

15 Oct. 69

The Dialectics of the Israeli-Arab Dispute:

Apocalyptic Politics

by Carol Bosworth and Paul Flohr

In the thirties, it was often remarked that on a Saturday afternoon "one can see the entire Second Internationale strolling along the seashore of Tel Aviv"—an hyperbole, perhaps, but surely indicative of the socialist excitement that animated the Zionist community. Consonant with this spirit are its massive Socialist achievements from the communes (kibbutzim) to the formidable labor federation (the Histadrut). Yet the Zionists have been increasingly identified with the "imperialistic" and oppressive forces in the community of man. It has been alleged that their socialist achievements are invalidated because the Zionist settlement implied the displacement of the indigeneous Arab population. Therefore, the Zionists must be tantamount to the colons of French North Africa, the Boers of South — indeed are White Men.

The Zionist claim to Palestine is two-fold: phylogenetic and demographic. The former, an appeal to the ancestral and religious significance of Israel to the Jewish people, is more frequently voiced. However, despite the emotional appeal of this sentiment, the Zionist readily admits that it alone, al-

though not irrelevant, represents an objectively limited and tenuous claim to the land. Rather, the more objective claim is based on the demography of the region.

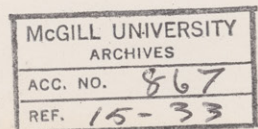
After 150 years of unsuccessful national resistance to Roman colonial domination, the Jewish commonwealth was dismembered. The very name "Judea" was obliterated and the region absorbed into the new administrative unit "Syria Palaestina." Although hundreds of thousands of resisters were killed and many more banished, Jews, mostly from the peasant class, remained in the majority. The indigenous Jewish population was augmented by the continuous influx of returning exiles. Indeed through the centuries, the Jews made constant efforts to return to their home, as individuals or in groups. This became increasingly difficult with the collapse of Roman hegemony in the Levant in the 4th century, which opened the area to the political chaos and brigandage that were to characterize the region for the next millennium. Under these conditions, Palestine lay in economic decay, discouraging settlement in substantial numbers. Indeed, the term "Palestine" as a geopolitical concept fell into disuse, and was only to be revived by the British in 1917. The Byzantines, who inherited

the Roman sceptre, sought to colonize the Holy Land with Christian settlers but were singularly unsuccessful. Only the Jews, sustained by their deep historical and ethnic ties to the land, tenaciously remained and endured as the single most dominant group, well into the Islamic period.

In the Ranks of Islam

Initially, the Islamic conquest of "Palestine" was seen both by Jews and Arabs as presaging the restoration of Jewish political autonomy. To further this goal, Muhammad sought out the Jews and concluded alliances with various Jewish communities in the region. Consequently there were thousands of Jewish soldiers in the ranks of the Arab armies. A contemporary Armenian historian claimed that "All the remnant of the Children of Israel joined the Arabs, and with them made a great host." According to the same historian, the leader of this combined army wrote to the emperor in Byzantium, asking him to relinquish Palestine, "the inheritance of the sons of Abraham," and to return to the Jews "the land of their fathers." In return, they promised that they would not do battle on "territory that was not theirs."

The Caliphate encouraged Jewish immigration and the rehabilitation of Jewish com-



munities. To maintain the Jewish character of the area, the sale of Jewish land to Muslims was prohibited. This development, however, was suddenly halted by political changes in the Arab empire. The imperial capital moved from Medina to Damascus, pushing adjacent Palestine into the political center of the Islamic empire and probably investing it with a new geo-political significance. Thus the Caliphate found it increasingly difficult to countenance, both politically and a fortiori theologically, Jewish dominance in the area. A series of expulsions and discriminatory legislation followed. Arab soldiers were given sequestered Jewish land on which to settle. **Nonetheless, Arab historians, for example Ya'qubi and Ibn-Hawaqal, testify that Arabs did not constitute a majority even in this period.** This was perhaps remedied by the 11th century Caliph Al Hakim with his program of coercive Arabization: Jews (and Christians) were faced with the choice of conversion or the sword. [Parenthetically, it is of interest to note that present-day Muslims of the Hebron region are known ethnically as Jews by the neighboring Arabs.] Although Al-Hakim's decrees were annulled after his death, they unequivocally depleted the Jewish population. A Palestinian Jewish poet of the time described the forlorn mood of his people, "As a poor man clamoring at the gates, a bird's soul trapped in a boy's hand." Jews, however, remained comparatively numerous in the Galilee, even during the tumultuous years of the Crusades. Under the Mamelukes, who ruled the region from the defeat of the Crusaders to the Ottoman conquest in 1517, Palestine was kept economically and demographically stagnant. **To lessen the chances of Christian invasion, the Mamelukes destroyed all the country's harbors, thus effectively cutting Palestine off from its world. Nonetheless, in the 16th century, a wave of thousands of Jewish refugees from the Spanish Inquisition succeeded in joining the languishing Jewish communities in Palestine.**

Jewish Influx

The Ottomans had severely circumscribed Jewish residence

in Palestine; for a while, Jerusalem had a quota of 300 Jewish households. With the political ascendancy of some Jewish families in Constantinople, these restrictions were somewhat lessened, such that by 1741, 10,000 Jews resided in Jerusalem.

In the 17th and 18th century, a period of intense Messianic expectation, thousands of Jews made their way to Palestine. The majority of them, however, were elderly pilgrims who came to spend their last days awaiting the Redemption in the Holy Land. It is understandable that the Turks permitted this type of immigration, though comparatively large, since it did not entail the threat of establishing a self-perpetuating community.

Napoleon's army found an abjectly poor and underpopulated Palestine, estimating their number at 250,000 of which 10,000 were Jews. In the 1830's Mehemet Ali, the pasha of Egypt, whose armies temporarily dominated Ottoman Syria, had considerable numbers of Egyptian fellahin and Druze immigrate to Palestine, where they founded new villages, mainly in the southern coastal plain and the Hula Valley. It has been estimated that "in 1882 no more than about 106,000 settled Moslems had more than a half-century connection with the country (cf. **ESCO Report, Yale University, 1947**). In any case, on the eve of the First Zionist Congress, in 1897, were 240,000 settled Arabs, 150,000 Bedouin and 65,000 Jews in the area to be designated "Palestine" under the British Mandate (an area which was 5 times larger than the area constituting the Israel of the 1949 Armistice).

