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INCORPORATING
**ISRAEL
imperial
NEWS**

MAY 69

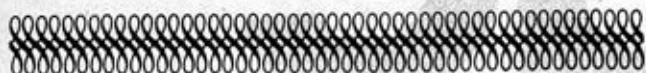
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Austria	10 sch	Kuwait	140 fls
Belgium	20 F	Lebanon	120 Ps
British Isles	2/6	Liberia	40 cents
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Cyprus	140 mils	Netherlands	1.50 Fl
Denmark	3 Kr	Nigeria	3/-
East Africa	3/-	Norway	2.80 Kr
Egypt	17 Ps	Portugal	12 esc
Ethiopia	1 ES	Rhodesia	3/-
Finland	1.80 Mk	S. Arabia	1.80 rials
France	2.0 F	S. Africa	30 cents
Germany	1.60 DM	Spain	25 ptas
Ghana	45 Ps	Sudan	15 Ps
Greece	12 Drs	Sweden	2.25 Kr
Iceland	16 Kr		(incl. oms)
Iran	30 rials	Switzerland	1.75 F
Iraq	140 fls	Syria	160 Ps
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M.D.



EDITORIAL



This is the first issue of *ISRAC* (incorporating *Israel Imperial News*), the magazine of the Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee (Abroad), set up by Israelis at present staying in various western countries.

The occupation of the West Bank and other territories by Israeli military force is not only unjust, but is also a political crime against all the people of the Middle-East - Jews and Arabs, Israelis and Palestinians. While pretending to secure Jews from persecution and discrimination, the Zionist establishment in Israel persecutes and discriminates against the Palestinian Arabs, denying them civil as well as political rights.

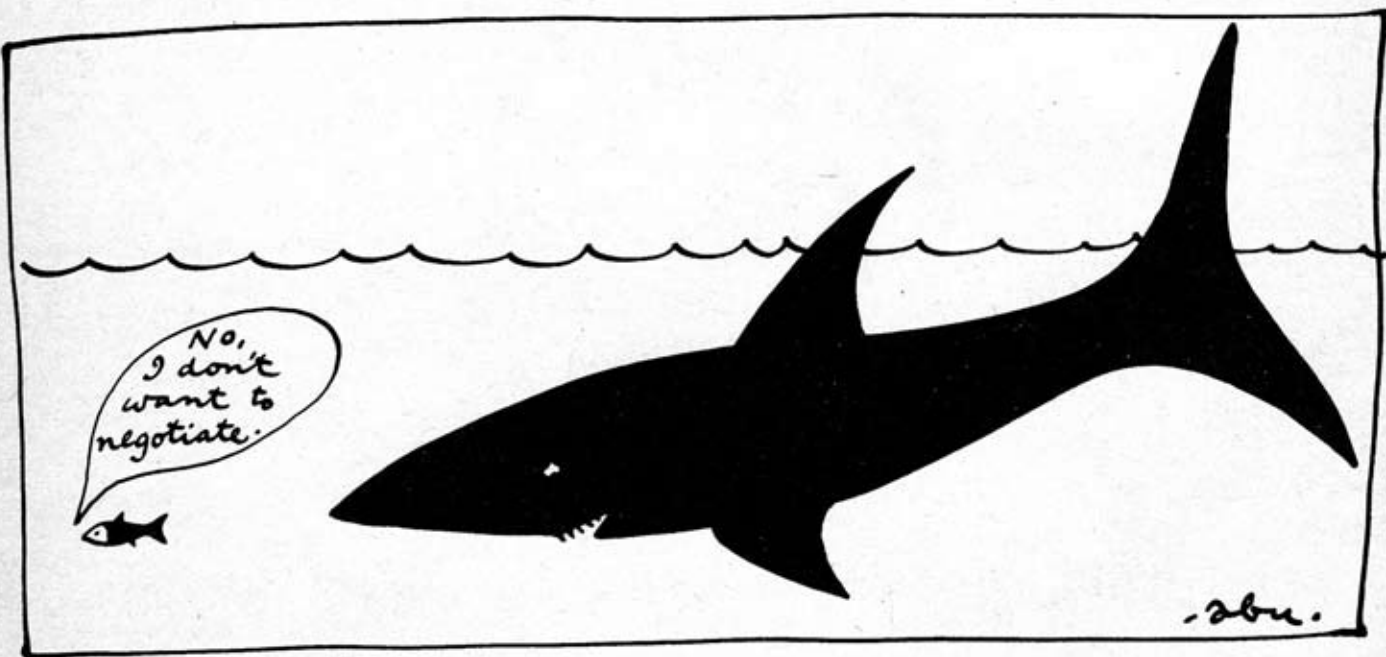
The surrender of the majority of Israelis - some of them declaring themselves "liberal" and "socialist" - to Zionist racial ideology,

backed by military supremacy, makes them no less victims than the Palestinian Arab people.

The historically complex conflict in the Middle East is not a clash between Jews and Arabs as such, as the nationalists claim, but a clash between Zionist colonization, which is, and always has been, an ally of imperialism, and the indigenous population of Palestine. Furthermore, the very existence of the 'Zionist enterprise' brought it into conflict with the masses of the Arab people throughout the region.

The Palestinian people, the main and direct victims of Zionism, are at present engaged in a struggle for liberation. This is not only a just struggle for self-determination but also a potential for transforming the whole of the Middle East.

The experience of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict confirms that national problems cannot be solved in a nationalistic way. Like all major social and political issues they can only be resolved in a non-nationalistic way by means of a socialist revolution: leading not towards a bureaucratic or repressive regime, but towards a new society, in which the people, liberated from all social and national oppression will together create the Revolutionary Federation of the Middle-East.



Letters to other EDITORS



HAARETZ - 4.3.69.

Suggestions for dispersing women's demonstrations with tear-gas.

Representatives of the "second sex" are among the determined participants in demonstrations and among the supporters of saboteurs and terrorists. They are behind the disruption of studies and commerce, they participate in unauthorised demonstrations and in laying mines and actively belong to the "Movement for the Liberation of Palestine". They incite girls to shout Arab propaganda slogans, to wave flags and throw stones. It is

not worth dispersing women's demonstrations with clubs and sticks. Why should we hit the women rioters?

I imagine that we could achieve our aims even if we used more accepted and humane methods e.g. tear gas.

Emil-Mehudar
Tel-Aviv

HAARETZ - 7.2.69.

The Problem of the Arab refugees.

I would appreciate a reply to the question which probably torments many of us: Why don't we try to solve the refugee problem,

even if partially, in the Sinai peninsula, an area within our grasp. I imagine it would be possible to mobilise international capital resources for the solution of this problem, which is the real source of the Israeli-Arab conflict.

David Kaley
Jerusalem.

HAARETZ - 12.1.69.
Like Rhodesia?

'Life with 1.3 million Arabs is a reality for which one has to establish a defined policy says Shimon Peres M.P. in *Haaretz* of 7.1.69. It is necessary to create practical Jewish-Arab coexistence. I would like to emphasise one characteristic of the 'democrats' among the members of the Movement for the Annexation of the territories. The

(continued on page 9)

Valley Residents are demanding border move.

We demand that the borders be moved further away. Although we thought that the Jordan and the Yarmuk rivers were the natural border between us and the Hashemite Kingdom a year ago, reality now forces us to demand a further expansion.' This was said by Mr. Elisha Soletz, one of the founder members of Kibbutz Maoz-Haim, and the chairman of the Beth-Sha'an District committee. Representatives of the Jordan Valley settlements put a similar demand to members of the Foreign Office and Defence Ministry, and the Chief of Staff Northern Division at a meeting in Kvutzat Gesher.

The residents maintain that in this, one of the previously quietest border areas, artillery attacks, which started a year ago, have now become continuous. Mr. Soletz said that although infiltrators are unable to come in and lay mines, the artillery attacks are creating a situation of constant tension.

However, Israeli valley residents do not expect that the steps taken by the army will be sufficient to stop attacks. A member from Kibbutz Ashdod Yaacov said that "although their members are united and tied to the land more than ever, and that work continues in the fields, the government will have to realise that some of the residents are children and elderly people and cannot live under these conditions. The border problem will have to be dealt with more radically. "If it cannot be done by diplomacy force should be used to extend our borders so that our settlements will be safe to live in. Cabinet ministers should realise that our situation now is worse than the situation in Upper Galilee was prior to the six day war. The confrontation is not between two armies who know the rules of the game but between frenzied terrorists and farmers. If it is true that the Golan area was pacified by attacking civilians in villages, we say good, by the same criterion deliver us too, pacify Gilad.

Haaretz: 24.12.68.

Appeal to Students to Counteract anti-Israeli influence.

An appeal to Israeli students to join New Left organisations in order to combat anti-Israeli tendencies inside them and attract their young Jewish members to immigrate to Israel was made last week by Mr. Abraham Shenkar, member of the directorate of the Jewish Agency.

Mr. Shenkar, who immigrated to Israel about one month ago, had been in charge of the Jewish agency department of Youth and Pioneers in North America. He says that "throughout the world Jewish youth are influenced by general processes and their hostility towards Israel is rational rather than emotional which makes it easier to make them see their error".

Mr. Shenkar, remarked that about 30% of young people in the New Left are Jewish. "We are wrong in taking the New Left to be a rigid anti-Israeli structure" he said, "It is not a movement whose motto is for something or other, but an attempt at dissociation from certain concepts of the affluent society and a reaction to the failure of both the old Left and Liberalism. When I met the leaders of the New-Left they always stressed that they do not constitute a definite organizational structure. In fact, they object to any structure

NEWS

from the fatherland

and have no ideological programme. They regard themselves as part of a third world to which Israel, unfortunately, does not belong. They identify Israel with the establishment and draw the conclusion that they have to oppose it. But if Israeli youth, and the bodies in charge of immigration in the U.S.A. find a way of working inside New Left circles, then there is no reason why Jewish youths belonging to these circles should not adopt Zionist values."

Haaretz: 2.2.69.



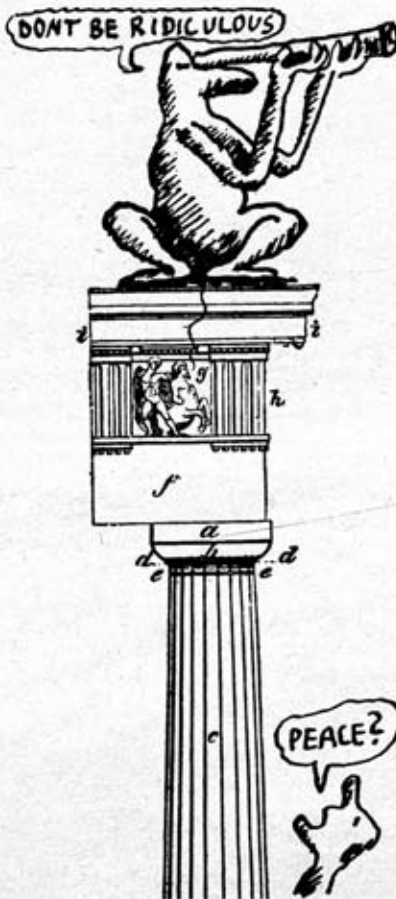
Policemen dragged eight members of the Matzpen group from Sokolov House yesterday when they tried to hold a meeting without the Landlord's consent.

Two weeks ago, representatives from Matzpen hired a hall in Sokolov House for a

public meeting but did not mention the purpose of the meeting. On Monday, Mr. Meir Ben Gur from the management noticed that an advertisement in *Haaretz* announced the meeting to be "Against the occupation, against Zionism and for a different Israel". He immediately told the organisers that he would cancel the booking and return their money, as he had not been informed of the purpose of the meeting.

Yesterday evening at 6.30 fifteen youngsters from Matzpen entered the hall and refused to leave it. Policemen were called and tried to convince some of them to leave. Seven or eight youngsters refused and were carried out by four policemen who held them by their arms and legs without hurting them. The others, about 30 people, held the meeting on the steps of the building.

Haaretz. 13.2.69.



'Exercise in democracy'

Dan Ben Amotz carried out an "Exercise in democracy" during an "Evening of public interviews" held at the Hilton Hotel in Tel-Aviv last week. He called upon Abraham Lebenbrown, a member of Rakah (one of the Israeli Communist Parties) who had represented his party at the Italian C.P. Conference in Bologna last month. Many members of the audience started shouting: We don't want people like him, shame on you... El Fatah, etc. Ben Amotz shouted these people down, ordered that the lights be put on, and called for a vote. The majority of the audience supported him and allowed him to interview the communist.

During the interview one of the audience became hysterical and shouted The Arabs want to kill all the Jews. Another young man came out and quoted the full El Fatah declaration which said that the subversive organisation did not intend to kill Jews, but to establish a common non-religious and democratic State for Jews and Arabs. He was interrupted by shouts of Hang him!; Where's the rope?; Get him out of here!.

Haolam Hazeh: 26.2.69.

Police will recruit Students for Temporary Police Duties.

With the aim of finding occupational outlets for students studying at Bar Ilan University, a joint decision was taken to recruit 100 students, including female students, into the police force. The employment officer of the students' union has notified us that their duties will be organized so as to avoid interfering with their studies.

Yediot Aharonot: 27.11.68.



Say it with flowers

H.B.

NEWS

from the colonies

Demonstrations in Gaza

Four schools were closed for two days in Gaza, following violent riots by school-girls on Sunday. Studies were to be resumed yesterday, but out of thousands of pupils of Al-Zahra girls' school only a few dozens turned up. In the other schools studies took place as usual.

Two employees of the Ministry of Agriculture in the Gaza Strip, Yitzhak Saluki and Yitzhak Shealtiel, were forced to defend themselves against school-girls who stoned them near the Governor's Building in Gaza.

Only after one of the attacked retaliated by throwing stones and the other drew out his pistol, did they manage to drive the school-girls off into the school room. "Had we shown weakness we would now be buried under a large heap of stones," said Yitzhak Saluki, who is also in charge of irrigation at the Hebrew University.

Haaretz: 6.2.69.

