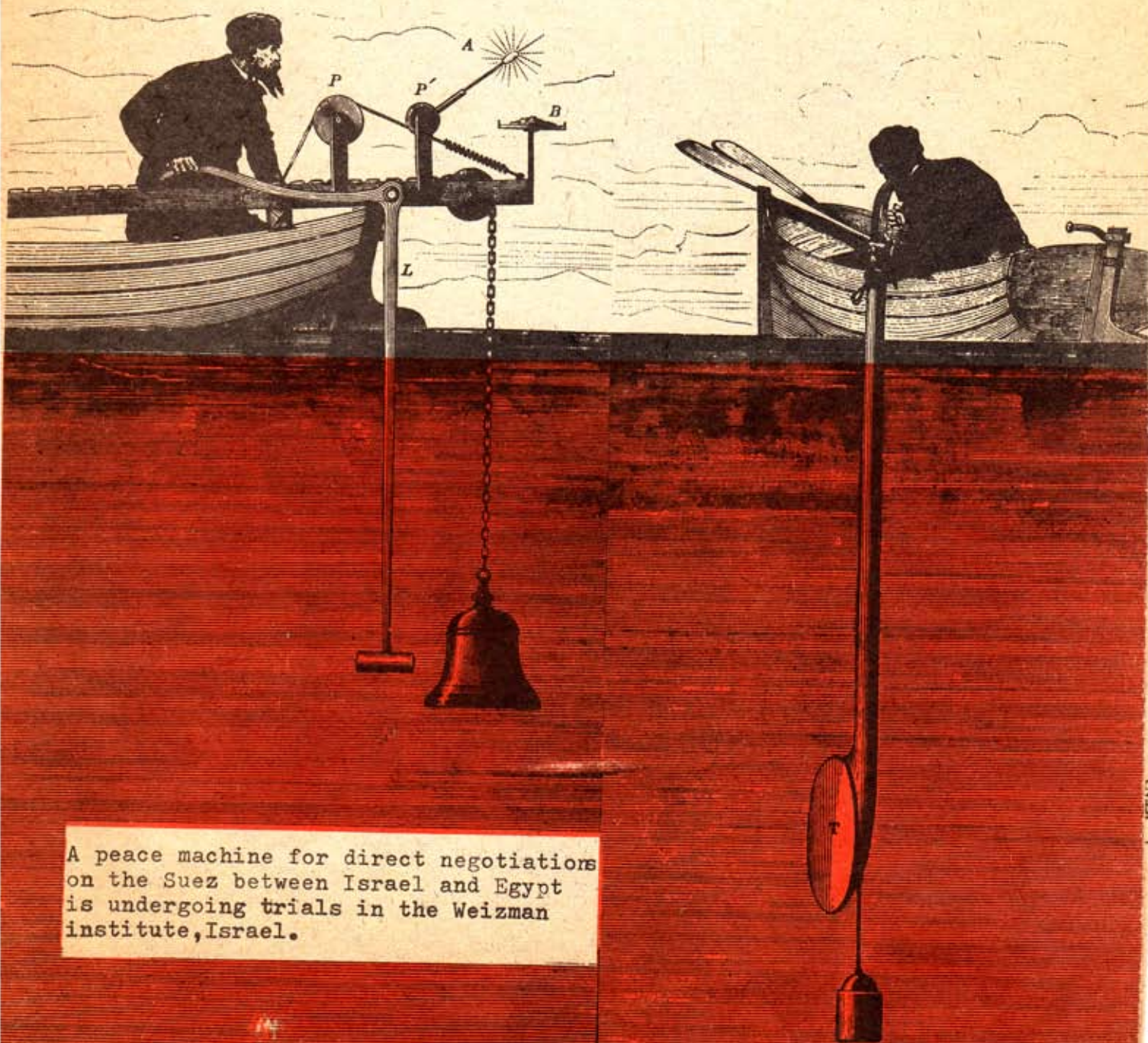


Israc

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MARCH
1970

2



A peace machine for direct negotiations on the Suez between Israel and Egypt is undergoing trials in the Weizman institute, Israel.



EDITORIAL

In an article published in *Black Dwarf* (June 4, 1969), signed by our comrades A. Said and I. Machover, the authors adopt a critical attitude towards the idea of a Palestinian State. 'If one is thinking of a bi-national state, this will be an artificial creation, separating the Palestinian Arabs from the rest of the Arab world and from the revolutionary process taking place in it', yet in *ISRAEL* No. 1 of May, 1969, an article signed by our comrades M. Machover and E. Lobel puts forward a Judeo-Arab solution within a common country ('The creation of a Democratic Palestine, without ethnic or religious discrimination, whatever ethnic element is in the majority, is the only solution giving free expression to the rights of both people').

This apparent inconsistency results from our constant daily need to combat two types of illusion. One is that a solution to the Palestinian problem can be found independently, and in isolation, from the revolutionary and anti-imperialist struggle of the whole region. At the same time we must fight its opposite, i.e. the belief that Socialism in the Middle East will automatically solve all its problems, insofar as such a belief implies that the struggle should be adjourned until there can be a concerted effort throughout the whole region. Neither of these attitudes takes into account the Middle East realities and the dynamics of the struggle.

At the present moment, the analysis must be opened, points of principle must be affirmed, and the general perspectives of the revolutionary struggle in the Middle East must be traced, rather than a detailed solution put forward. The exact form of the solution can only be determined by the struggle itself. This implies that our whole effort must be directed towards the emergence of a joint revolutionary force. This force while fighting against all forms of national oppression should at the same time transcend the national level and become a revolutionary factor in the whole region. Such a development is particularly necessary insofar as it corresponds to the conditions of the Middle East, where imperialist forces permanently intervene to maintain their domination, and where, in consequence, the achievement of the national and social liberties of the peoples living there cannot be realized in isolation from each other.

It is with the reality of the whole of the Middle East in mind that we put forward our analysis, perspectives, and principles as follows.

1. The Israeli-Arab conflict is not primarily a confrontation between Arab states and the state of Israel; it is the struggle of a whole people, plundered and deprived of its rights and liberties by the Zionist colonization. The denial of the Palestinian Arabs' rights to national liberties preceded the creation of the state of Israel. This was inherent in Zionist colonization from the beginning, and could only take place in collusion with the dominant imperialism in the region.

At present, imperialism's continued domination over the region, with the USA in the lead, presupposes the maintenance of a global status-quo, open to slight but not to basic modifications. In particular this implies continuing the national oppression of the Palestinian Arabs and the maintaining of the partnership between the US imperialism and the Zionist regime, despite some temporary friction.

2. The role of the Arab states after the creation of the state of Israel was, among other things, that of containing the Palestinian people, of making it accept the status quo. This was in line with their own state-interests, as it

was with those of Zionism and imperialism with whom they were friendly enemies. The Arab states' failure on this point became evident the moment the Palestinian people created its own organizations of national struggle, which the existing Arab regimes tried and still try to curb at every stage of their development. Moreover, because of the expansionism inherent in Zionism and of its role of maintaining imperialist domination over the region, the clash between the Zionist regime and the whole of the Arab world became ever more profound. Under these circumstances the Palestinian people's fight against national oppression and its resistance to Israeli occupation will increasingly dispel illusions of petit-bourgeois and bureaucratic nature. It rapidly becomes a popular struggle, thereby constituting a threat to the established Arab regimes. The Palestinian struggle contains a revolutionary potential for the whole of the Middle East, for whilst it is an implacable enemy of the Zionist establishment and of imperialism it also reveals the opportunism of the various Arab regimes - even of the most radical ones - their collusion with imperialism, or the limitations of the anti-imperialist struggle waged by some of them. At the same time it indicates to the oppressed masses of the Arab countries the path of revolution, i.e. of popular mass struggle. The mobilization of the Palestinian people, with its vast revolutionary significance for the whole of the region, cannot take place in an abstract way but on the basis of their own immediate objectives.

3. The Palestinian Arabs are fighting for the cessation of the state of occupation under which they live, the affirmation of their national liberties and the overthrow of the oppressive

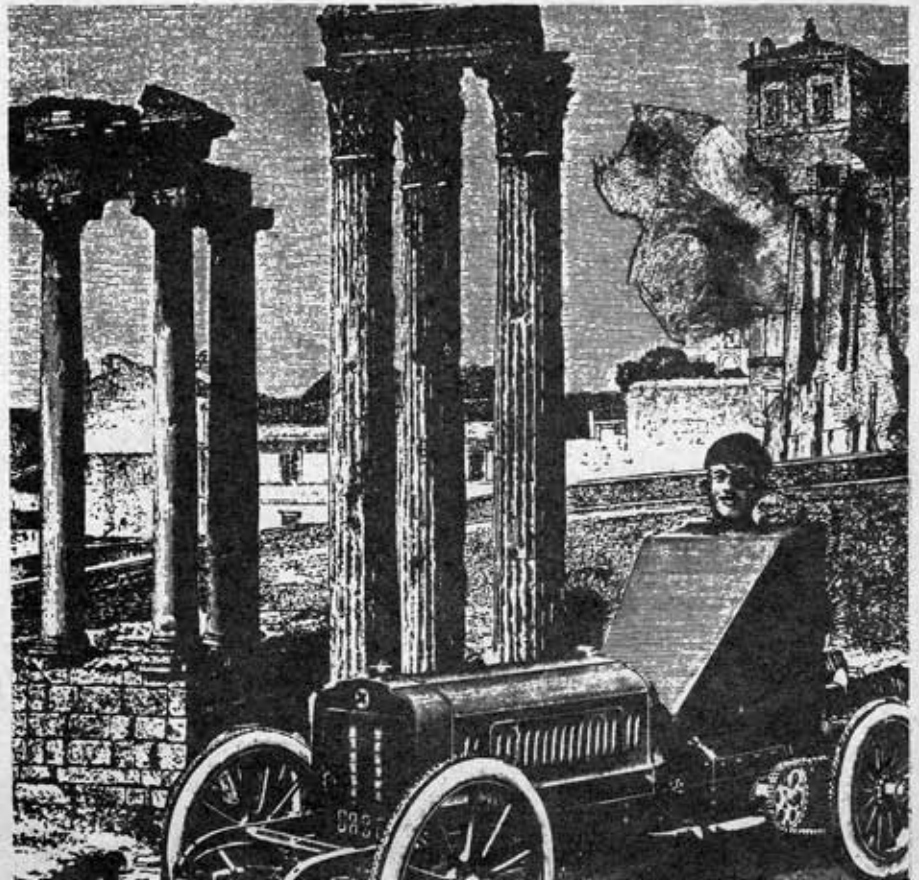
Zionist regime. It is the task of us all, revolutionaries from Israel and from the Arab countries, to put the Palestinian conflict in its context of the Middle East and of the anti-imperialist and socialist struggle. This has to be done together with the Palestinian revolutionaries and in line with their own ends.

4. As Israeli revolutionaries we support the rights of the Palestinian Arabs to resist occupation and to fight against national oppression. We consider it essential that the struggle should be conducted jointly by the revolutionary forces of both peoples. In order to achieve this it is necessary to dispel any suspicion that the aim is merely to turn the tables and replace the existing national oppression by a new one.

The fact that the Israeli people was formed through a process of colonization does not alter the fact that it now constitutes a national entity.

While there are differences in our committee on the possible intermediate stages, we all share the belief that the final goal is the creation of a socialist revolutionary Middle East. It is within this larger framework that the national conflicts will find their solution on an internationalist basis. As to the intermediary stages, whatever they are, they ought already to be the foreshadowing of the long term objective, comprising the whole region.

5. It is the task of us all, revolutionaries of the whole region, to work for the formation of a revolutionary vanguard. Such a force will be the instrument for the mobilization of the masses of all the people of the region, in a revolutionary direction. In this way the national level of the struggle can be transcended.



Jerusalem is embarrassed by the release to the US press of a letter from Mrs. Golda Meir, the Israeli Prime Minister, to President Nixon congratulating him on his statement of Vietnam policy on November 3 and expressing the view that the speech "contains much that encourages and strengthens freedom-loving small nations the world over".

The hope here, apparently, was that the letter would remain secret, and that Mrs. Meir would achieve the aim of pleasing Mr. Nixon without antagonising that section of American public opinion opposed to the Vietnam war, which includes many Jewish and non-Jewish friends of Israel.

Critics of Mrs. Meir's letter recall Israel's unconditional and almost lone support for France during the Algerian campaign, support which continued even after warnings that President de Gaulle was preparing a *volte face* in Algeria.

After embarrassed denials that the letter had ever been sent, the Prime Minister's Office released the text on Tuesday afternoon.

Reactions range from total disapproval to justification based on opportunistic reasons. The evening newspaper, *Maariv*, which is usually pro-American, denounced the letter in an editorial comment as being out of place.

Haaretz, the independent daily, on the other hand, justified it on the grounds of political and security requests by Israel to the White House, which were now under consideration.

Jewish Chronicle, 21.11.69.



A co-ordination committee has been established in Jerusalem. The committee comprises representatives of MATZPEN, the Communist party (RAKAH), the NEW ISRAELI LEFT - a new group of ex-members of the right-wing Communist party (MAKI) - the PEACE LEAGUE, ex-members of MAPAM (Riftin group) and some others including Uri Davies (PEACE FOR JERUSALEM) and two groups of college students. At the first meetings there were also two other groups, one from MAKI and the other from HAOLAM HAZE (Uri Avneri), but after the first joint demonstration against Dayan's new policy of "environmental punishment", these two groups were forced by their leaders to leave the co-ordination committee. Since its creation the committee organized two demonstrations: on the 15.12 and on the 25.11.



The Israeli-Arab student, Muhamad Sadiq, who had been under administrative custody [without a trial] since the summer of 1967, was released from prison after he received an entry visa to the United States and he then left the country - this has been reported by the Arab Student Committee in the Hebrew University.

The Arab Student Committee published a protest leaflet about this, describing it as "virtual expulsion" of the student. The committee asked the authorities to put on trial the student Darwish Qashua, who is in administrative custody, or to release him. The committee sees in the "expulsion" of Sadiq and the arrest of Qashua an "attempt to hit at the Arab population". It calls on the students in the university to support "democratic action" against the administrative imprisonment.

Last summer, Habib Kahuzi and his wife, Naifa Aqila (from Haifa) left the country. They had been arrested as suspects for having contacts with the Syrian intelligence, but never put on trial. They were kept in prison until they agreed to leave the country. They got a visa for the United States and sailed.

