

**CRIME  
AND NO  
PUNISHMENT**

**ZIONIST-ISRAELI TERRORISM 1939-1972**

SAMI HADAWI



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ZIONIST ISRAELI TERRORISM 1939 - 1972

by

Sami Hadawi

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## Preface

The death of the nine Israelis at Munich airport on 5 September 1972, served Israel as a useful means to reinforce the conditioned response of the West to view the Jewish state as the 'tiny' innocent victim of Arab animosity and aggression. The latest so-called 'retaliation' attacks on Lebanese and Syrian border villages and refugee camps in September-October 1972, demonstrated just how successful the Israeli campaign in Western countries, from the rostrum of the General Assembly and in the corridors of the United Nations had been. The heavy loss of life and extensive destruction of property suffered by the Lebanese and Syrians during the Israeli attacks moved not one single non-Arab country to denounce the Israeli offensives.

But Munich, Lebanon and Syria of 1972 cannot be viewed in abstraction. If one desires to understand the issue, the roots of violence can be traced to the terrorism which accompanied the development of the Zionist movement, led to the birth of the Jewish state and continues as a principal element of current Israeli policy. It is necessary to distinguish between acts of violence intended to remove a grievance or an injustice, and acts of violence committed in order to impose and perpetuate an injustice, i. e. terrorism. The acts of Palestinian Arabs are those of the dispossessed and, therefore, fall within the first category; the acts of Israel and its predecessor structure—the Zionist organizations in Palestine—are those of the colonialist possessive and, consequently, conform in nature to the second.

Whatever the circumstances or provocation, there is no justification for a duly established government to break the law, defy the will of the majority members of the community of nations and refuse to abide by its obligations—undertaken willingly and unreservedly—under the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of

Human Rights, the Fourth Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, dated 12 August 1949, and the numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and other organs of the World Body.

This pamphlet is published with a view to bringing the facts about Zionist-Israeli acts of terrorism to the attention of the public. The information it contains has been extracted from the official records of the Palestine Government and the United Nations.

Beirut, Lebanon  
November 1972

SAMI HADAWI

## Commentary

### *The Munich Incident*

The Munich incident of 5 September 1972, touched off a storm of abuse against the Palestinians and the Arab states in general and Lebanon in particular. Certain Arab states were accused of responsibility for financing the Palestine Resistance Movement and Lebanon of harbouring its leadership. There is no evidence that the 'Black September' group, which claimed responsibility for the Munich incident, is headquartered in Lebanon, much less that it enjoys Lebanese official sanction.

So much ill-feeling against the Arabs was created that when Israel attacked villages and refugee camps in Lebanon and Syria on 8 and 16 September 1972, public opinion in the West remained unfriendly and unconcerned over the heavy losses in human lives—including women and children. In a border village in Lebanon, an Israeli tank mounted and crushed a private car carrying a family of seven persons. Flesh and metal intermingled in a 16 inch-thick mass. But neither could this move the Western press to mention the Israeli offensive in a critical manner, let alone condemn the grisly cynicism of this particular act.

President Suleiman Franjeh observed this callousness and lack of human feeling with sadness as he announced at his press conference on 6 October 1972 that "not a single non-Arab country had expressed to Lebanon its denunciation of Israel's aggression on the South of Lebanon in September."<sup>1</sup> To add to the injury, the United States representative at the United Nations vetoed the resolution of the Security Council condemning the Israeli aggression.

In contrast, President Nixon hastened to telephone Mrs. Golda Meir

<sup>1</sup> *The Daily Star* (Beirut), 7 October 1972.



to express his sympathies over the death of the Israeli athletes and condemn the outrage in the strongest terms; while his representative at the United Nations decried the Munich massacre as "so horrible, so vicious, so brutal, so detrimental to order in the civilized world," ignoring what was going on in Vietnam and what had been done to the Palestinians at the hands of Zionism and Israel. The West German Government, for its part, first accused Egypt and Lebanon of direct responsibility, but later retracted. It, however, promptly offered Israel one million dollars as compensation to the families of the dead athletes. Furthermore, it has since imposed discriminatory measures on Arab entry into and residence in Germany. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim was also moved to action and arranged to inscribe on the agenda of the XXVIIth (1972) session of the General Assembly an item entitled 'International Terrorism'.

Reaction in the United States to the Munich incident was criticized by Rabbi Elmer Berger, an anti-Zionist of New York, who said: "The repetitious incantations of our communications seers—and even worse, of our political 'leaders'—do little more than inflame already existent passions or 'turn off' those who know the real sources of the sickness. The straining efforts of each newscaster, editorial writer and politician," he pointed out, "to find more purple prose to condemn 'terror' in general without any effort at all to explain what it is that drives particular men to such extremes, are self-defeating. They generate," he said, "hysteria rather than critical understanding. They intensify irrational hatred rather than expanding constructive comprehension."

Rabbi Berger went on to say: "The recent orgy of the American press, television and political pundits—including the President of the United States and his leading challenger—is a classic example of such irresponsibility; of the dangers of serving sensationalism rather than sense; of pontificating the obvious rather than honing the scalpel of critical examination. Practically everything about Munich was discussed, re-discussed and discussed again—except the basic facts. . . Mr. McGovern slathered an unfounded indictment of Lebanon and Egypt. Mr. Nixon—donning his most sombre 'law and order' mantle—branded the perpetrators as 'outlaws'. He offered not the slightest suggestion of any remorse that the United States, in his and previous Administrations, has been the principal supporter of a State of Israel which stands in arrogant defiance of virtually every international recommendation for a

settlement of the problem of Palestine. The net result," the Rabbi said, "added to the already prevalent American prejudice that 'Arabs' are disembodied creatures, congenitally committed to violence; and the Israelis, in the same, prejudicial syndrome, are always the unfortunate, peace-keeping victims of their own passion for good sportsmanship, justice and decency."<sup>2</sup>

Western nations unreservedly supported the move of the U.N. Secretary General to examine terrorism in abstract terms. Israel continued to whip up emotion throughout the capitals of Europe and the Americas, urged their governments to take unilateral measures within their own countries to deal specifically with Arab 'terrorism' and acts of violence against Israeli interests and personnel, and offered its help to this end. But Asian and African states, whose memories of the sufferings they had undergone at the hands of the colonial Powers are still fresh in their minds, and who had had to fight for their own freedom, were unwilling to go along with the item as worded. They pointed out that while they condemn isolated and individual acts of violence and terrorism, they would continue to rule out actions by liberation movements from being classified as 'terrorism'.

In the end, the representative of Saudi Arabia proposed an amendment to include a study of the underlying causes of terrorism. The final text of the item was then made to read:

"Measures to prevent international terrorism which endangers or takes innocent human lives or jeopardizes fundamental freedoms, and studying causes of those forms of terrorism and acts of violence which lie in misery, frustration, grievance and despair and which cause some to sacrifice human lives, including their own, in an attempt to effect radical changes."

During the height of anti-Arab abuse, the Lebanese President addressed an appeal to the world in which he said: "Before considering a curb on violence undertaken by a group of people in a continuous state of despair and provocation, we should tackle the causes of this despair and put an end to provocation."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> From an article entitled *Requiem to Reason: The Munich Attack*, published as a 'Prologue to Report 16', New York and reproduced in *The Daily Star*, 15 October 1972.

<sup>3</sup> *International Herald Tribune*, 12 September 1972—From an article by Correspondent Juan de Onis.

But Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban explained the position of his Government differently. He declared: "The immediate problem in the Middle East is not the quest for a peace settlement but control of the commandos. Israel," he said, "is prepared to strike against commandos operating from neighbouring countries if their governments are unable or unwilling to eliminate them."<sup>4</sup>

This warning was put into effect on 15 October 1972 when Israeli jet planes struck deep inside Lebanese and Syrian territories, this time without any provocation that the Israelis could claim as an excuse; and on 16 October 1972, Mrs. Golda Meir confirmed to the Israeli Parliament Israel's new policy of attacking the Palestinian commandos wherever they are without having to wait for them to strike first.

### *Responsibility for the Deaths at Munich*

Responsibility for the actual shape of the Munich tragedy rests squarely with the West German Government for having deceived the Arab commandos into believing that they would be allowed to leave German soil with their hostages unmolested, but who then opened fire on them, killing two of their number before the shooting of the Israeli athletes began. To speculate with other people's lives—as Moshe Dayan successfully did on 8 May 1972 in the Sabena case at Lydda airport—in the hope that the Munich commandos would panic, lose nerve and surrender, was an unnecessary and unjustified risk. Had the German authorities honoured their word and allowed the commandos to proceed as agreed, the tragedy would have been averted and the Israeli athletes would have remained alive and would probably have been back with their families, while many Palestinians might also have been relieved of their ordeal in Israeli prisons.

Some students of the Palestine problem and Zionist methods and tactics during the period of the Mandate have expressed the view that the death of the Israeli athletes may have been allowed to happen on the advice of the Israeli 'advisers', who arrived in Munich to assist the West German authorities in handling the situation. It is not the first time that the Zionists have used murder of their own kinsmen as a weapon to gain political advantage. If the past is any guide, the following two cases should support this view:

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

On 25 November 1940, the ship *Patria* was blown up at its moorings in Haifa Harbour with the loss of the lives of 252 illegal Jewish immigrants; and on 24 February 1942, the ship *Struma* was blown up and sank in the Black Sea with the loss of 760 Jewish lives.

Zionist publicity at first made the world believe that the British Government was responsible for both acts, describing the first as a ‘mass-suicide’ protest against the British refusal to permit the emigrants to land.<sup>5</sup> But with the lapse of time, the truth became known that it was the Jewish underground forces which actually planned and carried out both sinkings in order to achieve two objectives: (1) To arouse public opinion against the British Mandate authorities and so compel them to open wide the doors of Palestine to unlimited Jewish immigration; and (2) to draw attention to the ‘plight’ of the Jews and gain greater sympathy and financial support for the Zionist movement.

### *The Act of ‘Terrorism’*

The philosophy of ‘terrorism’—if it can be called that—is the same in all cases, namely, to harass, obstruct, kill and destroy an institution or structure which the terrorist perceives as The Enemy. But the underlying causes leading up to such acts differ and can be variously classified. Setting aside those acts of purely personal vengeance, two basic categories of ‘terrorism’ can be defined: There is the violent act done to destroy or disrupt an oppressive or tyrannical institution which has violated the legitimate rights and offended the fundamental values of a society or people; and there is the act of an institution against a society or people which intends to force or enforce its will and achieve thereby the surrender of principles and rights maintained by the society or people being acted against. These two types of acts are premeditated political ‘terror’, which are calculated to effect a change in the political process; they are fundamentally antithetical.

Under the first category fall such cases as the operations of the resistance movements of Europe during World War Two, which were launched by the local inhabitants against the Nazi and Fascist armies of occupation and even within the Nazi and Fascist states themselves by dissident citizens. The Allied Powers described their members as ‘freedom fighters’

<sup>5</sup> Robert John and Sami Hadawi, *The Palestine Diary 1914-1945*, Vol. 1, p. 337.

and supported them morally, militarily and financially. The Nazis and Fascists, on the other hand, called them 'terrorists, saboteurs, murderers' and what not, and tried to exterminate them by any means at their disposal, because their activities were intended to destroy their potential and military strength and re-establish freedom and human dignity. Although this type of action might terrorize the ruling or military institution, it cannot be conceived as a depraved 'terrorism' in the true sense of the word. For all its negative attributes, the world has seen fit to exonerate it as a struggle for human freedom, liberty and dignity and endow it with almost religious sanction.

The second category comprises such cases as that of Palestine. There the Zionist movement, after enjoying British patronage and protection for its programme to achieve political hegemony over the land, turned against its erstwhile patron when the latter began to show signs of vacillation. One must be careful not to confuse the image of the French underground pitting itself against the Nazi army of occupation, and the Zionist subversive organizations striking off the restraining fetters of its sponsor-turned-disciplinarian. When the time was right and the demoralized British were committed to abandon their Mandate, the Zionist momentum was smoothly channelled into achieving what they had expected the British to achieve for them: The seizure of Palestine, the 'demographic' purgation of Palestine's native majority (its Arab population), and the declaration of the pure Jewish nation state. Thus, the Zionist movement's successful 'resistance' against the British Mandatory Government cannot be described as a liberation movement against colonialism, but was more in the nature of a 'palace coup' carried out by one colonialist against the other. On the other hand, the Zionists' subsequent campaign of terror against the Arabs was designed to reach the ultimate goals of the movement in a land free of its Arab inhabitants.

The programme for the acquisition of Palestine as laid down by Theodor Herzl, the founder of 'political' Zionism, was 'to offer land-owners attractive prices' and 'to spirit the penniless population across the border by procuring employment for it in the transit countries, while denying it employment in'—as he put it—'our own country'. In 1920, Ahad Ha'am, the leader of 'cultural' Zionism, spoke out in opposition to Jewish terrorism against the Arabs. But the ground had already been prepared.

If the world were to look at the Munich incident objectively and

recognize the depth of the underlying causes which brought it about, it would better understand why a group of young men—born in exile and under conditions of deprivation—were willing to sacrifice their lives in an attempt to serve their cause and obtain release of their countrymen from the tortures of Israeli prisons. To the supporters of liberation movements they are ‘heroes’; to those who suppress such movements, they are ‘terrorists’.

Unfortunately, political motivations and vested interests have played a great part in obscuring the truth and have blinded politicians from recognizing realities, even when they see them. Ironically, on 11 September 1972, Ambassador George Bush, United States representative to the United Nations, in explaining his veto of the Security Council resolution condemning Israel for its unwarranted attack against Lebanon on 8 September 1972, said: “The resolution ignored realities and looked to effect but not to cause”; and that “its silence on the disaster in Munich invited more terrorism.”

Ambassador Bush was correct insofar as the wording of his explanation was concerned, but he was wrong in its reasoning. The Munich incident was not the ‘cause’ just as the Israeli attack was not the ‘effect’. The truth is that the Palestine problem is the ‘underlying cause’ and the Munich incident was the ‘effect’, while the Israeli attack on Lebanon was an action which endeavours to perpetuate the ‘cause’. Unfortunately for the Israelis, the only way to obliterate the effects of their presence is to obliterate the social substance upon which they have acted: The Palestinian people.

Rabbi Elmer Berger, commenting on the United States position, said: “The United States insisted upon including in any resolution the ‘cause’ of Israeli retaliation. But it could reach back into memory no farther than Munich. It is unsportsmanlike to recall Deir Yasin, Qibya, Es-Sammu’. It is out of bounds to remember Israel’s continuing defiance of all United Nations resolutions calling for the Palestinians to have a choice between repatriation and compensation. It is unfair to remind anyone that Israel has ‘annexed’ Jerusalem, contrary to the consensus of world opinion. It is *verboden* to illuminate the fact that the 400,000 Arabs of pre-June 1967 Israel are non-‘Jewish people’ citizens of this democratic state enjoying second class status.”

Rabbi Berger was of the opinion that “Ambassador Bush’s argument expanded the war, rather than trying to narrow it. The American’s

perception of cause and effect,” he said, “with respect to the guerrilla activity stands in striking contrast to the myopic inventory of history he permitted himself in justifying Israeli retaliation.”<sup>6</sup>

### *The Character of Zionism*

When the Israeli leaders use international platforms to indignantly protest the Palestine Arabs’ justification to fight for their rights in their homeland, they should be reminded of their own Zionist record, of how they acquired the homes, lands and country of those whom they now call ‘terrorists’. They are the last entitled to condemn—or even complain against—acts of terrorism and violence, kidnapping and holding of hostages, sending of letter-bombs and murder, because they were the first to indulge in such practices. To this repertoire, they, as a state establishment, have, since 1967, added such refinements as torture, collective and area punishment, expulsion and deportation, destruction of property and confiscation of Arab-owned land in the occupied territories.

Terrorism and violence is a trade-mark of Zionist history. It is difficult to expect the Israeli leaders of today to alter their characteristic behaviour. David Ben Gurion, Golda Meir, Menachem Beigin, Moshe Dayan and the rest of the Israeli higher echelon, happen all to have been either members of the Jewish Agency during the period of the Mandate which planned and coordinated Zionist activities—as testified in the British ‘White Paper Relating to Acts of Violence’ dated 24 July 1946<sup>7</sup>—or were members of the illegal underground terrorist organizations of the Hagana, the Irgun Zvei Leumi and the Stern Gang, who were being sought by the Palestine Government for trial before the courts of justice for their criminal offences.

The Zionists believed that the shortest route to ousting the British from Palestine, expelling and dispossessing the Palestinian inhabitants and establishing a Jewish state, would be through the process of terrorism and violence. They planned their strategy accordingly. They began to implement this policy at the start of the Second World War while Britain was engaged in a deadly struggle against Nazi Germany. The Officer Administering the Palestine Government and the Commander-in-Chief, Middle East, in a joint statement dated 10 October 1944 were obliged to

<sup>6</sup> Berger, *Requiem to Reason: The Munich Attack*, (Beirut: *The Daily Star*, 15 October 1972).

<sup>7</sup> Cmd. 6873.



draw attention to the fact that the Jewish terrorists and 'their active and passive sympathizers were directly impeding the war effort of Great Britain' and 'assisting the enemy'.<sup>8</sup> Menachem Beigin, 'honourable' member of the Israeli Cabinet, former leader of the Irgun Zvei Leumi and hero of the Deir Yasin massacre, takes credit and pride for his part in planning and directing the terrorist activities which led to the emergence of the Jewish state.

Correspondent David Hirst makes the statement that, "After the creation of the state of Israel, classical terrorism gave way to the outwardly more respectable terrorism, designed to cow and subjugate the Palestinians and their Arab sympathizers, which the state, with all its resources can mount. Palestinian violence by contrast is reactive, small-scale, but easily branded as barbaric. We may, indeed some of us do, have misgivings about this kind of terrorism, but we also condemn that of an Israel which was built on terrorism and continues to glorify its terrorists to this day."<sup>9</sup> Hirst then cites the case of Marcelle Ninio, who, in 1954, was one of the Israeli agents who planted bombs in United States institutions in Cairo and Alexandria in order to disrupt the then-improving Arab-American relations. The criminals were caught red-handed, the leader committed suicide in prison, two were executed and the rest were sentenced to terms of imprisonment.<sup>10</sup> Mr. Hirst notes that Marcelle Ninio "was repatriated after the June 1967 war. Recently she got married. Golda Meir, who attended the wedding, called her a 'heroine'. Dayan, who was there too, told her that the 'war was success enough that it led to your freedom'."<sup>11</sup>

Author Arthur Koestler aptly comments on the "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" character of the present-day Israeli leadership who, as Zionist leaders, "preached resistance but denied indignantly acting against the law; they alternately tolerated, fought against or engaged in terrorism, according to the opportunity of the moment, but all the time carefully maintained the fiction of being guardians of civic virtue; and the habits of hypocrisy which they learned from the mandatory administration, they partly carried over into the new-born state".<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *A Survey of Palestine 1945-1946*, Vol. 1, p. 73.

<sup>9</sup> *The Daily Star*, 13 October 1972.

<sup>10</sup> See article by Rev. Humphrey Walz on the 'Lavon Affair', published in the *Jewish Newsletter*, 6 March 1961.

<sup>11</sup> *The Daily Star*, 13 October 1972.

<sup>12</sup> Arthur Koestler, *Promise and Fulfilment*, (London: Macmillan & Co., 1949), p. 139.

### *Kidnapping*

While the Munich tragedy was taking place on 5 September 1972, the Israeli authorities had in their custody one Lebanese and five Syrian officers whom they kidnapped from Lebanese territory on 21 June and still hold as hostages to this day of writing, despite two resolutions of the Security Council to set them free. The purpose behind this kidnapping is to force the Arabs to exchange them for Israeli prisoners-of-war held in Syria and Egypt.

The Palestinian commando action in Munich was intended to hold the Israeli athletes as hostages in exchange for the Palestinian prisoners suffering torture at Israeli hands. There was no plan to kill them. This was made perfectly clear in the 'Will' left behind by the dead commandos, in which they apologized in advance for the distress they were causing and stated: "We are neither killers nor bandits. We are persecuted people who have no land and no homeland."<sup>13</sup> Further proof that they had no intention to kill is that four deadlines had passed without the commandos carrying out their threats of execution.

The kidnapping of Arab officers and the attempted kidnapping in Munich of the Israeli athletes are essentially analogous in intent though not in justification. The shedding of blood in the latter case rendered the second event different in magnitude and nullified its intent. The character of massacre was contributed by the West German authorities acting under Israeli guidance. To the Israelis a live hostage in Arab hands would be a severe liability and embarrassment, while a dead martyr is worth his weight in gold.

### *Parcel and Letter Bombs*

Following the incident of the letter bomb which took the life of the Agricultural Attaché at the Israeli Embassy in London on 19 September 1972, the Sunday Times carried an article reviewing the history of the campaign of sending parcel and letter bombs to prominent people shortly before and after the establishment of the state of Israel. According to the article the recipients were prominent politicians and senior army officers in Britain.

