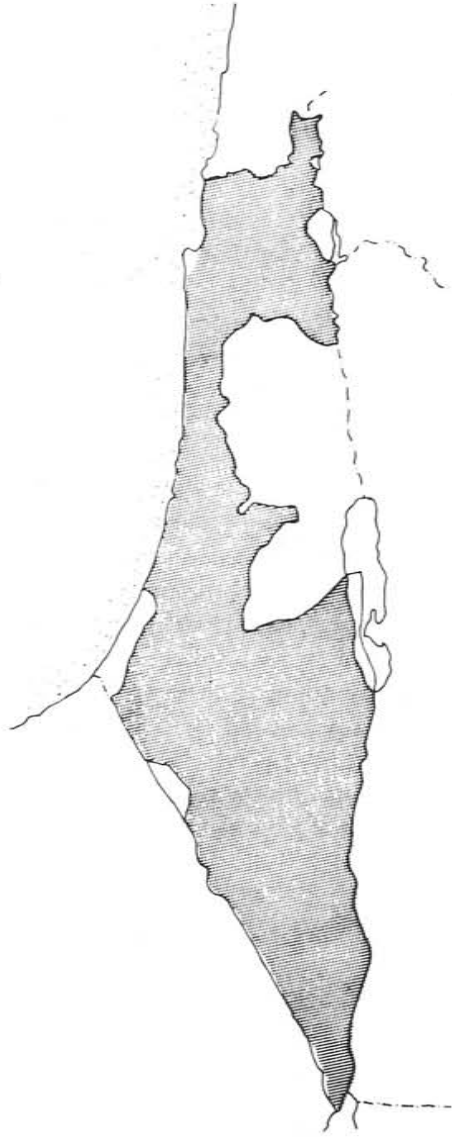


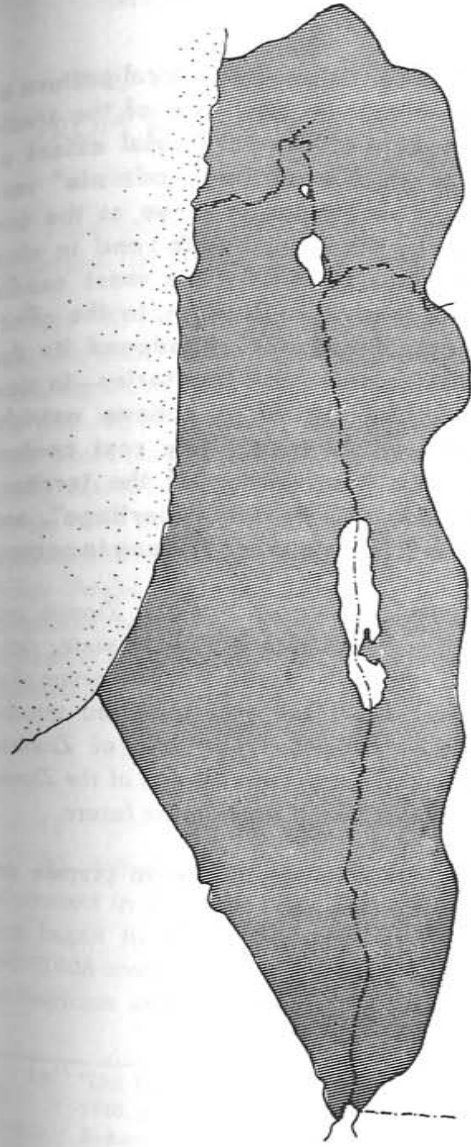
The maps on these two pages show the expansionist designs of Zionism in Palestine and in the neighboring Arab countries.

The map on this page shows the portions of Palestine actually occupied at present by the Zionist settler-state. Compare with the map on the opposite page, drawn on the same scale.



The map on this page shows the *Palestinian, Lebanese, Syrian and Jordanian* territories openly coveted by Zionism. The shaded area was officially delineated in the Memorandum of 3 February 1919 submitted by the World Zionist Organization to the Peace Conference, and was described therein as "essential for the economic foundation of the country."

