



NATIONAL REPORT OF PALESTINE

NATIONAL REPORT OF PALESTINE

Prepared by:

**PALESTINE NATIONAL FUND
PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION**

INTRODUCTION	
I. THE PROBLEM	
II. THE PEOPLE	
III. ZIONISM AND THE BRITISH MANDATE	
A. Zionism: Exclusivist Nationalism	
B. The Mandate: A British-Zionist Condominium	
1. Labour, land and capital	
2. Health, education and welfare	
IV. THE ZIONIST STATE	
A. Seizure of the land	
B. The Defence Laws and Military Government	
C. Cultural Oppression	
D. Political Repression	
V. PALESTINE AFTER 1967	
A. The Arab Palestinian Non-Person	
1. Confiscation	
2. Collective Punishment	
3. Discrimination in Education	
4. Imprisonment and Torture	
5. Expulsion and Exile	
B. The Zionization Continues	
1. Jewish Settlements	
2. Economic Exploitation	

VI. THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE NOW

A. The Palestinians in Exile

B. Potential for the Future

VII. JERUSALEM

CONCLUSIONS

The Solution : DEMOCRATIC PALESTINE

ANNEX : U.N. Resolutions



INTRODUCTION

The United Nations Organization and the Palestine question have been uniquely associated with each other. Soon after its own creation the U.N. created the Zionist state on the soil of Palestine. The U.N. still lives with the consequences of that act and has itself to a significant degree been shaped by its reactions to that problem in its subsequent stages of development.

Among the many reports presented to Habitat this report is - like the problem behind it - unique. It is the report of the Organization internationally recognized as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, a people which despite persecution and exile has retained its social and cultural cohesion, has developed and continually expanded its political, social and economic institutions, a people which in the most adverse conditions has not ceased working to develop its human potential and national identity.

This report represents a further step towards the time when the grave injustices caused by that original act of the United Nations will be righted, and the Palestinian people can return to its homeland and there achieve the full notional self-determination for which it has worked for so long.

I. THE PROBLEM

In 1948 an organized and premeditated Zionist military and terrorist campaign seized four fifths of Palestine, emptied that area of 85-90 percent of its indigenous Arab population and turned almost a million people into refugees. Zionist exclusiveness, the fundamental Zionist credo that the integration of Jews with the rest of humanity is not possible, required an empty land.

Yet after 50 years of intensive Zionist settlement - including 26 years under the protection and encouragement of the British-Zionist condominium which ruled Palestine during the Mandate - the Palestine Arabs remained the overwhelming majority (69 percent of the population) in what Zionists called "a land without a people." Moreover, 85 percent of the Jewish population resident in Palestine was concentrated in the urban Jaffa-Tel Aviv-Jerusalem belt. The Jews constituted a numerical majority in only a small subdistrict of Palestine: the Jaffa-Tel Aviv complex.

It was consequently no surprise that the Arab population of the Arab state defined by the UN Partition Resolution (General Assembly Resolution 181 (III)) included 749,010 Arabs and less than 10,000 Jews. But it was also inescapable that the Arab population in the proposed Jewish state constituted a slight majority (509,780 Arabs to 499,020 Jews) and owned 90 percent of the cultivable land. Hence the ruthless Zionist "purging" operation to expel the indigenous inhabitants from the area of both the proposed states and to seize Arab land.

The indigenous Arab population of Palestine reaches back to the beginnings of history in this area. What the noted Old Testament Scholar George Mendenhall has said with regard to ancient Palestine is no less applicable to Palestine during the many centuries since:

"For a hundred years or more history has been explained as a constant process of barbarian invasions, of "fresh blood" invading and destroying older populations who had become corrupt and degenerate. Historians have thus carried out more genocides than has all humanity. This old theory is simply no longer satisfactory, far too simple, and most seriously misleading."¹

The Arabs of Palestine are the descendants of the people who have lived there since time immemorial, who have continued to live there through the succession of conquests, who have shared in and contributed to the culture and development of the area Palestine. With the Arab conquests thirteen centuries ago the people of Palestine, including the Jews who had remained there, along with other peoples of the region became Arabized and thereafter identified themselves as Arabs.

These peoples lived throughout much of their history in pluralist, multi-racial societies. Their many ethnic, linguistic and religious diversities compelled them to find a way to live together in mutual tolerance within the larger framework provided by the universalist mentality and culture that had gradually developed at least since Hellenistic times. As opposed to the situation in Europe, Muslims, Christians and Jews in Palestine for the most part succeeded in coexisting in tolerance, peace and understanding.

¹ George Mendenhall, The Tenth Generation (Baltimore 1973). p. 216.

III. ZIONISM AND THE BRITISH MANDATE

The first assault on this deeply rooted way of life came from European powers which, to gain dominance in the collapsing Ottoman empire, became the self-appointed patrons of this sect or that, inciting their protégés against each other. Little more than half a century later Zionism officially launched its program aimed at the "establishment for the Jewish people of a home in Palestine secured by public law" -- the euphemism then employed for a Jewish state.

A. Zionism: Exclusivist Nationalism

Zionist nationalism, identifying religion with race and a "chosen people" is characterized by concepts of Jewish exclusiveness and uniqueness. It is, further, an ideology rooted in Europe. Zionism is consequently totally antithetical to the pluralist traditions and open collective mentality of the people of the Middle East as well as being without roots in the cultural environment of the area. From the beginning the Zionist aim was to transform Palestine into a state from which all "non-Jews" would be excluded, that is to create a new ghetto where Zionism could subject to its discipline the entire Jewish people. For the assumption of the non-assimilability of the Jews led Zionism to reject emancipation (the integration of Jew as individual citizens with equal rights and obligations in the nations in which they live) as a mistake and to try to re-establish in one place the isolated exclusivist ghetto communities of the middle ages.

From the beginning therefore Zionist settlers isolated themselves from the indigenous population whose very existence they long denied. To the Zionists the Palestinians were non-people. They simply considered the "native" unworthy of serious consideration. So total was the rejection of any association with the native Palestinians that--unlike other settler movements -- Zionists did not want the natives even as a source of cheap labour. In this slogan of "Jewish labour" the Zionist assertion of racial supremacy over the indigenous population, reinforced by the belief in the Jews as the "chosen people", went beyond and was potentially more brutal than the normal sense of European superiority over "backward natives" common at the time. Yet the Zionist aim was exactly the same as that of all settler minorities: to counteract the unfavourable population ratio by imposing and maintaining the social, economic and technological supremacy of the settler minority.

The Zionist division of mankind into Jews and gentiles (goyim)-- parallelling similar divisions of the world into whites and non-whites, Aryans and non-Aryans--found clear expression in the Balfour Declaration which was written with meticulous care by the Zionists themselves. The Declaration refers to the indigenous population only as "non-Jewish communities". These so called "non-Jewish communities" were Arabs, constituted 88% of the inhabitants of Palestine at that time and were virtually unanimously opposed to the Zionist intrusion into Palestine. In the words of Sir Louis Bols, Britain's Chief Political Officer in Palestine, "approximately 90 percent of the population of Palestine is deeply anti-Zionist. This opposition comprises all Moslems and Christians and a not inconsiderable proportion of Jews!"*

* J.M.N. Jeffries, Palestine: The Reality (London 1939), p.333.

With the setting up of the Mandate, all of whose principal clauses were of Zionist origin, the Zionists began entering Palestine "of right, not on sufferance" on the claim that they were to build there a Jewish national civilization. They caused Hebrew to be made into an official language. "On the very postage stamps of Palestine", noted a British writer, "they had the words Eretz Israel (the land of Israel) placed. But it would have been nearer to the truth if the inscription had been Ersatz Israel (substitute Israel). They might talk Hebrew but there was not a Hebrew deed done by them; they had in a sense to translate all their acts into it" (Jeffries, p.413).

The "civilization" they brought was thoroughly European. For the indigenous Jews, as for the rest of the indigenous population, they had nothing but contempt. Insisting on total segregation from the indigenous population in every sphere of life, the Zionists proceeded - with the connivance of the Mandatory Power - ruthlessly to lay the foundations for an exclusivist Jewish state.

B. The Mandate: A British-Zionist Condominium

1. Labour, land and capital

Under the Mandate, established by the League of Nations in 1922, the Zionist slogan of "Jewish Labour", with an added slogan of "Jewish produce", was more vigorously applied. The principal victims of the Zionist boycott of indigenous labour were the fellahin who were evicted in growing numbers from lands bought by Jews: Zionist land purchases--almost all from absentee non-Palestinian landlords--were conditional on prior eviction of tenants. Thus peasants whose families had lived on and worked the land for generations were deprived of their homes and means of livelihood and this with derisory compensation, if any. Non-Jews were forbidden to work on Jewish-owned land, since the Constitution of the Jewish Agency for Palestine required that land purchased should be

the property of the Jewish National Fund. The Fund, which eventually came into possession of 90 percent of the lands acquired by Jews, prohibited employment of non-Jewish labour on pain of fines and eviction. In 1930 Sir John Hope-Simpson concluded that under existing circumstance "there is no room for a single additional settler if the standard of life of the fellahin is to remain at its present level."

Generally speaking, and inspite of the glitter of Zionist money, the indigenous population, however, did not sell its land. By the end of the Mandate, Jews held less than six percent of the total land area of Palestine and 10-12 percent of the cultivable land while the indigenous Arab population still accounted for 70 percent of agricultural income including a nearly 50 percent share in Palestine's major export, citrus fruits.

The Arab population was also barred from employment in Jewish industrial enterprises of any kind. The Histadrut (General Federation of Jewish Labour), itself excluding "non-Jews", enforced this ban and at the same time exercised a decisive influence in determining both the number and the Zionist qualifications of Jewish immigrants. The aim of Jewish industry, moreover, was not "to cater for the wants of 600,000 Arabs, three quarters of whom are poor peasants. It is to the Jewish community itself and to export that Jewish industry looks in the first place" (Jewish Agency Memorandum submitted to Sir John Hope-Simpson, Jeffries 623). The 600,000 Arabs, commented J.M.N. Jeffries, "were thought of as mere livestock in the fields."

In addition the Zionist settlers had the immense advantage of vast infusions of capital from the outside world. Capital transferred to Palestine by the various Zionist organization for the benefit of Jewish settlers totalled for the period 1919-1948 more than one and a half billion dollars. This meant an average

expenditure of \$ 3225 for each immigrant. Extensive credit was also made available to Jewish settlers. The income of the Arab farmer was at the same time barely 40 percent that of the Jewish farmer.

The Zionist boycott of Arab products combined with the heavy inflow of Zionist capital and the Zionist-British control of the banking system¹ blocked Arab industrial development and the emergence of an Arab capitalist class; by the early 1930's although the indigenous population accounted for at least 40 percent of the income from trade and services, its industrial system accounted for only ten percent of the country's industrial production. The lag in capitalist development meant that uprooted peasants could find no alternative work and the frustrated Palestinian intelligentsia could find no useful employment for its skills.

Already by the mid-1930's thousands of landless and jobless peasants were crowded in shacks on the edges of cities like Haifa. With the rise of Jewish immigration in 1935, unemployment among the Palestinian Arab population increased. In Jaffa alone there were 5000 unemployed, yet the Mandate Government continued to issue permits for Zionist workers and favoured such workers in distributing what jobs there were. In the wholly Arab city of Jaffa, for example, the contract for building a public school went to a Jewish contractor employing only Jewish labour.

2. Health, education and welfare

Zionist-British policy revealed all the characteristic features of colonial oppression. Laying the groundwork for their future state

¹ Only two of 27 banks in Palestine were Arab and these held only 8 percent of deposits while the Anglo-Palestine Bank, official bank of the Zionist movement, held 45 percent and, with the British Barclay's Bank and the Ottoman Bank, 90%).

the Zionists established their own school system, hospitals dispensaries, banks, credit cooperatives and military forces from all of which the indigenous population was excluded. These institutions therefore naturally assumed a racist character and so all the more effectively embodied the embryo of the future exclusivist Jewish state.

The Mandatory Power cooperated fully in the Zionist endeavour to put the indigenous population in a position of ever greater inferiority. It granted the Zionists exclusive concessions to exploit the resources of Palestine. It spent 40 percent of its budget to maintain "law and order," that is mainly to crush the increasingly active opposition of the indigenous majority to the Zionist settler invasion. Most important, it held its public social welfare, educational and economic development expenditures to a minimum.

In 1939, for example, Government health expenditures for both Jews and Arabs totalled P£ 243,016 or on a per capita basis 88 U.S. cents. In the same year total health expenditures by Jewish institutions (for Jews only) totalled P£ 525,150 or U.S. \$ 5.61 per Jewish inhabitant. It was no wonder that, for example, the incidence of trachoma among Arab school children (49 percent) was far greater than among Jewish school children (2.4 percent). The Jewish settler minority got 50 percent of hospital care. Its Jewish hospitals took in only a negligible number of non-Jews although non-Jewish hospitals treated a substantial number of Jews.

