

# Zionism Hates the Truth:

**Big Reveal following Duo Claims and Signals to the ICJ  
by Retired Canadian Supreme Court Justice Rosalie Abella  
and Former Canadian Minister of Justice Irwin Cotler  
that the State of Israel is Above International Law**



**By Will Koop**

March 05, 2025

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# Volume 2 of 3

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## Part 6. 'Zionism As Racism:' the International Conferences on Racism, 1978, 1983, 2001

“One of the suggestions made repeatedly was for some continuing effort to **further the elimination of racism in all its manifestations, especially Zionism and Apartheid, two sides of the same coin.** Accordingly, it was resolved at the concluding session of the Symposium on Zionism and Racism that “an international organization to be known as THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION is hereby established.”<sup>52</sup>

“In some instances, racism becomes so dangerous and extremist that it becomes directed against the very existence of a people – nationally, ethnically, and culturally, and thus partakes of some of the attributes of genocide without the direct acts of annihilation. **Racism, such as Zionist racism, which denies the very existence of its victims, can safely be termed, in law, “constructive genocide.”** When a people, like the Palestinians, are not recognized as existing, when they are denied their homeland, their national existence and identity, and the basic rights and fundamental freedoms accorded to other peoples – what, in such circumstances, remains of them and for them as a people? They become non-people and the individuals, nonpersons. Is this not in effect genocide, hence constructive genocide?”

“It is not acceptable for any regime to insist on recognition of the racist and illegal conditions it creates. Israel evicted the Palestinians from their homeland and turned them into refugees; it expropriated their homes, lands, and personal belongings; it demolished hundreds of Arab villages and built Zionist colonies; it changed the demographic and cultural character of Jerusalem; it built dozens of new settlements in the West Bank, Sinai, and the Golan Heights. All this is racist, colonialist, and illegal, and it has been so declared by all organs of the UN before which the question was raised.”<sup>53</sup>

“A lot of energy might have been saved if more had bothered to look up the General Assembly’s official definition of racial discrimination which was in the minds of those who voted that Zionism should be included among the forms of racism. Resolution 2106A (XX), adopted 21 December 1965 by the General Assembly defines racial discrimination as “any distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference based on race, color, descent, or national or ethnic origin.” This broad definition needs to be kept in mind in any discussion of Zionism as a form of racism.”<sup>54</sup>

“The problem facing Jews is not the assault from without, that is a permanent part of Jewish history,” said Irwin Cotler, a law professor at Montreal’s McGill University. “The problem becomes the confrontation within.” Cotler said that in the face of widespread world hostility, **some Jews were beginning to debate whether a Jewish state was an obstruction to peace.** He warned that Zionists living outside of Israel often become content with an affluent lifestyle rather than accepting the rigors of life in Israel. He said the United Nations resolution equating Zionism with racism has given legal sanction to assaults on Israel and demonstrates that the UN has “become a theatre of the absurd.”<sup>55</sup>

The 1967 ‘Six-Day’ Israeli war, and the further segregating, displacement, and apartheid inhumanities against Palestinians, was responsible for creating significant world attention and condemnation, triggering, in part, UN Resolution #3379 eight years later. In general, concerns about racism and discrimination were

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<sup>52</sup> Statement by the executive Council, International Organization for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, in *Zion and Racism, Proceedings of an International Symposium*, 1976.

<sup>53</sup> *Racism and World Peace*, by Anis Al-Qasem, in *Zion and Racism, Proceedings of an International Symposium*, 1976, p. 13-14.

<sup>54</sup> *Zionism and Racism: Contrasting Perspectives and Perceptions*, by L. Humphrey Walz, in *Zion and Racism, Proceedings of an International Symposium*, 1976, page 20.

<sup>55</sup> *Zionist Federation takes in hard-line youth group*, Montreal Gazette, March 19, 1980.

global, and the harsh injustices against Palestinians were one of many other inhumanities. That is why, after the United Nations' *Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination* came into legal force in 1969, the General Assembly of the United Nations, under Resolution 2919, created the *Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination* that began in December 1973. The programme stated:

“As a major feature during the Decade, a world conference on combating racial discrimination should be convened by the General Assembly as soon as possible, but preferably not later than 1978. The Conference should have as its main theme the adoption of effective ways and means and concrete measures for securing the full and universal implementation of United Nations decisions and resolutions on racism, racial discrimination, apartheid, decolonization and self-determination, as well as the accession to and ratification and enforcement of the international instruments relating to human rights and the elimination of racism and racial discrimination.”

The independent organizing body which was created from the 1976 *Symposium on Zionism as Racism* (discussed in Part 5) helped inspire the United Nations' first international conference held in Geneva, August 14-25, 1978, the *World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination*, held at the Palais des Nations, the event boycotted by the United States and Israel. The event coincided half-way through the heralding of the March 1978 to March 1979 International Anti-Apartheid Year.



Canadian delegates which attended the conference, where **Canadian Geneva U.N. Ambassador R.H. Jay** was nominated as one of ten conference vice-presidents, would later object to some of the language in the Conference Declaration, and would



**abruptly march out of the conference during the final day of proceedings**, alongside delegates from Australia, New Zealand, Norway, Iceland, West Germany, Italy, France, Britain, Ireland, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and Denmark. The NGOs watched the skirmish from the sidelines.

**Canada among protesters  
at United Nations meeting**

*Walkout At Talks*  
**UN 'Zionist' Declaration Protested**

# UN Racism Conference Called Anti-Jewish

Instead, they aimed their indignation at history's most abused group: The Jews.

the delegates adopted a resolution condemning Israel and "Zionists" — a codeword for "Jews" — for all manner of "racist" sin. Example: Israel's "racist" practices against Arabs living both in Israel proper and in the West Bank and Gaza. Since truth mattered little to those who voted

for the resolution, never mind that Arabs in Israel enjoy more political rights and a higher standard of living than just about anywhere else in the Arab world.

If all this sounds like racism, it is something a large proportion of the world's people might well wish on themselves.

Knoxville News Sentinel  
September 17, 1978

It is a tragic measure of what the UN has become in recent years that a conference on combatting racism could end up fomenting it. The problem of racism deserves an honest forum. It won't get it in the UN as long as a majority of member states think they owe their first allegiance not to the UN Charter, but to the anti-Israel cabal.

DAVID M. BLUMBERG, President  
B'nai B'rith International  
Washington, D.C.

From the 1978 conference's *Declaration and Programme of Action*, sections 18 and 19:

18. The Conference condemns the existing and increasing relations between the Zionist State of Israel and the racist regime of South Africa, in particular those in the economic and military fields, **and deplores and warns against co-operation between them in the nuclear field**; it particularly deplores the expansion and intensification of those relations at the time when the international community exerts all its efforts towards the objective of completely isolating the racist regime of South Africa; the Conference views this co-operation as an act of deliberate choice, and a hostile act against the oppressed people of South Africa, as well as a defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations and the efforts of the society of nations to ensure freedom and peace in southern Africa; the Conference also notes with concern the insidious propaganda by the Government of Israel and its Zionist and other supporters against the United Nations organs and against Governments which had advocated firm action against apartheid;

19. The Conference recalls with deep regret the cruel tragedy which befell the Palestinian people 30 years ago and which they continue to endure today — manifested in their being prevented from exercising their right to self-determination on the soil of their homeland, in the dispersal of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians, the prevention of their return to their homes, and the establishment therein of settlers from abroad, and in the practice of diverse forms of racial discrimination against Palestinians affecting all aspects of their daily lives in a manner which prevents their enjoyment of their elementary human rights on a basis of equality; the Conference expresses its grave concern over this continuing situation and deplores Israel's refusal to comply with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and it calls for the cessation of all practices of racial discrimination to which Palestinians, as well as other inhabitants of the Arab territories occupied by Israel, are being subjected; the Conference voices its hope that the Palestinian people will soon have the opportunity to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations on the question of Palestine, and proclaims its solidarity with the Palestinian people in their struggle for liberation and against racial discrimination.

Erich Honecker of the German Democratic Republic stated on August 14, that the Republic "is closely linked with the Arab people of Palestine in its legitimate struggle for full freedom and independence in a national state. The German Democratic Republic supports the sanctions imposed on the South African apartheid regime by the United Nations and joins world public opinion, which demands that this fascist and racist regime be barred access to nuclear weapons once and for all." Before the walkaway, West German Ambassador Per Fischer said that West Germany and the other European members "could no longer participate because the anti-Israeli texts deviated from the purpose of combatting racism." (Source: *Canada Among Protesters at United Nations Meeting*, Star Phoenix, August 26, 1978.)



In Paragraph 15 of the Conference Declaration:

**The Conference proclaims that racism, racial discrimination and apartheid in all their manifestations are crimes against the conscience and dignity of mankind and must be eradicated by effective international action.** It reaffirms the special responsibility of the United Nations and the international community to the oppressed peoples of South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Palestine and their liberation movements. The Conference requests the Security Council to consider urgently the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, against the apartheid regime of South Africa and the racist regimes of southern Africa.

### ***The White House On Racism***

The White House issued a statement regarding last week's World Conference to Combat Racism and Radical Discrimination in Geneva. The statement appropriately condemns those factions which continue to consider Zionism as a form of racism and reads as follows:

"The Conference marks the mid-point of the UN Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, a decade whose initiation the US strongly supported. But the US is unable to participate in this potentially important conference, although we will monitor the proceedings, because the definition of "racism" has been perverted for political ends by including Zionism as a form of racism.

Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle, August 31, 1978

### ***US Condemns Anti-Israel Declaration At Conference***

**By Joseph Polakoff**

**Washington, (JTA)**—The US condemned the anti-Israel Declaration and Program of Action adopted by a vote of 88-4 by the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination at its conclusion in Geneva. However, the US noted with approval that the document did not define Zionism as racism.

A statement read to the press at the State Department pointed out that the members of the European community, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Norway walked out of the conference and did not participate in the adoption of either the Declaration or the Program "because of language condemning Israel."

The United States and Israel did not participate in the Conference, sponsored by the United Nations, because it was based, in part, on the UN General Assembly resolution of 1975 that equated Zionism with racism. The nations that walked out of the meeting did not participate in the final vote of the Geneva action, which was 88 to four. Austria, Finland, Switzerland, and Sweden voted against it, while San Marino and Malawi abstained.

"We are pleased that the document did not contain a definition of Zionism as racism," the State Department statement said. "We also applaud the decision of our Western allies to cease participation in a conference on racism when its participants used it to launch politically inspired attacks on Israel. We share their view that such selective condemnation deviates from the purpose of the Decade which is to foster and promote universal principles to guide an effective struggle against racism."

Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle, Sept. 7, 1978

There was a revealing report that later went unnoticed by the 'mass media.' It was the reference in section 18 of the Declaration (see above) to the **military cooperation between the State of Israel and South Africa**. It was a simple summary, which was based on a long dossier submitted to the Conference by Special Rapporteur Ahmed M. Khalifa, referenced on page 136 of the U.N. Conference report. It is most intriguing. Here are some sample excerpts from that report of the two apartheid colonial states, sharing common apartheid practices, sharing military weapons and nuclear assets and technology, in exchange for military expertise and raw resources. It is one thing for the state of Israel to complain about the United Nations' Resolution of 'Zionism as Racism,' whilst **aiding a partner apartheid regime** also accused of racism. It was precisely this double standard that would later dog Irwin Cotler, the human rights advocate.

## UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL



THE ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF POLITICAL, MILITARY, ECONOMIC AND OTHER FORMS OF ASSISTANCE GIVEN TO THE COLONIAL AND RACIST REGIMES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

E/CN.4/Sub.2/383  
18 July 1977

Original: ENGLISH/FRENCH

Report submitted by Mr. Ahmed M. Khalifa,  
Special Rapporteur



37. In August 1976, the Israeli radio announced that Israel was building two long-range gunboats armed with sea-to-sea missiles for the South African Navy. Unofficial sources were quoted as having said that 50 South African naval officers and their families had arrived in Israel and would take delivery of the boats in January. Press reports have indicated that Israel is building "several" missile boats for the apartheid régime, and in return will receive steel and coal. 17/

38. The development of the uranium enrichment process has also increased South Africa's ability to attract military support from non-uranium-producing, nuclear-capable countries. In April 1976, following the Vorster visit to Israel, it was reported that Israel would sell Kfir fighter planes, Reshef patrol boats and other military equipment to South Africa in exchange for strategic materials, including enriched uranium. 18/

39. Politically the over-all strengthening of relations between the two countries subsequent to the June 1967 war led to the general upgrading of Israel's level of representation: in 1969, Israel appointed a Chargé d'affaires with the personal rank of ambassador. In April 1975, it expanded its Consulate-General. Following the October 1973 war, Israel decided to elevate its diplomatic mission to a full-scale embassy. South Africa reciprocated by establishing a consulate-general in Tel Aviv in 1971, headed by a consul-general with the personal rank of ambassador. In 1975, South Africa established an embassy in Tel Aviv, and its first ambassador to Israel presented his credentials in January 1976. 19/

40. Given the many links, repeatedly pointed out by United Nations organs and many world and regional conferences and meetings, between the two régimes, it is clear that hard evidence that is not officially denied by one or both sides is difficult to come by. However, so many indices and incidences, like the ones cited above, point to the fact that trade and co-operation in the military field is established between the two régimes.

35. In the spring of 1976, Mr. Vorster visited Israel. He went, escorted by the commander of Israel's navy, to look at a guided-missile patrol boat built at Haifa. He also inspected the Israeli-made Kfir fighter-bomber, and there are reports that South Africa is interested in a tank designed especially for desert conditions and in an anti-tank helicopter that Israel is said to be developing. 15/

36. The desire to share in Israel's expertise in military technology and modern warfare was reported to be an important element in Mr. Vorster's visit to Israel. Press reports indicated that South Africa was prepared to finance an expansion of Israel's arms-producing capacity, and even to supply Israel with uranium, in return for the Israeli Kfir jet fighter and other arms. 16/

34. There were frequent press reports on collaboration between South Africa and Israel in the military sphere. In an article in the New York Times, on 30 April 1971, C.L. Sulzberger reported military collaboration between the two States. He said that South Africa was manufacturing the Uzi sub-machine gun, designed by Israel, under licence from Belgium, and went on to report what he termed "wholly unconfirmable" rumours that the Israelis, having obtained blueprints of the French Mirage fighter by espionage, had made them available to South Africa. He also said that he had been told officially that a South African mission flew to Israel during the June war (1967) to study the use of weapons and the tactics of lightning strikes. The Israeli radio subsequently reported that the Foreign Minister had denied the report about the Uzi.



Adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic and other forms of assistance given to the racist and colonialist regime of South Africa

Distr.  
GENERAL

A/47/480  
30 September 1992

Updated report prepared by Mr. Ahmad M. Khalifa,  
Special Rapporteur

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

## I. BACKGROUND

1. In its resolution 3 (XXVI) of 19 September 1973, the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities recommended that the Commission on Human Rights direct the Sub-Commission to appoint a special rapporteur to evaluate the adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of assistance, in particular through investment of foreign capital and military aid, given to the racist regimes in southern Africa. Pursuant to the endorsement of that resolution by the Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council, the Sub-Commission, by its resolution 2 (XXVII) of 16 August 1974, appointed Mr. Ahmad M. Khalifa as Special Rapporteur for the preparation of a study on the subject. That study (E/CN.4/Sub.2/383) was submitted by Mr. Khalifa to the Sub-Commission at its thirtieth session, and was further considered by the Commission on Human Rights at its thirty-fourth session and by the General Assembly at its thirty-third session.

2. In its resolution 1 (XXX) of 26 August 1977, the Sub-Commission, having considered the report of Mr. Khalifa, invited the Special Rapporteur, as requested by the Commission on Human Rights, to prepare the necessary material for a provisional general list identifying those whose activities constituted assistance to the colonial and racist regimes in southern Africa.

3. The report prepared by Mr. Khalifa pursuant to that request (E/CN.4/425 and Corr.1-3 and Add.1-7) contained a provisional general list of banks, firms and other organizations which give assistance to the colonial and racist regimes in southern Africa as well as comments received by the Special Rapporteur from Governments on the subject.

4. In its resolution 2 (XXXIII) of 2 September 1980, the Sub-Commission, in accordance with Commission on Human Rights resolution 11 (XXXVI) of 26 February 1980, endorsed by the Economic and Social Council in its decision 1980/131 of 2 May 1980, decided to mandate the Special Rapporteur to continue to update the list annually and to submit the updated report through the Sub-Commission to the Commission. That decision was welcomed by the Commission in its resolution 8 (XXXVII) of 23 February 1981 and endorsed by the Economic and Social Council in its decision 1981/141 of 8 May 1981.

5. The General Assembly, at its thirty-fifth, thirty-seventh, thirty-ninth, forty-first, forty-third and forty-fifth sessions (resolutions 35/32 of 14 November 1980, 37/39 of 3 December 1982, 39/15 of 23 November 1984, 41/95 of 4 December 1986, 43/92 of 8 December 1988 and 45/84 of 14 December 1990) and the Commission on Human Rights at its thirty-seventh to forty-eighth sessions (resolutions 8 (XXXVII) of 23 February 1981, 1982/12 of 25 February 1982, 1983/11 of 18 February 1983, 1984/6 of 28 February 1984, 1985/9 of 26 February 1985, 1986/6 of 28 February 1986, 1987/10 of 26 February 1987, 1988/12 of 29 February 1988, 1989/6 of 23 February 1989, 1990/23 of 27 February 1990, 1991/17 of 1 March 1991 and 1992/7 of 21 February 1992) mandated the Special Rapporteur to update his report, subject to annual review.



## 6.1. The Second World Conference on Racism, 1983

Five years later, the United Nations' *Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination*, August 1-12, 1983, was also convened in Geneva. Amongst many invitees that were to present information to the Conference, including international NGOs and liberation movements, was "the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People and the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories to be represented by observers."

