

PROPHECY AND MODERN ISRAEL

By Calvin Keene

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Our times are remarkable in many respects, including the fact that ancient nations mentioned in the Old Testament have reappeared today as independent powers: the establishment of Israel after 1900 years of "Dispersion" is one of the most striking of these modern events. Many Christians have been deeply impressed by the return of Jews to Palestine, believing it to be a fulfillment of ancient prophecies which portend the imminent return of Christ and the end of the world. Radio carries the messages of many persons who believe they can decipher our immediate future on the basis of biblical writings; books and magazines carry similar material. Oral Roberts, for instance, has published a work called, *God's Timetable for the End of Time*, and Hal Lindsay is author of a book (said to have been printed in 600,000 copies during its first two years alone) entitled, *The Late Great Planet Earth*. The Billy Graham Foundation, in a beautiful film named "His Land," and Herbert W. Armstrong, in his magazine *Plain Truth* (of which two million copies are printed monthly), make predictions of our future on the basis of biblical interpretations.

Prophecy and Politics

One result of this present emphasis upon prophecy is a political one, for those Christians who believe that the re-establishment of Israel today is part of

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God's "plan" regard Israel with favor and lend their support to its policies and deeds, without critical regard for moral issues in the Middle Eastern situation. That Israel has created living space for itself at the expense of a million and a half Palestinians who lost homes, orchards, gardens, and all their belongings, without any compensation, is disregarded, since this too appears to

Wide World Photos



Jewish newcomers say hello to Israel.

be part of the Divine plan.

Since the beginning of Christianity, Christians have awaited the return of Christ, which was expected momentarily during the first years after the Resurrection. More recently, some persons will recall William Miller's Second Advent Movement of 1843 and 1844 and the well-publicized statement in the 1920s that "millions now living will never die," since Christ has returned. In the face of the great dangers that face all of humanity in this generation, hope is found by many in

the biblical passages which appear to promise God's assistance at such critical times as these. These "prophecies" are found primarily in the apocalyptic writings of both Old and New Testaments. The passages most frequently quoted are taken from the following: Isaiah 24-25; Ezekiel 26-40; Zechariah 9-14; Daniel; Matthew 24; Mark 13; Luke 17; and the book of

Revelation, which are called "apocalyptic" since the word means "uncovered" or "revealed," in the sense of uncovering God's future actions.

In its original form, as derived from Moses, the Hebrew religion was deeply rooted in the belief that a special agreement or "Covenant," established at the foot of Mt. Sinai, related the Hebrews to Yahweh. He had graciously agreed to adopt the Hebrews as his special people and to look after their welfare, and they in turn had agreed to obey and worship him. If they did obey

they would prosper as a people; if, on the contrary, they disobeyed, he would destroy them or otherwise punish them (Joshua 24:19f.).

A strong moral element is found in the early understanding of the Covenant, for obedience to the Ten Commandments and other laws of morality was required as a way of obeying God's will.

In the eighth century, and continuing through the sixth century B.C., emphasis was placed by the greatest of all the Old Testament prophets after Moses upon ethical demands. The great eighth century personalities stated repeatedly that God does not care for sacrifices and the keeping of holy days, but does demand mercy, justice and righteousness. Thus Amos, after charging the Hebrews of his day with betrayal of the Covenant through their greed, injustice, bribery and lack of mercy, sums up his positive message in the words, "Let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream" (5:24). Hosea, in similar fashion, states God's demands

Apocalyptic Emphasis

The apocalyptic strain in the Bible, on the other hand, usually omitted the emphasis upon the future being the result of ethical or unethical living. It was strongly nationalistic in that it was concerned with what God would do for his chosen people, Jews or Christians, as the case might be. As seemingly hopeless political situations developed, the apocalyptic writers predicted God's direct intervention in affairs. A variety of forms of hope were pictured, some related to a Messiah. For example, when the Jews came under control of the Selucids, and their very religion was threatened in 168 B.C. by the ruler Antiochus Epiphanes, the book of Daniel was probably written, giving hope through its message of God's direct assistance. During a period of persecution of Christians under Domitian in 95 A.D., the book of Revelation probably came into being. In both instances, the authors portray the historical situation in veiled form with absolute precision, up until the anticipated supernatural intervention,

Interpretive Errors

Much of the apocalyptic material is obscure, but since both prophetic and apocalyptic works were written to speak to a particular situation at a given time, it is very uncertain and risky to assume that they were intended for the twentieth century. Modern interpreters such as those mentioned above are persuasive as heard or read. They usually uphold the view that, with the re-establishment of the State of Israel, the second coming of Christ and the end of the world are near at hand. Verses quoted seem to make a single coherent pattern. But the person who wishes to obtain a clear view of the situation would do well to take a copy of the Bible, lay beside it a good commentary and in these two books follow the arguments with care. He will find that the supposed "proofs" are suspect or at least far from certain. The first matter he will need to consider is when, for what purpose, and under what circumstances the biblical books were written. The predictions of Jewish return to Israel are found in the Old

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In the streets, uniforms become commonplace.

Dissident Arabs are singled out.

Racked by war, the disinherited

thus, "I desire steadfast love and not sacrifice, the knowledge of God rather than burnt offerings" (6:6). According to these men, then, the future of the nation would be the consequence of God's reward or punishment for the *moral and ethical life* of that nation. Because the people lived without mercy and justice, all the great prophets prior to the Exile in Babylon saw disaster coming from God. It did come, as expected and for the reason given.

which failed to take place in the form expected. Unlike the prophetic writings, the apocalyptic material stresses the element of prediction concerning God's great acts which are to come, with little or nothing said about the ethical and moral demands made by God on his people. This latter material is used primarily by current interpreters, with additional passages from the great prophets which can be fitted into it.

Testament largely at the time of the Exile, when the Jews had been removed from their land. These predictions were fulfilled in the late sixth century B.C., and do not refer to modern Israel. In the Billy Graham motion picture (as an example of misuse of the prophets), Ezekiel's valley of dry bones (c. 37), which clearly refers to the return from Babylonia, is made to refer to Jewish migrations into Palestine in this century. Ezekiel was writing for his

period, providing hope for the captive Israelites. It is mistaken or worse to make such a prediction apply otherwise. Similarly in all these biblical passages there is no indication that they are intended for a period thousands of years later. One might also note that the nations mentioned, the forms of warfare, and the settings are all appropriate to the period in which the materials were written.

Incomplete References

Interpreters sometimes pick out a verse or even portion of a verse and omit the part that does not suit their purposes. As one example, Hal Lindsay (p. 82) in referring to Revelation 9:13 ff., states that an "Asian horde" of 200 million men will wipe out a third of the earth's population, and finds in verse 18 that the destruction will be done through fire, smoke and brimstone, which, he states, is "strikingly similar to the phenomena associated with thermonuclear war." But in the passage indicated, taken as it stands, the troops are all cavalry, the heads of the horses are like lions' heads, and the fire, smoke and sulphur issue from the mouths of the horses, not from the sky! By using the verses or words that fit the thesis, this may be taken as prediction, but not as it actually stands in the original source.

Faulty Translations

Another illustration of how the scriptures may be misused is one from Billy Graham's "His Land." Using a special translation of the Bible called the "Living Prophecies translation," the film states that modern Israel is a fulfillment of Zephaniah 3:9, which is quoted as reading thus, "At that time I will change the speech of My returning people to pure Hebrew so that all can worship the Lord together." But anyone examining any accepted other translation of the Bible will find that it does not say this at all! Thus, the King James translation reads: "For then will I turn to the people a pure language, that they may all call upon the name of the Lord. . . ." Nothing in the passage mentions either the Hebrew language and its use in modern Israel, or a "return." Such use of the scriptures makes the reader question whether the prophecies interpret the scriptures or the scriptures are made to reflect the "prophecies" of some modern interpreters!

First-Century Prophecy

Since the book of Revelation is used to such a large extent in these predictions of our immediate future, we need to recognize that the book itself states that it was written specifically for its own time, not for ours. The introduction to the book mentions that it contains a revelation of Jesus Christ of what "must soon take place" (1:1) and ends with the phrase, "for the time is near" (1:3). The final chapter reiterates the warning by stating that the Lord has shown what "must soon take place" (22:6), "the time is near" (22:10), and in the penultimate verse (22:20), " 'Surely I am coming soon.' " There is not the slightest indication that the book was written for a far distant time, such as ours. Similarly, events now predicted for the present day are in the gospels themselves specifically mentioned as occurring back in the first century. Matthew 24:33, which follows the prediction of the Son of man coming on the clouds with power and glory, adds "Truly, I say this to you, this generation will not pass away till all these

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say good-bye.

things take place." In Matthew 16:28, Jesus says, "Truly, I say to you, there are some standing here who will not taste death before they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom." Also, to the disciples, he says, "You will not have gone through all the towns of Israel, before the son of man comes." Parallels are noted in other Gospels, such as Mark 13 and Luke 21.