Apart from the many victims of parcel and letter bombs sent by Israel over the years, in 1972, Ghassan Kanafani, a leading Palestinian newspaper editor, and his young niece were both killed on 8 July by a bomb placed

<sup>13</sup> *New York Times*, 12 September 1972, p. 8.

under his car; on 19 July, Dr. Anis Sayegh, Director of the Palestine Research Center in Beirut, received a letter bomb which exploded in his face and on 25 July, Bassam Abu Sharif, an editor of *Al-Hadaf* newspaper, was another victim of a letter bomb. Other attempts were made, some succeeded, some failed. All clues pointed to it being the work of Israeli intelligence.

### *A Record of Major Incidents*

Each time Zionism is equated with Nazism, the Israelis protest vehemently and throw up their arms in angry gestures, defending themselves by quoting the 'six million Jews' they say Hitler had killed during World War Two, drawing attention to the atrocities of the Aushwitz ovens, and claiming that nothing can be compared with so savage a calamity as that which befell the Jews. Israeli display of excessive emotion is designed, among other things, to minimize and, indeed, obscure their own crimes against the Palestinian Arabs.

A crime is judged not in terms of number of victims but by the commission of the act, as British historian Arnold Toynbee so aptly put it to his Jewish audience. He said: "It is impossible to be more than 100% wicked. A murder is a murder. If I murder one man, that makes me a murderer. I don't have to reach 6,000,000 or even 1,000." He observed that: "Jewish treatment of the Arabs in 1947 was as morally indefensible as the slaughter by the Nazis of 6,000,000 Jews."<sup>14</sup>

At first, the equation between Nazism and Zionism was confined to racism and religious discrimination, because both ideologies happen to be based on the 'purity of the race' concept. But as Zionism built up its military strength, and with the fall of Hitler and the emergence of Zionism as a 'state' in 1948, it reached out to greater dimensions in crime, especially after the 1967 war.

One would imagine that the remnants of a people who had suffered so much under Hitler—not to mention the persecutions Jews underwent in Europe during the centuries—would have taught them a lesson in tolerance and humanity towards other people. Instead, they followed the paths of their oppressors, but with greater vigour and ferocity.

The most gruesome episodes in the history of the Palestine problem

<sup>14</sup> From a lecture and subsequent discussion at McGill University, Montreal, Canada, in January 1961.

that occurred during the period preceding the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, were three, namely, the blowing up of the wing of the King David Hotel housing the Government Secretariat; the hanging of the two British sergeants—Mervyn Paice and Clifford Martin—whom the Jewish terrorists dragged off the Nathanya sea-shore for no crime they had committed; and the commission of sporadic massacres to put the Palestine Arabs to panic flight.

### *King David Hotel Operation*

The actual operation of blowing up the King David Hotel was admitted to be the work of the Irgun Zvei Leumi. The Jewish Agency—an organization officially recognized as representing the Jewish community of Palestine—always disclaimed any responsibility for the activities of what it described as ‘the dissident groups’. But intercepted telegrams exchanged between Jewish leaders in Palestine and London revealed that the Jewish Agency Executive was not only in touch with Hagana, Irgun Zvei Leumi and the Stern terrorists, but coordinated their activities, including broadcasts from the secret Hagana radio station ‘Kol Israel’ (The Voice of Israel).

Here is the proof: One telegram dated 23 September 1945 disclosed that the ‘security member’ of the Jewish Agency Executive, Dr. Moshe Sneh, proposed to its London branch “that we cause one serious incident. We would then publish a declaration to the effect that it is only a warning and an indication of much more serious incidents that would threaten the safety of all British interests in the country, should the Government decide against us. . . The Stern Group have expressed their willingness to join us completely on the basis of our programme of activity. This time the intention seems serious. If there is such a union, we may assume that we can prevent independent action even by the Irgun Zvei Leumi.”<sup>15</sup>

Another telegram to London from Bernard Joseph, acting head of the Jewish Agency’s Political Department in Jerusalem, followed on 10 October 1945 asking for instructions regarding military actions to be taken against the British authority, suggesting that if ‘*Hayyim*’ (Chaim Weizmann), who was in London, meant Jewish forces only to avoid a general conflict, a certain code reply was to be sent.<sup>16</sup> Moshe Sharett,

<sup>15</sup> *Cmd. 6808*: Statement of Information Relating to Acts of Violence, 24 July 1946—Telegram No.1.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Telegram No.2.

head of the Agency's Political Department and a member of the Executive, replied from London on 12 October 1945 giving the affirmative code.<sup>17</sup>

On the night of 31 October/1 November 1945, the three underground groups went into action: The Palmach-Hagana blew up the railways in 153 places, completely disrupting the system, and destroyed three boats used for intercepting illegal immigrants; the Irgun Zvei Leumi attacked the railway-yards at Lydda causing serious damage and some casualties; and the Stern Gang attempted to blow up the oil refinery at Haifa. The Jewish Agency signalled to its London Office: "The activities have made a great impression. The authorities are bewildered. . . They are waiting for instructions from London."<sup>18</sup>

In the Spring of 1946, the Irgun Zvei Leumi submitted a plan to Moshe Sneh and Israel Galili at Hagana headquarters for an extensive sabotage operation against the Government wing of the King David Hotel. 'Mines' which could not be dismantled or removed, as they would blow up on contact, would be used, timed by a mechanism which could fix their explosion of the mines half an hour or even an hour after their introduction into the buildings. The plan was approved by the Hagana command in a letter dated 1 July 1946.<sup>19</sup> The King David Hotel disaster occurred on 22 July 1946.

When it became known that there had been so many casualties, and fearing unfavourable world reaction, the Hagana sent a note to Menachem Beigin asking him to announce that it was the Irgun Zvei Leumi which had carried out the attack, adding that Hagana would publish no statement at all. However, no sooner had Beigin complied, than 'Kol Israel' broadcast on 23 July: "The Hebrew Resistance Movement denounces the heavy toll of lives caused by the dissidents' operation at the King David Hotel." David Ben Gurion, head of the Jewish Agency, who had been 'tipped off' and was in Paris at the time, stated in an interview with *France Soir*, that "The Irgun is the enemy of the Jewish people—it has always opposed me",<sup>20</sup> to give the erroneous impression that he was ignorant of the plan and did not approve of it!

At this stage, the British Government could no longer keep silent over

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Telegram No.3.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, Telegram No. 5.

<sup>19</sup> Menachem Beigin, *The Revolt* (New York: Henry Schuman, 1951), pp. 212-213.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 223.

the Jewish Agency's hypocrisy; and on 24 July 1946, it published a 'White Paper' on terrorism in Palestine disclosing the telegrams exchanged between the Jewish leaders which proved without a shadow of doubt that "the Hagana and its associated force, Palmach, working under the political control of prominent members of the Jewish Agency, had been engaged in the carefully planned use of violence and sabotage under the name of the Jewish Resistance Movement; that the National Military Organization and the Stern Group had, during the preceding eight or nine months, been co-operating with the Hagana in certain of those operations; and that the illegal radio transmitter calling itself 'The Voice of Israel', which was working under the general direction of the Jewish Agency, had been supporting the terrorist groups."<sup>21</sup>

### *The Hanging*

Another dastardly deed committed by Jewish terrorists was the hanging of two British military sergeants in reprisal for the execution of Jewish terrorists who had been tried and sentenced by a military court, an account of which appears in Section I.

Menachem Beigin declared: "We repaid our enemy in kind. We had warned him again and again. He had callously disregarded our warnings. He forced us to answer gallows with gallows."<sup>22</sup>

### *Massacre*

Massacre as a tool to terrorize people into panic flight was a set policy of the Zionist movement.

The Israeli Hebrew newspaper *Yediot Aharonot*, in its issues of 4 and 29 April 1972, carried an eye-witness account, published for the first time, of the Deir Yasin massacre; and on 14 April 1972, gave accounts of other massacres committed during the same period, as reported by an Israeli historian and research worker.

According to the newspaper, a young Palmach fighter called Meir Philiski, who is today Colonel Meir Pa'el, made public a report he had written twenty-four years ago on the "secret operation" at Deir Yasin on 9 April 1948, in which he disclosed what "he saw with his own eyes and

<sup>21</sup> Palestine: *Supplementary Memorandum to UNSCOP*, p. 14.

<sup>22</sup> Beigin, *The Revolt*, p. 290.

what he heard with his own ears.” Extracts from his reports appear in Section 1 below.

Arieh Yitzhaqi, historian and research worker, gives an account of the Deir Yasin massacre and cites a few other cases: At Balad Esh-Sheikh, he said, “more than sixty of the enemy, most of them non-combatants, were killed in their houses. . . it was impossible to avoid hitting women and children also”. At the village of Sa’sa’, he reported, “twenty houses were blown up over their inhabitants, and some sixty Arabs were killed, most of them women and children”. In the Katamon Quarter of Jerusalem (where the author used to live), “Arab women servants were killed in the course of the onslaught”. Yitzhaqi added that: “There were also the indiscriminate reprisal attacks on Arab civilian communications in which many innocent citizens were killed.” And on the subject of a so-called Arab revolt in Lydda, reported that “250 Arabs were killed”.<sup>23</sup> An eye-witness version of the Lydda incident is that the inhabitants—like those of Ramle—were terrorized and pushed out of their homes and prevented from carrying anything away with them. Those who pleaded to be allowed to remain and others who resisted, were shot. The rest began to run towards Ramallah.

The outstanding incidents of terrorism and other forms of violence which occurred after the state of Israel had been established, were at the villages of Qibya, Kafr Qasem and Es-Sammu’, against none of which have the Israelis been able to make a case to justify their crimes. These are dealt with at length in Section 2.

The object behind these crimes was—according to Israeli sources—to discourage and curb ‘infiltration’ by those who crossed the demarcation line either to retrieve some of their abandoned possessions, or to ‘steal’ the produce of their own lands. There was then no organized resistance movement which the Israelis could use as a pretext.

In actual fact, the purpose behind the Israeli aggression was two-fold: (1) To terrorize the Arab inhabitants to abandon their villages and move further inland; and (2) to ensure that the attention of world Jewry was constantly focused on the illusion that the Jewish state was in danger of destruction and therefore needed their political and financial support.

The Security Council never accepted Israel’s argument for its so-

<sup>23</sup> Quoted from the *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 4, Summer 1972, pp. 142-146, published by the Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut.



called 'retaliation' and 'reprisal' raids and said it found no justification for them, whatever the provocation. For these actions, the Israelis were condemned five times and called upon to cease such actions in future.

After the 1967 war, Israel's military incursions across the armistice demarcation and cease-fire lines were declared to be against commando bases; but in point of fact, most of the areas hit were civilian targets which resulted in the death of many innocent men, women and children, and the destruction of private homes. The Israeli authorities were condemned seven times for such aggressions.

In the occupied territories, the Israelis appear to compete with the Nazis in their policy of persecution and oppression: Torture of prisoners and detainees is being practised; property is being destroyed without military necessity; lands are being confiscated; deportation and expulsion of the inhabitants continues; and the violation of human rights is the order of the day.

The General Assembly, the Security Council, the Commission on Human Rights, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and other international humanitarian organizations have each rejected the Israeli treatment of the inhabitants and declared that it is contrary to the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Fourth Geneva Convention, and have called upon the Israeli authorities to desist. Israel's response has been one of defiance and refusal to implement. The question is dealt with at greater length in Section 4 below.

In the final analysis, the situation in the Middle East stands dead-locked: Israel's policy in relation to the Palestine issue was reiterated on 27 September 1962 in a television interview on the British Broadcasting system. Mrs. Golda Meir, when asked 'if she would sit with the Palestinians at a conference table', said, among other things: "They (the Palestinians) have nothing to offer us and we have nothing to offer them." (On a previous occasion, Mrs. Meir declared: "It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist."<sup>24</sup>

If Mrs. Meir had in mind additional homes and lands, it is true, the

<sup>24</sup> From an interview with Frank Giles, published in the *Sunday Times*, London, 15 June 1969.

Palestinians have 'nothing to offer them' because the Israelis have taken all that the Palestinians possessed.

But, in fact, the Palestinians do have something to offer the Jews in return for the same piece of land they took away from them and now call 'Israel', namely: After Palestine has been liberated, the Palestinians will offer the Jews a 'Palestinian Democratic State'—a state worthy of the name of 'The Holy Land, the Land of Peace' in which Moslems, Christians and Jews will, once again, be able to live together as human beings in peace and harmony and enjoy full and equal rights of citizenship.

So long as militarism and fanaticism remain dominant in the occupied territories, the Israelis will be able to maintain their presence in Arab homes and on Arab lands by means of terrorism—a typically colonialist attitude at a time when classical colonialism has receded. The Palestinian Arabs, on the other hand, are determined—since all peaceful approaches have failed to give them justice—to follow the path of violence as the only avenue left open to them to achieve their liberation. In this attitude they are no different to the Americans when they too were fighting for their independence. In the Declaration issued in 1775, the American freedom fighters resolved: "In our native land, in defence of the freedom which is our birthright, and which we enjoyed till the late violation of it, for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before."

If the American people, whose homes and country were not taken away from them by aliens, and whose very existence was not threatened with extinction, were within their human and legal rights to adopt such a stand, surely the Palestinian Arabs, after twenty-five years of solicitude, argument, appeal and protest at the doors of the United Nations and the Big Powers, have a greater right to adhere to the principles of the American Declaration and take up arms in defence of their property and homeland.

With such a principle in mind, and guided by the fact that every liberation movement in Asia and Africa had to fight and make great sacrifices for its freedom, the Palestinian Resistance Movement has no alternative but to take up arms and to adopt the following policy:

1. That revolutionary violence is the only way in which the fatherland can be liberated;
2. That this violence must be exercised by the mass of the people;
3. That the aim of this revolutionary violence is to liquidate the Zionist identity, in its political, economic and military forms, from all the occupied land of Palestine;
4. That revolutionary action must be independent of any control either by state or party;
5. That this revolutionary action will be of long duration;
6. That the revolution is Palestinian in its origin and Arab in its extension.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Drawn up in 1968 by a commission appointed by the Central Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Quoted from a report by Gerard Chaliand, published by *Le Monde Diplomatique*, March 1969, and reproduced by the Fifth of June Society (Beirut) under the title of 'The Palestinian Resistance Movement'.

# 1

## Zionist Terrorism (1939-1948)

### Explanatory Notes

BEFORE enumerating the various acts of terrorism perpetrated by the Zionists in Palestine during the period of the Mandate, it would be helpful to provide brief explanatory notes on the situation which preceded the launching of Zionist violence.

Article 4 of the Palestine Mandate provided that: "An appropriate Jewish Agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population of Palestine and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country."<sup>1</sup>

From the beginning, implementation of the 'Jewish national home' policy of the Balfour Declaration of 2 November 1917<sup>2</sup> was not without violence; and on 17 May 1939, the British Mandatory Government issued a final 'Statement of Policy' which became known as 'The MacDonald White Paper'. After referring to the terms of the Mandate, the 'Statement' pointed out that, "the Royal Commission and previous Commissions of Enquiry have drawn attention to the ambiguity of certain expressions in the Mandate—such as the expression 'a national home for the Jewish people'—and they have found in this ambiguity and the resulting uncertainty as to the objectives of policy a fundamental cause of unrest and hostility between Arabs and Jews". The British Mandatory Government was therefore convinced that in the interests of

<sup>1</sup> *A Survey of Palestine 1945-1946*, Vol. 1, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

peace and the well-being of the whole people of Palestine, a clear definition of policy and objectives was essential. Consequently, the British Government declared that neither their undertakings to the Jews nor the national interests of Britain warranted that they should continue to develop the Jewish national home beyond the point already reached. The Government therefore decided:

1. That the Jewish national home as envisaged in the Balfour Declaration and in previous statements of British policy had been established;
2. That to develop it further against Arab wishes would be a violation of Britain's undertakings to the Arabs, and that such a policy could only be carried out by the use of unjustifiable force;
3. That, therefore, after the admission of a final quota of 75,000 more Jewish immigrants over a period of five years, Jewish immigration should stop;
4. That during this period of five years, a restriction should be placed on the acquisition of further land in Palestine by the Jews;
5. That at the end of the period of five years, self-governing institutions should be set up in the country.<sup>3</sup>

Zionist reaction to the new policy of the 'White Paper' was one of unanimous rejection and condemnation. A general strike was called for the day following its announcement, when violent and inflammatory speeches were made by Zionist leaders. In Jerusalem, Arab shops were looted, the police stoned and a British constable was shot.<sup>4</sup>

From its inception in 1897, the Zionist movement was aware that it could not seize Palestine, expel its Arab inhabitants and establish a Jewish state, without the use of force. Consequently, the Hagana (meaning 'defence')—the illegal military arm of the Zionist movement, established and maintained by the officially-recognized Jewish Agency—was created as a fighting force soon after World War One. Its role as a para-military organization was to recruit, train and equip all able-bodied young men and women for the day when it would be possible to seize the country by force and establish a Jewish state.

In 1935, the Irgun Zvei-Leumi (meaning 'national military organiza-

<sup>3</sup> *Cmd. 6019 – A Survey of Palestine 1945-1946*, Vol. 1, Annexure II, pp. 90-102.

<sup>4</sup> *A Survey of Palestine*, p. 54.

tion') split from the 'mother' organization—Hagana; and in 1939, the Stern Gang (self-styled 'freedom fighters of Israel') in turn split from the Irgun.

Whereas the Hagana obeyed the orders of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, the Irgun Zvei Leumi owed political allegiance to the revisionists, the extreme nationalist wing of the Zionist movement.

All three groups cooperated when they found this more profitable, but each in its own way. Their objective, however, was the same, namely, the seizure of Palestine, the expulsion of its Arab inhabitants and the establishment of a Jewish state, but they differed in their methods of achieving this objective. The Hagana at first showed restraint because of its relationship to the Jewish Agency. The Irgun Zvei Leumi, on the other hand, had no need for caution and could therefore afford to be more ruthless. From the beginning it was organized on the strictly conspiratorial lines of a terrorist underground movement; and its recruits were mostly from among the Yemenite and Sephardic Jews who were taught Polish underground tactics. In this manner, the Jewish Agency could—as it always did—disclaim responsibility for any action which shocked the world by reason of its brutality.

On 24 July 1946, the British Mandatory Government issued a 'Statement of Information Relating to Acts of (Jewish) Violence'<sup>5</sup> in which it described the Hagana as an illegal and well-armed military organization, organized under a central command with subsidiary territorial commands, in three branches, each of which included women, viz:

- a static force composed of settlers and townsmen, with an estimated strength of 40,000;
- a field army, based on the Jewish Settlement Police and trained in more mobile operations, with an estimated strength of 16,000;
- a full-time force ('Palmach'), permanently mobilized and provided with transport, with an estimated peace establishment of 2,000 and war establishment of some 6,000.

The 'White Paper' added that something in the nature of conscription was in force - a year's service being obligatory for senior school children, male and female, between the ages of 17 and 18. The Jewish publication, *Haboker*, stated that prior to 11 November 1945, "every movement must

<sup>5</sup> *Cmd.* 6873.

submit to the Jewish Agency's Recruiting Department in Tel-Aviv a roster of its members, male and female, who must enlist".

The same 'White Paper' added that the Irgun Zvei Leumi had a strength estimated at between 3,000 and 5,000; while the Stern Gang had between 200 and 300 dangerous fanatics.

The 'White Paper' went on further to declare that the information which was in the possession of the British Government had led them to the conclusion that "the Hagana and its associated force the Palmach ( working under the political control of prominent members of the Jewish Agency ), have been engaging in carefully planned movements of sabotage and violence under the guise of 'the Jewish Resistance Movement'; that the Irgun Zvei Leumi and the Stern Gang have worked since last Autumn in cooperation with the Hagana High Command on certain of these operations; and that the broadcasting station 'Kol Israel', which claims to be the 'the Voice of the Resistance Movement' and which was working under the general direction of the Jewish Agency, has been supporting these organizations".

The revelation that the Jewish Agency was not only in touch with Hagana, Irgun and the Stern Gang but actually coordinated and directed their activities of murder, destruction and sabotage—as the telegrams intercepted between Zionist leaders abroad and the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem disclosed—did not come as a surprise. At first some of the leaders of the Jewish Agency were arrested and sent to detention camps, but they were later released.

In May 1947, the High Commissioner described the situation in Palestine in the following terms: "The first and most important element in the situation is that, because of political differences with the Mandatory Administration on account of the inability of His Majesty's Government to accede to Jewish demands, the Jewish community, whose dissident members are responsible for these outrages, have declined and still decline, to give any assistance to the police and military forces in the maintenance of law and order. These forces are thus working in and among a population of over 600,000 whose leaders have refused to call for cooperation with the police against the extremists and have thus, however much they themselves may not have wished it, in effect encouraged the terrorist groups to further lawlessness and wanton assaults by all available means upon constituted authority in almost any form."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Palestine: Supplementary Memorandum to UNSCOP*, p. 57.