To this area must be added an undefined portion of *Egyptian* territory as well. The official Zionist Memorandum left the southern border of the coveted land "to be agreed upon" later on.



**In view of the consistent behavioral pattern of the Zionist Movement ; in view also of the traditional Zionist concept of the territorial extent of "Eretz Israel", of which even the "moderate" version comprises an area twice as large as the one usurped thus far by the Zionist state ; and in view of the clear warnings, voiced by the most candid and authoritative leaders of Zionism, to the effect that the Zionist state has not abandoned its determination to seize new Arab territories—in view of all this, it would be absurd to believe, ostrich-wise, that Zionism might indefinitely rest content with possessing only a fraction of the territory which, it maintains, is its "national heritage", and which in any case it has planned all along to occupy.**

Of the three essential elements of the Zionist program — racial self-segregation in a Zionist state, racial exclusiveness and eviction of Arabs, and occupation of all of so-called "Eretz Israel" — only the third remains unrealized. It is the "unfinished business" of Zionism. It cannot fail to be the main preoccupation of the Zionist Movement, and of the Zionist state, in the future.

For the Zionist settler-state, to *be* is to prepare and strive for *territorial expansion*.

## IV

## THE PALESTINIANS' RESPONSE: FROM RESISTANCE TO LIBERATION

The response of the people of Palestine to the menace of Zionism has passed through five stages.

(1) At the outset — when Zionists were coming in relatively small numbers and emphasizing the religious or humanitarian motives of their enterprise, while concealing the political, ideological, and colonial-racist character of their Movement — the Arabs of Palestine believed the immigrants to be "pilgrims" animated by religious longing for the Holy Land, or else "refugees" fleeing persecution in Eastern Europe and seeking safety in Palestine. Palestinian Arabs therefore accorded the immigrants a hospitable welcome. Even Herzl noted the "friendly attitude of the population"<sup>(10)</sup> to the first wave of Zionist colonists.

\* \* \*

(2) When, after the inauguration of the new Zionist Movement in 1897, the second wave of Zionist colonization began to roll onto the shores of Palestine (from 1907/1908 onwards), Arab friendliness began to give way to suspicion and resentment. The methodical ouster of

10) "Der Baseler Kongress" in *Gesammelte Schriften*, Berlin, 1920, p. 164. Quoted in Rabinowicz, Oskar, *Fifty Years of Zionism*. London, Robert Anscombe & Co., 1950, p. 31.

Arab farmers, laborers, and watchmen from the new Zionist colonies, and the systematic boycott of Arab produce, aroused Arab anger. But the larger political-nationalist dimensions of the Zionist program remained concealed from Arab sight: it was the immediate impact of the Zionists' presence upon the Arabs directly affected by the Zionists' race-exclusivist and race-supremacist practices, that was causing Arab wrath. Inasmuch as Zionist colonization was still of modest proportions, however, the hostility it provoked remained more or less local.

\* \* \*

(3) The alliance of British Imperialism and Zionist Colonialism, concretely expressed in the Balfour Declaration of 2 November 1917, and the British capture of Jerusalem on 9 December 1917, at last opened Arab eyes to the true significance of what was happening, and brought home the realization that nothing less than dislodgment was in store for the Arabs, if Zionism was to be permitted to have its way. Palestinian masses instinctively recognized the events of the day as an occurrence of dire portent; and, for thirty years thereafter, Palestine was to be the scene of persistent and tireless Arab resistance to the Anglo-Zionist partnership. The period from 1917 to 1948 was the period of Arab resistance *par excellence*.