Haaretz, 12.1.70

NEWS

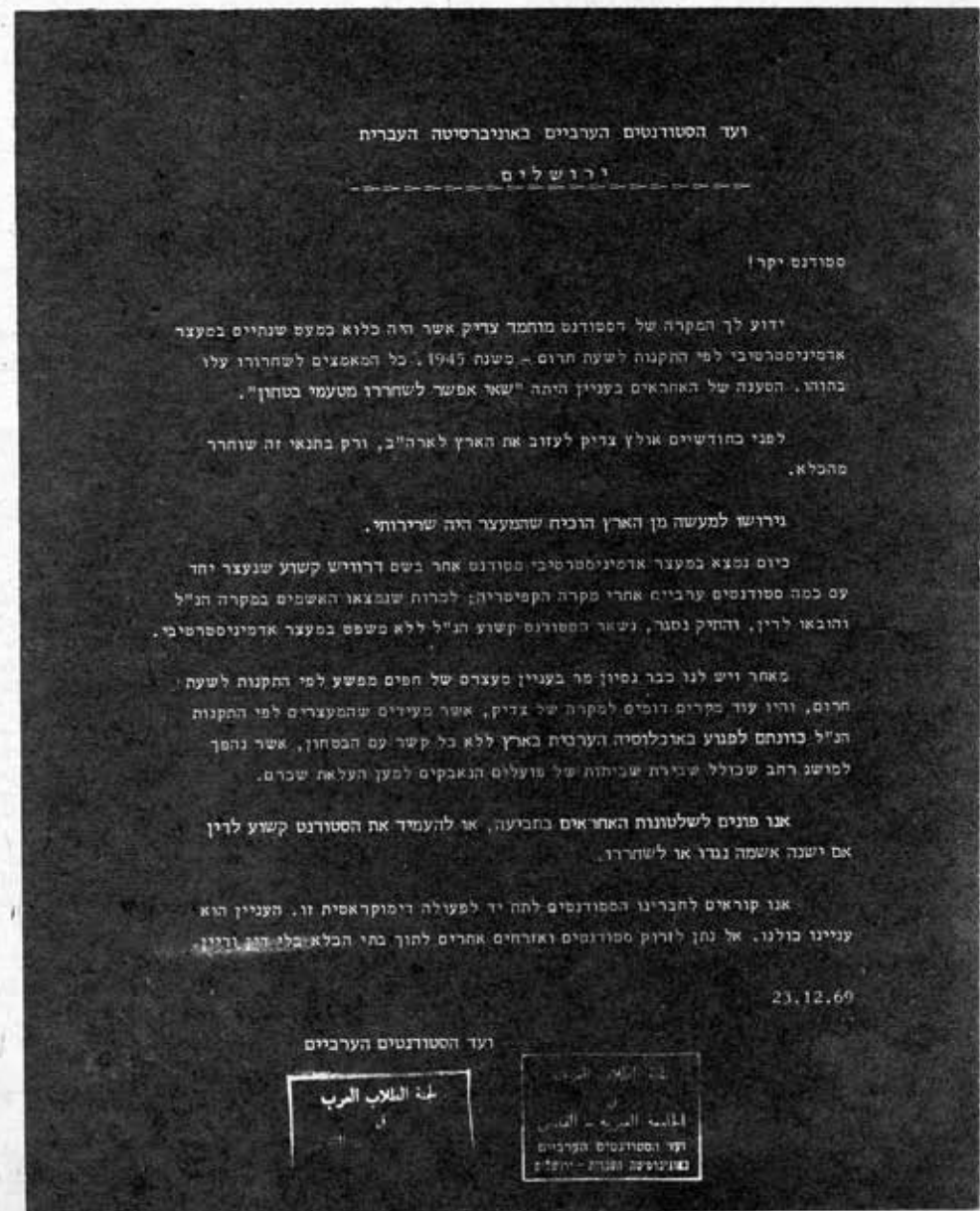
from the fatherland

The impresario Giora Godik sent a circular to the press in which he said that he would not produce the musical *HAIR* in Israel in Hebrew because the Israeli public would not understand how it was possible to piss on the American flag in a play.

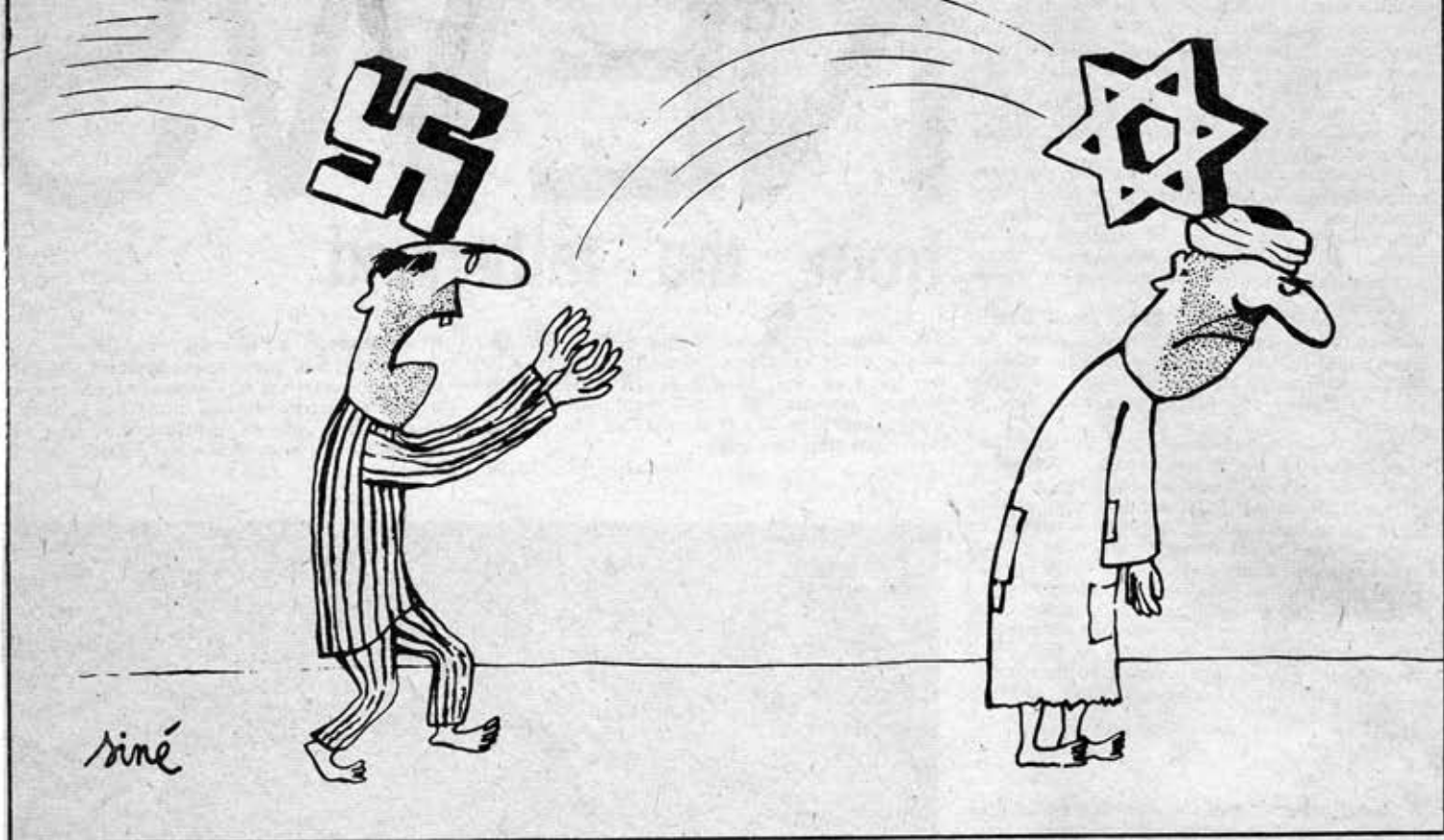
Haolam Haze, 7.1.70

By-products of a "liberal" occupation

1. The Israeli government declared, official that representatives of "Amnesty International" will no longer be allowed into Israel to investigate allegations of ill-treatment of Arab prisoners. (*"Yediot Aharonot"*, December 1 1969.)



The leaflet protesting the expulsion of the student Muhamad Sadiq and the arrest of Darwish Qashua, published by the committee of Arab Students in the Hebrew University



NEWS from the fatherland

2. The Times of January 8 reports from New York that the Israeli government refused to allow a United Nations Committee for Human Rights to investigate the charges that these rights are being violated in the occupied territories. Members of the Committee will not be allowed into Israel, let alone the occupied territories.

3. A joint meeting of the foreign press correspondents in Israel (many of them pro-Zionist Jews) which took place in Jerusalem on December 10, 1969, demanded the abolition of the military censorship. It transpired that the censor intervenes quite arbitrarily and infuriates even these sympathisers of the Israel government. ("Yediot Aharonot", December 11, 1969).

4. Teenage high-school pupils in Tel-Aviv, who published a high-school magazine named "GA'ASHUSH", were attacked by policemen for distributing it publicly in Tel-Aviv and arrested. Charges of disorderly conduct and incitement were brought against them.

Each of these incidents is a first of its kind in Israel, they thus set precedents for a very definite policy. Hitherto it was only the Arab population under Israeli rule which suffered from such measures, but it seems that as a result of the "liberation" of "Greater Israel", the occupiers' mentality is already beginning to poison Israeli society itself.



The following is a translation of a statement issued by the Israeli Socialist Organization,

dated January, 1970. Notes in square brackets were inserted by the translator:

CENSORSHIP BID TO LIQUIDATE "MATZPEN"

In the middle of November, the editorial board of *Matzpen*, the organ of the Israeli Socialist Organization, submitted to the censorship all the material which was about to be published in the next issue (number 51). This is required by the laws which are in force in Israel.

About two weeks later - after long deliberations - the material was returned to the editorial board. Most of it was banned - not allowed to be published. The reasons given by the Chief Censor for Press and Radio (this is his official title) were expressed in one sentence: "Because the publication of this material may harm the security of the State, and the security and welfare of the public." This is an accurate quotation from the censor's letter.

The 12 banned items (out of 16 articles and reports submitted for censorship) included:

- An informative report on what is taking place in the occupied territories;
- A research article on Israel's special role in Africa (translated from [*Leviathan*] an American left-wing journal);
- Excerpts from an interview with the general director of the Discount Bank (quoted from the week-end supplement [of the biggest Israeli daily], *Haaretz*, November 14);
- An interview with Naif Hawatmah, a leader of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (translated from [*Le Point*] a French left-wing journal);

- A report on the recent general elections;
- A review of a book [*The natives are restless*] on last year's struggles in the London School of Economics;
- The text of a letter sent by the Central Committee of the ISO to various political organizations and individuals in Israel, suggesting the setting up of a committee to co-ordinate political activities;
- An obituary to Ho Chi-Minh.

The Israeli censor, whose job (according to the official version) is to prevent leakage of military secrets through the press and radio, has in fact taken a step which is entirely political and which is designed to liquidate *Matzpen*. Using the powers given to him by the 1945 Emergency Regulations, he tried to kill *Matzpen* without issuing a death certificate. By "death certificate" we mean an order which the Minister of the Interior can issue, instructing a legal periodical to be closed down. In the present political circumstances, such an order would certainly have repercussions abroad which (so the authorities fear) would damage Israel's "democratic image", especially in left-wing and democratic circles. The authorities therefore chose to use the pretext of "State security", in order to liquidate a socialist paper without actually declaring it illegal.

As mentioned above, the powers of the censorship derive from the 1945 Emergency Regulations. This is an extensive system of colonial regulations which the Government of Israel inherited - literally and without change - from the British High Commissioner who ruled this country [under the British Mandate]. On the basis of these regulations the authorities last August refused to grant the ISO a permit to publish a paper in Arabic, a

twin brother of the Hebrew-language *Matzpen*. And when the ISO tried to publish a single issue (which does not require a permit) in Arabic, the censorship banned about 80 per cent of the material, including translations of articles that had previously been published in Hebrew in *Matzpen*.

Indeed, the censorship is omnipotent! A political article which receives its *imprimatur* and appears in Hebrew becomes a "military secret" and is banned by it in Arabic translation.

We condemn this political censorship, as we have always condemned the colonialist Regulations on which it is based. And in order to

emphasise the arbitrariness of the Israeli censorship we hereby report a further development in its treatment of *Matzpen*.

In the beginning of December, when the total ban described above was made known to many journalists in Israel (including foreign correspondents) the authorities were put in an embarrassing position. "Inconvenient" questions were asked about the reasons for the ban. A news item on this was published in the Paris *Le Monde*; a similar item which was about to be published in *Haaretz* was . . . banned by the censorship.

Representatives of the editorial board met the chief censor and demanded to know the reasons for the ban. He hid behind the notorious Emergency Regulations, but promised

to re-examine the material. He said he would give his reply in two days' time.

Well, after two days all the "security reasons" underwent a total change. The article on Ho Chi-Minh could in the beginning of December "harm the security of the State"; but in the middle of December it got the *imprimatur*. The interview with the director of the Discount Bank was in the beginning of the month liable to "harm the security of the public"; but in the middle of the month it was cleared for publication. The informative report on the occupied territories was "dangerous to the welfare of the public"; a fortnight later the danger was over.

There are many similar examples; the editorial board of *Matzpen* possesses plenty of them.

But this is not the end of the story. The Israeli censorship did not change its political character; it only retreated. Three articles which are of great importance and interest to the Israeli reader remained totally or partly banned: the account on Israeli's activities in Africa, the interview with Hawatmah and an article containing political polemics against Mapam.

This third article, which polemicalizes against Mapam [a "left" Zionist party] was written by two of our comrades and is entitled "Against the Zionist left". We enclose it here in full, including the parts banned by the censorship. The latter are underlined. [A translation of this article appears on page ??.

Read it carefully and consider:

What are the authorities afraid of?