Claim to Palestine

Clearly one cannot speak of the discontinuity of the Jewish settlement in Palestine. Nor can we deny a priori the legitimacy of national self-determination for the Jews in Palestine. This claim is even more cogent if we consider that the Jews were the only group that considered Palestine as a geopolitical entity, their national home. At the birth of the British mandate, Palestine was known to most Arabs as **Sour-iyah Janoubiya** — "Southern Syria." This is not to impugn

Arab economic, cultural, and even national claims to Palestine. We merely wish to indicate that the Jewish nation deserves to share Palestine with the Arab people, especially when one considers that the area that the Zionist pioneers settled in was largely desolate and uninhabited, while the latter state of Israel, as already mentioned, constituted less than one fifth of mandate Palestine. In 1922, a British census recorded that 182,000 Arabs lived in the area that was later to constitute the state of Israel of 1949 Armistice. Further, we may note, that as early as 1900, more than 60% of Jerusalem's population was Jewish.

The question still remains whether Jewish settlement as inspired by the Zionist ideal, displaced Arabs in any significant proportions.

A Royal Commission inquiry of 1936 reported that no more than several hundred Arab families had been displaced by the sale of land to the Jews; most of these families were adequately compensated and had resettled in other parts of Palestine. **To its amazement the Commission concluded "that Jewish land purchases did not lead to any general displacement of the Arab cultivators, although there may have been individual cases of landlessness caused."** (One may note that to accommodate Arab fears, Jewish land purchase was effectively halted until 1948 by the restrictive Land Transfer Regulations of 1939).

Zionist Land Policy

The Zionist land policy, both because of socialist sensitivities and prudent policies, judiciously avoided purchasing land which would involve the displacement of Arab peasantry. Consequently, the majority of the land obtained, for which, exorbitant fees had been paid to Arab land owners, was malarial and unarable. Until the establishment of the state of Israel, the Jews held only 11.86% of the total cultivable area of Palestine. The story of Hadera is typical. This settlement, one observer admiringly related, had been established

"on lands which . . . seemed to be permanently unfit for human habitation. No Arab village could remain for any

length of time on these fever-ridden lands, where all efforts at settlement ended in disaster. Not a single Arab village was to be found in the neighborhood. The 30,000 dunams of Hedera lands were all a gigantic breeding-ground for malaria infection, and a source of danger to the whole district. When Jewish settlers acquired these lands, for which they paid 600,000 gold francs, they became the laughing-stock of the local wisecracks, and when they actually went out to settle there with their families amidst the fever-infested marshes, they were regarded as little short of mad. True, of the 540 original settlers, 214 perished in the first few years, but they have worked that miracle — they have made the desert blossom as the rose."

Indeed, far from displacing the Arabs, this idealistic Jewish youth may be deemed responsible for a phenomenal growth of the Arab Palestinian population. As a United Nations report of 1947 noted, "The non-Jewish rural population increased by 160,000 between 1931 and 1942. . . There was evidently no forcing of the rural population into the towns, although some of the villagers may have been attracted to the cities by opportunities for higher wages." Overall, the Arab population of Palestine had increased by 50%. This is especially remarkable when it is noted that before World War I, the Arab population remained nearly constant. This is to be attributed to two factors: the lowered infant mortality rate and the increased Arab immigration into Palestine. Ironically, this is the result, as a Royal Commission reported revealed, "of the improved conditions brought to Palestine by Jewish immigration. The increased expenditure on health services, the physical amelioration of the land through such measures as swamp draining, and the rising standard of education and living," and the massive expansion of the economy and attendant growth of employment opportunities.

Arab Policy

Immigration from neighboring Arab countries of those seeking employment in the thriving Palestinian economy,

is a crucial demographic factor. One study concluded that "on the eve of World War II 75% of the Arab population of Palestine (were) either immigrants themselves or descendants of persons who immigrated into Palestine during the last hundred years. . ." Clearly, the bulk of the Arab population was not "Palestinian" per se, not only because many were immigrants, but because Palestine was a political fiction created by the mandatory powers after the First World War. Initially, Palestinian nationalism was not distinguishable from that of Syrian; it emanated from Damascus and demanded a united Syria, rejecting the policy of the Jewish National Home in Southern Syria. The first all-Arab Palestine conference in Jerusalem in 1919 sent a resolution to the Paris Peace Conference calling for " . . . the establishment of a united Syrian government within an Arab nation."

Only gradually did a distinct Palestinian policy emerge, and when it did, it was largely the creation of the feudal effendis. The Jewish development offered a serious threat to the dominance of the effendis over the peasants. The degree of dependence of the peasant upon the landlord was lessened, for now he could be an independent wage-earner in Jewish agriculture or industry. To the effendis, the threat was not that of a transference of power to another class of colonial overlords. The Palestine Arab Congress of 1925 noted with alarm that

. . . the prevalent conditions of the Jewish immigrant are . . . a very fertile medium for the propagation of communistic principals, not only among Jews, but also amongst Arabs, as the Bolshevik demonstrations of Haifa last spring [when certain Arabs, under the guidance of Jews, openly flew the red flag] has revealed. It is now quite relevant that the [Mandatory] government should make a very thorough investigation about the social conditions of the Jewish colonies that have been established after the war. . . . Our personal experiences assure us that the majority of these colonies are typical examples of commun-

istic villages in Red Russia. Had these conditions been restricted to Jewish colonies, this would have been quite a Jewish affair, but we find that the infectious Bolshevik disease is penetrating day by day into the Arab peasantry."

Arab opposition to Zionism was largely cultivated by reactionary forces within the Arab world. This opposition was reinforced by traditional concepts of the **Dhimmi**, the tolerated but inferior social position that "Peoples of the Book" enjoyed and of **Dar as-Salaam**, a type of territorial irredentism which claimed that all lands conquered by Muslims in former times were the inalienable possession of the Arab people. Christian Arabs, also "People of the Book", in their desire to expand the earlier pan-Islamic nationalism into a pan-Arabism

which would include themselves, and thus once and for all overcome their humiliating **Dhimmi** status, had adopted a peculiarly venomous anti-Zionist attitude. It is not surprising then, that a disproportionate number of militantly anti-Zionist leaders are Christian Arabs. Palestinian identity and nationalism were virtually born of the Arab people's opposition to Zionism and from the 1920 anti-Jewish riots on, the Arabs have refused to accommodate Jewish national claims. This violent antagonism has become preeminently mythological, and only secondarily political, so that various contradictory ideologies have manipulated and identified with it anti-Zionism: effendi-led nationalism allied with Hitlerite Fascism; the Arab Legion, which in fighting infant Israel, also defended imperial interests; and also the sincere socialists that may be in the ranks of the El Fatah. Zionism is seen as the embodiment of all the evil forces that confront the contemporary Arab world: Bolshevism, capitalism, imperialism, tribalism. The Arabs have made no real effort to understand the existential basis of Jewish claims and thoroughly appreciate Zionists' aspirations; almost **ab initio** the Jewish national movement was seen as a challenge to pan-Arabism. The assertion that previous to Zionism, Arab-Jewish relations were amiable, is misleading and

clearly calculated to obfuscate the essential nature of the conflict.