\* \* \*

The disquiet which followed the publication of the Balfour Declaration was momentarily calmed, however,

by British assurances made during 1918. An official Declaration by the British Government (issued on 16 June 1918) assured the Arabs that, as far as the territories occupied by the Allied armies were concerned, "the future government of those territories should be based on the principle of the consent of the governed. This policy will always be that of His Majesty's Government."<sup>(11)</sup> And, only four days before the Armistice, a widely-publicized joint Anglo-French Declaration (issued on 7 November 1918) notified the Arabs of Syria, Iraq, and Palestine that it was the intention of the two Allies "to further and assist in the setting up of indigenous governments" and "to recognise them as soon as they are actually set up."<sup>(12)</sup> These declarations — though they soon proved to be insincere and dishonest — served in the meantime to allay the fears of the people of Palestine.

As 1919 opened, all eyes were on Paris: the Peace Conference was hopefully expected to resolve the contradictions of Allied wartime promises and to inaugurate the long-awaited new era of world history, founded on the principle of national-self determination, of which President Wilson had made emphatic enunciation. But, as those hopes dwindled and the influx of Zionist colonists — interrupted during the War — was resumed, Arab fears were revived. And so was Arab resistance to the twin dangers of protracted British occupation and expanded Zionist colonization.

11) Text in Antonius, George, *The Arab Awakening*, Beirut, Khayats, 1955, pp. 433-434.

12) *Ibid.*, pp. 435-436.

\* \* \*

Palestinian Arab opposition to the Anglo-Zionist partnership was first expressed, in 1919, in *diplomatic representations* and in *collective declarations* of the general will of the people.

The American King-Crane Commission was left in no doubt about the true feelings of the people of Palestine. On 29 August 1919, the Commission reported that:

"...the non-Jewish population of Palestine — nearly nine-tenths of the whole — are emphatically against the entire Zionist program... There was no one thing upon which the population of Palestine was more agreed than upon this..."<sup>(13)</sup>

The findings of the Commission corroborated the decisions of the General Syrian Congress, consisting of elected representatives of the populations of Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria. A resolution, passed unanimously by the Congress on 2 July 1919, announced:

"We oppose the pretensions of the Zionists to create a Jewish Commonwealth in the southern part of Syria, known as Palestine, and oppose Zionist migration to any part of our country; for we do not acknowledge their title but consider them a grave peril to our people from the national, economical, and political points of view. Our Jewish compatriots shall enjoy our common rights and assume the com-

13) *Ibid.*, p. 449.

mon responsibilities."<sup>(14)</sup>

Similar utterances of unqualified rejection of Zionism continued to be made by every Palestinian Arab gathering throughout the decades of British occupation of Palestine. Not once did a Palestinian Arab group or conference express acceptance — even partial or qualified — of Zionist colonization. And the feelings, so unequivocally expressed to the King-Crane Commission in 1919, continued thereafter to be expressed, with equal forcefulness, to the Mandatory Government and its countless Commissions, as well as to the League of Nations and the United Nations, by every Palestinian delegation that had a chance to appear before any of those bodies.

\* \* \*

But declarations of opposition, however important as an expression of national will, were not the only means of resistance to which the people of Palestine had recourse.

In March 1920, armed hostilities broke out between Arab villagers and Zionist colonists in northern Palestine; and in April 1920, Arab-Zionist fighting took place in Jerusalem. These were followed by uprisings in 1921, 1929, and 1933, and by a country-wide rebellion in 1936 which was renewed in 1937 and lasted until the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. And, from December 1947 until the withdrawal of Britain and the simultaneous

14) *Ibid.*, p. 441.

proclamation of the Zionist settler-state in May 1948, Palestinian Arabs were engaged in a life-and-death battle with the British garrison as well as with the Zionist colonists.

By their untiring reiteration of their rejection of Zionist Colonialism and by their unstinting sacrifice of life and limb in defense of the sanctity of the homeland over thirty years, Palestinians of all walks of life eloquently testified — by word as well as deed, in ink as well as blood — to their devotion to their national rights and their unqualified opposition to the Zionization of their country.