Hundreds in Nablus Demonstrations

The curfew imposed two days ago on the southern quarters of Nablus was lifted at 10 a.m. yesterday. This was followed by demonstrations of hundreds of children and men. Security forces are patrolling the area and the demonstrators threw stones at them. The curfew was lifted *de facto*, although no official announcement was made. The inhabitants came out of their houses and several shops were opened, but when the demonstrations began the shopkeepers again closed their businesses.

The demonstrators carried pictures of Nasser and Abu-Amar and called slogans like "Fatah", "Nasser" and "Abu-Amar".

A reporter who was present was not allowed to enter the riot area. It has been disclosed that four to ten persons of various ages, from the age of 14 upwards, were detained by the police for questioning.

Haaretz: 6.2.69.

The Lands of Latrun

Haaretz of 16.2.69. reports on a plan to distribute the lands of the Latrun district conquered in the six days' war. According to this plan, the lands will be divided between existing settlements and a new settlement about to be established.

Emil Habibi, MK, presented in the Knesset the following question to the Minister of Defence:—

1. Does there exist a plan to distribute the

lands of the Latrun district, conquered in the six days' war?

2. If so, who made this decision?

3. By what villages were these lands used before the six days' war. (Translator's note: the three villages of the Latrun district — Amaos, Yalu and Beit-Nuba — were razed immediately after the war and their peasants were driven off by force. Their lands had for a long time been coveted by Israeli settlements just across the border).

Zo Haderekh: 12.3.69.

Occupation benefits the rich

"As life goes back to normal, the question arises: to what entity do the occupied territories belong?" — this is the conclusion of a comparative study conducted by members of the department of sociology in the Hebrew University headed by Dr Erich Cohen in the towns of Han-Yunis and Nablus. The study was made in the end of 1967 and its summary was published in the last issue of the Hebrew University's bi-weekly.

The study shows Han-Yunis to be inferior to Nablus in every respect. In Han-Yunis, the Mukhtars (Headmen) still hold power among both inhabitants and refugees, and economic wealth is based on agriculture. In Nablus, on the other hand, the Mukhtars are regarded as having a merely formal technical role. Han-Yunis is behind Nablus also in the development of crafts, industry and commerce, although the social *elite* in both towns are land-owners. But in Nablus there has grown up an opposition to this class from among the educated middle class.

Politically, the study says that King Hussein supported the traditional ruling class and this class has a stake in the existence of the Jordanian regime. On the other hand the researchers found that "a large part of the population (of Nablus) has no wish to return to Jordan; they are interested in a Palestinian state". The study says that the people of Nablus, more than those of Han-Yunis, are ready to express their views freely, and "rather rigid and hostile opinions" against Israeli rule were clearly voiced, mainly by circles of the local elite and the intellectuals.

The study finds that the occupation has been to the benefit of merchants and rich people and did harm to members of the professions and white-collar workers. To this situation an important political significance is attached, because the people having radical political views are among the intellectuals. "Deterioration in their economic position may be an additional motive for their

opposition to Israeli rule, or at least alienate them from it."

The study says that after the normalization of life it is necessary to have a plan for the second phase of the occupation. The plan requires an answer to the problem "to what entity do the occupied territories belong and with what symbols are the inhabitants required to identify".

The study states that the solution of immediate and specific economic and social problems makes that problem more pressing, not less so, especially among intellectuals and members of the professions. The researchers do not ignore the fact that the answers to these questions are political, but they remark that a situation of political temporariness clearly cannot go on indefinitely.

Haaretz: 5.2.69.

Two Nablus Schools Closed after Riots

The Military Governor in Nablus yesterday instructed that two secondary schools be closed, following a school-children riot in the streets of the "Casba".

In the last two days, hundreds of school-children and ruffians have rioted after an eight-days' "armistice". The rioters threw stones at security troops, burnt tyres, carried nationalist banners, shouted slogans ("Fatah, Fatah"; "Long Live Abu-Amar") and displayed Nasser's pictures and "Palestine" flags. Border-guards used force to disperse the demonstrators and arrested 5 youngsters. Four rioters were hurt.

Yesterday most business premises in Nablus were closed, following threats made by the rioters. Many Israelis who came to Nablus in their cars turned away and left the town.

Yediot Ahasonot: 10.4.69.

Schools Closed in Ramallah

A school-strike broke out yesterday in the secondary school of Ramallah. The head-masters and teachers opened the school's gates but the pupils did not turn up.

In the town there is tension but life goes on as usual and there were no disturbances. It was made known that the school-children were incited to strike by instigators who have not yet been identified.

When the school-boys and school-girls were asked why they went on strike, they did not know what to say.

Some pupils said they were striking because of the arrest of young girls in Gaza, although it is known that the latter had been released several days before. Others claimed that the strike was in solidarity with events in Nablus and the surrounding area.

Haaretz: 6.2.69.

DOWN WITH THE OCCUPATION!

Statement of the Israeli Socialist Organisation (MATZPEN)

January 1 1969

The twenty months that have passed since the 1967 June war have repeatedly given the lie to the claim that an Israeli military victory can bring about peace or a normalisation of Israel-Arab relations.

Since the end of the war – despite Israeli shows of strength like the recent attack on Beirut airport – official claims have been refuted on every level: on the level of international relations, on the military level and on the internal level. At the same time the nationalistic bragging of all spokesmen of the Zionist camp has grown louder and louder. Politicians, army officers, party leaders and journalists are brainwashing the Israeli citizen. They falsify, distort and obscure reality and foster a false feeling of self-importance and power in him. This activity is shared by both so called 'doves' and 'hawks'; it engulfs all Zionist and semi-Zionist parties, from GAHAL and the religious parties, through the Labour party and MAPAM to the Mikunis-Sneh party.

The debate taking place inside the Zionist camp itself may create a misleading impression, because it is sometimes loud and bitter and may appear to indicate the existence of different even conflicting political lines. But a careful and detailed scrutiny of that debate proves that all the participants adhere to the Zionist principle of 'Sacred Rights' according to which 'Jews throughout the world' are the 'rightful owners of the whole of Palestine.'

During the last twenty months various political parties and groups have come into existence. Some of them advocate total annexation of the occupied territories and indulge in overt fascist propaganda (e.g. 'The Movement for the Whole of Eretz-Israel'); some of them advocate the Government's policy, as expressed by the Foreign Minister Mr. Abba Eban (e.g. the movement Security and Peace-yes, Annexation – no) and still others advocate a federation on the basis of Israeli occupation (e.g. 'the Movement for an Israel-Palestine Federation'). It should be mentioned that those left-wing circles, the liberal intellectuals who (before the war) joined in the struggle against Military Rule (of the Arab-inhabited parts of Israel) have since the war been carried away on the wave of chauvinism that has swept the country. Moreover, some prominent persons in those circles are actively defending official policy and have been harnessed by the official propaganda machine, especially abroad.

Against this background the relative importance of the activities of the ISO (MATZPEN) and of the Israeli Communist party (RAKAH) far outweigh their actual public influence. Of all the political parties only these two are conducting each in its own way – a consistent struggle

against the continued occupation of the territories conquered in June '67.

On the international level

After the war the government led the people to believe that American backing of Israel was so certain that all other developments on the international scene were of no importance. According to this view, Israel's military strength in the Middle East and the strength of American Imperialism throughout the world is sufficient to secure the consolidation of the present situation, to perpetuate Israel's military victory and to force the Arabs to sign an Israeli-American inspired peace treaty. The possibility that American Imperialism – the gendarme of the world – might, clash with the interests of official Israel because of its own plans and interests, – that possibility was ignored. The popular formula was 'Let sleeping dogs lie and there will be no American pressure on Israel'.

Meanwhile it has become clear that the Israeli-American entente forged in 1967, classifies Israel as one of those states that are inseparably tied to the fate of American imperialism – in much the same way as is South Vietnam. Israeli policy faces world-wide denunciation, which is becoming increasingly sharp not only from governments but also from world public opinion as a whole, including the youth. The disdain with which Israel's leaders are meeting this criticism sometimes seems to border on megalomania – particularly when one recalls the size and objective data of Israel.

The historic conflict between the Arab world, the Zionist movement, and State of Israel in its present form will not be diminished even if a Soviet-American settlement on the Middle East is reached in the foreseeable future. Such a settlement, which will be described by the Soviets as a further achievement of the policy of peaceful coexistence, will nevertheless be incapable of solving the Israeli-Arab conflict and will not be in the interest of the peoples of the region.

On the military level

Shortly after the end of hostilities in June '67 the Israeli Minister of Defence, Moshe Dayan, announced that he was waiting for a telephone call from the Arabs who would ask for an Israeli-Arab settlement within 48 hours. That call never came through. It is now remembered in Israel only as a grim joke. At the same time Israeli strategists repeatedly stressed that the new borders (in their own terms 'the presence of the Israeli Defence Forces along the new lines, from the shoulder of Mount Hermon, along the Jordan river and on the banks of the Suez canal up to the Straits of Solomon') would provide security,

But security is far, far away. Hundreds of killed and thousands of wounded have since been sacrificed by Israel on the altar of that false security . . .

In the meantime, the activity of the Palestine armed organisations has increased. The official forecasts repeatedly pronounced at the beginning of last year, claiming that demoralization, desertion and inferior human material would soon finish off those organisations, have been proved false. Anyone who has studied the experience of other countries and other peoples cannot be surprised. Only a fool could believe that those organisations would remain static and would not recruit new members, increase their influence and improve their combat power.

Another official theory that has been disproved is that the Israeli occupation is super-liberal and that the Palestine masses are resigned to it. (By the way, with what other occupation do those who claim the Israeli one to be liberal compare it?) It is enough to recall the strikes and demonstrations in all the towns of the occupied territories . . .

Under these conditions of armed resistance, of strikes and demonstrations, Israeli acts of repression have become daily occurrences. Administrative detentions, collective punishments such as curfews, mass searches and restriction of the freedom of movement – all these have become commonplace under the occupation regime whose 'liberalism' is symbolised by the atrocious system of punitive demolition of houses. Another method that is continually used is the deportation of political leaders, public figures and ordinary men and women against whom no charge can be made except that they have taken part in political activity. It must be noted that deportations to Jordan are consistently used against those elements that in the past were victims of the Jordanian secret police – including socialists and communists of various trends. The underground leaflets published in the occupied territories are full of detailed descriptions (including names, addresses and dates) of cases of victimization and torture which are not disclosed to the Israeli public or even hinted at in the Israeli press.

On the internal level

The Zionist character of the state of Israel has become manifest. Zionism, which had been described as 'dead' before the war, even by some ardent Zionists, has now been revived. Zionist ideology can no longer be described simply as an irrelevant anachronism. It furnishes a basis for discussion about the annexation of the occupied territories, of their colonization by Jews; of the 'threat which the existence of an Arab population poses to the Jewish character of Israel' ('the demographic problem') etc.

Against this background, a fascist-chauvinist mood is growing in Israel, following classic patterns which are not necessarily characteristic of any particular nation. Expressions like 'the supremacy of the nation,' 'the sanctity of our historic values,' 'the cradle of our ancient culture,' the eternity of war and the sanctity of blood' etc. have gained wide currency. They are emphasized in print and in speeches, on radio and television, in the press and in schools, in the army and in youth movements. There is also a growing clamour for 'strong leadership' and a 'strong leader' as well as for preserving 'national unity.'

At the same time there is an increase in administrative and police repression against Israel's Arab citizens. Hundreds and thousands of Israeli Arabs are subject to restriction of their freedom of movement, house arrest, detention without trial, searches and harassment and are denied the legal right to organise themselves. Since the war, anti-Arab incitement has reached peaks hitherto unknown in Israel: and in Jerusalem, Jaffa and Tel Aviv there were even mass anti-Arab outbreaks.

In Israel, as well as in the occupied territories, British colonial laws are widely applied. These are the notorious 'Emergency Defence Regulations, 1945', which, when

promulgated by the British Mandate authorities, were strongly denounced by the leaders of the Jewish community (in particular the present Minister of Justice), who compared them to Nazi laws.

We hold that the solution of the main problems of the Middle East including the Israeli-Arab problem, requires a fundamental transformation of the regimes in all the countries of the region - i.e., a socialist revolution. As for Israel, the socialist revolution will transform it completely from a Zionist state, a tool for furthering Zionist colonization, a natural ally of imperialism - into a state expressing the real interests of both Jewish and Arab masses, a state which can and will be integrated in a socialist union of the Middle East.

But in the present circumstances it is impossible even to imagine working for that goal without a consistent struggle against a continued Israeli occupation of the Arab territories. Only through this struggle can the Jewish and Arab masses be mobilized for socialism.

We appeal to the masses of Israeli workers to combat the growing phenomena of chauvinism and to struggle against the fascist

tendencies which are spreading in the Jewish public.

Let the trade union struggle be conducted with Jewish and Arab solidarity!

Let the workers struggle together for equal pay for Arab workers!

Workers, beware of racist provocations in factories and in the streets!

The Jewish workers must defend their Arab brethren in times of riots and pogroms.