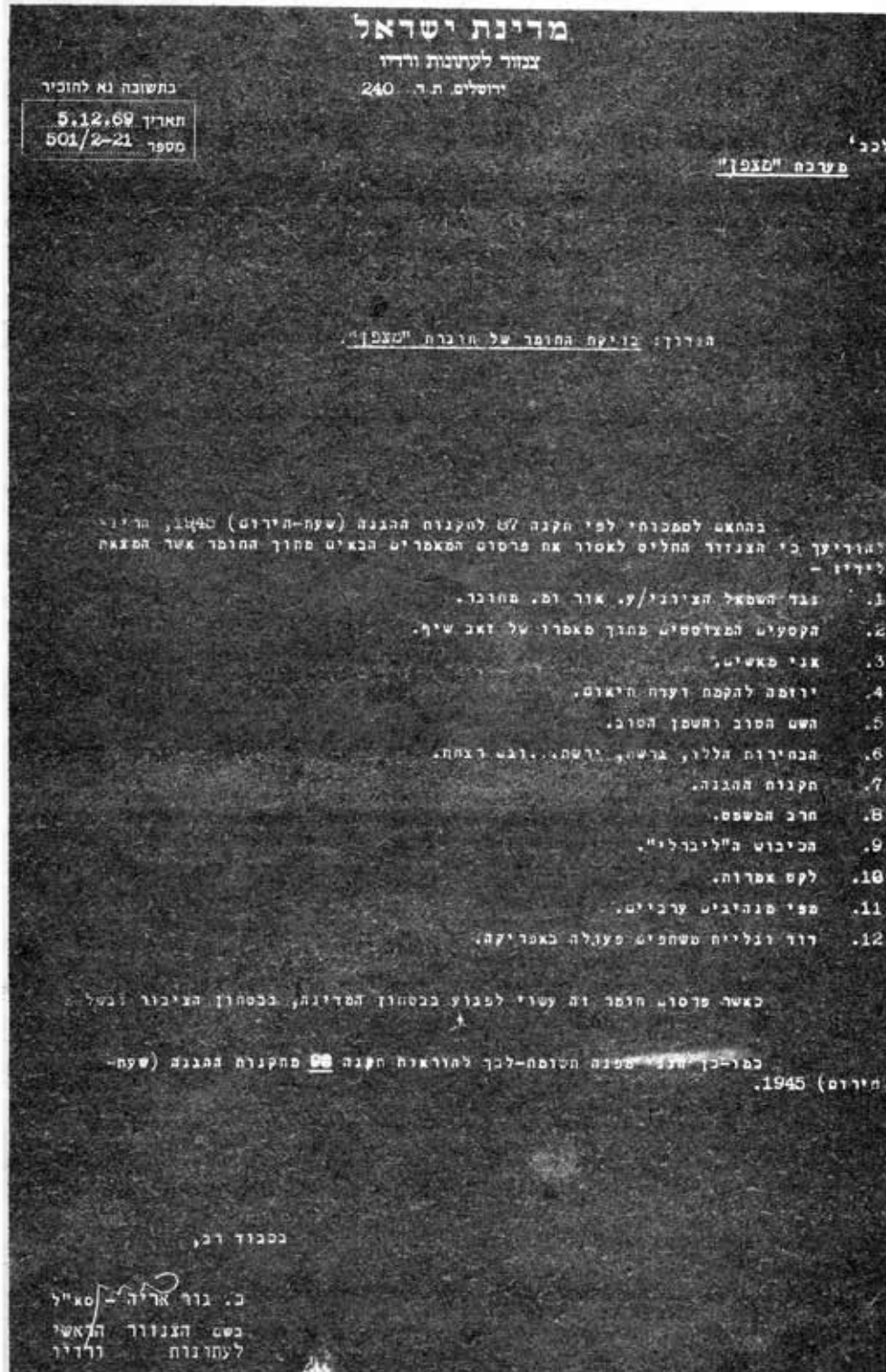
Why do they ban the underlined passage which contains our principled position?

Why do the authorities prefer to leave us exposed to libels and slanders which identify us with Al-Fateh, and use the censorship to prevent us from presenting our own position?

We have a clear answer: the nationalists of both sides are happy to confront and argue against one another. But they are afraid of confronting internationalist views which expose their nakedness.

We shall not flinch.

The Israeli Socialist Organization, uniting in its ranks Jewish and Arab internationalists, will continue its struggle.



Facsimile of the Israeli censorship ban on *Matzpen*

NEWS

from the colonies

Arab population in occupied Jerusalem granted the "privilege" of participating in municipal elections. This did not mean that they were deprived of other so-called "privileges" such as the "privilege" of being arrested without trial, the "privilege" of sharing what is known as "collective punishment" or the "privilege" of losing their demolished houses,

political commentators assumed that the Arabs would not exercise this privilege and did not vote, but the big surprise came on election day, October 28. Mr. Teddy Kolleck, former Mayor of Jerusalem, retained his seat with 16 seats out of 30; the decisive

speaking in a meeting in the south of the Golan Heights, the Minister of Defence, Mr. Moshe Dayan said:

"During the last 100 years our people have been in a process of building up the country and the nation, of expansion, of settling additional Jews and additional settlements in order to expand the borders here. Let no Jew say that the process has ended. Let no Jew say that we are near the end of the road."

Translated from a report in the evening paper *Maariv*, 7.7.68.

priority was won with 7,000 Arab votes, 7,000 did not waste their privilege to vote.

An investigation is not needed. Facts are known, for the papers were full of them.

Headlines in *Maariv* (October 29) demanded public inquiry; their reporter describes: "In the West Jerusalem were nearly 100,000 Arabs, the one on the border of East Jerusalem crowded with hundreds of Arabs pushing, shoving and begging to vote. Buses packed with Arabs, decorated with the slogan 'We want Teddy Kolleck' were flocking in continuously. Buses whose names were not on the voters' list did not leave the place without written permission that they had come to vote."

Apparently it was found out later in the city that this was a well-organised operation that the organisers were none other than MAARACH activists at Kolleck's headquarters. The whole operation was secretly organised (so that other parties would not interfere or share the benefits), just like a military operation. Transport was supplied, and buses were furnished with MAARACH voting lists. Activists of other parties trying to break the system were violently driven out by Kolleck's men. The operation was so successful that police were required to keep Arabs out. When I asked an Arab youth what would happen if he did not vote, he replied, "We were told that those who could not produce evidence that they had voted would not get

Professor Klinghoffer (GAHAL party) reiterated 'The naive Yemenites were dragged this to the polls at the first general elec-

tions. We thought this period was over and forgotten, but what we have seen today is even worse'. Mr. Benbenisti, the head of the operation, did not share Klinghoffer's opinion. He said: 'This is a great achievement for Israel; it will embarrass the Arab leaders. We worked very hard on this operation; I am proud of it. I am not taking any responsibility for the Arabs' behaviour. What is important to me is the fact that they came to vote; this is an important political victory for us... I worked on it for the past few months; I spoke to Arab notables and they promised to bring along all their families and so they did. I do not see anything wrong in it.'

"Later in the evening, before the poll closed, the place was in total hysteria. Arabs would not leave the place unless they could vote."

That was an account given by *Maariv*. Other papers gave a similar description. Even *Davar* wrote on October 29: "Many Arabs who could not vote asked to have their identity cards stamped to prove that they wanted to vote."

But the usual patriotic hypocrisy came out as early as October 30, and Mr. Yustus wrote in *Maariv*: "The fuss about the 'Arab elections' is a disgraceful one, furthermore it is hypocritical, and worse, it lacks responsibility".

Dr. Rosenbloom summed it up in *Yediot Aharonot*: "The circumstances in which they voted are well known and we shall not deal with them here, for patriotic reasons."



Two years ago Alian Muhamed's family, who have been living in Beit Safafa as Israeli citizens since 1948, received a notification from the municipality of Jerusalem that part of its land had been confiscated. It so happens that on this land, about an acre in area, there is a house with five families, an orchard, and a well. The public works engineer told them that the land is part of a through road. He offered no compensation, but threatened: "We can get you off by force".

"Ruhi El-Hatib, the exiled mayor of East Jerusalem, told a UN commission that apart from the annexation some 3,345 dunams of land have been seized in the northern part of the city. The seizure was followed by demolition of houses and expulsion of their inhabitants."

"Muhammad Farah Saadan Kablani, 70, of Sheikh Jarrah, was detained by the police in Jerusalem on July 27, 1969. His fate is unknown. The authorities claim they do not know where he is. On August 24 his family was notified by a sergeant of the special branch of the Jerusalem police that Kablani had been transferred to the Ramallah jail. Later it turned out that he was never there. He has disappeared without a trace."

"For a long time the authorities refused to allow Yussuf Abdallah Udan's lawyers to visit him. The lawyers, Mrs. Felicia Langer and Ali Rafa, suspected foul play as the reason for this. The detainee later told his lawyers how he was beaten up, lost consciousness for days, and was unable to move. His cell mates wept

when they saw him after interrogations. The names of those who tortured him are known. His crime was that he was a member of the Communist party. His torturers employed electricity and matches."

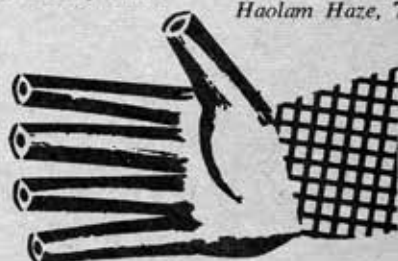
"During a trial in Lydda on August 28 of five Jerusalem youths accused of possessing arms and of membership of guerrilla organizations, the court heard about torture employed in interrogation. One, Abu-Diab, was beaten with wire and hung up by his feet. A bullet was pushed into his rectum until he fainted. Another, Abd-El-Latif, was beaten with a club full of nails and hung up by his wrists. He too was given the 'rectum treatment'. The prosecution claimed these were 'lies'."

The UN Commission for Human Rights which investigated many of these charges last summer heard of the expulsion of 138,000 people from the Golan Heights. Derek Cooper, a British employee of UNICEF, stated: "There was a systematic pressure to make the inhabitants leave the country. The pressure consisted of terrorizing acts, incessant searches of houses by day and night. Demolition of houses and destruction of sources of livelihood on various pretexts." (MATZPEN, December, 1969, p. 6).



Travel agencies which are helping anyone who is willing to emigrate to South America have been active in the last few months in the Gaza strip. The agencies are offering to finance the journey and all other expenses for people who cannot afford it. The emigrants are asked to sign declarations that they will repay the money from their wages in the host country. It is not known who is behind these agencies or who insures them against the risk of not getting their money back.

Haolam Haze, 7.1.70



"Today we have undone the shame of the desolation of Mount Hebron, and avenged its defenders in the war of Independence. For twenty years the anguish of this defeat burned in our hearts. Our returning here and the re-establishment of a new Hebrew settlement - this is the greatest, the most moral, vengeance."

(Deputy Premier Ygal Alon, on the occasion of laying the foundation stone for a regional centre in Mount Hebron, quoted from *Yediot Aharonot*, October 13, 1969.)

PROFILE: a democratic state (ISRAEL)

A list of Israeli citizens (mainly members of the C.P.), arrested and detained without trial prior to 1969 elections.

From Haifa:

1. MAHMOUD DARWISH - poet and writer, Editor of Literary Arab Magazine - "Al-Jadeed".
2. SAMIH EL-KASSEM - poet and writer; worker in "Al-Ittihad" newspaper.
3. SALEM JUBRAN - poet and writer, Member C.C. Y.C.L., and editor of youth magazine "Al-Ghad".
4. WAGEEH SEMAN - Secretary, Y.C.L. in Haifa.
5. AMIN OBEID - activist of C.P.
6. AMIN NAKHLEH - Messenger, "Al-Ittihad" newspaper.
7. ABDUL-LATIF ODEH - Activist of C.P.



From Nazareth:

1. ZAHY FAID - full time worker of the C.P. during election campaign.
2. HABIB ZREIK - full time worker of the C.P. during election campaign.
3. MOHAMMAD KHAAS - Editor, "Al-Ittihad" newspaper.
4. SALIM MANASRAH - C.P. activist.
5. ABDUL-SALAM MANASRAH - C.P.

activist.

6. ATTALLAH TANNOUS - C.P. activist.
7. NA'IM HAMMAD - Member, Secretariat Y.C.L. in Nazareth.



From Nazareth District:

1. AKRAM SAFFOURI - Secretary, C.P. branch, Kufr-Kanna village.
2. AHMAD SA'ID ABU-NTAJ - Secretary, Y.C.L. branch, Kufr-Kanna.
3. MOHAMMAD SULIMAN ABDUL-HADI - First candidate in list of C.P. for local council, Iksal village.
4. IBRAHIM ALI ABDUL-HADI - Third candidate in list of C.P. for local council, Iksal village and party functionary for election campaign.
5. SALIM ABDUL-HADI - Activist of C.P. from Iksal village.
6. AS'AD BADER - Secretary, Y.C.L. branch in Tur'an village.
7. ABDULLAH SHEIKH - Activist of C.P. from Tur'an village.
8. MAHMOUD HASSAN MAR'I - Second candidate in list of "Youth" for local council of Al-Mashhad village.

9. NADER LOUBANI - Secretary, C.P. branch of Yaft-El-Nassra village.
10. SAMI GHATTAS - Activist of C.P. Yaft el-Nassra village.
11. IBRAHIM KHALILIEH - Activist of C.P. Yaft el-Nassra village.
12. EDWARD NIMEH - Activist of C.P., Yaft el-Nassra village.
13. ABDUL-HADI ZU'BI - Activist of C.P., Soulam village.
14. Lutfi
14. LUTFI KHALAF - Activist of C.P., Mukeibleh village.
15. MOHAMMAD TATOUR - Activist of C.P., Reineh village.
16. HISHAM AMIN RINAUI - Activist of C.P., Reineh village.
17. JAD ABU-RAS - Activist of C.P., Elout village.



From Um-El-Fahem village:

1. MOHAMMAD HASN JABARIN - Candidate C.P. list to local council.
2. JABER MAHAMEED.
3. SA'AD MAHAJNEH.

A partial list of Israeli citizens served with military orders restricting their movements to their town or village.

Members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party

- DR. EMILE TOUMA, Haifa - Member, Political Bureau.
- SALIM EL-KASSEM, Nazareth - Secretary, C.C.
- ZAHY KARKABI, Haifa - Secretary, C.C.
- OTHMAN ABU-RAS, Taibeh - Secretary, Triangle District Committee, C.P.
- JAMAL MOUSSA, Acre - Member, Executive Committee, Histadrut.
- MUN'AM JARJURA, Nazareth - Member, Municipal Council, Nazareth.
- ALI ASHOUR, Haifa.
- TAWFIQ ZAYYAD, Nazareth - Member, Municipal Council, Nazareth.
- GEORGE TOUBI, Haifa.
- SAMIRA KHOURY, Nazareth.



Members of the Central Control Commission of the C.P.

- Advocate HANNA NAQQARA, Haifa.
- RAMZI KHOURY, Acre - Member, Municipal Council, Acre.
- SOUHEIL NASSAR, Nazareth.



Members of the Young Communist League

- GHASSAN HABIB, Nazareth.
- NIMER MORCUS, Kufr Yasif.
- SALEM JUBRAN, Haifa.
- WAGEEH SEMAN, Haifa.
- NABIL AWEIDAH, Haifa - functionary of Y.C.L.

Members of the Editorial Board of the Journal Al-Ittihad

- MOHAMMAD KHAAS, Haifa.
- MAHMOUD DARWISH, Haifa - poet and writer.
- SAMIH EL-KASSEM, Haifa - poet and writer.
- YOUSUF SABBAGH, Nazareth.
- ISSAM ABBASSI, Haifa - poet.



Barristers

- ABDUL-HAFIZ DARAWSHEH, Nazareth - Member, Municipal Council, Nazareth.
- MOHAMMAD EL-HAJ, Kufr Yasif - Member, Municipal Council, Kufr Yasif.
- SABRI JERIES, Haifa.
- MOHAMMAD ME'ARI, Haifa.
- NABIL ASFOUR.
- ANIS SHAQOUR, Acre.
- KAMEL DAHER, Nazareth.
- HASSAN NASSAR, Nazareth.
- ALI RAFFI, Haifa.