\* \* \*

The range of means by which Palestinians chose to express their opposition to the partnership of Zionist Colonialism and British Imperialism, from 1917 to 1948, was not confined to declaration and rebellion. In more prosaic — and perhaps more difficult and more costly — methods, the unqualified "No!" of the Arabs of Palestine was addressed to empire-builders and to racist colonists alike.

At the height of the famous rebellion of 1936, the people of Palestine launched a devastating civil disobedience movement, coupled with a country-wide strike which lasted for 174 days (perhaps the longest national strike in history) and affected all businesses, communications, and government services run by Arabs. In spite of its high cost to themselves, the men and women of Palestine persisted in their strike, resisting all efforts of the

Mandatory Power to break it, and did not call it off until the rulers of the neighboring Arab States intervened and promised to initiate collective Arab negotiations with the British Government with a view to remedying the causes of Palestinian Arab grievances.

More importantly, the Palestinian Arabs brought into their struggle against the Zionization of Palestine the only remaining weapon at their command: if they had no control over the immigration of Zionist colonists into Palestine, they did have some control over the sale of land to those colonists. This weapon they used unsparingly, throughout the period of the Mandate.

The record shows that, during thirty years of British occupation and active encouragement of Zionist colonization — while the Zionists were allowed by the Mandatory Power to multiply to twelve times their number in 1917, and while the ratio of the Zionists to the total population was allowed to rise to one-third — Zionist acquisition of land grew at a snail's pace, as a result of the Arabs' refusal to sell their land to the colonists. Statistics published by the British Government reveal that the total area acquired by Zionists from 1920, when land registries were opened, until the dislodgment of the Arabs, was under 4% of the total area of Palestine.<sup>15)</sup> Of this Zionist-acquired land, a part was sold by non-Palestinian absentee land-owners, and another part was transferred to the Zionist colonization funds by the British Government itself (public domain, over which the Mandatory Government was

15) *Survey of Palestine*, Jerusalem, Government Printer, 1946, p. 243 (paragraph 520).

trustee for the Palestinian people). In fact, an official spokesman for the Jewish Agency disclosed to a British Commission that, "of the land purchased by the Jews, ... relatively small areas not exceeding in all 10 per cent were acquired from peasants."<sup>(16)</sup>

\* \* \*

(4) In 1948, the Palestinian Arab people was forcibly dispossessed. Most Palestinians were evicted from their country. Their unyielding resistance and their costly sacrifices over three decades had failed to avert the national catastrophe.

**But those sacrifices were not in vain. For they safeguarded the Palestinian national rights and underscored the legitimacy of the Arabs' claim to their national heritage. Rights undefended are rights surrendered. Unopposed and acquiesced in, usurpation is legitimized by default. For forfeiture of its patrimony, the Palestinian generation of the inter-War era will never be indicted by the Palestinian generations to come. It lost indeed — but not without fighting. It was dislodged indeed — but not for want of the will to defend its heritage.**

Nor has the people of Palestine retroactively bestowed undeserved legitimacy upon the Zionist colonization of Palestine by recognizing the *fait accompli* after the fact.

16) *British Blue Book* (commonly known as the "Shaw Report"), Cmd. 3530, p. 114.

Many have been the self-appointed counselors of "realism", urging upon Palestinians acknowledgement of the new *status quo* in Palestine and acceptance of their exile "in good grace"; and many have been the lucrative offers of economic aid for "resettlement" and "rehabilitation" outside Palestine. But the people which had remained for thirty years undaunted by the combined power of British Imperialism and Zionist Colonialism, and which subsequently refused to allow the seizure of its land and the dispersal of its body to conquer its soul also, knew very well how to resist those siren-calls.

**The Zionist settler-state, therefore, has remained a usurper, lacking even the semblance of legitimacy — because the people of Palestine has remained loyal to its heritage and faithful to its rights.**

\* \* \*

(5) The people of Palestine, notwithstanding all its travails and misfortunes, still has undiminished faith in its future.