In July 1947, the Palestine Government, in a supplementary memorandum to the U.N. Special Committee, said: "When the war against Germany and Japan was seen to be approaching a successful conclusion, the Jews brought into action their weapons of lawlessness and terrorism in support of their own political aims and ambitions." The memorandum pointed out that: "The right of any community to use force as a means of gaining its political ends is not admitted in the British Commonwealth. Since the beginning of 1945, the Jews have implicitly claimed this right and have supported, by an organized campaign of lawlessness, murder and sabotage, their contention that, whatever other interests might be concerned, nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of a Jewish state and free immigration into Palestine."<sup>7</sup>

Sympathy and support for the Jewish terrorists was not confined to the Jewish community in Palestine. The terrorists had many sympathizers and supporters in the United States without whose contributions terrorism and sabotage would not have been possible. At a time when Zionist terrorism was at its highest, Ben Hecht, a rich and influential Jewish Hollywood scenario writer, published an encouraging 'Letter to the Terrorists of Palestine' in the *New York Herald Tribune* of 15 May 1945, in which he said: "The Jews of America are for you. You are their champions. You are the grin they wear. You are the feather in their hats. In the past fifteen hundred years, every nation of Europe has taken a crack at the Jews. This time the British are at bat. You are the first answer that makes sense—to the New World." He then went on to gloat over what the Zionists were doing by saying: "Every time you blow up a British arsenal, or wreck a British bank, or let go with your guns and bombs at the British betrayers and invaders of your homeland, the Jews of America make a little holiday in their hearts." He concluded by assuring his "brave friends, we are working to help you. We are raising funds for you. . . ."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>8</sup> Isaac Zaar, *Rescue and Liberation: America's part in the Birth of Israel* (New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1954), pp. 241-242.

## The Official Record<sup>9</sup>

*17 May 1939*—The Palestine Broadcasting Service transmission lines were cut and the official announcement of the new policy of the 'White Paper' delayed thereby; the headquarters of the Department of Migration were set fire to; the Government offices in Tel Aviv were sacked.

*18 May 1939*—A Jewish general strike was held and violent speeches of protest made; in Jerusalem, shops were looted, the police stoned and a British constable killed.

*26 August 1939*—Two British police inspectors, engaged on the investigation of revisionist terrorism, were murdered in Jerusalem by a bomb.

*5 October 1939*—Forty-three Jews, wearing uniforms, were arrested while engaged in military manoeuvres and carrying rifles and bombs, and subsequently tried by a military court and sentenced to long periods of imprisonment.

*18 November 1939*—Thirty-eight revisionist Jews, engaged in manoeuvres and carrying arms, bombs, gelignite, etc., were arrested and subsequently sentenced by a military court to long terms of imprisonment.

*22 January 1940*—A search of the Jewish settlement of Ben Shemen revealed a hoard of arms and ammunition. Eleven Jews of the settlement were tried by military court, and eight of them convicted.

*6 March 1940*—Mr. David Ben Gurion, representing the Jewish Agency, informed the General Officer Commanding that he was not prepared to take active steps to put an end to the disturbances.

*25 November 1940*—The ship *Patria* was scuttled at her moorings in Haifa harbour by an explosion and sank in a quarter of an hour with the loss of life to 252 illegal Jewish immigrants and British police personnel. The commission of enquiry appointed to enquire into the circumstances found that the damage to the *Patria* had been committed by Jewish sympathizers ashore, with the cooperation of at least one person on board the ship.

<sup>9</sup> Compiled from the official records of the Palestine Government: *A Survey of Palestine 1945-1946*, Vol. 1, pp. 58-83; also *Palestine: Supplementary Memorandum to UNSCOP*, pp. 5-31.

Eighteen years later, the story of how the massacre was arranged was disclosed by one of the participants. Dr. Herzl Rosenblum, editor of a large Zionist Tel Aviv daily *Yedios Achronos*, related that: "This was in 1940, shortly before the affair *Patria*. A session of the small Actions Committee, of which I was a member, met in Jerusalem. At the table opposite me, sat the commander of the *Patria* project, A. Golomb. When my turn came to speak, I rose and told the meeting openly everything I thought about this act, namely, that this was not a fight against England, but an irresponsible, aimless mass-murder of Jews who had been saved from the European catastrophe. I added that if any one of us believed that we had to fight the British by committing *hara-kiri*, let him commit *hara-kiri* himself; for *hara-kiri* is suicide and not an act of murder. I stated plainly that this road was open to Mr. Golomb but that he couldn't sacrifice other Jews for his 'policy', without first asking them, and particularly the children among them—a crime against which I openly protested. At this point, Mr. Golomb jumped up and attacked me with his fists. Mr. Golomb's fists did not provoke me as much as the servility of all the committee members, none of whom supported me. When I left the meeting, everything in me was an uproar. I could not control my feelings. I thought of the Russian terrorists who refused to throw a bomb at the Czar because he was in the company of a child and woman, although this child or woman did not belong to the Revolutionists, but to the hated enemy—the Czar. But we murdered with our bare hands our own children, their mothers, sisters and dear ones, and yet everything is in order. Rejoice our people!" he concluded.

Moshe Sharett, who heard this criticism, replied in his memorial oration: "It is sometimes necessary to sacrifice a few in order to save the many." But David Flinker, the Israeli correspondent of the *Zionist Tog-Journal*, commented: "Yes, it is true that a commander occasionally must send to death some soldiers in order to save his city or country. The question, however, is whether this was true in the case of the *Patria*, and whether it was permissible to follow this principle. . . This (blowing up of the ship) was a political demonstration against the British, carried out at the cost of 250 innocent Jews—men, women and children."<sup>10</sup>

19 December 1940—The Government immigration offices in Haifa were sabotaged by bombs.

<sup>10</sup> *Jewish Newsletter*, 3 November 1958.

*January 1942*—A group of terrorists which, under the leadership of Abraham Stern, had broken away from the Irgun Zvei Leumi in October 1939, and had been engaged in terrorist acts since the time of the release of Stern from detention in June 1940, came into prominence with a series of robberies and murders in the Tel Aviv area, culminating in the murder of senior police officers.

*24 February 1942*—The *Struma*, a ship carrying illegal immigrants to Palestine sank in the Black Sea as a result of an explosion in which 760 Jewish lives were lost. As in the case of the *Patria*, the Palestine Government was accused of ‘murder’.

*22 April 1942*—Attempts were made to assassinate the Inspector-General of Police and one of his assistants.

*23 March 1943*—In a speech to the Elected Assembly, David Ben Gurion said: “We wish to be frank and tell the Government that there will be no cooperation between us and the ‘White Paper’ authorities neither at present nor after the war. We shall not give a hand in carrying out the plans revealed to us last night, for all those plans are based on the stoppage of Jewish immigration, on the seclusion of Jews in a special Jewish living space, on the realization of the ‘White Paper’ policy, on the deprivation of the Jewish people of its homeland.”

*3 February 1944*—Two Jews were surprised tampering with the wall of St. George’s Cathedral; from articles left behind, it appeared that they had been engaged on the installation of an infernal machine at the gate of the cathedral through which the High Commissioner was wont to pass on his way to Sunday service.

*12 February 1944*—There were explosions in the offices of the Department of Migration in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa and considerable damage was done to the buildings.

*14 February 1944*—A British police officer and a British constable were shot dead in the streets of Haifa.

*24 February 1944*—Bomb explosions occurred at police headquarters in Haifa causing police casualties.

*26 February 1944*—The income tax offices in Jerusalem, Haifa and Tel Aviv were severely damaged by bombs.

*During March 1944*—There were isolated murders of policemen, and on the 23rd, eight British policemen were murdered by shooting and bombs and serious damage was done to police buildings in the four major towns.

*17 May 1944*—The Ramallah broadcasting station was attacked in an abortive attempt to broadcast therefrom.

*14 July 1944*—The district police headquarters and district land registry offices in Jerusalem were attacked and severely damaged by explosives and fire; police casualties were inflicted and the land registry records destroyed.

*8 August 1944*—A deliberate attempt was made by Jewish terrorists to assassinate the High Commissioner while he and Lady MacMichael were proceeding by car to a municipal farewell function in Jaffa. The Aide de Camp and the British police driver were seriously wounded.

*22 August 1944*—Three police buildings in Jaffa and Tel Aviv were attacked with loss of police lives.

*27 September 1944*—Four police stations were attacked with some casualties to Palestinian police personnel.

*29 September 1944*—A senior police officer was assassinated on his way to his office.

*5 October 1944*—The Tel Aviv offices and stores of the Department of Light Industries were raided by some fifty members of the Irgun Zvei Leumi and textiles valued at £P.100,000 were removed.

*10 October 1944*—The Officer Administering the Government and the Commander-in-Chief Middle East issued a joint official communiqué in which it was clearly stated that the terrorists and “their active and passive sympathizers are directly impeding the war effort of Great Britain” and “assisting the enemy”. The communiqué called upon “the Jewish community as a whole to do their utmost to assist the forces of law and order in eradicating this evil thing within their midst”, and added that “verbal condemnation of outrages on the platform and in the press may have its effect but is not in itself enough; what is required is actual collaboration with the forces of law and order, especially the giving of information leading to the apprehension of the assassins and their accomplices”. The communiqué then demanded “of the Jewish community

in Palestine, their leaders and representative bodies to recognize and discharge their responsibilities and not to allow the good name of the *Yishuv* to be prejudiced by acts which can only bring shame and dishonour on the Jewish people as a whole".<sup>11</sup>

6 November 1944—The Minister of State, Lord Moyne, was assassinated in Cairo by two members of the Stern Gang. It was generally held that the assassination was an act of revenge for the anti-Zionist policy he was believed to have advocated.<sup>12</sup> A Zionist writer had listed the charge: He had been "busy rigging up" the Arab League as a counter-force to Zionism; as Colonial Secretary in 1941 and 1942, he 'vehemently' opposed Jewish immigration; he had made a declaration in the House of Lords on 9 June 1942 that the Jews were not the descendants of the ancient Hebrews and had no 'legitimate claim' to the Holy Land; and he was "an implacable enemy of Hebrew independence".<sup>13</sup>

17 November 1944—Sir Winston Churchill, then Prime Minister and an ardent Zionist, made a revealing statement in the House of Commons regarding the assassination. He said: "If our dreams for Zionism are to end in the smoke of assassins' pistols and our labours for its future are to produce a new set of gangsters worthy of Nazi Germany, many like myself will have to reconsider the position we have maintained so consistently and so long in the past. If there is to be any hope of a peaceful and successful future for Zionism, these wicked activities must cease and those responsible for them must be destroyed root and branch." He added that the Government was "entitled to demand and to receive" the "whole-hearted co-operation of the entire Jewish community". He quoted the appeal of the Executive of the Jewish Agency to the Jewish community<sup>14</sup> and requested it "to cast out the members of this destructive band, to deprive them of all refuge and shelter, to resist their threats and to render all necessary assistance to the authorities in the prevention of terrorist acts and in the eradication of the terrorist organization". He added: "These are strong words but we must wait to see that not only the leaders but every man, woman and child of the Jewish community

<sup>11</sup> *A Survey of Palestine*, Vol. I, p. 73.

<sup>12</sup> Marlowe, S.H., *The Seat of Pilate*, (London: Cresset Press, 1959), p. 183.

<sup>13</sup> Zaar, *Rescue and Liberation*, p. 115.

<sup>14</sup> In the light of the involvement of the Jewish Agency in preceding crimes, in the blowing up of the King David Hotel and other atrocities, the statement by the Jewish Agency can only be described as insincere and hypocritical.

does his or her best to bring this terrorism to a speedy end.”<sup>15</sup>

*During 1945*—Following threats by the Irgun Zvei Leumi early in May that V-Day for the world would be D-Day for them, there was a renewed outbreak of Jewish terrorism of which the following are the principal incidents: On 13 May, telegraph poles were damaged by explosives and an attempt was made to attack the Police Mobile Force camp at Sarona by locally made mortars; there was a recurrence of this attack by mortar fire on 15 May. On 22 May, the oil pipeline was punctured in two places and on 25 May a police patrol was fired on. On 12 June mortars aimed at the route for the King's birthday parade in Jerusalem were discovered and on the following day a similar battery of mortars was found aiming at the saluting box from which Lord Gort would take the salute at the parade. On 17 June substantial quantities of gelignite were stolen by armed Jews from quarries, and on 13 July a lorryload of explosives was ambushed and the British constable escort killed; on the same day a bridge on the Haifa-Kantara railway line was blown up. On 7 August, £P. 3, 500 were stolen from a Tel Aviv bank in an armed hold-up. On 13 August a large body of armed Jews stole 450 lbs of gelignite and other explosives from the store at Petah Tiqva of Solel Boneh Ltd. On 16 August the personnel of a training unit of the Irgun Zvei Leumi were arrested near Benyamina—they were subsequently tried by a military court for the possession of arms and explosives. On 20 August a Jewish settler who had been of assistance to the police was murdered. On 2 September armed Jews dressed as British police attempted to rob the safe of a Tel Aviv bank and, shortly afterwards, £P. 5, 000 worth of textiles were stolen in Tel Aviv by the Irgun Zvei Leumi. On 28 September a British constable was fatally wounded in Tel Aviv while escorting money for the payment of Government officials' salaries. On 9 October the illegal radio transmitter of the Hagana began to broadcast in English, Arabic and Hebrew and continued daily thereafter. On 11 October 218 rifles, 15 machine guns and ammunition were stolen from the training depot for Palestinian soldiers at Rehovoth. On 16 October a military truck containing £P. 14, 000 was ambushed by armed men who were beaten off by the Jewish military escort. On 31 October a concerted series of attacks was made by armed Jews on the Palestine railway system culminating in a full-scale attack on Lydda

<sup>15</sup> *A Survey of Palestine*, Vol. I, p. 73.

railway station and goods depot. The permanent way was blown up and cut in 242 places; seven locomotives, a signal box and a locomotive shed were seriously damaged. Casualties included one British soldier, one Palestinian policeman and one Palestinian railwayman killed. On the same night police launches at Haifa and Jaffa were blown up by limpet bombs and an unsuccessful attempt was made on the Consolidated Refineries installation at Haifa. These operations were probably the combined work of the Hagana, Irgun and Stern Gang. On 27 December police headquarters in Jerusalem, police stations in Jaffa and Tel Aviv and a military depot in Tel Aviv were attacked by large gangs of armed men of the Irgun Zvei Leumi; and two British police officers, two British constables, one Arab telephone operator, one British soldier and four Basuto soldiers were killed and others wounded by fire from automatic weapons or explosives.

*12 January 1946*—A train was derailed near Hadera and attacked by some seventy armed Jews; £P. 35, 000 in cash, which were on the train for payment of railway staff, were stolen.

*19 January 1946*—A large-scale terrorist attack was made on the Central Prison, Jerusalem, resulting in the death of a British army officer and a British police officer, and in the serious wounding of another British police officer.

*20 January 1946*—The coast-guard station near Givat Olga was severely damaged by an explosion which injured seventeen members of the security forces, two seriously. An attempt to blow up a radar station on Mount Carmel was frustrated.

*20 February 1946*—The R.A.F. radar station on Mount Carmel was damaged by explosives deposited by armed Jewish terrorists. Two British NCO's were seriously wounded and six British aircraftmen suffered minor injuries.

*21 February 1946*—Terrorist attacks were made on police installations at Sarona, Shefa Amr and Zfar Vitkin.

*25 February 1946*—R.A.F. airfields at Lydda, Qastina and Petah Tiqva were attacked by Jewish terrorists, a number of aircraft being destroyed and damaged.



*26 March 1946*—An illegal immigrant ship carrying 240 passengers was arrested by the Royal Navy and taken into Haifa. Simultaneously there was widespread terrorist activity in and around Tel Aviv, comprising firing in different parts of the town and the laying of landmines.

*2 April 1946*—Attacks on the rail system by Jewish terrorists in different parts of Palestine caused extensive damage and casualties to the security forces. In the course of ensuing military operations a party of thirty armed Jews was encountered by a military unit south of Jaffa and its members captured.

*23 April 1946*—Ramat Gan police station was attacked by armed Jewish terrorists, who stole a number of firearms. One terrorist was shot dead and two were wounded and captured. An Arab temporary additional policeman was killed and two policemen, one British and one Arab, were wounded. A diversionary attack was carried out on Tel Aviv railway station.

*25 April 1946*—Seven British soldiers were murdered in a terrorist attack on a military car-park in Tel Aviv.

*10 June 1946*—Damage estimated at over £P.100,000 was caused when Jewish terrorists held up and damaged three trains in the Lydda district.

*17 June 1946*—Widespread terrorist attacks on the night of the 16th, 17th June resulted in the damage or destruction of eight road and rail bridges and in extensive damage to the workshops of the Palestine Railways at Haifa. Numerous casualties (some fatal) were sustained by the attackers and by the security forces, and a number of terrorists were arrested.

*18 June 1946*—Six British officers were abducted by armed Jews, five in Tel Aviv and one in Jerusalem. The latter later escaped from his captors; two of the British officers kidnapped in Tel Aviv were released on 22 June, and the remaining three on 4 July.

*29 June 1946*—In country-wide operations the security forces arrested a large number of Jews (2,675) suspected of complicity in terrorism, including four members of the Jewish Agency Executive. The Jewish Agency building in Jerusalem was occupied. Searches of several Jewish colonies took place on this and the following days. A number of secret arms caches were discovered at Meshet Yagur settlement, comprising

*inter alia* 325 rifles, 96 mortars, 10 machine guns and 425, 000 rounds of ammunition.

22 July 1946—Eighty-three public servants and five members of the public were killed when a wing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, housing the Secretariat and part of military headquarters, was blown up by Jewish terrorists.<sup>16</sup>

26 July 1946—The General Officer Commanding in Palestine circulated a letter to his troops in which he stated: “The Jewish community of Palestine cannot be absolved from responsibility for the long series of outrages culminating in the blowing up of a large part of the Government Offices in the King David Hotel causing grievous loss of life. Without the support, active and passive, of the general public, the terrorist gangs who actually carry out these criminal acts would soon be unearthed, and in this measure the Jews in this country are accomplices and bear a share in the guilt.” The General then decided “to put out of bounds to ranks all Jewish places of entertainment, cafes, restaurants, shops and private dwellings. No soldier,” he ordered, “is to have any intercourse with any Jew; and intercourse in the way of duty should be as brief as possible and kept strictly to the business in hand.”<sup>17</sup>

Author Arthur Koestler remarked in this respect: “The King David episode is merely an extreme example of the general policy of the official Zionist bodies. They preached resistance but denied indignantly acting against the law; they alternately tolerated, fought against or engaged in terrorism, according to the opportunity of the moment, but all the time carefully maintained the fiction of being guardians of civic virtue. Unlike the Irish rebels, the French resistance or the Jewish terrorists, they never had the courage to go underground and to harmonize their words with their acts. They had learned the lesson in hypocrisy from the mandatory administration; and the habits once acquired were partly carried over into the newborn state.”<sup>18</sup>

30 July 1946—Police and military operations, directed to the arrest of members of the terrorist organizations responsible for the outrage of the

<sup>16</sup> For some reason, the author was late for his usual Monday meeting and miraculously escaped death. He was on his way when the explosion occurred. Four of his colleagues on the Committee were killed.

<sup>17</sup> Koestler, *Promise and Fulfilment*, p.88.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

22nd July, were commenced in Tel Aviv; the town was closely cordoned and intensive searches were carried out.

2 August 1946—During the course of these operations, a large quantity of illegal armaments was discovered and nearly 800 persons, including several known terrorists, were detained.

22 August 1946—The transport ship *Empire Rival*, used for the deportation of Jewish illegal immigrants to Cyprus, was sabotaged while lying in Haifa port.

29 August 1946—The security forces began the search of two Jewish settlements in the south of Palestine, Ruhama and Dorot. Illegal arms were found at both places.

9 September 1946—There were several terrorist attacks on the railway system in different parts of Palestine. The Area Security Officer for the Jaffa-Tel Aviv area was killed and his wife and another British army officer were injured when the house containing his office and dwelling was blown up in Tel Aviv. A C.I.D. sergeant was shot and fatally wounded in Haifa. Other British military personnel were killed and injured in terrorist outrages in different parts of Palestine.

13 September 1946—Armed Jewish terrorists raided two banks in Tel Aviv and Jaffa, and a diversionary attack was made on the Central Police Station in Jaffa. An Arab policeman and an Arab civilian were shot dead, and the British manager of the Jaffa bank was shot and wounded.

21 October 1946—Jewish terrorist activities were not confined to Palestine but went beyond. For example, during the night, the British Embassy in Rome 'was blasted into ruins'. Rome was assumed to have been the European headquarters of the Hagana, and in a message to the Italian Premier, its spokesman declared: "Your country has been transformed by the British into a base of operations against the Jewish people. Along your coasts British sleuths have been posted to eliminate the repatriation of the Jews," and the British Embassy in Rome "has been transformed into one of the centres of anti-Jewish intrigue ..."<sup>19</sup> Later, Irgun distributed leaflets by bomb explosion in Rome and Venice which threatened the

<sup>19</sup> Zaar, *Rescue and Liberation*, pp. 214-216.