Discrimination in education was even greater. Up to 80 percent of the large network of schools, technical and agricultural institutes established by Zionist organization, for Jews only were financed by the mandatory government. But the public education provided for the Arab inhabitants of Palestine was "on an even more primitive

level than its health service", according to a Zionist economic study published in 1946.¹ In the 850 Arab villages and towns of Palestine there were in 1941/2 only 404 Arab public schools; and only 20-25 percent of 5 to 15 year-old Arab children could attend school. This at a time when 90 percent of Jewish children of the same age group were in school. The Director of Education reported that in Arab public schools,

"Classes are generally so crowded as to 'disorganize' teaching and to constitute a menace to health. The training of teachers is on so miserably inadequate a scale as to lay no basis for future progress. Moreover, there is no real scholarship system to enable gifted children of Arab parents to cultivate their talents."

The Jewish population of less than half a million had 62,000 children in Jewish community schools with 2,827 teachers in 1941. In the same year the Arab population of over a million had only 56,600 pupils in public schools with 1,456 teachers. Thus Arab children had only one teacher for 38.8 pupils while Jewish children had one teacher for every 22.2 pupils. Public school buildings and equipment were of a much lower standard than Jewish school buildings and equipment.

A similar wide gulf existed between the standard of public services provided by Jewish and Arab local government units. Jewish communities, enjoying the benefits of Zionist financing from abroad as well as incomes several times higher than those of Arab communities, spent 4-8 times as much per capita on local public services as could the much poorer Arab communities.

¹ Robert R. Nathan, Oscar Gass, Daniel Greamer: Palestine: Problem and promise (Washington D.C. 1946), p.350.

Denied all political rights and the means of self-defence, the indigenous Arab majority nonetheless rebelled again and again --1921, 1929, 1933 and 1936-9--against the British-backed Zionist drive to take over their country and for the right to self-determination and independence. To quell the 1936-9 rebellion the British were forced to employ 20,000 troops in addition to their regular police forces. Although the rebellion was militarily defeated it won from the British the promise of independence within ten years and a phased end to Zionist immigration in five years.

This pledge, like so many others, was not fulfilled. Deprived of social, political and economic development by four decades of deliberate discrimination and weakened by the loss and expulsion of their most promising leaders after the 1936-9 rising the Arab people of Palestine in 1947-8 easily fell victim to the Zionist onslaught with its international backing.

IV. THE ZIONIST STATE

Zionism thus achieved its Jewish state. In November 1948 the Israeli census counted only 130,000 Arab Palestinians, i.e. only 15 percent of the original Palestinian Arab population living in the land which became the state of Israel. Such an expulsion of almost the entire indigenous population of a country by an alien settler movement in a period of barely one year is unprecedented.

The new state stubbornly refused to heed the constantly repeated U.N. resolutions calling for the repatriation of the displaced Palestinians. Instead it enacted the Law of Return which granted any Jew in the world the right to become a citizen upon his arrival in the country. By this law qualifications of the would-be citizen are determined by parentage according to a definition set millenia ago. Under the Law of Return, 1,290,771 Jews immigrated to Israel between 15 May 1948 and 31 December 1968.

The Israeli Nationality Law gives Jews citizenship by right, but the indigenous Arab Palestinians who had not fled may become citizens only by grace: they must furnish proof and their applications may be refused without explanation. An estimated 60-70,000 Arabs living within Israel today, about 20 percent of the state's Arab population, are stateless. Their number is growing because statelessness is inherited. Children born to parents without citizenship, who may be unaware of their status until they apply for passports or other documents, are also stateless though they have been born in Israel, in towns and villages where their families have lived for generations. A stateless Arab who wants to leave the country will be given a travel document valid for one year and a day; if he does not return within the year, he will be barred forever.

A. Seizure of the land

Parallel with the so-called "ingathering" of new settlers from all over the world, the new state pursued an unremitting effort to reduce both the numbers and the status of the indigenous Palestinians remaining in the areas under its control and to seize by any methods the land owned by the remaining Palestinian Arabs.

Forcible expulsion of the indigenous population over the frontiers and also to other parts of Israel coupled with the seizure of the lands and homes of those so displaced has continued since the cessation of hostilities till the present.

The government has given itself extensive powers to seize land and properties owned by Palestinian Arabs within Israel. In 1948 and after this policy was particularly embodied in seven laws which aimed at:

- 1) legitimizing the theft of the lands and properties of the Arab population expelled in 1948;
- 2) providing the "legal" basis for further confiscations from the Palestinian Arabs remaining within the state;
- 3) depriving the Palestinian Arabs of Israel of their properties and means of livelihood and thus compelling them to leave.

Under these laws at least one million dunums of land (one dunum = 1000 square metres) were stolen from the Palestinians who remained in Israel. Not a single Arab village escaped. Arab agriculture suffered heavy damage. Two thirds of such land

as was left in Palestinian hands was rocky or mountainous and difficult to cultivate. Arab agriculture was further deliberately shackled by state measures to consolidate and expand Jewish agriculture at its expense. No opportunities to learn new skills were offered to the uprooted farmers and agricultural workers who therefore had to leave their villages for the towns where they could get only the most menial or backbreaking jobs or join the growing ranks of Palestinian unemployed. Most Palestinian landowners rejected the derisory compensation offered them.

Among the most important and cruel of these laws was the Absentee Property Law which opened the way to the seizure of hundreds of thousands of dunums of land and other properties (homes, shops, etc.) from Arabs considered to be Israeli citizens but held to be "absentees." An "absentee" is any citizen who left his usual place of residence between 29 November 1947 and the date when the State of Emergency should be abrogated (it never has been) for any length of time either to visit or live outside Palestine or in any place in Palestine not then under Jewish rule. The law, which does not mention the word Arab, has been applied only to Arabs. A simple written declaration by the Custodian of Absentee Property makes a citizen an "absentee". The Custodian, moreover, cannot be questioned on the sources of knowledge on which his decision is based.

Under this law, lands and properties were confiscated from owners who moved for a few days from one street to another or from one village to another—as many did in search of temporary refuge during the fighting and in the turmoil and confusion that followed. Under a special clause lands were also confiscated from Arabs who visited neighbouring countries or an area in Palestine not under Zionist or Israeli control before 1 September 1948.

The significance of this date is that large areas of Galilee and the Little Triangle were occupied or annexed by Israel only after that date. The inhabitants of these areas often travelled to neighbouring countries on business. Under this provision the entire population of the Little Triangle was declared "absentee" and the greater part of its land confiscated.

Although God was not formally declared an absentee, the law also applied to the immensely valuable Islamic Waqf property (considered in Islamic law to be the property of God to be used for the benefit of the Muslim community). Waqf property included one sixteenth of the area of Palestine and in cities like Jaffa and Acre 70 percent of all shops. The law was also enforced against Arab properties in the mixed towns where the majority of the population was forced to change its place of residence, so in practice all Arab property in these towns was regarded as "absentee" unless the contrary could be proved.¹

In this way the new state controlled -- without payment of compensation--all the lands and properties of the 85-90 percent of the indigenous Palestinian people who had been driven out. On those who remained within the borders of the new state it placed the burden of proof to secure release of their land from the Custodian of Absentee Property. Since the Custodian's policy was one of deliberate and repeated delays this procedure could consume several years of the petitioner's life and required much running about from one office to another. The outcome, more often than not, was the owner's discovery that in the meantime the land had been expropriated.

¹ Aharon Cohen, Israel and the Arab World (Merchavia 1964), pp.514-515.

All the land confiscated from the evicted Arab population and from the "absentees" -- along with all government land--was after the proclamation of the state ceded to the Jewish National Fund (JNF). Non-Jews cannot buy, rent or work on the 92.5 percent of the land area of Israel now controlled by the JNF. Moreover, Jews who rent land from the JNF are prohibited from leasing to, or employing, Arabs. In August 1967, to combat the then growing employment of Arab agricultural workers by Jews the Agricultural Settlement Law tightened these racial clauses of the JNF Constitution;¹ and legal action was taken against Jews who tried to evade these restrictions.

Arabs are not only robbed of their lands and forbidden to work or rent Jewish-owned land, rules upheld in Israeli Civil Courts by the Law of Contract. They are also barred from living, or opening business, in many Jewish towns--in Upper Nazareth in particular, and typically in Carmiel, a town founded in 1965 on confiscated Arab land.

The Forests Law permits the government to declare lands previously registered for the use of the village as government forests which villagers thereafter are forbidden to enter. The 1953 Law for the Acquisition of Land empowers the Minister of Finance to transfer lands expropriated under other laws into possession of the state. The 1958 Law of Prescription affected the many Arab peasants who with much time and effort had developed extensive area of land and under previous laws had been entitled to register such land in their own names after only ten years. The 1958 law originally

¹ Cf. S. Jiryis, "Recent Knesset Legislation and the Arabs in Israel," Journal of Palestine Studies, I, 1 (Autumn 1971), pp. 53-67.

extended this period to 50 years; by vigorous protest the Arab population succeeded in reducing this to 20 years for those who started to cultivate land on or after 1 March 1953.

Another government attempt to seize more lands from the Arabs - by means of a 1960 draft Law for the Concentration of Agricultural Land - had to be abandoned as a result of the violent and organized opposition of the Arab population expressed in strikes, demonstrations, protest movements, resolutions of Arab municipal councils and so on.

B. The Defence Laws and Military Government

Still another means for confiscating Arab lands was provided by the British Defence Laws (State of Emergency) of 1945 that were taken over and reinforced by the new state, although at the time Zionist leaders who later became Justice Ministers in Israel governments had denounced these regulations as "officially licensed terrorism" and "without equivalent in any civilized country". Under the Defence Laws, Military Governors were appointed over three areas where 75-80 percent of the Arab inhabitants of Israel live.

The Defence Laws, in the words of an Israeli judge, "abolish the rights of the individual and, in particular, the control of the competent courts over the actions of the authorities."

The government enforces these laws (in theory applicable to the whole country) only in areas subject to the authority of the Military Governors (where most Arab inhabitants of Israel live) and after 1966 when military government ended only against Arabs wherever they lived. The laws give the Israeli government total power to do exactly what it likes with and to the Arab inhabitants of the country who have no redress.

Under Article 125 (Closed Areas and Movement Permits) movement into and out of closed areas may be restricted--and it is not necessary to publish the declaration or define the areas involved. Permits for entry and exit into these areas were required until 1963 when the military government was reorganized and this particular restriction was somewhat eased. At that time, however, tighter restrictions were placed on the hundreds on the government's black list. The mere threat of enforcement of this repressive article was effective in restricting Arab opposition and preventing resort to political action.

The Defence Laws empower the authorities to impose unlimited curfews, to place indefinite restrictions on any Arab's movements, to deprive him of his right to his possessions, to control his contacts with other people, to supervise and restrict his work, to assign him his place of residence. Any person may be placed under house arrest in his home, village or town or under police control and required to report to the police station several times daily. Anyone can be imprisoned without cause and without trial for an unlimited period (Article 111), can be expelled from the country without cause, have his property confiscated or destroyed. Expulsions can be done en masse without specifying people by name.

An Israeli Arab has described how under these laws "Arabs were removed from their lands and turned into refugees inside Israel and others were banished across the border. Villages were destroyed. People were put in administrative detention (i.e. without trial) and many were confined to their houses. All Arab organizations and newspaper publishing was forbidden. For many years the vast majority of Arabs were not allowed to leave their place of residence without receiving a license, which was

often given only after a long struggle and persuasion in a limiting and insulting way. For example, there was no possibility of staying a night, confined to a single specified route, etc. These laws are still in force today."¹

Another Israeli Arab has explained that a restricted person "may, for example, be forbidden to leave his house at night to visit his friends, to go to the cinema or to parties or to attend weddings or funerals. In particular he is forbidden to attend lectures, whoever the lecturer may be, or political meetings." Similarly he "may be forbidden to leave his village or go to his place of work..."

In such circumstances his land soon became uncultivated and so under the Emergency Articles for Exploitation of Uncultivated Land, enacted in 1948, it was turned over to Jewish colonies "to insure its cultivation." The 1949 Emergency Regulation (Security Zones) allowed similar measures to be applied to any area declared by the Minister of Defence to be a Security Zone. Such was the "legal" basis for many forcible expulsions and land seizures.

After the 1967 war the Defence Laws were put in force in the West Bank and Gaza where they are applied even more ruthlessly than in the Arab areas of Israel itself.

C. Cultural Oppression

Israeli policy dehumanizes the way of life and culture of the indigenous people of Palestine, aiming to deprive them of the means

¹ Fouzi Al Asmar: To be an Arab in Israel (London, 1975)

and ability to think for themselves, and in the long run to obliterate Palestinian national consciousness and culture, and eventually Judaize coming Arab generations.