Too-easily held interpretation of scripture needs to take warning from

the words of the New Testament: "It is not for you to know times and seasons which the Father has fixed by his own authority" (Acts 1:7). Jesus' own ignorance of the future is expressed in these words, "But of that day and hour no one knows, not even the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but only the Father" (Mark 14:32).

God's Measuring Rod

The most that can be said of the message of prophecy for our day is that it is very difficult to determine what is predicted to happen and when. But there is a greater issue at stake. What is the relation of this kind of unbounded curiosity concerning the future to true Christianity? Is Christianity a teaching that we should wait for God to destroy the world senselessly (a third of the world population in one stroke, regardless of who they are or what they have done), or is it summed up in the two great commandments that we should be completely devoted to God and should love our fellow men as we love ourselves? The popular approach emphasizes the miraculous at the expense of the ethical and, for many, also at the expense of losing Christianity as man's life with God and with other men *in the present*. Jesus and the great prophets took just the opposite stand. Jesus called men to repent now of their selfishness and to turn to God in love and response. The unknown future is safe in God's hands and can be entrusted to him.

If this is the proper understanding of our faith, then evaluation of the State of Israel must be made in this perspective. The issue is not whether its reappearance as a state foretells the end of the world but how Israel is related to the purposes of God in history from the standpoint of Christ's teaching. He and the great prophets would say that modern Israel is to be judged, as the eight-century prophets said ancient Israel would be judged, by its practice or lack of practice of justice, mercy and righteousness. With these as the standards, the future of this new state will be determined. They bring into sharp focus for Christians as well as for God-fearing Jews the question of Israel's relationship to those within and without its boundaries. Such is God's measuring rod, and religious faith knows the future as the consequence of the measuring, not as some fanciful picture created by juxtaposing uncertain bits of supposed ancient prediction.

Israeli Violations of Human Rights

By L. Humphrey Walz

On February 15, the UN (ECOSOC) Commission on Human Rights, as agenda item 4 of its 33rd session, again condemned Israel's continuing "violation of human rights in the territories" it has occupied since June 1967. By coincidence, that was also the last day of my seventh visit to the Holy Land since the establishment of the State of Israel.

I went this time primarily to see how individuals and organizations I respect and admire are faring in the light of the repressive recommendations of the Koenig Report.

Although the Koenig Report applies to suppression of human rights specifically in *Galilee*, I believe it can be regarded as reflecting official Israel policy toward non-Jews in *all* Israeli-controlled areas. Behind my belief lie the following factors:

1. In preparing his report, Israel Koenig (Israeli District Commissioner for the North) had the collaboration of prominent activists in Mapai, the party of Ben-Gurion, Eshkol, Meir, Peres and Rabin. Zvi Aldoraty, Mapai candidate for Director of Arab Affairs, was a major co-author (see *New Outlook*, Tel Aviv, Sept./Oct., 1976, and *Jewish Press*, N.Y., Oct. 8, 1976).
2. Though Amos Eiran, Director General of the Israeli Prime Minister's Office, deplored *Al-Hamishmar's* September 7 "leaking" of the Koenig Report (*Ha'aretz*, September 9, 1976), neither the then Prime Minister Rabin nor any governmental agency has repudiated its recommendations.
3. Despite the clamor of Israeli "doves," Koenig has neither been transferred nor demoted.
4. Koenig's proposals are in line with these current Israeli policies and practices condemned in Section A, paragraph 4, of the February 15 statement by the Commission on Human Rights: "The establishment of Israeli settler colonies therein and the transfer of alien population thereto; mass destruction and demolition

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of Arab houses; . . . the confiscation of Arab property and land by Israeli Authorities and individuals; . . . the promulgation of discriminatory economic legislation; (and) the denial . . . of rights to national educational and cultural life . . ."

Samples of the extensive restrictions urged by Koenig follow:

1. Jewish employers must reduce the number of their non-Jewish employees.
2. Non-Jewish opportunities for education must be limited.
3. Young non-Jews should be encouraged to study abroad and face difficulties in returning home.
4. Family incentives must be withheld from non-Jews.
5. Campaign "dirty tricks" must be played on Rakah which, almost alone among Israeli political parties, has championed Palestinian rights.
6. Controllable "Uncle Toms" must replace the present Arab leadership.

Koenig's report contains, in all, twenty-three recommendations of which the above are typical. People who have lived in Galilee since 1947 say it has added nothing to what they have been enduring for almost three decades.

Galilee, Bright Galilee

To see how all this affected the daily lives of people under Koenig's suzerainty, I went up to his Galilean bailiwick and talked with various persons. The following allegations struck me as needing especially to be checked for their accuracy and typicalness:

The Ford and Dodge assembly plants hire non-Jews only when Jews are not available; as Jews become available for employment, non-Jews are fired to make way for them. (According to R. C. Lawrence in *Dresser News*, Jan. 1977, "it is illegal for American companies to discriminate on the basis of race or religion and the penalties for civil-rights violations are very severe." Does this apply to U. S. firms doing business in Israel?)

Non-Jews are forced to sell their lands at low, government-dictated prices; when they refuse to sell, their property is confiscated and the money is placed in a savings bank where (do my notes deceive me?) they are *charged* interest until they withdraw it.

An immigrant Jew, income-tax-free and aided by a bonus, bought two flats in a high-rise complex and is paying off the interest and amortization at 200 Israeli pounds a month for each; he

lives in one flat and rents the other at 700 pounds on a month-to-month basis to a native Christian who has no other housing available.

Per capita government aid to non-Jews is one quarter of that to Jews.

Non-Jewish natives claim to be victims of selective red tape, runaround, delays and economic pressures that are not imposed on their Jewish counterparts.

Foreign charitable contributions for indiscriminating use are reputedly steered into predominantly Jewish channels. As evidence of this I was shown: 1.) "The Frank Sinatra Center for International Understanding between Arabs, Jews and Americans," which has reportedly been taken over by Histadrut, the highly politicized Zionist labor union; and 2.) "The Cardinal Cushing Medical Center" (clinic, etc.), which is allegedly being used as the administration building for Histadrut's medical insurance program.

Back to the West Bank

I went from Galilee to Jerusalem by way of Tiberias, the Jordan Valley and Jericho. In Tiberias the Presbyterian "Sea of Galilee Hospital" has been taken over by the authorities; the Presbyterian church is no more, its pastor and congregation having long since become refugees. Passing the once-teeming camps of Ein es-Sultan and Aqaba Jebel where refugees had built homes and communities before their Second Exodus of June 1967, I observed the almost total ruin resulting from the fact that their former tens of thousands of residents have not been allowed to return to their homes.

In Jerusalem, I sought out Professor Israel Shahak, translator and annotator of the Koenig Report. I wanted his judgment on how closely my observations and the recommendations of the Koenig Report matched the record of *official* Israeli conduct. By way of illustrative answer, he gave me a copy of his 138-page paperback, *The Non-Jew in the Jewish State*. This is a collection of news items, feature articles and governmental publications bearing on "normal" and "official" discriminatory practices. He also gave me mimeographed copies of similar materials that have appeared since the 1975 publication of the book. They add up to an overwhelming impression that Koenig's recommendations are simply pressing for fuller application of accepted Israeli concepts and strategy.

My observations have been largely negative thus far. It is therefore only fair to note that the "Rights to Nazareth" movement has not been stopped from publicizing its complaints against the government on banners,

Role of Jerusalem in a Possible Arab Entity

By Evan M. Wilson

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The question of Jerusalem is central to any discussion of a possible Palestine Arab entity, because of the close links — historical, economic and religious — between the Old City of Jerusalem and the West Bank of the Jordan and indeed the Arab world in general. (The term “Old City” is employed to mean not only the Walled City of Jerusalem but the remainder of the municipal area that came under the Jordanian municipality as of June 4, 1967). It would be very difficult, if not impossible, to envisage any solution of the problem of a Palestine Arab entity without a corresponding solution of the problem of Jerusalem. It would certainly be difficult to set up any meaningful kind of Palestine Arab entity on the West Bank so long as the entire city of Jerusalem remains in Israeli hands. Conversely, it would probably be impossible to gain Israeli acceptance for the creation of a Palestine Arab entity on the West Bank with the Arabs regaining possession (as they would like to do) of the Old City. Thus a compromise between the two sides may be essential to gain a settlement.

The connection of Jerusalem with the Jews of the world and with Israel is well known, from the Bible and from Jewish religious tradition. We are all familiar with the story of the ancient Hebrew prophets, the kingdom, the exile, the return and the eventual dispersion of the Jews by the Romans in 70 A.D. We know that ever since in their prayers the Jews have said “next year in Jerusalem” and that the city of Zion played a key role in the entire Zionist movement, to which indeed it gave its name. It is not surprising, given this background, that, shortly after the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, the Israeli government

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Church of the Holy Sepulchre

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issued a proclamation (August 2, 1948) declaring the western portion of the city to be Israeli-occupied territory. In late 1949 and early 1950 most Israeli government departments were moved to the New City of Jerusalem and on January 23, 1950, a resolution of the Knesset (Parliament) proclaimed that Jerusalem was “once again” the capital.