Members of the Municipal Council of Nazareth

- KAALIL KHOURY.
- NAJIB EL-FAHUM.
- HUSEIN ABU-ASSAD.



Members of other Local Councils

- YUSEF SHEHADEH, Kufr Yasif.
- KEMAL GHATTAS, Ramleh.
- ABDUL-RAHIM A'ZEM, Taibeh.
- ABDUL-HAMID ABU-AITA, Taibeh.
- ASSAD YUSEF KNA'NANEH, Yaft El-Nassra.
- NAEF SALEH SALEEM, Pke'in.
- MOHAMMAD HADDAD, Ramleh - Histadrut Council.
- ASSAD MAKI, Tel-Aviv-Jaffa - Member, District Committee, C.P.
- IBRAHEEM BIADSEH, Baqa El-Garbiah.
- MOHAMMAD SHREIDI, Um-El-Fahem.
- MAHMOUD AGBARIEH, Um-El-Fahem.



Note: These persons are amongst over 800 persons whom the army authorities have served with administrative orders (in accordance with Emergency (Defence) Regulations, 1945) not to leave their towns or villages except by special police permit. Many of them are denied these permits.

PROFILE:

Who is Uri Avneri?

By Haim Hanegbi (Israel)

Uri Avneri, owner-editor of "HAOLAM HAZEH" ("This World"), the widely read Israeli weekly, has recently published a book entitled "Israel without Zionists - a plea for peace in the Middle East" in which he presents some critical views of Israeli policies as well as his alternative to it (the "Semitic Union"). In the recent elections to the Israeli parliament he headed his own list which won two seats out of 120. Mr. Avneri also influences a section of the Leftist, Liberal press in the West. It is therefore useful to have some background information about the man and the political tendency in Israel which he represents.

Avneri was born in Germany in 1924. He emigrated with his parents to Palestine in 1933, shortly after the Nazis came to power. In 1938 he joined the "Irgun Tsevai Leumi" (National Military Organization), a rightist-nationalist-extremist armed organization.

("Two banks has the Jordan; one is ours - the other too.")

Avneri left this organization early in the second world war; he also changed most of his views from that period and nowadays speaks out against its leaders who, without renouncing their former views, have recently become ministers in Mrs. Meir's cabinet. However, Avneri has never relinquished his nationalist ideology. In his book "Israel without Zionists" he states his belief thus:

"I am a Hebrew nationalist and I want to deal with Arab nationalists. I want to tell them: the last fifty years have shown that neither you nor we can achieve our national aspirations as long as we fight each other. Our two great national movements can neutralize each other, or they can be combined in one great regional movement of liberation and progress. This is what the Semitic idea means - an ideal with which nationalists on both sides can identify." (p. 210).

A few lines earlier he rationalizes this ideology thus: "Nationalism will reign supreme in our generation in all the countries of the region and nothing will stop it. Any idea, inspiring as it may be, which runs counter to the national feelings of the people concerned will be by-passed by history" (p. 210).

He summed up his views on the internal conflicts in Israeli society by: "Neither Left nor Right, but forward". His views on history and politics are circumscribed by his nationalist consciousness and do not encompass such phenomena as non-nationalistic, social upheavals and revolutions.

The idea of a social revolution, whether in Israel or in the Arab world, is totally alien - even abhorrent - to his thinking. "Haolam Hazeh", while always carrying a political editorial critical of the government, is based mainly on three ingredients - sexual scandal, social gossip, financial corruption. Avneri's critique of the economy pertains mostly to finance and taxation issues. Ever since he first joined parliament in 1965 he became committed to parliamentarism; he abhors extra-parliamentary political action. He appeals mainly to second-generation Israelis who are critical of the official policies from a non-class standpoint. This trend of petit-bourgeois radicalism, constantly generated in Israeli society, is expressed by Avneri. In the context of a community which came into existence through colonization and is continuously involved in a conflict with the indigenous population, this radicalism is forced to lead a schizophrenic political life. Thus, while Avneri warns against militarization and Spartanization, he never ceases to glorify the Israeli army. (The army is

the only institution of Israeli society of which he has no critique.) While repeatedly declaring his desire for peace, he becomes a rabid chauvinist once a war breaks out. (During the June, 1967, war he published a daily paper oozing chauvinism.) While critical of Zionism (i.e. Jewish nationalism) he upholds Israeli localized nationalism, pleads loyalty to patriotism and accuses his opponents of damaging the national interest.

The title of his book is a typical example - in English it reads: "Israel with Zionists - a plea for peace in the Middle East"; in Hebrew - "The seventh day's war". Moreover, whereas



the English edition ends with a long quotation from Ecclesiastes . . . "a time for war and a time for peace" etc., which Avneri actualizes by adding "THE TIME FOR PEACE IS NOW", the Hebrew edition contains an epilogue, totally missing in the English one, under the heading "Glory to the Israeli Army". In the book itself he states as a matter of fact: ". . . During the 1956 Sinai war to which we strongly objected . . ." (p. 16), yet anyone who will bother to leaf through old copies of "Haolam Hazeh" will find the following statement in the editorial of December 12, 1955:

"The war is facing us and its eyes are red and hot. . . It is our duty to annihilate the fighting forces of our strongest adversary - Egypt, before it is too late."

Immediately after the Suez war, when US pressure was brought on Israel to retreat from the occupied territories, Avneri demanded that

the Gaza strip should not be evacuated: "From a political standpoint the absorption of Gaza will strengthen the State enormously; it will be greater. It will solve part of the refugee problem which serves as the main instrument for defaming Israel abroad." ("Haolam Hazeh", December 26, 1956, p. 3). As for the June, 1967 war the situation was somewhat different. On May 24, 1967 Avneri allowed his co-editor, Shalom Cohen, to write the editorial which ended: "In such a war the Israeli interest is secondary and has no real connection with the 'FATEH' sabotage in the north. Even after waging such a war there are no guarantees that the Syrians will not renew the raids. In fact, the opposite is true, and Israel's primary interests are foreign. The Israeli army must not serve them."

Once the "National unity" cabinet decided, after receiving the green light from Washington, to bomb Egypt and start the "survival war", Avneri supported the war militantly. In his book he defines it as "the war nobody wanted", yet in a recent speech in the Israeli parliament he already mentioned it as "a defensive war" ("Haolam Hazeh" supplement, 3.12.69). Moreover, when the "defensive war" was over and the Israeli parliament debated the defensive issue of annexing East Jerusalem, Avneri did not abstain, he voted for "unification". He justifies this in his book: "Jerusalem as a unified city would become the federal capital, as well as the capital of both states, thus finding a solution - the only practical one, I believe - to an issue charged with emotions, both religious and nationalist, which make retreat for either side impossible." (p. 188).

After the "preventive war" of 1956 - insistence on "absorbing" the Gaza strip. After the "defensive war" of 1967 - a vote for the "unification" of Jerusalem, both annexations being rationalized as "a new starting point for peace", "the only practical solution to an issue charged with nationalist emotions which make retreat for either side impossible".

Avneri's hatred of "MATZPEN" and the Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee Abroad (ISRAICA) has so far produced two editorials smacking of witch-hunting, employing adjectives from "charlatans" to "traitors". Avneri went so far as to state that the non-nationalistic, revolutionary socialist programme of "MATZPEN" constitutes:

"A programme which necessarily leads to nuclear war. For Messrs. Tzabar and Machover cannot imagine that any of us would forsake the existence of Israel without war." ("Haolam Hazeh", June 4, 1969).

Avneri, wielding the anonymous "any of us" instead of the simple "I", threatens to let loose a nuclear war against a programme which challenges any kind of Israeli nationalism; yet this same person opposed Israeli nuclear armament.

As far as the historical development is concerned, Avneri's Israeli nationalism has already missed its moment. Arab nationalism, exposed and defeated in the June war (and since), has entered the period of its historical decline. The Arab world is ripe for the emergence of social, rather than nationalistic, revolutionary forces; but these are no partners to a nationalist like Avneri. Moreover, the permanent conflict between a colonizatory community and an indigenous population forces the petit-bourgeois radicals in that community either to transcend their national consciousness and become internationalist revolutionaries or to be absorbed into the colonizatory establishment. Avneri is gradually moving in the latter direction.

מכתב גלוי

אל סגן ראש הנומשלה, נור יגאל אלור

א. נ.

השערוריה בגוש עציון

ביום 7.7.69 כתבתי לך מכתב פרטי בו נאמר בין היתר:
„הפקעת האדמות הערביות בקרבת גוש עציון אין לה
היום (בתקופת האוירונים והטילים) כל ערך „בטחוני“,
אלא היא פשוט מעשה נישול גם, הוצאת אדמה מידי בעליה
הערבים החוקיים כדי להקים עליה מקומות יישוב יהודיים.“
מעשה זה עומד בניגוד לכבוד ישראל, לחוקי התורה ולחוק
הבין-לאומי, המעשה הזה הוא בלתי-חוקי, סיפוחיסטי ו-
„קולוניאליסטי“.

וכך נמסר לנו בזמנו מפי פקידים ישרים ובעלי מצפון
של הסוכנות היהודית והק. ק. ל.: „האדמות הערביות אנו
עומדים להפקיע כדי להקים שם „כפר עציון ב“, אם כי
נותרו עוד אדמות של רבדים, משואות יצחק, כפר עציון
ועין-צורים. בכפר החדש יישבו, לפי התכנית, חברי „הקיבוץ
הדתי“, יקימו שם ישיבה ומוסדות דתיים אחרים. אנו צריכים
להשתמש באמתלא של „צרכי בטחון“ ובסמכות של המושל
הצבאי, כי בדרך אחרת לא נוכל להוריד את הערבים מן
האדמות שלהם היות והם מסרבים לרדת ולקבל פיצויים.
את אדמות המנזר הרוסי בשטח לא הפקענו, כי באנו לידי
הסכם מסחרי עם הרוסים“.

תזכרו את הדברים האלה, השרים הסוררים וכל חברי
גוש עציון ומנהיגיהם „הדתיים“ ה„שומרי התורה“, כביכול,
מתללי שם כבוד ישראל בעולם!

בכבוד רב
ד"ר גבריאל א. דויד

ירושלים, ת. ד. 7475

This is an open letter by Dr. Gabriel A. David (P.O.B. 7475 Jerusalem), to Mr. Ygal Alor the deputy Prime Minister at the time, on the colonization of the occupied West Bank. It appeared as a paid ad. in Haaretz daily newspaper on the 23 October 1969. The translation of the open letter reads as follows:

The Scandal in Gush Etzion

On the 7.7.69 I wrote you a private letter in which I said: "The confiscation of the Arab land near Gush Etzion has no 'security' value today (in the era of aeroplanes and missiles), but is simply a brutal eviction, grabbing land from the Arab legal owners for the establishment of Jewish settlements." This action reflects on Israel dignity, on the laws of Tora and international law. This is an unlawful action, a "colonial" annexation.

This is what I was told at the time by frank

people in the Jewish agency and the Keren Kayemeth: "We are confiscating the Arab land to establish Kfar Etzion B, although there is still enough land belonging to Revadim, Masuoth Yitzhak, Kfar Etzion and Ein Tzurim [Jewish settlements in the region before 1948]. In the new village the settlers will be - according to the plan - members of the 'religious Kibbutz movement' and they will establish a Yeshiva and other religious institutions. We have to use the pretext of 'security needs' and

the authority of the military governor as there is no other way to drive out the Arabs from their land as long as they refuse to go and accept our compensation. The land of the Russian monastery we have not confiscated because we arrived at a trade agreement with the Russians."

Remember these things, you vile ministers and all members of Gush Etzion with their "religious" leaders that defame Israel's name in the eyes of the world.

The following is a translation of an article which was submitted for publication in *Matzpen*, the organ of the Israeli Socialist Organization. It was first totally banned by the Israeli censor, together with almost the entire contents of that issue of *Matzpen*. Later the censor released most of the material, but some passages of this article were still banned. These are underlined. Notes in square brackets were added by the translator.

Al-Hammishmar, the organ of the Mapam wing of the ruling alignment, has been forced to engage in a rearguard battle of ideas against the Israeli Socialist Organization.

Mapam's traditional role has been to "sell" Zionism to left-wing circles around the world. Now, having lost the last vestiges of its ideological individuality and having finally capitulated to the chauvinist policy of its senior partners in the ruling alignment, Mapam is quickly losing the capability of conducting a dialogue with those left-wing circles. Under these circumstances Mapam is irritated more than ever by the existence of *Matzpen* and by the support which *Matzpen* has won among the revolutionary left throughout the world.

At first Mapam tried to ignore *Matzpen*; then they joined the national orchestra of anti-*Matzpen* calumnies and vilifications; now they have been compelled to try to contend with us by using arguments which are almost to the point.

Both the title and the contents of Peretz Merhav's article "Fighters for peace or war-mongers?" (*Al-Hammishmar*, August 29, 1969) reflect this development. Mr. Merhav is head of Mapam's international department (i.e., the department which deals with Mapam's foreign contacts) and according to an editorial comment of *Al-Hammishmar*, his article illustrates Mapam's propaganda abroad.

As for the title [in which Mr. Merhav implies that the ISO are war-mongers] - we are not going to pay Mapam with their own coin: we do not think that they are war-mongers. But they do have a tradition of tailing after their senior partners in the Zionist camp, whenever the latter decide to make war. Thus Mapam bears full responsibility not only for the decision to start the 1967 war but also for the decision made in 1956 to start the Suez war. [In both cases Mapam was part of the Cabinet.] They have no right to call *Matzpen* "war-mongers". He who has partaken of a feast in which the dove of peace was served roasted must not be allowed to sport her white feathers.



Mr. Merhav begins his article with a "factual survey" on *Matzpen* and its history. In order not to side-track the discussion, we shall not enter here into a detailed refutation of that false account. We simply state that some of Mr. Merhav's "facts" are inaccurate, and the rest are completely misrepresented - intentionally, it seems.

The ideologico-polemical part of the article also suffers from inaccuracies. Mr. Merhav does not quote from the original: in the whole article there is not one quotation from the publications of the ISO. He attempts to formulate our position in his own words, and the result is necessarily quite bungled.

A tiny example: Mr. Merhav writes that

Matzpen demands "withdrawal from all the territories populated by Arabs and now held by the Israel Defence Force, without exception". This is a translation of our principled position into the devious language typical of Mapam. We raise a principled demand for the short term *immediate and unconditional withdrawal from all the occupied territories*. In order to dodge the term *occupied territories*, Mr. Merhav is compelled to wriggle with "populated by Arabs and now held by the IDF". Do you find it unpleasant, Mr. Merhav, to call a spade a spade?

Another example: Our demand for the de-Zionization of Israel is interpreted by Mr. Merhav as calling for "severing it from the Jewish people and turning it into an exclusive 'local state', without aspirations and ties overseas". Wherever did Mr. Merhav get such a strange definition? Certainly not from us. Whenever did we demand that Israel should become "exclusive" or have no "aspirations and ties overseas"? In our opinion, the question is *what kind of aspirations, and ties with whom?* Ties with Cohn-Bendit or with Rothschild? Affinity with Karl Marx or with Marks and Spencer?

