprochement that led to a third joint revisionist-imperialist resolution — the British resolution of November 1967 in the Security Council, which the Soviet delegation fully approved. Once again, the likes of Moshe Dayan and Levi Eshkol in Tel Aviv applauded the Khrushchevite revisionists.

This was a logical conclusion for the Soviet revisionists.

The enemies of the Arab peoples — the American imperialists, Zionists and Khrush-chevite revisionists — are striving by any means to exploit the temporary defeat of the Arab countries to impose recognition of Israel upon them, to strengthen the position of this bastion of imperialism, and to break the will and fighting spirit of the Arabs. The old and new colonialists have extended their claws toward these countries and are trying to secure positions of power in this region of the world.

But the situation has now changed, and recent events have taught the Arab peoples many valuable lessons. Indeed, this war brought the temporary loss of significant territories and the destruction of many villages and cities. However, it deeply shook and awakened the Arab masses, serving as a powerful catalyst for raising their political consciousness. This blatant aggression by imperialism and its tools has heightened the national consciousness of these peoples and has driven them toward unity and organization in their struggle for national liberation. They are now better

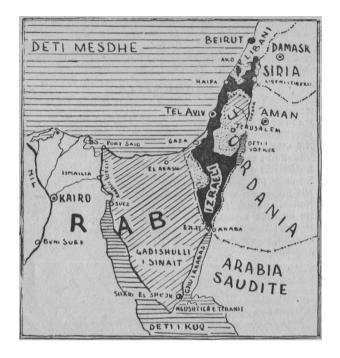
prepared to identify their true friends and enemies, to know who they can trust and who they cannot.

The Arab countries possess significant economic, political and military potential, and they will know how to bring it to bear in the struggle for national liberation, transforming their temporary defeat into a powerful impetus for mobilization and determination to crush the aggressors.

The history of the Arab peoples is a long story of struggle for freedom and independence. The Algerian people fought a long and heroic war against the French occupiers until they won their independence. The Iraai people overthrew the monarchy and expelled the British colonizers by force. The Egyptian people drove the colonizers into the sea along with King Farouk and nationalized the Suez Canal. In Aden and South Arabia, the colonizers were met with the smell of gunpowder, while the Palestinian people are organizing partisan warfare in the areas occupied by the Israeli aggressors. All these examples show that foreign occupiers will not have long to celebrate their "victories." The time will soon come when they will leave with their tails between their legs and their backs broken into pieces. The Arab peoples, inheritors of great warrior traditions, will know how to crush the fascist Israeli aggression, liberate the occupied Arab lands and restore the legitimate rights of the Palestinians.

Comrade Enver Hoxha, in his report to the 4th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania in September 1967, stated: "Our people, as always, will stand in solidarity with the just struggle of the Arab peoples against American imperialism and its tool, Israel, We have unwavering faith that these peoples will successfully overcome all temporary difficulties, crush the aggressors, and achieve a final victory over the imperialists and their servants by relying primarily on their own strength, as well as on the support of revolutionary peoples, while placing no trust in false friends the Khrushchevite and Titoite revisionists. The Arab peoples, our brothers, are brave and revolutionary peoples with a glorious past, an ancient culture and a bright future. Today, they are playing, and will continue to play, an important revolutionary role in the world. Through their long struggles, they have won freedom and independence and are forging these every day with increasing strength... We are convinced that the enemies of the Arab peoples will fail. We are sure of one thing: our Arab brothers fully understand the manoeuvres and aims of the American imperialists, Soviet revisionists, Titoites and other imperialist lackeys. And this is the main, decisive issue for achieving victory. When you know your enemy, no matter how strong they may appear, you will dig their grave. And the Arab peoples are preparing the grave for their sworn enemies, who are also our enemies and the enemies of all peoples. The Arab peoples are strong, all the peoples who support them are strong, and together, we will win. We will crush the heads of our common enemies... We send our Arab brothers our warmest greetings and tell them that the Albanian people are and will always be with them, in both good times and hard times."

These words of our beloved leader represent the unanimous will and desire of the Albanian people.



This map outlines the main stages of Israeli aggression in Palestine and, more broadly, against the Arab countries. The area marked in black represents the territory of the state of Israel, as designated by the UN General Assembly resolution of November 29, 1947. The dotted regions indicate the areas occupied by Israel in 1948-49. According to the UN resolution, these regions were supposed to belong to the Arab state of Palestine that was to be established. The striped areas show the new territories occupied by Israel during the June 1967 aggression, within the territories of the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Syria.



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