Once again, Israel and the United States boycotted the conference! And, for a second time, there was a blanket censorship on attendance reporting of the event in the print media throughout Canada and the United States, this time during the right-wing Reagan and the Brian Mulroney administrations. National blackouts. This blanket censorship is astounding given that they are 'democratic' nations with thousands of dedicated investigative newspaper reporters. This fact bears testimony to the influential power of the Israeli lobby network.

Evidence of this blanket shadow order over North America print media and government-related participation was exhibited in the case of Shirley Hill Witt of Sante Fe New Mexico. She had been New Mexico State's Natural Resources Secretary and stepped out of the blackout to defy the United States' boycott order: she slipped through the force field, slipped through the net. New Mexico Governor Toney Anaya discovered on August 3<sup>rd</sup> that Witt was "attending" the Conference, and now "wants Ms. Witt back because the United States is boycotting the meeting. I think it would be totally inappropriate for the state of New Mexico to be represented there under those circumstances:"

"U.S. participation at the session would require a reversal of a 1975 UN resolution, equating Zionism with racism, according to news reports.

Ms. Witt's attendance at the conference was to have been her last official act as a member of Anaya's Cabinet. She had resigned her post effect August 15. Anaya said he also has directed his staff to try to determine when Ms. Witt knew about the boycott. "If I determine that she, in fact, knew that the United States was boycotting before she left, then that (her departure) will be moved up by a few days."

The governor ordered a telegram sent to Ms. Witt Wednesday [August 3] morning. The telegram, made available to the Albuquerque Journal, said, "As a consequence of the United States' and Israel's boycott of the conference, Gov. Anaya requests that you return to New Mexico as soon as possible."

Last June 30, Anaya and Ms. Witt issued a joint statement that she would resign her post on Aug. 15." (Source: *Witt Ordered Home from Europe*, Albuquerque Journal, August 4, 1983)



Shirley Hill Witt  
Resigned last Friday

### Berkshire Eagle August 2, 1983 U.S. will boycott racism conference

GENEVA, Switzerland (UPI) — The United States said yesterday it will boycott the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination to be held in Geneva Aug. 1-12 and organized by the United Nations.

U.S. spokesmen said the American delegation will stay away because the U.N. General Assembly had equated Zionism with racism.

Western nations walked out of the first World Conference, held in Geneva in 1978, when the communist-Third World majority pushed through a resolution against Israel and South Africa.



Shirley Hill Witt  
Ordered Back From Conference

Upon her return from the Geneva Conference, Witt wrote a final letter to Governor Toney Anaya in which "Witt says she had "every legal right to participate."

Witt attended the United Nations Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination as an honorary observer, "I was credentialed as representing a U.N. recognized non-governmental organization and had **every legal and political right to participate.**" (Source: *Witt Explains Controversial Trip, in the Deming Headlight*, September 22, 1983)

Witt also stated, "several other U.S. citizens attended the conference and that they "were stunned and dismayed to learn on the fourth afternoon that the U.S. was not participating in an official capacity"." (Source: *Anaya Won't OK Reimbursement*, Carlsbad Current Argus, September 22, 1983.)

**U.N. conference targets S. Africa**  
 Miami Herald, August 14, 1983  
 GENEVA — (AP) — The United Nations World Conference to Combat Racism ended Saturday with a call for heavier sanctions against South Africa's white-minority government and criticism of Israel's policies in the occupied territories.  
 Most Western delegations, while condemning South Africa's policy of racial separation, abstained or voted against the measures. The United States and Israel boycotted the two-week conference, which was attended by 124 nations, because of a U.N. resolution equating Zionism with racism.  
 The conference voted, 104-0, for proposed measures to combat South Africa's apartheid system, ranging from mandatory economic sanctions by the U.N. Security Council to a complete cut of all sporting, cultural and scientific contacts.  
 The conference also approved a final "declaration" that included, over Western objections, a paragraph condemning Israel for what was described as intensified cooperation with South Africa in the "economic and military fields" and another paragraph expressing concern about Israeli "practices of racial discrimination against inhabitants of the Arab occupied territories."  
 Western delegates had attempted to eliminate all specific references to Israel. They said that Israeli policies could not be compared to apartheid and argued that inclusion of the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East was irrelevant to the South African question.

**Racism panel**  
 GENEVA, Switzerland (AP) — The U.N. World Conference to Combat Racism ended today with a call for heavier sanctions against South Africa's white-minority regime and criticism of Israel's policies in the occupied territories.  
 Most Western delegations, while condemning South Africa's policy of racial separation, abstained or voted against the measures. The United States and Israel boycotted the two-week conference. Index Journal, August 13, 1983

Once again, Canada did not join the U.S. / Israel boycott of the Conference.

Here are paragraphs 19 and 20 of the August 1983 United Nations Conference final draft Declaration, the wording of which Canada and other nations contested:

**19. The Conference condemns any form of co-operation with South Africa notably the existing and increasing relations between Israel and the racist regime of South Africa,** in particular those in the economic and military fields, and deplores and warns against co-operation between them in the nuclear field, it particularly deplores the expansion and intensification of those relations at a time when the international community exerts all its efforts towards the objective of completely isolating the racist regime of South Africa, the Conference views this co-operation as an act of deliberate choice, and a hostile act against the oppressed people of South Africa, as well as a defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations and the efforts of the society of nations to ensure freedom and peace in southern Africa, **the Conference also notes with concern the insidious propaganda by Israel against the United Nations and against Governments which are firmly opposed to apartheid;**

**20. The Conference recalls with deep regret the practices of racial discrimination against the Palestinians** as well as other inhabitants of the Arab occupied territories which impacts on all aspects of their daily existence in such a manner that it prevents the enjoyment of their fundamental rights; **the Conference expresses its deep concern about this situation, and calls for the cessation of all the practices of racial discrimination to which the Palestinians and the other inhabitants of the Arab territories occupied by Israel, are subjected.**

The Canadian delegate made the following written critique to the Conference, siding with Israel:

“As the Canadian delegation pointed out in its statement in plenary meeting on 4 August and in several subsequent interventions, Canada supports the search for new measures to strengthen the fight against racism and racial discrimination in all its forms. **The Canadian Government unequivocally condemns the institutionalized racism which apartheid represents.** Both at the national level and in its foreign policy, the Canadian Government intends to pursue the objectives it has set itself with a view to combating racism, racial discrimination and apartheid.

The Canadian delegation has been unable to associate itself with the Declaration because political matters extraneous to the fundamental concerns of the Conference have been introduced into it. In particular, **paragraphs 19 and 20 refer to specific problems relating to the Middle East.** These paragraphs are unacceptable to Canada and clearly fall outside the terms of reference of the Conference. Certain references to South Africa are likewise drafted in terms that are unacceptable to Canada. These, briefly, are the reasons which have obliged Canada to vote against the draft Declaration even though we are in agreement with most of its contents.”

What if the claim, made 39 years later by Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, that Israel was an apartheid state? Would Canada have condemned Israel at the conference as it indirectly did of South Africa? The preceding paragraphs of the Conference Declaration, of those quoted above, stated the following regarding apartheid, the attributes of what were taking place in Israel:

6. Apartheid as an institutionalized form of racism is a deliberate and totally abhorrent affront to the conscience and dignity of mankind, a crime against humanity and a threat to international peace and security.
7. In South Africa the most extreme form of racism has led to a form of exploitation and degradation which is in clear contradiction to the Charter principle of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction.
8. The creation of bantustans is an inhuman policy designed to dispossess the African people of their land, deprive them of their citizenship and consolidate the political and economic domination of the minority white population of South Africa; this policy has been condemned by the international community, and should continue to be rejected and condemned.
9. United Nations sanctions against the racist South African regime must be implemented strictly and faithfully by all States in order to isolate it further. Assistance and collaboration in the economic, military, nuclear and other fields constitute an impediment to the struggle against apartheid. It is the obligation of all governments to develop appropriate legislation and regulations that would prevent transnational corporations from following these practices which assist and support the racist regime in Pretoria, or which exploit the natural resources and people of South Africa and Namibia.
10. All those who contribute to the maintenance of the system of apartheid are accomplices in the perpetuation of this crime.

Paragraph 10 implied that Israel was aiding and abetting the crime of apartheid. One can imagine how difficult it was for any delegation to suggest that Israel might also fall under the category of an apartheid regime. One delegation came close to saying so. In part, this is what Yassar Arafat of the Palestinian Liberation Organization stated:

Zionism has long attempted to hide its racist face but its practices and actions against the people of Palestine and the neighbouring Arab countries and its organic alliance with the racist entities of South Africa and Namibia have unveiled its basic racism. Furthermore, this basic ideological racism was expressed in the land of Palestine by the expulsion of the Arab people, the massacres of women,



children and the aged, the usurpation of land and property and the adoption of a policy of racial discrimination against those of our people who have remained under the Zionist-Israeli occupation.

## 6.2. The Third U.N. World Conference on Racism, 2001

# Rocky road to racism talks

Toronto Star - August 12, 2001



**NO AGREEMENT:** Negotiators from more than 100 countries participate Friday night in preparatory talks for the upcoming U.N. conference on racism. Participants failed to reach agreement on the language to be used in documents to guide conference discussions.



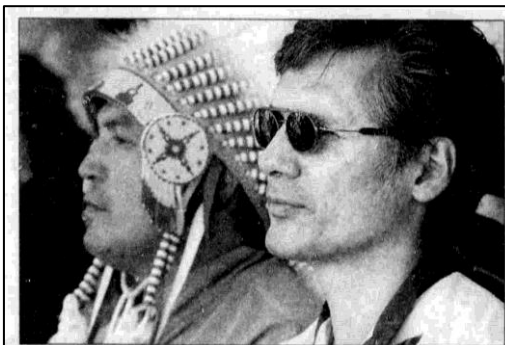
**SPEAKING OUT:** Delegates at preparatory talks, from left: Indonesia's Vincent Mosa Foa; Palestinian representatives Hassan Jabarin and Nabil Ramlawi; U.N.'s Mary Robinson; Muhamad Abou Elhija, representing Israeli Arab villages; and Palestinian Ameer Makhoul.

If Steven Seligman's thesis finding is a valid signpost made about the significance of the 2001 international Conference on Racism – “The 2001 United Nations World Conference against Racism (WCAR) was one of the most controversial United Nations events of the post-Cold War era”<sup>56</sup> – it sheds light on the world's mindset about Israel at that time, and to the significant public relations apparatus that Israel invested on that moment. And, despite the international attention during the Conference, Israel would skilfully manoeuvre through another tense political minefield moment, shielded by the world's attentions following the events of 9/11, days after the end of the Conference, determined and undaunted, in continuing to crush the Palestinians, the pattern for almost 80 years, stemming well before the United Nations gave birth – under organized political pressure from Zionist operatives – to a monster colonial oppressor state in 1948.

<sup>56</sup> Source: *Canada and the 2001 United Nations World Conference Against Racism*, by Steven Seligman, PhD Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 2014.

Ten years before the convening of the Durban, South Africa event of August 14-25, 2001, Israel and the United States had finally disarmed the United Nations' Resolution #3379, Zionism as Racism. It took sixteen long years of endless skirmishing and lobbying to have the 1975 attribution removed from the books. But the shadow of that resolution, as an irksome slogan and Israel's bane, repudiated by Israel's nation partners, would remain firmly anchored in the public's mindset as the 2001 event approached and unfolded. The primary reason for the continuance of this slogan is the fault of Israel itself. It had made an agreement with the Palestinian Liberation Organization, that if the PLO consented to the removal of the wording of Resolution #3379 at a United Nations proceeding, then Israel would consent to peaceful negotiations. Unfortunately, Israel breached its promise as Benjamin Netanyahu's Likud party came into power after 1996, provoking the PLO, a consistent pattern by Israel's Knesset. That is why the slogan Zionism as Racism re-emerged in pre-Conference United Nations regional meetings in early 2001. Even so, the wording of the 1975 slogan was not included in the Conference's final declaration.

But a critical shift occurred three days after the end of the controversial Durban Conference: Nine Eleven (9/11), the bombing of the Twin Towers in New York City. The world's attention, through the mass media, suddenly shifted, dominating and temporarily erasing all other issues. Though the resolutions and motions brought forward at the Durban Conference were not forgotten by advocates pressing to help the Palestinians, the rest of the world's attention was redirected elsewhere.



**STANDING FIRM:** Matthew Coon Come, Grand Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, right, at celebration last week.

**Chief to tell U.N.  
of Canada's racism**  
Toronto Star August 26, 2001

# Racism talks slated for UN boiling over

## U.S. threatening boycott in wake of anti-Israel language controversy

The Gazette - August 28, 2001

**EDITH M. LEDERER**  
Associated Press

UNITED NATIONS - Slavery reparations and the Mideast conflict are the hottest issues for this week's UN racism conference. But there are plenty of other disputes - from affirmative action and sexual orientation to hate speech and the death penalty - on a slow boil just beneath.

The scope and depth of the unresolved issues reflects the sprawling subject: Racism plagues virtually every country and affects almost all aspects of life. Its roots dig into historical injustices, and there are major differences on how it can be tackled.

Over the past decade, the United Nations has held conferences on several tough worldwide issues - human rights, population growth and women's equality, to name a few. The racism conference doesn't start until Friday, but it already ranks among the most contentious because of the angry confrontations it has generated.

When delegates from over 150 countries gather in the South African port city of Durban, they will face a mammoth task - reaching consensus on a lengthy declaration and an even longer program of action to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and intolerance.

More than half the declaration and about 15 per cent of the action plan remain in dispute. Large chunks of the rest of the documents have only been approved by a small negotiating group.

The United States is threatening to boycott the conference - or block consensus if it attends - unless anti-Israel and anti-Zionist language is eliminated from the documents. Israel is also considering staying away. U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell has virtually ruled out participating and it is still unclear whether the United States will be represented at a lower level, an administra-

tion official said Sunday night.

Although Arab and Muslim states, under pressure, abandoned efforts to revive a UN resolution repealed in 1991 that equated racism with Zionism - the movement that led to the founding of the Jewish state - language to that effect still exists in the draft document.

One paragraph being debated would refer to racist movements including "the Zionist movement which is based on racial superiority."

Felice Gaer of the American Jewish Committee called that statement the most offensive. "It revives the anti-Semitic canard of 'the chosen people' at the same time as it undermines the right of Israel to exist by claiming that the founding philosophy itself is racist," she said.

On the issue of slavery, the United States and Europe are at odds with African countries and many advocacy groups, including African-American organizations. The former colonial

**Racism plagues virtually every country and affects almost all aspects of life.**

powers and slave-trading nations fear that apologizing for colonialism and slavery, or acknowledging either was a crime, could lead to huge compensation claims.

Contested language in the current draft declaration calls for an apology as a first step toward reparations, compensation for victims and contributions to a special development fund from states, companies and individuals "who benefited materially from these practices."

Some human-rights activists and minority groups are concerned that other important issues are being kept in the shadows by the attention being given reparations and the Mideast. Among the other sticking points, India wants to rid the agenda of language opposing discrimination based on "work" and "descent" because it doesn't want to discuss the plight of the Dalits, or "untouchables," on the lowest rungs of India's centuries-old caste hierarchy.



# Racism conference off to a rocky start

*Protests, tension mark opening of controversy-plagued gathering*

Associated Press  
DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA

Palestinian President Yasser Arafat, addressing leaders at a world conference against racism yesterday in Durban, South Africa, condemned what he said were Israel's racist practices in dealing with the Palestinians.

His comments came shortly after U.S. civil rights leader Rev. Jesse Jackson said Arafat had agreed to drop condemnation of Israel and Zionism — the movement that founded Israel as a homeland for the Jews — in a declaration being prepared by the conference.

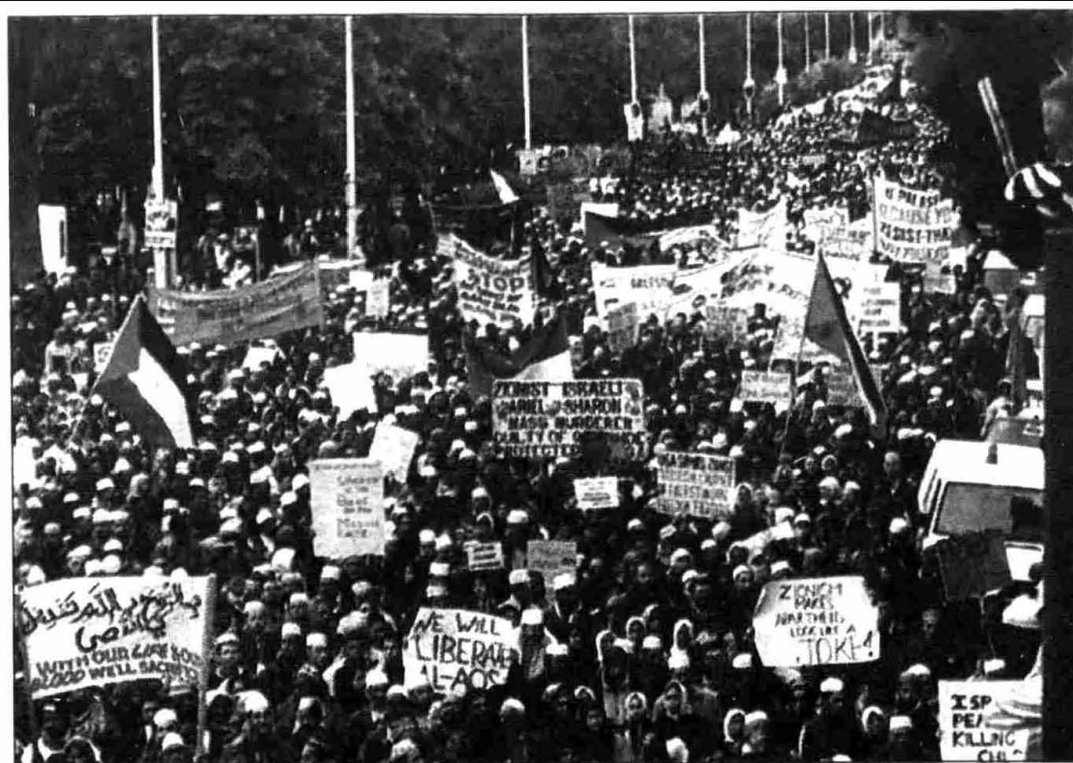
The conflict over the declaration's wording has threatened to derail the World Conference on Racism, which opened yesterday with UN Secretary General Kofi Annan making a plea for delegates to look beyond their individual disputes and develop an international plan to combat prejudice.