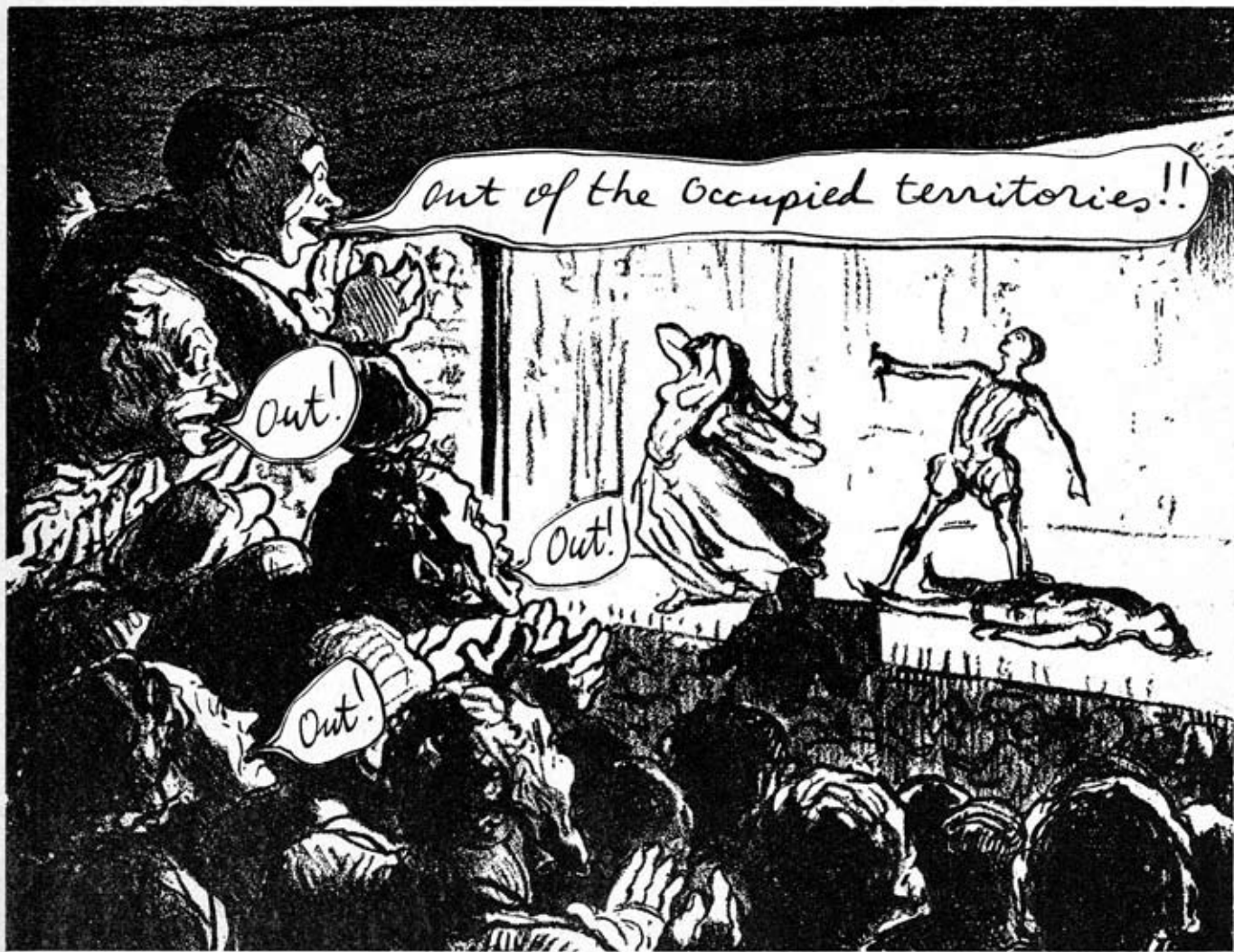
This is in the interest of the Israeli workers, who are made to pay the price of continued occupation and war.

We appeal to students and youth to reject completely the propaganda for annexation of the territories, and to organize protests in universities and schools against the growing fascist propaganda, against the liquidation of democratic rights under cover of "security requirements", against the persecution of the Arab population in Israel and against anti-Arab incitement.

This is in the interest of Israeli youth, who also are made to pay the price of continued occupation and war.

Demonstrations, meetings, pickets, petitions, letters to the press - all these means should be used to struggle for withdrawal from the occupied territories.

The Israeli Socialist Organisation (MATZPEN)
Tel Aviv P.O. Box 28061



ISRAELI ARAB

by Fauzi El-Asmar
(translated from the Hebrew magazine
Ahereth)

"What do you really lack?" one of my Jewish friends asked me again recently.

"Mainly freedom" I answered.
"Freedom? Lacking? You can write whatever you like. You are free to say anything that comes to your mind. And if you were living in an Arab country, in Egypt for example, could you express yourself like this? Would you have been allowed to criticize an Arab leader or an Arab regime in their country?"

Any Arab who discusses democracy with his Jewish friends is a target for such questions.

The truth must be stated - most of the claims behind these cantankerous questions are true. An Arab living in an Arab state who opposes the existing regime is liable to arrest, prosecution and even more severe treatment.

But if we disregard the Lebanon, there is no Arab regime which claims to be democratic. No one claims freedom of speech. It is not so in Israel. Here they are proud of their freedom of expression.

Let us examine the price an Arab in Israel pays for opening his mouth. Let us see how much and how he must pay when he publishes - in one of the very few publications open to him - an article opposing the accepted opinion of the official state machine.

So: the name of the Arab automatically enters the black list of some government office. They follow up and check whatever he does. At the first opportunity he is asked to appear at the police station "for investigation".

Work? Most of the possibilities for work are closed to him. That is to say - those still left, for many possibilities are closed simply because he is an Arab living in a Jewish state.

And if this Arab should give in to them he will have to pay a very high price - to prove that he will never open his mouth again:

If this should happen he will have to betray his own faith in himself, to act contrary to his conscience and to contradict his past. And, from that moment his fate will be in the hands of the office which watches him and still does not really trust him.

It is not hard to convince public opinion in the Jewish community and in the world at large, that these acts on the part of the regime are justified. It is sufficient to bring up the slogan "state security". I doubt if there are many people who take the trouble to inquire what this "state security" is which so jeopardises democratic rights.

How many *Ahereth* readers, for example, know the connection between state security,

and the order given to the management of a private bank that an Arab must not be employed as a clerk without the approval of some special office?

What is the connection between state security and the inability of a farmer to go to his own land, not far from his home and village, without a suitable permit?

In our democratic country the Arabs living in freedom are denied the right to political, social, sports and even cultural organization.

The battle that the 'special office' wages against the sports clubs in the Triangle, against the union of Arab writers and of course against Arab political organizations, undermines the basic foundations of democracy.

About a year ago the following dialogue took place with a man from the Arab section of the Histadrut.

"Why do you have an Arab students union?"

"Why do you oppose this?"

"There is an Israeli students union. We shall not permit an Arab union. We will not let it work."

"We need it. We are not allowed to be represented in the Israeli students organization. That union is not concerned with our interests. By the way, why don't you oppose a Persian students' union? Only because their third clause is "Support of Jewish immigration from Persia?"

The Arab student paid dearly for his cheek. He was followed again put under administrative arrest (clause 111), beaten, and given confinement orders.

Some of the measures are an insult to man and spiritually crushing. For example: When an Arab poet decides to publish a book of poems, he must deliver the poems for

copyright - unlike a Jewish poet, of course. The censor does not have to be an expert on poetry, he may strike out whole lines and paragraphs. Sometimes a collection of poems appears - like that of Samih al-Khassem - "Ways of Freedom" - with whole pages erased.

Censorship reaches the absurd: poems which were published with the permission of the censor, may be changed in the press. On these occasions too the justification is "state security".

When an Arab who has succeeded in getting a position in some public organization - after deciding to refrain from expressing any political opinion - is invited to some official function, for instance to an Israeli Independence Day reception, he will have to listen to speeches describing the wonderful position of the Arab community in Israel. And the Arab who has paid for his job with silence will now have pressure put on him to break it. They will force him to join in the eulogies; if he doesn't appear at the function they will ask why he did not come, and he even risks being thrown out of his job if he hasn't a suitable alibi. But if he does appear, there will be an article in all the papers the next day reporting the presence of many Arab notables who were in agreement with the speech."

And they still talk about democracy here. Yes, my Jewish friend, I can say whatever I like. Then they will do - whatever they like.

Tell me, my Jewish friend, if such things were done to a Jewish minority, in any country in the world, what would the reaction be among the Jews of the World, and the inhabitants of Israel?



Letters to other EDITORS



(continued from page 2)

'liberal-minded' programme does in fact suggest that one must not demand that the Arabs become like Jews.

Mr. Peres M.P. is in favour of creating the conditions for a pattern of normal life and technical and social progress. We must, therefore, explain to our neighbours that Israel is a free state where everything is allowed, except violence and incitement.

This programme, which is in favour of normalised life, progress and liberalism, did not even mention the problem of the civil rights of these 1.3 million Arabs. Will Mr. Peres grant them or not? ... Is it merely by chance that he did not mention this detail, or is his suggested solution really an attempt at co-existence a la Rhodesia?

Arie Goren
Tel Aviv.

Addressed to the Editor of
Jeune Afrique dated 22.3.69
(as yet unpublished)

Dear Sir,
In your issue no. 427 (10-16 March 1969) your correspondent Miss. A. Frances reports an interview with a leader of Al Fatah. The report contains the following exchange:

-Y a-t-il deja des Israeliens antisionistes qui luttent avec le Fatah?

-"Plus qu'on ne le croit", se bornent a laisser entendre les dirigeants du Fatah. Certains sont meme "fedayine". D'autres donnent des renseignements, hebergent des commandos. Il y a en outre des contacts, a titre individual, avec certaines organisations, comme le Rakah (parti communiste antisionite), ou le Matzpen, parti d'extreme gauche compose de prochinois et d'ex-trotskystes.

(-Are there some anti-Zionist Israelis already fighting for El Fatah?)

-"More than one thinks" El Fatah leaders let it be known. Some are even "fedayine". Others give information and shelter commandos. Moreover, there are contacts in an individual capacity with certain organisations, like Rakah (the anti-Zionist Communist Party) or Matzpen an extreme left-wing group made up of pro-Chinese and ex-Trotskystes.)

As one of the most veteran members of Matzpen (although I am neither a pro-Chinese nor an ex-Trotskyst - simply a revolutionary socialist...) I would like to make the following comments.

"The struggle of the Palestinians for liberation is a serious thing, far too serious to be a hunting-ground for sensation-loving journalists.

I have no way of finding out whether the "leaders of Al Fatah" really gave your correspondent to understand what she claims to have understood; but judging by the many inaccuracies which I found in her previous reports I tend to believe that the above-quoted passage is not so much a report as a free creation of her mind.

What I find most regrettable is that instead of trying to report correctly and intelligently about the political views and activities of Matzpen, your correspondent chooses to spread fairy tales about contacts which members of our organisation allegedly have a

titre individual. This is worse than ordinary gossip - it is the kind of irresponsible talk which does not help the Palestinian resistance or the anti-Zionist democrats in Israel, but only the enemy, the Zionist establishment.

Yours truly,
Moshe Machover.



HAARETZ - 9.2.69.

Demonstrations by women in the occupied territories.

The riots by women intellectuals and girl students in the occupied territories have a tactical importance for the underground organisations as well as a certain psychological background. The Arab Woman was deeply hurt by the defeat of the Man of the Arab Nation. By going to the barricades she is demonstrating her resentment against him. Furthermore she subconsciously has an admiration-hate feeling for the victorious soldier, and seeks physical contact with him, even if this contact is masochistic and hurtful. If the Israeli propaganda service could succeed in bringing to these women's consciousness the psychological motivations for their acts, this might cool their enthusiasm.

Hugo Adler
Kfar Hasidim.

HAARETZ - 9.2.69.

"Not only Jews were hung in Iraq"

The pain and sorrow caused by the execution of nine Jews in Iraq is great. Disgust and anger at the ferocity of the sentences and the manner of the executions of all the 13 people killed, Jews and Arabs alike, have been expressed all over the world. Yet we have been demonstrating our anger over the murder of nine of our brothers as if assuming that the others have had a fair trial.

Not a single one of the Knesset Members whose speeches were broadcast on Thursday

30.1.69. has even mentioned that 13 people were murdered, human beings, just like us Jews. In all the protests that were made, this disgusting murder has been exposed only in its Jewish aspect.

Have we not lost some of our sense of proportion? And in view of this was it sensible to denounce the Pope for having reacted as he did about the raid on the Christian capital of Lebanon?

B. Sharon-Yahud.

The Times 30.1.69.

BAGHDAD EXECUTIONS

Sir,
The public hangings, following secret trials, of 14 people - whether innocent or guilty is beside the point - is a savage act which has outraged every human being. It revealed the barbaric character of the ruling Baathist clique in Iraq. Not only those hanged but all Iraqi people are the victims of this inhuman regime.

All those Arab, and "pro-Arab", individuals and organizations who, due to loyalty to an "Arab cause", refrain from denouncing these mass public hangings reveal the hollowness of their morals.

Likewise, the Israeli Government, and all those Jewish, and "pro-Jewish" individuals and organizations who seem to be shocked only by the fact that nine out of the 14 were Jews, reveal the moral degeneration inherent in chauvinism.

We denounce this barbaric spectacle not as Israelis nor as Jews but as human beings; our denunciation does not depend on the creed of those hanged.

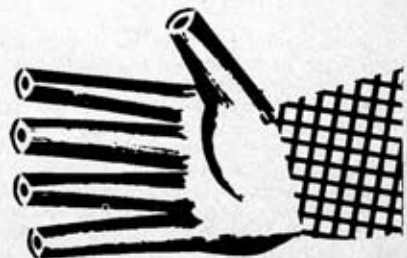
The Middle East conflict is not one between Israel and the Arab states but between the Zionist colonizatory enterprise and the indigenous Palestinian people who are its main victims.

As Israelis who reject Zionism and struggle to break down the nationalistic barriers in the Middle East we consider this atrocity of the Baathist ruling clique, and any acquiescence in it, to be a severe blow to the just cause of the Palestinians.

Yours, &c.,
SHIMON TZABAR, artist.
MOSHE MACHOVER, lecturer.
AKIVA ORR, programmer.
RAMI HEILBRONN, engineer.
DAVID NUSSBAUM, economist.
SUZY BARRY, research fellow.
VICTOR TRACZ, research fellow.
TAREQ AUNALLAH, student.

London, Jan 29

(continued on page 23)



ZIONISM and the PALESTINIANS

by A. ORR

The last interview given by Mr. Levi Eshkol to the foreign Press, included the following exchange:

"Question: If the Jews are entitled to a homeland in this part of the world are not the Palestinians similarly entitled to their own country?"

Answer: What are the Palestinians? When I came here there were 250,000 non-Jews, mainly Arabs and Beduins. It was desert. More than underdeveloped. Nothing. It was only after we made the desert bloom that they became interested in taking it from us." (Newsweek, & Jerusalem Post, February 17 1969)

This official statement by the late Israeli premier (the version published in the *Jerusalem Post* was approved, prior to publication, by the Prime Minister's Office) is a calculated misrepresentation of the past. We shall show that it is a misrepresentation, and the rationale behind it.