Israel's racially segregated educational system is a powerful instrument for achieving these ends--and for continuing the earlier Zionist-British policy of maintaining the Arab population in a position of inferiority.

With the Israeli government's adoption in 1949 of free and compulsory elementary school for all children, Jews and non-Jews, Palestinian Arab schools became official schools. A special branch of the Ministry of Education (Board of the Ministry of Education and Culture for Arabs), headed by a Jewish director, sees to it that official programs are implemented in Arab schools, public and private. The proportion of Arab children attending elementary schools increased to 66 percent in 1963/4 and 75 percent in 1970/71, but this improvement was due mainly to the extensive network of private confessional and missionary Arab schools. These Arab private schools--in contrast to Jewish private schools--receive only little assistance from the Ministry of Education.

The standard of Arab education is at all levels highly unsatisfactory--below that of Jewish education, below that of other Arab states, even below that in Palestine under the Mandate. School buildings, equipment, suitable textbooks in Arabic, qualified teachers, libraries, reading rooms are all lacking. In 1966/7 for example, half the teachers in Arab elementary schools were not qualified. One reason for this state of affairs is that teachers in Arab schools are appointed less for their qualifications and ability than for the acceptability of their political views to the

government. Moreover, while Jewish teachers enjoy rights of tenure, the Arab teacher remains in a constant state of insecurity: he or she may be discharged at the slightest sign of opposition to the denigration, distortion and neglect of Arab history and culture that passes for education on official school programs in Arab schools,

"The history of the Arab peoples is falsified and represented as a series of revolutions, killings, feuds, plunderings and robberies, with the aim of belittling Arab achievements and triumphs throughout the centuries. Jewish history, on the contrary, is glorified and enriched, with everything seen through rose-coloured glasses."¹

Protests made against teaching in Israeli schools by a group of young Israeli teachers and students calling themselves NIMROD (We Will Rebel) suggest the character of this education:

The history of Palestine, during the 'two thousand years of the diaspora' is not mentioned in the textbooks or taught in the classroom...the pupils know nothing about the geography and history of the lands around Israel. They are taught nothing about Israel's non-Jewish communities... Teaching of East European Hebrew literature...is creating a myth of a chosen people and a persecuted race. The very summit of racism is the teaching of the Book of Kuzari 'a theological book which preaches that Jews are a superior race'...the Bible is taught in such a manner as to be most

¹ S. Jiryis, The Arabs in Israel (Beirut 1969), p.153.

harmful...stress is placed on the miserable book of Joshua which justifies the cruel extermination of whole peoples..."¹

All textbooks used in Arab schools emphasize the claim of Jews to the "land of Israel". Study of the Arabic language takes second place to study of Hebrew. Many Arab children leave elementary school able to read and write Arabic only with the greatest difficulty. At all levels Arab children are submerged in Jewish culture at the expense of learning about their own: "it was as if Palestinian authors did not exist."

The low level of elementary education has meant that secondary school standards have also declined as the high rate of failure of Arab pupils in the secondary school certificate examination shows. The total number of Arab holders of General Secondary School Certificates for the period 1954/5 to 1970/1 was 1,903 compared to 105,868 Jewish holders of these certificates. Although constituting about 11 percent of Israel's population Arabs make up only one percent of the country's secondary school graduates.

Only 171 Arabs received university education in Israel in 1963/4 and 607 in 1971. Arabs now constitute about two percent of university students. Technical and vocational training for Arabs in Israel is also minimal.

Arab students who do manage to attend higher educational institutes in Israel still face discrimination. They cannot enroll in some science faculties such as electronics and related

¹ A. Amad (ed.) Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights: The Shohak Papers (Beirut 1973), pp. 157-158.

fields. Educated in sub-standard Arab secondary schools, they lack the necessary preparation for higher education and must, moreover, study in a language foreign to them. They also face difficulties in finding lodgings and often must endure police surveillance. When they do graduate they are denied employment in posts particularly in the civil service for which they are qualified and are thus pushed either into menial jobs or emigration. As the French historian Vidal Nouqet pointed out after a recent visit to Israel: "Advance inside Israeli society is closed to them" (Nouvelle Observateur, 5 May 1975). Uri Lubrani, former adviser on Arab affairs to the Israeli Prime Minister, put it more bluntly to the Israeli newspaper Haaretz, 4 April 1961: "If there were no Arab pupils the situation would be better and more stable. If the Arabs remained hewers of wood it might be easier for us to control them."

Restrictions over what Arabs read and the information they receive are also enforced outside the educational system. Under the Defence Laws all printed material by Arabs must pass the military censor including poetry, leaflets, advertisements, even Arabic translations from Hebrew. Printed material by Jews in Arabic or by Arabs in Hebrew are not, however, subjected to such censorship. Until 1958 no Arabic books at all were sold in Israel. Even today there is no distributing company for Arabic newspapers in the Arab sector.

D. Political Repression

Most of all, the State of Israel fears any political activity on the part of its Arab citizens. A 1958 Arab front formed by

the Arab opposition with the Israeli Communist Party to work for abolishing military government and an end to confiscation of Arab land was held to be "racial" because it called itself Arab and so was declared in violation of the Association Law. This, although the official name of the Histradut is General Federation of Jewish Labour, and all Zionist parties except the Mapam refuse to accept full Arab members. The Front therefore changed its name to Popular Front, but the usual procedures were used to cripple its activities and it soon split. Against one of its offshoots, Al Ard, the government in the early 1960's mobilized its entire executive, legislative and judicial machinery to deprive "a group of citizens in the State of the right to engage in political activity and to work in a clear and legitimate manner for entirely constitutional objectives" (from comment of Al-Ittihad, 13 November 1964).

Police and military controls deny Arabs freedom of association, whether in sporting associations, cultural clubs, students committees, trade unions, political parties or other associations. Since the establishment of the state the policy has been to undermine, split and eventually destroy any and every organization around which Arabs might come together for whatever purpose.

The standard procedure for breaking up associations among Arabs was, and is, to arrest leaders, place members in forced residence or under travel restrictions so they cannot meet and sometimes to dismiss them from their jobs and expel them from Israel. When Arab youth in the early 1960's began organizing sports clubs in their villages, the government found these clubs

to be a "threat to security", dismissed members from their jobs, prohibited them from travelling and even from attendance at a large sports rally. In the early years of the new state Arab workers, formerly active in the Arab Workers Congress in Palestine and as Arabs barred from membership in the Histradut, attempted to reactivate their Congress. The government hampered its activities, subjected it to great pressures, arrested its leaders and eventually succeeded in crushing the movement.

Denying its Arab citizens the right to any independent political activity and forbidding any but the Zionist political parties to work among them, the government permits only token participation in the political process and then--with rare exceptions--only by Arabs ready and willing to serve its ends. The ruling Mapai (Labour) party manipulates these Arab collaborators to capture Arab votes and fashion a Mapai-controlled Arab bloc to support Mapai in the Knesset and assist in imposing and maintaining strict government control over the lives of the Arabs in Israel.

Israel's oppression of its Arab population has been maintained by the financial, military and political help granted it by a concert of Western powers, the U.S. in the lead. International financial aid to Israel in the period 1950-1966 totalled \$ 7 billion or \$ 3,681.20 per Jewish inhabitant, making Israel the most parasitic country in the world. In every year since the creation of the state each Israeli Jew has received more than the annual per capita income of Egypt, Syria or Jordan in aid alone. International financial aid permitted Israel to assure its Jewish inhabitants a high material and technical standard of living, high

especially in relation to that of the Arab population inside Israel and outside it in neighbouring states. It also permitted the Jewish state to maintain a very high level of military expenditures.

Both the high standard of living and powerful military forces were and are essential to maintain the position of this exclusivist state in the midst of the Arab world. The privileges accorded the Jewish settler elite contribute to their contempt of the Arab population, assure the elite's willingness to fight to maintain these privileges and are also designed to be a magnet for the "ingathering" of settlers. Yet international and other aid could not prevent the serious economic crisis of 1966--when emigration cancelled out immigration. The use of foreign aid to maintain an artificially high standard of living with the consequent distortion of the economy (high inflation, constant trade deficits, heavy and growing indebtedness) was in fact the major cause of the crisis.

The 1967 war and Israel's expansion to seize the remnants of Palestine remaining in Arab hands as well as important areas of Syria and Egypt postponed the economic crisis for a time but created a new equation and new dilemmas for the Jewish state.

V. PALESTINE AFTER 1967

On the eve of the June 1967 war the total number of Palestinians living within the geographical limits of Palestine proper was approximately 1.7 million:

300,000 within the Armistice lines of Israel itself;
400,000 in the Gaza Strip;
975,000 to 1,000,000 in the West Bank;

During the war and its immediate aftermath some 400,000 Palestinians were driven from the West Bank, and the population of Gaza was reduced by 50,000 . As after the 1948 war Israel again ignored U.N. resolution calling for their return. As in 1948 it was again allowed to get away with this flagrant violation of international law. An Israeli Arab writer has described what happened to those who tried to return:

"For the sake of world public opinion, there was public talk of family reunions and of finding out who did and did not want to return...there were many refugees who decided to return to their homeland no matter what. Horrific stories made their way around the country as to what was happening at the Damia Bridge. Soldiers who came home on leave told their friends shocking experiences and of the bloodbaths and the death tolls among those returning." (Asmar, p. 128).

A correspondent for the Israeli paper Haolam hazeh began a report on 7 July 1967: "Thus the returning refugees are killed-- the story of an eye-witness". He proceeded to tell how Israeli soldiers "bring refugees returning over the Allenby Bridge to a

distribution point...[where] they are separated. The selection is made, so it seems, according to the following plan. Residents of the West Bank are allowed to return to their homes. Residents of the Old City of Jerusalem and men who fought with the fedayeen or the Arab Legion are taken behind the shed where they are shot." (The censor prohibited publication of this News Report at the time. Later, after it had been broadcast by the Lebanese radio, it appeared in Haolom hazeh, under the headline: "Terrible Horror Propaganda of the Arab Radio.")

Despite these Israeli efforts to "thin out" the Palestinian population, more than a third of the people under Israeli rule today are Arab Palestinians.

Israel makes no secret of its intentions towards the Palestine people. Its present prime minister, General Yitzhak Rabin, during a symposium held by all former Israeli Chiefs of Staff in February 1973, proposed "to create such conditions that during the next ten years there would be a natural shifting of population to the East Bank" of the Jordan. In this program for population removal the Palestine refugees are to have priority: "I would wish a minimum of refugees in Judea and Samaria. The problem of the refugees of the Gaza Strip should not be solved in Gaza or Al Arish but mainly in the East Bank" (Ma'ariv, 16 February 1973).

A. The Arab Palestinian Non-Person

The "conditions" designed to speed population removal and at the same time to undermine Palestinian culture and identity are being created by various means:

1. Confiscation

Israel has confiscated one and a half million dunums of land in the West Bank and Gaza. This means it has already seized more than one-sixth of the total area of the West Bank and one third of the total area of the Gaza Strip. One hundred thousand dunums were taken from the beduin and 22,000 dunums of Arab land in Jerusalem and its suburbs. Israel has confiscated more than 13 million dunums of public land in the West Bank and Gaza.

Heavy pressures are also exerted on villagers to sell their land. From the village of Akra^{ba}, southeast of Nablus, the Israeli Army at the end of 1967 confiscated 100,000 dunums of land (out of the 154,000 dunums belonging to the village). The land confiscated was the most fertile and abundantly watered. In May 1971 the Israeli authorities began pressuring the villagers to sell 6,000 dunums, the only remaining parcel of good arable land, which Israel claimed were needed for target practice. When the villagers refused the Army enclosed the fields with wiremesh. The villagers, however, still managed to cultivate the land. In April 1972 an Israeli plane sprayed a chemical defoliant on the now green fields destroying in one day the wheat sown the previous December. "One can't help wondering," an Israeli correspondent wrote, "why, in the midst of these arid hills, cultivated fields were chosen as training grounds. The answer is no mystery: the idea is to prepare for the arrival of Jewish settlers."¹

2. Collective Punishment

Curfews imposed on villages and towns for anywhere from 24 hours to several days, a common form of collective punishment, aim to disrupt the normal community life of the people and to make living under Israeli occupation unbearable. During curfews the male

population, taken to a deserted place, may be compelled to kneel or squat or remain in other humiliating positions for long periods; their wives and female children are at the same time confined to houses which often lack water and sanitary facilities. Professor Raphael Lemkin, who participated in drafting the 1948 Convention on the Prevention of the Crime of Genocide, has called protracted curfews on villages and towns acts of "secondary genocide" which will bring about the physical destruction of civilian inhabitants living in occupied territories. The Israelis have applied curfews most frequently and most cruelly in the Gaza Strip.