You, gentlemen of Mapam, feel a Zionist affinity with the Rothschilds and with Marks and Spencer who belong to the summit of capitalism in the West. We, on the other hand, have an affinity with the ideas of Karl Marx and with the revolutionary ardour of Cohn-Bendit; of course, their being Jewish is neither here nor there, as far as we are concerned.

We are not against "ties overseas". We are only against *certain* ties, such as those of your government with American imperialism, which are merely a continuation of the traditional and natural ties of Zionism with imperialism.

De-Zionization means the *abolition* of Jewish exclusiveness (which is inherent, e.g., in the Law of Return) whereby a Jew living in Brooklyn gets more civil and political rights in Israel and over Israel than a Palestinian Arab who was born here (whether he is now a refugee or even an Israeli citizen). In our view, the fact that the Brooklyn Jew feels an emotional tie to the Holy Land does not entitle him to have any political right over it; whereas the Palestinian Arab is entitled to have in it full civil and political rights.

The aim of Zionism - to use Mapam's own formulation - is "to concentrate the majority of the Jewish people in a whole and undivided Palestine". This aim is the guide according to which the Zionist establishment in Israel decides on each political, economic, social or cultural step. Even today the State of Israel is, from Zionism's viewpoint, not a finished product but only an intermediate stage and an instrument in achieving the full aim of Zionism.



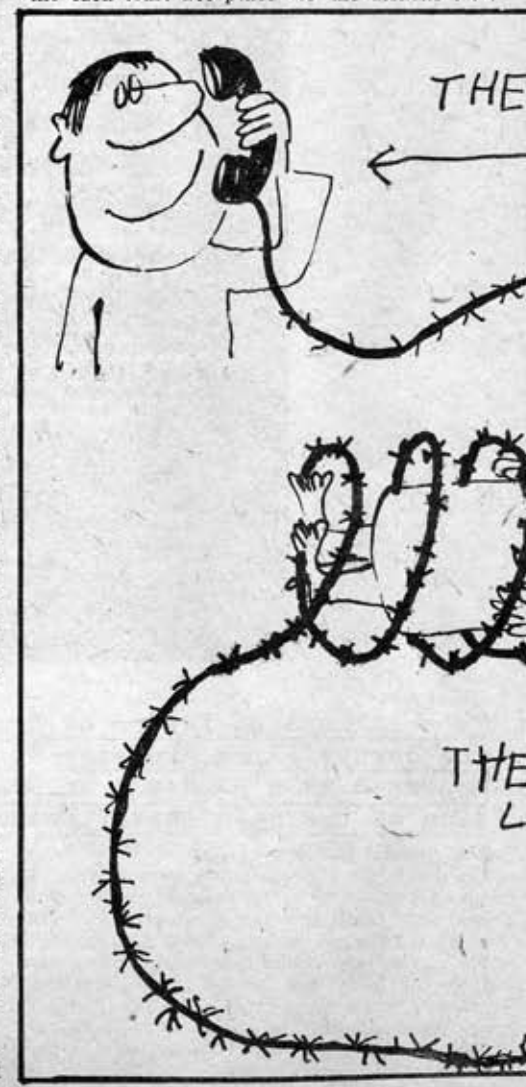
The Zionist aim puts those who uphold it into an inevitable and inescapable conflict with the Arab world, in whose midst - and at whose expense - this aim is realized. The fundamental essence of the conflict has not changed from the beginning of Zionist colonization to the [present] days of the Dayan-Begin-Barzilai cabinet. [Begin is the leader of the fascistoid Herut party; Barzilai is a leader of Mapam. Both are ministers in the Israeli cabinet.]

This is no ordinary national-territorial conflict, of the kind that sometimes break out

between nations who live in a historically stable proximity. It is a conflict between a movement of colonization - which according to its own declarations has not yet achieved its full aim - and the indigeneous population of the area which is being colonized.

Mr. Merhav prefers not to enter into a discussion of the roots of the Israeli-Arab conflict. He just alleges that Zionism is not to blame for "the extension of the borders of Israel and the tragedy of the wandering and suffering Arab refugees". The blame, in his opinion, is that of "the blind, violent and military resistance to Zionism from the time of the Mufti Haj Amin Al-Husaini to the June, 1967 war and his disciples in Al-Fateh". This was exactly the claim of hypocrite-colonizers everywhere: "It is not our fault, but that of the natives, who refuse to accept our colonization with love". This kind of hypocrisy is especially typical of Zionism's left wing, torn in an attempt to find a compromise between Zionist practice and socialist conscience. Dayan, in contrast, is not afraid to admit openly that the Arabs' resistance is a natural and necessary result of Zionist colonization.

As mentioned above, Mr. Merhav avoids a serious discussion of the origin of the conflict. His main argument is that the de-Zionization formula is simply *not realistic*, because it is "the idea least acceptable to the Israelis . . .



THE ZIONIST LEFT

since de-Zionization and severance from the Jewish people is in the eyes of every Israeli giving up the very *raison d'être* of the State of Israel . . .

This, too, is a typically Mapam opportunistic argument. They are not looking for a way to uproot the conflict, but for a formula which would be acceptable to the majority of the Israeli public. In our view this kind of *realpolitik* suffers not only from opportunism but also from short-sightedness and lack of true realism. For every arrangement which does not include de-Zionization will be only imaginary and temporary: the basic problem will continue to exist.

Let us illustrate this by an extreme example – that of South Africa. (The fact that we use this example does not mean that we consider the two cases to be similar in *all* respects.) At present there does not exist a military clash between South Africa and the neighbouring African states; nevertheless, there exists a historic conflict between a settlers' society and the entire African population. There is only one solution: to abolish the racist nature of the Republic of South Africa, which is not only the historical source of the conflict but also the factor that re-creates it every moment at the present time. It is well known that that solution is categorically rejected by the majority of the white public who regard it as tanta-

mount to giving up the *raison d'être* of their state. Does the revolutionary movement in South Africa therefore have to seek other solutions?

When Mr. Merhav turns to discuss *Matzpen's* attitude to Al-Fateh, he again carefully refrains from quoting us. He formulates our position in his own words – and it does not come out well. This, by the way, is a method frequently used by people who cannot present a principled position in an argument. They first put their opponent's ideas in their own words and in a bungled form – and then find it quite easy to fight the scarecrow they have set up.

Let us repeat our position. We distinguish between the resistance of the Palestinian Arabs as a whole against occupation, and the specific policy of this or that organization within the resistance movement.

As for the popular resistance as a whole, we recognize the right and duty of every conquered and oppressed people to resist occupation and to struggle for its freedom.

As for our position concerning this or that organization within the resistance movement – it is determined primarily according to its political programme. In this we differ from those who reject these organizations because of the very fact that they are struggling against the occupation, or because of the means that they use in the struggle.

We reject the positions of both Al-Fateh, under the leadership of Yasser Arafat, and the Popular Front, led by George Habash. But we make it quite clear that our rejection of their positions does not derive from the fact that they are struggling against Israeli occupation. In our opinion, resistance to occupation is natural and legitimate, and no "loyalty to a national collective" will ever budge us from this principle. As for the means used in the struggle – even when we do not approve of them, they do not constitute the main criterion by which we determine our position.

Our position – we repeat – is determined by the political programme. Our rejection of the policy of Al-Fateh and the Popular Front is based on two main points. First, they do not regard social and political revolution throughout the region as a condition and framework for the solution of the Palestinian problem, but they defer all struggles within the Arab world and subject them to the Palestinian cause. They believe in a national unity which is "above classes" – and therefore false. The solution which they propose refers to an artificial political entity – Palestine within the borders of the British Mandate – instead of to the region as a whole.

Second, they do not accept the principle that the victorious revolution in the region, which will defeat the regimes now existing there – including the Zionist regime in Israel – will grant the right of self-determination to the non-Arab national entities living inside the Arab world, including the Israeli people.

We reject the idea which is upheld both by the leaders of Al-Fateh and the leaders of Mapam, that the national struggle is prior to the revolutionary struggle for socialism. This means that so long as a national struggle is being waged, one should not, in their opinion, start a revolutionary struggle which may under-

mine the unity of "the national collective". Only when the national problem disappears – so they think – will the time come for passing to the stage of revolutionary social struggle. This was *always* the view of nationalists who claimed to be socialists. "Struggle for socialism? . . . Yes, of course, – but not now; now we have more urgent problems". This is the Theory of Stages of Meir Ya'ari [the leader of Mapam] and of Yasser Arafat.

We totally reject this idea, thereby differing from both Al-Fateh and Mapam. In our view there is only one struggle – the revolutionary struggle for a new society in the Middle East, including Israel. Only within the framework of such a revolution will it be possible to solve the main problems of the region, including the Israeli-Arab problem.



Mr. Merhav summarises his own position as follows: "The problem is how to reach an understanding, agreement and peace between the two neighbouring and rival national collectives (or between the decisive majority of each of them), that is, between the Arab countries and the Palestinians who inscribe on their flag the idea of Arab nationalism, revival and unity, and the State of Israel that inscribes on her flag the idea of nationalism, revival, unity of the Jewish people and the gathering of its exiles in the historic homeland. To the challenge of creating contacts and an atmosphere favourable to conducting a friendly, purposive and constructive dialogue between these two real national collectives as they are now – our efforts are dedicated."

This is a classic formulation of the nationalist trend in the socialist movement: it kneels down before "the national collective as it is now". Mr. Merhav is seeking understanding, agreement and peace between the Arab world and Arab nationalism as they are now, and Israel and Zionism as they are now.

In our opinion, this approach must be discarded as a matter of principle; but the experience of the last 70 years of Middle East history also shows that what Mr. Merhav says he is seeking cannot be achieved. Even if the Israeli-Arab conflict did not exist, we would oppose the regimes that now exist in Israel and the Arab countries. All the more reason for this, since we know that the conflict cannot be solved so long as they remain "as they are now".

In fact, those who claim that the solution should be found through agreement between "the two national collectives as they are now", make no contribution to solving the problem but only seal their own fate: perpetually to tail behind the powers that be that dominate their "national collective".

Incidentally, the representation of loyalty to the "national collective" as a socialist principle is the most wretched and shameful fraud in the whole of Mr. Merhav's argumentation. What "national collective" commanded the loyalty of Marx, Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, Trotsky or Karl Liebknecht?

Mr. Merhav denounces us as "a group of seceders from their national collective". We are proud of this. It is not our secession that is vile, but the toadying of Mr. Merhav & Co.

Mr. Merhav states, quite correctly, that we regard the struggle for a new society as the



central and dominant issue, to which all other matters are subject and from which they are derived. He, in contrast, puts forward a different principle: activity for peace – between Israel as it is now and the Arab world as it is now. This, he asserts, is of paramount importance, and all other matters must be subjected to it.

This is a typical bit of Zionist thinking. Zionism does not speak about the solution of the Israeli-Arab problem, because as far as it is concerned no such problem exists; it does not even like to speak of solving the Israeli-Arab conflict. As far as Zionism is concerned, everything can be summed up in one word: peace. It is not difficult to understand why: Zionism is engaged in a process of creating facts which are favourable to it and of realising its goals. In each stage of partial realisation, it wants only one thing: that the Arabs acquiesce in the facts that it has created at their expense. From its point of view there does not exist a political and social problem, but only the problem of Arab psychology. Therefore the Zionist demand is "peace", not "a solution to the problem".

Of course, this does not mean that Zionism is particularly peace-loving; it is not prepared to have peace at any price but only on its own terms. Even Mr. Merhav writes that "we are prepared, in the event of peace, to return most of the territories now held by" the Israeli army.

"Most of the territories", mark you, not *all* the occupied territories. To return all the occupied territories would be too high a price to pay for peace, even from the socialist point of view of Mr. Merhav. If all the territories were to be returned, it would seem that Zionism did not advance, as a result of the June 1967 war, to the full realisation of its aim; and this would not be a price which it considers worthwhile paying for peace.

In Zionist terminology "peace" does not necessarily mean opposition to war: when the Zionists demand "peace" what they really mean is that the Arabs should peacefully accept the accomplished facts that Zionism created at their expense, that they should peacefully accept Zionism.

A public discussion is currently taking place in Israel on the relation between "peace" and "security". It is a debate between those – like Mapam – who think that the Arab world may ultimately accept Zionism and those who have inferred from the historical experience of Zionism that it will never be accepted by the Arabs and must therefore impose itself by military superiority alone. Mr. Merhav states, quite correctly, that *Matzpen* is taking no part whatever in this national discussion on "peace or security". For it is a sterile discussion within the Zionist camp which we completely and totally reject. A Zionist Israel can never achieve peace and it can never achieve security. In this

sense it will share the fate of all other settlers' regimes that are trying to exist in the midst of the third world – regimes which are based on discrimination against the indigenous population, on its exploitation or expulsion, and which are tied by an umbilical cord to the global imperialist alignment.

In this respect Israel does not differ from South Africa or Rhodesia.

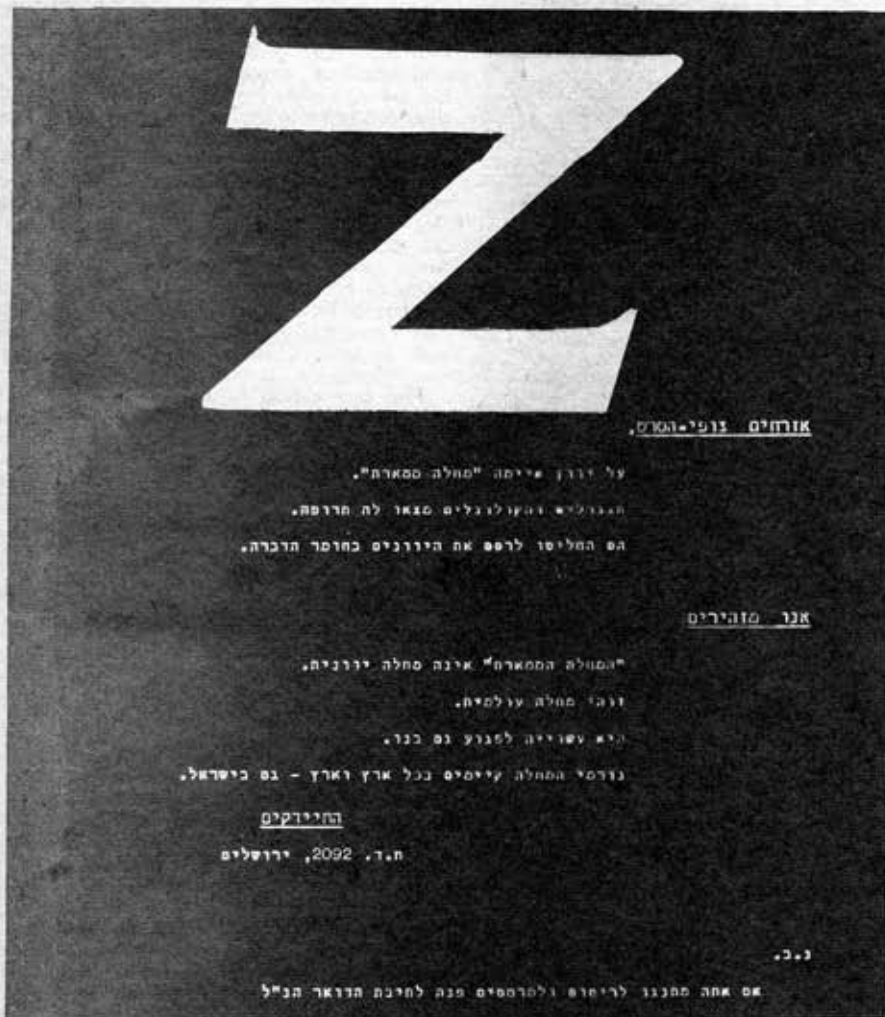
The road to peace is that of the struggle to abolish the Zionist nature of Israel, to set up a new society through active collaboration with the revolutionary forces throughout the region. Whoever refuses to recognise this is thereby sentencing himself to a future of permanent warfare, of permanent militarisation in all fields of social life and in all aspects of culture, morals and science. Whoever adheres to Zionism sentences himself to perpetual war against the Arab world and to perpetual dependence on the suppliers of Phantoms. This is absolutely inescapable.