In 1891/92 the Jewish Philosopher Ahad-Haam visited Palestine. He published his impressions in two long articles entitled: "Truth from Palestine". Ahad-Haam was respected for his honesty, thoroughness and insight. His report was never challenged by anyone in the Zionist movement. We quote a passage from the first article;

"We abroad are accustomed to believe that Palestine nowadays (1891!) is almost entirely desolate; a barren desert where anyone can buy land to his heart's content. In fact that is not so. All over the country it is hard to find arable land that is not cultivated ... Not only the peasants but even the owners of large estates are reluctant to sell good, arable, land. Many of our brethren who came here to buy land, stayed in the country for months, toured it extensively, yet failed to find what they came for."

It is certainly true that the Zionist colonization, with its technical knowhow and nationalist enthusiasm, transformed much of the then non-arable lands into arable areas. But that is only part of the truth. Another part for example, is the question of how the Israeli Land Authority came to possess all the land which it never bought?

A second point made by Mr. Eshkol asserts that when he immigrated to Palestine (at the turn of the century) the country was inhabited only by "250,000 non-Jews mainly Arabs and Beduins". This assertion contradicts an estimate made by Sir Herbert Samuel over 64 years ago.

Herbert Samuel played a significant role in Zionist history. As a member of a well known family of Bankers in the City of London he wielded considerable influence over some members of the British Cabinet during the first World War. Though a Jew with pro-Zionist sentiments, he always put his

Empire loyalties first, such was one of the reasons for his appointment as the first British High Commissioner in Palestine in 1920. As early as 1915, when the British Cabinet discussed the future of territories which Britain would be likely to possess after the war, Herbert Samuel sent a memorandum to the cabinet, which, eventually, shaped British policy on Palestine. We quote one paragraph: "Another alternative often suggested is the establishment in Palestine of an autonomous Jewish State.

Whatever be the merits, or demerits, of that proposal, it is certain that the time is not ripe for it. Such increase of population as there has been in Palestine in recent years has been composed, indeed, mostly of Jewish immigrants. The new Jewish agricultural colonies already number about 15,000 souls. In Jerusalem itself two-thirds of the population are Jewish; but in the country as a whole they still, probably, do not number more than about one-sixth of the population. If the attempt were made to place the 500,000 or 600,000 Mahomedans of Arab race under a government which rested upon the support of 90,000 or 100,000 Jewish inhabitants, there can be no assurance that such a government, even if established by the authority of the Powers, would be able to command obedience. The dream of a Jewish State, prosperous, progressive, and the home of a brilliant civilization, might vanish in a series of squalid conflicts with the Arab population. And even if a State so constituted did succeed in avoiding, or repressing, internal disorder, it is doubtful whether it would be strong enough to protect itself from external aggression on the part of the turbulent elements around it. To attempt to realize the aspiration of a Jewish State one century too soon might throw back its actual realization for many centuries more. These considerations are fully recognized by the Zionist movement" (John Bowle, "Viscount Samuel", Gollancz 1957, p. 177)

In contemporary parlance one would say simply, that the Zionist movement did not wish to implement Jewish minority-rule in Palestine, and - naturally - did not wish the Palestinian Arabs to achieve independence while Jews were still a minority. Samuel drew the attention of the British Cabinet to this consideration, which aligned Zionist policy in Palestine with that of British imperialism. The Balfour declaration of 1917 is nothing more than the treaty between these two partners who shared, from 1915 to 1945, a common political interest in Palestine. Samuel could not foresee, in 1915, that at some later stage it would become necessary for Zionists to deny the existence of an indigenous Palestinian population. Actually, the figures he quotes were similar to those quoted by a Dr. Loewe in the first Zionist Congress as early as 1897.

Mr. Eshkol's misrepresentation of the recent past in Palestine is not a result of ignorance (his generation knows the facts better than most other Israelis), nor are these

private, personal, views. Most Zionists hold the same views; some of them - like Mr. Ben-Gurion - express them even clearer. In a recent polemic against another Zionist leader (Mr. M. Yaari of "Mapam"), Mr. Ben-Gurion stated:

"... I have always been careful to refer to "Arabs" when speaking of Palestine; I have always distinguished between the rights of the Jewish PEOPLE in Palestine and the rights of the Arabs WHO LIVE IN IT; never the rights of Arab PEOPLE in Palestine... My comrades and myself never accepted that "Palestine belongs to the Jewish People and to the Arab People". I have always been careful to state in all my articles and speeches that "Palestine belongs to the Jewish People and to the Arabs who live in it. That is what I insist on today, and what the majority of the Zionists have always insisted on."

(*Haaretz*, March 15th 1968)

The difference between the two formulations which Ben-Gurion mentions is decisive; if the Palestinians are merely a population they can claim only Civil rights whereas if they are recognized as a People, then even according to Ben-Gurion, they have Political rights in Palestine. To Zionists, who always insisted, vehemently, on a morally impeccable case, it is important to deny the existence of the Palestinians as a national entity, whose rights to independence they have usurped.

As for the Palestinians, they expressed their Political desires in a General strike of the entire population in 1936, which lasted for many weeks, and finally in an armed rebellion, known in the annals of British imperialism as "The Arab Rebellion of 1938/39". The Zionist policies towards these struggles can be illuminated by the following incidents. When the Palestinian stevedores in the Port of Haifa joined the General Strike, the Zionist "Federation of Jewish Workers in Palestine" also known as the "Histadruth", sent special emissaries to the port of Saloniki in Greece and brought over a whole community of Jewish stevedores to work as scabs and implement "Jewish Labour only" in the port of Haifa. Many of the Palestinian stevedores never regained their jobs. When Palestinian saboteurs started to blow-up the IPC pipeline leading from Iraq to Haifa, the British mobilized Zionist youth to fight them, under the command of British officers like C.O. Wingate. M. Dayan was one of those, so were many other high ranking Israeli commanders. In fact, the Wingate school of military thinking permeates all Israeli military thinking to this day.

The Zionist insistence that the Palestinians do not constitute a national entity is not merely a product of political expediencies, it has deep psychological roots. Zionist ideology is founded on the assumption that discrimination, and persecution, of national minorities is an eternal feature of human behaviour, independent of political, social, or economic, factors. It accepts anti-Semitism as a phenomenon which cannot be overcome by

changes in Society. Zionist ideology is based on an historiography which considers Jewish history as separate from, at best parallel to, world history, its interpretation of Jewish history can be summed up in the words: "every generation attempts to annihilate us anew". It is important for this ideology to interpret the conflict with the Palestinians as an "irrational urge to exterminate the Jews". It is for this reason that Zionists label the conflict as "Israeli-Arab" rather than "Zionist-Palestinian", that they blame "The Arabs" in general, or "Arab governments" as responsible for the conflict.

Moreover, when Zionists talk of "the threat of annihilation", they do not mean "physical extermination" but mainly the denial of special rights to Jews in Palestine. Zionists do not consider Israel as the political expression of its own population but as the political expression of world Jewry. The only law with a constitutional status in Israel is the "Law of Return", which grants every Jew in the world automatic rights of immigration and citizenship in Palestine. Jews are never considered as immigrants but as "returnees" whereas most of the Palestinians actually born in Palestine but now living as refugees outside Israel are deprived in principle, of that right. Zionists will only accept the principle of "one person - one vote" as long as Jews are in the majority. The peculiar thing about the whole business is the fact that the Zionists have no definition of "a Jew" but depend on anti-Semitism for it. Even the slogan, raised by some Israelis, saying "let us transform Israel from the State of the Jews into the State of the Israelis" is considered by the Zionists as incitement to annihilation. The Chief Education Officer of the Israeli Army Brigadier M. Bar-On expressed this as follows: "As for peace; mere declarations are useless. We do not require anybody's endorsement in order to exist. Peace means a change in Arab attitudes, so that they will recognize not merely the existence of Israel but its right to be a Jewish State, with the right to absorb Jewish immigration, and have a Jewish orientation, not an Arab one. The Arabs must recognize the uniqueness of our character. Those who demand that Israel become a Middle-Eastern State desire its annihilation". (Talk given at a seminar for Israel students in Europe, Arnhem, Holland, December 1967). This may seem an odd interpretation of the term "annihilation", but it is neither hypocrisy nor expediency for Zionists to employ it in this sense; it is their psychological identity, not physical existence, which is, indeed, threatened.

As for the Palestinians, they have now been re-united by the Israeli occupation and reshaped into a national entity by their resistance. As in most societies struggling for independence, one can recognize the emerging pattern of two trends, one - the more nationalistic orientated - subordinates all social issues to the struggle for National liberation the other - more revolutionary orientated - realizes that the National problem cannot be solved without a social revolution. In the specific circumstances of Palestine, it is impossible to impose a nationalistic solution to the problem; this situation creates conditions wherein the nationalist trend will probably undergo a chain of internal struggles culminating in the emergence of a non-nationalistic, revolutionary leadership, which could eventually transform Arab society all over the Middle-East. The Palestinian resistance as a whole is already undermining all authority relations in Arab

society. Not only the authority of King Hussein, but that of President Nasser, the USA, USSR, UN and every other political authority is undermined, challenged, and defied - politically and morally, by it. On a far more significant, social level, children declaring themselves "guerillas", challenge the authority of their parents, pupils - that of their teachers, women - that of the men, and non-religious people - that of the religious authorities. The entire authority structure in Arab society is eroding as a result of the Palestinian defiance. Washington has already recognized the potential threat which the Palestinian resistance presents far away from the locus of the conflict. Mr. Henry A. Kissinger, President Nixon's special adviser on foreign affairs had the following to say on that matter:

"They have the revolutionary momentum - in fact, they are the only dynamic factor in an otherwise stagnant situation - and public opinion is behind them. Arab governments have neither momentum nor popular support. It is not that Arab leaders, like Nasser, admire the terrorists - they are threatened by them. They must accommodate the terrorists or out they go." The *Washington Post* has called for "a new approach to the Arab terrorists" and argued that "it makes no more sense to

exclude them from considerations affecting a settlement than to exclude the Vietcong in Vietnam." (*The Jewish Chronicle*, London February 28th 1969 p.12.)

The Palestinians are struggling to liberate themselves from a specific type of discrimination and persecution but cannot succeed in this struggle without overcoming all social discrimination in Arab society. Whether the Palestinian people's resistance will transcend its nationalism depends on the conscious struggle of the revolutionaries within that movement. If the revolutionaries succeed in that internal struggle they will liberate not only the Palestinians from discrimination, but everybody else throughout the Middle-East. Unlike Zionism which has accepted human discrimination as eternal, and accommodated itself to it, thus becoming a conserving force in human history, the Palestinians were unable to implement a mere reversal of roles with their discriminators. Their original aim, to overcome the discrimination to which they are now subjected, could then be transcended by the aim to overcome all social and national discrimination everywhere in the Middle-East, thus transforming themselves from an object of history into its subject.



WARNING IN GAZA

An editorial by URI AVNERI

The Gaza Strip has become a focus for the Palestinian Arabs' resistance movement against the state of Israel.

A dangerous focus.

The woman saboteur who took part in the Zurich raid on the aeroplane came from the Strip; from Han Yunis.

The first woman to be killed in a demonstration was shot by an Israeli army bullet in the Strip; in Rafah.

More than 100 schoolgirls were wounded during one demonstration. This happened in the Strip; in the town of Gaza.

The wave of strikes, school closures and youth demonstrations that have spread through the West Bank started in the Strip.

The Gaza Strip is the focus for mine laying, bomb throwing and other daily terrorist activities. These have not been publicized as much as the infernal bomb in the Maheneh, Yehudah market or the explosion in the supermarket. But they are more dangerous, since they are part of a systematic, continual and protracted campaign.

In brief, it is precisely the Strip - which is the farthest from the saboteurs' bases in

Jordan, Syria and Egypt - that has become the heart of the hostile Palestinian movement.

An open red-hot hatred burns there which has not yet reached wider areas in the West Bank.

There active resistance is crystallizing. Why?

Recently, a year and a half too late, many good people went to the Strip, came back wiser, and knowingly provide the answer.

It is quite simple: in Gaza people are starving. In Gaza there are hundreds of thousands of people, but there are no jobs.

The economic situation there is bad, much worse than in the West Bank.

It is quite clear and easy to understand.

And if the economic problem is solved, if food and jobs are provided - then all will be well, and love of Israel will dwell in Gaza and in all the area around it.

I am sorry, but I have to refute this rosy optimism. It is groundless.

First of all, the bad economic situation in

Gaza is not accidental. It has not happened just like that.

It is not by chance that people in Gaza are hungry; it is not by chance that they have no employment; it is not by chance that wages in Gaza are below the necessary minimum.

All this is so because someone wanted it to be so.

Someone in Jerusalem.

A collective "someone".

Someone who wanted to create a certain situation in order to achieve certain results.

Someone who has actually received results - but not those he hoped for.

Exactly one year ago, before the Knesset debate on the Ministry of Labour, I asked one of the heads of the Ministry why wages for government sponsored jobs in the Gaza Strip were much lower than in the West Bank - where in turn similar wages were much lower than in Israel.

The civil servant answered clearly: that is the government's policy.

The policy is to starve the Strip, to create extremely difficult living conditions, so that the inhabitants - especially those living in refugee camps - will clear out of the place. Clear out and go to Jordan, or at least to the West Bank.

Therefore a worker in Gaza is given to understand that he can get a far higher wage for the same job if he moves to the West Bank (e.g. to the empty refugee camp near Jericho).

That policy achieved some practical results. Several thousands actually left the Strip.

Many of them crossed the Jordan - like the family of the Zurich woman saboteur. There they have become Israel's bitterest enemies, a rebellious force, a spearhead of the sabotage organizations - like the Zurich woman saboteur.

Some went to the West Bank, where they are playing a similar role.