Italian Government with terrorism if it did not exert influence on Britain for the solution of the Palestine problem in the Zionists' favour.<sup>20</sup> Other methods used were to mail letter-bombs to important British officials, among whom to receive them were Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin and Anthony Eden. The letter-bombs were said to have been mailed by the Stern Gang from Italy.<sup>21</sup>

*30 October 1946*—In terrorist outrages on the 29th and 30th October, two British soldiers and a police sergeant were killed and twelve soldiers and an Arab civilian were injured. The Jerusalem railway station was severely damaged by explosives.

*9 November 1946*—Four British members of the Palestine Police Force were killed by an explosion of a booby-trap mine in a house which they were searching for hidden arms in Jerusalem.

*10 November 1946*—The railway station at Ras el Ein was destroyed in a terrorist attack which resulted in injuries to an Arab supernumerary policeman and to three British soldiers.

*13 November 1946*—Six members of the Palestine Police Force were killed and ten were injured in bomb outrages when a railway trolley was mined and derailed on the Lydda-Jerusalem line and a police vehicle was blown up by a land mine in Jerusalem. The foreman of a train blown up on the Jaffa-Lydda line was also fatally injured.

*17 November 1946*—Three British policemen and a Royal Air Force sergeant were killed and six other members of the security forces were injured when a police vehicle was mined near Tel Aviv.

*20 November 1946*—The Income Tax Office in Jerusalem was badly damaged by the detonation of explosive substances deposited by terrorists. One Jewish temporary additional constable was fatally injured.

*2 December 1946*—Four soldiers were killed when a military vehicle in which they were travelling was blown up by a land mine.

*29 December 1946*—A British army major and three British non-commissioned officers were abducted by Jewish terrorists in Tel Aviv, Nathanya and Rishon-le-Zion and flogged as a reprisal for the execution of a

<sup>20</sup> *New York Times*, 11 January 1947, 5:1, 2.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 5 June 1947, 1:2,5.

sentence of 18 strokes imposed by a military court on a Jewish terrorist. Four Jewish terrorists were captured in possession of arms when the car in which they were travelling attempted to rush a military road-block.

*2 January 1947*—Concerted attacks were made by Jewish terrorists on military and police installations and personnel in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Haifa, Kiryat Haim, Tiberias and Hadera. Among casualties to members of the security forces and the public, one British officer was killed and five soldiers were injured when a carrier was blown up near the Haifa Bay suburb of Kiryat Haim.

*12 January 1947*—A vehicle with explosives was driven into the security zone at Haifa and there exploded, causing extensive damage to the building containing the headquarters of the district administration and police. Two British constables and two temporary additional constables were killed. Two British constables were dangerously and seven seriously injured. More than 100 persons were injured with varying degrees of severity.

*26 January 1947*—A British businessman, Mr. H.A.J. Collins, was abducted by Jewish terrorists in Jerusalem. He was released on 29 January.

*27 January 1947*—Judge Windham, President of the District Court of Tel Aviv, was abducted by armed Jewish terrorists while performing his judicial functions. He was released on 28 January.

*1 February 1947*—The text of a letter addressed by the Government of Palestine to the Jewish Agency and the Vaad Leumi on the 3rd February, inquiring whether they were “prepared within seven days to call upon the Jewish community to lend their aid to the Government by cooperating with the Police and Armed Forces in locating and bringing to justice the members of the terrorist groups,” was published in Jerusalem.

*9 February 1947*—The Vaad Leumi and Jewish Agency replies were published. The former stated that it found itself “unable ... to call on the Yishuv, engaged as it is in its struggle for its rights and freedoms, to accede to” the Government’s request. The Jewish Agency Executive expressed the view that any appeal on the lines suggested would not only be ineffective but would be likely to cause harm rather than good.

*28 February 1947*—In a series of terrorist outrages over the weekend, which included the demolition of the premises containing an officers' club in Jerusalem, twenty persons—military, police and civilian—lost their lives.

*12 March 1947*—A British soldier was killed and eight others were wounded, three seriously, in a terrorist attack on the Pay Corps Headquarters in Jerusalem.

*31 March 1947*—Damage estimated at £P. 300, 000 was caused by terrorist sabotage to the oil refineries at Haifa.

*22 April 1947*—Eight persons were killed when a Cairo-Haifa train was derailed by sabotage near Rehovoth.

*26 April 1947*—A British police officer was murdered in Haifa by Jewish terrorists and five members of the security forces were killed when a truck with concealed explosives, which had been driven into the security compound at Sarona, blew up.

*4 May 1947*—In the course of an attack by Jewish terrorists on the Central Prison at Acre and subsequent clashes between the security forces and the attackers, nine persons—civilians, escaped prisoners and terrorists—were killed.

*12 May 1947*—Two British policemen were shot and killed in a Jerusalem street.

*15 May 1947*—Two British officers were killed and two British members of His Majesty's Forces were injured while dismantling a mine on the railway. Two trains were damaged by the explosion of mines.

*21 May 1947*—A band of armed Jews attacked a cafe in the Arab village of Fajja, near Petah Jiqva, shooting one Arab dead, wounding seven others and placing explosive charges in the premises. A second band attacked an Arab encampment in the same locality and shot one Arab dead. A communication to the Hebrew press, by the Hagana, stated that these attacks were "an action against murderers," a number of Arab armed brigands having been seen concentrating in the two places attacked.

*27 May 1947*—Ramle railway station was severely damaged by sabotage. Two trains were blown up by mines.

4 June 1947—Two trains were damaged by the explosion of mines on the permanent way.

5 June 1947—The railway station at Athlit was damaged by explosive charges deposited by Jewish saboteurs.

9 June 1947—Two British members of the Palestine Police Force were abducted by armed Jews from a swimming pool near Ramat Gan. They were released on 10 June.

26 July 1947—Two British soldiers were killed by a booby-trap in Jerusalem; and the same day the three condemned terrorists, whose execution had been confirmed by Lieutenant-General G.H.A. Macmillan, were hanged. Explosions and other incidents by Zionists occurred throughout the country. In retaliation, the Irgun had earlier kidnapped two British sergeants (Mervyn Paice and Clifford Martin) while they were sea-bathing at Nathanya, and the Irgun leader, Menachem Begin, threatened that they would be hanged if the condemned terrorists died.<sup>22</sup>

30 July 1947—Irgun announced the hanging of the British sergeants, and their garrotted bodies were found hanging in a grove of eucalyptus trees in Nathanya. Pieces of shirt had been wrapped around their heads, and a notice reading, "This is the sentence of Irgun's High Tribunal" was fastened to one of the bodies. The area around was mined, and as one of the bodies was cut down, it exploded, having been booby-trapped, and severely wounded a British officer. A few days later, notices were posted in Haifa announcing that Martin and Paice had been hanged as belonging to 'the criminal Nazi-British army of occupation', and simultaneously in New York and other U.S. cities, swastikas and anti-British slogans were painted on British consulates.<sup>23</sup>

In August 1947—A British military train travelling in the Austrian Alps was blown up, and a Zionist, G. Henoch was arrested and later confessed to his part in the crime and named his accomplices as four Irgunists, who were arrested on charges of bringing explosives to the World Zionist Congress being held in Karlsbad, Czechoslovakia.<sup>24</sup>

10 August 1947—Members of an armed band—whose identity was

<sup>22</sup> *New York Times*, 13 and 29 July 1947.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 August 1947.

<sup>24</sup> *New York Times*, 16 August 1947.

unknown but wearing Arab dress—killed four Jews and wounded more Jews and Arabs in a cafe in Tel Aviv.<sup>25</sup> Hagana “warned Jews to be calm while organized plans were being prepared for retaliation against the Arabs,” and the Jewish Agency, almost instantaneously, scorned the British Government for not preventing the attack while the Jewish National Council asked all Jewish municipal councils to meet “to plan the defence of the Jewish community.” A statement by the Arab Higher Committee secretary, Dr. Hussein El-Khalidi, that there was no proof that the cafe attackers were Arabs, was brushed aside.<sup>26</sup> (The use of disguise—Arab dress, British service dress, etc.—was frequently reported used by terrorists in their subsequent writings.<sup>27</sup> One example is that on 2 September 1945, armed Jews dressed as British police attempted to rob the safe of a Tel Aviv bank.<sup>28</sup> Another example is that on 9 August 1947, an Irgunist, disguised as a cameldriver, was arrested in Jaffa).<sup>29</sup>

*15 August 1947*—The Hagana killed 11 Arabs in a raid on the alleged headquarters of the Arab attackers; but the British police reported that at the same time an Arab woman and four children had been killed.<sup>30</sup> The effect was to stir up the Arabs against the Jews so that militant Arab reaction could be met by British forces and so relieve pressure on Hagana. The Grand Mufti charged the Zionists with deliberately instigating the resulting riots.<sup>31</sup>

*3 September 1947*—“A large parcel, addressed to a Brigadier in the intelligence branch of the War Office in London was found to contain a bomb which on explosion injured two men. Two days later, eight letters, posted in Turin to prominent politicians and senior army officers in Britain were found to contain lethal booby traps. The attack failed only because a letter addressed to Arthur Greenwood, the Minister without Portfolio, was inaccurately addressed and was partially opened by someone else. Other intended recipients included Sir Stafford Cripps, John Strachey and Major-General Sir Edward Spears, former Minister to

<sup>25</sup> *New York Times*, 11 August 1947.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 12 August 1947.

<sup>27</sup> Avner, *Memoirs of an Assassin: Confession of a Stern Gang Killer*, (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1959), p. 88.

<sup>28</sup> *A Survey of Palestine 1945-1946*, Vol. 1, p. 76.

<sup>29</sup> *New York Times*, 10 August 1947.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 12 August 1947.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 17 August 1947.



Syria and Lebanon. Yaacov Eliav, bomb expert of the Stern Gang, admitted later that he made the bombs.”<sup>32</sup>

Whereas Zionist acts of terrorism during the latter years of the Mandate were confined to installations and personnel of the Mandatory Government, the Arabs became the principal target as soon as the United Nations decided on the partition of Palestine on 29 November 1947. The Zionists aimed at two major objectives: First, to confirm Jewish dominance over the fifty per cent Arab inhabitants living within the limits of the proposed ‘Jewish state’; and secondly, to expand those limits so as to include the greatest possible area—if not all Palestine—before Britain withdrew from the country on 14 May 1948.

That the Zionists were not satisfied with only a part of Palestine, is confirmed by a report made by General Patrick Hurley to President Roosevelt in 1943. He wrote: “For its part, the Zionist Organization in Palestine has indicated its commitment to an ‘enlarged program’ for (1) a sovereign Jewish state which would embrace Palestine and probably Transjordan; (2) an eventual transfer of the Arab population from Palestine to Iraq; and (3) Jewish leadership for the whole Middle East in the fields of economic development and control.”<sup>33</sup>

How the Zionist plan of intention was to be implemented was disclosed during a conversation in December 1947 between a British officer of the Jordan Arab Legion and a Palestine Government Jewish official. The former is reported to have asked the latter “whether the new Jewish state would not have many internal troubles, in view of the fact that the Arab inhabitants of the Jewish state would be equal in number to the Jews.” The Jewish official is reported to have replied: “Oh, no! That will be fixed. A few calculated massacres will soon get rid of them.”<sup>34</sup>

This plan was immediately put into effect. The methods used, however, varied. Some of the inhabitants “were driven out by force of arms; others were made to leave by deceit, lying and false promises.”<sup>35</sup> Others still were “encouraged to move on by blows or by indecent acts.”<sup>36</sup>

<sup>32</sup> From an article published in *The Sunday Times* (London), 24 September 1972.

<sup>33</sup> United States: *Foreign Relations of the United States 1943: The Near East and Africa* (Washington DC, 1964), pp. 776-777.

<sup>34</sup> Sir John Bagot, Glubb, *A Soldier with the Arabs* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), p. 81.

<sup>35</sup> From an article by Nathan Chofshi in *Jewish Newsletter*, 9 February 1959.

<sup>36</sup> Glubb, *A Soldier with the Arabs*, p. 251.

But the most outstanding incident which shocked the world and accelerated the panic flight of the Arab inhabitants was the massacre of 250 men, women and children in the village of Deir Yasin on the night of 9/10 April 1948. The attackers gave the inhabitants 15 minutes warning to take shelter. Some took heed, but of about 700 souls, 254 men, women and children were murdered, and many of their bodies thrown down a well. The Irgun Zvei Leumi then announced this happening in a secret press conference and declared that this was the beginning of the conquest of Palestine and Transjordan.<sup>37</sup>

Women and children who survived the massacre were rounded up at dawn, loaded on motor vehicles and paraded through the Jewish sections of Jerusalem. The crowds greeted their victims with a hail of stones and curses, spitting on them as they passed by. Afterwards, the 150 women and children were released near the Arab sector of the city and sent off with a final volley of small-arms fire.

The Hagana and the Jewish Agency did all they could to prevent an investigation, and it was only after three days, that Jacques de Reynier, chief representative of the International Red Cross in Jerusalem, was allowed to visit the village. He reported that there was evidence of a "deliberate massacre" by a band of young people "disciplined and acting only under orders".<sup>38</sup>

The attack was described as all the more repulsive because it came after the *Mukhtar* (headman) of the adjacent Jewish quarter of Giv'at Shaul had concluded with the Arab villagers a non-aggression pact, whereby both parties had undertaken to maintain good neighbourly relations.

Addressing the House of Commons on the Deir Yasin massacre on 12 April 1948, the Secretary of State for the Colonies deprecated the attack and said that he had been informed that about 200 villagers of this community numbering 700 inhabitants had perished and that the bulk of the victims was made up of women and children. 300 persons, he said, had been wounded and some 140 hostages carried away. The Secretary then declared that "this barbarous aggression is a proof of savagery". It was a crime that added up to a long list of atrocities commit-

<sup>37</sup> Edgar O'Ballance, *The Arab-Israeli War 1948* (New York: Fredrick A. Praeger, Inc., 1957), p. 58.

<sup>38</sup> Jacques de Reynier, *A Jerusalem un Drapeau*, (Neuchâtel: La Baconniere, 1950—Histoire et Societe d'aujourd'hui), pp. 69-70.



British Sergeants Mervyn Paice and Clifford Martin Hanged by Zionist Terrorists on 30 July 1947.



The Wing of the King David Hotel housing the Government Secretariat blown up by Zionist Terrorists with the knowledge of the Jewish Agency, 22 July 1946.



ted by the Zionists to this day, and for which he could find no words strong enough to convey the feelings of revulsion and grave concern of the British Government.<sup>39</sup>

Jon Kimche, Zionist author and correspondent, who was in Jerusalem at the time, described the attack as “the darkest stain on the Jewish record”; and added: “It is historically important because it was to become the beginning of a second legend with which the terrorists sought to serve their cause and justify their deeds. Just as they claimed credit for the British decision to leave Palestine as being the result of the terrorists’ attacks on British troops, so later they justified the massacre of Deir Yasin because it led to the panic flight of the remaining Arabs in the Jewish state and so lessened the Jewish casualties.”<sup>40</sup>

Dov Joseph, one time Governor of the Israeli sector of Jerusalem and later Minister of Justice, called the Deir Yasin massacre a “deliberate and unprovoked attack”;<sup>41</sup> while British historian Arnold Toynbee described it as “comparable to crimes committed against the Jews by the Nazis”.<sup>42</sup> But Menachem Beigin, the leader of the attack on Deir Yasin, said: “The massacre was not only justified, but there would not have been a state of Israel without the ‘victory’ at Deir Yasin”.<sup>43</sup>

Unashamed of their deed and unaffected by world condemnation, the Zionists, using loud-speakers, roamed the streets of cities warning the Arabs: “The Jericho road is still open,” they told the Jerusalem inhabitants, “flee from Jerusalem before you are killed;”<sup>44</sup> while Menachem Beigin gloated that: “All the Jewish forces proceeded to advance through Haifa like a knife through butter; the Arabs began to flee in panic shouting ‘Deir Ya.in’.”<sup>45</sup>

On the 24th anniversary of the massacre of Deir Yasin, the Israeli Hebrew newspaper *Yediot Aharonot* published in its issue of 4 April 1972 a report written twenty-four years ago by “a young Palmach fighter” called Meir Philipski, who is today Colonel Meir Pa’el.

According to *Yediot Aharonot*, Pa’el “is probably the only eyewitness

<sup>39</sup> *Proche-Orient*, Near East Monthly Review: The Deir Yasin Massacre, May 1950.

<sup>40</sup> Jon Kimche, *The Seven Fallen Pillars*, (New York: F.A. Praeger, 1953) p. 228.

<sup>41</sup> Dov Joseph, *The Faithful City: The Siege of Jerusalem 1948*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960), p. 71.

<sup>42</sup> Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1953-1954), Vol. VIII, p. 290.

<sup>43</sup> Menachem Beigin, *The Revolt: Story of the Irgun*, (New York: Henry Schuman, 1951).

<sup>44</sup> Glubb, *A Soldier with the Arabs*, p. 99.

<sup>45</sup> Beigin, *The Revolt*, p. 162.

outside the ranks of ETZEL (Irgun Zvei Leumi) and LEHI (The Stern Gang) who investigated the secret operation at Deir Yasin on April 9, 1948, and set down what he saw with his own eyes and what he heard with his own ears in the report which he sent at the time to Israel Galili, the head of the Hagana command.”

*Yediot Aharonot* goes on to say, “for twenty-four years Pa’el has kept to himself the scenes that took place on ‘the ugliest day in my life’, and a few months ago, when he was released from continuous service ... he hesitated for a long time before allowing the report he wrote at that time to see the light of day.”

The following are extracts from his report which confirm what others have related occurred at Deir Yasin and the vicious character of those who took part in the massacre:

“In the night of April 8/9, while Palmach units were fighting a battle of ‘life and death’ in Qastal, Lehi and Etzel units approached the village. Before the operation, a number of irregulars had proposed a massacre of the inhabitants of the village, but the senior officer had rejected the proposal.

“An Etzel force went out from the Beth Hakerim quarter and attacked Deir Yasin from the south-east, while an Etzel [Lehi?] force attacked it from the north-east. At dawn the two forces reached the outskirts of the village ...

“The people of the village discovered that members of the secret movements had entered Deir Yasin before the attackers fired their first shot, so that it was the inhabitants of the village who fired first. The attackers burst into the village and met with violent opposition. Most of the male inhabitants fled from the village with their arms, a small number of men and a large number of women and children remaining in the houses. In a short time, the raiders had obtained control of most of the village, except for the western part.

“It was noon when the battle ended and the shooting stopped. Things had become quiet, but the village had not surrendered. The Etzel and Lehi irregulars left the places in which they had been hiding and started carrying out cleaning up operations in the houses. They fired with all the arms they had, and threw explosives into the houses. They also shot everyone they saw in the houses, including women and children—indeed commanders made no attempt to check the disgraceful acts of slaughter.

“I myself and a number of inhabitants of Jerusalem begged the commanders to give orders to their men to stop shooting, but our efforts were unsuccessful. In the meantime, some twenty-five men had been brought out of the houses; they were loaded onto a freight truck and led in a ‘victory parade’, like a Roman triumph, through the Mahneh Yahuda and Zakhron Yosef quarters (in Jerusalem). At the end of the parade, they were taken to a stone quarry between Giv’at Sha’ul and Deir Yasin and shot in cold blood. The fighters then put the women and children who were still alive on a truck and took them to the Mandelbaum Gate.”

In *Yediot Aharonot* of 29 April 1972, Meir Pa’el once again wrote on the Deir Yasin massacre, adding these new details: “After the Palmach men left the village, the men of Etzel and Lehi started a shameful massacre of the inhabitants—men, women, old people and children, without distinction, standing the inhabitants against walls and in corners in the houses. There is photographic evidence of this. It is true that most of the people were killed with fire-arms; it is true that the killing took place spontaneously immediately after the end of the battle, and it is true that the officers were not controlling their men, and showed no inclination to do so. But it was killing, even if it was carried out in hot blood.

“The Etzel commander in Jerusalem can protest a thousand times that the ‘victory parade’ in Jerusalem was a ‘criminally concocted charge’, but I, as an eye-witness, regret to have to state that this is what really happened. The Arab men were killed (in cold blood, this time) in the stone quarry between Deir Yasin and Giv’at Sha’ul, and there is photographic evidence of this too. It was thus a criminal act, not a criminally concocted charge.”