Demolition of houses on one pretext or another is another frequent form of collective punishment. Owing to the prevalence of the extended family the house usually shelters a great many people. Between 1967 and the beginning of 1975 the Israelis destroyed more than 19,000 houses in the occupied territories, leaving at least 100,000 people homeless. When a house is blown up, persons inside are thrown out in the street at short notice and without any provision for alternative accommodation. Even shelters in refugee camps are destroyed. In the Gaza Strip the occupation authorities destroyed 2,540 shelters in refugee camps between August 1971 and April 1973 alone. This was said to have been done in the course of operations for "paving security roads," "lessening population" and so on.

3. Discrimination in Education

Israel's education policy is geared to paralyzing and Judaizing Palestinian culture. Israel has changed Arab education syllabuses and censored and altered textbooks, especially those dealing with

¹ Victor Cygielman, "Les bles noirs d'Akraba", Le Nouvel Observateur, 3 July 1972.

history and social sciences. She has made the study of Jewish history obligatory while Palestinian and Arab history and the Palestinian and Arab cultural heritage are deliberately ignored.

The Israeli authorities banned the use of 55 textbooks in the West Bank including three Islamic religious books and 22 Arabic language and literature books. Punishment for defying this order was set at one year's imprisonment or a fine of I£ 2500 or both. West Bank students and teachers demonstrated against this ban and for a time stopped attending school. In the Gaza Strip, 70 out of 78 textbooks were banned.

These and other Israeli acts led the 18th session of the UNESCO General Conference in November 1974 to call for extensive supervision of education and culture in the territories occupied by Israel. The Conference invited "the Director-General to exercise full supervision over education and cultural interests in the occupied territories and to cooperate with the Arab states concerned to insure the population of the occupied territories their full rights of culture and education." Like so many other resolutions this one was also defied by the Israeli government. In institutes of higher education qualified Palestinian secondary school graduates cannot find places. To continue their education they must go to other Arab countries or abroad. Their re-entry permits, however, usually expire within one year. If not renewed, Palestinian students will be unable to return home on completion of their studies.

In the occupied territories, as in Israel itself, young educated Palestinians, Palestinian intellectuals and professionals are denied employment in the field of their specializations. If Palestinians want to use the education and skills they have acquired, they must

leave the occupied territories to work in the Arab oil states or elsewhere. Their participation in the life of their homes, villages or towns are then limited to sending monthly cheques to the families and relatives they have left behind. This substantial inflow of foreign currency boosts the Israeli economy since most of this money, given Israel's economic controls, can only find its way to Israel's own markets.

4. Imprisonment and Torture

Since 1967 approximately 40,000 Palestinians have been imprisoned, the overwhelming majority held in administrative detention without trial. In 1975 alone, 358 Palestine received prison sentences and 619 Palestinians were detained without trial. Great pressure is exerted on detained intellectuals, leaders and potential leaders to leave the country "voluntarily". In January 1975 Palestinian prisoners in five jails went on strike as Palestinians in the occupied territories waged a large scale campaign for the release of detainees. Similar strikes had occurred since 1970.

On 3 May 1971, the Israeli newspaper Ma'ariv reported that in the Gaza Strip alone 5,620 Palestinians--including men over 80 and children of 12 to 14--had been sentenced to life imprisonment and hard labour.

Conditions in the prisons are deplorable. Cells are usually filthy, stinking and overcrowded. Prisoners are sometimes chained, deprived of undergarments, routinely beaten, often on the soles of feet and hands, and may have their rations reduced so they suffer almost perpetual hunger. In the Gaza prison, prisoners are allowed

a 15-minute walk every second or third day only and subjected to a rule of silence in their cells. Amnesty International, the International Red Cross, the U.N. Commission on Human Rights and the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights have all reported and documented the tortures to which Palestinian prisoners are subjected by Israeli authorities.

5. Expulsion and Exile

Thousands of Palestinians who at the time of the 1967 war were outside the now occupied territories are prohibited from returning home. At the same time 110,000 Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union (Ma'oriv, 16 December 76) have received Israeli citizenship and have been provided homes on confiscated Palestinian lands and sometimes even in confiscated Palestinian houses. In this way, Israel hopes many Palestinian families will in time "die out" since only old people among the Palestinians will be left within Palestine's borders. The absence of middle-aged men is already becoming apparent in many West Bank villages where old people and children now tend to be in the majority.

On 10 December 1973 the Israeli cabinet, in unanimously approving the policy of expelling individual Palestinians, made official a practice systematically carried out since the 1967 war. Under this policy innumerable heads of Palestinian families have been, and are still being, expelled to neighbouring Arab countries. Owing to their economic situation, families thus broken up usually have no alternative other than to leave their homes and join the expelled outside Palestine.

Expulsion of Palestinian civic and intellectuals aims to deprive the people of the conquered territories of leadership. More than 1,500 intellectuals, community and cultural leaders had been summarily expelled from the occupied territories by the beginning of 1975--without charges, without recourse to trial or defence. As the evidence produced by UNESCO, the World Peace Council, the U.N. General Assembly and particularly its Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories establishes, those who remain in the occupied territories are denied freedom of expression and assembly and are subjected to harrassments contrived to induce them to leave. Cultural activities, press, television and radio are censored, political discussions prohibited.

Mrs. Golda Meir, who has long denied that Palestinians exist, was quoted by The Times of London, 29 November 1972 as asserting that she "did not want a situation where Jews woke up every morning worrying how many Arab babies had been born in the night." To the Zionists the very existence of the Palestine people is a threat. For Israel, therefore it is not enough to expel the Palestinians from Palestine. The victims--especially those who stubbornly maintain their social cohesion and identity in the refugee camps--must be pursued, harrassed and destroyed wherever they are. Israeli attacks on Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon have become commonplace since 1967. One-thousand-pound bombs, phosphorous bombs, delayed action bombs, ground-to-ground missiles--all

have been used against the tin and mud huts, the tents and the overcrowded shelters of the refugee camps. Not even in exile can the Zionists permit the existence of Palestinian Arabs.

B. The Zionization Continues

1. Jewish Settlements

Israel began to prepare for the arrival of Jewish settlers in the newly conquered territories almost as the 1967 war was ending when it totally destroyed the villages of Amwas, Yalu and Beit Nuba in the Latrun area and thereafter attached the lands of these villages to Israeli settlements existing inside the 1967 border. Israel's initial demolition operation of the town of Qalqilya, total destruction of the Jiftlik refugee camp and the village of Nusairat in the Jordan valley and evacuation of a large area along the Noblus-Amman road up to the Jordan river--all were designed to, and did, open the way to Jewish settlement.

Since 1967 Israel has established 75 new settlements, 65 of them in the territories occupied in the 1967 war:

23 in the West Bank, of which five have been established since 1972;

7 in the Gaza Strip, of which three established since 1972;

11 in Sinai; and

22 in the Golan Heights, of which four since 1973.

ISREALI SETTLEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED ARABE LANDS

GOLAN PLATEAU

Settlement	Year of Found- ing	Settlement Form	Location
1. Kefar Sharett (senir)	1967	Kibbutz	N.W. Golan (Banias area)
2. Mahal Golan	1967	Kibbutz	S. Golan
4. Ein Zivan	1968	Kibbutz	E. Golan (S. of Qunai- tra)
5. El Al	1968	Moshav	E. Golan
6. Givat Yaav	1968	Moshav	S.W. Golan (near village of Fia)
7. Mevoh Hammah	1968	Kibbutz	S. Golan
8. Nahal Geshur	1968	Kibbutz	E. Golan
9. Ne'ot Golan	1968	Moshav	-
10. Ramat Magshimim	1968	Moshav Shittufi.	S.E. Golan
11. Ramot	1970	Moshav	S.W. Golan (near village of Skuffia)
12. Afik	1970	Kibbutz	S.E. Golan
13. Ganat	1970	Industrial Coop	S.E. Golan
14. Nafih Atif	1970	Moshav Shittufi	S.E. Golan
15. Nahal El-Rom	1971	Kibbutz	N. Golan
16. Beni Yehuda	1972	Town	S. Golan
17. Kefar Hariv	1972	(Nahal)	S. Golan.
18. Beni Yahwa	1972	Town	S. Golan
19. Kfar Hariv	1974	Kibbutz	S. Golan
20. Katzin	1974	Moshav	Golan
21. Gachour	1975	Kibbutz	Golan
22. Neir Etif	1975	Moshav	Golan

WEST BANK

1. Kefar Etzion	1967	Kibbutz	Hebron Hills
2. Nahal Mahula	1968	Moshav Shittufi	Lower Jordan Valley
3. Argaman	1968	Moshav	Lower Jordan Valley
4. Nahal Kallia	1968	Kibbutz	Dead Sea Region
5. Mevo Horon	1969	Kibbutz	Latrun area
6. Nahal Messu'ah	1969	Moshav	Lower Jordan Valley
7. Rosh Zurim	1969	Kibbutz	Hebron Hills
8. Nahal Na'aran	1970	Kibbutz	Lower Jordan Valley
9. Nahal Gilgal	1970	Kibbutz	Lower Jordan Valley
10. Peza'il	1970	Moshav	Lower Jordan Valley
11. Allon Shevut	1971	Rural Settlement	Hebron Hills
12. Hamrah	1971	Moshav	Lower Jordan Valley
13. Mizpeh Shalim	1971	Kibbutz	Dead Sea Region
14. Ma'aleh Ephraim		Moshav	-
15. Buka'a	1972	Moshav	East of Nablus
16. Gitit	1972	(Nahal)	Jordan Valley
17. Ginith	1972		Near
18. Kiryet-Arba	1972	Town	Hebron
19. Kor	1973		E.Nablus
20. Maalei Adoumin	1974	Town	Near Ramallah
21. Idan	1975		S.Dead Sea
22. Eliazar	1975		Near Jerusalem
23. Ophera	1975	Kibbutz	Near Ramallah

G A Z A S T R I P

1. Kefar Darom	1970	Kibbutz	E. of Deir el Balah
2. Nahal Netzrim	1972	Moshav	S.W. of Gaza City
3. Nahal Moreg	1972	Kibbutz	Near Umm Kalb
4. Tel Or	1972	(Nahal)	Deir el Balah Area
5. Sadot	1973	Moshav	S. Gaza
6. Soukout	1975	Kibbutz	Rafeh Hills
7. Yamit	1975	Town	Rafeh Hills

S I N A I

1. Nahal Yam	1967	Kibbutz	N. Sinai (On Baradawil Lake)
2. Nahal Sinai	1968	Kibbutz	N.E. Sinai (South El-Arish)
3. Nahal Dikla	1969	Moshav Shituffi	N. Sinai
4. Saddot	1971	Moshav	Rafah Approaches
5. Paran	1972	Moshav	-
6. Nebiot	1972	Moshav	Gulf of Aqaba
7. Di Zahav	1972	Moshav	Gulf of Dhahab (on the Gulf of Aqaba)
8. Nuweiba	1972	Kibbutz	Gulf of Aqaba
9. Na'ama	1972	Sea Resort	Gulf of Aqaba
10. Sharm el Shaikh	1972	Town	
11. Ophir	1973	Town	Sinai

The new settlements represent only the first phase of a far-reaching plan for establishing new settlements that extends up to 1980. Under this plan Jerusalem will be completely encircled by Jewish settlements, a process that the Israelis call "thickening Jerusalem." Jewish settlements enclosing Jerusalem will expand south towards Bethlehem, east towards Jericho and north towards Bethel.

2. Economic Exploitation

If Israeli estimates of population are to be believed the Zionists have succeeded in maintaining the process of depopulation. Yet the conditions created for the population of the occupied territories, harsh as they are, together with the new settlements are unlikely to solve the "demographic problem" posed for Israel by the large Palestine population within its dominion. In the Zionist view this population threatens to adulterate the "Jewish purity" of the State of Israel. The long term Zionist aim of a Greater Israel without Palestinians remains unchanged. Israel Shahak, Chairman of the Israeli League for the Human and Civil Rights, has warned:

"The Israeli conquest really has genocidal tendencies toward the Palestinian people, a people as a whole. If it is followed up, it really can bring the abolition of the Palestinians in Palestine. This is a very real danger." (Interview by Comité de Soutien au Peuple Palestinien in Geneva, 20 October 1974).

The new settlements represent only the first phase of a far-reaching plan for establishing new settlements that extends up to 1980. Under this plan Jerusalem will be completely encircled by Jewish settlements, a process that the Israelis call "thickening Jerusalem." Jewish settlements enclosing Jerusalem will expand south towards Bethlehem, east towards Jericho and north towards Bethel.