But all in all, not so many people left. The demographic picture remained the same as it had been. And one day the Jordanians closed the bridges to these people and the migration was stopped.

The inhabitants remained; hunger remained; hatred remained; terrorism started.

An enlightened reader may well ask who decided on such a stupid policy, who were the fools who adopted that line.

For the policy seems to have been invented by Yasser Arafat himself, as if devised by El-Fat'h to further the aims of El-Fat'h!

But it was not Arafat who made the decision, and it was not made to further the aim of El-Fat'h.

It was made by the top people in Israel, by the cabinet. Why? With what aim?

Very simply - to depopulate the Strip as far as possible.

Why?

In order to facilitate the annexation of the Strip to the State of Israel.



inside the government there is a heated personal debate between annexationists of various kinds. Each minister wants to annex something; some want more, some want less, and some want everything.

But there is absolute unanimity on one point: that the Gaza Strip must be annexed.

Last week, Meir Ya'ari, who is a "moderate", furiously attacked Pinhas Sapir, because the latter had omitted to mention in one of his statements that we insist unconditionally on annexing not only Jerusalem and the Golan Heights but also the Gaza Strip.

(Translator's note: Mr. Avneri, the author of this article, himself voted in the Knesset for the annexation of East Jerusalem)

And whoever has the extraordinarily retentive memory which is necessary for remembering all the statements made by Minister Moshe Dayan may recall that shortly after the war Dayan created a scandal by a hasty and mistaken declaration that the Strip had already been annexed.

The Allon plan includes the annexation of the Strip. A map of the plan, showing the Gaza Strip as part of Israel, was printed (with the Minister's approval) in *Time* and thus reached the whole world - including the town of Gaza itself.

The annexationists have no desire to bring 400,000 Arabs into Israel. They want to oust at least half of the population.

I.e., to transfer the 200,000 refugees to some other place, to Amman or Nablus, so that only the 200,000 original inhabitants are left.

Hence the low wages, the steps taken to make people leave, the "iron fist" methods - that have started a vicious circle of terrorism (Translator's note: here two or three words were deleted by the Israeli censor) hate and reprisal, the killing of Israeli soldiers and an Arab girl-demonstrator, the stone-throwing by schoolgirls and the baton blows on their heads.

And this is just the beginning.



What is going to change if the Government decides to learn a lesson from the present situation which they themselves have created - and will try to give jobs and reasonable wages to the local inhabitants and improve local conditions.

It is hard to tell.

Such a vicious circle is the Devil's own invention. Once created, it is very difficult to break.

One act entails another, with cruel and inexorable logic.

Moreover, even if wages are improved and unemployment reduced, nobody in the Strip will forget that somewhere the decision to annex his land has been made.

The struggle of the youth in Gaza is no longer against famine. It is against national annihilation - against the policy aimed at taking the Gaza Strip out of the living space of the Palestinian people and annexing it to a country they hate.

In this respect, what is happening in Gaza reflects the national awakening of the Palestinians. It is a movement against annexation, and for the continuation of Gaza as part of the territory of Palestine.

Nothing can liquidate this movement, except a solution to the Palestine problem itself which will be acceptable to the Palestinians.

Haolam Hazeq - 26.2.69.

Israeli Jews support El Fatah

by Yeshayahu Ben Porat

The last issue of the Tunisian weekly *Jeune Afrique* contained a news-item which is at first sight startling. More than one Israeli would, I expect co-operate with 'El-Fatah' states, incognito, someone described as one of the leaders of the Arab terrorist organization. We have anti-Zionist organizations in mind. Some of them are actual Fedaayen, others supply us with information and shelter... The El-Fatah organization has contacts with certain Israeli organizations such as the New Communist List and 'Matzpen'.

Jeune Afrique which is financed by the Bourguiba government, is generally considered a reliable source. One may assume that the statements it ascribes to one of the leaders of the Palestinian saboteurs, were actually said by him.

Whether this man stated a truth or merely employed the technique of "intoxication" (misleading the enemy by false information) as part of the psychological warfare of the Palestinians against Israel, is another matter. In any case, these matters merit the careful attention of the appropriate Security bodies in Israel.

As far as we know there is no organic link between the New Communist List (which split off the Israeli Communist Party) and the Palestinian terrorist organizations. Messrs Vilner and Tuby, who represent this list in Parliament, hold views identical with those of the USSR on the Middle-East in general, and on Israel in particular.

One could argue that such views might create a mutual understanding between the Palestinian terrorists and Arab or Jewish Communists in the New Communist List. That would be a dangerous assumption unsubstantiated by any actual proof of cooperation. Moreover: the Palestinian saboteurs do not receive any direct support from any Communist Party in the world, not even from the Russian one. Representatives of 'El-Fatah' have, indeed, visited Moscow, met Soviet leaders, asked for assistance, money, weapons - but so far they have not received any. The Russian arms which they possess and which comprise most of the booty taken by the Israeli Army whenever a gang is wiped out are given or sold to them by the Arab States or by various third parties.

However, recent rumours, and one must stress that these are only rumours, not substantiated information, say that among the Arab youths detained after the explosion in the University cafeteria in Jerusalem were two students linked with, or members of the New Communist List. Even if these rumours could be confirmed it would still be impossible to draw far-reaching conclusions. The students could join 'El-Fatah' and carry-out sabotage activity, independent of their membership in the Communist Party of Messrs Vilner and Tuby. In any case, this issue merits a thorough investigation.

The 'Matzpen' group, however, and its contacts with the saboteurs mentioned by the Palestinian spokesman in *Jeune Afrique* are an entirely different matter. It is hard to find out the nature of the group calling itself

'Matzpen', or its size.

Two Israelis resident in London, Messrs Shimon Tzabar and Akiva Orr, have established something like an extension of this group there. They publish a paper called 'Israel Imperial News' which labels the State and defames it among the gentiles. They express views about Israel which are, indeed, identical with those held by the people who planted the bombs in the Supermarket and the cafeteria.

There is no doubt that there, abroad, there is a close contact between this Israeli group and various Palestinian elements. It is said that they are influenced by Communist China, and generally, as far as ideology is concerned, are close to the thoughts of Mao-Tse-Tung.

In Israel this group numbers some tens of known Arab and Israeli students, and a few dozen other unknown people. They smear the walls of houses in Jerusalem with slogans like "Down with the occupation", "Down with the occupationists". They demand the abolition of Zionism and the Jewish State as such, like El Fatah they raise the slogan of a State that will accommodate both Jews and Arabs. It is not known whether they demand that every Jew not born in Israel should be expelled, as do the Palestinians...

Two foreign journalists who visited Jerusalem and later the Territories this week told me about the energetic activity of the 'Matzpen' people. When they heard that foreign journalists (a busload!) had arrived at the University they infiltrated the group, and some spent a whole day in the company of these journalists who were naturally hunting for sensations in the holy land.

Indeed, the guests from abroad were shocked, (they came to Israel at the expense of the Israeli government, and their tour was conducted by a guide from the Foreign Office) to hear from the students, who presented themselves as members of 'Matzpen', basic political assumptions identical to those which they had heard, shortly before, in Amman, and in the 'El-Fatah' training camp: "Do not believe the Israeli government's official spokesmen, they talk about peace, but mean war, they are imperialists, they aspire to further expansion of the borders of the Zionist State, they are prepared to massacre all Arabs", said these youths to the journalists.

It cannot be said that the journalists were impressed by such views. In any case, they realize that this little group constitutes less than a majority of Israeli students, and is not representative of widespread opinion in Israel.

And yet, one would do well to pay attention to this phenomenon. It is a good thing that we have a democracy which even permits the existence of bodies which deny our very existence. However, there is a certain difference between Democracy and Anarchy. The time has come to draw some limits. It would be proper to draw these limits in such a way as to leave no place for errors which might prove fatal.

Yediot Aharonot - 18.3.69.

(see also 'Letters to other editors')

Our responsibility towards the Jews in the Arab countries

by Uri Harari

We all know who is responsible for the hangings in Baghdad. People all over the world condemn the murderers. Our voice, raised against the hangings of completely innocent people, is so loud that in the tumult one voice is lost – a voice that deserves to be heard, which would say, "We too are guilty".

Among us there will certainly be those who will admit that we are guilty of one thing – of not having done enough to get the Jews out of the Arab countries in good time. On this we may perhaps say *mea culpa*. There will certainly also be dependents who will make a defence against that accusation, and raise a counter-accusation against the Jews who remained in the Arab countries – "Why did they not leave those countries in good time?" But, over and above such a debate, it is necessary to examine our own basic, historic responsibility for the bitter fate of those Jews whom we, by our own deeds, have made victims of Zionism. They are victims of the very slogans we raised, of "The Jewish nation lives," of "All Jews are mutually responsible". And what are we doing for them?



In the Arab countries there are now thousands of Jews, in Iraq, Egypt, Lebanon, Syria; even in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. This fact has now been re-discovered by us. These Jews are not Zionists. More than that – they were against Zionism. They proved this in fact. They could immigrate to Israel or at least leave the countries of their birth. Most of the brethren – over 90 per cent of the Jewish communities of those countries – actually did go to Israel. Only these few thousands decided, quite consciously, not to emigrate – and they have become victims of that decision, victims of Zionism.

Two national movements – both Arab and Jewish – oppose these unfortunates. These two national movements, which can hardly agree on one single thing, have both agreed that the Zionists are right: there is, in fact, one Jewish nation and all Jews are mutually responsible.

Both they and we draw conclusions from this. For the Arabs, who are simple-minded and slightly barbaric, this means that the accessible Jews should be punished for the crimes of the inaccessible Jews. The local Jews must be punished for the sins of the Zionist Israelis who robbed Arab land, who drove the Palestinians away and who bombarded the camps of the Iraqi army.

We are, of course, more civilized and refined. We do not recognise any mutual responsibility of Arabs, both because it is inhuman and because it is against our interest. With regard to the terroristic organizations, the population in the territories, and even the

Arab states, our conception is "divide and rule". Only with regard to one group do we recognise mutual responsibility – the Jews in the Arab countries and everywhere else.

When we hear about riots, pogroms or hangings we are indignant – quite rightly. We invoke public opinion, we inveigh. We try to do whatever we can for the persecuted Jews. Later, we ask ourselves, "Where have they been all these years? Why did they not immigrate to Israel in good time? Why did they not leave Iraq in 1951, or Egypt in 1957?" Still later, and deep in our hearts, we slightly rejoice at their downfall! "They deserve it! We had warned them! We had told them!"

It is of course not customary to talk about it in public, but many of us felt a tiny bit of joy when they read newspaper reports on the swastika epidemic in Europe in 1960; or about the pro-Nazi movement in Argentina. Today, too, we have very mixed feelings when we read about de-Gaulle's antisemitic hints or about the growing anti-Jewishness of Negro leaders in America. Together with all the anger, the shock and the humiliation – these phenomena form a part of our world outlook, because Zionism said, and is still saying, that this is the way things are. This is what *has* to be so long as Jews live among the gentiles.



In our great enthusiasm at the achievements of Israel's independence and sovereignty we sometimes forget Zionism's negative aspect – it's cruel world outlook. That theory teaches that the world is wicked; that the world imposes reality upon people, and they are not free to be masters of their own fate, to be "simply human beings" and not "Jews", or "Arabs", or "Englishmen" or "Germans". Zionism teaches that every person bears a birth-mark, which sometimes becomes the mark of Cain, and he cannot change his fate no matter what he does. It teaches that a person bears the fate of his own past, and of his parents' past, and of his parents' parents' past. We have forgotten that Zionism assumes the hatred of the gentile for the Jews to be eternal – no matter how liberal the gentile may be. It says that as long as the terms "nation" and "religion" have meaning antisemitism will exist – and Zionism will exist. And it seems that, despite the wishes of many humanists and cosmopolitans, both nationality and religion will remain meaningful for very many years to come.

In our ardour for Zionism, which we experience every day, including those among us who are "anti-Zionists", we ignore the normal problem that Zionism generates – the effect of Zionist practice and Zionist ideology on the life and position of Jews who do not want to be Zionists.

This applies not only to the Jews in the Arab countries, but also to the Jews in Poland, who could leave that country but did not. And not only to them, but also to the Jews of the Soviet Union who wanted and still want to leave, but cannot do so. Even in the "free world" there are thousands and tens of thousands of Jews who have suffered and are still suffering because of us even though their skins and their property were not harmed at all. All those intellectuals and students and young people who had thought, naively and superficially, that they were free people and masters of their fate and future, have suddenly realised after the six days' war that their freedom has a very restricted range and that their place in the world is determined to a considerable extent by those two and a half million people who live on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean and who act in Israel's interests. We have let a demon out of a bottle – and it is raging in university campuses in California and in the salons of Manhattan, London and Paris. And they are powerless before the demons which have broken out of the almost-forgotten past.

What responsibility do we bear towards them?



Some will say, "It serves them right!" Some are enthusiastic about the idea that the Jewish fate imposes itself on all those who do not want it as well as on those who do. Actually, these enthusiasts are a little more cautious, having seen what such "imposition" led to 25 years ago, during the holocaust. Now they think perhaps that things are different. First of all, we have a State that can defend the persecuted. Second, they think that Hitler's holocaust cannot be repeated because the world has changed and may have learnt a lesson. Therefore all they wish for is "a little bit of antisemitism" and slight inconvenience, so that the Jews may draw the right conclusion and come to Israel.

Others, who try to hold on to liberal and humanistic elements and who want to maintain as far as possible the principle of free choice, are not ready to accept this "cruel Zionism". For them the imposed responsibility raises real problems.

One thing is beyond dispute. Clearly we must do everything to enable each Jew who wants to do so to come to Israel and be absorbed in it. We must save the Jews of the

THE HEADLINE OF THE YEAR:

The Colonization (of the occupied territories – tr.) will be carried out by bulldozers which will shift rocks quietly and not by conferences which will raise dust noisily.

Gen. Moshe Dayan (Yediot Aharonot 17.10.68.)

Arab countries and do our utmost to open the gates of the countries of East Europe. We have to create in this country the possibility to absorb Jewish immigrants from the West. All this is agreed.