Meir Pa’el goes on: Historian “Arieh Yitzhaqi tells his readers that many irregular actions took place during the War of Independence, but no action in the whole War of Independence was as atrocious as the Deir Yasin massacre, for the following reasons:

“The ‘irregular action’ in Deir Yasin was carried out after the battle, when the village was in Jewish hands, and without the inhabitants having taken any provocative action that could have justified the shooting. It was not a question of cleaning up houses, but of entering them to kill and plunder. The number of Arabs killed was much greater than in all the examples cited by Mr. Yitzhaqi, including the ‘irregular action’ at Lydda...”

The second reason given by Pa'el is that the Etzel leaders still refuse to criticize themselves for the Deir Yasin massacre. On the contrary, they regard it as an "important event" and the "principal act that made the Arabs frightened of Jewish atrocities and led them to flee. Some of them have gone so far as to assert that the Deir Yasin affair was the most important turning point in the War of Independence."

The Deir Yasin massacre was not the only massacre that had hastened the panic flight of the Palestinian Arabs; there were others—some have been recorded, others have not because of the chaos and turmoil of the time.

Simultaneously with the attack on Deir Yasin, Zionist forces attacked the small village of Nasr-ed-Din, near Tiberias, on 10 April 1948, killing the ten residents they found in the village and destroying all the houses.

Other unpublished massacres have now come to light through an article written by Arieh Yitzhaqi, historian and researcher, (published by Yediot *Aharonot* in its issue of 14 April 1972), in which he claims that the Palmach also engaged in operations like that of Deir Yasin, and that such operations were not restricted to Etzel and Lehi.

"If we assemble the facts," says Yitzhaqi, "we realize that, to a great extent, the battle followed the familiar pattern of the occupation of an Arab village in 1948. In the first months of the War of Independence, Hagana and Palmach troops carried out dozens of operations of this kind, the method adopted being to raid an enemy village and blow up as many houses as possible in it. In the course of these operations, many old people, women and children were killed wherever there was resistance."

Yitzhaqi then lists the Arab villages raided and the number of Arabs killed, as follows:

1. The village of Balad Esh-Sheikh was attacked. "In this operation, more than sixty of the enemy, most of them non-combatants, were killed in their houses."
2. The village of Sa'sa' was attacked. "In this operation, which was for many years to be regarded as a model raid because of the high standard of its execution, twenty houses were blown up over their inhabitants, and some sixty Arabs were killed, most of them women and children."
3. In the battle for the Katamon Quarter of Jerusalem, "Arab women working in the Saint Simon Monastery as servants were killed".



4. In Lydda town, the Palmach claim that “the local Arab population rose in revolt, and, to suppress the revolt, orders were given to fire on any one seen in the streets. ‘Yiftah’ troops opened heavy fire on all passers-by and suppressed the revolt mercilessly in a few hours, going from house to house and firing at every moving target. According to the commander’s report, 250 Arabs were killed in the fighting.”

Arieh Yitzhaqi further states that: “There were also the indiscriminate reprisal attacks on Arab civilian communications, in which many innocent citizens were killed.”<sup>46</sup>

One unpublicized massacre of which the author became aware in 1951 during the course of his official duty with the Jordan Government was the massacre of about 200 persons—mostly aged inhabitants—of the village of El-Dawayimeh, near Hebron. Some of the reports which the author inspected at the Police Station in Hebron, gave the ages of the victims as between 70 and 90 years.

\* \* \*

William Zukerman, editor of the *Jewish Newsletter*, summing up the situation in Palestine, wrote: “The flight of the Palestine Arabs, which created the Arab refugee problem, was not a spontaneous act, nor due entirely to the propaganda call of the Arab leaders as the Zionists have claimed all along. It was a coldly calculated plan executed by the Irgun but with the knowledge of the Hagana and the Jewish Agency of the time.”<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Institute for Palestine Studies, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 4, Summer 1972, pp. 142-146.

<sup>47</sup> *Jewish Newsletter*, 3 October 1960.



# 2

## Israeli Terrorism (Phase 1: 1948-1967)

### Explanatory Notes

U.N. Mediator Count Bernadotte declared, shortly before his assassination by the Israelis in September 1948, that “the Jewish state was not born in peace as was hoped for ... but rather in violence and bloodshed”.<sup>1</sup>

The Zionist leaders who planned and directed the atrocities against British installations and personnel during the period of the Mandate and later terrorized the Arab inhabitants into panic flight in their bid to seize Palestine, now formed the Israeli Government; while the illegal underground forces of the Hagana and its two splinter terrorist groups—the Irgun Zvei Leumi and the Stern Gang—were merged into one body and formed the Israeli army.

Thus, the leadership and machinery of the whole terrorist operation, once the state of Israel was established, gained international stature. They could no longer hide behind the double role of planning, directing and conducting acts of terror, murder and destruction against established authority, then claiming innocence and blaming the British Mandatory for failure to accede to the demands of the dissidents. They now had to find other excuses.

Instead of attempting to erase the memories of their past behaviour towards their British benefactors, who made it possible for Jews to go to Palestine, or attempting to make peace with the Palestinian Arabs whom they so badly wronged and among whom they must of necessity live, the Israelis stiffened in arrogance and intransigence and believed that since violence, terror and bloodshed gave them a ‘state’ in another’s homeland

<sup>1</sup> U.N. Document A/648, p. 14

and got them internationally where they were, then there was no reason why they should alter their methods and tactics.

The Partition Resolution of 29 November 1947 had recommended the creation of a Jewish state on 56% of the territory of Palestine; an Arab state on 43% and an International Zone of Jerusalem and Environs under United Nations jurisdiction on the remaining 1%. The resolution decreed that Arabs living in the area set aside for the Jewish state were to continue to reside there and to enjoy their fundamental rights and basic human liberties under the guarantees of the United Nations. The resolution further stipulated that the Jewish and Arab states were to come into being two months after British withdrawal on 15 May 1948.<sup>2</sup>

However, instead of waiting until the U.N. Palestine Commission prescribed in the Partition Resolution had taken over authority from the British Mandatory and in turn handed over such authority progressively to the leaders of the Arab and Jewish states, the Zionists proclaimed the emergence of the state of Israel on 14 May 1948 and thus faced the world with a *fait accompli*.

By this date the Zionists had already seized territory beyond that assigned to the Jewish state. Instead of having jurisdiction over 56% of the territory of Palestine, the Israelis occupied 77%; instead of Jerusalem being internationalized, the greater part of the Holy City was seized and later declared the 'capital' of the Jewish state; instead of Arabs being permitted to remain in their homes and country to lead a normal life as the United Nations had ordained and guaranteed, nearly one million men, women and children—Moslems and Christians—were forcibly evicted and dispossessed.

Therefore, what actually emerged as the Jewish state on 14 May 1948 was anything but the 'state' planned for under the Partition Plan. The new 'State of Israel' was the product of brute force, created in violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the very resolution under which the Israelis claim sovereignty.

On 11 December 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations resolved that: "Refugees wishing to return to their homes and live in peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest

<sup>2</sup> U.N. Resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947

practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the government or authorities responsible.”<sup>3</sup>

In 1949, General Armistice Agreements were entered into between the Israelis and the Governments of Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria with a view to terminating hostilities between the parties and paving the way towards a peaceful settlement.<sup>4</sup>

The fundamental provisions of the four Agreements were:

1. The principle is affirmed in the Agreements that “no military or political advantage should be gained under the truce ordered by the Security Council”;
2. “The basic purpose of the armistice demarcation line is to delineate the line beyond which the armed forces of the respective Parties shall not move”;
3. “No aggressive action by the armed forces—land, sea or air—of either Party shall be undertaken, planned or threatened”;
4. “The armistice demarcation line is not to be construed in any sense as a political or territorial boundary and is delineated without prejudice to rights, claims and positions of either Party to the Armistice as regards the ultimate settlement of the Palestine question”;
5. “The provisions of the Agreements are dictated exclusively by military and not by political considerations.”

The Agreements also provided for the creation of ‘demilitarized zones and no-man’s land’ area. This provision gave special status to the areas; and in regard to the civilian population, specified that: “Where Israeli civilians return to or remain in an Israeli village or settlement, the civil administration and policing of the village or settlement will be Israeli. Similarly, where Arab civilians return to or remain in an Arab village, a local Arab administration and police unit will be authorized.”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> U.N. Resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948

<sup>4</sup> With Egypt on 24 February 1949 – U.N. Document S/1264, Rev. 1.

With Lebanon on 23 March 1949 – U.N. Document S/1296, Rev. 1.

With Jordan on 3 April 1949 – U.N. Document S/1302, Rev. 1.

With Syria on 20 July 1949 – U.N. Document S/1353, Rev. 1.

<sup>5</sup> U.N. Document S/1353, Rev. 1 of 20 July 1949.

Thirteen days after the Agreement with Egypt had been signed, the Israelis violated its provisions and seized the southern part of Palestine up to and including the shores of the Gulf of Aqaba, expelled the inhabitants of the Arab village of Umm Rashrash and established what they now call the port of Eilat. The Israelis then proceeded to expel the Arab inhabitants of 'demilitarized zones' and to seize their lands, claiming that the 'zones' were in Israeli territory.

The matter came before the Security Council which confirmed the interpretation of the Chief of Staff that "neither party to the Armistice Agreement enjoys rights of sovereignty within the zone"; and resolved that "Arab civilians who have been removed from the demilitarized zone by the Government of Israel should be permitted to return to their homes and that the Mixed Armistice Commission should supervise their return and rehabilitation in a manner to be determined by the Commission".<sup>6</sup>

Right from the start this invisible armistice demarcation line invited trouble. While the General Armistice Agreements prescribed that their provisions were "dictated exclusively by military and not by political considerations", anyone familiar with the land topography of Palestine can easily see that the reverse was the result. The line appeared to have been drawn to meet political pressures and considerations rather than military necessities. It coincided almost to the minutest detail with what the Zionists demanded from the British Mandatory in 1946 as the minimum boundaries of the 'Jewish state' which they were willing to accept.

The armistice demarcation line separated Arab villages from their fertile lands in the coastal and other plains and included in the Israeli held territory lands through which the railway line and principal highways ran, whether or not this damaged Arab interests. One sad example has been the fate of the Arab town of Qalqilya in the central sector. This town was one of the most prosperous in Palestine, owning extensive orange groves and serving as one of the main vegetable markets of the country. The demarcation line severed all its orange groves in favour of Israel, leaving it a bulging peninsula, landless except for its rocky areas towards the east, its inhabitants helpless as they watched the Israelis gather the fruits of the trees they and their forefathers had

<sup>6</sup> Resolution No. 93 (1951) of 18 May 1951—U.N. Document S/2157.

planted and tended for generations for export to world markets, while they themselves languished in distress and poverty. Other 'border' villages suffered the same fate.

With conditions being what they were along the entire length of the demarcation line, it is no wonder that the Arab villagers attempted, from time to time, to cross over to 'steal' what legitimately belonged to them, and in the process lost their lives. It is only natural for such conditions to create a situation of revenge by those who lost their dear ones after having lost their lands and means of livelihood.

Commenting on the situation, a former resident of Israel now in the United States, citing the "acts of cruelty and manifestations of demoralization which are now occurring in Israel, particularly in the army, in its treatment of Arab refugees and infiltrees", said: "An average from five to seven such 'infiltrees' are being shot by Israeli soldiers every week as a matter of military routine."<sup>7</sup> This atrocity was confirmed by the *New York Times* which reported "a total of 394 Arab infiltrees killed, 227 wounded and 2,595 captured in 1952".<sup>8</sup>

The only protest against such cruel treatment came from Israeli poet Nathan Alterman. Writing in *Davar*, official organ of the Israeli Labour Party, the poet pointed out: "Jews have always been notoriously lax in their attitude towards illegal crossing of frontiers, false passports and other small formal offenses against the state and never looked upon them as moral issues, certainly not as crimes punishable by death." Alterman then exclaimed with indignation: "Oh you Knesset members; you former passport forgers; you infiltrees, grand-children of infiltrees, how quickly you have learned the new morality of militarism!"<sup>9</sup>

The Israeli plea which the world appears to have accepted is that their military raids across the demarcation line constitute 'retaliation'. If the actual facts of the Palestine Problem were considered, it would become evident that the term is wrongly applied. According to the dictionary, *retaliation* means 'return like for like, evil for evil'; and the word *reprisal*—often used in describing Israeli actions—means 'to procure redress of grievances.' Since it was the Arabs, not the Jews, who were the first sufferers through expulsion and dispossession by force of arms, and who

<sup>7</sup> *Forward* (Jewish newspaper published in New York), 27 December 1952.

<sup>8</sup> *New York Times*, 2 January 1953.

<sup>9</sup> William Zukerman, *Voice of Dissent*, (New York: Bookman Associates, Inc. 1964), 1964), pp. 33-34.

are being prevented from returning to their homes and resuming possession of their property, it follows with reason that their efforts to retrieve their rights and possessions, by whatever means, should more accurately be classified as 'retaliation' and 'reprisal' against Israeli provocation.

The philosophy of so-called Israeli 'retaliation' has been examined by the Security Council and condemned. The Council proclaimed that the alleged 'provocations' which the Israelis claim "in no way justify the Israeli action", each time 'reminding' Israel that the Council had "already condemned military action in breach of the General Armistice Agreements, whether or not taken by way of retaliation".<sup>10</sup>

Between the years 1947, when the Palestine problem first came before the United Nations, and the end of 1966, the various organs of the United Nations adopted as many as 87 resolutions; and between 1953 and 1966, the Israeli authorities were either condemned or censured by the Security Council five times for the commission of acts of aggression and atrocities—the Arab states not once.

## The Official Record

It would be too lengthy a narrative to enumerate the different categories of crimes committed by the Israelis against humanity in their treatment of the Palestinian Arabs who fled their homes in panic or were evicted under a policy of seizure and confiscation. Suffice it to quote from *A Study of History* by British historian Arnold Toynbee. He wrote: "In A.D. 1948 the Jews knew, from personal experience, what they were doing; and it was their supreme tragedy that the lesson learned by them from their encounter with the Nazi Gentiles should have been not to eschew but to imitate some of the evil deeds that the Nazis had committed against the Jews."<sup>11</sup>

Nothing irritates the Israelis more than to compare their deeds with those committed by the Nazis against the Jews. Any such accusation tends to reduce the amount of sympathy and support which the Israelis seek for their objectives in the Middle East. It is, however, not vehemence which compels us to make this comparison, but it is the truth

<sup>10</sup> Resolution No. 111 (1956) – U.N. Document S/3538.

<sup>11</sup> Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History*, Vol. VIII, p. 290



which has been observed by a great historian and the fact recorded for history.

The following cases have been selected to illustrate the extent of Israeli crimes of terror and murder during the first nineteen years of its existence:

*May 1948*—“A parcel blew up in the face of Rex Farran in London. The bomb was intended for his brother Roy who, as an officer in the British Army occupying Palestine, had been acquitted a year earlier of the murder of a Jewish youth. The Stern Gang had threatened to kill him in revenge.

“Within two weeks, a parcel containing another postal bomb was delivered at the Surrey [England] home of General Sir Evelyn Barker, former Officer Commanding in Palestine, but was discovered before it exploded.”<sup>12</sup> It was later admitted that Iser Halprin, then head of Israel’s security was responsible.

*17 September 1948*—U.N. Mediator Count Bernadotte, together with his French aide, Colonel Serot, was assassinated in the Israeli-occupied sector of Jerusalem by men wearing the uniform of the Israeli army.

The reason for his assassination was due to the report which he had just submitted to the United Nations in which he insisted for prompt and firm action. He recommended the modification of the partition scheme in such a way as to give Southern Palestine (the Negeb) to the Arabs, and in return, Galilee and Jaffa (given by the United Nations to the Arabs) to the Jews. His intention was to give each side a solid and homogeneous block of territory, instead of the cross-overs, pockets and corridors in the United Nations plan. Lydda and Ramle were to return to the Arabs, Jerusalem to be placed under U.N. control, and the refugees to be allowed to chose between repatriation and compensation.<sup>13</sup>

William Zukerman, editor of the New York *Jewish Newsletter* commented at the time that “The assassination of Count Bernadotte was not just one more murder in the long chain of terror started in Palestine with the killing of Lord Moyne in 1944. For this particular crime was not merely political; it descends in horror and brutality to a new depth of moral degradation such as the political crimes of the nineteenth century and even of our own age had never before fallen into. It stands in a class

<sup>12</sup> *The Sunday Times* (London), 24 September 1972

<sup>13</sup> Report of the U.N. Mediator, paras. 5 & 6 - U.N. Document A/648.

all of its own and is not to be compared with other political murders. It can be compared only with one other terrible crime of our days—the assassination of Gandhi. Both are marks of a new decline of humanity’s moral values and they mark a danger point in the decline of morality more than of politics.” Mr. Zukerman goes on to say that “humanitarianism and the sacredness of his mission should have protected him from harm. The fact that some people of Israel failed to realize this distinction and desecrated the sanctity of his mission with a bloody act of murder, is a greater tragedy than the killing of the man himself. It is a sign of spiritual and moral decline which the civilized world had a right not to expect from an ancient moral people like the Jews.”<sup>14</sup> The assassins, as can be expected, were never caught.

*October 1948*—The Christian villagers of Ikret, in western Galilee, were removed from their village and told that their removal was necessary for ‘security reasons’; that they would be allowed to return to their homes within fifteen days. But the ‘15 days’ dragged into months and then years. Tired of broken promises, the villagers petitioned the courts of justice, and the verdict ordered the Israeli army to permit the return of the villagers. The army responded by destroying every house in the village, choosing Christmas Day 1951 for their action. Not even the church was spared; and to add insult to injury, the church bell was removed to a nearby Jewish settlement and used, not to call people to prayer, but to announce mealtimes.

Archbishop George Hakim, Head of the Greek Catholic community, cabled a strong protest to the Israeli authorities against this unwarranted wholesale destruction of a Catholic village and the desecration of its church. Following a visit to the ruined village, the Archbishop wrote to Rabbi Hertzog, Minister of Religious Affairs and said: “From above the churchyard overlooking the village, I could not but ponder over these atrocities, and ask what would the Righteous God—in Whom we both believe—keep in store for these crimes that are being committed by a people or a state and what would be the verdict of the international conscience?”

In September 1972, the villagers, who had lived nearby all these years, made an effort to return and rebuild their village, but the Israeli forces stood in front of them and prevented them from returning to their village.

<sup>14</sup> Zukerman, *Voice of Dissent*, pp. 225-226.

Appeals to Mrs. Golda Meir to allow the villagers to return failed to move that woman to compassion. At the time of writing, it was believed that the matter was being taken to the United Nations.

*16 and 17 September 1953*—The Christian inhabitants of Kafr Bir'im, suffered the same fate. Like Ikret, this village is far removed from the armistice demarcation line and does not serve as a threat to Israeli security. The Israeli magazine *Ner* described the incident in these words: "Further proof of the intensification of the measures against the Arabs of Israel lies in the complete demolition of the village of Kafr Bir'im, the Maronite inhabitants of which were expelled by the military authorities in 1948 and are at present dispersed in adjacent Arab villages. The Maronite Patriarch and Bishop Mubarak had interceded on behalf of these villagers. Promises were lavishly made that they would be permitted to return to their homes and lands. In fulfilment of these promises, the village has been razed to the ground."<sup>15</sup>

Like the villagers of Ikret, the people of Kafr Bir'im made an effort in September 1972 to return to their village and lands, but were prevented by the Israeli authorities.

*14/15 October 1953*—The villages of Qibya, Shuqba and Budrus (Jordan) were attacked during which time 75 of the inhabitants—men, women and children—were killed and the villages completely demolished. Israel was 'censured' in the strongest terms by the Security Council.<sup>16</sup>

Father Ralph Gorman, an American Roman Catholic Priest who spent many years in Jerusalem, commented: "The official report of the Palestine Truce Supervisor removed any possible doubt that the Israelis, themselves in large part refugees from Hitler's terror, were perpetrators of this horrible slaughter of innocent men, women and children. It also reveals that it was an official act of the state, carried out by an official organ, the army." Father Gorman then stated: "The only response the Israelis have made to outraged protests of the civilized world has been one of defiance and self-justification. The Prime Minister excused the murderers; Israeli newspapers openly gloated over the deed; and even American Zionists showed little concern other than a fear that American

<sup>15</sup> *Ner* (A magazine published in Israel), September-October 1958 issue.

<sup>16</sup> Resolution No. 101 (1953) of 24 November 1953: U.N. Document S/3139/Rev.2.

dollars might not continue to flow as freely as before into the coffers of the new state.”<sup>17</sup>

*28/29 March 1954*—The village of Nahhalin (Jordan) was attacked and 14 people were killed. The village was demolished.

*8 February 1954*—The Gaza Strip was attacked, 38 people were killed and 31 others wounded. The Security Council condemned the attack as a “pre-arranged and planned attack ordered by the Israeli authorities and committed by Israeli regular army forces”.<sup>18</sup>

*31 August/1 September 1955*—The towns of Khan Yunis and Bani Suheila, in the Gaza Strip, were attacked, 46 people were killed and 50 others wounded.