Jerusalem, however, is a city that has likewise always had a special meaning for the Arabs. It will be recalled that when the ancient Hebrews or Israelites entered the land of Canaan, which we know today as Palestine, and established their capital, the city of David, in Jerusalem around the year 1,000 B.C., they dispossessed the earlier inhabitants, the Canaanites (who had themselves migrated earlier from the Arabian peninsula), the Philistines and other tribes. The Jewish Kingdom, however, lasted less than 500 years and the only other periods until 1948 when the Jews were in control of any substantial portion of Palestine or of Jerusalem were under the Maccabees or Hasmoneans, for a little over 100 years

(from 167 to 63 B.C. and 40 to 37 B.C.), and again briefly under Bar Kochba (132-135 A.D.).

Throughout history, the country commonly called Syria, of which Palestine was always considered (until the end of the First World War) to be the southern portion, has been subjected to successive waves of invasion, with the result that its people represent a racial amalgam. The indigenous inhabitants of Palestine, whom we began to call the Palestine Arabs in the post-World War I period, are the descendants of all the various peoples who have occupied the country, beginning with the Canaanites and other Old Testament tribes and running through the Greeks, Romans, Muslim Arabs, Crusaders from Western Europe, Turks and, certainly, Jews. In this latter connection it is regarded by many scholars as unlikely that all of the Jewish inhabitants of Palestine perished or were driven out of the country in 70 A.D. A number of them must have remained in the country and must have been eventually converted to Christianity. It is also

incorrect, according to many historians, to regard the Palestine Arabs as having entered Palestine for the first time during the Muslim Arab conquest in the seventh century. The invading Arab force was relatively small in number but it seems clear that gradually, over the next few centuries, most of the local inhabitants were converted to Islam, mass conversions of populations being common in these times. At the time of the Muslim Arab conquest the population of Palestine was largely Christian and indeed a considerable number, amounting to at least 10 percent, of the Palestine Arabs remain so today.

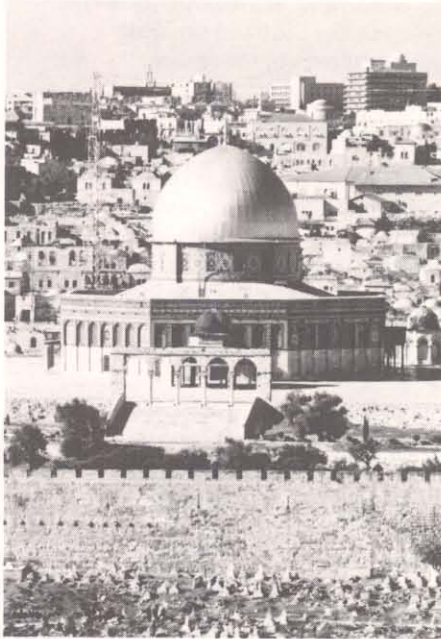
The Arabs of Palestine claim, therefore, and with some historical justification, that they are the descendants of the original inhabitants of Palestine and of the city of Jerusalem. They point to the fact that from the Muslim Arab conquest of the seventh century to the British conquest in 1917 the city was in Muslim hands (with the exception of course of the period of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem from 1099 to 1187 and again from 1229 to 1244). After the final expulsion of the Crusaders, the city was held by the Ayyubids, by the Mamlukes of Egypt, and beginning in 1517 by the Ottoman Turks, whose rule lasted just 400 years. During most of these 1300-odd years of Muslim occupation, Jews and Christians were tolerated in the city, although subject to certain disabilities such as the wearing of distinctive dress and the payment of special taxes. The dominant religion, however, was Islam, and the dominant culture, Arab. This is attested by the various monuments of the period still extant in the city, particularly those erected in Mamluke times.

While essentially Muslim and Arab in character, Jerusalem remained a site of Christian and Jewish pilgrimage and was the place of residence of small Christian and Jewish communities. It was not, however, until the development of Jewish immigration into Palestine, beginning in the late nineteenth century, that the Jewish population of the city grew to any sizeable extent. In the 1880s Jews represented one-half of the residents of Jerusalem, and, in 1898, two thirds. From then on, the city had a Jewish majority but this was never true of the whole of Palestine, even after the Balfour Declaration (1917) and the Mandate (1920) gave official impetus to

Jewish immigration: by the time of the 1947 United Nations partition plan, Jews were still only one-third of the population of the country, with the Arabs accounting for two-thirds.

During the period of the Mandate, the Arab and Muslim character of the city was maintained, and, following the partition of the city in 1948, the Old City of Jerusalem developed as an important Arab center. It was the center of publication of the Arabic-language press of Jordan; it received thousands of Arab visitors each year and economically there developed the closest ties between the Old City and the West Bank. The road network on the West Bank had its center in the Old City, which was the commercial hub of the region — far more so than Amman. It was the marketing center for the fruits and vegetables of the entire West Bank and the inhabitants of the region made frequent use of its many Arab banks, all with headquarters in Amman. The Old City with its Holy Places was an important source of foreign exchange for the Hashimite Kingdom, whose income from tourism, a large proportion of which was

Jordan Ministry of Information



Dome of the Rock Mosque

accounted for by Jerusalem, was running in the neighborhood of 30-40 million dollars a year. In 1966, for example, the country's earnings from tourism were estimated at over \$31,000,000, with 85 percent attributable to the West Bank, including the Old City. It was estimated that 70 percent of the foreign tourists

entering Jordan by air did so through Jerusalem's Kalandia airport.

Jerusalem, therefore, is a city that is important not only to the Jew but to the Arab — it might be called a binational city, with residents, both Jewish and Arab, who have connections with the city going back for centuries. The mayor of the Old City at the time of the June War, for example, Rawhi al-Khatib, comes from a family which has lived in Jerusalem for eight hundred years. But Jerusalem is more than just a city with Arab and Jewish inhabitants, or an Arab and a Jewish city side by side: it has associations, religious, historical and archaeological, which make it unique and which make it an international, world center — no less an Eternal City than Rome. This uniqueness springs mainly, though by no means wholly, from the associations which the city has as the Holy City of the world's three great monotheistic religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

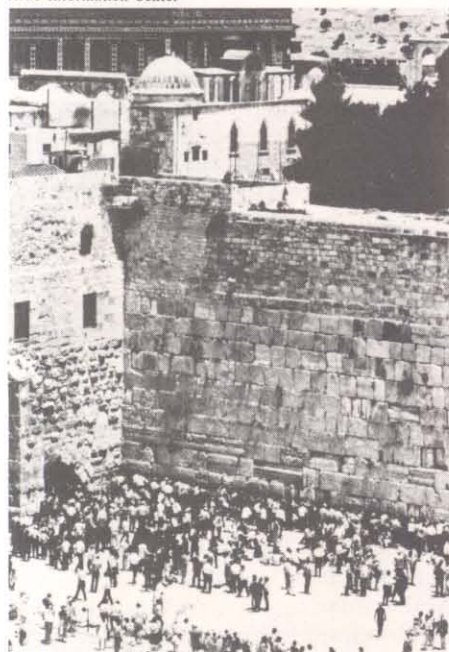
The Question of the Holy Places

The issue here is that just as Palestine is the Holy Land of the three faiths, so is Jerusalem their Holy City. Their interests are focused on one particular site, which happens to be, tradition tells us, where Abraham prepared to sacrifice Isaac, Solomon built his Temple, Christ taught, and Muhammad began his miraculous night-journey to Heaven. This one spot, the Temple Mount or Mount Moriah or the Haram al-Sharif as it is variously called, epitomizes the whole problem of Palestine and of the Holy Places. It is sacred to Jews because it occupies a central place in their religious tradition and because it is the site of the Wailing Wall (actually the outer wall of the Muslim Haram al-Sharif or Noble Enclosure). To Christians, there is no other spot so closely associated with the life of Jesus, from childhood to death. And to Muslims, the scene of Muhammad's night-journey into Heaven is so sacred that they consider Jerusalem to be their third holiest city, after Mecca and Medina. Since the Arabs claim descent from Abraham through his first-born son Ishmael, just as the Jews claim descent from him through Isaac, it is understandable that when the Arabs came to Jerusalem in the seventh century they should have erected their great shrine, the Dome of the Rock, on the spot where Abraham

went to sacrifice his son and where Muhammad started out on his mystical trip up to Heaven and back. It is worth noting that in the years leading to the June War, several hundreds of thousands of Muslim pilgrims came here every year, from places as far away as Morocco or Indonesia.