The Recent Conflict

A recent el-Fatah manifesto most clearly demonstrates the mythology perceptions of Zionism: "The Zionist existence is the cause of all problems in the Arab region and the cause for the defeat of our expectations of a new dawn for the Arab nation. The hopes and aspirations of the nation and the solution of our problems can, by no means, be achieved unless all efforts are concerted for the sake of liberating Palestine and fully confronting the challenge of the usurping enemy. The Zionist existence is the root of all our diseases and not one of their consequences." (Cited in Bulletin # 53 of the London Institute of Strategic Research) As is typical apocalyptic politics, the Jewish state is abstracted from existential reality and transformed into an hypostasis of all evil, and ergo it is imperative that Israel be defeated and totally obliterated at Armageddon.

Because of this attitude, the Arabs rejected the 1947 partition plan, accepted by the Jews, which offered a diminutive Israel and a Palestinian Arab state. The tragedy of the Arab refugees is a consequence of this apocalyptic opposition to Jewish aspirations.

Marcuse's Feelings

Since 1949, Israel has made 110 distinct proposals for the solution of the refugee problem, the most dramatic being that of 1949 when Israel, contingent upon the neutralization of the Gaza Strip, which men-

acingly penetrated into the heart of Israel, offered to repatriate the bulk of the Arab refugees. As it is, Israel permitted 150,000 Arabs to return, mostly under a family reunion scheme. But the Arabs have dismissed all of these proposals out of hand, for they can accept nothing short of an apocalyptic solution, which, translated to the battlefield, implies something very close to genocide. Recently, Herbert Marcuse, in noting that he shared Sartre's deep moral repugnance to Arab threats of politicicide, reminded a socialist audience to take

"into consideration the reiterated peace-offers by Israel, offers which the representatives of the Arab world have always rejected. [Moreover,] one should not lose sight of the precise, clear and resounding declaration of the Arab spokesmen proclaiming their will to launch a war of annihilation against Israel. This is a fact which displeases me terribly and, unhappily, there is documentary evidence and proof of it. This is the context in which the preventive war [of June, 1967] can and must be justified."

(Berlin debate with Rudi Dutschke, July 1967)

Marcuse goes on to suggest that the "ideal solution" would be "a common front of Israel and its Arab neighbors against the attack of the imperialist powers." Israel had, in fact, sought to forge an anti-imperialist front with Egypt in 1952 after the Young Officers' coup. Not only did Israeli socialists

eagerly offer to assist them in their revolution, but the Israeli government indicated her preparedness to aid Egypt against Great Britain. But apparently, despite their revolutionary ideals, Nasser and his colleagues could not permit themselves to consider Israel's overtures of anti-imperialist solidarity.

Because of this type of Arab intransigence, Israel was increasingly forced into a diplomatic cul-de-sac, from which she has only one exit: overdependence upon "imperialist" Western nations. This is not entirely true, however, since Israel has made extensive efforts to share its socialist experience with many nations of the Third World, especially in black Africa.

Ultimately, of course, a discussion of Israel's socialist virtues would be irrelevant, for from any humane and progressive perspective, a people's right to exist as a sovereign nation is not validated by its ideological commitments or alliances. It would also be myopic to deny that the pain of the Palestinian Arab is real; but, it is a pain that is not to be assuaged by apocalyptic warfare. A less mythological response to the Jewish state, would affirm the possibilities of a less sanguinary and more meaningful resolution of the conflict. Further, as Marcuse reminded his socialist audience, the social revolution is still to be had within the Arab states — "... a revolution which, perhaps, presents a more urgent and imperious task than the destruction of Israel."

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THE JUSTICE

Brandeis University

May 13, 1969

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

315 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

Nov. 7, 1969.

AFRO-ASIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT ((ANTI-IMPERIALIST))

MIDDLE EAST LECTURE SERIES

Monday November 3: "National Liberation Struggles in Lebanon" by Emile Nugho
1 p.m. Leacock 226

Tuesday November 4: "Zionism vs. Marxism" by Professor Said Shah:
1 p.m. Leacock 231

Wednesday November 5: "Middle East Through Zionist Propaganda" by Maan Ziadeh:
1 p.m. Leacock 226

Friday November 7: "National Liberation Struggles in Iran" by Bahram:
1 p.m. Union 123

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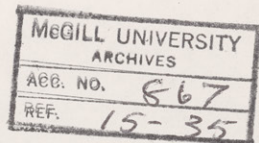
PALESTINE SOCIETY

Nov. 18, 1969

Presents

A Series of Lunch-hour Lectures

1. Mr. Ali Dessouki on:
"What do the Palestinians Want?"
Monday, Nov. 17th 1 - 2 P.M. Arts 255
2. Dr. Said Shah on:
"Palestine and Vietnam"
Tuesday, Nov. 18th 1 - 2 P.M. Arts 265
3. Mr. David Waines on:
"Palestine in Captivity"
Tuesday, Nov. 19th 1 - 2 P.M. Arts 255
4. Mr. Mahmoud Ayoub on:
"Israel: The Religious Dimension"
Thursday, Nov. 20th 1 - 2 P.M. Arts 255



Facts & Figures Series – No. 1

DO YOU KNOW?

1. THAT, when the Palestine Problem was created by Britain in 1917, more than 90% of the population of Palestine were Arabs? ... And that there were at that time no more than 3000 Jews in Palestine?

2. THAT more than half of the Jews living in Palestine at that time were recent immigrants who had come to Palestine in the preceding decades in order to escape persecution in Europe? ... And that in 1947, 75% of the population of Palestine were Arabs?

DO YOU KNOW?

3. THAT the Arabs of Palestine in 1947 were 55% of the total, while Jews (including immigrants) were 45%?

Twenty Basic Facts About the Palestine Problem

4. THAT the United Nations, in 1947, recommended the partition of the land of Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab States?

5. THAT the Jewish Government of Palestine was created in 1948, and was recognized by the United States Government directly, and was recognized by many other countries?

6. THAT, therefore, when the Palestine Problem was brought to the United Nations in 1947, the Jewish Government of Palestine was already in existence?

7. THAT, since the United Nations, in 1947, recommended the partition of the land of Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab States, the Jewish Government of Palestine was already in existence?

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DO YOU KNOW:

1. THAT, when the Palestine Problem was created by Britain in 1917, more than 90% of the population of Palestine were Arabs?... And that there were at that time no more than 56,000 Jews in Palestine?
2. THAT more than half of the Jews living in Palestine at that time were **recent immigrants**, who had come to Palestine in the preceding decades in order to escape persecution in Europe?... And that less than 5% of the population of Palestine were **native Palestinian Jews**?
3. THAT the Arabs of Palestine at that time owned 97½% of the land, while Jews (native Palestinians and recent immigrants together) owned only 2½% of the land?
4. THAT, during thirty years of British occupation and rule, the Zionists were able to purchase only 3½% of the land of Palestine, in spite of the encouragement of the British Government?... And that much of this land was transferred to Zionist bodies by the British Government directly, and was not sold by Arab owners?
5. THAT, therefore, when Britain passed the Palestine Problem to the United Nations in 1947, Zionists owned no more than 6% of the total land area of Palestine?
6. THAT, notwithstanding these facts, the General Assembly of the United Nations recommended that a «Jewish State» be established in Palestine?... And

that the Assembly granted that proposed «State» about 54% of the total area of the country?