And the people of Palestine knows that the pathway to that future is the liberation of its homeland.

It was in this belief that the Palestinian people — after sixteen years of dispersion and exile, during which it had reposed its faith in its return to its country in world conscience and international public opinion, in the United



Nations, and/or in the Arab states — chose at last to seize the initiative. In 1964, it reasserted its corporate personality by creating the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Only in the liberation of Palestine, spearheaded by Palestinians prepared to pay the price, can the supreme sacrifices of past generations of Palestinians be vindicated, and the visions and hopes of living Palestinians be transformed into reality.

## EPILOGUE

### THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE

The right to *national liberation* is an extension of the right to *national self-defense*, which the Charter of the United Nations not only upholds but also declares to be "inherent" and beyond "impairment" by the provisions of the Charter itself.<sup>17)</sup> If continued acquisition of the fruits of an attack is tantamount to continuation of the attack itself, the liberation of territories seized by aggression is an extension of the inherent right to resist the original aggression. Liberation and self-defense are two facets of the same inalienable right.

The right to national liberation has come to be all but universally recognized. Only die-hard imperial and colonial regimes still invoke the mythical principle of the inviolability of dominion acquired by past and continuing aggression, in the hope that they might arrest the process of decolonization before the rising tide of national liberation engulfs their anachronistic regimes.

\* \* \*

Exercise of the right to national liberation is not confined to situations in which alien domination subjects a people to the control of another, or in which the resources of one people are selfishly exploited by another. Exercise of the right to national liberation extends also —

17) *United Nations Charter*, Article 51.

and in greater justice — to those situations in which the land of one people was subjected to the control of another while it was forcibly emptied of its rightful inhabitants.

The tragic fate of Palestine subsumes all these elements of foreign domination, exploitation, and dispossession — and others besides. The territory of Palestine is under alien rule. Its resources are exploited by others. Its people are exiles from their homeland. The remnants of its Arab inhabitants languish under a regime of racist discrimination and oppression as harsh as any race-supremacist regime in Asia or Africa. All this has been accomplished by connivance with Imperialism, and by terror and violence. And no aspect of this multi-faceted *fait accompli* has been legitimized, whether by commission or by omission, by the people of Palestine or any fraction thereof.

\* \* \*

In its determination to pursue the difficult path of national liberation, the people of Palestine is encouraged by the faith in the justice of its cause repeatedly expressed by newly-liberated peoples in successive international conferences. From Bandung to Accra, from Casablanca to Belgrade, that faith in the justice of the cause of the Palestinian Arabs has been clearly expressed.<sup>(18)</sup> And, at the Second Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, "full support to

18) See "Appendix", below.

the Arab people of Palestine in their struggle for liberation from colonialism and racism" was solemnly declared.<sup>(19)</sup> The supreme leaders of peoples who still retain vivid memories of their recent experiences under imperialism, colonialism, and/or racism have thus evinced responsiveness to the pains and hopes of the Palestinian people, still suffering from all these evils and from dispossession and dispersion as well. Such responsiveness cannot fail to augment the profound faith of Palestinians in the ultimate triumph of justice, liberty, and human dignity in their land.

\* \* \*

The problem of Palestine, although it directly afflicts only the Palestinians, is not the concern of Palestinians alone.

The Zionist settler-state, bent on expansion, is a threat to the security and territorial integrity of *the Arab states* as well. It has already invaded their lands. It still covets their territories.