After Jackson's announcement of a deal, Palestinian officials accused him of being "overzealous," and Arafat called on delegates to condemn Israel's "colonial racist plot" against the Palestinians.

Arafat called on the conference to stand by the Palestinian people, saying the objective of the Israeli government is "to deprive our people, to force us to our knees in order to continue perpetrating occupation and racial discrimination."



Yunus Kosana watches a protest held to coincide with the World Conference on Racism in Durban, South Africa, yesterday. About 10,000 demonstrators, many protesting the treatment of Palestinians and the slow pace of land redistribution in South Africa, marched in Durban as the conference opened. ASSOCIATED PRESS



Thousands of people participated in an anti-Israel march in Cape Town, South Africa, Tuesday. Marchers waved Palestinians flags and held banners to protest Israel's handling of the mideast violence. The protest comes ahead of a UN conference on racism, due to start in Durban Aug. 31. Associated Press photo: Obed Zilwa





Jews demonstrate Wednesday at a non-governmental organization protest rally against Israel ahead of the international conference against racism in Durban, South Africa. The UN meeting, which runs through Sept. 7, was planned as a gathering for world leaders, academics and private organizations to discuss issues of intolerance and ways to combat them. However, it has already been marked by controversy over efforts to equate Zionism with racism and demands for Western governments to pay reparations for slavery and colonialism. Windsor Star, Aug. 30, 2001 Associated Press photo: Themba Hadebe

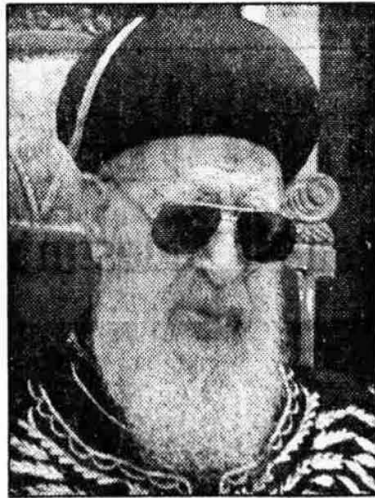
## Israel allows rabbi to spew hatred

The Gazette - August 29, 2001

In response to "Mufti allowed to spew hatred" (Comment, Aug. 25), while it might be true that the Palestinian Authority has not done enough to restrain Palestinian religious extremists, it is absolutely ludicrous to assert that Israel is doing its best to curtail its own religious extremists. I need only mention the name of Rabbi Ovadia Yosef - an Israeli politician and founder and spiritual leader of the Shas party, which is a member of Ariel Sharon's governing coalition, who has openly called for the mass murder of Arabs.

Not only is this man not being "restrained" by the Israeli government, but he is actually an influential member of the Israeli government.

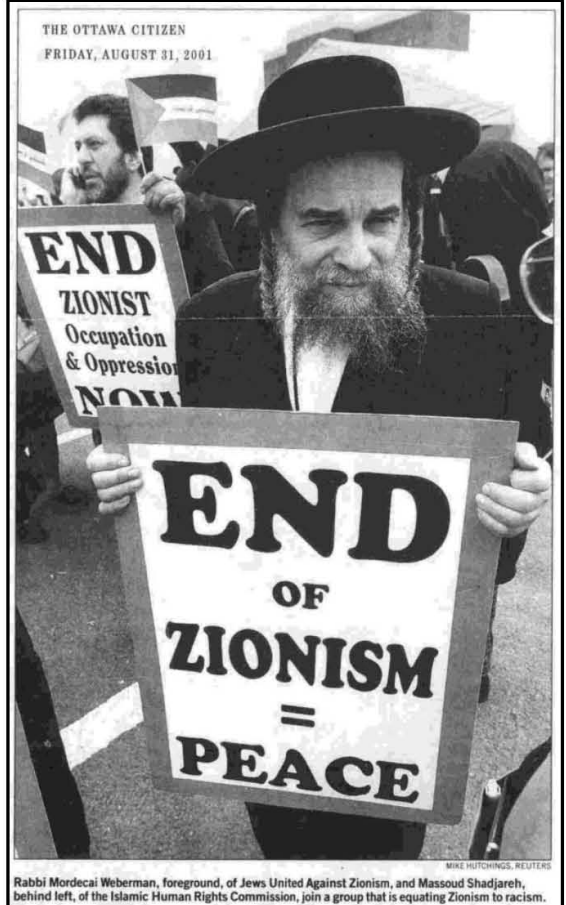
I would like to know how the author of the article, Jeff Jacoby, can claim that Israel is doing its utmost to prevent incitement to hatred and violence, while a man who makes vile, racist, hate-filled statements sits in the Israeli government. I find



Rabbi Ovadia Yosef

it impossible to believe that *The Gazette* was not aware of Mr. Yosef, or his extreme right-wing party, when it made the decision to publish this article.

CHRISTOPHER HAZOU  
Montreal



Rabbi Mordecai Weberman, foreground, of Jews United Against Zionism, and Massoud Shadjareh, behind left, of the Islamic Human Rights Commission, join a group that is equating Zionism to racism. MIKE HUTCHINGS, REUTERS

Windsor Star  
August 22, 2001

## Racism confab a farce

Because of Foreign Affairs Minister John Manley's well-founded concerns, Canada's cabinet representative at this week's controversial UN Conference Against Racism is junior multiculturalism minister Hedy Fry. How appropriate.

Perhaps she'll regale the meeting, which officially begins today in Durban, South Africa, with more tales of non-existent cross-burnings in Canada — the sort of stuff she recently spewed in the Commons, with no consequence to her job.

If she did, Fry could fit right in with some of the hundreds of other delegates Canada has sent to Durban, many on the taxpayers' tab.

But that's not why we think Manley is right to join U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell in boycotting Durban. Nor is it because the conference has set feel-good goals, from reducing Third World debt to eradicating poverty.

It's because it goes too far — notably in singling out Israel's treatment of Palestinians as racist. Not only does this show a deep misunderstanding of the Mideast situation and Israeli policies, it ignores countless other ethnic conflicts around the globe. (U.S. President George W. Bush bluntly called it "picking on Israel.")



# Zionist issue stalls racism conference

## Delegates lobby to heal rifts, salvage UN talks

The Gazette - July 31, 2001  
Associated Press

GENEVA — Under threat of a U.S. boycott, delegates from more than 100 countries began an effort yesterday to salvage the World Conference Against Racism — going quickly into talks after being warned by the top United Nations human-rights official that Arabs must abandon attempts to equate Zionism with racism.

"The United Nations has already dealt with this issue at great length," Mary Robinson, UN high commissioner for human rights, told the opening of a two-week session trying to bridge divisions in the setup for the conference starting Aug. 31 in Durban, South Africa.

She noted that a decade ago the UN General Assembly had repealed its 1975 resolution denouncing Zionism, the movement that led to the re-establishment and support of a Jewish homeland in biblical lands. "I believe that it is inappropriate to reopen this issue in any form here and that anyone who seeks to do so is putting the success of the Durban conference at risk," Robinson said.

Robinson's boss, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, said in Washington that preparations for the conference had "opened up deep fissures on a number of sensitive issues, such as the legacy of slavery and colonialism, and the situation in the Middle East."

Israeli-Palestinian tensions led to the proposal from Arab countries and Iran to insert the anti-Zionism language in the draft of the conference's final document.

The U.S. administration said last Friday it would boycott the conference if the Zionism language remains.

Last week in Geneva, negotiators trying to find a way to enforce the global ban on biological weapons were shocked by a U.S. announcement that it was withdrawing from those talks.

Referring to the coming meeting in Durban, Annan said: "If this conference is to succeed, there is an acute need for common ground. ... The conference must help heal old wounds without reopening them."

Canada has not yet decided whether it would attend. "While we believe that engagement is the correct approach in most instances, we will decide ... on Canadian participation once we have a clear understanding of what the conference outcomes will be," said Mike O'Shaughnessy, a spokesman for the Foreign Affairs Department in Ottawa.

Robinson departed from her prepared speech to say she had great sympathy for the Palestinians.

"I am acutely aware of the suffering of the Palestinian people and dismayed at the continuing toll of deaths and injuries on a daily basis," she said.



# Arab states succeed in placing Israeli 'racism' on UN agenda

National Post - August 11, 2001

## U.S. CONSIDERS BOYCOTT

### Conference aims to foster tolerance worldwide

BY STEVEN EDWARDS

UNITED NATIONS • Arab countries yesterday succeeded in ensuring a major United Nations conference on racism this month will attempt to portray Israel as racist.

At midnight last night, the curtain dropped on a two-week Geneva gathering aimed at setting the agenda for the US\$14-million conference, which is supposed to bring about racial healing worldwide.

Western delegations, among them those of the United States and Canada, failed to convince an Arab-led caucus to abandon a bid to have the conference attack Israel.

Also blocked were efforts to have African countries drop demands for compensation and an apology for colonialism and the slave trade. Attempts to resolve these issues will resume at the World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, slated for Durban, South Africa, from Aug. 31 to Sept. 7.

Discussing them will leave less time for discussion on how to combat racism and bigotry in general, and may lead to a breakdown of the conference if no common ground can be found.

"There is a real polarization of those countries that want to use the conference to discuss the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and those that feel the conference should avoid specific global problems," said Karen Mock, who attended the Geneva gathering as National Director for the League of Human Rights, B'nai Brith Canada, a Jewish advocacy group.

The continued deadlock has disappointed Mary Robinson, the

UN's chief human rights commissioner and organizer of the conference.

Before the division emerged, she promised the conference would deliver "actions, not words" in the fight against racism.

Now she says that stemming the attack on Israel will be a measure of success.

"There is a genuine feeling that this is going to be one of the real breakthroughs in Durban," she said.

The United States said two weeks ago it would boycott the Durban conference if countries failed to back away from branding Zionism as racism. Canada said it may protest by sending a "low-level" delegation to Durban.

Last night, South African officials said backroom talks involving principally the Americans, the Israelis and Arab countries had tempered the anti-Zionist language.

But the words "Zionism" and "racism" were still present in pro-

posed texts for an international declaration on what constitutes racism.

One section speaks of the emergence of violent movements, "in particular the Zionist movement, which is based on racial superiority."

Although African countries are said to have reduced specific demands for compensation, the word "compensatory" remains in texts. African countries are also adamant that an apology is required, and not expressions of "regret" or "remorse," which have been offered.

Texts that emerge from international conferences are important because they set precedents that are used to draft international law.

The United States is expected to say early next week whether it will attend Durban. Canadian intentions are more fluid. "We will first get an assessment of the talks at Geneva from our delegation," said Carl Schwenger, a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Arab countries consistently try to place the Israeli-Palestinian conflict on UN conference agendas. Recent international gatherings on urbanization, the plight of children, women and gun control have all featured references to the Middle East.

National Post

# Arafat in war of words

## Palestinian president, Rev. Jackson at odds over Israel condemnation

Hamilton Spectator - September 1, 2001

Spectator wire services  
DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA

Palestinian President Yasser Arafat condemned what he said were Israel's racist practices in dealing with the Palestinians yesterday during a speech at a world conference against racism.

His comments came shortly after U.S. civil rights leader Rev. Jesse Jackson said Arafat had agreed to drop condemnation of Israel and Zionism — the movement that founded Israel as a homeland for the Jews — in a declaration being prepared by the conference.

The conflict over the declaration's wording has threatened to derail the World Conference on Racism, which opened yesterday with UN Secretary General Kofi Annan making a plea for delegates to look beyond their individual disputes and develop an international plan to combat prejudice.

After Jackson's announce-

ment of a deal, Palestinian officials accused him of being "overzealous," and Arafat called on delegates to condemn Israel's "colonial racist plot" against the Palestinians.

Arafat called on the conference to stand by the Palestinian people, saying the objective of the Israeli government is "to deprive our people, to force us to our knees in order to continue perpetrating occupation and racial discrimination."

Following a three-hour meeting with Arafat, Jackson had said the Palestinian leader had also agreed to recognize the Holocaust as the worst crime of the 20th century.

Palestinian Minister for International Co-operation Nabil Shaath acknowledged writing the document but said it did not commit the Palestinians to not seeking the condemnation of what he called Israeli "racist practices."

"We have taken out any attack on Zionism as such, and

we are not labelling Israel as a Zionist state," Shaath said. "We are only against practices by Israel as an occupation authority that discriminate against the Palestinian people."

"If we leave here without agreement, we should give comfort to the worst elements in society," Annan told delegates from 166 countries and hundreds of human rights organizations. If an agreement is reached, "we shall send a signal of hope to brave people who struggle against racism all over the world."

The conference in the coastal city of Durban has been plagued by controversy over efforts to condemn Israel and demands for reparations for slavery and colonialism.

The U.S., Canada and Israel refused to send high-level delegations because of proposed wording in the conference's draft final document they considered anti-Semitic or anti-Israel.

Foreign Affairs Minister John

Manley, following a similar decision by U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell, announced Wednesday he would not be heading the Canadian delegation.



Annan

"There's no doubt, at this point, that what we have developing on the ground in Durban is an unfortunate situation," Manley said.

Instead, the Canadian delegation is being led by Hedy Fry, a junior minister responsible for multiculturalism and the status of women.

Fry was accompanied by Liberal MPs Irwin Cotler and Jean Augustine, as well as Paul Heinbecker, Canada's ambassador to the UN. A number of non-government participants from Canada are attending as well.

Jackson produced a handwritten eight-page document he said was signed by Shaath and Arafat that said the Palestinian delegation did not want the conference derailed by attempts to criticize Israel. Later, Jackson said Arafat had agreed to the statement but did not sign it.

However, Arafat continued to criticize Israel during a round table of world leaders shortly after Jackson spoke.

"What we can hope for is that this conference will say what is bad, what is just in the face of this bloody tragedy that has befallen the Palestinian people," Arafat said. "It is a colonial racist plot, a plot of aggression, of uprooting, of taking over land as well."

About a dozen heads of state attended the opening ceremony, including Fidel Castro of Cuba, Joseph Kabila of Congo and Paul Kagame of Rwanda, as 10,000 demonstrators, many protesting the treatment of Palestinians by Israel and the slow pace of land redistribution in South Africa, marched nearby.



# Sharon gives Israel a bad name

Toronto Star - August 2, 2001

*I am acutely aware of the suffering of the Palestinian people and dismayed at the continuing toll of deaths and injuries on a daily basis.*

Mary Robinson, U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights.

## HAROON SIDDIQUI



**T**HE MUCH-ADMIRED former president of Ireland was speaking in Geneva on Tuesday, trying to salvage the Aug. 31-Sept. 7 World Conference on Racism, which is in danger of being derailed by Arabs attempting, yet again, to equate Zionism with racism.

She reminded delegates from about 100 nations at a pre-summit preparatory meeting that "the United Nations has already dealt with this issue at length," with the General Assembly in 1991 repealing its 1975 Zionism-is-racism resolution.

She was echoing the United States, which is threatening to boycott the anti-racism conference in Durban if the Arabs don't back down.

All this was expected. What wasn't is what followed. She departed from her text to link the issue to the events in the occupied territories.

She knows whereof she speaks. The issue has resurfaced primarily because of the *intifada*.

It is the impotent Arab world's way of registering its utter dismay and total helplessness at what Ariel Sharon is doing to the Palestinians.

Eleven months into the crisis, 133 Israelis are dead, and 549 Palestinians; the worsening cycle of terrorism and security measures has escalated into a near-war; and Israel is now officially and actively in the assassination business - a.k.a. "active defence" or "targeted killings" - to eliminate suspected militants.

What has been lost in the almost daily reports of missiles being fired and tanks and helicopter gunships deployed is that 3 million Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza have been under a state of economic and military siege for months.

Highways and back roads have been sealed. People are penned in enclaves surrounded by army barricades. Their movements are strictly restricted. A routine trip to a market or a hospital that should take minutes often turns into a nightmare of many hours. Decades-old groves have been ripped out, homes demolished.

Suspects, including children, have been marched off to prisons where they are abused by security forces, according to B'Tselem, the Israeli hu-

man rights group.

Tens of thousands have been deprived of their livelihood. Untold thousands are living on handouts from the World Food Program or the Palestinian Authority which itself is broke, denied revenues by Israel.

Sharon's rationale is that such measures are essential to Israeli security, so long as Yasser Arafat cannot, or does not, control violence.

But the policy has left Israel isolated, with few friends outside of the United States, and widely condemned by governments and human rights groups, including Robinson's.

The commission has expressed "grave concern at the deterioration of the humanitarian situation in the occupied territories;" at the closure of Palestinian territories; at "the large number of persons, including children, detained;" and at "the continued detention of some detainees without any charges." It condemned the use of torture against Palestinians during interrogations.

It condemned Israel's "disproportionate and indiscriminate recourse to force." It called on Israel "to make every effort to ensure that its security forces observed international standards regarding the use of force."

It expressed "grave concern over continuing Israeli settlement activities," including the expropriation of land, the confiscation of property, the expulsion of Palestinians and the construction of bypass roads.

Those inclined to dismiss Robinson's commission and other U.N. agencies as incubators of anti-Israeli bias need to pause. Other well-respected groups, such as the International Red Cross and Amnesty International, have also attacked Israel.