7. THAT Israel immediately occupied (and still occupies) 80.48% of the total land area of Palestine?
8. THAT this territorial expansion took place, for the most part, **before** 15 May 1948: i.e., **before** the formal end of the British mandate and the withdrawal of British forces from Palestine, **before** the entry of Arab armies to protect Palestinian Arabs, and **before** the Arab-Israeli war?

— II —

DO YOU KNOW:

9. THAT the 1947 recommendation of the General Assembly in favour of the creation of a «Jewish State» was outside the competence of the Assembly under the Charter of the United Nations?
10. THAT all attempts by the Arab States and other Asian countries to have the Assembly submit the question of «constitutionality» of its recommendation to the International Court of Justice for an «advisory opinion» by the Court were rejected or ignored by the Assembly?
11. THAT, when the Assembly began to experience «second thoughts» over the matter and convened for its second special session in 1948, it failed to reaffirm the 1947 recommendation for the partition of Palestine — thus destroying whatever dubious legality that recommendation for the establishment of a «Jewish State» had had?

12. THAT that original 1947 recommendation to create a «Jewish State» in Palestine was approved, at the first vote, only by European, American and Australasian States... for every Asian State, and every African State (with the exception of the Union of South Africa) voted against it?... And that, when the vote was cast in plenary session on 29 November 1947, urgent American pressures (which a member of the Truman cabinet described as «bordering onto scandal») had succeeded in prevailing only upon one Asian country (the Philippines) and one African country (Liberia), both of which had special vulnerability to American pressures, to abandon their declared opposition?... And that, in other words, **the «Jewish State» was planted at the point-of-intersection of Asia and Africa without the free approval of any Middle Eastern, Asian or African country except the Union of South Africa, itself ruled by an alien minority?**
13. THAT Israel remained, ever since its inception, a **total stranger** in the emerging world of Afro-Asia; and that Israel has been refused admission to any inter-state conference of Asian, African, Afro-Asian, or Non-Aligned States ever held?

— III —

DO YOU KNOW:

14. THAT, since the General Armistice Agreements were signed in 1949, Israel has maintained an aggressive policy of waging military attacks across the Armistice Demarcation Lines, repeatedly invading the territories of the neighbouring Arab States... And that Israel

- has been duly **rebuked, censured, or condemned** for these military attacks by the Security Council or the General Assembly of the United Nations on eleven occasions — five times by the Security Council and six times by the General Assembly?
15. THAT no other country in the world, whether member of the United Nations or non-member, has been so frequently condemned by the United Nations?
 16. THAT no Arab State has ever been condemned by any organ of the United Nations for military attacks upon Israel (or any other State)?
 17. THAT, besides expelling the bulk of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine, and besides constantly attacking the neighbouring Arab States, Israel has also consistently harrassed the United Nations observers and other personnel stationed along the Armistice Demarcation Lines: It has **assassinated** the first United Nations Mediator and his military aide; it has **detained** some truce observers; it has **militarily occupied** and **illegally searched** the Headquarters of United Nations personnel; and it has **boycotted** meetings of the Mixed Armistice Commissions?...
 18. THAT Israel has additionally imposed a system of **apartheid** upon the Arabs who stayed in their homeland?... More than 90% of these Arabs live in «security zones»; they alone live under martial law, restricting their freedom to travel from village to village or from town to town; their children are denied equal opportunities for education; and they are denied decent opportunities for work, and the right to receive «equal pay for equal work»?

19. THAT, notwithstanding the foregoing facts, Israel has always been, and still is, widely portrayed in the Western press as the «bastion of democracy» and the «champion of peace» in the Middle East?
20. THAT the Western Powers have persisted in declaring their determination to ensure a so-called «arms balance» in the area, as between Israel, on the one hand, and the one-hundred million inhabitants of the thirteen Arab States, on the other hand?... And this unilateral Western doctrine of so-called «arms balance» is no more reasonable than the suggestion that, in the Cuba-U.S.A. conflict, there should be «arms balance» as between Cuba and the United States.. or that the whole Continent of Africa should not be allowed to acquire more arms than South Africa... or that Mainland China should not be permitted to have more arms than Taiwan... or that the military allowed to acquire more arms than South Africa... and that only thus can peace be safeguarded in the Western Hemisphere, in Africa, in Asia, or in Europe?...

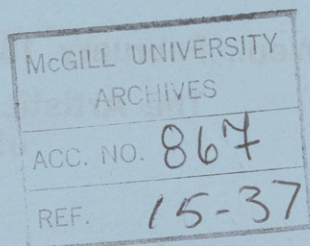
TEACH-IN ON **THE HOLOCAUST**

The Jewish Experience 1933 - 1945

Tuesday, February 17th to Thursday, February 19th

Sponsored by

McGILL HILLEL STUDENTS SOCIETY
CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS
(Eastern Region)



T H E M E

During the week of February 17th 1970 McGill Hillel and The Canadian Jewish Congress will be conducting a Teach-In on The Holocaust. The program as specified is not intended to explain or give a rationale for the Holocaust: to understand the irrational is impossible. Rather, it attempts to treat it historically as the culmination of two millenia of Jewish persecution in Europe and to examine the implications for contemporary Jewry. One day will be devoted to the artistic and literary expressions arising from the Holocaust.

In a larger sense we will be examining a phenomenon which has occurred previously and continues to appear in variety of manifestations. The implications and burden of guilt lies not only upon any particular race or people but are shared by all.

13 FEB / 70

Tues., February 17.

An Historical Treatment of the Holocaust

1:00 p.m.
Moyses Hall

Dr. Judd Teller, eminent American historian will present his analysis of the position of North American Jewry in the post-Holocaust era.

3:30 p.m.
Moyses Hall

Prof. Benjamin Ravid, (McGill Univ.—History and Jewish Studies Program), will discuss the history of Jews in Europe since the Enlightenment.

8:00 p.m.
L 219

Dr. Raul Hilberg, author of the classic work, "The Destruction of the European Jews", will discuss the mechanics of Holocaust destruction.

Wed., February 18.

The Artistic and Literary Expressions of the Holocaust

1:00 p.m.
L 219

"The Last Chapter". A film on the Polish Jewish Community over the last 1,000 years.