Up to this point we have been discussing principles. But we cannot end the discussion without stressing that Mapam themselves do not take their own nice principles seriously; in fact, the entire history of Mapam is the history of surrendering one principle after another. Let us mention their *kibbutzim* – e.g. *Bar'am* – which are founded on lands confiscated from Arab peasants, who although being Israeli citizens, were dispossessed to make room for these Zionist settlements. Let us recall Mapam's participation in the coalition government that decided to start the Suez war of 1956; let us recall that in 1957 Mapam helped to organise mass demonstrations against Israeli withdrawal from Sinai. Let us remember that they are part of the Dayan-Begin government, that they voted for the annexation of East Jerusalem to Israel (what has this got to do with peace or security?) and continue to support further annexations.

In short, Mapam's "principles" exist only for the sake of "the propaganda activity of our party abroad"; but in Israel there has never been a single instance of Mapam voting against a decision taken by their senior partners on matters of Zionist policy or on military questions. (This is a challenge to Mr. Merhav: let him refute our assertion!)

The latest item on the list of surrenders exposes once more Mapam's role in the Zionist camp. The Israeli daily *Ha-aretz* of September 12 reports that the Alignment [a block of all Zionist "workers' parties" led by the Labour party – formerly called Mapai – and including Mapam] adopted a platform for the general elections which were to be held on the following month. One of the points in this platform was support for Zionist colonisation in the occupied territories. *Ha-aretz* goes on to say that Mapam was against this point and at first insisted that its objection be mentioned in the platform itself; but Mr. Moshe Dayan announced that he would not allow such a thing. Finally there was found what *Ha-aretz* rather amusingly calls "an honourable way out": the point in support of colonisation would be included in the platform without any reservation and all partners in the Alignment – including Mapam – would be bound by it. However, Mapam, while being bound by the platform, were given permission (with the consent of Mr. Dayan) to appear in public and speak against that particular point.

The division of labour is quite clear. Mapam will continue to participate in the ruling alignment which supports and actually carries out the colonisation of the occupied territories; at the same time, this policy contradicts Mapam's declared principles, and Mapam will go on declaring those principles. So Mapam will in fact support the colonisation policy but – with the consent of Mr. Dayan – will continue to make noises against that policy, in particular when speaking to the left abroad.



"MATZPEN" leaflet to viewers of the film "Z" in Israel.
Dear viewer:
Greece was infected by an "incurable disease". The Colonels and Generals thought they had a cure.
They decided to spray the Greeks with insecticide.
BEWARE:
That disease is not unique to Greece,

It is international.
It could strike here too.
The germs exist everywhere.
Even in Israel.

The Germs.
P.O.B. 2902, Jerusalem.
N.B.—If you oppose the insecticide and the Colonels, contact the above-mentioned P.O.B.

Middle East DOCUMENTS

From the Zionist archives:
JOSEPH WEITZ DIARY

The following is a translation from an article, published on 29.9.67 in the Israeli Labour Party daily *DAVAR*. The author is *Joseph Weitz*, who for many years was head of the *Jewish Agency's Colonization Department* (the body in charge of the actual organization of Zionist settlement in Palestine). In discussing the possibility of colonizing the newly-occupied territories, the author quotes the following passage, an entry made in his diary in 1940:

"Between ourselves it must be clear that there is no room for both peoples together in this country . . . We shall not achieve our goal of being an independent people with the Arabs in this small country. The only solution is Palestine, at least Western Palestine [Palestine west of the Jordan river] without Arabs . . . And there is no other way but to transfer the Arabs from here to the neighbouring countries; to transfer all of them: not one village, not one tribe should be left. And the transfer should be directed to Iraq, Syria and even Trans-Jordan. Money, a lot of money, will be found for this purpose. And only after this transfer will the country be able to absorb millions of our brethren. There is no other way out." Commenting on what he had written in his diary 27 years earlier, the author goes on to say:

"From that point of view, the 'transfer' solution was discussed at the time and it was supported by B. Katznelson, J. Vulkani and M. Ussishkin (Ber Katznelson was Ben-Gurion's predecessor as leader of the most important Zionist political party, and thus the chief Zionist leader in Palestine; the other two persons mentioned were also very prominent Zionist leaders - Trans.) and some preliminary preparations were made in order to put this theory into practice. Years later, when the UN passed a resolution to partition Palestine into two states, the War of Independence broke out to our great good fortune; and in this war a twofold miracle happened: a territorial victory and the flight of the Arabs. In the Six Days' War one great miracle happened: a tremendous territorial victory; but most of the inhabitants of the liberated territories remained 'stuck' to their places - which may destroy the very foundation of our state."



World Zionist Organization

Students' department, Paris, October 14, 1969
Excerpts from a circular to the newly-created Students' department in Paris.

Political information

Opening remarks.

1. The efforts of the Students' department are mainly directed at Jewish students. It is, however, impossible, especially today, to make a clear-cut distinction between information directed towards a Jewish public and information in general. The students' "Jewish heritage" is an inadequate basis on which to confront the increasingly hostile propaganda on their own. For the first time Arab propaganda is adapt-

ing its arguments so as to reach the Jewish public more efficiently.

2. It is the well-informed, educated and sincere Jewish student who can work more efficiently than others on behalf of Israel.

3. Though the form and content of information must be adapted to suit students, this does not mean that one has to compromise in order to convince the extremists at any price.

4. Israel should be presented in all its aspects, and not limited to the Israeli-Arab conflict. The defensive attitude which so often characterizes Israeli propaganda should be dropped.

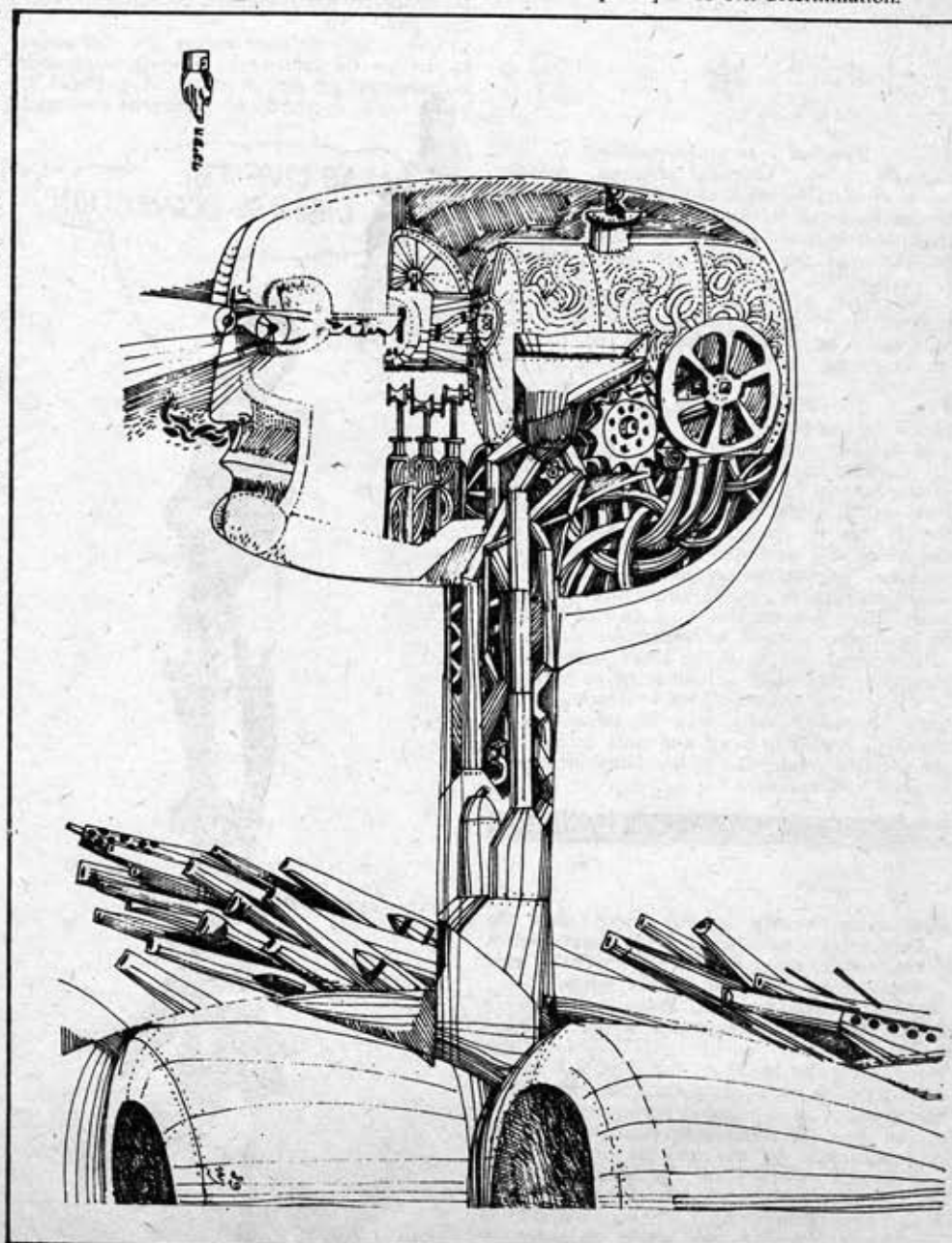
Content

Over and above daily action in response to events and Arab propaganda, a plan of action must be laid down for the coming academic

year and the main issues must be defined at the outset. Those outlined below are in line with the problems facing the students at the moment: they provide answers to the favourite slogans of Arab propaganda, without assuming a defensive attitude.

1. *El-Fateh; movement of national negation*

This is doubtless a provocative heading, but it also arouses curiosity. Aim: show that El-Fateh is only a new form of Arab "refusal" to recognize Israel and that it is more concerned with destroying this state than with constructing a Palestinian future. Demonstrate how the "dezionization" of Israel is only a false solution condemned as much by history as by the universal principle of self-determination.



2. Why has the Arab guerilla failed?

This theme aims at demystifying the romanticists and the identification of the guerilla struggle with the whole anti-colonialist movement. It must show that the Arab guerilla warfare contains none of the conditions for success as defined by the classics on guerilla warfare, be it Mao, Ho Chi-Minh or even Castro. Neither the terrain, nor the political conditions, nor the ways in which the population has grown, lend themselves to guerilla warfare, which has to depend on the regular forces of the Arab countries in order to achieve a hypothetical victory.

3. Minorities in Arab countries

Demystification of the idyllic presentation of a "Jewish paradise" under Arab domination, a slogan which is aimed to reassure [the Jews] that there can be peaceful co-existence between Arabs and Jews, the latter being assimilated to a religion, but denied rights as a nation. Denouncement of persecution of minorities in Arab countries, examples being the Kurds and South Sudanese, the Jews in Iraq, Syria, Egypt.

4. Campaign: "Students - visit Israel"

Israel is a living reality, present to all who want to see the truth. An attempt in this direction was successfully made at Nanterre last year.



Zionism - or anti-Semitism?

Excerpts from "Origins, ideology, achievements of HASHOMER HATZAIR", published by the Hanhaga Rashit (Central leadership) of Hashomer Hatzair (Young Guardian - youth movement of the Zionist Left party, Mapam) in Paris, 1949.

"We must admit that our national disease consists in the moral decadence of the Jewish individual as a man; the lack of national consciousness is a logical outcome of this situation."

"... Consider the young Jew; even though young in age he is already old in spirit - his soul is filled with gloom."

"... The Jew of the diaspora is a caricature of the normal, natural, man - both physically and mentally. As an individual member of society he is unaware of organization and discipline. He considers himself most intelligent and expects others to bow to him. His distinguishing feature is interminable discussions which become, for him, an end in itself. In overrating himself he underrates others. He is convinced that he is the most perfect being on earth. Our ideal in education is to create a young Jew with well-built muscles, strong will, normal, healthy way of thinking, disciplined, Jewish in heart and soul, initiator of the socialist conception of life, admirer of what is good and beautiful."

Declaration written by Eli Lobel after the incident at a meeting in Paris (December 9, 1969) where three members of ISRACA were wounded by extremist Zionist thugs.

At the present moment, Zionist strategy in France can be summed up in the slogan: ANTI-ZIONISM equals ANTI-SEMITISM. Having lost the battle on the Zionist front, as it is becoming increasingly clear that the Zionist movement is of a colonial nature and the ally of the most ferocious imperialism, an attempt is being made to discredit its opponents as anti-semites. Worse still, the long run target arrived at by this strategy is to persuade the Jewish community that their existence is threatened and that they would do better to emigrate to Israel. Didn't the managing director

of the ministry of Absorption into Israel, General Uzi Narkiss, recently announce that an increase in emigration by the French Jews was to be expected, the latter no longer feeling themselves to be safe in France, on account of the propaganda of El-Fateh and the leftists?

It is against this background that the acts of the *Commando* of Jewish extremists have to be seen. Each of the Zionist groups, whether they proclaim themselves on the left or the right, plays its part in the overall strategy. When an official representative of the Union of Jewish Students in France, calling himself "a left-winger", declares in a public meeting that the people in MATZPEN are despicable traitors of their country, this is direct encouragement for the Jewish extremists to turn to action. After the attack by the fascist type Zionist commando at Censier, on Tuesday, December 9, 1969, the same National Union of Jewish Students rushed to publish a communiqué - in suspicious haste, barely one hour after the incident - condemning acts which could only "madden people's minds". But, as usual, those responsible are in higher positions than the lowly henchmen in exile.