The European Union, too, has condemned Israel's disproportionate use of force against civilians. It called on Israel to end illegal settlements and "extra-judicial killings," stop withholding funds owed to the Palestinian Authority, and to reopen the West bank and the Gaza Strip.

Following Tuesday's missile attack on Hamas headquarters in Nablus, British Foreign Secretary Ben Bradshaw was blunt: "Britain cannot accept the targeted assassination by Israel of Palestinian militants. We and our European Union colleagues have repeatedly made clear that such assassinations are wrong and illegal under international law. Justice cannot be meted out by force."

Even the United States has joined the chorus, albeit in a limited way. It has criticized Israeli use of deadly force and extra-judicial killings.

Susan Sontag, the celebrated American novelist and essayist, while receiving the Jerusalem Prize, said: "The doctrine of collective responsibility, as a rationale for collective punishments, is never justified, militarily or ethically." She criticized Israel's "disproportionate firepower against civilians, the demolition of their homes, the destruction of their orchards and groves, the deprivation of their livelihood and access to employment, schooling, medical services." She called on Israel to stop building settlements and be prepared to demolish them for a peace deal.

Allegra Pacheco, an Israeli lawyer who represents Palestinians, has accused Israel of running "an apartheid-like system of separate rights and privileges for Jews and Palestinians" in the occupied territories.

The point of all this is that not all of Sharon's critics are anti-Israeli, or anti-Jewish, as some zealots say, so as to stifle debate or, worse, because they actually believe it.

A further point is that notwithstanding the many shortcomings of Arafat and the anti-Zionist rhetoric of some Arab states that have themselves done little for the Palestinians, democratic Israel under Sharon has reached a critical point. It no longer is able, except in the United States, to cloud its atrocious record of human rights violations under a steady barrage of anti-Palestinian propaganda.

The last point is that Sharon's misguided mission of starving, beating and killing Palestinians into capitulation will not work any more than any other occupier's delusion of squelching the will of the occupied to be free.

The only route to peace and security that Israel wants and deserves lies through the negotiations begun by the late Yitzhak Rabin.

Haroon Siddiqui is *The Star's* editorial page editor emeritus. His e-mail address is [hsiddiq@thestar.ca](mailto:hsiddiq@thestar.ca)

## Part 7. Cotler's Battle against U.N. 'Zionism as Racism' Slogan

Canada's Irwin Cotler, a then Member of Parliament (MP), resurrected the issue of Zionism as Racism in his full-page September 12, 2006, National Post opinion article, *The disgrace of Durban – five years later*. In it, he linked recent occurrences in 2006 of anti-Semitism to what he explained were root causes emanating from the 2001 Durban (South Africa) Conference and the Zionism as Racism slogan. The lengthy opinion article included the often published, large Mike-Hutchings-of-Reuters photo from the 2001 Durban conference showing demonstration placards, "Zionism is Racism," amidst other placards, "War Crimes," "Genocide," "Ethnic Cleansing," "Apartheid," "Land for the Landless."

Cotler's opinion article was based on a paper he presented four years prior in Jerusalem City at the Institute for Contemporary Affairs on July 1, 2002. That presentation manifested into a revised paper published for the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs' Jerusalem Issue Brief (Volume 2, No. 5) dated August 20, 2002, called "*Durban's Troubling Legacy One Year Later: Twisting the Cause of International Human Rights Against the Jewish People*." Cotler mined ideas from his 2002 paper and simply added a few extra spices.

Cotler had served as Canada's Minister of Justice and Attorney General (Dec. 12, 2003, to Dec. 2005), his prominent Cabinet position abruptly ending after his Liberal Party's defeat at the polls in January 2006, following, in part, 'sponsorship scandal' and 'corruption charges' in 2005 of the Paul Martin Liberal administration. After his departure from government – in what could be understood as his coming out of the closet after his Cabinet post, and his lengthy public service since 1999 as Member of Parliament, namely his public pivot moment in the defence of Israel – Cotler wrote the following in his opinion article:

It was said in the immediate aftermath of 9/11 that "the whole world changed." I don't know if the world is any different. But it is clear that 9/11 had a transformative impact on our politics and collective psyche. But if 9/11 was a transformative event, the same description must apply to another event that ended on the eve of 9/11. I am referring to "The World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance" in Durban, South Africa, which was the "**tipping point**" for the emergence of a new wave of anti-Semitism masquerading as anti-racism.

As one of my colleagues put it at the time, **if 9/11 was the *Kristallnacht* of terror, Durban was the *Mein Kampf***. Those of us who personally witnessed the Durban festival of hate – with its hateful declarations, incantations, pamphlets and marches – have forever been transformed. For us, **Durban is part of our everyday lexicon as a byword for racism and anti-Semitism, just as 9/11 is a byword for terrorist mass murder**.

But what happened at Durban was truly Orwellian: A conference purportedly organized to fight racism was turned into a festival of racism against Israel and the Jewish people. **A conference intended to commemorate the dismantling of South Africa as an apartheid state resonated with spurious calls for the dismantling of Israel's alleged apartheid state**. A conference dedicated to the promotion of human rights as the new secular religion of our time increasingly singled out Israel as a sort of modern-day geopolitical Anti-Christ.

... Zionism was characterized not only as "racism," but as a violent expression of racist supremacy. In the ultimate Orwellian inversion, Zionism was held out to be a form of anti-Semitism itself.

Cotler never penned the words "**spurious**" and "**alleged**" in his 2002 paper. He wrote in 2002: "A conference to commemorate the dismantling of South Africa as an apartheid state **called for the**



**dismantling of Israel as an apartheid state.”** In re-examination of this sentence, Cotler realized that he had made a monumental, accidental error. He had stated the truth, which now required obfuscation.

As a long-recognized \* international human rights lawyer and advocate, as someone familiar with Canadian provincial, federal and international constitutional law and principles, familiar with United Nations legal history and frameworks, and as someone who purportedly helped to liberate South Africa from apartheid, why would the recognition of Israel as an apartheid state be a big problem for advocate Cotler? Why did Cotler believe the “calls” that Israel was an apartheid state were, as he wrote, “spurious?” How could Cotler reconcile the similarities and or differences between South Africa as an apartheid state and that of Israel? His answer on that obvious question is vague, slippery and aversive. Avoiding the wealth of repository documents held at the United Nations and elsewhere about the state of Israel, and discounting nor referencing the Palestinians and their well-documented plights, Cotler stated the following:

**None of this is intended to suggest that Israel is somehow above the law, or that Israel is not accountable to the international community like any other state.** On the contrary, neither Israel nor the Jewish people are entitled to any privilege or preference because of the horror of the Holocaust or the threat of anti-Semitism. ... If Israel must respect human rights, **the rights of Israel deserve equal respect, including the right to live in peace and security.** [Cotler originally stated in his 2002 paper: “Human rights must be respected, but the rights of Israel deserve equal respect.”]

Cotler officially began battling UN Resolution #3379 ‘Zionism as Racism’ slogan thirty years previous in January 1976 when he was chairman of something called the **Ad Hoc Committee for Human Rights**. That ‘protest’ Ad Hoc Committee, with a long list of signatories, had been formed a year previous, as late as January 1975, being a block response to resolutions passed by UNESCO in November 1974, discussed below.

Cotler’s Ad Hoc Committee ran full-page ads in newspapers (section 7.6, below), including a January 26, 1976, ad in the Ottawa Journal, “*November 10, 1975: The day the U.N. voted against itself:*”

“The United Nations Resolution of 10 November 1975 equating Zionism with racism, is not only a dreadful untruth but it also endangers the future effectiveness of the United Nations. The Arab bloc sponsored resolution is an attempt to legitimize anti-Semitism everywhere and continued aggression against Israel. **Zionism is the expression of the Jewish people’s right to and desire for national life and self-determination – for survival itself.** The General Assembly, by this action, has symbolically voted to dismantle the Jewish State, and in contravention to the United Nations Charter, has given aid and comfort to those who seek the destruction of a member state of the United Nations.”

The ad included the support signatures of 126 individuals: 60 Members of Parliament (including NDP Tommy Douglas), 11 Senators, 21 representatives from Canadian universities and colleges, and so on. The final wording of the full-page ad most likely would have required the approval from Cotler. According to the online Encyclopedia.com biography of Cotler, he is said to be a Zionist. What leaning, or flavour of Zionism he believed in, or still believes, is not stated.

According to many statements and writings of Elmer Berger, the former American Rabbi, Zionists were and remain the problem. Berger, a rabbinic, Reform Judaic Jew, an avowed anti-Zionist, and president of the American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism, Inc., also ran full-page advertisements in both the United States and Canada about U.N. Resolution 3379 (i.e., in the Washington Post and in the Montreal Gazette). Those

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\* In Cotler’s 2002 paper in the Jerusalem Issue Brief, the word “renowned” is used to describe the author: “a renowned international human rights lawyer.”

ads ran almost **six weeks** before Cotler's ads, meaning that Cotler ignored Berger's statements and chose to focus on attacking the U.N. and the Arab League instead. Berger's ad in the December 13, 1975, edition of the Montreal Gazette was a complete reprint of his November 14, 1975, signed letter sent to the League of Arab States to the United Nations. In Berger's response letter to the United Nations Resolution #3379, he describes the definition of Zionism as it relates to the State of Israel, the "Zionist state," **definitions and positions which run contrary to Cotler's full-page ad statement.**

Berger was among the best of his contemporaries at calling out Zionist Israel and was able to cut to the chase in framing his arguments, confirming the wording in the U.N. Resolution, but from a carefully defined angle.

"I am unsure of what "racism" may mean to all those who participated in the debate or have been witness to it or some of the side-shows. But if "racism" is a form of government or a structure of society in which national rights and responsibilities are officially legislated upon the basis of creed, color or ethnic derivation, then the Zionist character of much "Basic" Israeli law qualifies.

Israel is a state, therefore in which if apartheid is not as blatant or as territorially visible as South Africa, "Jews" are nevertheless "more equal than others." The central, political / legal proposition of this Zionism is that "the Jewish people" – all Jews because they

Advertisement

## A LETTER FROM AN AMERICAN RABBI TO AN ARAB AMBASSADOR

Advertisement

Excellency,

November 14, 1975

As an American Jew — and a long-time anti-Zionist — I welcome your invitation to attempt to clarify the meaning of Zionism in the context of the recent United Nations debate. It is, in my opinion, unfortunate that the problem was not addressed more precisely in the course of the debate.

**MESSIANIC ZIONISM:** It should be made clear, first of all, that there are a number of varieties of Zionism. Many denominations of both Judaism and Christianity hold it as a tenet of the messianism of their faith that as some part of the millennial dream "Zion" will be restored through "justice" and "those who return to her in righteousness."

The salient point of all these varieties of Zionism is that God — not the Israeli government, nor the Zionist movement, nor any Arab government, nor the United States, nor even the United Nations — could make the determination of when "the children of Israel" had so redeemed themselves as to merit this Divine reward. These are all matters of personal conscience and of different understandings of both the obligations and rewards of the moral covenant between "the children of Israel" and God.

Nothing in the United Nations debate suggests that any participant presumed to enter into these religious/theological imponderables.

**NATIONAL ZIONISM:** But there is another kind of Zionism. Its political/legal/territorial/military policies have been — for more than half a century — subject for debate in international political forums and within many of the governments of the world. It has "covenanted" not with God, but with governments of all kinds of secular states and it has played the "game of nations" much the same as many other national movements or governments.

The central, political/legal proposition of this Zionism is that "the Jewish people" — all Jews because they are Jews — are recognized in international law to be a national entity. This alleged national entity, according to this Zionism, possesses a system of nationality rights in and "obligations" to the State of Israel, often described in official Zionist instruments as "the Jewish State" but which, more precisely, should be identified as the "Zionist state."

It is this Zionism to which — however imprecisely — the United Nations debate (or at least mass media reports of the debate) addressed itself. And since the determining criterion of membership in "the Jewish people" nationality is either active profession of Judaism or birth by a Jewish mother, the discriminatory, exclusivist character of Zionism is obvious, by definition.

**UNITED STATES POSITION:** In fact, despite the strenuous argumentation to the contrary by United States representatives to this General Assembly, the United States Government itself is officially and authoritatively on record as rejecting the fundamental Zionist proposition that "the Jewish people" is a valid entity in international law. The rejection is codified in Digest of International Law, edited by Marjorie M. Whiteman, Assistant Legal Adviser to the Department of State, Volume 8, September, 1967, U.S. Government Printing Office, pp 34-35. It is contained in a letter, dated April 20, 1964, from the then-Assistant Secretary of State, Phillips Talbot and addressed to me.

The letter states, *inter alia*, that the Department of State "does not recognize a legal-political relationship based upon religious identification of American citizens. It does not in any way discriminate among American citizens upon the basis of religion. Accordingly, it should be clear that the Department of State does not regard the "Jewish people" concept as a concept of international law."

The broad context in which this fundamental, legal principle was handed down and inscribed in this official United States codification of international law is the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. But the more precise context, clear on the face of Mr. Talbot's letter, is exactly the discrimination and exclusivism of Zionism's "Jewish people" nationality claims, based upon either religious belief or racist descent from a Jewish mother. And since Zionism is an international movement and since much Israeli Zionist legislation has had — and has — international legal and political implications it is regrettable that neither the United States delega-

tion to the General Assembly nor the President of the United States took the initiative to look at their own official "Bible" of international law. For the principle which Mr. Talbot was constitutionally required to apply to Zionism in rejecting its "Jewish people" nationality claims is certainly applicable to the impact which Zionist "Jewish people" legislation, enacted by the Israeli Knesset, has had on Palestine's non-"Jewish people" nationals and the Palestine problem as a whole.

**ZIONIST/ISRAEL'S "CENTRAL TASK":** There is, first of all, the commitment of high principle in the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel — a kind of Declaration of Independence proclaiming the emergence of the state in 1948. That solemn document declares that the state "will be open for Jewish immigration and for the ingathering of Exiles." (Emphasis added)

This Declaration of high purpose was implemented in three specific legislative acts of the Knesset. "The Law of Return" is Israel's basic immigration law. Every Jew, regardless of present citizenship, has the right to immigrate to Israel. The state is prohibited, except in individual and exceptional circumstances, from preventing Jewish immigration. The "Law of Nationality" grants citizenship automatically (unless it is rejected) to any Jew immigrating under the "Law of Return." Neither the right to immigrate nor the automatic acquisition of citizenship is the prerogative of any but Jews.

Perhaps even more prejudicial, however, to non-"Jewish people" Palestinians — and even to non-"Jewish people" citizens of the Zionist state — is the "central" commitment of the state to "The Ingathering of the Exiles." In 1952 the Knesset enacted "The World Zionist Organization/Jewish Agency Status Law." The "Status" law grants the Zionist organization a special status in Israel for "immigration," "absorption," and "settlement" projects.

Paragraph 5, consistent with the Declaration of Establishment, states "the mission of gathering in the exiles is the central task of the State of Israel and the Zionist Movement in our days and requires constant efforts by the Jewish people in the Diaspora..." (ALL emphases added) "Exiles" and "Diaspora" are Zionist terms describing Jews who live outside the State of Israel. In 1954 this Knesset legislation was made operative when the Executive of the World Zionist Organization and the Israeli government signed a "Covenant" embodying the substance of the 1952 law. The Covenant provides for the establishment of a "Coordination Board." This body, composed of members of the Zionist organization and the government, allocates what would be functions of a normal state between the various departments of the Zionist movement and the counterpart departments of the government. The division of responsibilities is consistent with the conception of Israel as a Zionist state, or as the highest courts of the state described it in the *Judgment* handed down in the trial of Adolph Eichmann, "the sovereign state of the Jewish people."

**"MORE EQUAL THAN OTHERS:"** It is clear, therefore, that the process of building a state for "the Jewish people" — identified either by religion or maternal descent — continues within this "democracy." Since "Ingathering the Exiles" — recruiting Jews for immigration — is defined by law as the "central task" of the state it is not surprising that privileging Jews govern most Israeli policy. This affects the structuring of the economy, educational opportunities, rights of political organization, public subsidies for activities such as agriculture, provisions of public services such as roads, utilities and housing, among others. Old Zionist prohibitions against non-"Jewish people" Palestinians, long ante-dating the present configurations of the Arab/Israeli conflict, still obtain. For example, only Jews may be employed on Jewish National Fund lands. The lands belong in perpetuity to "the Jewish people" and the Jewish National Fund is a major instrument for present Israeli occupation policies.

Israel is a state, therefore, in which if apartheid is not as blatant or as territorially visible as South Africa, "Jews" are nevertheless "more equal than others."

**BEYOND SEMANTICS:** All of this is public law. The application of these Zionist laws makes discrimination a matter of national politics and of demographic fact. This being so, it is an abandonment of democratic principle to accuse those who oppose these public policies of malevolent or "obscene" motivations. To Americans, the effort to do so is reminiscent of the effort to label opponents of the Vietnam war as "traitors."

I am unsure of what "racism" may mean to all those who participated in the debate or have been witness to it or some of the side-shows. But if "racism" is a form of government or a structure of society in which national rights and responsibilities are officially legislated upon the basis of creed, color or ethnic derivation, then the Zionist character of much "Basic" Israeli law qualifies.

**ANTI-ZIONISM UNINTIMIDATED:** Because the facts — and the relevant law — speak for themselves, many of us have long been anti-Zionists. Articulating our anti-Zionism as opposition to these Zionist practices, we believe we are articulating our deepest commitment to humanistic, liberal, democratic values. The inequities which Zionism has inflicted on Palestine and Palestinians and the violence Zionism does to the moral and ethical values of Judaism (and Christianity) continue. We anti-Zionists will therefore, continue our opposition to Zionism. We are neither confused by the orchestrated hysteria nor stamped. We will hope that now — since Zionism has been validly called to the attention of a world which has, for too long, accepted it with uninformed innocence — the authentic character of its national/political substance will become clear. In the process of civil and disciplined discussion, no legitimate religious sensibilities will be bruised and the State of Israel need not be "destroyed." In fact, there are increasing numbers of Israelis who advocate either de-Zionizing the state or, at least, containing its Zionist character to the pre-1967 "borders" and agreeing to the establishment of a Palestinian state precisely for those non-"Jewish people" Palestinian nationals, who, because of Zionism's discriminatory and exclusivist policies, cannot now find satisfaction for their legitimate rights in the Zionist state.