3:00 p.m.
Moyses Hall

Mrs. Lena Allen-Shore, a noted Montreal poetess, will read selections from her poems on the destruction of European Jews. There will also be a prose reading from Elie Wiesel's "Night".

8:00 p.m.
P.S.C.A.

FILMS: "The Shop on Main Street", an Academy Award winning Czech film on events in Prague during World War II.
"Nuit et Brouillard", a National Film Board documentary.

Thurs., February 19.

The Implications of the Holocaust on Contemporary and Future Jewish Existence

1:00 p.m.
Moyses Hall

Rabbi Richard Rubinstein, author of "After Auschwitz", will analyze the religious, moral, and philosophical implications of the Holocaust for Jews today.

3:00 p.m.
Moyses Hall

Rabbi Irving Greenberg, Professor of History at Yeshiva University will present a different analysis on the same topic.

8:00 p.m.
Union
Ballroom

Both Rabbi Rubinstein and Rabbi Greenberg will sit on a panel, exchanging views on and debating the implications of the Holocaust for mankind today. Rabbi Hausman, Chaplain of the Montreal Hillel Foundation, will be the Chairman.

VISITING SPEAKERS

JUDD TELLER

Judd L. Teller, Coordinator of B'nai B'rith International Programs, is a ranking authority on world Jewish affairs. His latest book, STRANGERS AND NATIVES: The Evolution of the American Jew From 1921 To The Present, was a Commentary Book of the Month Club selection. His other books include: THE JEWS: BIOGRAPHY OF A PEOPLE (Bantam, 1966); THE KREMLIN, THE JEWS AND THE MIDDLE EAST (Thomas Yoseloff, 1957); SCAPEGOAT OF REVOLUTION (Scribners, 1954). He was Atrine Lecturer at Yeshiva University, consultant to a Pentagon study of Soviet minorities at American University, and participated in university panels in the United States, Canada and abroad.

His posts before coming to B'nai B'rith include Political Secretary, World Zionist Organization; Political Advisor, Jewish Agency for Israel; Public Affairs Consultant, Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany; first Executive Director of the President's Conference and C.O.J.O., and founder and Executive Vice-Chairman of the American Histadrut Cultural Exchange Institute.

He has traveled extensively in Asia, Africa and visited the Soviet Union close to a dozen times.



Mrs. ALLEN-SHORE

Mrs. Allen-Shore was born in Poland and was active in the underground movement during World War II. After the war, she studied economics, law, political science, and music in Poland and France, and sociology in Canada, where she now lives. She is the author of poems, songs and essays that have been published in Europe, Canada and the United States.



Professor RAUL HILBERG

Raul Hilberg is presently a Professor of Political Science at the University of Vermont. He served in the original crew of the War Documentation Project at Alexandria and is the author of "The Destruction of the European Jews". He recently travelled to Europe and Israel and is compiling a reader in German destructive activities and the Jewish catastrophe.



Rabbi RICHARD RUBINSTEIN

Rabbi Richard Rubinstein is a Professor in the Humanities at the University of Pittsburg and is the Director of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation in Pittsburg. He is a "Death-of-God" theologian and the author of several books, including: "After Auschwitz"; "The Religious Imagination". As well, he has contributed to many periodicals, eg., Playboy, and has travelled and lectured extensively.



Rabbi IRVING GREENBERG

Rabbi Irving Greenberg is a Professor of History at the Yeshiva University. He was ordained Rabbi in 1953 and received his Doctorate at Harvard University in 1960. At present he is also the Chairman of the Advisory Board of Yavneh and a member of the Advisory Board of the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry.

Fateh's Word to Palestine Solidarity Congress

Comrades,

In the name of the Palestinian people and in the name of the Palestine National Liberation Movement, Fateh, I greet our comrades in struggle from Europe for their efforts to support the struggle of the Palestinian people against imperialism and Zionism.

I also seize this occasion to thank the heroic Algerian people, the Algerian government and the FLN for the great efforts they exerted to rally the forces of rebellion against imperialism and Zionism in Europe and which are represented by the delegations convening in this place.

Israel was created in the era of the evolution of capitalism into a world system. This fact should not escape our minds for a single moment.

This means that the dreams of the Zionist Movement, which is part of the world capitalist movement, did not find the objective conditions for their materialization except in the age of imperialism.

Since its inception the Zionist Movement attempted to adapt itself to the size of the interests and political influence of imperialism in the region, as illustrated by the words of T. Herzl to the Ottoman Sultan: "Should His Majesty grant us Palestine, we can ensure for him the complete reorganization of Turkish finances and we shall constitute there a wall against Asia and we shall become the guardians of civilization against barbarism."

Zionism has always and invariably sought to accommodate its objectives to the size of imperialist interests and to link its designs to the political and imperialist influence in the Arab region. As a matter of fact, Israel today is nothing but a frontal post and spearhead for the sum of imperialist interests and pressure on the populations of the region.

It would have been very possible for world Zionist resolutions to remain mere fantasies and dreams had Zionism been left to itself in the conspiracy against Palestine. But world Zionism and imperialism entered into an alliance, Israel was thus born as part of a plan laid down in 1907 and known as the Campbell Berman report. It called for the establishment of an alien state to separate the peoples of Asia and Africa with the intent of securing continued control over the vital and strategic Middle East region. This is how the Sykes Picot agreement came about, paving the ground for the Balfour Declaration of 1917 the Partition Resolution of 1948, the Suez War of 1965 and the June 5 War of 1967.

Comrades,

The economic role played by the capitalist Jewish class controlling the Zionist Movement has always been to sell out the poor working Jewish class and to exploit their social conditions through exploitation of their religious feelings with the intent of securing imperialist and capitalist interests. This is what brings to focus the role to be played by our movement, the Palestine National Liberation Movement, Fateh.

The liberation of Palestine ultimately means the liberation of the needy, toiling Jews oppressed by Zionism to coexist with other peoples of the world and within Palestine without any discrimination.

Comrades,

The revolutionary conditions in the world today are good and herald a prosperous future. Wherever we look, we find peoples taking up arms against colonialism and imperialism as well as peoples preparing to do so and to practice armed struggle.

Our people are proud today in that they are contributing substantially with the heroic people of Vietnam to the suicide of filthy American imperialism.

Our people realized that imperialism can only be felled by a mature and armed population and that the only way to confront the imperialist war machinery is through popular war — through the transformation of the people into a revolutionary force armed with political awareness and through the use of the strategy of long-term war to overcome imperialist technological superiority and its blitzkrieg strategy.

Today, five years after the beginning of our revolutionary struggle, we have been able to realize great achievements, the most important of which being our success in convincing the Palestinian people and the Arab people that colonialism cannot quell peoples indefinitely, that technology cannot defeat the human being and that peaceful coexistence with colonialism is a big fallacy.

Our people have since moved to assume its functions in the world revolution against colonialism and Zionism.