While the Temple area most dramatically illustrates the way in which the interests of the three religions are intermingled in the Jerusalem area, the shrines of the three are scattered about the city in such a way as to make their physical separation an impossibility. Other instances which

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The Wailing Wall

come to mind are Mount Zion, the site of the Cenacle, or Room of the Last Supper (for which it is sacred to Christians) and also of the Tomb of David, sacred to both Muslims and Jews, David being one of those Old Testament figures who is revered by both faiths. The Mount of Olives and Bethany, both of which have special associations with the life of Christ, happen also to be the sites of Muslim shrines. Jewish tombs are scattered over the slopes of the Mount of Olives and are in close proximity to the Garden of Gethsemane, as are Muslim graves near the city wall.

This overlapping of the Holy Places has been a major cause of the rivalries and conflicts which have been a characteristic of the history of the Holy Land for so many centuries. These rivalries and conflicts, both between the different faiths, as for example the

conflict between Muslims and Jews over the Wailing Wall, and among the Christian denominations, as for example the disputes at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre or the Church of the Nativity, caused endless problems for the Turkish and British administrators of Palestine in the past. The same rivalries and conflicts regarding the Holy Places were responsible for the fact that all of the proposals advanced over the years for the solution of the Palestine problem provided for a special status for Jerusalem because of its unique character as the site of the shrines.

In summary, it is submitted that so violent, so intense have been the passions and emotions that have been aroused that exclusive possession of the entire city and its Holy Places by any one of the three faiths will be contested by the other two. And that is what is happening now. The belief that the conflicts over the Holy Places are so deep-seated as to make it unwise to entrust the shrines to the sole care of those immediately involved, and that some outside presence is required, is enhanced by the fact that today Jews, Christians and Muslims all have cause for concern at infringements of their rights in the past and possible infringements in the future.

Concerns of Jews, Christians and Muslims

Prior to the June War, the Jews were concerned at the denial to them for nineteen years of access to the Wailing Wall and other Jewish shrines in the Old City, at the desecration which undoubtedly took place, during the Jordanian occupation, of the Jewish cemeteries on the Mount of Olives, and the bad condition of the synagogues and other buildings in the Jewish Quarter of the Walled City.

The Christians, for their part, were unhappy about their treatment at the hands of both the Muslim Jordanians and the Israelis. In Jordan, they were particularly concerned about the effect on the many Christian schools of a new education law and at instances of discrimination against Christians in such matters as employment. In Israel, they encountered various bureaucratic obstacles and indeed closed most of the Christian schools in the country. There were instances of vandalism committed against Christian property, such as the American Protestant Cemetery in the

New City of Jerusalem. An attempt by the Israeli religious authorities (discontinued after strong Christian protests) to close Mount Zion on the Sabbath, in the spring of 1967, caused especial anxiety as it would have amounted to denying access to an important Christian Holy Place (the Room of the Last Supper).

The Muslims likewise were concerned at instances of desecration by the Israelis of Muslim shrines, notably the Mamillah Cemetery in the New City, bulldozed to make a public park, and mosques at Ain Karim, on the outskirts of Jerusalem, and at Safed.

Since the June War, while the anxieties of the Jews regarding their Holy Places have naturally been relieved by the Israeli occupation of the entire city, those of the Christians and Muslims have not. Soon after the war, the Chief Chaplain of the Israeli armed forces conducted prayers (August 15, 1967) at the Haram al-Sharif, the Temple Mount, an action which the Muslims regarded as an infraction of their rights. They were also distressed when the Israeli Minister of Religious Affairs, Zarah Wahrhaftig, spoke on August 17, 1967, of rebuilding the Temple on this site. Both Muslims and Christians saw with dismay and concern the conduct, not always decorous, of the thousands of Israeli visitors who flocked to the churches and mosques of the Old City as soon as free passage back and forth through the city was allowed. And, finally, they have noted a marked falling-off in the pilgrim traffic. Under present conditions, it is unlikely any substantial number of Muslims or Christians from the Arab countries, or many Muslims from elsewhere, would come to visit their Holy Places while they were in Israeli hands. Many Muslims and Christians — and already some voices are being raised — will continue to be unhappy with the fact that Israel is in exclusive control of all the Holy Places and of all means of access to them. Thus it would appear that from the religious standpoint, as well as the political and economic, some change in the present status of Jerusalem merits consideration. It should be repeated, however, that the problem of Jerusalem is not simply a religious one and that the city has other associations, historical and archaeological, which contribute to its unique character as a world center.

signs, post cards and T-shirts. Shahak's paperback, though not on sale at any bookstall I inquired at, was apparently printed, unhampered, in Jerusalem and the articles he has collected have, for the most part, appeared, uncensored, in the public press. Rights of free speech, therefore, are clearly not totally curtailed, although those who speak out too freely, Jew or non-Jew, resident or foreigner, can expect recriminations.

I have many American and European friends in Catholic, Protestant and secular service organizations working in and around Israeli control. In conversations with them I found varying degrees of perturbation over the recent ouster of Englishman Derek Cooper after, among other things, he attended and described a trial of dissidents in Nablus where the curfew had been keeping non-Jewish residents confined for 47½ hours out of every 48. Others reported receiving summonses to appear before government officials when their sponsoring agencies made statements not altogether complimentary about Israeli ways.

Foreign churchmen are among those freest from such governmental hassling when they speak up for the victims of rights violations, but there are ways in which the press, the Israeli "religious" establishment and their "Christian" henchmen can make life difficult even for them. The clergy of St. George's Anglican Cathedral were under well-publicized pressure during my days in Jerusalem for having dared write the *London Times* about just a few of the evictions of Arab families from their homes in the Old City (See *London Times*, January 7, 20, 28 and February 3 and *Jerusalem Times*, January 16 and 31, 1977).

A Rights Champion's Reward

There are those who suspect that certain problems currently afflicting Israeli Jewish attorney Felicia Langer are also punitive. Mrs. Langer, as noted in the *May Middle East International*, "has achieved an international reputation through her defense of Arab political prisoners in the Israeli courts as well as conscientious objectors . . ." When the ECOSOC Commission on Human Rights was barred from first-hand investigations in Israel, it was she who went to Geneva to testify before it on conditions under Israeli occupation.

Possibly in revenge for these and other "culpable" actions, and to forestall their recurrence, Army Chief-

of-Staff Mordechai Gur requested a "Civil Committee" to cancel her license to plead in Military Courts. The chairman of that committee was Justice Meir Shamgar of the Israeli Supreme Court which, while lacking the authority Americans associate with such a body, has a record of being generally fair. At the same time, apprehensions, which later turned out to be warranted, grew out of the fact that the Military Prosecuting Attorney, Tat-Aluf Zvi Inbar, was also on the committee.

I only heard of these developments on February 13, two days before my departure from Jerusalem. I sought out Mrs. Langer at her office where I sat alongside dejected Arab clients awaiting her return from caring for her mother, newly discharged from the hospital. I asked her what the accusations were against her. She said she wouldn't know until she faced the Civil Committee on the 17th.

On that occasion, according to the *London Times* of February 28, she was told that her contact with members of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) while traveling abroad was one reason for the action against her. The *Times* article noted her services in defense of Israeli soldiers who, while willing to defend their country, refused to engage in "repressive measures in the occupied Arab areas." It also reported a telegram to Israeli Attorney General Aharon Barak from twelve British members of Parliament — six Conservative and six Labour — asking that the proposed action not be taken against Mrs. Langer.

On April 1 a *Jerusalem Post* news item, headlined "State bars Felicia Langer from court-martial cases," stated that the Civil Committee had supported General Gur's charge that "classified information to which she becomes privy in the trials of soldiers 'can turn her into a security risk' because of her contacts with 'hostile elements,'" namely the PLO and East Europeans. (Mrs. Langer is, like many prominent Israelis, East European by birth.)

In a rather longer article of the same date, the Hebrew-language daily *Al-Hamishmar* reported that she "acknowledged that she has in the past met — and still meets — with PLO and East European personalities. She, however, denied they were 'hostile elements.' Felicia Langer declared that she had not had, and does not now

have, any intention of harming the security of the state. She emphasized that she had taken part in many closed trials and had signed many pledges of confidentiality which she has not broken. She argued that the information to which she has access is negligible and that any soldier in the reserves has more information than she.

"The attorney, who is a member of the Rakah Party, added that this constitutes an act of political vengeance . . . Finally, she argued that the decision to revoke her license would infringe upon her rights and the rights of soldiers who wish to be defended in court by her."

Even so, the Civil Committee canceled her military permit. Public protests of this action at home and abroad led the government to declare that she was only being limited in her appearances before courts-martial. However, her own interpretation, made public when she announced on May 2 her intent to appeal to the Supreme Court, is filled with forebodings over the implications of the decision: It will legally permit the Minister of Defense to prevent her appearance in any court to defend any Arabs — on the grounds of "security."

Attempts by her and others to get from the Civil Committee (or any other source) evidence of her having been a "security risk" have been unproductive. (My own inquiries of Israeli officials and their American supporters have also drawn a blank.) Meanwhile there are fears that the human rights of General Mattityahu Peled and other independent peace-seekers who have talked with the PLO are next in line to be undermined.