I hope that as the debate continues you and your associates will help the American people — and others — first to see and examine and then to make responsible value judgments of Zionism as it operated in Palestine. If you will do this it is my conviction you will perform an appreciated and needed service which will contribute eventually to a just and enduring peace in the Middle East.

Very sincerely yours  
Elmer Berger  
President

A group of concerned Arab Canadian Citizens, P.O. Box 86, Ahuntsic, Montreal, Quebec.  
Ambassador AMIN HILMY II

are Jews – are recognized in international law to be a national entity. This alleged national entity, according to *this* Zionism, possesses a system of nationality rights in and “obligations” to the State of Israel, often described in official Zionist instruments as “the Jewish State” but which, more precisely, should be identified as the “Zionist state.”

It is *this* Zionism to which – however imprecisely – the United Nations debate (or at least mass media reports of the debate) addressed itself. And since the determining criterion of membership in “the Jewish people” nationality is either active profession of Judaism or birth by a Jewish mother, the discriminatory, exclusivist character of Zionism is obvious, by definition.

## Arabs Denied 'Equal Rights'

Sidney Daily News Mar. 2, 1972

**COLUMBUS (UPI) —** The leading Jewish anti-Zionist rabbi in the United States says Arabs in Israel, in refugee camps and in occupied territory have fewer rights than Jews.

“Anybody who lives in a Zionist state and is not a Jew has less than equal rights,” Rabbi Elmer Berger told a student group at Ohio State University Thursday.

“This is true of the Arab minority which lived in Israel pre-June, 1967, and it is certainly true of the million and a half or two million Palestinian Arabs who now are either in occupied territory or who are in camps as exiles for refugees in Arab states,” he said.

The head of the American Jewish Alternatives of Zionism said “the concept of Zionism is the core of the Middle East problem.”

“By definition, Zionism is an exclusivist, discriminatory, almost apartheid kind of nationality concept,” he said.

### ANTI-ZIONISM UNINTIMIDATED:

Because the facts – and the relevant law – speak for themselves, many of us have long been anti-Zionists. Articulating our anti-Zionism as opposition to these Zionist practices, we believe we are articulating our deepest commitment to humanistic, liberal, democratic values. The inequities which Zionism has inflicted on Palestine and Palestinians and the violence Zionism does to the moral and ethical values of Judaism (and Christianity) continue. We anti-Zionists will therefore continue our opposition to Zionism. ... In the process of civil and disciplined discussion, no legitimate religious sensibilities will be bruised, and the State of Israel need not be “destroyed.” In fact, there are increasing numbers of Israelis who either advocate either de-Zionizing the state or, at least, containing its Zionist character to the pre-1967 “borders” and agreeing to the establishment of a Palestinian state precisely for those non- “Jewish people” Palestinian nationals, who, because of Zionism’s discriminatory and exclusivist policies, cannot now find satisfaction for their legitimate rights in the Zionist state.”

### Rabbi Berger's Zionism Letter

Daily Standard, Dec. 9, 1975

By Robert M. Bartell

WASHINGTON, D.C. (Liberty Lobby News Service)—An American rabbi, Elmer Berger, wrote the Arab Ambassador to the UN recently. As president of Jewish Alternatives to Zionism, Inc., he reprinted his letter as a full page ad in the Washington *Post* and other papers. Because the UN is now being excoriated in the press on its vote that Zionism is racist, the ad did much to explain the difference between Zionism and Judaism.

Recently a Jew named Alvin Levine wrote an article for the Jewish periodical *Jewish Week-American Examiner*. Referring to the causes of anti-Semitism in America, Levine said, in part, “The main cause of anti-Semitism in the U.S. is not the Ku Klux Klan or Liberty Lobby or the Minute Men. The main cause is our Jewish leaders and many Jewish people, who are becoming more and more short-sighted, dogmatic, inflexible and arrogant.”



# Rabbi: True Democracy In Palestine Needed

An end to 50 years of Arab-Israeli conflict is possible and the U.S. can play a major role in bringing a Mideast peace.

The solution: Establish true democracy in Palestine, instead of a "Jewish Democracy."

The concept of a Democratic Zionist state is imaginary; a propaganda ploy which has been supported by everyone from President to television "pundit," Dr. Berger said. "A Zionist state is not anything democratic. It may be a democracy for Jews, but not for those (Arabs) who have established a legal right to be there.

"This is the nub of the problem. Until the fate of Palestine is resolved, there will continue to be warfare."

Dr. Berger claimed the Israeli occupation of Palestine constitutes a "racist, theocratic state" which excludes the "native, indigenous Christians, Moslems and Arabs.

The U.S. can help bring a settlement, which Dr. Berger reiterated is withdrawal of Israel from the territory it occupied in 1967, by recognizing Arab rights in Palestine, instead of "treating them like some kind of subhuman race."

Bradenton Herald

March 29, 1970

Israel had already been called out publicly as "a racist nation" in American media as late as January 1971. There was nothing new about this claim. Though controversial when compared to the incessant opposite messaging in the mass media from the influence of the Israeli lobby, it would not be tolerated when the United Nations pronounced it in November 1975. What is important is that the allegation, and the understanding behind it, originated not from the communists, not from 'ideologically' driven, 'revengeful' Arabs, but from progressive anti-Zionist Jews, as announced by Rabbi Elmer Berger, who often related his understanding to Palestinians and Arab peoples in many public presentations and lectures in America, Canada, and abroad. When the Arab peoples were blamed for saying so, they had gotten their cues, the language and training directly from Rabbi Berger and one or two others. The lobby was aware of this.

Fri., Jan. 29, 1971

THE MIAMI HERALD

## British MP Denounces Israel as a Racist Nation

By MORTON KONDRACKE  
Miami Herald-Chicago Sun Times Wire

WASHINGTON — A member of the British Parliament denounced Israel as a racist nation at the most prestigiously sponsored rally ever held in the United States backing the Palestinian Arab cause in the Middle East.

Fifty influential Americans, including several high-ranking churchmen and two U.S. senators, sponsored the rally, officially called "a plea for justice for people of the Holy Land."

The event was labeled as "an extension of Arab propaganda" by an official of the Israeli embassy who said the rally was sponsored by a "conglomeration of all sorts of Arab bodies."

The rally was held at the Washington National Cathedral and the Very Rev. Francis B. Sayre, dean of the cathedral, was one of the sponsors.

Aides to both senators said they were unaware of the anti-Israeli speech of Christopher Mayhew, a Labor member of Parliament, who was one of three main speakers at the rally.

Mayhew said, "Israeli racialism . . . prompted the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of non-Jews from Palestine — and act of racist oppression unmatched either in Russia or South Africa."

Mayhew added that Soviet treatment of Jews in Russia "is indefensible, but it is less openly racist and causes less suffering than the treatment of the Palestinian Arabs by the Israelis."

He said that Zionism "is essentially a racist doctrine" based on the "myth . . . that Jews are ethnically related to each other and to the Jewish community which was dispersed from Palestine 2,000 years ago."

Mayhew's charge of Israel's racism was endorsed by one of the principal organizers of the rally, Dr. John H. Davis, former commissioner general of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency.

Davis is now chairman of American Near East Refugee Aid, a private welfare agency whose staff performed much of the organizational work for the rally.

Davis said that the rally did not represent an attempt to fashion the sponsors into a "Palestine lobby," but to focus American public opinion on the plight of Palestinian refugees.

ANOTHER organizer, Dr. Frank Maria, charged that American public opinion on the Middle East is now dominated by a "highly organized, heavily influential and well-financed group" of pro-Zionists.

AMONG THE sponsors of the rally — which was attended by some 1,000 persons — were the Rev. Edward L. R. Elson, minister of the National Presbyterian Church in Washington, and chaplain of the U.S. Senate; Edwin D. Canham, editor of the Christian Science Monitor; Dr. Andrew Cordier, former president of Columbia University.

Also, Eugene R. Black, former president of the World Bank; Archbishop Iakovos of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America; heart specialist Paul Dudley White, Rabbi Elmer Berger, president of American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism Inc., and Dr. Cynthia Wedel, president of the National Council of Churches.



Rev. Francis B. Sayre  
... at his cathedral



Christopher Mayhew  
... 'oppression'



# MEMOIRS OF AN ANTI-ZIONIST



## JEW

BY  
ELMER BERGER



Rabbi Elmer Berger

THE INSTITUTE FOR PALESTINE STUDIES  
1978

## USF student club gets mail threat

By ED PRICKETT  
Times Staff Writer

Tampa Times  
November 26, 1974

A USF student organization, Americans for Justice in the Middle East, received a threatening letter through the university's mail system, a spokesman said today.

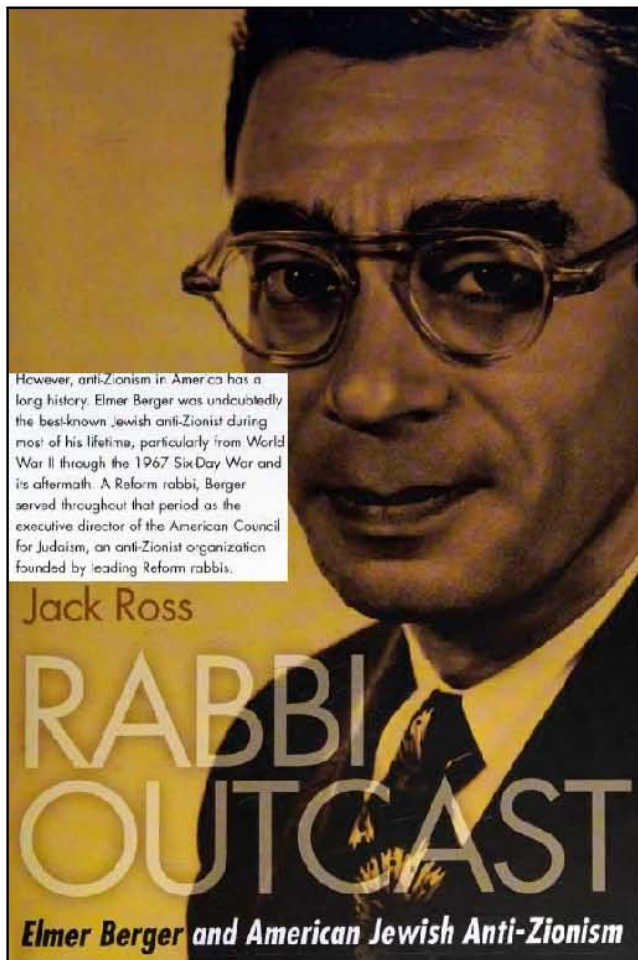
The USF organization has invited anti-Zionist spokesman Rabbi Elmer Berger to address the student body Monday at 2 p.m.

A spokesman who asked not to be identified said campus police have been alerted and will provide extra security for Berger's speech. The alert went out after news filtered in that demonstrations will be held, spokesmen say.

"I am one in a very close knit group of Israeli soldiers on this campus. If you attempt to organize an anti-Israel movement on this campus, we will have to resort to means other than discussion," the letter says.

One of the founders of the Americans for Justice in the Middle East received the letter about a week ago.

He immediately notified student organizations and campus security.



However, anti-Zionism in America has a long history. Elmer Berger was undoubtedly the best-known Jewish anti-Zionist during most of his lifetime, particularly from World War II through the 1967 Six Day War and its aftermath. A Reform rabbi, Berger served throughout that period as the executive director of the American Council for Judaism, an anti-Zionist organization founded by leading Reform rabbis.

Jack Ross

# RABBI OUTCAST

Elmer Berger and American Jewish Anti-Zionism

## Zionism Denounced By Rabbi

Berkeley Daily Gazette  
March 24, 1970

The New York rabbi, a vocal critic of the Zionist sector of world Jewry, variously referred to the movement founded in 1897 by Viennese journalist Theodore Herzl as "anti-democratic," "exclusivist" and "anti-Semitism in reverse" and compared modern Israel with South Africa and Rhodesia, both of which practice white supremacy.

HE FOUND it ironic that "the western democracies have aided and abetted" Israel, whose basis, he argued, is Zionism.

He argued that "the original sin" of Israel was the expulsion of Palestinian Arabs from their homeland and added his belief that the "monstrous escalation" of the Middle East crisis cannot be resolved until the "de-Zionization" of Israel occurs.

SAN FRANCISCO — A Jewish rabbi denounced Zionism and its "handmaiden" relationship with Israel over the weekend here, and claimed the United States is being "misled" by Zionist propaganda.

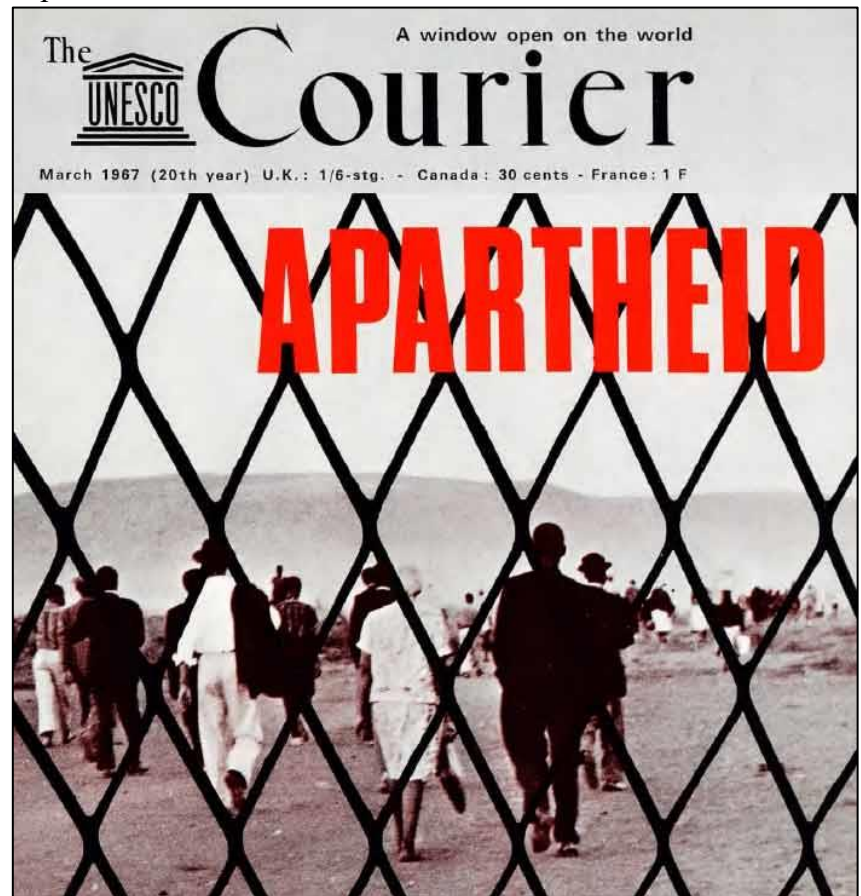
Rabbi Dr. Elmer Berger, New York, founder and president of American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism, also charged that such groups as the United Jewish Appeal, which raises funds for Israel, is "legally linked" to Zionism and that through such organizations U.S. Jews are being led into "subsidizing the Israeli occupation of Arab lands" to the tune of \$500 million a year.



## 7.1. Shaping the Narrative: American Professors for Peace in the Middle East Inc.

As a McGill University law professor, Cotler's early roots and associations with the Israeli / Zionist lobby organizations in the United States and Canada were, in measure, tied to the American organization, **American Professors for Peace in the Middle East (APPME)**. That umbrella organization, and its rapid and almost instantaneous growth with APPME chapters popping up within American universities and colleges, was born "**ten days before**" Israel's Six-Day War.<sup>57</sup> The U.S. Journal and Courier news wrote on March 24, 1969, "The national group was formed in June 1967, when the Arabs and Israelis went to war for the third time in 20 years." By July 1967, they reportedly had 7,000 members. One newspaper account said the group formation was a "spontaneous response to the Middle East crisis."

The Israel lobby's idea for the name, the APPME, was sparked from American institution academics strongly criticizing the Vietnam war. At the time, American and Canadian Jewish Zionist networks, operating with an almost unparalleled enthusiasm devoted to monitoring and cataloguing the mass media, assessed the information and prepared political counter strategies. And it wasn't just about framing a name: the lobby perceived a looming threat from the international academic quarter, including 'left leaning' Jewish professors, intellectual criticisms that could suddenly shift against the Zionist state, as they shifted against the U.S. administration. For instance, the 36-page UNESCO Courier magazine published in March 1967, with the theme of Apartheid. The magazine, sent across the world in multiple translations, focussed on South Africa's human rights violations. In the aftermath of the June 1967 Six-Day-War, Israel fought to contain the U.N.'s label of apartheid being thrust upon its doorstep. Stated in the preface of the Courier publication:



The General Assembly of the United Nations has proclaimed March 21 [1967] "International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination." In the same resolution proclaiming this International Day, which coincides with the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre in South Africa, the Assembly again called on States practicing racial discrimination or apartheid to comply with the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

At the beginning of this year, on January 18, an important UNESCO report on the effects of apartheid on education, science, culture and information in South Africa was made public by the United Nations in New York. This report will be published in its final form in English and French in some months time.

<sup>57</sup> In St. Louis Jewish Light news, January 1, 1969.

The present issue includes passages from this document together with a series of statements on the effects of apartheid on South Africa's cultural life. These articles have been specially written for the UNESCO Courier by the distinguished South African writers Alan Paton, Lewis Nkosi, Dennis Brutus, Ronald Segal and Breyten Breytenbach.