We can state today that the battle of al-Karameh on March 21, 1968, led to the establishment of the pivot bases in the Aghwar in Jordan. Today, after about two years, we can state that the nucleus of the Palestinian popular army has been born and is growing and that the coming year will witness a tangible change in the balance of power. Dayan's call on May 15 to Zionists asking them to enlarge their graveyards in anticipation of an even bloodier war than that of June 5, 1967 would certainly come to be true with the lapse of time.

There are what is called Big Four Power talks to solve the problem of Palestine. We declared and we reiterate that the problem of Palestine cannot be solved in either Moscow or Washington or any other Arab capital. The freedom fighters of the Aghwar and our struggling people have the right and the ability to solve the problem as it should be solved by eradicating Zionism and imperialism along with their economic institutions.

Comrades,

The task which you and we have to shoulder is one of the most honorable and humanitarian tasks. It has become evident that the world revolution against colonialism has become indispensable. Our struggle and ultimate victory in Palestine shall constitute a victory for all freedom fighters and for all the oppressed and exploited people in the world much the same that the victory of the Vietnamese revolution is a victory to us all.

We salute you all and hope this conference would clarify the best means for confronting and eradicating colonialism and Zionism for the establishment of a progressive, Democratic Palestinian State.



OUT OF YOUR
CRUCIFIED GROWTH
OUT OF YOUR
STOLEN SMILE
LIFE WILL EMERGE

انامع الثوار



Fateh, 1965 1970

McGILL UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES
ACC. NO. 867.
REF. 15-38

2 March 1970



Al-Fatah Clarifies Position

The Palestine Revolutionary Liberation Movement (Al-Fatah), in this first general international communiqué to the world press, wishes to clarify certain misunderstandings concerning its operations and the nature of the struggle now being waged by the Arab Palestinian people against the Israeli invader.

The Palestine problem is essentially the problem of an entire people, the Arab majority of Palestine, uprooted and expelled from their homeland in order to permit the establishment of Israel. As a result, before the June aggression, nearly a million and a half Arab Palestinians were being forced to live as refugees in numerous camps throughout the Arab World, surviving on United Nations subsistence rations. The remaining 300,000 inside Israel have been grossly discriminated against by that regime and denied jobs and educational opportunities and every human right. For two decades Israel has denied the Arab refugees' continual requests to return to their land.

At first the expelled, suffering Palestinian people looked to the United Nations to resolve their tragedy. However in 20 years this international organization has failed to resolve their problem. Moreover, its many resolutions stating that refugees should be allowed to return to their country or receive compensation were never implemented. All this time, Israel continued to elaborate and perfect its expansionist plans. These were expressed in the 1956 Tripartite aggression when Israel occupied Sinai and the Gaza Strip for four months in defiance of the U.N.'s admonition to withdraw. They were revealed beyond a doubt once again after the June aggression when Israel occupied and boasted of its unlawful annexation of the Western Bank of the Jordan River, the Gaza Strip, the southern portion of Syria and the Holy City of Jerusalem in defiance of all international law and in complete contempt of the Charter of the United Nations, the Geneva Conventions and the Declaration of Human Rights. Today the United Nations has revealed its inability to impose a just solution to the Palestinian tragedy, by failing to reach an agreement concerning the withdrawal of the aggressor from the occupied territories.

It must be admitted that over the years several Arab leaders have exploited the Palestine problem for their own benefit. Moreover the successive Arab Summit Conferences have failed to give the Palestinian people their due support. Similarly, it must be acknowledged that the

PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) headed by Ahmed Shukairy failed to liberate Palestine. Although progressive Palestinian elements genuinely wanted the latter organization to represent the Palestinian people, certain reactionary forces tried to use it to dominate the Palestinians. Today the PLO, this pseudo-liberation organization, is no longer playing any significant role in the liberation of Palestine. The reason being that it did not spring from the masses themselves but was artificially imposed from above.

The suffering and frustration of the Palestinian people over the years gave rise to a new, truly popular dynamic Palestinian liberation movement which expressed the people's revolt against the Israeli invader. Al-Fatah (the Palestine National Liberation Movement) which was forced to operate clandestinely in the occupied land, began in 1965 to carry out overt guerrilla operations sabotaging Israeli military and strategic installations in order to weaken and unnerve the oppressor who was threatening out people's very existence as a nation as well as menacing the entire Arab World. Until the June 1967 aggression, these operations - which received immediately the enthusiastic support of the Palestinian Arabs throughout the Arab World - had to be waged from outside. However, the Six-Day War and the catastrophic effects it had on the entire Palestinian population inside and outside Israel brought about new conditions in their struggle to liberate their homeland. Ironically enough, due to the new borders which Israel now claims for itself, the Palestinians found themselves confronting a common Zionist enemy entirely within the territorial boundaries of former Palestine. Moreover, the fascist-type repression which Israel began to implement against the Arab inhabitants after the cease-fire engendered a resistance movement similar to that in Vietnam. This popular rebellion against repression is being admitted by Israel. Its proportions and concrete manifestations can no longer be ignored or denied by Israeli spokesmen.

Immediately after the aggression, Al-Fatah began clandestinely organizing the Arab people in the newly occupied as well as formerly occupied territories and encouraged them to have confidence in their own ability to liberate their homeland. Led by their vanguard, the Palestine National Liberation Movement (Al-Fatah), they are now resisting a vastly superior militarily enemy in their midst by every means

2 March 1970

at their disposal: strikes, non-cooperation, boycotts of Israeli goods, denunciation of repressive measures and annexations, etc. Under Al-Fatah's coordination, political and religious personalities have refused to implement the enemy's decrees, teachers are refusing to reopen the schools and schoolchildren are staying away from classes so long as their homeland is dominated by this hostile power.

During this post-aggression period, Al-Fatah's armed wing, Al-Assifa, has also been intensifying its military and sabotage operations against Israeli installations including military camps and stores, electric power plants and railways in order to undermine the enemy's economy and weaken its ability to dominate our people. Israel's industrial plants, printing-presses, administrative centers and para-military kibbutzim now being implanted in the newly occupied zones are also being attacked by Al-Fatah's commandos causing great damage and casualties and increasing tension in Israel. Our people have realized that no other course is open to them if they are not to live in slavery.

The occupation of all Palestine by Israel made possible one of Al-Fatah's most important long-range objectives - the transference of all its military bases into the occupied homeland. This transference has now been completed. From these many well hidden, well stocked bases, Palestinian commandos - most of them dedicated peasants and students - are now operating dozens of times daily throughout the old and newly occupied areas. No part of Israel, no Israeli installation, no Israeli target is out of their reach and that regime may henceforth expect the steadily increasing disruption of its colonialist existence in the weeks and months to come. This undermining of the Israeli Zionist existence will continue until Palestine has been restored to its rightful owners, the Palestine Arabs, who have lived on this land alongside the Jewish minority uninterceptedly for 4,000 years.