It is the whole Zionist propaganda which is the cause. It is aimed at dividing the forces of the left wherever they exist, and at creating forced situations whereby the Jews become foreigners in the respective countries in which they live.

This is why we must ensure that our answer to actions by fascist-type Zionist commandos is accompanied by an effort at political explanation in depth. Zionism must be denounced

LONG LIVE THE
LIBERAL OCCUPATION



daily, all along the line. Whether it be on the right, on the left, or in the centre, Zionism in its form of "punishing Zionism", directed this time against recalcitrant Jews themselves, is not only an enemy of the Palestinian people, not only a chosen ally of western imperialism, but is also becoming at the present moment an enemy of the Jews and a considerable factor of division of the left wherever it acts.



TO THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF JEWISH LAWYERS & JURISTS ISRAEL - AUGUST 1969

As you certainly know, you have been invited to take part in this international gathering in order to serve the political and propaganda needs of the Zionist movement and of the Israeli government. If you are a Zionist, and you came to this bluff-congress knowingly, our words are not addressed to you; but if candor, or lack of proper information brought you here, you should read this and think about it before you draw any conclusion.

The organisers of this conference want you to protest against the discriminatory policies of the Soviet Bureaucracy and against the use of arbitrary measures, legal murder and oppressive practices by the reactionary ruling circles of Iraq. They also want to involve you in the campaign for the defence and rehabilitation of the arbitrary and oppressive policies of the Israeli government in the conquered territories and in Israel itself.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

COLONIAL OPPRESSIVE LAWS ARE UNTO THIS DAY IN VIGOUR IN ISRAEL. IN PROFESSIONAL LANGUAGE THEIR NAME IS "DEFENCE (EMERGENCY) REGULATIONS, 1945". Those are laws the Israeli government inherited from the British imperialists who ruled this country until May 1948. They were "passed" by colonial officers and civil servants three years before the State of Israel came into existence.

A few examples:

Regulation 109 and 110 invest the military commander with the authority to place any citizen under police observation. The military commander may, by decree, prohibit for this citizen residence or presence in any particular place, village, city or area. He may compel a citizen to inform the police about his travelling inside the country and even within the same police district. The military commander may prevent a man from holding onto his property, that is may confiscate it; he has the power to prohibit contacts between citizens, to prohibit a citizen's leaving his apartment or house, etc.

Regulation 111 invests the military commander with the authority to arrest any citizen and detain him for any length of time, without having to press against him any particular charge.

By virtue of Regulation 112, the military commander may decree the deportation of any citizen outside the country, exile him, dispossess him and prescribe his return home.

Regulation 119 gives the military commander legal authority to confiscate and/or to destroy the house of one or several citizens.

All those are prerogatives of the military commander by virtue of the authority delegated to the Minister of Defence (Security) - who in Israel inherited the powers of the Colonial British High Commissioner. They are used arbitrarily, without any judiciary course.

ASK the organisers of the conference; read these regulations by yourself; as a jurist, medi-

tate on them.

Are these laws really enforced? Aren't they dead letter, haven't they long been out of use?

The answer:

Thousands of residents of the conquered territories as well as Israeli citizens have been, and are to this day, the victims of those "laws".

In Israel there are several hundred Arab citizens whose liberty to move is limited. Who need a special permit from the military authority to move from town to town inside Israel itself. Who live under the regime of home-arrest. Who must daily report to the police station. Who are sent to prison without a trial and without having been charged with anything.

Did the organisers of the conference inform you of those facts? Did the conference discuss these questions, are they on the order of the day? Were you given an opportunity to converse face to face with the very citizens who are victims of this arbitrary law, this oppression? Indeed not! Such is not the purpose of this fake-congress.

In the course of the conference, you must have heard the exceptional prose of the Israeli Minister of Justice, lawyer Yaacov Shimshon Shapira. We want to quote here for you Dr. Shapira's own words, which he spoke a long time ago, before he was even appointed a minister, at a conference of Jewish jurists that took place in Tel-Aviv (Palestine) on February 7, 1946.

Said Y. S. Shapira:

"The Defence Regulations in Palestine have no equivalent in any civilised country. Even in Nazi Germany, there were no such laws; what happened in Maidanek and other places was in contradicting to the written letter of the law. Only one type of regime is conceivable in such circumstances - that of an occupied country. They console us and underline that these regulations ought to serve against criminals, and not all the citizens. The Nazi governor of occupied Oslo had also assured that no harm would be done to the law-abiding citizen . . .

"We must declare to the face of the world: the Defence Regulations of the Palestinian government threaten the very foundations of the law. Military tribunals are presented under the name of "Courts", while they are in fact "military judiciary commissions counseling the general". The transfer of a great part of civilian jurisdiction to the exclusive or parallel jurisdiction of military "courts" means the negation of the law itself. No authority can afford to enact such laws . . ."

At the same conference, another lawyer was to make a remarkable statement. It was Dr. Joseph Bernard, from the Jewish Agency. His name today is Dov Yossef, and he was the former Israeli Minister of Justice.

Said he:

"The question raised (by these regulations) is as follows: Shall we all be the victims of legal terrorism? Or shall we be able to preserve the freedom of the individual? Will the authorities be invested with the power to intervene in the life of every individual without a guarantee being given to our lives?

"The citizen is helpless before the eventuality of life-imprisonment without a trial, he has no guarantee or individual rights. There is no possibility of appeal before a higher court. The authorities are able to deport a citizen

whenever they please. An offence doesn't even have to be committed. It's enough for a decision to have been taken in one of those offices, and a man's destiny is sealed . . . The principle of collective responsibility has reached the absurd. The totality of the 600,000 members of the Hebrew community can be hung for the crime one of them has committed.

"One can't demand from the citizen that he trust the goodwill of some civil servant, and abandon to him his life and his property.

"Between Freedom and Anarchy - there is no alternative. When the authorities themselves inspire the citizen with hate, disgust, and distrust of the laws, one can't expect the law to be respected. One can't ask the citizen to comply with legislation that pushes him outside the law."

Aren't these words clear? And what will YOU do?

Will you be the advocate of arbitrary and oppression?

Will you help and cover injustice, or will you raise your voice and struggle?

Not only against the Soviet bureaucracy

Not only against the reactionary rulers of Irak

Also against Israeli occupation and oppression!

August 1969

The Israeli Socialist Organisation (Matzpen)

P.O.B. 28061 - Tel Aviv.

Towards a Democratic Solution to the Palestine Problem*

The Palestine National Congress, basing itself on the belief of the Palestinian people in a democratic solution to the Palestine problem, resolves the following:

1. The Palestine National Congress rejects all chauvinist, reactionary and Zionist-imperialist solutions to the Palestine problem based on the recognition of the state of Israel as one of the existing "facts" in the Middle East. These solutions not only negate the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, but also consecrate the Zionist and expansionist structure of the state of Israel, tied to imperialism and opposed to the Palestinian and Arab national liberation movements and to all the forces of liberation and socialism in the world.

2. The Palestine National Congress rejects the Palestine and Arab chauvinist solutions prevailing before and after June 1967 calling for "butchering the Jews and throwing them into the sea". Similarly, it rejects the reactionary solutions calling for recognition of an Israeli state within safe boundaries as stipulated by the UN resolution of November 1967. These solutions, which again negate the right of the Palestine people to self-determination, seek to maintain in the Middle East a racist, capitalist, and expansionist state serving the

interests of imperialism and diametrically opposed to the Palestine and Arab national liberation movements, and to the national liberation movements and the forces of progress and socialism in the world.

3. The Palestine National Congress will struggle for a popular democratic solution to both the Palestinian and Israeli problems based on: (a) the overthrow of the Zionist structure represented by the state institutions (army, administration and police) and all the Zionist and chauvinist political and trade union institutions; (b) the establishment of a popular democratic Palestinian state where Arabs and Jews enjoy equal rights without discrimination and where all forms of national and class oppression shall be abolished; (c) granting both Arab and Jew the right to develop their own national cultures.

4. Because of the link of history and common fate that binds Palestine to the Arab nation, the popular democratic state of Palestine will become an integral part of a unified Arab state - democratic in context and opposed to colonialism, imperialism, Zionism and to both Palestinian and Arab reaction.

5. Only such a democratic solution is capable of freeing both Jews and Arabs from all forms of chauvinistic and racist ideology - the Arab will be liberated from reactionary ideology and the Jew from Zionist ideology.

6. This democratic solution, opposed to national and class oppression, is also capable of liberating Palestine from imperialism and of transforming it into a revolutionary progressive stronghold which will join the worldwide struggle against imperialism and counter-revolution.

7. The national liberation movement can only establish this popular democratic Palestinian state by means of armed struggle and of a popular liberation war directed against Zionism, imperialism and reaction; by the overthrow of the Israeli state and the liberation of Jews from Zionism (. . .).

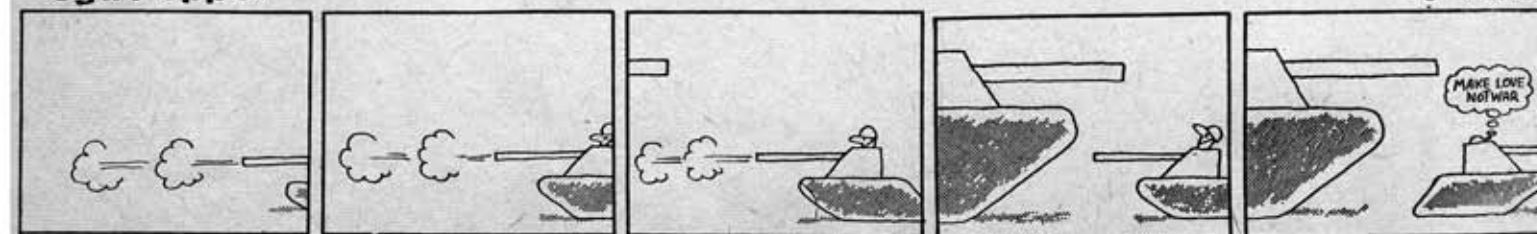
The Sixth Palestine National Congress after having adopted this democratic solution, calls upon all anti-Zionist Jews and Israelis to rally around this solution and to engage in the common Palestinian armed and mass struggle for its implementation.

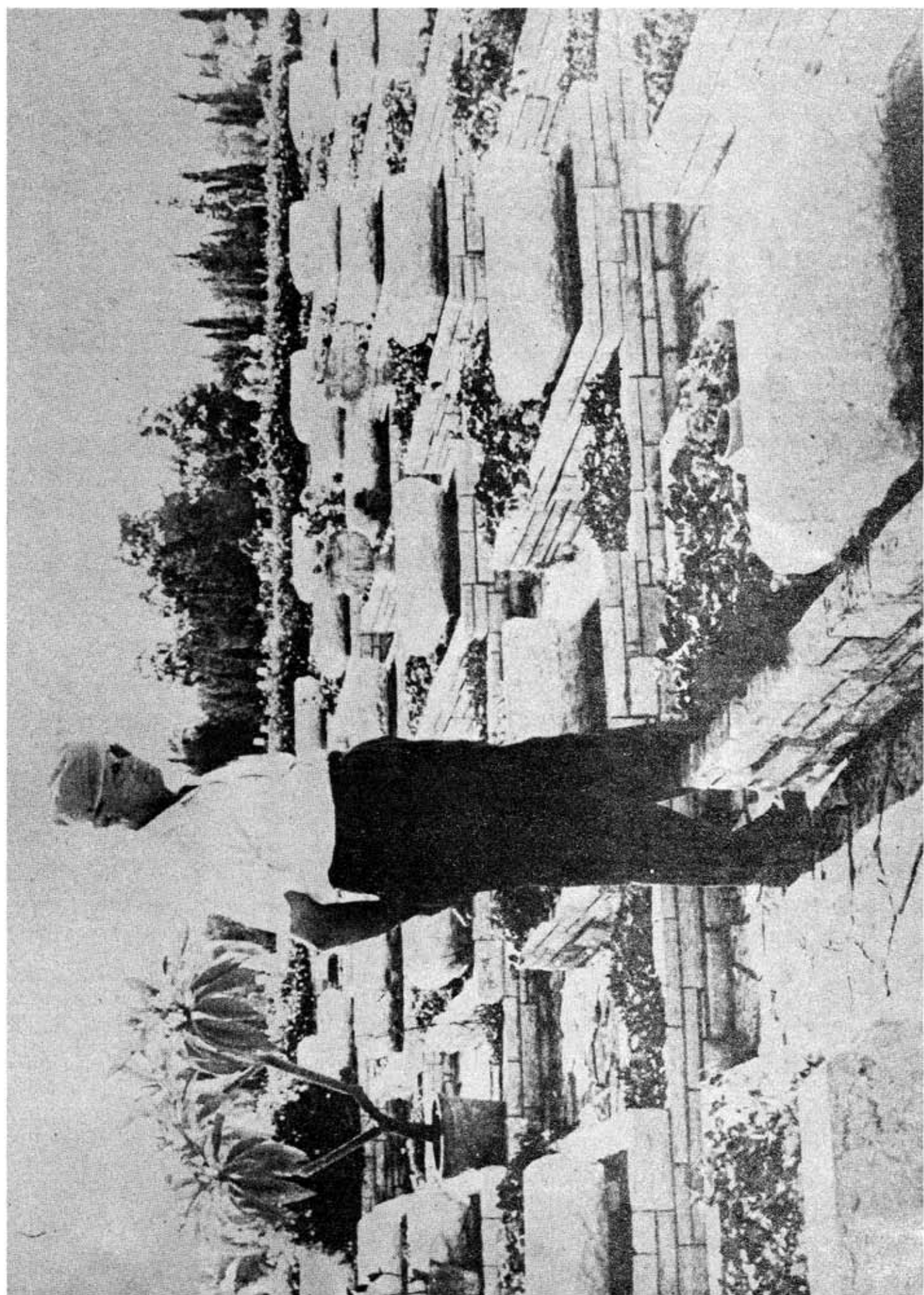
The Sixth Palestinian National Congress calls upon all forces of national liberation and socialism all over the world to adopt this democratic solution and to engage in the struggle on the side of the Palestinian people for its implementation, i.e., for achieving the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

* (Draft resolution presented by the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine to the Palestine National Congress - September 1969).

Sgt. Pepper

by Tzabar





Bertrand Russell's last message

The latest phase of the undeclared war in the Middle East is based upon a profound miscalculation. The bombing raids deep into Egyptian territory will not persuade the civilian population to surrender, but will stiffen their resolve to resist. This is the lesson of all aerial bombardment. The Vietnamese who have endured years of American bombing have responded not by capitulation, but by shooting down more enemy aircraft. In 1940 my own fellow-countrymen resisted Hitler's bombing raids with an unprecedented unity and determination. For this reason, the present Israeli attacks will fail in their essential purpose, but at the same time they must be condemned vigorously throughout the world.