In January 1966, twenty-seven college and university professors from Indiana published an open letter to President Johnson urging peace negotiations for the Vietnam war. In the summer of 1966, members of the West Coast Professors Council on Peace criticized the Johnson administration and gained media attention. Some professors announced they were running for Congress. Hawkish William F. Buckley Jr.'s September 6, 1966, article, *"Inexpert Professors for Peace,"*

criticized "intellectual resistance," the "apparent alienation of the intellectual class by President Johnson," Johnson's "apparent failure to win over the support of professional students of international relations," casting doubt on the ability and integrity of the "Greater Boston Faculty Committee on Viet Nam." Buckley referred to a full-page ad printed in the New York Times on June 5, 1966, signed by **"6,000 members of the academic community" and "members of the professional community,"** the danger of academics affecting foreign policy. In early May 1967, Teachers for Peace, Nurses for Peace, and Professors for Peace were marching in the streets, amongst a rally of 100,000 on their way to the United Nations building. In late May 1967, a syndicated columnist, Marquis Childs, mocked attendees at a Geneva conference organized by the Centre for the Study of Democratic Institutions: "The participants from 80 or more nations are the do-gooders, theologian intellectuals, professors, yearners after peace in a misty idealism."<sup>58</sup> Childs also referred to concerns about "the threat of armed conflict in the Middle East," a threat that "may keep both Israeli and Arab representatives away from the convocation."

Alongside Cornell University Jewish professor Michael Curtis, was **Allen Pollack**, the European and Middle East political scholar and APPME media commentator point man, the young Pittsburgh University associate professor of History, who helped found the APPME and became its president and executive committee chairman. Pollack was a previous director of the Habonim Labor Zionist Youth, member of the International Affairs Committee of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, on the Executive Committee of the Poale-Zion labor Zionist Organization and chairman of its Community Affairs Committee.<sup>59</sup> Later, he was on the executive committee of the World Zionist Organization. Four months before APPME's formation, Pollack spoke about the Middle East at a luncheon of the B'nai Israel Sisterhood in Pittsburgh on February 21, 1967.

## Rabbi Tells Arab Parley Israel 'Apartheid' State

Rabbi Elmer Berger opened an Arab students' Palestine Week at Purdue University with an attack on what he called a "postponed democratic system in Israel."

"Israel is anything but a democracy — a state which practices apartheid," the anti-Zionist rabbi said in a keynote speech in Loeb Playhouse. "There is an affinity between Israel and unprogressive, racist states."

Berger charged that Israel's 350,000 Arabs are given second-class education and wages and restricted civil rights.

He said Israeli leaders have refused to repatriate Palestinian refugees through unwillingness to countenance a bi-racial state.

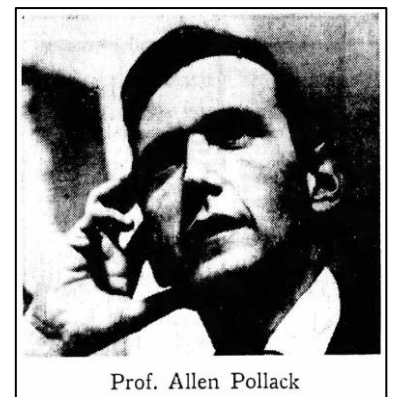
"This permanent Jewish majority is the crux of the Middle East problem today," he charged.

He contended Zionists set up Israel unilaterally while the United Nations was still debating the Palestine issue.

Through the Balfour Declaration, he said, "The British gave the Zionists title to land that was never Britain's to give — which every document says is part of Arab patrimony."

Berger charged that he, even as a highly critical American Jew, is "considered to have more rights in Israel than its own non-Jewish people."

Journal and Courier  
May 9, 1970



Prof. Allen Pollack

<sup>58</sup> *Apostles of Peace Gather Amide Dar War Clouds*, Journal Times, May 24, 1967.

<sup>59</sup> *Dr. A. Pollack to Discuss 'Prospects for Peace in Mid-East' at Forum Lecture*, Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle, October 10, 1969. "Dr. Pollack also led study missions which were invited to Israel in December 1967, July 1968 and April 1969."



# On Vietnam:

Events of the past few months have further undermined the administration's stated rationale for involvement in Vietnam. The American armed force is there to defend the Vietnamese. The continuing demonstrations in Hue, Danang and Saigon, with their anti-Ky and anti-American slogans, have made it clearer than ever that the Saigon regime has virtually no popular support. Military activities have been steadily escalated, and American military power has been forced to assume the brunt of the fighting from the South Vietnamese army. An estimated 100,000 soldiers deserted this army in 1965 alone (*N. Y. Times* 2/24/66).

The successive regimes in Saigon which our government has been supporting were never popularly elected, and since shortly after the inception of the civil war have not governed more than a portion of South Vietnam. Nonetheless, the administration has attempted justification for American military intervention by claiming that these regimes have had popular support and could therefore be considered legitimate governments for all of South Vietnam.

The dramatic exposure of these false premises and of the fragile basis for our policies has led many prominent Americans, including some former supporters of the war, to declare that our forces must be prepared to leave Vietnam if a new government there asks us to do so.

But our administration's previous response to reverses in Vietnam has been escalation, bringing with it increasing death and destruction, and we are particularly alarmed at the extension of B-52 bombings to the North and new air raids in the Hanoi-Haiphong area. To escalate militarily while our position disintegrates politically is immoral, futile and perilous.

Furthermore, while increasing numbers of political leaders and commentators question the entire policy of the United States in Vietnam, the American force, approximately a quarter of a million men, is conducting "search-and-kill" operations and continues massive daily bombings in the course of which thousands of Vietnamese and Americans are being killed and wounded.

*The interests of our country and the strength of our belief in the right of self-determination demand that ways be immediately found to disengage ourselves from this intolerable situation. We are convinced that such a course is in accord with the mood of increasing numbers of Americans.*

## We call upon our government:

- To cease all bombing, North and South, and all other offensive military operations immediately;
- To indicate that it will negotiate with the National Liberation Front and all other interested parties for a peaceful settlement;
- To encourage in every way, and in no way to interfere with, the free exercise of popular sovereignty in Vietnam;
- To evaluate seriously whether self-determination for the Vietnamese as well as our own national interests would not be best served by termination of our military presence in Vietnam.

### MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY

The undersigned all are members of the faculties at the indicated institutions, which are cited for identification purposes only.

# On Vietnam:

New York Times  
June 5, 1966

Events of the past few months have further undermined the administration's stated rationale for involvement in Vietnam—that American armed force is there to defend the Vietnamese. The continuing demonstrations in Hue, Danang and Saigon, with their anti-Ky and anti-American slogans, have made it clearer than ever that the Saigon regime has virtually no popular support. Military activities have been steadily escalated, and American military power has been forced to assume the brunt of the fighting from the South Vietnamese army. An estimated 100,000 soldiers deserted this army in 1965 alone (*N. Y. Times* 2/24/66).

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The June 5, 1966, three-page academic protest ad in the New York Times served as a later template for the Cornell University-based academics behind the *Ad Hoc Americans for Democracy in the Middle East*, who helped create the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East 20-year campaign in support of Israel.

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### MEMBERS OF THE PROFESSIONAL COMMUNITY

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- To evaluate seriously whether self-determination for the Vietnamese as well as our own national interests would not be best served by termination of our military presence in Vietnam.

### MEMBERS OF THE PROFESSIONAL COMMUNITY

The undersigned all are members of the faculties at the indicated institutions, which are cited for identification purposes only.

Ad Hoc Universities Committee for the Statement on Vietnam  
P.O. Box 114, New York, N.Y. 10001  
Phone: (212) 850-1144  
Chair: [Name], [Institution]

Committee of the Professors  
P.O. Box 292, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. 14850  
Chair: [Name], [Institution]



Pollack, the APPME secretary in 1967, was very busy conducting missionary work for the state of Israel, travelling across America to harvest new memberships. For instance, in November 1967, he “convinced ... about 25 University of Minnesota academicians” to form a group, after Pollack “explained the national group’s objectives:”

Pollack said that peace in the Middle East wouldn’t come soon, but that professors could exert influence by educating people on the issues blocking a peaceful resolution. He said the national organization, which numbers about 13,000 professors at 190 colleges, already has established speaker bureaus, prepared background materials and is **planning a conference of more than 1,000 American professors to be held in Israel next summer.**

“Many people are sympathetic to Israel without knowing really knowing why,” he said, noting that the organization may bring some understanding to people. “We take no stand on things like boundaries or politics,” he said. **“But we do basically support Israel’s right to exist.** The Arabs must accept this before a lasting peace can be achieved.”

Pollack said the national organization is open to Jewish and non-Jewish elements and noted that more than half the 70-man national committee is non-Jewish. <sup>60</sup>

**“Israel’s right to exist”** became Pollack’s motto, a refrain, wherever he spoke. APPME procured a head office in New York City, located at 420 East 79<sup>th</sup> St. It later moved that office to 330 7<sup>th</sup> Ave, Suite 606, the “same address as the American Zionist Federation’s Academic Council.” <sup>61</sup> APPME had a national board and chairman, chairmen appointed in regions, sections, and chapters. Initially, Albert B. Sabin became national chairman in October 1967, and Professor Joseph Neyer in 1968. Pollack would remain president.

There were different numbers bandied about in the print media, but by 1969 APPME boasted it had 10,000 university and college faculty members. “More than 10,000 professors are affiliated with the group on more than 230 campuses throughout the country. Jews and non-Jews, “leftists” and “rightists” are numbered among them.” <sup>62</sup> The St. Louis Jewish Light news reported on January 15, 1969, that APPME is “a national organization of Jewish and non-Jewish university professors concerned in finding ways and means of resolving Middle East tensions.” <sup>63</sup> The Hollywood Citizen News reported on October 27, 1969, that “APPME seeks to clarify the issues of the Middle East conflict and contribute toward a peaceful solution through analytical studies, conferences, talks before civic groups, and contacts with both Arabs and Israelis.” Chapters and Regions chairmen would often distribute appeals on subject matters, encouraging participation in national statements on urgent matters, such as incidents that occurred in Israel.

Professor Pollack kickstarted his APPME project by organizing a two-month speaking tour of American campuses by Israel General Elad Peled, who arrived unannounced in the U.S. in mid July 1967. According to the Capital Times newspaper when Peled “was in



<sup>60</sup> ‘U’ Group Organizes to Support Israel, Star Tribune, November 30, 1967.

<sup>61</sup> American Jewish Organizations & Israel, by Lee O’Brien, page 224.

<sup>62</sup> In St. Louis Jewish Light news, January 1, 1969.

<sup>63</sup> Jewish Relations Council Here has Key Role in Mid-East Crisis.

Madison for a series of unannounced meetings,” Peled said his tour had been arranged “on behalf of his government.”

One of Israel’s top military strategists and director of the National Defense College, General Peled served as chief of operations of Israel’s Defense Forces under General Rabin. He spoke today to a group of university professors, many of them American Jews at the Hillel Center, 611 Langdon St. **He ruefully reported that speaking to American audiences is a “bigger task” than fighting a war.** <sup>64</sup>

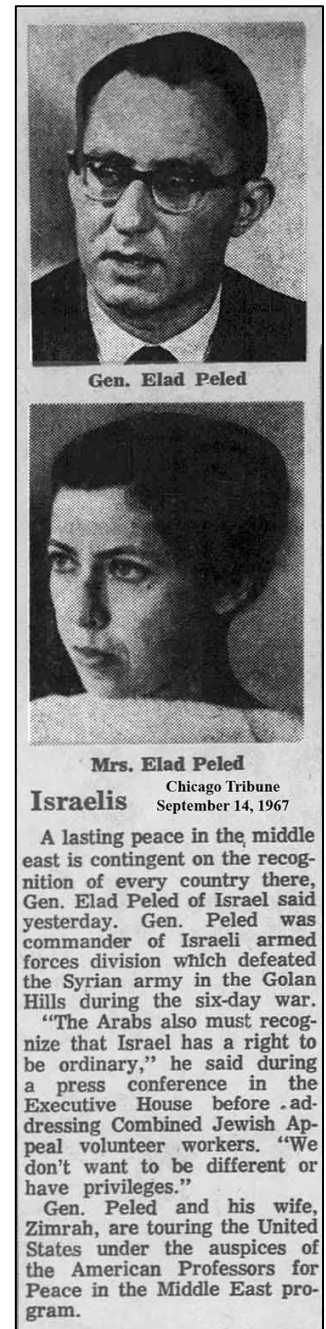
Peled “met with groups of faculty members at over 30 college campuses throughout the country. ... Adelphi Univ., Bronx Community College, Brooklyn College, Carnegie-Mellon Univ., City College of New York, Columbia Univ., Cornell Univ., Duke Univ., Duquesne Univ., Englewood Cliffs College, Hofstra Univ., Hunter College, Kingsborough Community College, Long Island Univ., Nassau Community College, New York Univ., Northwestern Univ., Princeton Univ., Queens College, Roosevelt Univ., Rutgers Univ., State Univ. of New York at Stony Brook, Temple Univ., Univ. of Chicago, Univ. of Illinois, Univ. of Maryland, Univ. of Pennsylvania, Univ. of Pittsburgh, Univ. of Wisconsin, Yale Univ., and Yeshiva Univ.” <sup>65</sup>

Pollack kept the publicity about Peled’s tour under the radar until near the end of his stay. After his departure back home to Israel, Peled appeared on special television broadcasts in the U.S. from pre-taped interviews. On-line Wikipedia states that “in the 1948 Arab-Israeli War” Peled “was a squad commander in the Yiftach Brigade,” and “commanded the 36<sup>th</sup> Division, which operated in the West Bank during the Six-Day War.”

At the United Jewish Fund of Pittsburgh’s 57<sup>th</sup> annual dinner on November 30, 1969, Pollack was reported to say:

The problem of real peace in the [Middle] East will be resolved when Arabs no longer feel the need to hate Israel. For now, Israel is the scapegoat for Arab internal problems; only the understanding of this by the Arabs will change the situation in the Middle East. Arabs are under the mistaken impression that Israel is a puppet of the U.S. or that the U.S. is controlled by Zionists. The question is not whether Israel will survive but what kind of Israel will survive – whether it is the kind of Israel we all dreamed of or some other kind of state which we don’t admire. <sup>66</sup>

Meanwhile, in Canada, Irwin Cotler, a then Fellow of the American Yale University law faculty, was invited to Montreal where he appeared as one of two panelists on the first day of a three-day conference, February 6-8, 1968, held at University of McGill’s Leacock auditorium. He participated as a seminar panelist on the third day, “Future Prospects in the Middle East”. His presentation on the first day was called, “Legal Relations in the Middle East.” The Conference on Middle Eastern Affairs was sponsored by the Student Zionist Organization and the B’nai B’rith Hillel Foundation. It is not known if Cotler was already a member of the APPME, but he likely was. And, if he wasn’t, he was soon recruited to be.



<sup>64</sup> *Israeli General Says Nation Needs Peace*, Capital Times, September 15, 1967.

<sup>65</sup> APPME Newsletter, Fall 1967.

<sup>66</sup> *Israel Faces Long War, UJF is Told*, Pittsburgh Post Gazette Sun Telegraph, December 1, 1969.



TEDDY KOLLEK

# Jerusalem Mayor To Speak

Ithica Journal  
Nov. 19, 1968

Jerusalem's mayor, Teddy Kollek, will speak at a public meeting at 8:30 p.m. Thursday in Alice Statler Auditorium.

His speech, "Jerusalem Faces the Future," will be sponsored by the Cornell University branch of American Professors for Peace in the Middle East.

Kollek has been mayor of Jerusalem for three years. After the Six-day War in June, 1967, he played a key role in administering East Jerusalem, which had been part of Jordan, and in consolidating the Israeli and Jordanian sectors of the city into Greater Jerusalem.

Before becoming mayor, Kollek was director general of the prime minister's office under three prime ministers.

For two years he was minister plenipotentiary of Israel in Washington. Born in Austria, he settled in Palestine in 1934 and joined a group of pioneers who three years later founded the settlement of Ein Gev on the Sea of Galilee.

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East was established as a national organization shortly after the June, 1967 war. Cornell professors were among the organizers.

"An international legal expert, [the 27-year-old] Mr. Cotler contended many of the captured territories might rest in Israel hands, as the legal sovereignty of some Arab states over these lands were questionable. This was hotly disputed by Arabs and others in a fiery question period."<sup>67</sup>

"In his analysis of the June war, **Cotler claimed it was a war of genocide** waged on Israel by irrational and belligerent Arab leaders, with the silent consent of the rest of the world. He suggested that if Israel had lost the war, there would be no survivors in Israel."<sup>68</sup>

**CONFERENCE ON  
MIDDLE-EASTERN AFFAIRS**  
FEBRUARY 6th, 7th and 8th 1968  
at MCGILL UNIVERSITY

Tuesday, Feb. 6th: In McGill L-132

7:00 P.M.: Irwin Cotler, B.C.L., L.L.M.:  
"Legal Relations in the Middle East"

8:45 P.M.: Abdul-Aziz Zuabi, M.K.:  
"Arabs in Israel"

Wednesday, Feb. 7th: in Howard Theatre, McIntyre Medical Sciences Bldg. (Entrance via 1200 Pine Ave. W. or 3655 Drummond St.; elevator to sixth floor).

8:30 P.M.: Professor Eliyahu Kanovsky, Ph.D.: "Economic Impact of the War on Israel and the Arab States"

Thursday, Feb. 8th.: In McGill L-132

1:00 P.M.: Mr. Joel Carmichael, M.A.:  
'Arab Nationalism"

8:15 P.M.: "Future Prospects in the Middle East"

Moderator: Professor Harry Bracken  
Panelists: Joel Carmichael, M.A.  
Abdul-Aziz Zuabi, M.K.  
Irwin Cotler, B.C.L., L.L.M.