As a colonial venture, which anomalously came to bloom precisely when Colonialism was beginning to fade away, it is in fact a challenge to *all anti-colonial peoples in Asia and Africa*. **For, in the final analysis, the cause of anti-colonialism and liberation is one and indivisible.**

19) *Ibid.*



And — as a racist system animated by doctrines of racial self-segregation, racial exclusiveness, and racial supremacy, and methodically translating these doctrines into ruthless practices of racial discrimination and oppression — the political systems erected by Zionist colonists in Palestine cannot fail to be recognized as a menace by *all civilized men* dedicated to the safeguarding and enhancement of the dignity of man. **For whenever and wherever the dignity of but one single human being is violated, in pursuance of the creed of racism, a heinous sin is committed against the dignity of all men, everywhere.**

## APPENDIX

---

TEXTS OF RESOLUTIONS ON PALESTINE  
adopted at Conferences of  
African, Asian-African, and Non-Aligned States

&

CHART OF PARTICIPATION  
IN THOSE CONFERENCES

## 1. Bandung:

### THE FIRST ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

held at Bandung, Indonesia,

from April 18 to April 24, 1955,

by representatives of 29 Asian and African countries.  
(See CHART).

Paragraph 1 of Section E of the Final Communique of the Conference reads as follows :

"In view of the existing tension in the Middle East caused by the situation in Palestine and of the danger of that tension to world peace, the Asian-African Conference declared its support of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine, and called for the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Palestine and the achievement of the peaceful settlement of the Palestine question."

## 2. Accra:

### THE FIRST CONFERENCE OF INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES

held at Accra, Ghana,

from April 15 to April 22, 1958,

by representatives of 8 African countries. (See CHART).

Paragraph 9 of Resolution 10 of the Conference reads as follows :

"Expresses its deep concern over the question of Palestine, which is a disturbing factor of World Peace and Security, and urges a just solution of the Palestine question."

### 3. Casablanca:

#### THE CASABLANCA CONFERENCE OF THE HEADS OF AFRICAN STATES

held at Casablanca, Morocco,

from January 3 to January 7, 1961,

by representatives of 8 African and Asian countries. (See CHART).

The first of the Resolutions announced by the Conference reads as follows:

"The Conference at Casablanca,

"Having examined the important problem of Palestine, and deeply concerned about the situation created in Palestine by depriving the Arabs of Palestine of their legitimate rights:

"1. Warns against the menace which this situation presents to the peace and security of the Middle East and the international tension which results therefrom.

"2. Insists on the necessity to have a just solution to this problem in conformity with the United Nations resolutions and the Asian-African resolution of Bandung to restore to the Arabs of Palestine all their legitimate rights.

"3. Notes with indignation that Israel has

always taken the side of the imperialists each time an important position had to be taken concerning vital problems about Africa, notably Algeria, the Congo and the nuclear tests in Africa, and the Conference, therefore, denounces Israel as an instrument in the service of Imperialism and neo-colonialism not only in the Middle East but also in Africa and Asia.

"4. Calls upon all the States of Africa and Asia to oppose this new policy which imperialism is carrying out to create bases for itself".

#### 4. Cairo:

CONFERENCE OF THE MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE STATES OF THE AFRICAN CHARTER OF CASABLANCA,

held in Cairo, the United Arab Republic,  
from April 13 to May 5, 1961,

by representatives of 6 African countries. (See CHART).

The Statement issued at the end of the Conference contained the following paragraphs:

"The Ministers of Foreign Affairs examined African and international problems which have pre-occupied Africa and the world. There was complete identity of views on all these problems. . .

" . . .

"They reiterated their support for the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine and their desire to implement the resolutions on Palestine adopted at Casablanca."



## 5. Belgrade:

THE (FIRST) CONFERENCE OF THE HEADS OF STATE  
OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES,  
held at Belgrade, Yugoslavia,  
from September 1 to September 6, 1961,  
by representatives of 28 African, Asian, European, and  
Latin American countries. (See CHART).

Paragraph 10 of Section III of the Declaration of the  
Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries  
reads as follows:

"The participants in the Conference condemn  
the imperialist policies pursued in the Middle East,  
and declare their support for the full restoration of  
all the rights of the Arab people of Palestine in con-  
formity with the Charter and resolutions of the  
United Nations."

**6. Djakarta:**

MEETING OF MINISTERS TO PREPARE FOR A SECOND AFRICAN-ASIAN CONFERENCE,

held at Djakarta, Indonesia,

from April 10 to April 15, 1964,

by representatives of 22 African and Asian countries.  
(See CHART).