But does the State of Israel have duties towards the Jews who can, but do not wish to, come here? Moreover, do we have the right to tell them: "We know better than you what is best for you - and we shall therefore act to make you come here and we shall perhaps even try to make your position more severe, so that you will have no choice but to immigrate to Israel!" Note that this last question is not imaginary. We confronted it in some very concrete situations (Translator's note: The author is probably hinting, among other things, at the bombing of synagogues in Iraq by Zionist emissaries. This was done in the early 1950's in order to create panic among local Jews and make them go to Israel.) and we may still have to confront it again.



It seems that we must not be responsible for worsening the lot of the Jews in certain countries in order to make them go to Israel, even if we think we know they have no future unless they do go to Israel. This responsibility is too great. But this does not yet solve the central question - does Israel have to take into consideration the effects of its actions on the Jewish communities in the diaspora?

Of course, we are not talking about questions of life-and-death for the State of Israel. In such cases it will not be disputed that Israel must act in accordance with its vital interests. But in easier cases, the problem is more difficult. For example, must we consider the position of the Jews of South Africa when we determine our policy in the African continent? Must we consider the Jews of Lebanon before we raid Beirut? Must we consider the effects of our policy on the Jews of France or the U.S.? Should we be careful not to confront Jews with the problem of double loyalty?



All these questions may, perhaps, be answered in a practical way - or simply brushed aside as unimportant. But they are important, both in principle and in practice. It seems that if we declare and believe that there is one Jewish nation, with one common fate, we have no choice but to take into consideration, consciously and deliberately, the effects which the actions of one part of the nation - in Israel - has upon its other parts, in the diaspora. This conclusion follows from our Zionist conception and it is also a simple moral duty. If we ask these communities for help, we must also help them.

This statement is not as simple as it may seem. By our existence we "sin" against the lives and happiness of hundreds of thousands, or at least we make their lives more difficult. This does not mean that we have to stop living - we only have to know that by finding a solution for hundreds of thousands Jewish immigrants we have created problems for other Jews. Let us try to live, with this knowledge, in such a way that "sin" will become most worth-while, most humane and clean. This, too, is not easy or simple.

Yediot Aharonot: 9.2.69.

THE JERUSALEM POST

WEEKLY OVERSEAS EDITION

No. 430 — MONDAY, JANUARY 20, 1969 — PRICE 80 AGORA

יום שני א' שבט תשכ"ט

We must stop addressing appeals to the United States.
We must stop saying: "Help us and prevent dangers to Israel!"

We must tell the U.S.:

Israel is the last bastion of the U.S. in the Middle East.
If you don't support us unreservedly,
if you don't deter the Russians vigorously,

It is you who will suffer,
you will be driven from the Middle East,
the Russian threat to the U.S. will grow."

We must stop regarding U.S. Jews merely as a source of contributions. They constitute an enormous political force, which has not been exploited properly, because of our Government's lack of vision.

We must tell U.S. Jewry:

"You are not just a source of money.
We see you as brothers in our struggle,
as full partners in our effort.

Your political task in the U.S.
is no less important
than ours in Israel."

If given guidance from here,
American Jewry will act and succeed.

THE ANTI-RETREAT MOVEMENT

P.O.B. 6484, Tel Aviv.

Copy: To the Israel Ambassador to the U.S.

THE PALESTINE CONFLICT

M. Machover

E. Lobell

The conflict in the Middle-East is primarily a Palestinian conflict, rather than a Judeo-Arab or Middle-Eastern one. It is primarily the problem of the Palestinian Arab people who have been deprived of their national rights and who are engaged in the fight for the reaffirmation of these rights.

Palestine is the country of two peoples: the Palestinian Arab people and the Israeli Jewish people. Therefore, the free expression of the national rights of both peoples has to be satisfied in the one country. We have to support the revolutionaries of both sides who fight for internationalist solidarity so that neither imposes its solution - a nationalist solution - on the other people. Zionism means Jewish domination over the Arab people; this is the present situation. Arab domination over the Jewish people is the goal of nationalist elements in the Arab world. We have to fight both forms of nationalism and social reaction.

We must consider that the only way to solve national problems is to surpass them, and the only way to do so is to fight for the right of each people to decide its own fate. In the case of Palestine, this means:

- The Israeli-Jewish people and the Palestinian-Arab people, or the Jewish and Arab peoples of Palestine (or Canaan?), cannot decide their own fate without taking into consideration the national rights of the other people;

- The creation, or rather subsistence, of a separate Jewish state - Israel - implies the negation of the national rights of the Arab people; any solution considering the creation of an Arab Palestine would mean the negation of the national rights of the Jewish people.

- 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.

The right to decide its own fate is actually denied to the Palestinian Arab people, who have engaged in armed struggle for the achievement of their national rights. The Israeli Jewish people, though formally possessing its national rights, does so only through oppressing the other people, and is therefore not free itself. This means that the Israeli Jewish people are dominated by their nationalist, reactionary elements, closely linked and dependent on the World Zionist Movement, and Jewish capitalism, itself an ally, a part and tool of Western imperialism. The role imposed by world Zionism and local reaction on the Israeli workers is the choice between killing the Arab resistance fighter or in turn being killed.

Our aim ought to be to contribute to the emergence of a common revolutionary struggle of both peoples, being, under the given circumstances, the only way to ensure free expression of the rights of both people to decide their own fate. The armed fight engaged in by the Palestinian Arab people can be the first phase in this revolutionary process.

The correct and revolutionary solution to the Palestinian problem is of prime importance for the whole region. The popular armed struggle, to the extent that it surpasses national objectives and ideologies, and becomes a common struggle of both peoples, will further the anti-imperialist struggle within the Arab countries, and lay the foundations of the Union of Socialist Countries of the Middle East, which is the ultimate aim and the only stable solution to the national and social problems of the region, including the Israel-Arab conflict.

The ISRAELI literary supplement

מרש על רגל אחת

עַח אוֹיֵב מְרוּחַ אֶשׁ
לְצַפּוֹר יְפְרוֹשׁ הָרֶשׁ
הַיּוֹכֵל עֲמוּד מִגֵּן
כֹּל אֶשֶׁר לוֹ יָד וְרֶגֶל ?

כֹּל אֶשֶׁר לוֹ יָד וְרֶגֶל
יִחַצְּבֵז סְכִיב לְדָג
זֶה הַדָּג לְמוֹלֵד
הַמוֹלֵד הַנְּחַמֵּד

כֹּל אֶשֶׁר לוֹ יָד וְרֶגֶל
פְּרַמְשֶׁמֶק אִמָּה וְזֶר
כֹּל אֶשֶׁר לוֹ עֵינַי תַּחַח
אֲלוֹן תַּחַח, רֶגֶל תַּחַח
יִחַצְּבֵז סְכִיב לְגַל
כִּי עֲמַנָּה אֵל.

כִּי מְצִיּוֹן חָצָא -
שְׂכַחְתִּי מֵה
וְהִשָּׂאֵר מִרְמַתִּים
וּמִהִשָּׂאֵר עֲשֵׂה שְׂמֵק נִיק
וְכֹל זֶה מִי ?

שְׂמַנְחָנָה, שְׂמַנְחָנָה
רַק שְׂמַנְחָנָה -
הַפְּבִיטִים כֹּל הַיּוֹם בְּרֵאֵי
וּמִשְׂמוֹנְגִים פְּצַחְקוּקֵי לְשׁוֹן.

עִם פְּרוֹטְזָה
בְּדַם רִבְזִיעַ
יּוֹקֵם לָנוּ גּוֹזֵעַ.

מֵאֵח עֲמוּס קִינֵן (כַּשְׂעֵדִין
לֹא הִיָּה הַרְצֵל רוֹזֵנְבִלוֹם)

1957

פֶּאֲרִיז



Know thy LEADER

The first edition of Mr. Yigal Alon's book 'The Sand Curtain' dealing with Israeli military doctrine was published some ten years ago. The third edition, incorporating Mr. Alon's analysis of the June War, was recently published.

In a long article in *Haaretz* on Jan. 17, 1969, Ze'ev Schiff, that newspaper's well-informed military correspondent, analyses Mr. Alon's doctrine.

The last paragraph of Mr. Schiff's article is translated here:

"We must state Mr. Alon's position which is that we should, in the future as we have in the past, follow an active strategy rather than a passive defensive one. From one of Alon's obscure statements one can learn what changes have been made in our geo-strategic position.

Alon argues that because of the enemy's diminished ability to create faits-accomplis by surprise attack we could allow its land forces to initiate an attack in certain sectors.

From here the author goes on to describe four situations in which Israel would be justified in crossing the cease-fire line today, even for a long period.

1. To clamp down on terrorist activities, if there is no other way.
2. To support certain allies in neighbouring countries.
3. When threatened by a change in the status-quo of a neighbouring country.
4. When there is an actual offensive, or an offensive concentration of forces.

Alon's book excludes optimism. Time is not working against Israel, because it depends how time is used and exploited. All this is in relation to the Arabs. But what about the international scene? Mr. Alon's book does not provide an answer to all questions and problems. But it is undoubtedly an important document and a 'must' for anyone attempting to understand Israel's security policy and its military doctrine.'

Know thy PEOPLE

On the anniversary of the Six Day War, young members of the *Hashomer Hatzair* (Mapam) Kibbutz Movement met in Kibbutz Ein Shemer to discuss two subjects: "One Year after the War" and "The Kibbutz in the eyes of the second generation".

On 22.11.68, the Israeli daily *Haaretz* intended to publish an edited version of the discussion as a serial, but after the first part was published the serial was stopped at the request of Hashomer Hatzair. We have translated the following extracts of this text with the intention of presenting some significant sections of opinion among the young generation of the kibbutz population.

Back to Jewish Tradition

... I confess and admit that after the war, after a year has passed, I keep thinking more and more about everything connected with Zionism, about the right of Zionism, about our relation to Judaism, and to tradition,

about the whole question of nationalism. May I speak personally - Zionism was for me an automatic thing. We were born to Zionism, and Socialism and the Fraternity of peoples. We were born into these slogans. ... Some of us were educated during a very dogmatic period, a period when beliefs were definite and absolute, and all of us were educated in this way without inquiring into it, verifying it or thinking about it at all.

The fact is that one absolute belief was shattered by the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. Out of this experience we reached an almost total hatred of whatever is happening in the Soviet Union. As far as Zionism, our vindication as Zionists and the rightness of this movement are concerned, my own questionings have in fact started during the year after the war.

We wanted to create a free Jewish people in the country, a people whose culture was to be original, different, one that would oppose the religious culture based on belief and on tradition. I think that we must concede failure in this, except in a very few areas. Today, it is a fact, that there is a slow but continuous return to the religious tradition in the Kibbutz movement ..."

We are trampling on the justice of the Arabs

"... When I was in my third year of service, I worked in the banana plantations along with an Arab, an inhabitant of the Arab village of Horesh. This Arab, who had lived in Galgulia before this, did not stop saying that we were working on the lands that once belonged to him and to his family. Today, as I mentioned, the banana plantation of Kibbutz Horashim is there. This is but a single example, and many of us can add similar ones.

We cannot help being a free State and a free people and today, in our times, this is a necessity for us. Yet with every step that we take we are disappropriating the Arabs. I think they are absolutely right in their refusal to make peace until we leave the lands that were theirs. But since we have no choice we must establish an army and fight, and our generation will fight for many years. It has already fought for many years for our justice and there is no escaping from this path.

But we must understand that we are trampling on the rights of others. Therefore, to my mind, we are in a tragic situation from which there seems hardly any way out ..."

To bring justice by force.

"... One of the most difficult things for me to accept, a feeling that has been with me since the War, is that human beings have to enforce the acceptance of just causes through force, which is the only way the solution will come about. We must understand that we do not merely believe in justice, we know it to be the essence of our existence. But there is also the justice of the other side, and from this our pessimism emanates, for we know that it will be the strongest who will win.

Since the turn of the century, when Jewish colonisation began here, the friction between the two peoples has continued, and its bitterness has not diminished. It is continually mounting: more blood is spilt all the time, and we cannot see any solution. ..."

Are we always right?

"... We are a generation of doubt and hesitation. We do not have anything left but contradictions and shattered beliefs. What is left for us to believe in? Once we believed, once we were cheated, now we are no longer a part of it. They will not be able to cheat us. I want to know and to understand where I am going and what I am fighting for. I refuse to be an eternal Isaac, clambering uncomprehendingly and unquestioningly upon the sacrificial table. The moral of all human history is that one must doubt, hesitate, be unsure, question. Too many people thought they were right, and went to die and to kill others. Justice is a terrible weapon, and one must be careful when using it. The Fatah people are always being told lies to pull them into war. Are we always being told the truth? Is the enemy always wrong? Do we have the monopoly on Justice?"

We have already heard how people were led to wars. Doesn't this put a duty on us to inquire? Not to be so confident? Sometimes history turns around and refutes the holiest truths and the justifications that were once thought to be indubitable. There is only one injustice that cannot be put right, one cannot bring back the lives of all those young ones who have died in the wars ...

We live with the feeling that our historical revival, and the beautiful and just life that we might be able to establish here, will be built upon an injustice done to another people. Will it be in this way that we shall educate our children to ideals and justice. Will this be the basis of our existence? To know that we, and maybe our sons as well, are going to fight, and perhaps to die for something which is built upon causing injustice? Then I ask myself - you have doubts, but why share them? Why weaken the hands of others? I do not have an answer to this either.

Perhaps, secretly, other people too are faced with these problems; perhaps together, openly, we will be able to find the answer."

Know thy ARABS

Officials working in the Arab sector are following the first signs of political organization among Israeli Arabs with concern. Namely, attempts are being made to re-establish a body called "The Popular Front", in existence until a few years ago, to serve as a cover for the various active and dormant nationalist currents among Israel's Arabs. Now a new attempt is being made to create such an organization, since the El-Ard group was pronounced illegal about three years ago. That movement's activists - some of whom were imprisoned for anti-Israeli subversive activity and many others of whom were put under house arrest or deported - have not stopped trying to propagate their views.