The development of the crisis in the Middle East is both dangerous and instructive. For over twenty years Israel has expanded by force of arms. After every stage in this expansion Israel has appealed to 'reason' and has suggested 'negotiations'. This is the traditional role of the imperial power, because it wishes to consolidate with the least difficulty what it has taken already by violence. Every new conquest becomes the new basis of the proposed negotiation from strength, which ignores the injustice of the previous aggression. The aggression committed by Israel must be condemned, not only because no state has the right to annexe foreign territory, but because every expansion is also an experiment to discover how much more aggression the world will tolerate.

The refugees who surround Palestine in their hundreds of thousands were described recently by the Washington journalist I.F. Stone as 'the moral millstone around the neck of world Jewry'. Many of the refugees are now well into the third decade of their precarious existence in temporary settlements. The tragedy of the people of Palestine is that their country was 'given' by a foreign Power to another people for the creation of a new State. The result was that many hundreds of thousands of innocent people were made permanently homeless. With every ~~year~~ new conflict their numbers have increased. How much longer is the world willing to endure this spectacle of wanton cruelty? It is abundantly clear that the refugees have every right to the homeland from which they were driven, and the denial of this right is at the heart of the continuing conflict. No people anywhere in the world would accept being expelled en masse from their own country; how can anyone require the people of Palestine to accept a punishment which nobody else would tolerate? A permanent just settlement ingredient of any genuine settlement in the Middle East.

We are frequently told that we must sympathise with Israel because of the suffering of the Jews in Europe at the hands of the Nazis. I see in this suggestion no reason to perpetuate the suffering. What Israel is doing today can not be condoned, and to invoke the horrors of the past to justify those of the present is gross hypocrisy. Not only does Israel condemn a vast number of refugees to misery; not only are many Arabs under occupation condemned to military rule; but also Israel condemns the Arab nations, only recently emerging from colonial status, to continuing impoverishment as military demands take precedence over national development.

All who want to see an end to bloodshed in the Middle East must ensure that any settlement does not contain the seeds of future conflict. Justice requires that the first step towards a settlement must be an Israeli withdrawal from all the territories occupied in June 1967. A new world campaign is needed to help bring justice to the long-suffering people of the Middle East.

Bertrand Russell
January 31 1970

Letters to other EDITORS

This so far unpublished letter was sent to the editor of Haaretz.

HOW TO IMPROVE THE ISRAELI IMAGE ABROAD

Following the discussions in your paper over the ways of improving the Israeli image abroad, may I venture a few suggestions.

Israel is making a bad impression abroad because its policy and military activities. The only way, therefore, to improve the image is to change the activities and the policy.

1). The Israeli army should stop the bombing of Arab towns and villages and evacuate all areas occupied since June 1967.

2). The government should open the borders for the return of all refugees since 1948 and resettle them on the same conditions that Jewish immigrants are settled.

3). Cabinet Minister Menahem Begin, who openly confessed in his book that he ordered the Dir-Yassin massacre, should be put on trial as a war criminal. All other crimes of this nature should be similarly investigated and dealt with.

4). To replace the Zionist establishment of an exclusively racial Jewish state by a democratic constitution giving equal rights to all citizens without religious, racial or national discrimination.

Accepting these suggestions will almost certainly improve the Israeli image abroad, as well as putting an end to the current hostilities making an 'improved image' necessary.

Yours faithfully,
Shimon Tzabar, London.
Shimon Tzabar



Haolam Haze, 31.12.69

The state of Israel is a Jewish state. Its spiritual and moral foundations are the Jewish religion. These are the principles that must guide us in all our ways.

How can you protest so criminally at Moshe Dayan's system of collective punishment which is our religion's command? Has not the blessed God showed our way - the deluge, the annihilation of the Egyptians and Amalek - which are

evidence that collective punishment is efficient and approved by God.

We must accept a moral licence from heaven and not listen to the heresies of those who have the boldness to pit their own moral principles against the moral law from above.

Biniamin Oren.

Jerusalem



HAARETZ - 7.12.69

Dayan's rhetorical question

In the TV programme Moked (Focus) on Thursday, November 27, 1969, Dayan was questioned about the fatalistic attitude which is growing among the public in face of the deterioration of Israel's security. Mr. Dayan replied by asking the interviewers whether they have any other alternative to the present policy. Here are his exact words from an election speech in Tel Aviv, published in the magazine Dvar Hashavua No. 40:

"One of the possible alternatives to our present policy is to accept the resolution of the Security Council and return to the former frontiers. I have no doubt that if we declared our readiness to retreat, we could have made certain modifications in the June 5 armistice lines by means of negotiations, to which even the Russians would agree. In Jerusalem we would not have been pressed to retreat from the Wailing Wall and we could possibly have achieved even more... I will not enumerate all the possibilities. I simply state that there is an alternative, which is: Israel retreats to the previous frontiers, armed Arabs will not occupy every place evacuated by the Israeli Army. There would be some changes in the status of Jerusalem and also some territorial changes here and there. What can such an alternative bring about? Temporary relaxation of tension, but certainly THE LOSS OF ALL ACHIEVEMENT OF THE SIX DAY WAR (sic!)... Let me say what victory means: victory means that formerly Eilat was our Southern border and now Sharm-Al-Sheikh; formerly East Jerusalem was Arabic, now it is Israeli; and this change will gradually become a permanent arrangement. On the other hand, if we go back to the previous lines, it will mean that we have defeated the Arab armies but we have not won. We have not won because we have not achieved permanent changes on the map. The main objective of our present policy as distinguished from other possible alternatives which I will not advocate, is the creation of a new map, new frontiers and a new Israel."

Similar things were stated in other speeches by Dayan. It appears that Mr. Dayan, in reply to his interviewers, ignored what he said about other possible alternatives. Or, was he merely trying to test whether his interviewers knew about the existence of other alternatives?

Ilan Tamir, Eli Katz,
Haifa.



HELP THE DOGS
WHO GUIDE
THE BLIND

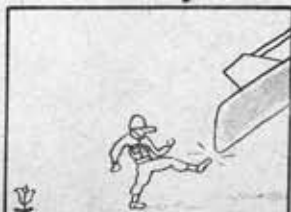
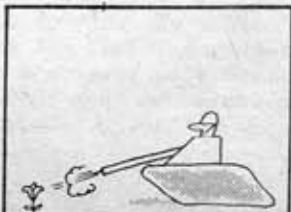
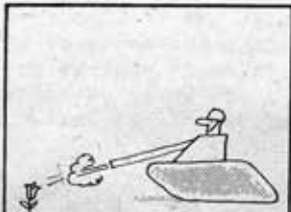
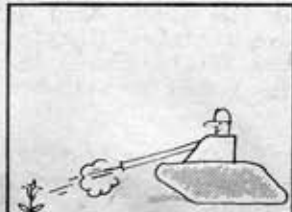
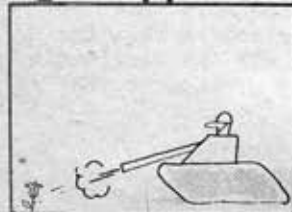
PLEASE GIVE GENEROUSLY

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Sgt. Pepper

by Tzabar



Zionist Definition of Jewish Nationality

For the third time since its establishment in 1948 Israel became deeply involved in a debate over the legal definition of Jewish nationality. As in the previous cases this one too started as an appeal to the Supreme Court of Justice to register as 'Jewish by Nationality'—rather than by religion—individuals whom the religious authorities consider as definitely non-Jewish. The Supreme Court ruled by a majority of five to four that the applicants be registered as requested, that is as Jewish by nationality though not by religion. This shocked the entire Zionist establishment in Israel. The Cabinet, in which the Zionist Labour parties are in majority, met and proposed to the Knesset (Israeli parliament) to modify the definition of Jewish nationality so as to conform with the religious laws and their interpretation by the religious authorities. The Knesset passed this by an overwhelming majority of 70 to 14 with 23

abstentions amidst stormy scenes and a most vitriolic debate (parts had to be erased from the minutes).

This ruling in favour of a strictly religious definition of nationality in a country where the majority of the population consists of non-believers requires some explanation because it illuminates the unique nature of the Zionist regime in Israel. This regime is based on legal discrimination in such matters as immigration and citizenship laws, which grant special rights to world Jewry while denying elementary rights to the indigenous Palestinian Arab population. The abolition of these discriminations, or even their partial erosion, would lead to the abolition of the Zionist regime in Israel. Those who opposed the ruling of the majority in the Supreme Court revealed in their argumentation far more than the official Israeli propaganda apparatus abroad would like to disclose. It is

for this reason that we publish the following article by S. Tevet. The main reason for the insistence on non-separation of Jewish nationality from Jewish religion is that the Zionist claim to the territory of Palestine is ultimately religious in nature—the Divine Promise. It is by this religious argument that Zionism rationalises and justifies the colonisation of a territory inhabited by another people, the expulsion, discrimination and oppression to which that indigenous population is subjected.

The following article from the Israeli daily 'HAARETZ' (February 3, 1970) discusses the issue with unusual frankness; the author is known for his liberal views; he is an atheist; he is also a Zionist. It is illuminating to see the outcome of the clash between a person's liberal and his Zionist convictions.

The Divided Soul of an Israeli

by Shabtai Tevet

The division in the Supreme Court of Justice, in its ruling on the case of Major Shalit, of five against four, expressed properly my own feelings on this case. If I could I too would have divided myself into five-ninths for the ruling and four-ninths against it.

I would have fully agreed with the majority of five had I thought that the construction of the Jewish State has already come to an end, that its sovereignty and security have been ensured. In that case I would have demanded freedom for definition of nationality in Israel. As this is not the case, the building of the State has not come to an end yet, its sovereignty and security are under permanent threat, I am unable to feel wholesome, my soul is divided.

I support the four judges in minority, and those who support them, because I approach the fundamental issues from a political aspect, from the aspect of political utility. More and more I believe that in Israel issues of individual morality are confused with those of the morality of the many. Whereas an individual can rise above considerations of utility and purpose and accept a decision that is totally moral and in fact, only in rising above considerations of utility is a purely moral consideration possible, that is not the case with society. In social issues the utilitarian morality is binding. The question what is good for a society is necessarily a political one.

For this reason I believe that the religious law is still the only definition for Jewishness. Not because I accept it, not because I have no criticism of it, not because I want this to be so for ever, but because it has no substitute today. Not one of those who criticise the religious ruling has a better definition of Jewishness. Those who say that this is a matter of personal, subjective, feeling, admit in their very saying that they have no other definition. Had they proposed another definition which stands the test of social utility I

would have considered whether I personally accept it. But at present there is no other definition except the religious one.

I understand that definition thus: according to the religious law he who wishes to become a Jew must convert. There can be a debate on the process of conversion, how prolonged, clumsy and unpleasant it is. This discussion is irrelevant for those who consider Jewishness to be a subjective feeling. Suppose we shorten the conversion into a single act of signing a form, where the applicant for conversion states his will to belong to the Jewish religion. Even then will those who reject religion and its values say that this is an act of coercion, and they will be right. Thus it is not the process of conversion that matters but the act of coercion. That is so not only for the orthodox. Even the most liberal reform Rabbi demands from the converted an explicit statement stating that he recognises the values of Jewish religion, thus the coercion amongst the liberals is not lesser.

This coercion, which unfortunately I see no way to avoid, is not to my taste. Not only because of the conscientious coercion but also because I justify it for unjustifiable reasons. The national utility for the sake of which I justify the coercion of conversion stems from my belief that the construction of the Jewish State has not been completed yet. Until this has been completed I see no other way for us other than racialism. He who recognises the national justice of Israel knows that this justice was done by means of racial injustice. The Jews took the lands of another people, later the Jewish National Fund acquired most of these lands from the government and Development Authority and turned it into the property of the Jewish People. Most of the land in Israel is the property of the Jewish Nation. The Law of the Return is a law which gives preferences to Jews over other people. In short, the building of the State of Israel was done on the

basis of the religious ruling on Jewishness. If I undermine this foundation I might crack the entire structure. By what right do I accept that a Jew from Boston will be allowed to settle in Jaffa while refusing to allow a resident of Jaffa, whose family lived there for many generations, to return to it from the refugee camp in the Gaza Strip, or in Judea and Samaria (ie, the West Bank) where he now lives?

By what justice, and according to what right, do I agree that lands in the B'sor area be given to new immigrants from France rather than to the sons of the peasants who cultivated them, or the neighbouring lands, for many generations?

Do I agree to this only because those Jews who settled in Jaffa, in abandoned cities, and those Jews who settled on lands belonging to Arabs felt subjectively that they are Jewish? or according to what was valid when Zionism started, and the building of Israel commenced and what seemed to me then justified from a National-Jewish aspect? If I do not accept nowadays that it is the religious law that defines who is the Jew to whom justice was done, then I recognise myself suddenly as someone who was a criminal all his life, who exiled innocent peasants and city dwellers only because a few tens of thousands at first, and later some hundreds of thousands who suddenly felt some inner attachment and identification with Jews, came here to expel (those peasants).

Subjective feeling is too weak and transient a standard to serve as a justified guide for history and contemporary Israeli society.

I reject racialism, I detest it, yet I see no other way to bring to its end the Zionist enterprise whose main aim was to do justice to the Jewish People.

I find it possible to suffer this divided soul because I know that we are not a nation like all others and our State is not a State like all others.

Sgt. Pepper

by Tzabar



What made them to leave their shoes behind?



EGYPTIAN POWS IN JUNE 1967 FORCED AT GUNPOINT BY ISRAELI SOLDIERS TO TAKE OFF THEIR SHOES IN THE SCORCHING (160° F) DESERT SAND. ISRAELI PROPAGANDA SPREAD THE STORY THAT THE EGYPTIAN SOLDIERS RAN AWAY LEAVING THEIR SHOES BEHIND.

SCH'MAH ISRAEL!

Erich Fried

When we were oppressed
I was one of you.
How can I remain with you
when you become oppressors?

Your longing was
to be like the other nations
that murdered you.
Now you have become like them.

You outlived those
whose cruelty you suffered.
Does not their cruelty
live on in you?

You told the defeated:
"Take off your shoes!"
then like the scapegoat
you drove them into the desert.

Into the vast mosque of Death
whose sandals are of sand.
But they did not bear the sin
you tried to lay upon them.

The imprint of naked feet
in the desert sand
will outlast all traces
of your bombs and your tanks.

Erich Fried: biographical notes:

Born - Vienna, 1921. Jewish. Father killed by Nazis in 1938. Took refuge in Britain in August, 1938. During the war - factory worker, librarian, chemist. Since 1946 - editor, writer, translator, poet. Awarded a Schiller prize, Stuttgart, 1965. Translator of Shakespeare (six plays) into German, also of Dylan Thomas (five works), T. S. Eliot, John Arden. Closely linked with the New Left in Germany, published many poems on the Vietnam war, apart from another 11 books of poetry.

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