NOTES

1. Because my non-Arab, Palestinian born, Gentile friends have the same difficulties as Arabs vis-a-vis the Israeli authorities, I've frequently used the term "non-Jew" when you might have expected me to say "Arab."

2. I did not on this trip interview anyone who claimed to have been tortured or mistreated in prison, though knowledgeable people I trust informed me that those practices continue. In January the Red Cross felt called upon publicly to deny the Israelis' claim that it had given their prisons a clean bill of health. In October 1976, Amnesty International complained of "unnecessary force" in police interrogations and asked Rabin again for "an independent inquiry into all aspects of this problem." When the Israeli Government was not forthcoming, *London's The Sunday Times* commissioned its own special investigation, devastating details from which appeared June 19th in a lengthy, illustrated feature, "Israel and Torture."

3. The Israeli portion of the State Department's March report to the Senate on human rights in countries receiving U.S. aid downplayed torture and maltreatment. However, its declarations on expulsions, detentions without charge, destruction of homes, and lack of judicial recourse for Arab victims are enough to raise questions about future foreign aid. Even more devastating are the 108 pages of the April 4, 1974, hearing on "Problems of Protecting Civilians under International Law in The Middle East Conflict" before the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the House of Representatives' Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Religious and Historical Pretexts of Zionism

By Roger Garaudy

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Let us first of all recall the fundamental aims of Zionism as they have been expressed by its most prominent exponents.

Ben-Gurion, in 1963, announced what he called the "Third Kingdom of Israel." (The first kingdom was that of King David, the second was created in 167 B.C. after the Revolt of the Maccabees against the successors of Alexander.) In 1954, in the introduction to *The History of the Haganah*, published by the World Zionist Organization, he wrote: "At the present time we speak of colonization, and only of colonization. It is our short-term objective. But it is clear that England belongs to the English, Egypt to the Egyptians and Judea to the Jews. In our country there is room only for Jews. We will say to the Arabs: 'Move over'; if they are not in agreement, if they resist, we will push them by force."

This guiding idea has not ceased to inspire the territorial pretensions of Israeli leaders. In August 1967 General Moshe Dayan proclaimed: "If one possesses the Bible, if one considers oneself as the people of the Bible, one should also possess the biblical lands, those of the Judges and the Patriarchs, of Jerusalem, of Hebron, of Jericho and other places as well. I do not thereby set forth a political programme but, what is more important, the means of realizing the ancestral dream of a people. The foreigner must understand that, aside from all the strategic importance for Israel of the Sinai, of the Golan Heights to the Straits of Tiran, and of the mountains to the west of the Jordan, these regions are situated at the heart of the Jewish history."¹

The leader of the Israeli right,

Roger Garaudy, educator, writer and philosopher, is a prominent member of the French left. He has written extensively in the area of Marxist thought.

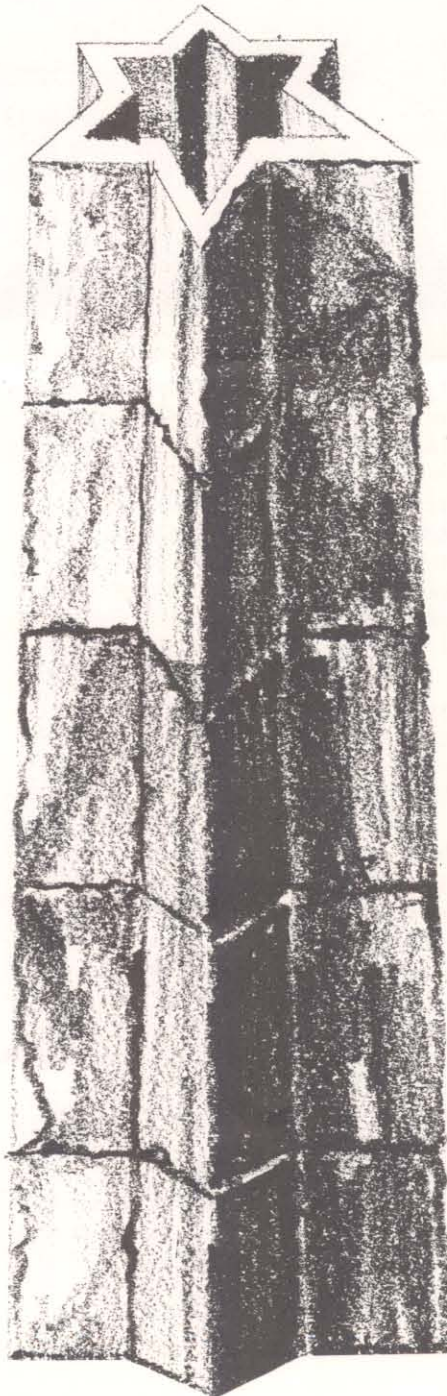
Menahem Begin, fights for what he calls "the great Israel," which would include all of the area controlled three thousand years ago by Kings David and Solomon.

What Supports This Zionist Ideology?

1. First, Zionist ideology is supported by a religious argument: that of the Covenant of Yahweh with the Jewish people, making the Jewish people "the chosen people."

The text on which the Zionists base themselves is that of the giving of Canaan to Abraham (Genesis 17:8): "I will give in perpetual possession, to you and to your descendants after you, the country of your wanderings, the entire land of Canaan." But this interpretation of the Bible, which consists of isolating a text from the whole of biblical texts and from their historical context, reveals a tribal conception of religion. At the time of Abraham the Covenant was in fact conceived on the model of social relations of the period throughout the Near East: a tribe made alliance with a master, promising him obedience in exchange for his protection. This pact was sealed, as the Bible recalls, by immolating animals in a bloody sacrifice! And circumcision is the sign of this alliance (Genesis 17:10).

Interpreting the alliance in this manner is to retain only the exterior, literal, and most archaic aspects of the biblical texts in order to discriminate between the elect and the excluded. But the essential point of Abraham's legacy, that of the great prophets of Israel and later of the New Testament and of the Qur'an, is precisely a universalist conception which goes beyond the distinction of elect and excluded. Lacking this, as the great Jewish sociologist Georges Friedman noted on his return from Israel, there can be no religious, theological renewal in Israel since Judaism is cut off from its "living roots" and "isolated in the bosom of a total nationalism."



The result of this "sclerosis of the religious establishment" has grave political consequences: it ends by giving a religious legitimacy to nationalism. It is with arguments of this sort that some Christians justified anti-Semitism by accusing the Jews of being responsible for the death of Christ.

Whereas already in the Torah and with the Prophets, this sectarianism is transcended, Deuteronomy (10:16) and the Prophet Jeremiah (4:4) speak of "circumcision of the heart," that is to say, the interior transformation of man by God's presence in him and not by simple ritual observance.

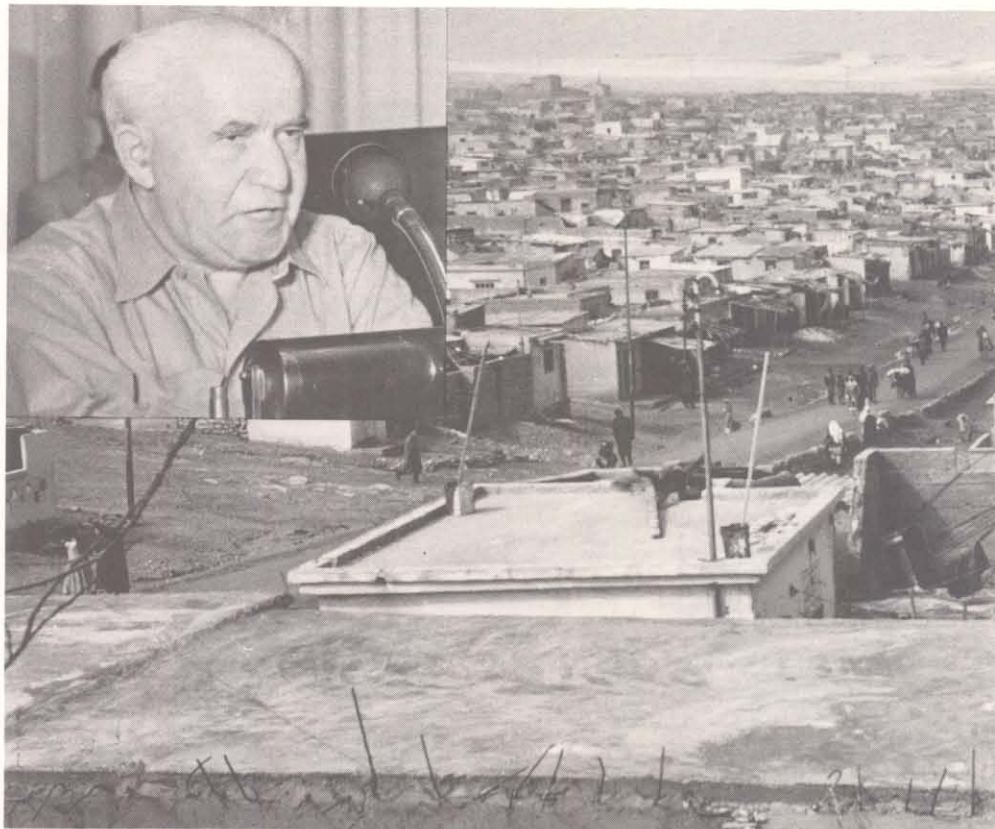
Christianity, in proclaiming the "New Covenant," that is, the individual's personal relationship with God, goes beyond this ritualism. The apostle Paul, who was born a Jew, says clearly: "For he who is in Jesus Christ, neither circumcision or lack of circumcision is effective, but faith acting through love" (Epistle to the Galatians 5:6). It is not the rite but union with God which purifies hearts. St. Paul says again (Galatians 3:8): "Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the pagans, announced in advance to Abraham: *All nations shall be blessed in you.*" (Genesis 12:3).