At present, restriction orders issued according to the 1945 Emergency Regulations and personally signed by the General commanding the area are used against the former El-Ard leaders. (All this, including the house arrests and deportations mentioned above, are administrative measures which are carried out without trial - translator's note). Thus, Mansur Kardush of Nazareth has to report daily at the police station to account

for his movements that day, and is not permitted to leave his town of residence. The lawyer Sabri Jiryis of Haifa, who was El-Ard's ideologist, is similarly required to report, by an order which will remain in force until January 1970. A similar order is being used against the student Muhammed Abdul Me'ari of the village Makr in Western Gallilee near Karmiel, and others are also used against nationalist activists of RAKAH (the Israeli Communist Party = trans.)

Officials working in the Arab sector say that Arabs belonging to circles loyal to the State of Israel now refrain from appearing in public. In the past, the government bestowed various benefits and honours: now this is hardly ever done. It is also said that these circles are now frequently treated abusively.

One of the reasons for nationalist manifestations (painting slogans like "All of us are El-Fatah", and establishing nationalist cells in sport clubs etc) is the new contact between Israeli Arabs and the Arabs of the territories, which has awakened the nationalistic feelings that lay dormant during the 20 years of Israel's existence. At the same time the activity of loyalist Arabs has decreased.

The state of neglect which now prevails with regard to the Arab sector makes it necessary to take some important decisions, although that may mean that some officials will have to be redeployed. The earlier this is done, the better.

Haaretz: 1.2.69

The Communist underground |

The Communist Party, clandestinely active in the West Bank as a branch of the Jordanian Communist Party, is calling for the support of Arab terrorist organizations. The Jordanian Communist Party was not in favour of terrorist action until recently, and supported a

political solution to the Middle East problem. However, they have now hardened their attitude.

Israeli circles interpret this change of line as additional support for anti-Israeli resistance in the East Bank. They find further evidence for their view in the increasing membership of Arab civilian organizations which are in fact resistance movements. They point to the improvement in the methods of resistance used by these organizations.

The Communist Party in the East Bank, although underground, is managing to publish a weekly policy statement. Until now this party had some connection with The New Communist party in Israel. Its policy was to condemn terrorist activities. Some of its leaders, who have been banished from Israel, openly called for the condemnation of terrorist activities.

Lately this party has changed its line and is giving support to the terrorist organizations. In so doing it has severed its relations with The New Communist party in Israel. The Communist party is the strongest organised political body in the East Bank.

In recent months students and teachers have been giving greater support to an organisation called Kaumy on El Arab. In fact that organization pursues its activities in Arab student and teacher organizations, which will do anything they ask including the closing of their schools. One other recent organization, which acts as a tool for the terrorist organizations is the Organization for the Advancement of Women.

Wherever the Arabs of the West Bank enjoy full employment and a rising standard of living, terrorist activities have increased. Amelioration of their economic conditions therefore clearly brings with it a greater readiness on the part of the Arabs to support and help terrorist organizations."

Haaretz: 29.12.68.

Know thy ECONOMY

Many Israelis ask to establish firms in the Gaza Strip.

The Head of the civil authorities in the Gaza strip, Lieutenant Colonel Menahem Porat has said that many Israeli investors have asked the authorities to allow them to establish industrial and tourist concerns in the Gaza strip and in Sinai.

He said that the requests came from knitting, shoe and tourist companies, and some others. The requests have now been dealt with and there is a possibility that some of the firms will be granted permission to do so.

Haaretz: 16.12.68

"The cuts in the development budget for Judea and Samaria will hit the process of integration and coordination of the West Bank's economy with that of Israel. The cuts will also cause a fall in the standard of living in the Administered Territories relative to that of Israel. This was confirmed by well-informed sources in the Defence Ministry and in the Committee of General Directors on the Administered Territories.

Last year the ordinary budget for the Territories was IL120 million, and the development budget was IL16 million. Only IL60 million out of the ordinary budget was actually spent and the rest was frozen. The reason for the freezing was the policy of open bridges, which made it possible for money from Jordan to flow into the West Bank, and for workers to be employed in Israel. About 12,000 workers from the Territories are employed in Israel at an average wage of IL10 (approx. \$3) per day, so that IL120,000 flows daily into the Territories as wages."

Haaretz: 3.1.69

Extracts from an article headed "The Economic Solution" by Shabtai Tevet.

"... It is true that it is pleasing to hear that Israelis have managed to capture the European market with their citrus fruit and other agricultural produce. However, as it behoved the French to capture the world market in wines and cheeses, because of their special culinary abilities, it behoves the Israelis to capture the world market in armaments since the Israelis are specialists in defence matters. This is nothing to be ashamed of. On the contrary we should turn our peculiar disadvantage to an economic advantage.

With the right kind of help and direction the armament industry can become the most resilient sector and provide a healthy basis for Israeli industry."

Haaretz: 8.11.68

50 Million Dollars will be raised for the development of the Occupied Areas.

"A group of Israeli businessmen dedicated to the cause of a 'whole Palestine' are pledged to raise \$50 million for industrial and tourist development in the Occupied Territories, in Sinai, the Golan Heights and especially in Judea and Samaria.

The intention is to form a company which, with the help of the government, will supply founding capital and loans to firms in these areas. Mr. Dan says that the idea occurred to him immediately after the 6 day war. Some difficulties arose over its implementation due



'Gotta halt those aggressors'

to undefined government policy in respect of these areas. 'We could not tell investors to invest while the political attitude was not yet well defined' says Mr. Dan. The intention is to issue 2000 shares only; the value of each will be \$8000 or 25,000 IL. The shares will be sold both in Israel and abroad."

Haaretz: 9.12.68

Subsidies for investors in the occupied territories

"The meeting of leading Jewish Economists, which was held on the initiative of the prime minister, will end today. The meeting was held at the National Building in Jerusalem. On the agenda today, there are resolutions calling for the implementation of decisions taken by the congress and arrangements for a meeting to be held next year.

Senior government officials were present at yesterday's discussions. Government officials answered questions posed by both home and other investors. Among other information they gave particulars about ways and means by which the Israeli government will help investors in the occupied territories. One of the things mentioned was cheaper prices for raw materials needed in the manufacture of plastics.

The director of the Department of Trade and Industry, Mr. Golan, said that investors will benefit not only from cheaper interest rates on loans (9% on the first half of the loan) and government sureties in respect of security, but also from tax relief, as indicated in the law dealing with the encouragement of investments. The subsidies will be given only to investors who are not residents of the occupied territories, so that in a partnership with a local resident the subsidies will be given only to the Israeli or Foreign partner and not to the resident partner. The resident partner will pay taxes according to either the old Jordanian or the old Egyptian laws..."

Haaretz: 8.11.68

Discontinue employment of workers from the strip

"The trade union council in Ashkelon demands that employment of hundreds of Arab workers from the Gaza strip in factories in Israel be stopped immediately. This demand comes after severe disorders were discovered in their working conditions, which, in the words of Mr. Uri Eliav, the trade union secretary, bordered on the scandalous.

Mr. Eliav, who visited two plants in the South over the weekend, discovered that the employers there had established far higher norms for the Arab workers than the normal ones.

Furthermore, he discovered that the employers do not pay the Arab workers any of the premiums to which they are entitled..."

Haaretz: 9.2.69

Yakobi: Security Expenditure is high but develops the economy.

"On the one hand national expenditure on security accounts for more than 20% of the national product but on the other hand this is a lever for the technological advance of the entire economy, and this has a direct influence on the ability to integrate immigrants from the developed countries. This view was put forward yesterday by Mr. Gad Yakobi when he appeared before the organization of university graduates. In his opinion it is now



HAARETZ 8.1.69

time to change the structure of the economy, for the selective development of industry, and for the advancement of workers. Mr. Yakobi claimed that the increase in the deficit to more than IL700 million next year is worrying, given the current political situation. He called for adoption of "an economic policy which will reinforce the economy's ability to withstand outside pressures".

Haaretz: 10.1.69

"Large Trade Deficit in the Occupied Territories.

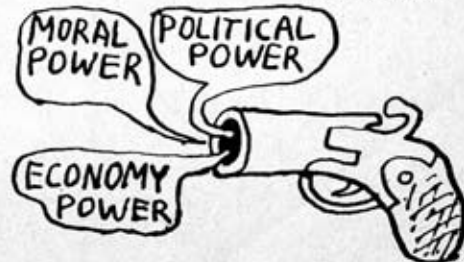
Exports from the Occupied Territories to Jordan totalled IL54 million in 1968 and imports to the territories from Jordan in the same period reached only IL18 million - these facts were released in Jerusalem last Friday by the central office of statistics. In '68 imports in to Judea, Samaria, the Gaza strip and Sinai exceeded exports by IL150 million. These figures include the transactions between these areas and Israel, Jordan and other countries. Imports into the Occupied Territories from Israel exceeded exports by IL163 million; imports from Jordan exceeded exports by IL63 million, and the Occupied Territories trade with other countries imports exceeded exports by IL23 million. All in all imports to the Occupied Territories in 1968 totalled IL272 million. About 80% of all imports came from Israel, about 7% from Jordan and the remaining 13% came through Israel from overseas (including the supplies of the Refugee Relief Agency and other relief organizations). Exports from Israel to the Occupied Territories are increasing. During the second half of 1967 goods to the value of IL47 million were transferred from Israel into the Occupied Territories, while exports from Israel in the first half of 1968 totalled IL96

million and in the second half of 1968 about IL120 million.

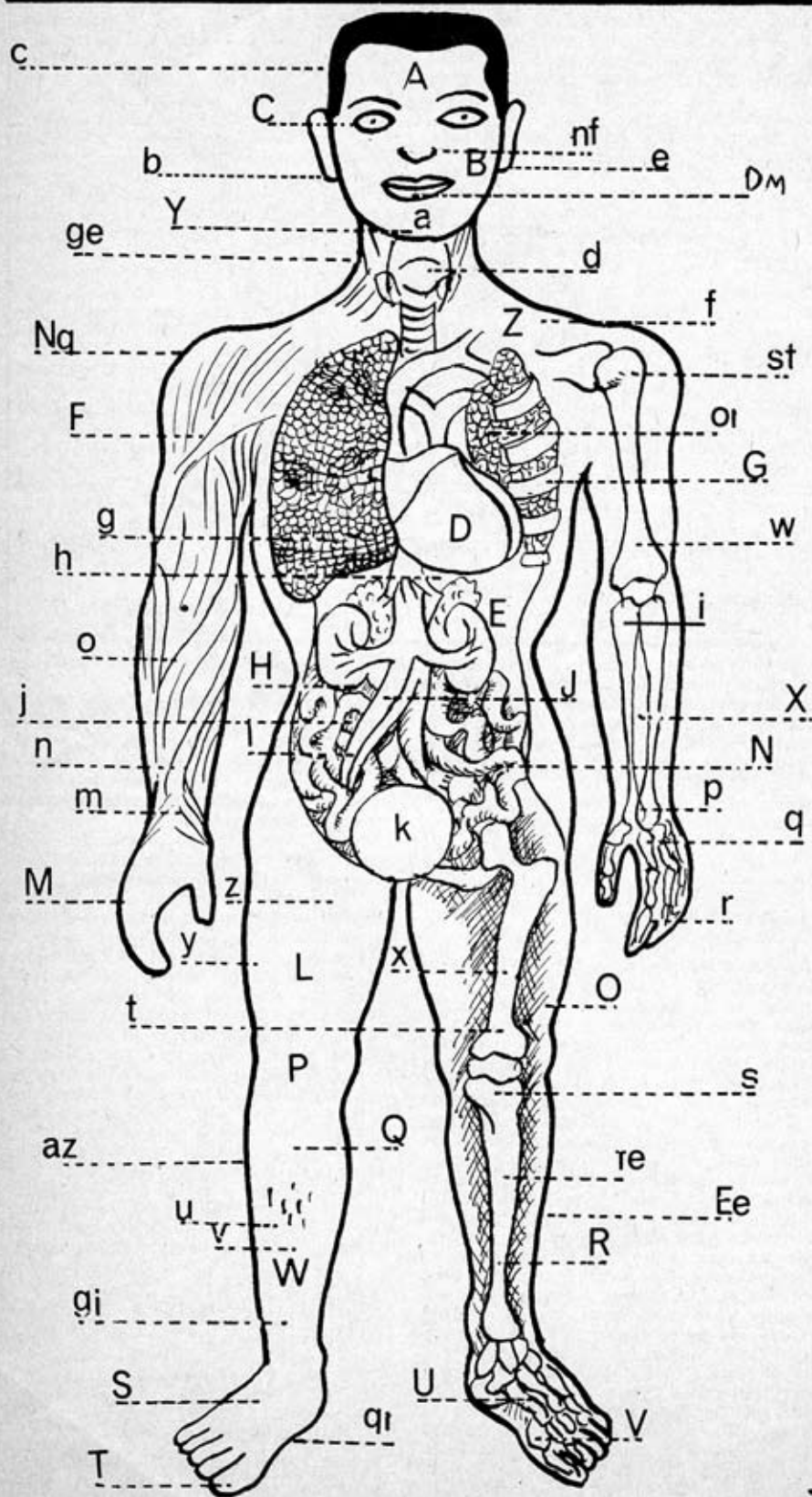
About 15% of the exports from Israel to the Occupied Territories are industrial products and of these about half are commercially produced food stuffs. Most of the trade brought into the Territories by way of the Jordan bridges are agricultural products (mostly livestock and grains).

Export from the Occupied Territories totalled IL123 million in 1968. About 45% of the exports crosses the Jordan bridges, 42% goes to Israel and the rest through Israeli ports overseas. Exports to Israel rose from IL7 million in the second half of 1967 to IL11 million in the first half of 1968 and to IL41 million in the second half of 1968. About two thirds of the exports to Israel consist of industrial produce, crafts and minerals. The rest is made up of seasonal fruit and vegetables: Most of the exports from the Territories overseas are citrus fruit from the Gaza strip. Exports via the Jordan bridges which began in July 1967 reached IL35 million in the second half of 1967, IL29 million in the first half of 1968 and IL25 million in the second half of 1968. Fresh farm produce (mostly fruit and vegetables) accounts for about half the exports to Jordan. Most of the industrial produce which crosses the Jordan bridges is prepared food products.