Paragraph B of Section V of the Final Communique reads as follows :

“Representatives of all Nationalist Movements from non-self-governing territories recognised by the Organisation of African Unity in Africa and from Asia, which have not yet attained independence, may come to the Conference with the right to be heard and the host country is requested to provide facilities for their attendance. This provision should also apply to South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Oman, Aden and Palestine.”

## 7. Cairo:

THE SECOND CONFERENCE OF THE HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES,

held at Cairo, the United Arab Republic,

from October 5 to October 10, 1964,

by representatives of 57 African, Asian, European, and Latin American countries. (See CHART).

Sub-Section 5 of Section I of the Final Communique reads as follows :

"The Conference condemns the imperialistic policy, pursued in the Middle East and, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, decides to :

"1. Endorse the full restoration of all the rights of the Arab people of Palestine to their homeland, and their inalienable right to self-determination ;

"2. Declare its full support to the Arab people of Palestine in their struggle for liberation from Colonialism and racism."

## CHART

PARTICIPATION IN THE CONFERENCES OF AFRICAN, ASIAN-AFRICAN, AND NON-  
ALIGNED STATES

NOTE. — The symbol "x" stands for *participation* ;

"\*" indicates *representation by observers* ;

"—" signifies *non-participation* ;

*Footnotes* relating to individual countries appear at the end of the CHART.

C o u n t r y	1 Ban- dung 1955	2 Accra 1958	3 Casa- blanca 1961	4 Cairo 1961	5 Bel- grade 1961	6 Dja- karta 1964	7 Cairo 1964
1. Afghanistan	x	—	—	—	x	x	x
2. Algeria <sup>1)</sup>	—	—	x	x	x	x	x
3. Argentina	—	—	—	—	—	—	*
4. Angola	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
5. Bolivia	—	—	—	—	*	—	*
6. Brazil	—	—	—	—	*	—	*

CHART (Cont'd)

Country	1 Bandung 1955	2 Accra 1958	3 Casa- blanca 1961	4 Cairo 1961	5 Bel- grade 1961	6 Dja- karta 1964	7 Cairo 1964
7. Burma	x	—	—	—	x	—	x
8. Barundi	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
9. Cambodia	x	—	—	—	x	x	x
10. Cameroun	—	—	—	—	—	x	x
11. Central African Rep.	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
12. Ceylon	x	—	*	—	x	x	x
13. Chad	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
14. Chile	—	—	—	—	—	—	*
15. China, People's Rep.	x	—	—	—	—	x	—
16. Congo (Braz.)	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
17. Congo (Leop.)	—	—	—	—	x	—	—

CHART Cont'd

Country	1 Bandung 1955	2 Accra 1958	3 Casa- blanca 1961	4 Cairo 1961	5 Bel- grade 1961	6 Dja- karta 1964	7 Cairo 1964
18. Cuba	—	—	—	—	x	—	x
19. Cyprus	—	—	—	—	x	—	x
20. Dahomey	—	—	—	—	—	—	x
21. Ecuador	—	—	—	—	*	—	—
22. Ethiopia	x	x	—	—	x	x	x
23. Finland.	—	—	—	—	—	—	*
24. Ghana <sup>2)</sup>	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
25. Guinea	—	—	—	—	x	x	x
26. India	x	—	x	—	x	x	x
27. Indonesia	x	—	—	—	x	x	x
28. Iran.	x	—	—	—	—	x	—

3. Syria participated in the Conferences held at Accra (1958), Casablanca, Cairo and Belgrade (1961) as part of the United Arab Republic.
4. The Djakarta Conference was held prior to the unification of Tanganyika and Zanzibar and the formation of Tanzania ; and it was Tanganyika, not the Federal Republic of Tanzania, that participated in it.
5. The United Arab Republic participated in the Bandung Conference as Egypt.



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