*November 1954*—Israeli acts of terrorism were not confined to the Arabs; they extended wherever it would serve Israel’s interests. Not content with what Zionist pressure groups were doing to influence U.S. foreign policy on Palestine in their favour, the Israelis resorted also to criminal tactics to reach their goals. The best illustration of Israel’s attempt to sabotage American interests in an effort to blame the Arabs and so increase Arab-United States tension later became known as the ‘Lavon Affair’. This case will go down in history as one of the most despicable acts of international intrigue in modern times. The facts are:

In 1954, cultural and economic agreements between the strategically located Arab world and the United States were under discussion. These developments irritated the Israelis who feared the possible loss of American moral and financial support for the Jewish state. Zionist propaganda against the Arabs in the United States was deemed insufficient. It was felt that something dramatic had to be done to arouse the enmity of the American people against the Arabs.

Consequently, in November 1954, several American installations in Egypt were bombed by small delayed-action bombs, shaped like books and secreted in book covers which were brought into the U.S. information libraries in Alexandria and Cairo. The bombs were placed on the shelves of the libraries just before closing hours, and several hours later, there was an infernal blast, shattering glass and shelves and setting fire

<sup>17</sup> From an editorial in *Sign Magazine* (A Catholic publication in the U.S.A.), December 1953

<sup>18</sup> Resolution 106 (1955) of 29 March 1955: U.N. Document S/3378.



An Arab child, victim of Israeli napalm bombs.

After an Israeli air attack on the village of Kafr Assad in Jordan.

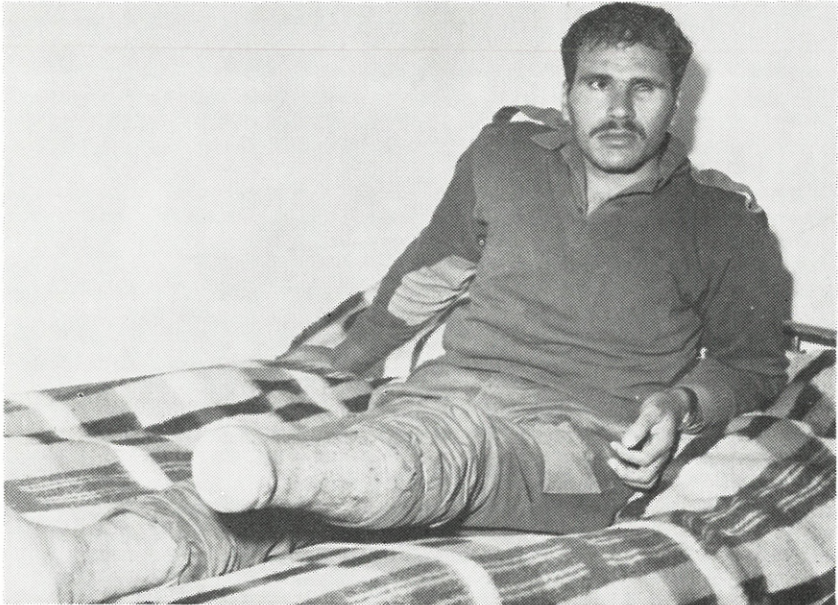






Remains of private car and a family of seven run over and crushed by an Israeli tank on 18 September 1972.

The remains of a tortured Arab prisoner after interrogation in an Israeli prison.



to books and furniture. Similar bombs were placed in the M.G.M. theatre and other American-owned business buildings.

In December 1954, the secret police arrested two young Egyptian Jewish boys carrying such bombs, about to enter an American building. They were Moshe Marzook and Smuel Azzar. They confessed that they were members of an Israeli sabotage unit organized recently by an agent who came from Paris. They showed their workshop which had a secret receiving set by which they received coded messages from abroad.

Upon arrest, the leader of the ring committed suicide in prison. In January 1955 the Egyptians held a public trial. American Jews were greatly excited, claiming the trial was a frame-up and another sign of anti-semitism. They tried to get the State Department to intervene. The defendants all pleaded guilty, placing the blame on the Paris 'centre'. They admitted they suspected the Paris agent was an officer in the Israeli army. Two were condemned to death and later executed and others were given prison terms.

During the trial, some journalists in the Mapam Party in Israel discovered that the orders for organizing and directing the sabotage unit had been signed by Pinhas Lavon, Defence Minister in the new cabinet. They threatened to publish the information in a British paper. Moshe Sharett, the Prime Minister, called in Lavon early in February 1955 and demanded his resignation, and he complied.

In 1960, the 'Lavon Affair' was revived, and following an investigation, it was revealed that "Lavon had not signed the document ordering the operation and he was exonerated. The plan of operation had been set up late in 1954 by a group in the Department of Defence, including Moshe Dayan, Peres and Givli, and Lavon's signature had been forged to the document." There is a suspicion that David Ben Gurion himself gave the order—and therefore attempted to protect the officers who did his bidding.<sup>19</sup>

*2/3 November 1955*—The Sabha Post, in the Sinai Peninsula, was attacked by the regular forces of the Israeli army and 50 people were killed and 40 men taken prisoner.

*11/12 December 1955*—El-Buteiha and El-Koursi area, in Syrian territory, were attacked during which period 50 people were killed and 28 taken

<sup>19</sup> *Jewish Newsletter*, 6 March 1961

prisoner. The Security Council condemned the attack “as a flagrant violation of the cease-fire provisions” and reminded “the Government of Israel that the Council has already condemned military action in breach of the General Armistice Agreements, whether or not undertaken by way of retaliation, and has called upon Israel to take effective measures to prevent such actions.”<sup>20</sup>

*10/11 October 1956*—The villages of Qalqilya, ‘Azzun, Nabi Elias and Khan Sufin (Jordan) were attacked by the regular forces of the Israeli army, resulting in the death of 48 people and the wounding of 31 others. Many houses were demolished.

*29 October 1956*—The Kafr Qasem massacre was more gruesome than all previous Israeli attacks because it was perpetrated with the tacit approval of a ‘government’ whose solemn duty it was to safeguard the lives of its citizens. Kafr Qasem is an Arab village, located on the armistice demarcation line inside Israeli-occupied territory.

As the villagers were returning unsuspectingly from their day’s work in the fields, they were met with machine-gun bullets which resulted in the cold-blooded murder of 51 men, women and children and the wounding of 13 others. Among the dead were 12 women and girls, ten boys between the ages of 14 and 17 years and seven between the ages of 8 and 13 years.

Mr. Taufiq Toubi, an Arab member of the Israeli Parliament, carried out a thorough investigation of the massacre. He related the stories of two eye-witnesses who had miraculously escaped death, These were:

*Samir Budair*: “I arrived at the village entrance in the vicinity of the school together with three other workmen on bicycles. We were halted by a group of 12 frontier force guardsmen with an officer. The workmen greeted the officer by saying ‘Shalom’. He asked: ‘Are you happy?’ The workmen answered ‘yes’. Immediately the guardsmen dismounted and ordered the labourers to stand by. The officer then ordered his men to ‘mow them down.’ As the guardsmen fired, I threw myself on the ground and rolled into a pit, shouting. I then ceased shouting to feign I was dead. The officer then said: ‘Enough. They have been killed. It’s a pity to waste more bullets on them.’”

*Hana Suleiman Amer* was one of a group of 13 women and girls who

<sup>20</sup> Resolution 111 (1956) of 19 January 1956: U.N. Document S/3538



arrived in a truck: “The Frontier Force guardsmen stopped the truck and ordered the truck driver and two men labourers to alight and told them that they intended to kill them. The women began to scream, beseeching the guardsmen to release the labourers. The guardsmen answered: ‘You too we shall kill.’ Having fired at the two labourers and the driver and killed them, the guardsmen seemed uncertain as to what they should do with the women.” Hana then related that she had heard the officer contact his chief at Ras el-’Ain police station over the wireless, seeking guidance. The guardsmen then immediately began firing at the women, all of whom (twelve in number) were killed. Among those killed was a certain Fatima Sarsour, who was 8 months pregnant, a number of old women between 50 and 60 years old, two young girls—Lutfieh Isa and Rashiqa Budeir, 13 years old each.

According to the Hebrew daily Haaretz of 11 April 1957, “the eleven officers and soldiers who are on trial for the massacre at Kafr Qasem have all received a fifty per cent increase in their salaries. A special messenger was sent to Jerusalem to bring the cheques to the accused in time for Passover. A number of the accused had been given a vacation for the holiday.”

The trial was a mockery to appease public opinion which was shocked by the revelation of the massacre. The sentences of the court ranged between seven and seventeen years imprisonment, while the Commander of the Border Police who ordered the massacre, was fined “a token of two U.S. cents” and permitted to retain his high office. The five men who received a sentence of seven years were immediately released, and as soon as the wrath of public opinion subsided, the others were set free.

Commenting on the verdict, the editor of the *Jewish Newsletter* wrote: “There cannot be the slightest doubt that the Government policy of segregating the Israeli Arabs from the Jews and treating them as second-class, inferior citizens, has implanted in the minds of the average Israeli citizen in and outside the Army that the Arabs are the enemies of the State and should be treated as traitors. This is the deeper source of the Kafr Qasem crime. The real culprit is the Israeli Government. If Ben Gurion, who waxes so morally indignant over the crime, really wants to atone for this Nazi-like atrocity and wipe out the stain it brought on Israel, he should abolish the military rule which is the cause of this and many other terrible crimes.”<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Jewish Newsletter*, 3 November 1958

*16 March 1962*—Syrian territory along the shores of Lake Tiberias was attacked by the regular forces of the Israeli army. The Security Council reaffirmed “its resolution 111 (1956) of 19 January 1956 which condemned Israeli military action” and determined that the Israeli attack “constitutes a flagrant violation of that resolution”, and called upon Israel “scrupulously to refrain from such action in the future.”<sup>22</sup>

*In 1963*, “the Israelis mounted a short campaign against West German scientists working on rocket and missile projects in Egypt. It was very successful. Four Egyptian technicians died when a scientific manual addressed to their German superior exploded in their office. The secretary of another German rocket scientist working in Egypt was blinded when a parcel sent from Hamburg exploded as she opened it. A parcel sent from Stuttgart failed to explode.

“Israel’s complicity was accepted when the then head of the Israeli security, Iser Halprin, resigned after Ben Gurion publicly reprimanded the security forces for the campaign and announced he was halting it.”<sup>23</sup>

*27 May 1965*—The towns of Jenin and Qalqilya and the village of Manshiyat (Jordan) were attacked resulting in the death of four people and the wounding of seven others. A number of houses were demolished.

*28/29 October 1965*—The villages of Houla and Meis el-Jabal (Lebanon) were attacked resulting in the death of one woman and the demolition of two houses and three village cisterns.

*14 July 1966*—Syrian territory was bombed from the air by jet planes resulting in the death of one woman and the wounding of nine civilians.

*13 November 1966*—The village of Sammu’ (Jordan) was attacked by a heavy Israeli military force consisting of tanks, armoured vehicles, heavy weapons and aircraft. 18 persons were killed, 130 were wounded and 125 houses, including the school, clinic and mosque, were demolished.

Condemnation of the Israeli action by the Security Council was unanimous.<sup>24</sup> The representative of the United Kingdom said it “constituted a flagrant violation of our Charter and of the Israel-Jordan Armistice Agreement; it has done nothing to enhance the security of Israeli

<sup>22</sup> Resolution 171 (1962) of 9 April 1962: U.N. Document S/5111.

<sup>23</sup> *The Sunday Times* (London), 24 September 1972.

<sup>24</sup> Resolution No. S/228 (1966) of 25 November 1966.

citizens or the reputation of Israel.”<sup>25</sup> The representative of the United States commented: “What makes it of course most deplorable, is the tragic toll in human lives of this inexcusable action.” He added: “The Government of Israel carried out a raid into Jordan the nature of which and whose consequences in human lives and in destruction far surpass the cumulative total of the various acts of terrorism conducted against the frontiers of Israel”, comparing this latest Israeli aggression with “the retaliatory action at Qibya taken by the armed forces of Israel on 14/15 October 1953”, the brutality of which also received world condemnation.<sup>26</sup> The representative of France intervened also “to condemn unequivocally the military action planned and carried out by the Israeli authorities,” and remarked: “What is difficult to understand is that an attack which has proved to be so deadly was launched against a country which is respectful of its international obligations.”<sup>27</sup> The representative of the U.S.S.R. told the Council that by its “direct military attack on a densely populated part of Jordan, Israel has flagrantly and brutally violated the most important provision of the United Nations Charter and this alone deserves our condemnation”. He described the attack as “lawlessness and brigandage” and “an open and arrogant challenge to the Security Council”.<sup>28</sup>

“A few months before the 1967 war, the Chief Egyptian Intelligence Officer in the Gaza Strip, Major Mustapha Hafez, died as he opened a book bomb. A few months later, the Egyptian military attache in Jordan was killed in the same manner. Both had been known by the Israeli secret service to have connections with the Arab fedayeen commandos.”<sup>29</sup>

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Crime against humanity, of whatever nature or description—whether committed against Jews or Arabs—is equally abhorrent. The Arabs of Deir Yasin, of Qibya, of Kafr Qasem, of Gaza and many other places, who were massacred in cold-blood by the Zionists and Israelis; the nearly one million Arabs who were terrorized out of their homes in 1948 and forced to lead lives of hopelessness and poverty in refugee

<sup>25</sup> U.N. Document S/PV. 1320 of 16 November 1966.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> U.N. Document S/PV. 1321 of 16 November 1966.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> The *Sunday Times* (London), 24 September 1972.

camps; the Arabs whose liberties and properties have been ‘seized’ and whose fundamental human rights have been suppressed and usurped; are these Arabs not human beings? Are they not equally worthy of sympathy and consideration as were the innocent Jewish victims of Nazism?

The Israelis vehemently deny the accusation that their actions—be they against the Palestinian Arabs or across the armistice demarcation line—are in any way comparable to those committed by the Nazis against the Jews.

An article published by an Israeli Jewish organization during the trial of Adolf Eichmann in Israel in 1961 drew a parallel between what Eichmann had committed and what his judges are guilty of. It reads in part:

“Does the Israel of Qibya, Gaza, Kafr Qasem and the wanton attacks on Egypt have the moral right to sit in judgment?

“Israeli leaders and newspapermen vehemently denounce those Germans who were silent during the beastly Nazi reign. Even German liberals and leftists became Nazis, it is said.

“But how do the Jews in Israel behave? Do they not approve—not tacitly, but quite loudly—the inhuman actions of their government? Are there many Jewish houses in Israel that do not harbour Arab property? Do not the Kibbutzim build *socialism* on robbed Arab land?

“What a spectacle: In the City of the Prophets and under the eyes of Humanity, they are sitting in judgment!”<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> From a news item about the Third Force Movement in Israel, published under the title of ‘A Messenger from Israel’ in the *Jewish Newsletter*, 1 May 1961.

# 3

## Israeli Terrorism (Phase 2: 1967-1972)

### Explanatory Notes

To regulate the relationship between states at war, four Conventions were entered into internationally in Geneva, Switzerland. States which subscribed thereto were held morally responsible to respect and abide by their provisions. The International Red Cross Organization was entrusted with the task of ensuring respect and compliance.

The Fourth Geneva Convention deals with 'the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War' and is the Convention with which this study is principally concerned. The Israeli authorities are a signatory to this as well as to the other Conventions, to which they subscribed with their own free will. This places upon them an unreserved and unconditional obligation to show respect and to implement all of its provisions without exception.

It should be noted, however, that the Geneva Conventions were, in fact, revised on 12 August 1949 into their present texts as a result of the Nazi holocaust during World War Two. Yet, according to the International Review of the Red Cross (February 1969), "following persistent ICRC representations to the Israeli authorities stating that the Fourth Geneva Convention is applicable throughout all the occupied territories, the Government of Israel has declared that it wished 'to leave open for the time being' the question of the application of the Fourth Geneva Convention, preferring to act on an *ad hoc* basis by granting practical facilities to the ICRC delegates."

These so-called "practical facilities" have never been granted; their impact on the lives of the Arab victims has not been felt. An open letter under the title 'Stop the Violation of Human Rights in Israel and in the Occupied Territories', published on 3 March

1968 by a group of eighty-six Israeli intellectuals, complained of confinement orders; limitations of free movement and arrests without trial; imposition of collective punishments—like curfew and the dynamiting of houses; families of workers and fellaheen, children, women and old people, remaining without shelter and means of existence, etc.

Israeli inhumane treatment of the Arab civilian population and other violations of the Geneva Conventions and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights have not gone unnoticed. Foreign personalities and press correspondents who visited the Middle East have drawn attention to them. One example will suffice: Mr. Norman Dacey, in giving the reasons why he will not assist President Nixon for re-election, said: "I have walked through Egyptian hospitals and seen row on row of beds of little children, their bodies burned black by American-made napalm dropped from American-built planes in claimed 'defence' of Israel. I have sat in shelters in a dozen refugee camps in Gaza and the West Bank in Jordan and in Lebanon, hearing at first-hand the accounts of Palestinian Arabs who have been ruthlessly forced from the land upon which they and their forefathers had lived for hundreds of years, driven into cruel exile by an alien army recruited in Europe and America. . . I have talked with United Nations personnel who have reported their proven findings that the brutal physical torture of Arab prisoners in Israel rivals the worst that Hitler did in Nazi Germany. I have talked with personnel of the International Red Cross in Geneva who confirm that they are not allowed to interview those who are thus being 'detained and interrogated'. I have talked with a leading Israeli lawyer who charges that 80% of all prisoners are tortured. I have talked with the foreign press corps in Israel who complain that they haven't been allowed inside an Israeli prison for more than two years, that every word they write is subject to the strictest censorship and nothing critical is allowed to be sent out. I have talked with Jewish members of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights and have seen their terrifying statistics of human torture, of mass demolition of Arab homes and wholesale deportation of the indigenous population—all gross violations of the Third and Fourth Geneva Conventions. The knowledge that my country's moral and material support of this politico-military monster is all that keeps it going is a matter of shame and embarrassment to me, Mr. President."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Published as an 'advertisement' in the *New York Times*, 6 June 1972.

Israeli practices in occupied territories prompted the Security Council to take up the matter; and on 14 June 1967, the Council called for “the scrupulous respect of the humanitarian principles contained in the Geneva Conventions”.<sup>2</sup> On 4 July 1967, the General Assembly “welcomed and endorsed” the Security Council resolution.<sup>3</sup> On 8 March 1968, the Commission on Human Rights expressed its distress to learn of “Israeli acts of destroying homes of Arab civilian population and called upon the Israeli authorities to desist forthwith from indulging in such practices, and to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms.”<sup>4</sup> And on 12 May 1968, the International Conference of Human Rights, meeting in Teheran, adopted a resolution in similar terms and affirmed the “inalienable rights of all inhabitants who have left their homes, to return, resume normal life, recover their property and homes, and rejoin their families according to the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights”.<sup>5</sup>

Israeli violations of the provisions of the Geneva Conventions were brought by the Arab Red Cross and Red Crescent societies to the attention of the XX1st International Conference of the Red Cross held in Istanbul in September 1969. More specifically, Israel’s disregard of the Fourth Geneva Convention for the protection of civilians and her policy of direct and indirect repressive measures against the Arab civilian population regardless of age and sex, were established through official reports by delegates from the ICRC with accompanying corroborating pictorial proof.

On the basis of the evidence submitted and the discussions which followed, the International Conference adopted a resolution deploring the refusal by Israel “to apply and implement the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention” and requesting that it be implemented to alleviate the sufferings of the civilian population.<sup>6</sup>

The Israeli authorities’ response to this and earlier United Nations resolutions was that “the applicability of the Convention should be left open”.

Conditions in the occupied territories continued to deteriorate. This

<sup>2</sup> Resolution 237 (1967) of 14 June 1967.

<sup>3</sup> Resolution 2252 (ES-V) of 4 July 1967.

<sup>4</sup> Decision adopted at 990th meeting held on 8 March 1968.

<sup>5</sup> Resolution dated 12 May 1968 – U.N. Document A/7089.

<sup>6</sup> See Resolutions X, XI and XIII adopted in September 1969.

led the U.N. Commission on Human Rights to arrange for a Special Working Group of Experts to visit the Middle East and to submit conclusions and recommendations.

The Group of Experts visited Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Egypt where it heard testimonies, but failed to receive any cooperation from the Israeli authorities. The Group's report was published by the Commission on Human Rights on 11 February 1970. Among its recommendations were the following:

- "2. . . Attempts at compelling...the inhabitants of the occupied territories to collaborate with the Israeli authorities should cease immediately.
- "3. The provision for implementation of the Geneva Convention should be carried out.
- "4. All reported instances of torture, looting and pillage should be immediately investigated by the occupying authorities, and those found responsible suitably punished.
- "5. Matters concerning the detention of civilians, in particular administrative detention, require special attention...
- "6. Deported or transferred persons should be permitted to return to their former residence without any formalities the fulfillment of which would render return impossible in fact...
- "9. The Occupying Power should refrain from demolishing houses... should investigate all cases of demolished houses mentioned in this report and should grant adequate compensation in all cases of demolition...
- "10. Property confiscated or otherwise taken away from its owner... should be restored..."<sup>7</sup>

On 23 March 1970, the Commission on Human Rights adopted a resolution "condemning Israeli policy of collective punishment, the destruction of villages and cities, the establishment of Israeli settlements in militarily occupied Arab territories, the unlawful deportation and expulsion of civilians, the coercive measures to compel civilians to collaborate with the Occupying Power and the abrogation of national laws."<sup>8</sup>

In addition, the Commission on Human Rights expressed grave

<sup>7</sup> U.N. Document E/CN.4/1016/Add. 2 of 11 February 1970.