2. Economic Exploitation

If Israeli estimates of population are to be believed the Zionists have succeeded in maintaining the process of depopulation. Yet the conditions created for the population of the occupied territories, harsh as they are, together with the new settlements are unlikely to solve the "demographic problem" posed for Israel by the large Palestine population within its dominion. In the Zionist view this population threatens to adulterate the "Jewish purity" of the State of Israel. The long term Zionist aim of a Greater Israel without Palestinians remains unchanged. Israel Shahak, Chairman of the Israeli League for the Human and Civil Rights, has warned:

"The Israeli conquest really has genocidal tendencies toward the Palestinian people, a people as a whole. If it is followed up, it really can bring the abolition of the Palestinians in Palestine. This is a very real danger." (Interview by Comité de Soutien au Peuple Palestinien in Geneva, 20 October 1974).

Yet in the short term Israel sees crucial advantages in converting the West Bank and Gaza into markets for Israeli products and sources of raw materials for Israeli industry, on the one hand, and as reservoirs of cheap labour for the advancement of the Jewish state, on the other. Such colonial exploitation of the occupied territories assists Israel's economic aggrandizement and also renders difficult, if not impossible, the future independent economic viability of these areas.

The West Bank, once partly self-sufficient in agriculture and an exporter of fruits and vegetables to the East Bank and other Arab countries, has become a supplier of raw materials for Israeli industry. Initially Israel permitted traditional agricultural exports from Gaza and the West Bank to Jordan's East Bank to continue in order to protect its own markets from the competition of these lower priced products. In 1968, however, under a new agricultural plan Palestinian farmers were directed to produce crops needed by Israel for its exports to Europe. West Bank farmers, if stubborn, were induced to switch from fruit production to the crops demanded by Israel by the simple expedient of having an Israeli Army unit bulldoze their fruit trees or by manipulation of the many official permits Palestinians in conquered territories are required to have for almost everything they do. As a result, for example, production of melons, formerly a major summer export item, fell from 36,000 tons in 1968 to 13,000 in 1970, while production of tobacco almost tripled between 1969 and 1970 and sesame production rose two and a half times in the same period.

Palestinian growers are increasingly compelled to sign contracts to sell their produce to Israeli canning factories and other Israeli monopolies at prices lower than those paid Jewish farmers.

Palestinian agriculture has also been adversely affected by the rapidly rising rate of inflation since 1967. The soaring cost of living in the occupied territories compelled many farmers to leave their farms for higher-paid jobs in Israel. According to Rakah (the Israeli Communist Party) 238,000 dunums of agricultural land in the occupied territories were left untilled in 1968-1969 and 354,000 dunums in 1969-1970.

The occupied territories also provide a captive market for Israeli products. The West Bank and Gaza have become Israel's second best market, just behind the USA and just ahead of Britain. Their industrial development is blocked. A Rand Corporation study of Israel's policy towards Arab industrial development concluded that the West Bank would "be unable to make any significant progress in industrial development." Israeli industrialists, however, taking advantage of the low wages in West Bank plants, often conduct subsidiary operations for Israeli factories in these plants. The value of subcontracted production in West Bank factories increased almost four times between 1968 and 1970. Israeli capital is also beginning to penetrate into West Bank industries.

The racist concept of "Jewish labour", which guided the Zionist movement from its inception, is now suspended in favour of the more familiar colonial racism: the "backward natives" are especially suited for dirty and menial jobs inappropriate for Jews. This shift became necessary when the economic expansion

Israel experienced as a result of the 1967 war was threatened by an acute shortage of Jewish labour. Depressed economic conditions, created by Israeli exploitation, compelled Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza to accept the jobs offered them in Israel's lowest-paid economic sectors, mainly construction work.

The change provoked misgivings among some Zionists. "The dowry is gorgeous, but the bride is homely", exclaimed Levi Eshkol referring to the conquered territories and their population. Agriculture Minister Aharon Uzan considers Arab labour in Jewish agriculture to be "a cancer in our body" (Al Hamishmar, 3 December 74). Arab workers, considered to be aliens, will certainly be the first to be dismissed, as the Jerusalem Post pointed out (2 February 73).

The Israeli Ministry of Labour maintains some 20 employment agencies in the West Bank, operating under the Military Government, to recruit workers for Israel. In December 1968, shortly after these offices were opened, 44 percent of the workers hired were directed to jobs in the West Bank and 56 percent to jobs in Israel. In March 1971, 99 percent were employed in Israel. The Israel Economist, October 1971, reported:

The Israeli government is channelling Palestinian workers into the lowest ranks of the Israeli proletariat by denying work permits to persons from the occupied territories for any job deemed appropriate for unemployed Israelis and by referring workers from the occupied territories only to unskilled or semi-skilled jobs.

Palestinian labour power has become an essential factor in the Israeli economy. In 1973 Palestinian labour provided about 12 percent of the Israeli working force: 35 percent of the working force in the construction sector; 13.3 percent in agriculture; and 4.1 percent in industry. The number of Palestinians from the occupied territories working in Israel reached over 65,000 in 1973. At the same time, the economy of the West Bank has become heavily dependent on the wages of these workers which accounted for 14 percent of GNP (Gross National Product) in 1970 and more than a third in 1973.

In addition to workers employed through the government employment agency, there are "illegal" workers. Of these there are many since the employer has to pay I£ 7-8 per day for legal workers as a tax to the work office of the Ministry of Labour. According to the Israeli newspaper Dovor, 4 October 1972, 50 percent of all wage earners in the conquered territories work in Israel.

The wretched working conditions to which Palestinian workers are subjected seem designed to dehumanize and exhaust them. Palestinians of the occupied territories have only one right, the right to work in Israel. They provide manpower and that is all. They cannot sleep in Israel but must make long, tiring journeys back and forth every day or, at best, sleep illegally in gutters or on building sites. Moshe Dayan himself admitted (Haaretz, 30 July 1972): "in Tel Aviv during the past five years Arab workers have been sleeping in gutters." They are also forced "to sleep in stables with horses", according to Mapai Knesset member J. Eliav. At first, the Israeli government offered workers the inducement of free bus transportation to and

from jobs in Israel but in 1971 turned the bus routes over to commercial operators who charge for the service. More recently, owing to the difficulties of transporting workers from the Gaza Strip, some Israeli employers have set up closed camps in the factory area for both male and female Palestinian workers.

Wages of Palestinian workers in Israel are about 40 percent below the wages of Jewish workers. Palestinian workers are paid not by their employer but by the government to which the employer pays their wages. The government deducts 40 percent from the wage before paying the Palestinian worker. The fund in which the government places the amount deducted is claimed to be for social welfare, organization and travel tax, but Palestinian workers from the occupied territories are denied by legislation all social welfare rights.

If, in money terms, their wages are higher than what they may have earned before 1967, the cost of living has risen at least four times. Theirs are the heaviest and dirtiest jobs. They have no job security; are subject to arbitrary dismissal at any time; have no right to a day off, a paid annual vacation or social benefits and, of course, are not allowed to form or join trades unions. In Israel they are treated with contempt. The Israeli custom is to call every Arab "Ahmad" and to refer to Arabs collectively as "Ahmads." The situation of Jews and Arab workers in the conquered territories, admitted Mapai Knesset member, Mr. Ofer, is that of "master and slave." An Israeli professor said of the Arab migratory worker in 1970: "the hard work, the impermanency, the constant travelling... absence of proper family life..all these make him 'old' at a very young age."¹

¹ H. Ronsenfield: "The Arab Migratory Worker," Weekly of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

"Illegal" Palestinian workers fare even worse. If caught, they are dismissed from work without pay, their identity cards are confiscated and they will be judged by the military authorities in their villages and towns in the occupied territories. So long as they do not have their identity cards, they are forbidden to leave their homes and may be arrested by any policeman at any time. The kibbutzim and industrial plants have been among the leading employers of illegal labour. The Israeli paper Davar, 20 October 1972, described the "open markets" for Palestinian workers from the conquered territories in Haifa and Nazareth; one for Gaza Strip workers in Nazareth; another for the Samaria area near the "check-post" close to the Nazareth-Haifa road; still another near the railway station in Haifa "markets" Palestinians from Galilee who are forbidden to enroll in the Haifa Labour Exchange. There is a special market "for Arab boys" in the centre of the Carmel quarter of Haifa. Employers come to these "markets" in the morning with their trucks and select from them such workers as they need.

Exploitation of cheap Palestinian labour on colonialist lines fulfills a strategic necessity: maintaining the privileges and high living standards of the settler elite. This is necessary to attract to Israel the trained and educated settlers from advanced countries that are necessary to maintain an elite capable of cancelling out the still unfavourable population ratio. the 1967 war provided the occasion for a new "artificial stampede"--this time directed mainly at Soviet Jews, West Europeans and Americans--both to populate Jerusalem and other conquered territories and to give the settler state a much needed boost in its desperate race against the still growing and basically unconquered people of Palestine.

VI. THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE NOW

A. The Palestinians in Exile

The Palestine people numbered just over three million in 1970. With an annual growth rate of 3.6 percent, the number should reach just under five million in 1985. It is a very young population. In 1970, 50 percent were under 15 years of age and 75 percent under 30. Only 18 percent were between 30 and 59 and just over five percent 60 and over.

In 1970, 46 percent (1,415,000) of the total Palestinian population lived in Palestine proper--since 1967 entirely under Israeli occupation. Of these, 370,000 (12 percent of the total Palestinian population) were in areas of Palestine occupied by Israel since 1948 and just over a million (34 percent of the total) in Gaza and the West Bank, the areas occupied by Israel in 1967.

Thirty percent (925,000) of all Palestinians lived in Jordan where they constituted two thirds of Jordan's total population.

Of the remaining Palestinians 467,000 (15 percent) lived in Lebanon, Syria, Egypt and Iraq; and another 203,000 (six percent) in the Arab oil states while some 25,000 were to be found in the U.S.A. and other 25,000 in other countries.

About 80 percent of the original population driven out of Palestine were, according to U.N. figures, farmers, unskilled workers and their dependents, the rest being professional and businessmen, property owners and skilled workers. Displaced farmers and unskilled workers endured great hardships in host countries themselves poor and at a stage of development where they were already

overburdened with an excess of agricultural and unskilled workers. Many displaced Palestinians therefore could not find employment. Conditions in refugee camps were and are harsh, humiliating and in some host countries very restrictive.

Yet even at this level the displaced Palestinians made some contributions to the countries where they found refuge. Lebanon, for example, owes its development of citrus fruit production to the displaced Palestinians. Exile brought the largely rural Palestinians into a more urban environment. The proportion engaged in agriculture and fishing declined while those employed in the services and building industries increased. Yet skilled and specialized workers remain very few.

In 1974 about 18 percent of the Palestine people lived in some 63 refugee camps in the West Bank, Gaza, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. More than half of the 628,537 people living in camps are concentrated in Gaza and Jordan. These 628,537 people represented roughly 40 percent of the just over one and a half million displaced Palestinians registered with UNRWA. The actual number in the camps is surely higher than the official figure. For example, the camp population in Lebanon in 1971 numbered 96,000 according to UNRWA statistics and 106,440 according to a special survey made by the Lebanese Department of Planning. But camp leaders and others on the spot put the total population in the neighbourhood of 140-150,000. This population included 11,500 Lebanese and 3,300 Syrians driven into the camps by their inability to afford normal housing.

People in the camps suffer from severe overcrowding. Camps have expanded little in area but their population has often more than doubled in the past quarter century. The Lebanese survey

showed 6 or 7 persons inhabiting houses of two rooms or less and 88.5 percent of the camp population living in houses with a total living space of less than 80 square metres. In the Lebanese camps, which rank highest in terms of general physical conditions (space, housing, amenities) 88 percent of the houses have no bathrooms, nearly 60 percent no running water, 20 percent no toilets, 35 percent no electricity, and almost half no heating. Most houses do have kitchens.

A large number of those living in the refugee camps have no permanent employment. In the Lebanese camps almost 20 percent of the people have no gainful employment at all. Unemployment among women and girls is strikingly high: 96.8 percent. Owing to the generally low level of education and the lack of vocational and technical training workers from the camps usually get only the lowest paid jobs. Yet the wage earner must often support a family of eight or more. Many in the camps barely achieve a subsistence level.

In these circumstances health standards are low. Overcrowding, a diet insufficient in quantity and nutritive value and wretched living conditions--sometimes including open sewage canals and dumps inside the camps and public W.C.'s--contribute to the prevalence of dysentery, intestinal diseases, influenza, chicken pox and malnutrition. Stomach and intestinal parasites afflict 20 percent of the children in the camps.

In 1974 UNRWA provided aid to 830,000 of the 1,583,646 refugees on its register. In value this aid is equivalent to 10 U.S. cents per person per day: of this, five cents provides dry rations (mainly flour) amounting to 1,500-1,600 calories per day; four cents to education; and one cent to health services.