It is in the name of this universalism which excludes all racism that he concludes: "There no longer exist either Greeks, or Jews, or slaves, or free men" (Galatians 3:28).

The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (8 and 9) breaks radically with the pretensions to exclusivity of the chosen people; God belongs to all peoples.

The Qur'an, also heir to the Abrahamic tradition, is inspired by the same universalism and the same spiritual interiority in its interpretation of the covenant. It is an alliance open to all who act according to the spirit of God: "After the Lord had tried Abraham, He said: I am going to make you a guide for all men. Abraham replied: And for my posterity also. The Lord said: My covenant will not extend to the wrong-doers" (Sura 2: 124). Therefore, it is not a question of an alliance according to blood but rather of a pact of the heart. "The most noble among you in Allah's eyes," says the Prophet, "is the most pious" (Sura 49: 13).

It took the barbarism of Hitler to make circumcision the sign of race and to massacre the Jews. It is in the name of this racism that the Nazi laws



AP Photo

of Nuremberg defined a Jew as anyone born of a Jewish mother. Haim Cohen, judge of the Supreme Court of Israel, notes: "The bitter irony of fate has decreed that the same biological and racist arguments extended by the Nazis, and which inspired the inflammatory laws of Nuremberg, serve as the basis for the official definition of Jewishness in the bosom of the State of Israel." ²

It is in the name of this racial exclusiveness of the transmission of Jewishness by the mother that, since the creation of the State of Israel, only three Jews have married Arab women.

As for the pretension of drawing from the Bible a limited theocracy, in the manner of the *Policy Drawn from Holy Scripture* by Bossuet, to justify the "divine right" of kings, Israeli leaders should remember that all over Europe were found Jews to draw up, in opposition to the "divine right," the universal declaration of the rights of man. It is in the twentieth century a criminal aberration to shut oneself in on oneself in order to claim the "divine right" of a chosen people.

2. Just as the religious foundation of Zionism implies a tribal conception of religion, so the claim of the "historical rights" of the Jews to Palestine rests on a historical hoax and falsification. The country which the Bible calls Canaan

and which, since the Romans, has been called Palestine (the country of the Philistines), is part of the Fertile Crescent which stretches from the Euphrates to the Nile, a historic thoroughfare allowing the mingling of innumerable peoples. When the tribes of Abraham coming from Ur in Mesopotamia in the twelfth century B.C. established themselves in Canaan, they did not arrive in a desert and were not the first occupants of this land. The Amorites had arrived there 800 years earlier, the Aramaeans in the twelfth century B.C. and, soon thereafter, the Philistines settled on the coast. It was only through war that David, near the year 1000, drove back the Philistines and the Aramaeans.

The country became an Assyrian province in the eighth century B.C., and later a Roman, a Persian, and an Ottoman province before passing into the hands of English colonialism.

By what historical manipulation can we remember from this long history only certain episodes: the migration, among so many others, of Abraham; the kingdom, among many others, of David; or the revolt, among many others, of the Maccabees?

This exclusivism is as lacking in foundation as if the Bretons, descendants of the Celts who installed



themselves in the territory known today as France (at the time when Abraham emigrated to Canaan), pretended that France belonged to them by historical right.

It is, however, this historical myth which is inculcated into young Israelis from early schooling. In Israeli history books the only episodes in the history of the country which have any importance are those which concern the Jews. These children are conditioned by the fact that, according to the teaching which they have received, nothing has happened in Palestine from the last revolt of Bar Kochba in the first century and the destruction of the Temple until Herzl and the birth of Zionism — neither the passage of Islam, nor the Crusades, nor the Mongol invasion, nor the battle of the Arabs against Ottoman domination. This refusal to admit the existence of anything which is not Jewish in Israel is characteristic of the Zionist spirit. It is its basic principle. When Einstein asked Weizmann: “What will happen to the Arabs if Palestine is given to the Jews?” Weizmann responded: “What Arabs? They are hardly of any consequence.”

It is fitting to recall that in 1882, at the beginning of Zionist immigration to Palestine, there were 25,000 Jews in Palestine among a population of

500,000 inhabitants. On July 18, 1948, when Count Bernadotte came to ask Ben-Gurion at the forum of the United Nations to let the Arabs return to their homeland, Ben-Gurion replied: “We must do everything possible so that they never return.”

3. From this tribal conception of religion and this historical myth evolves the typically colonialist spirit of Zionism, characterized by the denial, on the part of the colonizer, of the rights of others, of the culture of others and of the very existence of others.

A former member of the Knesset, Uri Avneri, wrote: “In Israel there exists a colonial regime as far as Arab populations are concerned.”³

This colonialism inspires Zionism in its theory as well as in its practice, in foreign policy and in domestic policy.

a. One can read from the outset in *The Jewish State* by Herzl, founder of Zionist theory, that the Jewish state, in Palestine, “should form a portion of the rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism”⁴ — which is the characteristic pretext of all colonial adventures.

This idea evidently captivated colonialists of all persuasions who did not cease, from then on, to make common cause with the state of Israel. Starting in 1925 Lord Wedgwood put forth the idea of creating a Jewish state as the seventh dominion of the British Commonwealth. “This Commonwealth of emigrants,” reports Koestler,

of this...” England was at that time the greatest colonial power in the world. Koestler succinctly defines the colonialist origin of the idea of the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. “It is a document,” he writes, “by which one nation solemnly promises to a second nation the country of a third nation.”⁵ In fact it is thus that colonialists act everywhere, disposing of peoples without consulting them.

b. The foreign policy of alliance with all forms of imperialism and colonialism is a constant of Zionism and of the leaders of Israel.

As far back as 1890, Theodore Herzl was seeking the protection of Bismarck. In 1898 he proposed to William II (although an anti-Semite) the creation of a Jewish state that would be, in his words, “an outpost of Germanic culture and interests.”

The Zionists have always sought the alliance of a foreign power whose interests are opposed to those of the Arab peoples. In the twenties, in all clashes between the two communities arising from immigration, the Jews invariably sided with the English against the Arabs. On the other hand, in 1940, while the war against Hitler was raging, Abraham Stern created the secret organization of the Irgun for use against the English. After the war, since the United States emerged as the most powerful imperialist state, Zionism found its principal ally; Truman was a partisan of unlimited Jewish immigration to Palestine. In

On July 18, 1948, when Count Bernadotte came to ask Ben-Gurion at the forum of the United Nations to let the Arabs return to their homeland, Ben-Gurion replied: “We must do everything possible so that they never return.”

“would have become the beachhead of European democracy in Lebanon” and it would be possible “in Palestine, in the midst of a friendly European population, to establish a solid base which would have commanded the approaches to the Levant and the Suez Canal.”

It was in this spirit that the “Balfour Declaration” of November 2, 1917 was conceived: “His Majesty’s Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement

1956, when the French government, incapable of comprehending that the Algerian national movement was the expression of a people’s deepest desire, pretended that this movement was manipulated from Cairo, Israel associated itself with it and with the English to organize the expedition against the Suez Canal.

The same colonialist spirit led Israel to vote at the United Nations against the independence of African peoples, to link itself with Portugal, the oppressor of Angola and Mozambique, with the puppets of South Vietnam against the

The birth rate being 22 percent for the Jews and 44 percent for the Arabs, Mrs. Golda Meir declares that she sometimes has nightmares when she thinks of "the birth of Palestinian children."

Vietnamese people, and with the racist states of southern Africa.

4. The same colonialist spirit controls the domestic policy of the State of Israel; even among Jews there exists discrimination between those who come from Europe and America — the Ashkenazi Jews — and those who come from non-Western countries of the Orient or North Africa — the Sephardic Jews. Two-thirds of unskilled workers are non-Western Jews. Although they constitute 50 percent of the population, they have only 20 out of 120 deputies in the Knesset.