<sup>8</sup> Resolution No. 10 (XXVI) of 23 March 1970.



concern over the use of coercion to extract information, the ill-treatment and killing of civilians without provocation, the detention of people for periods that are automatically renewed *ad infinitum*, the deprivation of guarantees to detainees concerning length of detention and fair trial, and the destruction and usurpation of movable and immovable property.

On 2 April 1970, the International Executive Committee of Amnesty made public a report on conditions in Israeli prisons, in which it deeply regretted "the apparent existence of practices which are abhorrent to the conscience of mankind". The Executive Committee felt that it had submitted sufficient evidence "which can be checked from sources within as well as outside Israel to warrant the immediate setting up of a commission" of inquiry which, "despite Amnesty's urgent representations, the Government (of Israel) has failed to do".

Another international group, the World Conference of Christians for Palestine, meeting in Beirut, Lebanon, adopted resolutions on 10 May 1970 condemning, among other things, racism and anti-semitism and the violations of the rights of civilians in time of war.

If the Israelis had not been practising acts of terror, murder and violation of human rights against the people of Palestine and surrounding areas all these years, they would not have closed their territory to investigations demanded by the United Nations and other international bodies. The fact that they did, means that they have something to hide.

During the period 1967 to 1972, the various organs of the United Nations and other international bodies have adopted as many as sixty resolutions on the situation in the Middle East, most of which deal with violation of human rights and the ill-treatment of the civilian population, to none of which the Israelis have conformed, while the Security Council condemned Israel seven times between 3 June 1967 and the end of September 1972 with one resolution vetoed by the United States.

Israel's continued policy of intransigence and defiance of United Nations authority prompted the Commission on Human Rights to adopt yet another resolution on 22 March 1972 which, because of its importance and clarity is worth recording in full:

*"The Commission on Human Rights,*

*Guided by the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as the principles and provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,*

*Bearing in mind* the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949,

*Recalling* all the relevant resolutions adopted by the various United Nations organs on the subject of the protection of the human rights of the inhabitants of the Arab territories occupied by Israel,

*Recalling also* that in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and those of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Member States bear a special responsibility to ensure the protection of human rights and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person,

*Recalling further* that, in accordance with Article 1 of the said Geneva Convention, States parties have undertaken not only to respect but also to ensure respect for the Convention in all circumstances,

*Taking note* of the reports submitted to and/or discussed in the different competent organs of the United Nations on the aforementioned subject,

*Gravely concerned* at all acts and policies that affect the status or the character of those occupied territories and the basic rights of the inhabitants thereof, such as:

- (a) The declared intention of annexing certain parts of the occupied Arab territories,
- (b) The establishment of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories and the transfer of parts of the civilian population into those territories,
- (c) The evacuation, transfer, deportation and expulsion of the inhabitants of occupied territories,
- (d) The destruction and demolition of villages, quarters and houses and the confiscation and expropriation of property,
- (e) The denial of the right of the refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes,
- (f) Collective punishment and ill-treatment of prisoners and detainees,
- (g) Administrative detention and holding of prisoners incommunicado,

*Noting with regret* that the aforementioned acts have not been rescinded in spite of the numerous resolutions adopted on the subject,

*Deploing* the persistent defiance and disregard by Israel of all United Nations resolutions on the protection of human rights of the inhabitants

of the occupied territories and on the preservation of the demographic composition and geographic character thereof,

*Taking note* of the fact that the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 (Article 147) has considered unlawful deportation or transfer, unlawful confinement, deprivation of the rights of fair and regular trial, taking of hostages and extensive destruction and appropriation of property as grave breaches of the Convention,

*Noting* that the Charter of the International Military Tribunal of Nuremberg as confirmed by General Assembly resolutions 3(1) of 13 February 1946 and 95(1) of 11 December 1946 has considered as war crimes the 'grave breaches' later enumerated in the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949,

*Recalling* its resolution 5B(XXV1), which considered violations of the Geneva Conventions as war crimes and an affront to humanity,

1. *Strongly calls upon* Israel to rescind forthwith all measures and to desist from all policies and practices affecting the demographic structure or the physical character of the occupied Arab territories and the human rights of their inhabitants;

2. *Calls upon* the Government of Israel to permit all persons who have fled the occupied territories or who have been deported or expelled there-from to return to their homes without conditions;

3. *Reaffirms* that all measures taken by Israel to annex or settle the occupied territories are null and void;

4. *Calls upon* the Government of Israel, once more, to comply fully with its obligations under the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War;

5. *Also calls upon* Israel once more to respect and implement the resolutions adopted by the Commission and other competent organs on the question of the protection of the human rights of the inhabitants of the occupied territories;

6. *Requests* all States Members of the United Nations and all States parties to the Fourth Geneva Convention of 12 August 1949 to do their utmost to ensure that Israel respects the principles of human rights and fulfils its obligations under that Convention;

7. *Considers* that grave breaches of the Fourth Geneva Convention committed by Israel in the occupied Arab territories constitute war crimes and an affront to humanity;

8. *Decides* to place on the provisional agenda of its twenty-ninth session as a matter of high priority the item entitled "Question of the violation of human rights in the territories occupied as a result of hostilities in the Middle East."<sup>9</sup>

This is the first time that an organ of the United Nations has drawn, although indirectly, a parallel between the crimes committed by the Nazis against the Jews and what the Israelis are doing to the Arabs. This United Nations condemnation should make the Israeli leaders and their supporters abroad blush with shame. The Israeli response to this latest resolution has been negative.

## The Official Record

To give a full account of all acts of terrorism, murder, destruction of property, confiscation of Arab lands, kidnapping and violation of human rights, committed by the Israeli authorities in the period between June 1967 and September 1972, would fill volumes. A few cases have been selected as representative incidents; but before I enumerate these, a brief comment on the Israeli arguments as to why they commit these crimes in the face of United Nations disapproval and condemnation is not out of order.

The Israelis claim that their attacks across the demarcation and cease-fire lines are in retaliation against commando raids and in order to destroy commando bases from which these raids emanate. The Israeli attacks are carried out against territories and people who are far removed from the vicinity of the area where the commando raid has taken place and are known not to have been involved in any way; the Security Council has repeatedly rejected the Israeli argument and has stated explicitly that it would not countenance the principle of retaliation whatever the provocation; and the Israelis are aware that violence breeds greater violence, and the only way to deal with the situation is to remove the injustice which is responsible for the commando actions.

Insofar as Lebanon is concerned, the Israelis are trying to build up a state of terror and intimidation among the inhabitants of Lebanese border villages by destroying and disrupting their normal civil life. This has

<sup>9</sup> Resolution No. 3 (XXVIII) of 22 March 1972. Adopted at the 1161st meeting. See Chapter III, paras. 63-67.

two advantages: (1) to create tension and dissension between the Lebanese and Palestinians; and (2) to reduce the population of southern Lebanon by forcing them to move further inland and so make it easier for them—when the opportune time comes—to occupy Southern Lebanon, the Litani River and the head-waters of the River Jordan—a plan envisaged by Zionism’s state architects and political economists.

(Note: On 3 February 1919, the Zionist Organization submitted to Paris Peace Conference<sup>10</sup> their territorial claims which were designed to exploit ‘water resources and existing soil fertility over the widest area.’ The boundary of the territory demanded—as far as Lebanon was concerned—was, in current terms: “Southern Lebanon, including the towns of Tyre and Sidon, the head-waters of the River Jordan on Mount Hermon and the southern portion of the Litani River.”)

There is, however, one other immediate reason, and former Chief of Staff of the U.N. Truce Supervision Organization, General Carl von Horn, provides the answer. He said: “It was Israeli policy to maintain a situation ‘pregnant’ with threats of Arab attacks. It seemed to all of us in U.N.T.S.O. that there were two reasons why this suited them. First, it ensured a high state of readiness and efficiency within their own army, which showed a marked tendency towards internal disputes immediately tension relaxed. Second it enabled them to make sure that their ‘plight’ received the maximum amount of attention in foreign and particularly American newspapers, with the natural corollary that sympathy, aid and money continued to flow into Israel in substantial quantities”.<sup>11</sup>

The following is a record of individual cases:

*7 March 1968*—The Israelis attacked with mortar fire the Jordanian villages of Adasiyeh and Madraj, in which eleven people were killed, five of them children.

*21 March 1968*—An Israeli force of some 15,000 men, supported by tanks, armoured cars, jet planes and helicopters, invaded Jordan and attacked the refugee village of El-Karameh. The attack resulted in a

<sup>10</sup> David Hunter Miller, *My Diary at the Conference of Paris* (New York, 1924), Vol. V, pp. 15-29.

<sup>11</sup> General Carl von Horn, *Soldiering for Peace* (London: Cassell & Co., Ltd., 1966), p. 96.

large toll in civilian casualties and the town was completely demolished and evacuated. The Security Council condemned the Israeli action as being “in flagrant violation of the U.N. Charter and the cease-fire resolution”.<sup>12</sup> The extent of suffering caused the inmates of the refugee camp of some 50,000 souls, was considerable.

*4 August 1968*—Israeli aircraft attacked the area round the town of Es-Salt, in Jordan, killing 23 civilians and 5 Arab Legion soldiers and wounding 76 civilians and six soldiers. Every car in the vicinity, including the ambulances which rushed to the scene to evacuate the wounded, was attacked and destroyed. The area was napalmed and saturated with rocket fire. Much of the agricultural land hit was rendered unproductive for years to come by the poisonous chemicals of napalm and rockets. The Security Council condemned the attack and warned that “if such attacks were to be repeated, the Council would duly take account of the failure to comply with the present resolution”.<sup>13</sup>

*28 December 1968*—Four Israeli helicopters, carrying about 120 Israeli soldiers, carried out an unprovoked attack against the civil airport of Beirut, Lebanon, resulting in the total destruction of 13 civilian planes. The Security Council, after “observing that the military action by the armed forces of Israel against the civil International Airport of Beirut was premeditated and on a large scale and carefully planned, condemned Israel for its premeditated military action in violation of its obligations under the Charter and the cease-fire resolutions; considered that such premeditated acts of violence endanger the maintenance of the peace; issued a solemn warning to Israel that if such acts were to be repeated, the Council would have to consider further steps to give effect to its decisions; and considered that Lebanon is entitled to appropriate redress for the destruction it suffered, responsibility for which has been acknowledged by Israel.”<sup>14</sup>

*2 March 1969*—The villages of Hame and Maisaloun, in Syria, were attacked by indiscriminate bombing by jet planes. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) reported on the incident on 20 May 1969, as follows:

<sup>12</sup> Resolution 248 (1968) of 24 March 1968.

<sup>13</sup> Resolution 256 (1968) of 16 August 1968.

<sup>14</sup> Resolution 262 (1968) of 31 December 1968.

“I was convinced,” wrote its delegate, “that the attack was only on civilian targets. At Hame, a refrigerator factory, a small sugar factory, and a few houses were destroyed. There were no fedayeen bases. The forty or so wounded, whom we visited, were all civilians, mostly women and children. The same applied to the nine dead. The attack occurred at a time when the people were leaving for work. At Maisaloun, the surprise attack served only to destroy the police post, burn official papers, and cause the death of a nurse and the wounding of a few passers-by.”

*26 March 1969*—A rest area on the road between the town of Es-Salt and the Jordan Valley, known as ‘Ein Hazzeer, was attacked by Israeli jet planes. The ICRC delegate who inspected the area, reported on 3 April 1969, as follows:

“The region bombed covers 500-600 metres. Two restaurants were completely destroyed, and a house with seven occupants was destroyed, the occupants killed or wounded. At the time of the attack, there were many patrons in the restaurants. Their number remains unknown. The majority were killed on the spot; many were terribly mutilated. Since the bombs were dropped all along the road, many pedestrians, school-children and workers, were killed or wounded. Nowhere in or around the area bombed was there evidence of fedayeen camps. The fact that the attack caused the death of 23 civilians and many more wounded, is sufficient proof that no fedayeen were in the area. I can only conclude that the area bombed was a peaceful agricultural village and a resting place for travellers.”

The Security Council condemned the Israeli attack and warned Israel once again that “if such attacks were to be repeated, the Council would have to meet to consider further and more effective steps as envisaged in the Charter and to ensure against repetition of such attacks.”<sup>15</sup>

*11 August 1969*—Units of the Israeli Air Force raided civilian villages in Southern Lebanon using napalm bombs, rockets and machine-gun fire. The villages attacked were Rachaya El-Fakhar, Cherboubah, Kafra Hanan, Khabbarieh, ‘Ein Kelly and Chab’a. The attack resulted in seven casualties among the civilian Lebanese population, four of whom were killed and three were severely injured. Of those killed, one was a woman who had suffered from burns inflicted by a napalm bomb.

<sup>15</sup> Resolution 265 (1969) of 1 April 1969.

The Security Council, after expressing grief at the tragic loss of civilian life and property, condemned “the premeditated air attack by Israel on villages in Southern Lebanon” and “declared that such actions of military reprisal and other grave violations of the cease-fire cannot be tolerated and that the Security Council would have to consider further and more effective steps as envisaged in the Charter against repetition of such acts.”<sup>16</sup>

*12 February 1970*—Israeli planes, using napalm bombs, attacked a scrap metal processing plant in Abu Za’bal, just outside Cairo, killing eighty civilian workers and wounding ninety-eight others. The factory had no military value, and the attack can only be described as an act to terrorize and intimidate the civilian population.

*8 April 1970*—Israeli planes, using napalm bombs, once again struck at civilian targets in Egypt, but this time their objective was a school in Bahr El-Bakar, killing forty-six children. The savagery of this attack far exceeds anything the Arabs have done against Israel.

The International Review of the Red Cross, of September 1969, carried the following relevant item on the use of napalm bombs: “The Conventions of The Hague and St. Petersburg prohibit the use of ‘Poison or poisoned weapons’ (The Hague Regulations, Article 23a)...It might well be asked whether such new weapons as napalm and high velocity rockets should not be included in this category. They have not so far been expressly prohibited, but they do cause enormous suffering and the general prohibition which forms the sub-heading to this section seems applicable to them.”

*12 May 1970*—Israeli military troops crossed the demarcation line with Lebanon and attacked four villages, killing 20 civilians and wounding 40 others. 150 houses were either destroyed or damaged.

The Security Council, “convinced that the Israeli military attack against Lebanon was premeditated and of a large scale and carefully planned in nature, condemns Israel for its action in violation of its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations; declares that such cruel attacks can no longer be tolerated; and repeats its solemn warning to Israel that if they were to be repeated, the Security Council would, in accordance with resolution 262 (1968) and the present resolution, consider taking adequate

<sup>16</sup> Resolution 270 (1969) of 26 August 1969.



and effective steps or measures in accordance with the relevant articles of the Charter to implement its resolutions.”<sup>17</sup>

*12 June 1972*—The Israeli military forces launched a devastating air attack on the Lebanese town of Hasbaya, killing eleven civilians and wounding scores more. A number of homes were demolished.

On the same day and in another section of the demarcation line, an Israeli military force penetrated into Lebanese territory, killed four Lebanese policemen and kidnapped one Lebanese and five Syrian officers who happened to be in the area.

The Security Council condemned the Israeli action and called upon the Israeli authorities to order the immediate release of the kidnapped officers.<sup>18</sup> The Israeli reply was that they were prepared to exchange them for Israeli prisoners-of-war held in Syria and Egypt.

In view of this Israeli rejection of the Security Council direction, the Council adopted a second resolution “deploring the fact that effect has not yet been given to the Security Council’s strong desire that all Syrian and Lebanese military and security personnel abducted by Israel from Lebanese territory be released and calling on Israel for the return of the above-mentioned personnel without delay”.<sup>19</sup> The kidnapped officers are still being held by Israel.

*8 September 1972*—Israeli Skyhawk planes attacked villages and refugee camps in Lebanon and Syria soon after the Munich incident, killing a total of 59 people and wounding 40 others, all of whom were civilians. Among the victims were 19 children.

In Lebanon, the targets were Nahr El-Bared refugee camp, situated 20 kilometres outside Tripoli in the northern part of the country and nearly 200 kilometres away from the armistice demarcation line with Israel. It could not, therefore, be a commando base although it may include the families of some of the commandos. The two other targets hit were Rafid and Rashaya El-Ouadi.

The main targets in Syria were the villages of Hame, near Damascus, and Latakia deep inside Syrian territory and located on the Mediterranean coast. The town of Der’a was also hit.

<sup>17</sup> Resolution 280 (1970) of 19 May 1970; see also Resolution 285 (1970) of 5 September 1970.

<sup>18</sup> Resolution 316 (1972) of 26 June 1972.

<sup>19</sup> Resolution 317 (1972) of 21 July 1972.

The Israeli aggression came before the Security Council, and although the vote of condemnation received the approval of the majority of its members, the resolution did not pass because of a United States veto.

*16 September 1972*—The Israeli army, supported by tanks, armoured cars and jet aircraft, crossed into Lebanese territory, and for 36 hours attacked a number of Lebanese villages within an area of some 250 square kilometres, killing people at random and destroying houses and blowing up bridges.

The village of Jowayeh was about the worst hit. For example, one man searching in the ruins of a house said: “This is the house of my father. My mother and sister were in, but I cannot find them. May be they are still under the rubble.” And they were.

But the ugliest scene for which no words of revulsion can be found, is the tragedy of a private car deliberately run over and crushed by an Israeli tank with seven members of one family in it. Their bodies were intermingled with the wreckage of the car as the picture on page shows. This act will go down in history as one of the most despicable deeds of Israeli terrorism.

The refugee camp at Nabatiya was attacked from the air by napalm bombs, wounding eight of its inmates. The pictures in this book give further testimony of Israeli atrocities.

By the time the Israelis withdrew, they left behind a trail of death and destruction. About 200 civilians, including women and children, were killed or wounded, and over 200 houses destroyed or damaged. In addition, 18 Lebanese soldiers died in defence of their homeland.

*15 October 1972*—Israeli jet planes struck deep inside Lebanese and Syrian territories resulting in a number of casualties in Lebanon and the destruction of property.

While the Israelis found a pretext in the Munich incident for their attacks of 8 and 16 September 1972, this time they had no need to do so, except to say that they were after commando bases, despite the fact that an agreement had been reached between the Lebanese Government and the Resistance Movement that the latter should pull away from the borders. However, Israel needs no excuse, as Rabbi Elmer Berger relates in an article written before the attack. He said: “The American veto in the Security Council (on 11 September 1972)—in an election year—amounts to a blank check for the Israelis to pursue their ‘continuous

war'. It will be a surprising departure from traditional Israeli strategy in an American election year if they do not kite the check and cash it".<sup>20</sup> Which they did!

One commando remarked following the raids that "Israel can bomb us till doomsday. We welcome the enemy's strikes because they only increase our determination to defeat him."<sup>21</sup>

The Israeli 'get tough' policy has been tried all these years and failed to cow the Arabs into submission to their terms. Is it not time for the Israelis to realize that 'violence breeds greater violence' and that this vicious circle will not bring to the peoples the peace they all desire?

<sup>20</sup> *The Daily Star*, 15 October 1972.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 16 October 1972.



# 4

## Israel and the United Nations

IT IS incorrect to presume that terrorism can be limited to the extreme acts of murder and destruction. This may be so in certain specific respects; but as practised in the Israeli-occupied territories, terrorism has acquired a much wider scope. This includes torture, ill-treatment of prisoners and detainees, demolition of individual buildings and entire villages, pillage, confiscation of land, collective and area punishment for 'crimes' which the victims did not commit, and generally the violation of fundamental human rights. All this in order to extract information or compel the victim to cooperate with the enemy against the best interests of his own people, or to create an atmosphere of fear in the occupied territories so as to indirectly discourage the local inhabitants from remaining and to induce them to leave.

These Israeli acts of terrorism and violation of human rights reached such a stage that the human conscience could no longer keep quiet. The Commission on Human Rights, the International Committee of the Red Cross and other international humanitarian organizations pursued the matter further. Consequently, the General Assembly was impressed upon to establish a 'Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories'.

The Committee visited the Middle East, heard verbal testimonies, interviewed witnesses and received written statements from Arabs, Jews and others. The Israeli authorities who had been requested to cooperate with the Committee and allow its members to visit the occupied territories with a view to interviewing prisoners, detainees and the local inhabitants, refused to do so. But the evidence the Committee was able to gather was sufficient, they said, "to justify certain clear findings and conclusions".