SPONSORED BY:  
**Student Zionist B'Nai B'Rith  
Organization Hillel Foundation  
at McGill University**

5:00 P. M. ⑫ **RATIONAL DEBATE ON CURRENT ISSUES.** "A Just Peace in the Middle East—How It Can Be Achieved." Participants: Christopher Mayhew, former British parliamentarian; Dr. Allen Pollack, head of American Professors for Peace in the Middle East; I. L. Kenen, editor and publisher of the newsletter, "Near East Report," and Rabbi Elmer Berger, who seeks an alternative to Zionism.

9:00 P. M. ⑫ **FIRING LINE.** "War Crimes." Guest: Dr. Ernest Van den Haag, practicing psychoanalyst and professor of social philosophy at New School for Social Research, New York, explores the morality of American soldiers' behavior in Vietnam.

Philadelphia Inquirer July 11, 1971

<sup>67</sup> *Tempers flare over Mid-East*, Montreal Gazette, February 7, 1968.

<sup>68</sup> *Panelists foresee survival of Israel*, McGill Daily, February 9, 1968.



# Says Israel Serves As Arab Scapegoat

Stopping the fighting in the Israeli-Arab war is not the biggest stumbling block to restoring peace in the Middle East, Dr. Allen Pollack, chairman of the executive committee of the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East, said here yesterday.

The 32-year-old assistant professor of Russian and European history at Yeshiva university, New York, is here to deliver the sermon at Sabbath services tonight of the 39th general assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds being held at the Hotel Muehlebach.

In an interview yesterday Dr. Pollack said the professors' organization, formed in 1967, believed that every nation had a right to exist in the Middle East. Its purpose, he said, was to educate Americans to the complexity of Middle East conflicts.

He termed idiotic the issues of territoriality, refugees and trade, asserting those problems

could be solved by anyone. The Arabs are not ready to accept Israel for other reasons, he said.

One he said, is that Israel is used as a scapegoat by the Arabs to evade their own problems brought on by an internal war of modernization and social unrest.

"With revolution and unrest you need something to unify the people," he said, "and Israel has become the focal point for Arab unity."

Another reason for conflict, Pollack said, is that Israel is a modern industrial country which reflects all the things the Arabs want to be and don't know how to be, and this is psychologically embarrassing to the Arabs.

"Peace will come not with a United Nations decision," he said, "but when the Arab world changes—not a change in government but a real social revolution. They will no longer need a scapegoat and will no longer be embarrassed."

## Next Jewish Forum Lecture to Feature Discussion of Student Revolts, Feb. 5

On Wednesday, Feb. 5, the Milwaukee Jewish Forum will present the second in a series of lec-



**DR. HAROLD WEISBERG**

tures at the Jewish Community Center. Guest speaker, Dr. Harold Weisberg, will discuss "Student Revolts and the Problem of Jewish Identity."

Dr. Weisberg, currently professor of philosophy and chairman of the Department of Philosophy at Brandeis University, was named Dean of its graduate School of Arts and Science in June, 1963. He has taught at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and the University of Pennsylvania.

Prior to coming to Brandeis in 1956, Dr. Weisberg was director of adult education for B'nai B'rith in Washington, D. C. He is presently serving as its chairman. He is also chairman of the Boston section of American Professors for Peace in the Middle East.

The lecture is being hosted by the American Jewish Committee, one of the seven sponsoring agencies for the Forum series.

William Kay will serve as moderator.

January 31, 1969

Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle

## American Professors for Peace Protest UN Censure of Israel

NEW YORK —(Special)— The American Professors For Peace In The Middle East sent a telegram to Secretary of State Dean Rusk and the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, James Wiggins, in which the group strongly protested the United Nations censure of Israel.

The telegram stated, "American Professors For Peace In The Middle East representing over 10,000 American faculty strongly deplores proposed U.N. condemnation of Israel alone. Such action without condemnation of intolerable terrorist action by Arabs will not lead to peace in the Middle East but will only encourage further terrorist outrages against Israel, and its citizens throughout the world. The U.S. should not condemn the reaction to terrorism without condemning terrorism itself. Where is the even-handedness of demanding compensation for destruction of property by one party while ignoring acts of murder and destruction by the other side?"

Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle

September 10, 1969

## Mrs. Lea Rabin to Speak at Skidmore; Ambassador's Wife

Glens Falls Times, May 15, 1968

Local area residents are invited to hear Mrs. Lea Rabin, wife of General Itzhak Rabin, Israeli Ambassador to the United States, when she speaks Wednesday, May 22, at 7:30 p.m. in the Skidmore College Recreation Center, Spring St. between Circular and Regent Streets.

Mrs. Rabin is being brought to the college by the Skidmore Committee, American Professors for Peace in the Middle East, together with the chaplain's office of the College, and the International Relations Club.

The public is invited to attend the lecture, and meet Mrs. Rabin at the coffee hour in the Skidmore Hall living room following the talk.



The incremental indoctrination of the United States, Canada, and much of the world by Zionist propaganda, through one of its new tools, the APPME and by the halls of academia, was a powerful, grand-scale invention by Israel and its Zionist mechanics. Its reverberations would penetrate societies like a fine, toxic dust settling upon a vast landscape.

It was a simple strategic formula, much like the one perpetrated in Israel upon Palestinians. Once a majority, of people or opinions, is in place, there is the power to overtake, to dominate, to exclude, to push out, and to destroy. It was exactly what happened, and still happens, to anti-Zionist Jews. The Zionists simply said, both privately and openly, to the anti-Zionist Jews, like Rabbi Elmer Berger: 'there are more of us than there are of you!' And, we have lots, and lots of money to keep financing our extensive monitoring and propaganda programs!

## Mrs. Marvin Ring Named City Director of Hashachar, Zionist Youth Movement

Hashachar, the Zionist youth movement sponsored by Hadassah, announces the appointment of Mrs. Marvin H. (Danby) Ring as new city-wide director.

Geared to the particular needs of American Jewish youth, in keeping with the traditions of Ju-

daism, Hashachar strives to educate Jewish youngsters between the ages of 8 and 18, and to provide them with strong cultural ties, helping them to reach maturity as integrated personalities

capable of healthy participation as Jews and Zionists in a viable 20th century community.

In Milwaukee, Hashachar is organized all over the community, meeting on the first and third Sunday of every month at Congregations Anshe Sfard and Beth Israel. The next meeting is scheduled for April 6.

In addition, Hashachar sponsors a summer camping program and Israel trips for older children.

Although new to Milwaukee, Mrs. Ring is not new to Wisconsin. A graduate of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, she served last year as assistant director of the Hillel Foundation, in addition to working with several youth groups.

Her activities in Milwaukee include teaching Hebrew at Congregation Emanu-El B'ne Jeshurun; chairman of the program committee for Yom Ha-atzma'ut-Israel Independence Day Program; and regional secretary of the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East.

Mrs. Ring can be reached at 964-5387 for information regarding Hashachar.



MRS. MARVIN RING  
Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle  
March 28, 1969

***“There is a pun common among non-Zionist Jewish intellectuals to the effect that the organization should be called American Zionist Professors for “pieces” in the Middle East.”***

There was an interesting perspective about the APPME published in the Canadian press in 1971. It was in a lengthy letter from Basam Ra'ad of Toronto, dated June 23, 1971, published in the Toronto Daily Star, “Egypt's title to the Sinai far stronger than Israel's”:

I am writing in response to Henry S. Rosenberg's letter of June 17, “Has Egypt ever had title to the Sinai Peninsula?” To say that these facts [regarding Israel's annexation of the Sinai Peninsula] were researched by the **American Professors for Peace in the Middle East** is absolutely meaningless. I have had personal contact with the organizers at Purdue University and subsequently learned of their blind support for Israel. In fact, **there is a pun common among non-Zionist Jewish intellectuals to the effect that the organization should be called American Zionist Professors for “pieces” in the Middle East.**

**The crux of the Middle East conflict today then is the forgotten issue.** It is in effect what Israeli and Zionist propaganda are trying to make everyone forget. It is the piecemeal conquest and continued seizure of the country by military power. It is the forceable displacement of the bulk of the indigenous population, and the subjugation of the rest. It is also the importation of alien colonists and their subsequent destruction of the society already established; and the replacement of that society by a transplanted one and a foreign political body. Never in the recent history of humanity have human rights been so violated, yet with such quiescence by the world community.

Who was Henry Samuel Rosenberg, the author of the originating letter? He was a retired Toronto lawyer, a Q.C., of Jewish ethnicity, who passed away on August 3, 1976. On April 8, 1967, the National Post reported that Rosenberg retired in 1962, after 42 years of practicing law, the “founder and senior member of Rosenberg, Walsh, Smith & Paton,” “with a special interest in tax and corporate work.” Upon his retirement, Rosenberg contributed many letters to the editor published primarily in the Toronto Daily Star, averaging about six to ten a year. About twenty percent of the letters, from 1967 onwards, pertained to themes about Israel, either spontaneous letters or letters in response to information printed in the Toronto Star. Rosenberg often repeated the lobby’s primary myths, which readers disagreed and agitated over.

“I am a Jew and a Zionist. I am on the side of the Jews. What side are Dr. [Ernest Marshall] House and his friends on? The Russian communists are anti-Zionists. Guerrilla chief Yasir Arafat ... is an anti-Zionist. Dr. George Habash ... is an anti-Zionist. ... A Zionist is a person who extends to the Jewish people the right to life of their own in a homeland of their own. I am sure that most of the members of the United Church and decent-thinking Christians agree with that. ... Gentlemen, we are not complaining about the church or about the members who share your faith. We are complaining about individuals who are misled and misguided, and with the best intentions spread the false Arab and Communist line against Jews and against Israel. ... Jews have suffered through enough racism. Jews are not racists. Jews are sensitive; they have a bitter lesson. ... Dear Mr. Howse and your misguided friends, the Jews are the friends of the Arabs. **The Zionism of Dr. Herzl, Dr. Weizman and Ben Gurion preaches friendship and cooperation with the Arabs. The Jews have taken nothing from the Arabs. They did not create the refugee problem. ... The Jews took nothing from the Arabs and they paid for every inch of land they received.**”<sup>69</sup>



“I have read reams about the Arab-Israel situation. But surely the remarks of Henry Rosenberg constitute the voice of sweet reason, intelligence objectively applied, criticism without rancor.”<sup>70</sup>

“The letter by Henry S. Rosenberg disinheriting Egypt of its province of Sinai (Star, June 17), upset me because of its twisting historical facts. He wondered why Egypt’s president Anwar Sadat was so concerned about this “sparsely inhabited wilderness and desert that Egypt never did own.” Surely, he must be jesting. Jews, of all people, should not make rash statements about the legality of ownership of land, especially when 95 per cent of the land of Israel is owned by people forced out of their homes by the Israelis.”<sup>71</sup>

“Israel’s aim is to be at peace with its neighbors. Peace doesn’t mean “ceasefire” as the Arabs suggest. Peace means no economic boycott ... it means the same relationship that exists between the United States and Canada, and between France and Germany.”<sup>72</sup>

“When the Jews took seriously the desire of other nations to help them rebuild their national home, they started returning to their land and they turned the neglected, unoccupied desert into a flourishing,

<sup>69</sup> ‘The Jews didn’t create the Arab refugee problem,’ Toronto Daily, by Henry Rosenberg, May 14, 1971.

<sup>70</sup> Sweet Reason, letter from Grant M. Soules, Toronto Daily, August 5, 1967.

<sup>71</sup> ‘Rash statements over Sinai land,’ by K.A. Prescott, Toronto Daily, June 24, 1971.

<sup>72</sup> Israel’s right to exist must be admitted, he says, Henry Rosenberg, Toronto Daily, February 7, 1975.



agricultural, industrial and educational country. ... In 1967 Israel was strong enough to recover that land. What makes it now Arab territory and occupied land?"<sup>73</sup>

"Israel's occupation is the most humane in history. It fulfills all the requirements of the UN and the Geneva Conference. ... Israel has helped the economies of the occupied territories; it has raised the standard of living of the people and has granted freedom of movement into and out of the territories. The rights, privileges and freedoms of all the religious groups are scrupulously guarded."<sup>74</sup>

Vol. CLXXIV—No. 49      BUFFALO, N. Y., WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7, 1967      112 Pages—8 Cents

# ISRAEL CLAIMS DEFEAT OF EGYPT

## U. N. Ultimatum Ignored; Israelis Crush Blockade of Aqaba Gulf

### TWO-STADIUM SITE IN AMHERST URGED BY CHAMBER STUDY

By FRANK BUELL

Construction of adjoining stadiums—one for football with capacity for 65,000 spectators and a second for baseball with 15,000 seats—was recommended today by the Buffalo Area Chamber of Commerce Stadium Committee.

Reporting for the committee, Chairman John J. Walsh Jr. estimated a \$20 million cost, proposed a Town of Amherst site north of Ellicott Creek adjacent to the planned Lockport Expwy. and suggested the cost be shared by Erie County and the state.

If the decisive action is not taken to make reality of the sports complex called "ritual expenditure" in chamber report, PAGE 41

Renovating War Memorial called "waste of money," PAGE 45

Picture on the Picture Page recommendations, the 24-page report warns of these consequences:

1—Within three years the Buffalo Bills football team will be lost.

also fit the city's "particular professional sports situation." He explained the large football facility is needed immediately for the Bills. The smaller baseball stadium will suffice for minor league baseball—but will contain the possibility of expansion and be a step toward assurance that the city is ready to meet major league baseball demands.

Roles Out Private Financing

The cost estimate is \$17 million for the football stadium.

WHERE ISRAELI FORCES SCORED KEY VICTORIES TODAY (UPI MAP)

### Security Council Votes Deadline For Mideast Truce

By the Associated Press

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., June 7—The U. N. Security Council today approved unanimously a Soviet resolution demanding that Israel and the Arab countries cease all firing and other military activities at 4 PM (EDT).

Neither the Egyptian nor Israeli governments acknowledged the U. N. resolution, and the war continued beyond the deadline set by the Security Council.

The action was taken at session called hurriedly, at the request of the Soviet Union, after Tuesday night's U. N. ceasefire appeal failed to halt the Middle East fighting.

Soviet Ambassador Nikolai T. Fedorenko blamed Israel for failure of the cease-fire appeal, condemned Israel once more as:

### KEY EGYPTIAN FORT SEIZED ON STRAITS; ISRAELIS NEAR SUEZ

By the Associated Press

TEL AVIV, June 7—Israeli paratroopers today seized strategic Sharm El Sheikh on the Gulf of Aqaba, reached the Suez Canal and claimed complete defeat of Egypt.

Israeli forces earlier captured Rumana near the canal and controlled large sectors of Jordan, including Jericho on the west bank of the Jordan River.

Israel announced, and Cairo acknowledged, the fall of Sharm El Sheikh, the height overlooking the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba where Gamal Abdel Nasser invoked his blockade of shipping to Israel's port of Elath.

The declaration was made by Maj. Gen. Itzhak Rabin, the Israeli chief of staff. Gen. Rabin announced:

"The Egyptians are defeated. All their efforts are aimed at withdrawing behind the Suez Canal and we are taking care of that. The whole area is in our hands. The main effort of the Egyptians is to save themselves."

The seizure of Sharm El Sheikh...

## "To Uphold Our Own Honor..."

### Leading Americans Speak Out Against Arab Threat To Destroy Israel

Hannah Arendt's name included in long list of sponsors

American scholars, intellectuals, artists, poets and writers made this appeal before war broke out. It is even more urgent now. The Egyptian blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba has already led to war, but the statement is being published here in the public interest since it reflects the attitudes of the intellectual community regarding the need for the U.S. to maintain its commitments "to safeguard the integrity, security and survival of Israel and its people, and to uphold our own honor."

The crisis in the Middle East is for the United States and the rest of the world a crisis of law and conscience. For Israel and its people it is a crisis of life or death.

The issue can be stated with stark simplicity: Whether to let Israel perish, or to act to assure its survival and to secure legality, morality and peace in the area.

The immediate issue is freedom of passage through the Strait of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba, a right which is indispensable to Israel's existence. These are international waterways and a blockade of Israel shipping there is illegal. Immediate action is required to affirm the principle and to prevent its violation.

But the crux of the matter is the massive, concerted Arab threat to destroy Israel, using Aqaba as the lever of coercion. In this crisis, we have come to a moment of truth for our own country and for the whole world.

Aqaba is a test from which all nations who are watching our performance will take their cue. If we fail to act to maintain the principle of freedom of navigation, every one of these countries will take note.

We therefore urgently call upon the President of the United States, supported as we have no doubt he will be by the people and the Congress, to act now with courage and conviction, with nerve and firmness of intent, to maintain free passage in those waters—and so to safeguard the integrity, security and survival of Israel and its people, and to uphold our own honor.

The New York Times June 7, 1967 ad by Americans for Democracy in the Middle East

<sup>73</sup> Israel only real democracy in Mideast, Henry Rosenberg, Toronto Daily, June 5, 1975.

<sup>74</sup> Arab Propaganda, Henry Rosenberg, Ottawa Citizen, September 3, 1974.

## 7.2. 1967: Hannah Arendt's Rejection of the APPME

Lest there be any doubt about APPME's foreign political affiliations, it was Dr. Hannah Arendt, the renowned Jewish historian, philosopher and political theorist, that called out the APPME and its political masters as it took root in late 1967. Arendt's papers, archived at the U.S. Library of Congress, include early correspondence with and records from the APPME in the year 1967, documents which fill in critical information gaps.

It was "Steven and Henry Schwarzchild" and "Yehudi Menuhin" who sent Arendt a telegram on July 5, 1967, requesting her to "attend a small meeting of responsible, influential Jewish personalities for purpose of exploring possibilities on early policy proposals for Arab-Israel reconciliation and practical relief actions for Arabs," a meeting to be held at the Hotel Drake in New York City at 8 pm on July 11. Arendt apologized in her return letter that circumstances prevented her attendance.