Al-Fatah, the Palestine National Liberation Movement, wishes to point out, however, that its operations - which today enjoy the support of the entire Palestinian people - are in no way aimed at the Jewish people as such with whom they lived in harmony in the past for so many centuries. Nor does it intend to "push them into the sea." This resistance and the liberation movement Al-Fatah is coordinating is aimed solely at the Zionist-military-fascist regime which has usurped our homeland and expelled and repressed our two million people, condemning them to a life of destitution and misery.

Al-Fatah also wishes to correct once and for all the Zionist insinuation that this "terrorist" movement is inspired and directed from outside

by such countries as Syria, Jordan and Algeria. Under the conditions existing in the Middle East today, no such foreign-imposed "movement" could long survive for it would soon be rejected by the people. On the other hand, the Palestinian people's liberation movement has arisen out of their desperate frustration and deep aspirations for liberty, justice and dignity in their own self-administered historical homeland. To this it owes its strength.

The world should recall that those who have suffered most of all from the Israeli existence for the last two decades are the Palestinian people. And the world should note that those who are today taking up arms to engage wholeheartedly, unitedly and courageously in combating the brutal Israeli oppressor in guerrilla warfare, under the leadership of Al-Fatah, are the Palestinian people. Their reaction to the napalm bombings, strafings, evictions, summary executions, plundering, brutality, imprisonment, desecration violations and countless other crimes of fascist Israel in recent months has been this spontaneous people's armed upsurge in defense of their dignity and their usurped rights.

The movement Al-Fatah is leading is the organized expression of this people's liberation struggle whose counterparts are to be found throughout the world, wherever fascist and imperialist aggression is being waged - in Vietnam, South Africa, Angola, Bolivia or elsewhere. In occupied Palestine as in these countries the humble, ordinary subjugated people are taking up arms in self-defense and for the eventual liberation of their homeland.

Today, the Arab people of Palestine have decided to take their destiny into their own hands. Today, with arms and courage they are restoring their own lost dignity. Tomorrow, following a long tenacious struggle at the cost of many martyrs - a struggle which will undoubtedly have the support of the entire Arab liberation movement and the progressive peoples of the world - they will restore their beloved homeland, Palestine. Al-Fatah and the entire Palestinian people wholly believe in their just cause and their ultimate victory. And they also know that on the day the flag of Palestine is hoisted over their freed, democratic, peaceful land, a new era will begin in which the Palestinian Jews will again live in harmony, side by side with the original owners of the land, the Arab Palestinians.

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REF. 15-39

COMITE QUEBECOIS DE SOLIDARITE AVEC LE PEUPLE PALESTINIEN

AND THE ARAB STUDENTS' SOCIETY

present

Michel Chartrand : president of the Montreal Central Committee (CNTU)

Workers in strike from Lapalme Transport Co.

Stanley Grey, member of le Front de Libération Populaire

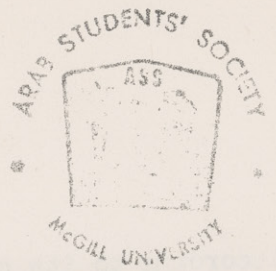
Thursday, March 5
McGill University
Leacock Build, L-132

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ALL WELCOME

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2 March 1970



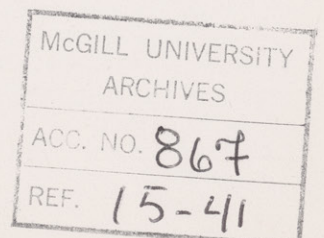
Q: What is the ideological and military programme of the Front, and what is its basic points?

A: The Front is ideologically committed to the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. The experience of national liberation movements in the underdeveloped countries, proves that Marxism-Leninism is the only ideology which is capable of mobilizing and preparing the masses to undergo the national liberation struggle and to achieve the aims of the Democratic national revolution. Cuba, Vietnam, Korea and China are all living examples of this. At the same time the movements based on bourgeois ideology have failed in the struggle against neo-colonialism and its allies the reactionary classes. The petit-bourgeois have also found themselves incapable of continuing the struggle to achieve the aims of national liberation; economic and political independence and heavy industrialization. They are unable to fight neo-colonialism, led by the U.S., and consequently adopted a programme of retreat and compromise with it. This was illustrated in the Arab countries during and after the June war. The petit-bourgeois regimes were incapable of continuing the struggle against the forces of Zionism, Imperialism and reactionary Arabs and were forced to compromise with them, accepting the U.N. resolution of October 23, 1967 which is detrimental to the national liberation movement and the people of Palestine.

U.S. Imperialism is passing through a crucial period as its forces are divided between Europe and Vietnam. Opening a front against it in the Middle East would exhaust its capacities and hasten its defeat as a world power. The petit-bourgeois are incapable of continuing the struggle and leading a protracted peoples war thus changing the Middle East into a second Vietnam as this is contrary to its vested interests in maintaining power.

Q: What was the nature of the nucleus from which the Democratic Front developed?

A: The Democratic Popular Front is a revolutionary organization committed to Marxism-Leninism. It was originally formed by the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist wing of the Popular Front which had been growing and developing within the Arab National Movement, the backbone in the formation of the Popular Front in October 1967. From the very beginning until the August conference of 1968, this wing struggled to commit the whole Front to Marxism-Leninism and to a left-wing programme for national liberation. In spite of a leftist victory in the conference the right refused in practice to accept this programme. This was what caused the Marxist-Leninist wing of the Front to declare its separation from it and to establish the Democratic Popular Front on the 21st of February 1969. The Democratic Front declared from the beginning that it is open to all progressive elements who believe that armed struggle is the basic road to national liberation. It also declared that it will struggle to unite all left-wing Palestinian organizations into one organization. The Front received many progressives and revolutionary Marxists into its ranks. In addition to this a conference of the Palestinian Revolutionary Left League and a conference of the Popular Organisation for the Liberation of Palestine were convened. Both these Marxist-Leninist organisations decided to dissolve their political and military organisations and to join the ranks of the Democratic Front. This was declared to the Palestinian and Arab masses and the process of unification has now been completed.



2 March 1970

According to its commitment to Marxism and this concrete analysis of the nature of national liberation movements in the Third World, the Front asserts that the only vanguard capable of leading the masses towards liberation are revolutionary Marxists who adopt armed struggle as the basic road to liberation and who would fight for the mobilization and arming of the more revolutionary classes in society; the workers and the landless peasantry. The political programme also analyzes the class structure of Arab societies, and to raise the revolutionary political consciousness of the masses exposes the stand taken by each class in relation to the problems of national liberation and the struggle against neo-colonialism, imperialism and world reaction.