The following are a few of the cases which came before the Special Committee or were reported on by the International Committee of the Red Cross and other public bodies:

## Torture of Prisoners and Detainees

Article 31 of the Fourth Geneva Convention prescribes: "No physical or moral coercion shall be exercised against protected persons, in particular to obtain information from them or from third parties."

The International Red Cross reported:

(i) "It came to light during our interviews with the prisoners that the treatment they received during interrogation was brutal. The names of a number of prisoners who showed scars of brutality, were raised by the delegates."<sup>1</sup>

(ii) "Some prisoners admitted having been put through torture to force them to confess. The Red Cross delegates were able to make out visible scars that may have well been caused by whip and rod lashes, as well as cigarette burns..."<sup>2</sup>

(iii) "A number of detainees have undergone torture during interrogation by the military police. According to the evidence, the torture took the following form: (1) Suspension of the detainee by the hands and the simultaneous traction of his other members for hours at a time until he loses consciousness; (2) Burns with cigarette stubs; (3) Blows by rods on the genitals; (4) Tying up and blind-folding for days (in one case for seven days); (5) Bites by dogs; (6) Electric shocks at the temples, the mouth, the chest and testicles. The Delegates were able to establish the following objective signs: (1) One detainee had complete paralysis of his left arm with abrasions and scars around the wrists. (2) Another had no feeling in the upper side of one hand."<sup>3</sup>

Amnesty International reported: "A motor mechanic from El-Bira was arrested and later transferred to Sarafand Prison where interrogation entailed the following treatment: "(i) Being handcuffed, hands behind back and feet shackled and being suspended by the wrists from a window bar: In this position he was whipped and one of the interrogators would

<sup>1</sup> ICRC Report on conditions in Hebron Prison dated 31 October 1968.

<sup>2</sup> ICRC Report on conditions in Gaza Prison dated 3 July 1968.

<sup>3</sup> ICRC Report on conditions in Nablus Prison dated 26 February 1968.

stand on his feet shackles greatly increasing the strain; (ii) Attaching alligator clips to his ears and genitals and passing an electric current through him; (iii) Inserting a biro type refill into the penis until it bled; (iv) Running water on the weals produced by whipping and then puffing sulphur on them; (v) Crushing finger-tips between the door hinges and frame; (vi) Having a water hose inserted into his mouth and tap turned on. An interrogator would then stand on his stomach, forcing the water out of his mouth.”<sup>4</sup>

The Correspondent of the London Economist reported: “The allegations of brutality to prisoners under interrogation appear to be substantiated by such evidence as is obtainable by a visiting foreign journalist . . . Your correspondent has spoken to three people who claim to have been badly beaten or tortured with electric devices; and he is satisfied that the first-hand account of their experiences lends weight to evidence obtained from other sources. He has also spoken to a number of lawyers, both Arab and Jewish, who have complained to the Israeli authorities about the treatment of their clients. In some cases these lawyers have been denied access to their clients for periods of more than six weeks, well in excess of the official interrogation period during which prisoners are held incommunicado.”<sup>5</sup>

The U.N. Special Working Group reported:

(i) “According to certain witnesses, it seems that means of coercion are always applied to extract information and confessions contrary to the relevant provisions of the (Geneva) Convention. . . .”<sup>6</sup>

(ii) “Mohammad Khader Derbas has been castrated in Gaza. The operation took place when the witness was hospitalized for treatment. The witness was examined by a physician duly appointed by the Working Group, who reported that Derbas had been castrated . . . The witness also stated that several other men had been castrated who were unwilling to testify before the Working Group.”<sup>7</sup>

The Special Committee reported on a number of cases of ‘ill-treatment of prisoners and detainees’, of which the following are examples:

<sup>4</sup> Report by Amnesty International, April 1970, on treatment of certain prisoners under interrogation in Israel.

<sup>5</sup> *The Economist*, 21 March 1970.

<sup>6</sup> U.N. Special Working Group – U.N. Document E/CN.4/1016/Add. 2 of 11 February 1970.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

(i) *Sa'deddin Kamal* "alleged that he had been blinded as a result of torture inflicted on him by his Israeli captors. He described how blood was drawn from his arm in such copious quantities that he was reduced to unconsciousness; how he was beaten on the head and had his head subjected to violent pressure by being forced into a narrow opening, apparently a window in a room... His finger-nails were pulled with pincers and his eyelids and eyelashes plucked... As a result of this treatment he lost his eye-sight... The Special Committee is convinced of Mr. Kamal's credibility and has no doubt that he was blinded as a result of the ill-treatment to which he was subjected in the course of his detention."

(ii) *Abu Rumeile*—"The Committee received enough corroborative evidence to establish beyond reasonable doubt that Mr. Rumeile became insane as a result of the ill-treatment he received at the hands of his Israeli captors."

(iii) *Negib Mustapha Ahmad*, former Deputy of the Jordanian Parliament, himself a prisoner, mentioned, among other things, the case of six Egyptian soldiers whom he had met in the Nablus Infirmary in January 1969. Mr. Ahmad "repeated the story that they (the Egyptians) had been made to commit acts of homosexuality on one another. One of them, Muhammad Jad El-Sayid, had his shoulder-blade broken by torture. One had tried to immolate himself by pouring kerosene on his body and setting fire to himself. The lurid story of being compelled to commit acts of homosexuality was repeated by four of these Egyptian soldiers, who were traced and who gave evidence before the Special Committee in Cairo."

(17) *Mr. Abu Ras* "stated that he was beaten daily for about twenty days ... He also described in detail the forms of torture he received: garbage was thrown at him; he was compelled to eat large quantities of heavily salted fish and then refused water for forty-eight hours, after which he was forced to drink water from his own urine pail; his finger-nails were extracted by forcing his fingers through door-hinges and closing the door slowly until blood spurted from his nails; he was stripped, his body sprinkled with water and he was then beaten. Another form of torture was to put a serpent on his body in a manner which he considered too obscene to describe. He was bound firmly to a chair and his head secured in a manner which prevented him from moving it.



A can with a hole bored in its bottom was placed above his head and water poured into it so that it would drip on to his head steadily; every drop, he stated, being like the blow of a hammer.”

(v) *Suleiman Muhammad Sheikh Eid* stated that “six Israeli soldiers entered his house and accused him of being a terrorist. One soldier, on the order of his officer, struck him with a meat axe on his head. He said that he lost his eye on the spot. The fingers of his right and left hands were crushed. . . . The Special Committee observed that witness Sheikh Eid had a vertical scar about an inch and a half long over his right eye, on his forehead, that his right eyeball was missing, and that the fingers of his right and left hands had been crushed. It was a case of horrible injury.”<sup>8</sup>

## Maltreatment of Women

Article 27 of the Fourth Geneva Convention prescribes: “Women shall be especially protected against any attack on their honour, in particular against rape, enforced prostitution, or any form of indecent assault.”

Mrs. Felicia Langer, an Israeli Jewish lawyer defending three Arab girls had this story to tell: “The three Arab girls have been subjected to various kinds of aggression: beating and burning with cigarettes, in addition to the fact of their having been shut up with prostitutes, which should never have taken place. The treatment to which *Abla*, who is pregnant, has been subjected, is quite inconceivable; her child is likely to die as a result of the way she has been neglected and ill-treated. The treatment was quite inhuman; and the Arab girls were punished before the charges against them had been proved. What has happened must be condemned by all humane persons.”

(i) “*Abla Shafiq Taha* was arrested on her way to Jerusalem from Amman and put in a cell with some prostitutes, who beat her savagely in the presence of the police, who did not intervene. . . . She asked the police to help her by getting a doctor to see her, but they answered: ‘If you confess, we’ll get a doctor; if you don’t we’ll kill your baby’. Her clothes had been torn during the beating so that she was quite naked,

<sup>8</sup> Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories – U.N. Document A/8089, Chapter II (C), paras. 79, 86, 91–92, 94, 98–99, pp. 32–33, 35, 37–38, 40.

in the sight of a policeman named Derrick, who, far from helping her himself, beat her savagely. She was then left in a cell by herself, stretched out on the floor; she had no bed or covers for three days. As a result, she lost consciousness for a time. All this was to coerce her into confessing.”

(ii) “*Latifa Ibrahim El-Hawwari* was also “put in a room with some prostitutes who assaulted her and beat her savagely. She had a much worse time than Abla, for the marks of the beating could be clearly seen on her body: one of her teeth was broken, and her hair had been cut so as to disfigure her. She was a terrible sight. *Latifa* told me that a police officer had witnessed her being beaten and her hair being cut by the prostitutes, but had not interfered, even when they stubbed out cigarettes on her body. They also tore her clothes off until she was completely naked. *Latifa* said that she was innocent and that she could not understand why this had happened to her.”<sup>9</sup>

## Pillage and Rape

Article 27 of the Geneva Convention prescribes: “Women shall be especially protected against attack on their honour, in particular against rape”; and Article 33 states that “pillage is prohibited.”

The International Red Cross reported that: “The Israeli authorities perform their so-called ‘search operations’ very brutally and violently; and in the middle of the night, citizens are made to leave their homes and are not permitted to return until the searches are over. In order to spread panic amongst the populace, the Israelis fire shots from machine-guns while they are carrying out these searches. They often result in organized robberies which include the theft of jewelry and valuable objects. They have also often included brutal beatings and rape.”<sup>10</sup>

In his report to the Secretary-General, Mr. Nils Gussing, Special Representative appointed to implement Security Council resolution 237 (1967) of 14 June 1967, stated that “on the strength of reports received from different sources, the Special Representative felt reasonably sure that the responsibility for this extensive looting of the town of Kuneitra

<sup>9</sup> Israel newspapers: *Zo Haderkh* of 14 September 1968, and *Al-Ittihad* of 15 October 1968.

<sup>10</sup> ICRC Report dated 11 August 1967.

lay to a great extent with the Israeli forces, and he expressed this view to the Israeli officials accompanying him during his tour of the city".<sup>11</sup>

The evidence heard by the Special Committee indicated that four villages named "were the scene of widespread looting by Israeli forces". "In addition to these cases, the Special Committee received evidence of similar incidents, most of which took place immediately after the cessation of hostilities and in connection with the entry of troops into an area."<sup>12</sup>

## Collective and Area Punishment

"The Special Committee understands the term 'collective and area punishment' as any punishment indiscriminately imposed on a number of persons without regard to their responsibility for the act for which the punishment is imposed. It believes that responsibility for an act is a prerequisite to the punishment of that act.

"The Special Committee received considerable evidence, ranging from eye-witness accounts to newspaper reports, on the alleged policy of collective and area punishment. To these must be added official pronouncements by members of the Government of Israel which affirm the existence of such a policy. This evidence shows that there is a policy of collective and area punishment being imposed indiscriminately on the civilian inhabitants in the occupied territories. It also shows that such punishment is, in most cases, inflicted by way of reprisal for acts of sabotage of which the resistance movement is suspected.

"The evidence received by the Special Committee reveals that collective and area punishment takes the form of destruction of houses, curfews and mass arrests. A common feature of these forms of collective punishment appears to be the lack of proportion between the act committed and the punishment imposed"<sup>13</sup>.

## Deportation and Expulsion

"The question may arise whether 'the security of the population or military reasons' justify the Government of Israel in deporting the

<sup>11</sup> U.N. Document S/8158, paras. 31-34.

<sup>12</sup> U.N. Document A/8089, para. 133, p. 51.

<sup>13</sup> U.N. Document A/8089, paras. 71-73, p. 29.

Golan Heights. The civilians who inhabited the area before 1967 and who are now displaced have a right to return to their homes and should be allowed to do so. The Special Committee must stress that even strategic and defence considerations offer no pretext for the denial of this right.

“The Special Committee also received evidence concerning the deportation of individuals from the occupied territories, in particular persons who may be considered as being leaders of the community or who are recognized as such by the civilian population. The Special Committee would refer particularly to the Mayor of Jerusalem, Mr. Rauhi Khatib, and the Mayor of Ramallah, Mr. Nadim Zarou, who were deported on the grounds of being security risks. The Special Committee has little reason to doubt that the Government of Israel hoped to enervate the community by depriving it of intelligent and active leadership, and thereby to reduce the community to a state of passive subservience to the occupying Power.”<sup>14</sup>

## Destruction of Property

Article 53 of the Fourth Geneva Convention provides: “Any destruction by the Occupying Power of real or personal property belonging individually or collectively to private persons, or to the State, or to other public authorities, or to social or cooperative organizations, is prohibited, except where such destruction is rendered absolutely necessary by military operations.”

“Following the destruction of buildings by the Israeli army, the ICRC has intervened several times with the Israeli authorities reminding them that such acts were contrary to the Fourth Geneva Convention and requesting them to put an end to such destruction; also to make arrangements to aid the inhabitants whose homes had been destroyed.”<sup>15</sup>

The U.N. Special Working Group is of the opinion that “total destruction of the villages of Yalu, Emwas, Beit Nuba, and the partial destruction of Qalqilya, after the cease-fire, in violation of the Convention, are proven. According to certain testimony, there was destruction of movable and immovable property; according to this same testimony,

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, paras. 76–77, pp. 31–32.

<sup>15</sup> ICRC Report dated 31 October 1967.

that destruction was not absolutely necessary because of military operations as provided for in Article 53 of the Convention.”<sup>16</sup>

The *Sunday Times* reported: “In some places, there has been sweeping destruction of Arab homes. The case is well-known of the 220 families whose houses were levelled in front of the Wailing Wall immediately after the Israeli occupation of Jerusalem, in order to provide an open space for Jewish pilgrims. Since then, other Arab homes have been demolished in the Old City, without—as far as I know—alternative accommodation being provided for the erstwhile occupants.”<sup>17</sup>

“The demolition of a considerable number of houses having again occurred in territory occupied by Israel during the past few months, the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross has expressed his acute concern to the Israeli authorities over these demolitions which are contrary to articles 33 and 53 of the Fourth Geneva Convention. He drew their attention to the particularly difficult situation in which these families found themselves, deprived overnight of a dwelling-place.”<sup>18</sup>

“The Special Committee heard several allegations of destruction of houses and buildings, expropriation and confiscation of property. These measures were alleged to be part of a deliberate policy of the Israeli authorities designed to demoralize the inhabitants of the occupied territories to the point of abandoning their homes ... It appears to the Special Committee that in many instances destruction was unwarranted, as evidenced in the case of the village of Saris, which was completely wiped out at the opening of the hostilities of 1967 ... The Special Committee considers that in the case of the three villages of Yalu, Beit Nuba and Emwas, Israel had ‘unscrupulous recourse’ to military necessity in carrying out this wanton destruction.”<sup>19</sup>

In a memorandum submitted to the Special Committee by the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights, the League stated that “the blowing up of houses is a continual practice in the occupied territories”; and tabulated the number of buildings blown up between June 1967 to 15 November 1969 as 7,554.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> U.N. Special Working Group – U.N. Document E/CN.4/1016/Add. 2 of 11 February 1970.

<sup>17</sup> *The Sunday Times*, 19 November 1969.

<sup>18</sup> Topical Red Cross *News Bulletin* No. 114b, Geneva, 30 January 1969.

<sup>19</sup> U.N. Document A/8089, paras. 123, 128, 131, pp. 48–50.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 107–108.

## Recommendations of Special Committee

The Special Committee then arrived at the conclusion that “the Government of Israel is pursuing in the occupied territories policies and practices which are in violation of the human rights of the population of those territories”, and considers that “the fundamental violation of human rights lies in the very fact of occupation. The Committee therefore finds it almost impossible to separate the specific policies and practices applied to particular individuals, groups or areas from the broad context of the occupation itself. The ideal manner in which violations of human rights could cease would clearly be the termination of the occupation itself. It must be recognized, however, that while the occupation lasts, the occupying Power has both a legal and a moral obligation to implement the Third and Fourth Geneva Conventions—an obligation which it voluntarily assumed and which it cannot avoid merely by declaring that the question is an ‘open’ one.”<sup>21</sup>

The Committee also suggested that the Government of Israel should be called upon “to desist from practices and policies in violation of human rights, to prevent acts of violence and hostility directed against the population of the occupied territories and to observe without reservation the norms of humanitarian conduct recognized, established and ordained by the Third and Fourth Geneva Conventions and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and which have received fresh endorsement in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which is not yet in force.”<sup>22</sup>

Finally, the Committee recommended that the Government of Israel should further be requested by the General Assembly, among other things:

“(a) To permit, unconditionally, all persons who fled the occupied territories, or who were deported or expelled therefrom, to return to their homes;

“(b) To cease immediately, and to prevent, all policies and practices of collective punishment, such as the destruction of property, imposition of excessively harsh curfew and mass arrests;

“(c) To make full compensation for property destroyed, and to effect

<sup>21</sup> U.N. Document A/8089, Chapter IV, paras. 145 and 146, p. 54.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 153, p. 55.

restitution of property confiscated, in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention;

“(d) To cease immediately, and to prevent, the torture and ill-treatment of prisoners of war and of persons imprisoned or detained under the laws and regulations relating to occupation, and to apply to all such categories of persons the provisions of the Third and Fourth Geneva Conventions and of the United Nations Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners;

“(e) To bring to an end the indefinite and prolonged detention without trial of all persons, including those detained under security regulations and those under administrative detention, by releasing them or affording them a fair trial in accordance with the provisions of the Geneva Conventions;

“(f) To reform the procedures and conditions of administrative detention in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Geneva Conventions;

“(g) To refrain from attempts at compelling the inhabitants of the occupied territories to collaborate with the occupation authorities;

“(h) To discontinue the policy of establishing Israeli settlements in the occupied territories, and to withdraw all Israeli settlers from settlements already established;

“(i) To eliminate, and refrain from the creation of, social and economic conditions which result in the departure of the inhabitants of the occupied territories from their established homes and communities;

“(j) To refrain from harassment and arbitrary deportation of leaders and intellectuals from among the inhabitants of the occupied territories;

“(k) To rescind Israeli legislation in force in the occupied territories and which is repugnant to the provisions of the Third and Fourth Geneva Conventions;

“(l) To repeal all measures taken to alter the status of occupied Jerusalem and to restore it to the status subsisting before the outbreak of hostilities;

“(m) To restore the judicial system in the occupied territories to the status which it enjoyed before the occupation and in particular to return the Court of Appeal of Jerusalem to its seat in Jerusalem;

“(n) To investigate all the allegations brought to the notice of the Committee concerning ill-treatment of civilians and detainees, particularly those persons detained under security regulations, access

to whom is denied to Red Cross officials, and those purportedly held under administrative detention, and to take appropriate remedial measures.”<sup>23</sup>

## Resolution of Commission on Human Rights

After consideration of the Special Committee’s Report, the Commission on Human Rights “condemns Israel’s continued violations of human rights in the occupied territories, including policies aimed at changing the status of these territories;

— *Calls upon* Israel once again to comply fully with its obligations under the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in time of War of 12 August 1949;

— *Again calls upon* Israel to enable forthwith the refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes;

— *Once again calls upon* Israel to heed and implement the many resolutions adopted by the United Nations organs and the specialized agencies for the safeguarding of human rights in the occupied territories;

— *Reaffirms* that all measures taken by Israel to colonize the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, are completely null and void;

— *Declares* that Israel’s continued and increasing violations of the human rights of the population of the occupied territories, and its deliberate and persistent refusal to abide by its legal obligations under the United Nations Charter, international law, and the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in time of War of 12 August 1949, indicate the necessity of collective action on the part of the international community to ensure respect for the human rights of the occupied territories;

— *Urges* the International Committee of the Red Cross to co-operate with the United Nations organs, and particularly with the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories in the fulfilment of its task to ensure the safeguarding of the human rights of the population of the occupied territories, and to inform the Commission on Human Rights at its twenty-eighth session of the steps it has taken in this regard;

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 154 (a) to (n), pp. 55–57.



— *Requests* the Secretary-General to give wide publicity to United Nations documents dealing with the violations of human rights in the occupied territories, and, in particular, to the report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population in the Occupied Territories (document A/8089), and to use the United Nations media of information in disseminating information on the conditions of the population of the occupied territories, the refugees and displaced persons; and

— *Decides* to include the question of the violation of human rights in the territories occupied as a result of hostilities in the Middle East as a separate item of high priority on the agenda of the Commission's twenty-eighth session."<sup>24</sup>

The resolution went unheeded, like all other resolutions affecting the situation in the Middle East. One year later, the Commission on Human Rights once again adopted a further resolution which has been reproduced in full on page 75.<sup>25</sup> In the meantime, terrorism, torture and violation of human rights continue in Israeli occupied territories, and the United Nations appears helpless to command respect for its authority and implementation of its resolutions.

<sup>24</sup> U.N. Resolution 9 (XXVII) of 15 March 1971.

<sup>25</sup> Resolution No. 3 (XXVIII) of 22 March 1972.

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