UNRWA medical care has helped reduce infant mortality and has brought some small improvement in the health of the people of the camps, but continuing poverty and deprivation means that progress is insignificant. The inhabitants' response to UNRWA's attempts to provide preventive examination and treatment has been largely negative owing to suspicion of the Agency's aims. The Palestine Red Crescent Society and other Palestinian health organizations are more successful since they win the full participation of the people.

The number of Palestinians living in camps has grown over the years. Natural population increase accounts for only a part of the rising camp population. The free education and health facilities provided in the camps are also a factor. So, even more, is family and village solidarity. Camp inhabitants, still firmly attached to their villages in Palestine divide the camps into sections, each section bearing the name of the Palestinian village from which they originated. Village ties draw others from the outside to join friends and relatives within the camps.

Many villages that the Israelis razed to the ground in Palestine, in this way, still live as coherent social units in the refugee camps. Family, village and regional ties have not weakened. Social consciousness is perhaps greater. The camps in fact developed not in accordance with some UN plan but as spontaneous social formations in which the sense of being Palestinian burns as fiercely as ever. The sense of solidarity, a shared tradition, a common destiny--return to the home-land--has permitted the dispossessed to stand up to the long years

of hardship and humiliation and to forge the bonds of a tightly knit and highly conscious community. To this extraordinarily tenacious social factor the arrival of the armed fedayeen added a growing national consciousness: for the first time the people in the camps accepted as their leaders persons not from their own villages or regions.

Under the leadership of the Palestine resistance movement the once frustrated and powerless refugees are becoming the masters of their own fate.

B. Potential for the Future

For almost 30 years the Palestinian people have been dispersed through many different countries but, until the emergence of the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1964, were without a single specifically Palestinian institution of their own to encourage the preservation of their national identity.

In the harsh conditions of exile and dispersion the social cohesion, education and skills needed to recover their country and create the cadres to build the new Palestine posed and still poses problems of great difficulty and complexity. If much remains to be done, the Palestinians have registered significant advances.

In the field of higher education Palestinians in exile now stand in the forefront of the entire Middle East. They have attained a greater degree of higher education than other Arab nationalities and quantitatively, at least, have reached, and perhaps surpassed, the level of Israel.

Enrolment ratios in universities and institutions of higher education per 100,000 inhabitants in 1966 were estimated, on the basis of UNESCO statistics, to be:

1,107 for Jordan; 597 for Lebanon; 283 for all Arab states; 1,488 for Israel; and 1,500 for Palestinians within Jordan alone.

This last figure may be an underestimate since it does not include those Palestinians who possess a citizenship other than Jordanian and other than the refugee status retained by many Palestinians living in Arab countries. It is the better-off classes which have tended to gain such new citizenships. Thus those omitted are precisely the classes most likely to produce university students.

For Palestinian Arabs in Israel the enrollment ratio in higher education per 100,000 Palestinian Arab inhabitants was 88 in 1966. The huge disparity in higher education between Palestinians in Israel and those outside speaks for itself.

In 1966, 28,010 exiled Palestinians were enrolled in higher education institutions excluding teacher training colleges; Israeli students in comparable institutions that year numbered 27,548. Moreover the rate of increase of Palestinian graduates has been exceeding that of Israel; within Jordan in 1966 over 4,000 Palestinian university students were graduating annually; in Israel 3,132 graduated the same year.

In 1974, the total number of Palestinians in higher educational institutions (assuming that earlier rates of increase have been maintained) was in the neighbourhood of 70,000.

On the basis of a sample survey of 10,000 Palestinian university graduates it appears that, as in other Arab countries most Palestinian graduates (61 percent) major in the humanities, the remaining 39 percent in sciences. For Israel the figures are 48.2 percent in the humanities and 51.8 percent in sciences. The proportion of Palestinian graduates in medicine is, however, much higher than that of Israeli graduates. Moreover, at post-graduate levels the ratio of Palestinians specializing in science and technology increases dramatically: forty-six percent of M.A.'s, 84 percent of Ph.D's and 93.4 percent of post-doctoral graduates are in the science category. The reason behind the serious imbalance of undergraduates towards the humanities is that at the lower educational level Palestinians already working in the Arab world - Saudi Arabia, the Gulf, North Africa--may enroll as external students in universities in other Arab countries and actually attend the university only to sit for examinations; in practice this is possible only in humanities, law and social sciences.

In the words of Nabeel Shaath:

"...the Palestinians, although in exile, have not failed to meet the challenge of education. They constitute a community with sufficient qualifications and training to be a formidable source of high level manpower. They have assisted in the process of nation building and institution creating in the other countries of the Arab world, and through this their capacity to do the same in future in their own country has acquired added credibility."

Pre-university education (six year elementary, three year intermediate and three year secondary) has also advanced. When the British Mandate ended roughly 30 percent of all 6 to 20 year-olds attended school. By 1970, 59 percent of this age group were in school. In the crucial elementary age group of 6 to 11 year-olds,

85 percent of the total number served by UNRWA, 95 percent of the total in Jordan and almost 100 percent in Kuwait and the Gulf regions attended school. Universal education for Palestinians at the elementary level should be reached by the early 1980's, if not sooner.

Palestinian students receiving intermediate and secondary education numbered 168,282 in 1970, a figure suggesting that only about a quarter of this age group attended school.

Palestinians are admitted to government schools in Syria, Egypt, Jordan and Iraq, but Lebanon bars them from government schools at all levels of education. Kuwait admits some Palestinian students to government schools, but a significant proportion of school-age Palestinian children in Kuwait now attend schools run by the Palestine Liberation Organization and partly subsidized by the Kuwait government.

Of the 600,000 Palestinian students receiving pre-university education in 1970, slightly more than half (310,867) attended UNRWA schools, mainly at the elementary and intermediate levels. UNRWA schools are very overcrowded, so much so that the Agency in 1974 introduced the double shift system and automatic promotion from lower to higher classes, meaning that no student is permitted to repeat any school year and no student fails. This system is highly unsatisfactory. The need is for more schools and more teachers.

UNRWA does not maintain its own secondary schools but provides assistance to a limited number of students in government and private secondary schools. It also has a small university scholarship program and recently opened vocational, technical and teacher training centres in Jordan, the West Bank, Gaza, Syria and Lebanon. The UNRWA/UNESCO "Institute of Education" has played an

important role in modernizing educational and teaching methods and in training UNRWA teachers. Yet overcrowding and the very high ratio of pupils to teachers give substance to complaints that standards of education are now declining.

A survey made in Lebanese refugee camps in 1971 suggests that the level of education among the population in the camps is low and that the majority never get beyond elementary school. The rate of illiteracy among older groups in the camps is usually very high, reflecting the lack of educational facilities for most young Palestinians in the years preceding and immediately after the loss of their homeland in 1948. At all levels above the elementary age group female illiteracy is much greater than male.

However in the Gaza Strip, where a third of the total refugee camp population is found, 80-90 percent of the residents of some camps are secondary school graduates. Many refugees from the area camps have become teachers, doctors, engineers in other Arab countries, sending back money to support their families who remain in the camps to preserve their ties to their villages and towns of origin in Palestine.

The fact that the population in the camps is very young--in Lebanon over 64 percent fall in the 1 to 19 year age group--and that 85 percent of the elementary age group are now attending school has important implications for the future. As the late René Maheu, former Director General of UNESCO, asserted in 1971: "in terms of number the percentage of Palestinian refugees receiving education is among the highest in the Arab countries."

Exiled Palestinians have fared better in education as well as in other fields than the Palestinians who remained in Israel after 1948. The village of Beit Safafa near Jerusalem which was divided almost equally by the 1949 Armistic line provides a concrete example.

Half the population of Beit Safafa fell under Jordanian rule; the other half under Israeli domination. In 1948 the two halves of the population were naturally at the same level of development. In 1967 the Jordanian part of the village along with the rest of the West Bank was conquered by Israel.

A comparison of the two sections of the village as they were in 1967 in housing, education and overall development reveals in concrete terms Israel's policy of arresting the development of the Palestinians under its rule.

The "Jordanian" part of Beit Safafa built around the old village a totally new village of modern villas of stone with bathrooms, kitchens, sitting rooms, bedrooms and stone courtyards surrounded by beautiful gardens of fruit trees, vegetables and flowers. The village itself constructed a new asphalted road to Bethlehem; brought in electricity and clean, piped water for all the houses in the new village; built two new schools, one for girls and one for boys; and a new mosque with a social centre for the village.

On the Israeli side very little change took place aside from a few additions to the old houses. The old four-room school was not expanded to accomodate the growing number of school-age children. The minaret of the mosque was still unfinished.

On the other hand, huge apartment buildings built by the Israeli government on the land of Beit Safafa reached the edges of the Israeli side of the village crushing its beauty with large masses of stone and concrete and turning part of the village into a slum.

None of the children in the Israeli-occupied side of the village ever finished secondary school after 1949. The large majority had no more than five or six years of elementary education and many remained illiterate. Naturally their careers were limited to unskilled labour in the Israeli-occupied part of Jerusalem.

On the Jordanian side of the village, more than 150 out of a total population of less than one thousand completed university education in the liberal arts, sciences, engineering and medicine, some with M.A.'s and Ph.D.'s. Among these 150 there were many women some of whom became medical doctors.

These along with many technical school graduates, found high paying jobs in other Arab states, especially in Saudi Arabia and the gulf as contractors, administrators, engineers, university professors and teachers. Most of these men and women cannot now return to their own newly built homes since they were outside the village when Israel conquered it in 1967. The Israelis confiscated many of these villas.

VII. JERUSALEM

In 1948, as Israeli armies laid seige to Jerusalem, David Ben Gurion asserted: Jerusalem "is within the boundaries of the State of Israel, just as Tel Aviv is." (Dov Joseph: The Faithful City: The Seige of Jerusalem 1948, N.Y., 1969, p 218) Airlifts of arms to Israel and the arrival of thousands of foreign volunteers during--and in violation of--the first UN truce, 11 June - 9 July 1948, permitted Israeli forces to overrun the New City of Jerusalem including all its Arab quarters. This was in clear defiance of the UN Partition Resolution which accorded the city an ~~international~~ status and provided for its administration by the United Nations.

Israeli seizure of the New City of Jerusalem was also in direct contradiction with the proposal made by the UN Mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte, who was sent to Palestine in May 1948, among other things, to assure the protection of the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites in Palestine. Bernadotte proposed "the inclusion of the city of Jerusalem in Arab territory, with municipal autonomy for the Jewish community and special arrangements for the protection of the Holy Places" (UN Doc A/648 para. 6.3). In reply to angry Israeli protests he wrote, on 6 July 1948, to Moshe Shertok, Foreign Affairs Minister of the Provisional Israeli Government:

Jerusalem stands in the heart of what must be Arab territory in any partition of Palestine. To attempt to isolate this area politically and otherwise from surrounding territories presents enormous difficulties... Jerusalem was never intended to be part of the Jewish State. In this sense, the position of the Jewish State is unaffected and the question of Jerusalem has no relationship to its status...

My suggestions fully safeguard the historical and world-wide religious interests in Jerusalem. (A/648, Annex 1, p. 26, para. 8) (our underlining)

Bernadotte's to the new state's aggressive and expansionist policies in Jerusalem elsewhere in Palestine soon cost him his life at the hands of Israeli assassins.

The UN General Assembly, continuing to insist on the internationalization of Jerusalem, gave to the Conciliation Commission for Palestine (CCP)--appointed in December 1948 to take over the murdered mediator's functions--the task of formulating a permanent regime for Jerusalem "under effective United Nations control." Israel's refusal to comply with the Partition Resolution's provisions concerning the internationalization of Jerusalem boundaries, and resolution 194 of December 1948 demanding repatriation of the refugees led the Security Council to reject its first application for UN membership. Its second application was accepted only after it had given the Security Council formal assurances on all these questions and after it had signed the Lausanne Protocol to the same effect. Israel, moreover, pledged that, if it were admitted as member, such matters as the internationalization of Jerusalem, settlement of frontiers and the refugee problem would not be regarded as within its domestic jurisdiction and protected from intervention under the terms of Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter. ("Statement of Cuban Representative summing up the debate on Israel's admission, Official Records of the 3rd Session of the General Assembly, Part II 1949 p.351.") Of Jerusalem, Israel's UN Representative Abba Eban

said: "I do not think that Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter, which relates to domestic jurisdiction, could possibly affect the Jerusalem problem, since the legal status of Jerusalem is different from that of the territory in which Israel is sovereign,"

(Official Records of the 3rd Session of the General Assembly
Part II, Ad Hoc Political Committee 1949 pp 286-287.)