The Democratic Front appeals to all progressive Palestinian and Arab organizations for a united struggle against the forces of the counter-revolution; Imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction. It also calls for the formation of a broad national front containing all forces and classes which are opposed to Imperialism and Zionism and which are ready to lead a protracted armed struggle. The programme of the Democratic Front is based on the training and arming of the masses for the struggle against Zionism, Imperialism and against all (concessions and) compromises which are detrimental to the national liberation movement and to the struggle of the Palestinian people for the liberation of their country. At the same time the Front seeks to widen the struggle against the racist and expansionist Zionist state and believes in the necessity of armed struggle against neo-colonialism and imperialism in the Middle East.

The Democratic Front believes that armed struggle is the basic road open to the Palestinian and Arab people and also to the peoples of the underdeveloped countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America in the struggle for national liberation and the defeat of neo-colonialism, imperialism and their allies the feudal and the bourgeois regimes. Consequently the Democratic Front will continue its struggle whatever the conditions will be against all Zionist and Imperialist institutions exemplified by the State of Israel in the Middle East. We also believe that the struggle of the Palestinian people is part of the world-wide struggle against all the forces of the counter-revolution.

Q: What is the social formation of the Front?

A: The Front is committed to Marxism-Leninism. It is therefore anxious that the formation of its forces should be largely from the workers, the landless peasantry and the refugees. The Democratic Front is the only Palestinian resistance organization which does not offer its members any material benefits.

Q: What form will development take in Palestine after liberation? And what will the position of the Jews be?

A: The State of Israel is the product of the alliance between Jewish capitalism and World capitalism. Jewish capitalism has adopted Zionism as a means to generate racist sentiments among Jews of all classes, and by using religious slogans and historical pretensions, it has endeavoured to separate working class Jews from the

working class of the world
 setting up of a racist
 national solution to
 State of Israel
 tactics

738
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working class of the world, and mobilize them for the invasion of Palestine and the setting up of a racist, expansionist state. The Democratic Front believes in a just solution to the Palestine problem, based on the rejection of all forms of national persecution, the liquidation of the Zionist presence as represented by the State of Israel, and the setting up of a socialist, democratic Palestinian state containing both Arabs and Jews under the leadership of the Working class. We are struggling for a socialist Palestinian state opposed to class exploitation and racial persecution and also opposed to local reactionary forces; a state in which both Arabs and Jews have equal status and have a right to develop their national cultures although not to a chauvinistic extent. The democratic Palestinian state will be opposed to neo-colonialism and imperialism and will struggle to open a world front, composed of socialist and working class forces, for a continuous struggle against imperialism and international capitalism and their eventual defeat.

Q: What is the strategy and tactics of the Front for the liberation of Palestine?

A: The Front believes that the liberation of Palestine can only be achieved by the Palestinian people under revolutionary leadership. At the same time the Front believes that it is impossible to separate the struggle of the Palestinian people from the struggle of the Arab liberation movements and the world revolutionary movements. Consequently the Front believes that the only means of liberating Palestine is through a peoples war. A protracted peoples war in the Middle East is historically the only way to defeat the technically superior war machines of Zionism and Imperialism. The liberation of Vietnam and Cuba is a proof of this, while the defeat of the Arab armies in the June War is a proof of the sterility and failure of a confrontation with Imperialism and Zionism using regular armies in a regular war. The Israeli regular army supported by imperialism is superior to the Arab regular armies due to technological, scientific and cultural reasons. The liberation of Vietnam and Cuba prove that a peoples war which uses both regular units and guerilla warfare in a protracted struggle is the only way to achieve victory and the liberation of Palestine and the Arab countries and the defeat of Imperialism, Zionism and Arab reactionary forces.

It will be possible to develop Palestinian armed struggle into an Arab and Palestinian peoples war of liberation only if revolutionary changes take place in the Arab states and a revolutionary leadership comes to power ready to support a peoples war and ready to carry out its programme which is based on the mobilization of all economic, human and cultural capacities and the mobilization, organization and arming of the masses for a long struggle and the launching of a second Vietnam in the Middle East.

Q: What is the Front view of a peaceful settlement?

A: We don't like fighting for its own sake. War is only an extension of politics. We are not against peaceful settlements in the absolute sense but we are against peaceful settlements which are detrimental to the rights of the Palestinian people, and which are a retreat in the face of Imperialism, Zionism and Arab reactionary forces. The causes behind the Imperialist-Zionist offensive on June 5, 1967 were to force the

recognition of Israel, within secure borders, on the Arab states, and the encirclement of the national liberation movements in the Arab countries in an attempt to weaken and destroy them. The Security Council resolution is an attempt at the liquidation of the Palestine problem and is a retreat and surrender to Imperialism, Zionism and Arab reactionary forces. Consequently the Front and all progressive national forces, both Palestinian and Arab, reject these so-called peaceful settlements.

Through an analysis of the situation, we can see that the Arab states are ready to reach a compromise with Imperialism and Zionism detrimental to the rights and interests of the Palestinian people and the national liberation movements. This will impose new conditions on these movements, as the liquidation of the armed Palestinian resistance organizations, in order to insure secure borders for Israel, will be part of that compromise. This will force the resistance movements to fight on two fronts; one against Israel and one against the Arab states which accept this compromise, particularly the reactionary regime in Jordan.

There is a great difference between a political settlement in Vietnam which comes as a result of the success of the Vietnamese liberation movement and a political settlement imposed by the military victory of Zionism and Imperialism. The Democratic Front reject all such compromises and will continue the struggle.

Q: What connection does the Front see between the Palestinian liberation movement and the liberation movements of: Asia, Africa and Latin America?

A: Proceeding from our Marxist-Leninist ideology and our belief in the unity of the struggle against world counter-revolution the Front believes that the struggle for the liberation of Palestine is an intrinsic part of the liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America and a part of the world socialist revolution. Victory in Vietnam is a victory for all socialist and revolutionary forces in the world, parallel to this a defeat of any liberation movement in the Third World will be a defeat of all revolutionary liberation movements and a victory for the forces of the world counter-revolution led by the U.S. The lack of unity in the world revolutionary front against Neo-Colonialism, Imperialism and world reaction is one of the main causes of the series of defeats the liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America have suffered. This has caused International Imperialism, more specifically American Imperialism to move from defensive to an offensive position, to the point of directly intervening in some socialist countries, as is taking place now in Vietnam and as happened in the "Bay of Pigs" fiasco. We support the message written by comrade "Che" Guevara to this effect which he sent to the Havana Congress.

The belief in the need for unity in the world liberation struggles against Imperialism Neo-colonialism and world reactionary forces should be applied in practice.

We will struggle continuously to set up a world revolutionary front containing the liberation movements of the "Third World", the Socialist camp and the revolutionary socialist movements in the capitalist countries.

The Democratic Popular Front for
the Liberation of Palestine.