But discrimination is even more flagrant with respect to the Arabs. Even before the 1967 war, Arabs held only 2 percent of administrative and subordinate posts. Not a single Arab was a judge or a minister, and there were only seven Arab deputies in the Knesset. Even in the private sector, Arabs, who now constitute 13 percent of the population, have a mere 4 percent representation in universities, banks and offices. The majority of the Arabs are employed as agricultural or construction workers.

Colonialist policy with regard to the Arabs expresses itself above all in the three fundamental orientations of domestic policy: Jewish land, Jewish labour and Jewish culture.

a. Like all colonialism, Zionism began by the acquisition of territory. First by violence, in 1948 when Israel was born out of war, then by methods of plunder, which are the same type as those of colonialism.

For example, the Israeli army conducted a reign of terror, massacring entire villages — men, women, and children — as in Deir Yassin (the nights of April 9 and 10, 1947), Jerusalem, Jaffa, Lydda, and Ramleh, on which fell fire and steel. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinian families had to flee to escape death. Israeli leaders then issued an "Emergency Decree on the Property of Absent Persons" in 1948.⁶ Considered "absent" was any Palestinian who had left his domicile before August 1, 1948.

It was in this way that two-thirds of the land possessed by Arabs (70,000 hectares out of 110,000) was confiscated. When in 1953 the law on landed property was promulgated, the indemnity was based on the value of the land in 1950, but in the meantime the Israeli pound had lost five times its value.

Since the beginning of Jewish immigration, again in the purest colonial style, lands were bought from feudal non-resident property owners, *effendis*. The impoverished peasants, the *fellahs*, were forced from the land which they were cultivating by these arrangements made without them between their former masters and the new arrivals. Deprived of their land, they could do nothing but flee.

The pretext often invoked by Zionists is that the lands thus occupied by them were waste lands or badly cultivated, as though they were arriving on a desert. But this neglects the fact that the Arabs lived in a colonial situation: their wealth was confiscated by Western colonial countries (France and England), and they were kept, like all colonized peoples, illiterate. On the other hand, the Western Jews who were arriving were a party to a culture equal to that of the colonizers, and a flow of money coming from Europe and America to equip them brought into play agricultural techniques having nothing in common with those of the fellah, who had been reduced to misery by the colonial regime. From 1967 to 1971 the Jews of the Diaspora sent to Israel \$1,200,000,000.

The State of Israel took the place of the former colonialists, and used the same discriminatory practices. For example, agricultural assistance permitting irrigation was distributed in such a way that Jewish farmers were systematically favoured. Between 1948 and 1969 the area of irrigated lands for the Jewish sector increased from 29,000 to 164,000 hectares, and for the Arab sector, from 800 to 4,100 hectares. Thus the colonial system was perpetuated and even aggravated.

Henry Rosenfeld, who has done extensive research on Arab villages, admits that Arab agriculture was more prosperous during the British Mandate than it is today.⁷

b. After the Zionist watch-word "Jewish land," that of "Jewish labour" is not less murderous. Zionism, from the beginning, had no intention of giving work to anyone but Jews. In fact, the all-powerful unions of the "General Federation of Hebrew Workers in Eretz Israel" (Histadrut) for a long time did not admit Arab workers to its ranks. When the word "Hebrew" was eliminated from the federation title in 1966, Ben-Gurion protested. This also holds true for the Labour party in Israel, which, openly and officially, accepts only Jews and rejects non-Jews, *goyim*.

Israeli leaders maintain that since 1967 there has been a decrease in unemployment among Palestinian Arabs. It is true that after continued discrimination directed against them, 50,000 Arabs now work in Israeli enterprises. But there again the conditions are those of all colonized peoples: for equal qualifications, the differences are between 30 and 50 percent, depending on whether the worker is Jewish or Arab.

Let us add that segregation expresses itself also in housing policies. The President of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, Dr. Israel Shahak, professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, reports that there exist in Israel entire towns (Carmel, Nazareth-Illith, Hatzor, Arad, Mitzpeh-Raman, and others) where the law formally prohibits non-Jews to reside.⁸

c. The same spirit of colonialism reigns at the cultural level. One could not define it better than did Mr. Uri Jubrani, Special Counsellor for Arab Affairs to the Prime Minister of Israel: "Undoubtedly, it would be better if there were no Arab students, but there are things which are not within our control. We cannot avoid them, and we must see how to minimize the inconveniences."

Arab culture and its history are passed over in silence just as in colonialist England or France. It is significant that in this country, all of whose neighbours are Arabs, only 4 percent of lycée students present Arabic as a second language at the baccalaureate level. It is a question, with regard to the Palestinians, of

making even the memory of their culture and history disappear. Young Palestinian Arabs must study Jewish history more than their own. Six times as many hours are devoted to study of the Bible than of the Qur'an.

The general effect of this colonialist and racist policy, founded on the principles of Jewish land, Jewish labour and Jewish culture, was accurately defined by General Moshe Dayan in 1967. Questioned on the capacity of Israel to absorb the Arab population in the prospect of an Israeli annexation of occupied territories, Dayan hid nothing when he said: "Economically we can do it. But I think this would not fit in with our future plans. The result would not be a Jewish state but a bi-national state, an Arab-Jewish state. What we seek is a Jewish state."

This in effect is the only limit to the territorial ambitions of the Israeli leaders. The birth rate being 22 percent for the Jews and 44 percent for the Arabs, Mrs. Golda Meir declares that she sometimes has nightmares when she thinks of "the birth of Palestinian children."

Zionism necessarily commits Israel to expansion. If the thirteen million Jews who exist in the world came to Israel at the call of the Zionists, the problem of "the vital space" of Israel would acutely present itself. Zionist mythology prevents Israel from being a national state similar to others.

In actuality only an infinitesimal minority of those who settle in Israel come to achieve "the promise." The law

of return has played an eminent role in all the domains of culture, science and the arts. It would be distressing if Zionism attained the goal aimed at by anti-Semites: uprooting Jews from their respective homelands to shut them up in a world ghetto. The example of French Jews is significant: after the Evian Agreements of 1962 and the liberation of Algeria, out of 130,000 leaving Algeria, only 20,000 went to Israel and 110,000 went to France. This movement was not the result of an anti-Semitic persecution, for the proportion of non-Jewish settlers of Algeria leaving Algeria was the same. The reason for this departure was not anti-Semitism but former French colonialism. The French Jews of Algeria met the same fate as the other French in Algeria.

The quasi-totality of Jewish immigrants in Israel came to escape anti-Semitic persecution. In 1880 there were 25,000 Jews in Palestine out of a population of 500,000. In 1882 began the massive immigration following the great pogroms of Czarist Russia. From 1882 to 1917, 50,000 Jews came to Palestine in this way. Then, between the two wars, Polish and North African immigrants came fleeing persecution. But the most significant numbers came from Germany because of Hitler's ignoble anti-Semitism; nearly 400,000 Jews arrived in this way in Palestine before 1945. In 1947, on the eve of the creation of the State of Israel, there were 600,000 Jews in Palestine out of a total population of 1,250,000.

Then the methodical uprooting of

Palestinians began. Before the 1948 war around 650,000 Arabs lived in the territories which were to become the State of Israel. In 1949 there remained 160,000. Because of the high birth rate their descendants were 450,000 at the end of 1970. The Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights reveals that from June 11, 1967 to November 15, 1969, more than 20,000 Arab homes in Gaza and the West Bank were dynamited, displacing their residents.

This means that Zionism imposed on the Palestinians the same tragic fate suffered by the Jewish victims of criminal pogroms.

I wish to state clearly that it is just that persecuted men, as the Jews formerly were, notably in Russia, in Poland, and in Germany, should have a land of refuge and a homeland. But why should the Palestinian people pay for the crimes of Hitler and the Czars, the crimes of racism and anti-Semitism of the entire world, crimes for which the Palestinian people have no responsibility?

The founder of Zionism himself, Theodore Herzl, foresaw several alternative solutions to Palestine (all inspired by the same colonial spirit): the implantation of the Jews into Argentina, Uganda or Cyprus, that is, on territories dominated by imperialism.

On the morrow of World War II, after the Nazis had savagely massacred six million Jews, it would have been normal that, in reparation, one of the territories of the Federal Republic be

Wide World Photos

UNRWA Photo



allotted to the Jews as a land of refuge.

The misfortune of the State of Israel is that it was created by the great colonial powers and according to colonialist principles. Whereas in 1947 the Jews possessed around 6 percent of the land, the proposal of partition made by the Western powers awarded them 54 percent and, by a war of terror and violence, the Zionists in point of fact occupied 81 percent.

So great an injustice towards the Palestinians, driven from their land and dispersed, is the source of all the succeeding conflicts. The injustice was aggravated more when, in June 1967, without a declaration of war, the Israeli Air Force attacked the Egyptian Air Force on the ground, thus imitating the method employed by the fascist Japanese when they destroyed the American fleet at Pearl Harbor.