The Conciliation Commission for Palestine, in fulfillment of its mandate to formulate a statute for an international regime in Jerusalem, approved and transmitted to the UN Secretary General for communication to the General Assembly a draft text of the statute. This made clear that neither side could make Jerusalem the capital of its state. Reaffirming its decision that Jerusalem should be placed under a permanent international regime administered by the UN, the General Assembly on 9 December 1949 designated the Trusteeship Council to discharge the responsibilities of the Administering Authority.

Israel by then, however, had already transferred its principal ministries and central government departments to Jerusalem. On 26 December 1949--only five days after the Trusteeship Council had deplored these actions--the Israeli Knesset moved to Jerusalem and there on 23 January 1950 voted to make the city the capital of Israel effective retroactively from 14 May 1948. Most countries, including all the great powers, refused to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital and retained their diplomatic missions in Tel Aviv.

For more than a thousand years before the State of Israel established its capital in the city, Jerusalem--barring the 90-year interlude of the Crusader Kingdom--had not been the capital of any state. Through this millenium and more it remained an Arab city, a city of the world open to men and women of all faiths.

Its religious roots reaching back to Abraham's sacrifices almost 2000 years before Christ are entwined with the origins and development of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, for each of which it became a living spiritual centre. Its three major shrines--the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Haram Al Sharif (the "Noble Sanctuary") and the Wailing Wall--symbolize the city's spiritual significance throughout a 4000-year history. More, Jerusalem over the centuries acquired a universal meaning as it came, in Lewis Mumford's words, to stand for

"certain cosmic insights and human values that have spread throughout the planet, and that now embrace, in some degree, all who consciously participate in the human adventure. This precious gift of history gives Jerusalem a status that no other sacred city, not even Mecca, Rome, Benares, or Constantinople can claim."

Islam's great contribution to the human values of Jerusalem was--in an age of religious fanaticism and cruel persecution--to bring to the Holy City the Islamic principle of coexistence and tolerance, and, in particular, tolerance for the "Peoples of the Book", the Christians and Jews. Under Islam's rule the strict ban on Jews contained in the Caliph Omar's Covenant with the Byzantine Patriarch Sophrinus, who had surrendered the city to the Muslims, was gradually relaxed. To Christians and Jews, indigenous and foreign, Islam guaranteed religious freedom and full access to Jerusalem's shrines.

The first crusade--beginning in Europe with massacres of Jews and reaching a climax in the mass slaughter of the Muslim population of Jerusalem in 1099--attempted to impose an exclusivist regime on the Holy City. The alien Crusader Kingdom eliminated "non-Christians" (including Jews) from Jerusalem, as today the alien settler state of Israel seeks to eliminate Jerusalem's "non-Jews." Only with Saladin's recovery of Jerusalem in 1187 was the Islamic principle of tolerance and coexistence restored.

From that day until this century the lands of Islam including Jerusalem offered refuge to Jews fleeing persecution in the Christian West. The generosity and tolerance of Islamic rule accounts for the Jewish presence in Jerusalem and Palestine insofar as it existed before the arrival of political Zionism's settlers.

Judaism's attachment to Jerusalem is similar to that of Christianity. The meaning of the Jewish prayer "Next Year in Jerusalem" was always strictly religious. The Jews

"never thought they would occupy Palestine till a time had come when Time would be no more. The Messiah would bring them back to a Palestine transfigured, a stepping-stone to the next world. It was not for a territory, not so much for earth they prayed as for Heaven. It has been left to an entirely different set of men, not at all their heirs, the Zionists of today, to insinuate that they did dream of a delimited country, and to produce atlases to measure their ancestors' transfiguration" (Jeffries 33-4)

Zionists today base their exclusivist claim to Jerusalem and the so-called "Land of Israel" on a demonstrably false racial theory that traces the geneology of modern European-American Jews

back to the ancient Hebrews and on a myth. For centuries before the Romans destroyed the Temple in Jerusalem in 70 A.D.--when political Zionism pretends all Jews were driven into world exile--the Jews had been emigrating from Palestine of their own choice; influential Jewish settlements flourished in Persia, Babylon, Egypt, Cyprus, the Greek islands and along the coasts of Asia Minor. For more than 2000 years the overwhelming majority of world Jewry lived outside Jerusalem and Palestine because it wanted to and still does. In any true sense of the term most Jews were never exiles from Palestine. Jewish pilgrims like Christian pilgrims visited Jerusalem much as they wished, throughout the so-called "period of exile."

The Zionist myth--"we have come home"--hides the ugly reality of colonial settler conquest. Blithely nullifying 3000 years of history Gurion boasted after the June 1967 war: "Jerusalem was the capital in the days of David and it will remain so forever." And Moshe Dayan added "It is not only the capital of Israel but of the whole Jewish people." Zionist leaders thus echo Hitler's justification for conquest. With equal fervour leaders of the Third Reich hailed--as their armies trampled over most of Europe --the "recovery" of allegedly long-lost "Germanic lands." By such myths the gullible are manipulated. Zionist leaders themselves have consistently demonstrated their utter disdain for the historical spiritual heritage personified in Jerusalem and for its status as the most sacred city of the whole monotheistic world.

Israel annexed the old city of Jerusalem in June 1967 not at all out of religious sentiment. Jewish religious concerns would have been wholly satisfied either in the plan for internationalization of the city or in the common respect for the attachment of all three

religions to the city that prevailed under Islamic rule before the arrival of political Zionism. (After 1948 Israelis were denied access to the Wailing Wall until Israel complied with UN Resolutions demanding that the displaced Palestinians be allowed to return home.)

It is as clear as daylight, Professor Walid Khalidi pointed out, why Israel wants East Jerusalem:

"It is the strategic key to the West Bank. It isolates the southern half of the West Bank around Hebron from the northern half around Nablus. By controlling Jordanian Jerusalem, Israel can dominate the entire West Bank, control its commerce and communications, shatter its civic harmony, disrupt its administrative life, dominate the approaches to the River Jordan, suck out the handsome annual revenues that accrue from the tourist traffic and pilgrimages, and pounce at will upon any attractive prey in sight, whether moving or stationary."

In and after 1967 Israel moved with careful calculation to implement its long term goal. To eliminate the Arab presence in the city, that is to make Jerusalem Arabrein (a place free of Arabs) just as Hitler before the second world war tried to make Europe Judenrein. and just as Israel itself had already completely judaized the New City of Jerusalem after 1948. In 1948 two thirds of the New City's built-up area and 98 percent of the land of the sub-district of Jerusalem had been Arab-owned.

During the 1967 war the Israeli Army continued to bombard Jerusalem with incendiary bombs for two days after Jordanian forces had withdrawn, deliberately destroying and damaging many of its buildings and terrorizing its population. In the following days the many acts of Israeli intimidation and widespread Israeli looting and pillaging lent force to the message broadcast by Israeli loudspeakers urging the Arab inhabitants to flee to Amman while the road was still open. Within days, as Newsweek later recalled (25 January 1971), "hundreds of Arabs had been driven from their homes and soon urbanologists were drawing up plans to Judaize East Jerusalem by moving thousands of Israeli settlers into new housing built on expropriated land." The Maghrabi and Sa'diyah quarters were razed to the ground--after the eviction of some 1000 Arabs--to make room for a parking lot in front of the Wailing Wall. Another 3000 and more Arab residents were evicted at short notice when the Israelis took over the so-called Jewish Quarter of the Old City --no more than 20 percent of which was ever Jewish owned. Arab residents whose families have inhabited the quarter for centuries are still being expelled from this quarter to make room for the 4000 Jews who are expected to settle there by 1980.

On 27 June 1967 the Israeli Knesset, Cabinet and Armed Forces adopted a number of measures designed to annex East Jerusalem. Israel dismissed all members of the Old City Municipal Council, dissolved the Arab Municipality, put all government departments and courts under their Israeli counterparts and the inhabitants under Israeli Military Government. An effort to place Muslim personal status courts and Awqaf under Israeli jurisdiction failed. The Israeli government thereafter refused to recognize Muslim

certificates concerning marriage, divorce, inheritance, guardianship, Awqaf etc., thus creating many problems both for the people and the religious courts.

A census taken on 25 June 1967 had already branded those absent on that day as "absentees." "Absentees" were denied the right to return home, their properties confiscated under the Absentee Property Law. Non-Jerusalem Arabs were forbidden to enter the city without a special permit. This measure was part of an effort to sever Jerusalem from its natural Arab environment. It was also an attempt to reduce the annual growth rate of Jerusalem's Arab population, part of which was normally accounted for by immigration from neighbouring villages.

Arabs remaining in Jerusalem were required to get Israeli ID cards though they did not acquire Israeli citizenship. They were compelled to exchange their Jordanian currency for Israeli currency, now the sole legal tender, at rates well below the official rate; to get new Israeli permits for vehicles and new Israeli licenses to practice their trades and professions. Inhabitants of East Jerusalem could buy only Israeli goods since imports from the West Bank as well as all other Arab commodities (including those produced in Jerusalem) were barred from the Jerusalem market. They had to send their children to schools, now compelled to adopt the Israeli curriculum. Government schools were integrated into the Israeli school system. When Arab pupils moved en masse to the city's 14 private schools, the Israeli government issued a new law requiring that private and confessional schools and their staff acquire Israeli licenses and subjecting their curriculum and sources of income to complete Israeli control. A 1968 law requiring Arab businessmen either to sell out to Israeli firms or apply for

registration as Israeli firms opened the way to complete Israeli economic takeover of East Jerusalem.

Israel also proceeded to alter and in some cases destroy the city's priceless cultural and historical heritage. Dame Kathleen Kenyon of the British School of Archaeology termed Israeli tunneling under historic buildings in Jerusalem "criminal" behaviour and "vandalism". Beginning in 1968 UNESCO repeatedly called on Israel to desist from excavations and alteration of Jerusalem's cultural and historical character. Israeli excavations around and under Al Haram Al Sharif, the raised platform on which stand the Dome of the Rock and Al Aqsa mosques, endangered the Al Aqsa mosque itself. In 1974 UNESCO condemned Israel's "persistence in altering the historical features of the city of Jerusalem" and "undertaking excavations which constitute a danger to its monuments, subsequent to the illegal occupation of this city."

Under these and other pressures--extensive confiscation of land and property including Waqf property, destruction of homes, arrest, imprisonment, torture and deportation of Arab political and religious leaders and other popular representatives, the daily discrimination and affronts suffered--some 30,000 Arab inhabitants of Jerusalem left the city.

As Jerusalem's indigenous population was pushed out, Israel packed its new immigrants into the Arab part of the city. By 1980, if Israeli plans are allowed to materialize, 100,000 Jews will be settled on Arab land in Jerusalem while the Arab inhabitants will have been moved out to the suburbs, if not further.

The strategy guiding construction of Jewish housing estates in and around the old city is the same as that which dictated Zionist land purchases at the start of Zionism's carefully chartered march toward the conquest of Palestine: "it was conscious shrewdness and far sighted calculation," according to a leading Zionist, "which directed the Zionist policy of land purchases. The areas were so chosen and spaced that they took an enclosing grip on the country" (Maurice Samuel: Level Sunlight p 52). Ugly high rise Jewish apartment blocks crowded on the outlying hills overlooking old Jerusalem are strategically sited to take an enclosing grip on the city. (The Municipal boundaries of the city were extended to include the hills commanding the old city mainly for this reason.) The Israeli government makes no effort to conceal the fact that its frantic pace of demolition and reconstruction aims to create irreversible "facts" and so cement permanent control of the city.

These luxury tower blocks--"harsh symbols of social inequality and governmental favouritism", in the words of Arthur Kutcher, Jewish architect formerly employed in Israel's Jerusalem Planning Department --are also the product of an official policy which concentrates on building luxury accomodation in Jerusalem to attract the minority of well-to-do immigrants and which encourages a fierce drive for speculative profits by land speculators including the Israel Lands Authority which acts as the governmental land speculator.

If, as Mr. Kutcher puts it, the philosophical attitude of Israeli decision-makers is to dispense "with all of the romanticism and religious hocus pocus," to treat "Jerusalem's religious and historical heritage.. [as] a resource to be exploited intensively,"

and its landscapes panoramic views as "commodities to be sold in order to obtain foreign currency"--if the new master of Jerusalem are unable to understand "the fundamental, commonly shared awareness that Jerusalem's spiritual essence is inextricably bound up with her visual, tangible qualities, an awareness evidenced by four thousand years of building in the city" and if "their dream of Jerusalem is a sort of copy of Kansas City" --this is not a question of architectural taste or differing approaches to town planning but an historical imperative for the Israeli settler movement.

It could not be otherwise. What settler movement has ever, or could ever, allow itself to respect the cultural heritage and achievements of the "natives" over whom it rules? The most potent threat to any settler movement comes from the active cultural values of the indigenous people, from their sense of national identity which sums up these values and from their determination to assert this identity. The central thrust of the vast complex of repression and controls maintained by Israel over the indigenous population of Palestine is precisely to disintegrate and distort Palestinian culture and normal identity and to smother the Palestinian people's further development.