Haaretz: 2.2.69



Know thy enemy



- A. This is his Forehead.
- B. This is his Cheek.
- C. This is his Hair.
- D. This is his Heart.
- E. This is his left Kidney.
- F. These are his Deltoid Muscles.
- G. These are his Ribs.
- H. This is his right Kidney.
- I. This is his Liliac vein.
- J. This is his Small Intestine.
- K. This is his Bladder.
- L. This is his right Leg.
- M. These are his Tendons.
- N. This is his Descending Colon.
- O. This is his left Leg.
- P. This is his right Knee.
- Q. This is his Corpus Tibiae.
- R. These are his Condilus Fibularis.
- S. This is his right Foot.
- T. This is his right Toe.
- U. This is his Tuberositas Ossis Metatarsi.
- V. This is his Phalanx Proximalis.
- W. This is his right Calf.
- X. This is his Radius.
- Y. This is his Face.
- Z. These are his Muscles of the Thigh.
- a. This is his Chin.
- b. This is his right Ear.
- c. This is his Hair.
- d. This is his Larynx.
- e. This is his left Ear.
- f. These are his Trapezius Muscles.
- g. This is his right Lung.
- h. This is his Stomach.
- i. This is his Radius & Ulna.
- j. This is his Duodenum.
- k. This is his Ligament of the Wrist.
- l. These are his Muscles which turn the forearm inwards.
- m. This is his Forearm.
- n. These are his Wrist or Carpal Bones.
- o. These are his Metacarpal Bones.
- p. These are his Finger Bones.
- q. This is his Apex Patellae.
- r. These are his Facies Articularis.
- s. This is his Hair of the Leg.
- t. This is his Skin of the Leg.
- u. This is his Hip Bone.
- v. This is his Femur of Thigh Bone.
- w. This is his right Thigh.
- x. These are his Finger Bones.
- y. This is his Nose.
- z. These are his Lips.
- az. This is his neck.
- ge. This is his neck.
- Nq. This is his Shoulder.
- st. This is the upper part of his Hip Bone.
- oi. This is his left Lung.
- Ee. This is his left Leg.

WHERE DOES THE MONEY COME FROM?



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ISRAELI REVOLUTIONARY
ACTION COMMITTEE ABROAD

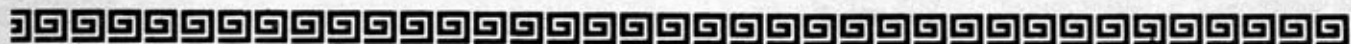
INFORMATION BULLETIN

6d
APRIL 69

1srac

MAY 69

INCORPORATING
**ISRAEL
imperial
NEWS**



We do not know yet. ISRAC is an expensive magazine (two colour front page, 24 pages, 5000 copies). We raised some £100 among ourselves but still owe £180 to the printers. If you think ISRAC is important, send your donation (however big) to: ISRAC, 219 Putney Bridge Road, London, SW15.



THE KIBBUTZMAN



Letters to other EDITORS



(continued from page 9)

To the Editor of the Israel Imperial News,

Just by chance we had the opportunity of reading your magazine "Israel Imperial News" and we consider that your work is very important because it shows up the brutal face of the Israeli domination that is similar to any other domination in history.

It's becoming more evident each day how the people of Israel are being deceived by their government in a political direction which is a self defeating one.

Until the liberation forces of both Arab and Jews join together against their common enemies - Imperialism and Zionism - there will be no secure future for the people of Israel.

From Cuba we perceive the great possibilities that await the countries whose people become united in a common destiny and who liberate themselves from exploitation.

We wish to receive your magazine to expose and propogate our common cause to which we are ready to contribute in any way.

EMILIA KUPERSMIH
NOEMI KURLAT
LA HABANA
CUBA.

DON'T WITHDRAW FROM SINAI

Israel must announce that under no circumstances is she going to withdraw from Sinai, which according to members of the army is highly vital for the security of the State, far more vital than the Golan Heights and the West Bank.

We have to tell the world that by holding Sinai we neutralise the Middle East's powder keg, since this frees Israel from the need to do what she did in June 1967, i.e., to start a war as a reaction to war-threats and Egyptian troop concentrations along her borders. The situation on the border of the Suez Canal in recent months proves this.

It would have been better if we had taken such a position immediately after the June war. Now, after the four power talks have begun, we may have our last chance and we must not miss it. It must be hoped that a clearly stated and properly explained position on this subject will influence the US.

Jacob Bloom,
Jerusalem.

Haartz: 20.4.69.

DEMOCRACY IN ISRAEL?

In the Israeli Arab village of Turan, two young Arabs were caught and accused of burning the Israeli flag. A court punished them. In Benei-Brak there are young people who also burnt Israel's flag on Independence Day and did other things that show their hatred for the State (e.g., they did not close their shops on the day of late PM Levi Eshkol's funeral etc.). What punishment did they get?

Why did the police drop the accusations against Israeli citizens of the Jewish faith and did not do so when Israel citizens of the Moslem faith were involved?

What opinion can an Arab citizen have of the government if it has different laws for citizens of the same state?

Let the Israeli citizens from Turan be freed, or let the students of the Jewish religious school - a nest of hatred, for not only that Arab village is a nest of hatred - be brought to trial.

What has the Minister of Police, who claims to be the protector of the minorities, have to say about this?

What has the Minister of Justice to say about this discrimination?

Muhamed Shain,
Haifa.



הוא רק בן 7

בעוד כ־10 שנים ילד זה יהיה בצבא ואם תהיה עוד מלחמה ישתתף בה. צעירים רבים שנשתתפו במלחמת ששת הימים היו בתקופת מלחמת סיני עדין ילדים הנסיגה שלאחר מבצע סיני (1956) הביאת מלחמה נוספת עשה הכל כדי שלא תבוא עוד מלחמה על ילדך

דיין: נסיון להרחיקנו בכוח מהתעלה - פירושו מלחמה

(ס.נ.א.י.ת.א.)
נסיגה מהשטחים פירושה - מלחמה נוספת
תן ידך הצמרף אלינו ואולי נמנע אסון.

התנועה למניעת מלחמה נוספת
ח.ד.ת. 11125 ת"א

HE IS ONLY 7

In about 10 years this boy will be serving in the army and if there will be a war he will take part in it.

Many youngsters who have taken part in the six days' war were still children at the time of the Sinai war.

The retreat after the 1956 Sinai operation gave rise to another war.

Do everything to prevent another war for your child.

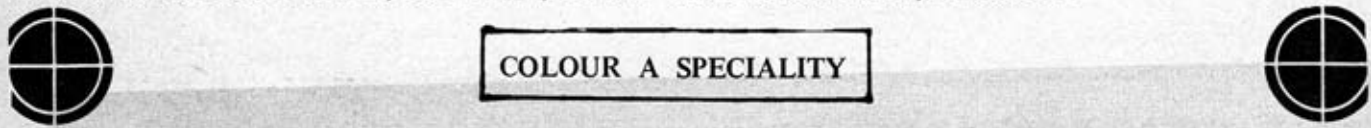
Dayan said: "An attempt to force us to retreat from the Canal - means war."

Withdrawal from the territories means - another war. Give us a hand, join us.

We may prevent another misfortune. The movement for preventing another war
POB 11125 Tel Aviv.

PHOTOGRAPHIC WORK UNDERTAKEN

COMMERCIAL, ADVERTISING, PRESS, WEDDING, FUNCTIONS, PORTRAITS ETC. ALSO PRINTING & PROCESSING, COPYING, GIANT ENLARGEMENTS, DISPLAY.



WRITE TO GROUP TWO PHOTOGRAPHY AT 124 WIGMORE STREET, LONDON W1 OR

TELEPHONE WELBECK 6724.

JEW & ARABS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST OCCUPATION

On 28th January a demonstration was held in front of the Israeli Parliament building to protest against the murder of demonstrators in the occupied town of Rakah and to express opposition to the continued occupation. Members of several political organisations as well as non-party individuals took part in the demonstration. The demonstrators presented a letter of protest to the Presidium of Parliament whose contents and very existence were ignored by all parties and all newspapers (except the weekly of Rakah – the Israeli C.P. – which reported the demonstration despite the fact that members of the C.P. did not participate in it.) The following is the text of the letter:

"Members of the Knesset.

"We, citizens of Israel, protest against you

and expose your indifference, blindness and heartlessness.

"The murder in Rakah exposes the true face of the Parliament, of the Government, and of the Zionist regime in general.

"The murder in Rakah refutes the lie which is accepted by all of you about the occupation being liberal. There is no such thing as liberal occupation.

"The murder in Rakah is a symptom of the continued degeneration of Israeli policy in the occupied territories. The situation will not improve, on the contrary. But you will continue to hold your tongues.

"Faced with your silence we declare: you do not represent us, we have nothing in common with you."

A message from the demonstration against

the occupation and against the murder in Rakah was immediately transmitted to the women of East Jerusalem who were holding a sit-in in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the Old City. A delegation of the demonstrators went to the Church but were stopped at the gates by a police guard. The delegation transmitted the text of the above quoted letter to the women together with the following message:

"We hereby express our solidarity with the sit-in which is held in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, in protest against the very same incident as our demonstration. We regard solidarity and co-operation of this kind as the only way to a common future of the two peoples inhabiting this country. Down with oppression. Down with occupation."

Matzpen: March 1969.

הנאה הכיבוש!

גילוי דעת

אימפריאליסטי, האו העדיד לעצמו את התפקיד להילחם נגד באימפריאליזם הא-מריקאי, והן בגני-ביתו; או שאוחז כוח הוא סו-אימפריאליסטי, ואז יקוטו בקו של הסדרים עם המוש הנדול וכפי-סה בשוליותו.

הניגוד התיספורי בין התנועה הציו-נית ומדינת ישראל בצורתה הנוכחית ל-בין העולם הערבי לא יוקמה ולא יסו-סס גם אם יושג בעתיד הנראה לעין הסדר אמריקאי-סובייטי בנוגע למרות התיכונן הסדר כוח שיצוג אמנם על-ידי המוביטיים הרישג נוסף במימנרת מדיניות הדו-קיום בשלום, לא יהיה מסוגל לפתור את הסיכסוך הישראלי-ערבי ולא יהיה באינטרס העמים באזורנו.

במישור הצבאי-בטחוני —

זמן קצר לאחר תום הקריכת בינינו, 1967, הכריז סר-המטות הישראלי משה דיין, כי עתה הוא מפתח לטלפון סן ה-עריבם, תוך 48 שעות, בו יקבצו מנצח הסדר הישראלי-ערבי, כוחה שלטונית כוח לא הגיעה מעולם בישראל היא מוכנת עתה בכיורח עצומה באזור וכן חזרו והדגישו האמפריטיסטים בישראל כי הג-בולות החדשים (בלוטום) ייחשבת צדלי-בולות החדשים מבחם ההתפזרן לאורך

על רקע זה יש מסקל גדול-חסיס לפעילותם של האירגון הסוציאליסטי ה-ישראלי ("מעפ"ר) ושל המפלגה הקו-מוניסטית הישראלית (רק"ת) — הרבה מעבר למיסקלל הציבורי. אלה הם עניי הגופים הפוליטיים היהודים המנהלים מ-אבק עיקרי נגד הסדר הכיבוש, כל אחר בררסו הוא.

במישור היחסים הבינלאומיים —

לאחר המלחמה נסכה המפסלה ב-סחון כלב העם, כי הניבו האמריקאי שניתן לישראל הוא מה יציב, עד שכל ההסתחוויות האחרות כזירת הבינלאומיות זוכן סקלישת הסום. די היה, לפי נרסה זו, במותה הצבאי של ישראל באזור ובשיצפה הכל-עולמית של האמפריא-ליזם האמריקאי, כדי להקפיא את המצב במורת התיכונן, כדי להנציח את הצנחון הישראלי וכדי להוריד את העריבים על ברביתם, כדי שיחלמו על שלום בנטח הישראלי-אמריקאי. האפשרות שהאמפ-ריאליזם האמריקאי — האגודרס על-העו-כל כולו — עשויה בהתאם לתוכניתו ולאנטרטיסטי שלו, להתנגב באינטרטיסטי של ישראל הרישית, הנוגעת הנמטת העסקמת היתה; ילא כדאי לדבר על

עריים החדשים שחלפו מאז תום מלחמת יוני 1967, מבליטיס טוב רחוב את הסיקר המונה ביסוד הטיעון שנצחון צבאי ישראלי מסוגל להביא לשלום או לנומיאליזציה של יחסי ישראל-ערב. מאז תום המלחמה — הירף נמנעת הכוח הישראליות כדוגמת ההתקפה ה-אחרונה על נמל-התעופה של ביירות — הולכות ומפירות המענות הרישיות בכל המיטריים הן במישור היחסים הבינ-לאומיים הן במישור הצבאי-בטחוני והן במישור הפנימי. יחד עם זאת נבגרים ומתחוקים דבריו הרובם הלאומניים מפד כל הדבורים של המנהג הציוני. איש מדינה וקציני צבא, מנהיגי מפלגות תע-הונאים, סופרים והשוררים שחסיסם את שמו של האורח הישראלי הן, סלוח, עיות ועיסול המציאות, נותנים בו את הרגשת הכוב של "אני ואפסי עוד", במיבצע הן נטלים חלק נן אלה הכבו-עם "ייעים" והן אלה המכונים "נציים", ותא מקיף את כל המפלגות הציוניות והמפ-ריוניות — החל בנחיל ובמפל-גות חרות, דרך העבודה ופסיס ומגוד במפלגה של מינקים-סנה. התייכות המתנהל כחון המנהג הציוני גופו זה בו כדי להענות, שכן זה הוא לובש צורת חריפת קולניות הנראת לפעמים כקוד מדיניות שגינם אף מנו-

The Translation Of This Document Appears On Page 6

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