Since that time the Zionist leaders of Israel have never respected the decisions or the appeals put forth by the United Nations. They continue their occupation of Palestinian lands which they took over after the June 1967 war.

What are, since that time, the possible solutions of this permanent conflict which is one of the aftermaths of colonialism?

Yasser Arafat, at the United Nations on November 13, 1974, posed the problem clearly when he recalled the position of the PLO:

... our revolution has not been motivated by racial or religious factors. Its target has never been the Jew, as a person, but racist Zionism and aggression. . . . We are struggling so that Jews, Christians and Muslims may live in equality. . . free from racial or religious discrimination.

We distinguish between Judaism and Zionism. While we maintain our opposition to the colonialist Zionist movement, we respect the Jewish faith.⁹

It is only in this spirit that the

their lands. This return to their lands is not claimed by the Palestinians in the name of alleged "historical rights" which would go back millenia, but in the name of actual simple justice for the right of working on the land which has been taken away from them and for the right of not being strangers in their own land.

Without any doubt the road to be travelled will be long. It does not pass through the enslavement of the



P.L.O./Cultural Arts Section

Palestinians or the destruction of Israel. "For many years now," said Yasser Arafat, "our people have been exposed to the ravages of war, destruction and dispersion. . . . They have borne the burdens of occupation, dispersion, eviction and terror more than any other people. And all this has made our people neither vindictive nor vengeful, nor caused us to resort to the racism of our enemies. . . . We deplore all the open and veiled discrimination suffered by them because of their faith."¹⁰ It is

In order for this self-determination to become possible, several preliminary conditions are necessary:

Israeli leaders must end the occupation of the territories which they seized in 1967, as the United Nations has consistently demanded. There will be no peaceful solution of the problem as long as Israeli leaders follow a Zionist policy which commits them to expansion and prevents them from being a national state like the others.



Zionism is Israel's worst enemy. By making Israel a Western enclave in the Middle East, by preventing it from integrating into the body of peoples of the Middle East, Zionism condemns Israel to the situation of the Christian Crusaders eight centuries ago.

In September 1967, General Yitzhak Rabin, then Commander-in-Chief of the Israeli army, compared the Zionist situation to that of the Crusades. This comparison should be pondered by the Zionists. Like the Crusades, Zionism seeks a religious justification. Like the Crusades, Zionism refuses to integrate itself with the local population and relies only on military superiority. Like the Crusades, Zionism depends on a permanent flow of capital from the West in the form of donations, armaments and pilgrimage taxes. But that enterprise ended in a terrible reversal: after having fought for eight generations, following the capture of Jerusalem in 1099, the Western Crusaders were thrown defeated back

"We are struggling so that Jews, Christians and Muslims may live in equality . . . free from racial or religious discrimination." —YASSER ARAFAT

Palestinian problem can be resolved: by putting an end to all the outward tactics of imperialism and by recognizing the right of all to self-determination and the right to return to

on this basis that, as the PLO has proposed since 1967, a secular democratic state can be created where Jews and Arabs would be citizens with equal rights and duties.

into the sea.

The Israeli people should meditate on this historical experience and realize that Zionism is leading for the short term, to a permanent state of war, and for the long term, to total failure.

On the contrary, an Israeli people aware of the ill effects of the colonialist ideology of Zionism could establish a society that would no longer be an archaic theocracy, but a tolerant secular society, and above all, integrated into the ensemble of the Middle East rather than existing simply as a Western enclave.

The Palestinian problem is not a problem of borders. It is not a problem of race. It is not a problem of religion. It is not a problem of "historical rights." No one in the world has a so-called privileged "historical right," always founded on myth, whether it be "the white man's burden" with its self-styled "civilizing mission," sung by Rudyard Kipling, or whether it be the myth of "the Aryan race" as the chosen race, utilized by Hitler to justify such claims, or whether it be Zionist ideology, murderous for the Palestinians and deadly for the Israelis. The Palestinian problem is a political

and social problem. The key to it is recognition of the right to self-determination for all. The theory of "historical rights" would inevitably lead to the constant re-adjustment of the world map by means of gunfire.

Africa's example merits consideration. Without any doubt the actual borders of most of the African states are the heritage of the colonialists, who, at the Congress of Berlin in 1885, arbitrarily carved up Africa according to their exclusive interests. After independence, the African heads of state had the wisdom, however, not to call into question again the issue of these borders. Africa would have been plunged into chaos if, in the name of "historical rights," they had wished to resurrect, for example, the Mandingo Empire or that of the Songhai, or the Peuhls hegemonies. This wisdom is but a first stage toward the creation of a real African unity which would be based not on "historical rights," that is, on the past, but on forms of inter-African cooperation responding to the needs of the people for the future.

Against all racial, religious, or cultural exclusivism disguised as

"historical rights" only one thing will permit the attainment of a solution: a universal concern for the other man, the man different from me, as a part of myself, and who alone can make of me a complete man. As Marx said, "A people who oppresses another cannot be a free people."

Yasser Arafat has constantly emphasized that the Palestinians are not inspired by racism or by violence but by the desire to end exclusivism and to obtain for all the rights to self-determination. It is only in this manner that a future with a human countenance can be built in Palestine and elsewhere in the world.

NOTES

1. Jerusalem Post, August 10, 1967, p. 1.
2. Joseph Badi, *Fundamental Laws of the State of Israel* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1960), p. 156.
3. Haolem Hazeh, August 7, 1954.
4. Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State* (London: Central Office of the Zionist Organization, 1934), p. 30.
5. Arthur Koestler, *Promise and Fulfilment* (London: McMillan and Co., 1949), p. 4.
6. This "decree" became law in 1950.
7. See Henry Rosenfeld, *Arab Migrant Workers* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1970).
8. Israel Shahak, *Le Racism d'etat d'Israel* (Paris: Authier, 1975), p. 57.
9. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. IV, No. 2, Winter 1975, p. 187.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

REVIEW

The Palestine State

A Rational Approach.

By Richard J. Ward,

Don Peretz, and Evan M. Wilson.

National University

Publications/Kennikat Press, Port

Washington, N. Y. 1977. 206 pp. \$9.95.

The Palestine question has long been a festering wound in the Middle East body politic. The Palestinian people have been dispersed by wars and continued upheaval and political strife to the surrounding countries of the Middle East and beyond.

While the establishment of a new homeland for these wandering refugees may not be the ideal solution to their continued struggle for identity and place, the Palestine State may offer the only feasible mechanism for producing a workable peace in the Middle East.

The authors have no desire to prejudice the legitimate aspirations of either the Israelis or Palestinians in their long, bitter dispute. Rather, they believe that a fair and rational approach to the establishment of a new State (roughly contiguous with the West Bank of Jordan, formerly within the

country of Jordan), combined with negotiable adjustments (such as the addition of Gaza, formerly a part of Egypt and a connecting corridor), might well provide the basis for a Palestinian homeland. This book attempts to set forth the political and economic background and projections of this proposed solution.

Given the growing acceptance of the Palestine Entity solution to the long-standing dispute over the West Bank territory and the resettlement of the Palestine refugees, this book helps to fill the void in specific information about a possible Palestine State in the Middle East. Its pragmatic, non-political treatment of the subject additionally contributes a peaceful resolution to the current stalemate.

The authors provide a political and economic assessment of the possible operational attributes of a Palestine State, including the economics of an internationalized Jerusalem.

Richard J. Ward, editor and contributing author, is Dean of the College of Business and Industry at Southeastern Massachusetts University. He is a regular consultant on Middle East projects for the U.S.

Department of State and the United Nations. He served as Director of Planning and Programming in the U.S. Aid Mission to Jordan; Chief of Planning, Bureau for Near East/South Asia in Washington; and was an international consultant for Peat, Marwick, Mitchell & Co. He has participated in a number of panels and conferences sponsored by the Middle East Institute and various universities in the United States and abroad. Among his books are *The Challenge of Development* (1967), and, *Development Problems for the 1970s* (1973).

Don Peretz is Professor of Political Science and Director of the Southwest Asia/North Africa Program at the State University of New York at Binghamton. He has published numerous articles in scholarly journals. His books include *Israel and the Palestine Arabs* (1958).

Evan M. Wilson served for thirty years in the U.S. Foreign Service, most of that time in the Middle East and, at the time of his retirement in 1967, had been serving for more than three years as Minister-Consul General in Jerusalem. He is the author of *Jerusalem: Key to Peace* (1970).

Correction

When the words in italics in the following sentence were misplaced, much of its meaning was lost: (President Carter's policy) implies that the P.L.O. should relinquish *its hope for the creation* — at some time in the future, and by peaceful means and mutual consent — of a pluralistic society of Israelis and Palestinians in a re-united Holy Land. See Dr. Fayeze A. Sayegh, writing in *President Carter's "Palestine Policy": A Palestinian View*. (AMEU's Public Affairs Series Pamphlet #10, p. 6, line 2).

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