By the same token, Israel and the Zionists have never recognized the rights of the indigenous Palestine people, have never acknowledged the injustice done them and have proved incapable of one human gesture in their direction. "What Arabs? They are hardly of any consequence," replied the "moderate" Zionist leader, Chaim Weizmann, when Albert Einstein ask him: "what about the Arabs if Palestine were given to the Jews?"

Jerusalem, too, is "hardly of any consequence" to Israel other than as an object to be exploited for the political and economic aggrandizement of the Zionist settler movement. What Israel has done and is doing in Jerusalem demonstrates the consistency of Israel's settler mentality and of its racist and expansionist policies.

C O N C L U S I O N S

The reality the Zionist state confronts today is that Palestine now contains as many Palestinian Arabs as inhabited the country in 1947 and an even larger number live just beyond the borders of the homeland to which they have never relinquished their right to return.

It is clear that Palestinians whether they live inside or outside the settler state now occupying their homeland have not been, and are not, free to pursue their own national development either culturally or in any other way because they are severed from their natural environment. Cruel oppression blocks the Palestinians within Israel. Homelessness and dispersion have deprived the dispossessed and their children outside Israel of any opportunity to develop as a national community. Palestinians still living in the refugee camps have maintained a community life but in conditions of such poverty and deprivation that until recently their only means to develop has been through the educational facilities provided by UNRWA and the host countries.

Yet all these difficulties have not prevented Palestinians in exile from producing a large number of university graduates, teachers, scientists, engineers, etc., or from reaching, and perhaps surpassing, at least quantitatively, the level of Israel in higher education. Palestinians have also contributed significantly to the development of other Arab countries. What they demand is the right and opportunity to contribute to the development of their own homeland, Palestine.

Israel was created by a concert of imperialist and even non-imperialist powers at a time when world opinion had totally rejected colonialism and the dismantlement of colonial empires was already under way. The operation was therefore tied to the plight of the Jews who survived the Nazi massacre in Europe although the Zionists themselves frankly and repeatedly denied this connection. Even at the time the international community was aware of the injustice done to the displaced Palestinians. Today, when the world has become for more aware of this injustice and the United Nations is no longer merely a tool of U.S. policy, it is pertinent to recall that:

1. Israel has never accepted any frontiers other than those of the Zionist concept Eretz Israel (Land of Israel). Even these are not clearly defined, and cannot be, since Israel's reason for existence is the "Ingathering of the Exiles" (all Jews all over the world). Its boundaries must therefore be stretchable to accomodate the inflow of Jewish settlers.

Israel's population component, constituted by the dual process of expelling the indigenous population of Palestine and transplanting to Palestine Jews from all over the world, is unlike that of any other state in the world.

From the beginning Zionist leaders proclaimed that Israel would not become "a state like all others". It is rather an artificial construction that must expand or in abandoning its reason for existence perish as an exclusivist racist entity. Israel's 1967 conquests still fall short of the minimum territorial goals the Zionists demanded of the 1919 peace conference. These included southern Lebanon, southern Syria to the gates of Damascus, Transjordan and part of Sinai. Is there any sign these or even larger goals have been abandoned?

2. Israel was established not by agreed decision but by force, and Israeli leaders are the first to proclaim this in boasting that they owe nothing to the UN and in violating virtually every one of the many UN resolutions applying to the Palestine question. The UN Partition Resolution was not an agreed decision but one contrary to the will of the majority of Palestine's inhabitants who were not even consulted. All Arab states including Palestine rejected this resolution. The UN itself possessing neither sovereignty, nor right of administration nor any other power over Palestine could not give away what it did not have. The UN could not therefore determine Palestine's future government as it tried to do in recommending partition.

Moreover, the Jewish state which emerged in 1948 and assumed the name of Israel was not established in conformity with the partition resolution. The manner of its establishment and its organic structure deviated in every material respect from the basic provisions of the UN resolution--territorially, demographically, politically and constitutionally.

"The Jewish state as envisaged by the General Assembly resolution was Jewish only in name, for in fact..it would have had an Arab majority. Israel, as formed in 1948 and as it exists today, is a racist state in which its Arab population was reduced to about ten percent of its original number...Israel has completely distorted the concept of the Jewish state as originally envisaged by the United Nations. Organically, Israel is not, and cannot be considered to constitute, the Jewish state whose creation was proposed by the United Nations in 1947, and hence cannot lay claim

to the territorial and other rights, whatever their value, which were intended by the partition resolution for a materially different political and demographic entity.¹

3. Isroel does not possess legal sovereignty over any part of Palestine. It occupies Falestine only by "right of military conquest." This "right" no longer exists. The consensus of the civilized community has established that military conquest is not a ground for acquisition of territory. "Israel, alone among all the countries of the world, possesses not a single square inch of territory which she could assuredly proclaim to be her own in perpetuity."² Sovereignty over Palestine still belongs to the original inhabitants in whom sovereignty was vested upon the country's detachment from Turkey.

¹ H. Cattan, Palestine, the Arabs and Israel (London 1969), pp. 265-266.

² H.V. Cooke, Israel, A Blessing and a Curse (London 1960), p. 186.

The Solution: DEMOCRATIC PALESTINE

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, outlined the solution succinctly at the end of his speech to the UN General Assembly on 13 November 1974:

"The Palestinian people produced thousands of physicians, lawyers, teachers and scientists who actively participated in the development of the Arab countries bordering on their usurped homeland. They utilized their income to assist the young and aged amongst their people who remained in the refugee camps. They educated their younger sisters and brothers, supported their parents and cared for their children. All along the Palestinian dreamt of return. Neither the Palestinian's allegiance to Palestine, nor his determination to return waned; nothing could persuade him to relinquish his Palestinian identity or to forsake his homeland. The passage of time did not make him forget, as some hoped he would. When our people lost faith in the international community which persisted in ignoring their rights and when it became obvious that the Palestinians would not recuperate one inch of Palestine through exclusively political means our people had no choice but to resort to armed struggle. Into it they poured their material and human resources. We bravely faced the most vicious acts of Israeli terrorism which were aimed at diverting our struggle and arresting it.....

The Palestine Liberation Organization can be proud of having a large number of cultural and educational activities, even while engaged in armed struggle, and at a time when it faced the increasing vicious blows of Zionist terrorism. We established institutes for scientific research, agricultural development, and social welfare, as well as centers for the revival of our cultural heritage and the preservation of our folklore. Many Palestinian poets, artists and writers have enriched Arab culture in particular and world culture generally. Their profoundly humane works have won the admiration of all those familiar with them. In contrast to that, our enemy has been systematically destroying our culture and disseminating racist imperialist ideologies, in short everything that impedes progress, justice, democracy and peace.

The Palestine Liberation Organization has earned its legitimacy because of the sacrifice inherent in its pioneering role, and also because of its dedicated leadership of the struggle. It has also been granted this legitimacy by the Palestinian masses, which in harmony with it have chosen it to lead the struggle according to its directives. The Palestine Liberation Organization has also gained its legitimacy by representing every faction, union, or group as well as every Palestinian talent either in the National Council or in people's institutions. This legitimacy was further strengthened by the support of the entire Arab nation, and it was consecrated during the last Arab Summit Conference, which reiterated the right of the Palestine Liberation Organization, in its capacity as sole representative of the Palestinian people, to establish an independent national state on all liberated Palestinian territory.

Moreover the Palestine Liberation Organization's legitimacy was intensified as a result of fraternal support given by other liberation movements and by friendly, like minded nations that stood by our side, encouraging and aiding us in our struggle to secure our national rights.....

The Palestine Liberation Organization represents the Palestinian people, legitimately and uniquely. Because of this, the Palestine Liberation Organization expresses the wishes and hopes of its people. Because of this too, it brings these very wishes and hopes before you, urging you not to shirk a momentous historic responsibility towards our just cause.

For many years now our people has been exposed to the ravages of war, destruction, and dispersion. It has paid in the blood of its sons that which cannot even be compensated. It has borne the burdens of occupation, dispersion, eviction, and terror more uninterruptedly than any other people. And yet all this has made our people neither vindictive nor vengeful. Nor has it caused us to resort to the racism of our enemies. And nor have we lost the true method by which friend and foe are distinguished.

For we deplore all those crimes committed against the Jews; we also deplore all the real discrimination suffered by them because of their faith.

I am a rebel and freedom is my cause. I know well that many of you present here today once stood in exactly the same adversary position I now occupy, and from which I must fight. You were once obligated by your struggle to convert dreams into reality. Therefore you must now share my dream. I think this is exactly why I can ask you now to help, as together we

bring out our dream into a bright reality, our common dream for a peaceful future in Palestine's sacred land.....

Why therefore should I not dream and hope? For is not revolution the making real of dreams and hopes? So let us work together that my dream may be fulfilled, that I should return with my people out of exile, there in Palestine to live with this Jewish freedom-fighter and his partners, with this Arab priest and his brothers, in one democratic state where Christian, Jew and Moslem live in justice, equality and fraternity.....

In my formal capacity as Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization and leader of the Palestinian revolution I call upon Jews one by one to turn away from the illusory promises made to them by Zionist ideology and Israeli leadership. Those offer Jews perpetual bloodshed, endless war, and continuous thralldom.

We invite them to emerge from their moral isolation into a more open realm of free choice, far from their present leadership's effort to implant in them a Masada complex.

We offer them the most generous solution that we might live together in a framework of just peace, in our democratic Palestine.

In my formal capacity as Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization I announce here that we do not wish the shedding of one drop of either Arab or Jewish blood; neither do we delight in the continuation of killing, which would end once a just peace, based on our people's rights, hopes, and aspirations is finally established.

In my formal capacity as Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization and leader of the Palestinian revolution, I appeal to you to accompany our people in its struggle to attain its right to self-determination. This right is consecrated in the United Nations Charter, and resolved upon repeatedly thereafter by this august body. I appeal to you further to aid our people's return to its homeland from an INVOLUNTARY EXILE imposed upon it by force of arms, by tyranny, by oppression, so that we might regain our property, our land, thereafter to live in our national homeland, free and sovereign, enjoying all the privileges of nationhood. Only then can we pour all our resources into the mainstream of human civilization. Only then can Palestinian creativity be concentrated on the service of humanity. Only then will our Jerusalem resume its historic role as a peaceful shrine for all religions.

I appeal to you to enable our people to establish national independent sovereignty over its own land.

Today, I have come bearing an olive branch and a freedom fighter's gun. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand.

War flares up in Palestine, and yet, it is in Palestine that peace will be borne.

ANNEX I

UN RESOLUTIONS RELEVANT TO THE RIGHT OF THE PALESTINIANS TO RETURN AND TO RESTITUTION OF THEIR PROPERTY

A. General Assembly

- 181 (II) of 29 November 1947
- 194 (III) of 11 December 1948
- 394 (V) of 14 December 1950
- 2452 A (XXIII) of 19 December 1968
- 2535 B (XXIV) of 10 December 1969
- 2546 (XXIV) of 11 December 1969
- 2672 C,D (XXV) of 8 December 1970
- 2792 C,D,E (XXVI) of 6 December 1971
- 2851 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971
- 2949 (XXVII) of 8 December 1972
- 2963 E (XXVII) of 13 December 1972
- 3089 C,D (XXVIII) of 7 December 1973
- 3092 B (XXVIII) of 7 December 1973
- 3175 (XXVIII) of 17 December 1973

3236 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974
3240 A (XXIX) of 29 November 1974
3331 D (XXIX) of 17 December 1974
3375 (XXX) of 10 November 1975
3376 (XXX) of 10 November 1975
3414 (XXX) of 5 December 1975

B. Security Council

89 (1950) of 17 November 1950
93 (1951) of 18 May 1951
237 (1967) of 14 June 1967
252 (1968) of 21 May 1968
267 (1969) of 3 July 1969
298 (1971) of 26 September 1971

C. Commission on Human Rights

6 (XXIV) of 25 February 1968
6 (XXV) of 4 March 1969
10 (XXVI) of 23 March 1970
9 (XXVII) of 15 March 1971
3 (XXVIII) of 22 March 1972
4 (XXIX) of 14 March 1973
1 (XXX) of 11 February 1974
6 (XXXI) of 21 February 1975

February 1976

D. International Conference on Human Rights

I of 7 May 1968

E. UNESCO, General Conference

18C/13.1 of 23 November 1974

F. WHO, World Health Assembly

WHA21.38 of 23 May 1968

WHA23.52 of 21 May 1970

WHA24.33 of 18 May 1971

WHA25.54 of 25 May 1972

WHA26.56 A of 23 May 1973

WHA27.42 A of 21 May 1974

G. International Labour Organization, General Conference

9 of 20 June 1974