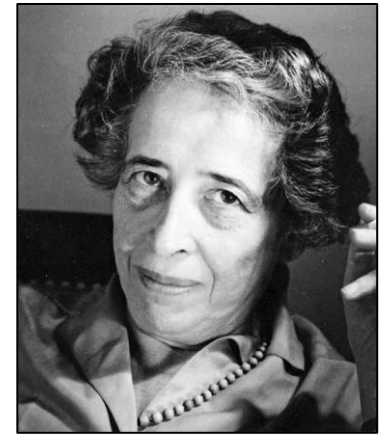
On July 6, Moshe Decter, the executive director of something called "Conference on the Status of Soviet Jews," with an office in New York, penned a follow-up letter to Arendt. Decter was the director of "Jewish Minorities Research and authority on Jewish life in the Middle East,"<sup>75</sup> with the American Jewish Congress. He wrote:

You may recall that on June 8, the day after the publication in the New York Times of the statement which you were kind enough to sign at my request, another advertisement appeared with a similar message **signed by nearly 4,000 academic people.**

The ginger group of university people which carried through that effort met a few weeks ago and undertook to create, for the duration of the Middle East crisis, a committee calling itself American Professors for Peace in the Middle East. They have issued a single founding statement which reads as follows:

"We advocate a just and lasting peace in the Middle East that will guarantee the security of the State of Israel. We urge direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab States to settle all outstanding issues."

The group has come into being **in order to stimulate and conduct educational efforts along these lines in the academic community:** for example, by disseminating serious papers and studies on **the many and varied complex problems that are now under scrutiny.**



## McGill Students Protest Anti-Semitism in Russia

Montreal Star - December 8, 1964

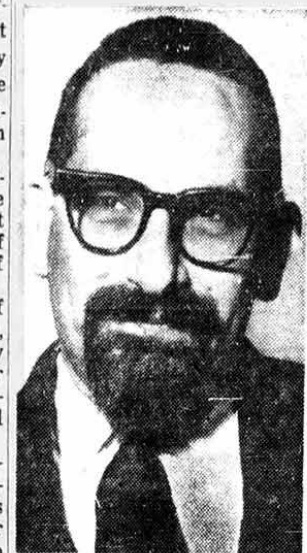
More than 500 McGill University students and faculty met yesterday to protest publicly against anti-Semitism in the U.S.S.R. and to pass a "resolution of concern" for Russian Jewry.

The students rallied at Redpath Hall at noon to endorse the resolution and to hear guest speaker, Dr. Moshe Decter of New York, on "The Status of the Jews in the Soviet Union."

Dr. Decter is director of Jewish Minorities Research, American Jewish Congress, New York, an author and newspaper contributor. The rally was sponsored by B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation.

He explained that Soviet discrimination is unlike that practised by the Nazis. The Russians are not intent on genocide, nor are they throwing Jews into concentration camps. They are, however, aiming at wiping out Jewish identity.

Dr. Decter, who monitors all Russian publications and interviews returning students and personnel — "not tourists" — explained that Soviet Jews are regarded as a nationality. They



DR. MOSHE DECTER

are one of 108 nationalities comprising the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, of which the Russian nationality is the largest. The Jews, who number about 3,000,000, are the 11th largest.

<sup>75</sup> 1,000 Dayton Jews Attend Rally Here, The Journal Herald, December 12, 1966.

The purpose of this letter is to ask whether you would be willing to join their Committee of Sponsors. Members of that Committee already include people like Daniel P. Moynihan, Ernest Nagel, Felix Block, Nathan Glazer, Clinton Rossiter, Arthur Kronberg, Albert Savin and Seymour Lipset. **Will you join them?** If so, please drop a note to Dr. Allen Pollack, Temporary Secretary, APPME.

Ithaca Journal  
July 14, 1967

**SEE AND HEAR**

The Pulitzer Prize Winning Author  
**JAMES A. MICHENER**

Speaking on  
**"Jerusalem: A Symbol of Peace"**

at the  
**ALICE STATLER AUDITORIUM**

**Sunday Evening – July 16th – 8:15 P.M.**

Sponsored by  
**American Professors for  
Peace in the Middle East**  
Dr. Milton R. Konvitz, Program Chairman

**Admission Free** **Open to Public**

**ON THE CAMPUS ... Mass Audience Hears James Michener at Cornell**

"A mass meeting addressed by James Michener was held at Cornell University in July under the auspices of the local APPME committee. The meeting, chaired by Professor Milton Konvitz of Cornell, was attended by over 1,800 people. Mr. Michener's discussion centered on the refugee problem and the various suggestions that have been made concerning the future of Jerusalem. He said that **since the Arab nations have made it impossible to establish an ideal peace through face-to-face confrontation**, Israel must ensure her own protection while constantly presenting a posture for peace, working for settlement of the refugee problem and for economic unity with Jordan."

(Source: APPME Newsletter, Fall 1967)

**Professors Call Upon United States**

More than 3,700 professors and other members of the academic community subscribed to the statement on the following page prior to the outbreak of hostilities. The Egyptian blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba has led to war. This statement is being published now because it clearly defines how strongly the intellectual community in this country feels that the United States must maintain its commitment to safeguard the integrity, security and survival of Israel and its people.

**to Safeguard Israel's Integrity**

**The New York Times** THURSDAY, JUNE 8, 1967

The Arab blockade of the Straits of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba is an attack on the very life of the State of Israel and its people. It is also an attack on principles of international law and order, without which the condition of the world becomes "a condition of war of every one against every one."

As responsible members of the academic community, we must not stand by in silence in the face of Arab threats, illegal blockades and massive mobilization aimed at the destruction of the people and State of Israel. We condemn these acts. In the words of President Johnson, the blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba is "illegal and potentially disastrous to the cause of peace."

We therefore call upon the administration and Congress of the United States firmly to maintain the commitment to safeguard the integrity of the State of Israel and to restore the freedom of passage through the Gulf of Aqaba, an international waterway.

Our generation has witnessed the monstrous results of silence.

**ADHOC COMMITTEE OF AMERICAN PROFESSORS\***  
210 East 64th Street  
New York, New York 10022  
Telephone: 234-1111  
Secretary: Allen Pollack  
Department of History  
University of Pittsburgh

\*Check should be made payable to:  
ADHOC Committee of American Professors





Dr. Arendt replied in a July 10 letter to Pollack: "This is to tell you that I indeed shall be very glad to do so." Pollack then began forwarding Arendt a series of bundled reports and essays, including a copy of the Israeli lobby's then 10-year-old magazine *Near East Report*, the special 32-page, August 1967 supplement, *Myths and Facts: Background to the Arab-Israel War; Jews in the Arab World, The Arab Boycott Today*. Also sent were copies of three articles by Martha Gellhorn which had been printed in the Manchester Guardian: *Casualties and Propaganda; Why the Refugees Ran; and Thoughts on a Sacred Cow*.

On September 7, 1967, APPME co-ordinator Rivka Simon included a copy of "the report of the activities of the APPME" along with a letter, which stated: "we plan to continue our work and will be in touch regularly with you to inform you of our activities and to solicit your advice and your assistance on specific projects."

The undated report, most likely published in August 1967, contained information on the origins of the APPME. It revealed that in May 1967, **weeks before the Six-Day War**, "several faculty members" at **Cornell University** began "contacting colleagues on other campuses," as "a spontaneous response ... to the recent crisis in the Middle East." "A temporary office was established in New York to coordinate this activity." "On June 11, twenty-five of the professors representing 20 campuses throughout the country met in New York to establish an ongoing organization." Amidst a lengthy report detailing the nation-wide organizational logistics, and a hierarchy of specialty committees, it said "approximately one thousand colleagues visited Israel this summer. Many of them indicated readiness to work for APPME while in Israel or to use their visit as a preparation for educational work upon their return to campus in the fall."

Included in Rivka Simon's package was a six-page "Israel and the Middle East Fact Sheet;" a six-page "Statement and Discussion" paper by Yusuf Khamis called "Arab Labor in Israel;" a two-page reprint from the Institute of Jewish Affairs article, "A Czech Writer's Protest: Why Ladisvav Mnacko Visits Israel;" and a reprint of a July 2, 1967 opinion article published in the New York Times, "Barry Goldwater's Advice to Israel."

On October 7, 1967, APPME secretary Allen Pollack sent Arendt an urgent letter, asking "to include your name as well in the grouping of your university," regarding "the urgency for the immediate issuance of" a statement "scheduled to appear in the New York Times on Sunday, October 29."

"Reports of diplomatic pressures to secure a compromise solution which would result in Israeli withdrawal without negotiations, and without adequate guarantees for its security, have magnified the urgency for the immediate release of this statement. 2,700 faculty members throughout the country have already endorsed the statement."

Attached to the letter was an 11-page article published in *Midstream*, the *Monthly Jewish Review*, by Marie Syrkin, called "I.F. Stone Reconsiders Israel."

**Hanna Arendt: "It looks as though the "American Professors for Peace in the Middle East" are a kind of Zionist front organization."**

Arendt sent a letter of reply to the APPME, dated October 21, 1967, critical of the political aims of the APPME and requested the immediate removal of her name from the group.

"I received the material contained in Information Series IV and I must confess that I was very disappointed. **All the items are clearly selected for plain propaganda purposes**, and even for this purpose their quality is not on a particularly high level, let alone on a level that would be appropriate for an academic group. Bias and tone - - the latter especially objectionable in Maria Syrkin's attack of

I.F. Stone - - would seem to me natural and normal if I had received this material from the ZOA [Zionist Organization of America]. As it is, it looks as though the “American Professors for Peace in the Middle East” are a kind of Zionist front organization.

I am, and have always been, pro-Israel, and I was, and still am, quite alarmed about the present situation in the Middle East. This does not mean that I have become a Zionist or wish to join that kind of organization you obviously have established. **I now feel that I joined you because the true nature of this group was not made clear to me.** In order to correct this error as soon as possible, will you please take my name off the list of sponsors and members.”

It was a trap. A cheap trick. Arendt was offended. She closed the door. She escaped. Later testimonials from those close to the APPME confirmed that the ideologically driven Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) was behind it all. In 1970, the ZOA morphed into the American Zionist Federation (AZF).<sup>76</sup>

**The New York Times** TUESDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1967

## The Road to Peace: Direct Negotiations

We believe that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East is both essential and possible. However, rapidly moving international developments indicate that there will be increasing pressure on Israel to accept a settlement without benefit of direct negotiations.

Failure to settle all outstanding issues between Israel and her neighbors through direct negotiations would be a return to the status of belligerency and a betrayal of the hope for a constructive solution of the social, political, and economic problems of the region. Twenty years of Arab refusals to meet with Israel at the conference table have resulted in three wars, each of which has been a potential threat to world peace. The solution to the problems of the Middle East is not to be found by soldiers in "another round" but by representatives of the countries concerned at the conference table.

Makeshift measures will not advance the goal of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Only direct negotiations, whose premise is peaceful co-existence instead of continued belligerence, can obviate the danger of another conflagration which may become global. There should be no "congratulations" on the moral or political issues; face to face talks.

We, therefore, call upon the United Nations to issue its own charter which recognizes the right of all nations to exist and establishes that peace be achieved through negotiation. We call upon President Johnson, the Congress of the United States, and the American people to uphold with firmness and without ambiguity the President's statement of June 18, 1967, in which he declared: "Clearly the parties to the conflict must be the parties to the peace. Sooner or later it is they who must make a settlement in the area."

We urge our colleagues in the academic world and all Americans concerned with peace and justice to support this stand.

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East at present enjoy the support of more than 15,000 professors on 725 campuses throughout the United States. Professions among our supporters are: Architecture, Business, Education, Fine Arts, Law, Medicine, Music, Physical and Biological Sciences, Public Administration, Religion, Social Sciences, and The Arts. Our aim is to help achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East that will guarantee the security of the State of Israel.

Peace and security will be achieved only by dedicated and persistent efforts. To keep current problems before the public eye, to assist in the discovery of viable solutions, to promote letters for the exchange of ideas requires continuous work both in the academic world and in the community at large. American Professors for Peace in the Middle East have undertaken this task.

**Chairman:** Albert M. Sacks, University of California  
**President:** Donald Proulx, University of Chicago  
**Secretary:** Robert M. Coates, University of California  
**Treasurer:** Robert M. Coates, University of California  
**Executive Director:** Robert M. Coates, University of California

**Members:** (List of names and affiliations follows in columns)

**To volunteer your services:**  
 To obtain further information:  
 Address: American Professors for Peace in the Middle East  
 400 East 116th Street, Box 110  
 New York, New York 10021  
 Telephone: (212) 771-1111  
 I wish to help in the cost of distributing and publishing this and related materials.  
 Enclose my check for the amount of \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
 Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_  
 Telephone \_\_\_\_\_  
 Enclose check payable to the Middle East

The APPME failed to remove Arendt's name from the long list of sponsors on the two-page ad published in the New York Times on November 24, 1967. In APPME national coordinator Rivka Simon's November 8, 1967, reply letter to Arendt, she apologized for "this delayed response," and came up with excuses about

<sup>76</sup> Table 19, in *Community and Polity: The Organizational Dynamics of American Jewry*, by Daniel J. Elazar, 1976. In appendix A, Elazar states that resulting from the Six-Day War, organized Zionism took shape, which led to the creation of the American Zionist Federation (page 375), and by 1972 had 700,000 members (page 406).



the propaganda material Arendt referenced in the information packages. "We will of course, honor your request to take you name off our list of sponsors. A number of our Executive Committee have expressed the desire to discuss this further with you at your convenience." In the Fall 1967 APPME newsletter, Arendt's name was still on the sponsors list pinned on an advertisement for an upcoming APPME "Conference in the Middle East" at the Hotel Delmonico in New York City, December 9-10, 1967. In her final November 26, 1967, letter of correspondence, she wrote: "I have just read rather carefully the Newsletter which was sent me, and I find in it the same position and the same attitudes which I mentioned before. **I can find nothing in it to give me confidence of this group**, as it exists now, will be able to achieve its objective - - "an informed public opinion - - that will know how to handle the complex questions "of face and equity" involved in the present crisis. ... I clearly joined this group under a misapprehension." In her draft letter she said, "The whole thing reads as though no other country except Israel does exist in the Middle East."

## CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE EAST

Sponsored by

AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

DECEMBER 9-10, 1967

HOTEL DELMONICO, NEW YORK CITY

Among those delivering papers are:

SALO BARON, Columbia University	HANS MORGENTHAU, University of Chicago
MARVER BERNSTEIN, Princeton University	RICHARD PIPES, Harvard University
AMITAI ETZIONI, Columbia University	LESTER SELIGMAN, University of Oregon
ELI GINSBERG, Columbia University	JACOB TALMON, Hebrew University

**Arendt's name still there!**

ADMITTANCE BY RESERVATION ONLY

## AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

### Committee in formation

HARRY ALBAUM, Brooklyn College  
Dean of Graduate Studies

CHRISTIAN B. ANFISEN,  
Bethesda, Maryland

**HANNAH ARENDT, New School of Social Research**  
Professor of Philosophy

SIDNEY AXELRAD, Queens College  
Dean of Graduate Studies

SIMON BAUER, Cornell University  
Professor of Chemistry

DANIEL BELL, Columbia University  
Professor of Sociology

MARVER N. BERNSTEIN, Princeton University  
Dean, Woodrow Wilson School

HANS A. BETHE, Cornell University  
Professor of Physics

MAX BLACK, Cornell University  
Professor of Philosophy

FELIX BLOCH, Stanford University  
Nobel Laureate, Professor of Physics

ARTHUR P. BURNS,  
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ROBERT BYRNES, University of Indiana  
Professor of History

CHARLES COGEN,  
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RALPH MASON DREGER, Louisiana State University  
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ANDREW HACKER, Cornell University  
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IRVING LOUIS HOROWITZ, Washington University  
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M. STUART MUGHES, Harvard University  
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SEYMOUR HYMAN, City University of New York  
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Co-Director, Research Center for Mental Health

MILTON KONVITZ, Cornell University  
School of Industrial and Labor Relations

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HYMAN KUBLIN, City University of New York  
Associate Dean of Graduate Studies

DAVID LANDIS, Harvard University  
Director of the Near Eastern Center

SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET, Harvard University  
Professor of Sociology

DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN, MIT-Harvard  
Director, Center on Urban Studies

ERNEST MAGEL, Columbia University  
University Professor

RICHARD EDGAR PIPES, Harvard University  
Professor of History

CLINTON ROSSITER, Cornell University  
Professor of Government

ALBERT B. SABIN, M.D.,  
University of Cincinnati, College of Medicine  
Distinguished Service Professor of Research Pediatrics

NADAV SAFRAN, Harvard University  
Professor of Government

HAROLD SCHERAGA, Cornell University  
Professor of Chemistry

W. R. SEARS, Cornell University  
Professor of Engineering

BENJAMIN SIEGEL, Cornell University  
Professor of Engineering and Physics

ROBERT STRAUSS-HUPE, University of Pennsylvania  
Director, Foreign Policy Research Institute

ROBERT E. L. STRIDER, Colby College  
President

HERBERT STROUP, Brooklyn College  
Dean of Students

LIONEL TRILLING, Columbia University  
Professor of Literature

CHARLES J. TURCK, Macalester College  
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WILSEE D. WEBB, University of Florida  
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OSCAR ZEICHNER, City College of New York  
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Distinguished Service Professor of Research Pediatrics

SEYMOUR LACHMAN, Treasurer  
Dean, Kingsborough Community College

ALLEN POLLACK, Secretary  
Dept. of History, University of Pittsburgh

# Israel provoked the Six-Day War in 1967, and it was not fighting for survival

BY JAMES NORTH - JUNE 2, 2017 - 102

## James North

James North is a Mondoweiss Editor-at-Large, and has reported from Africa, Latin America, and Asia for four decades. He lives in New York City. Follow him on Twitter at [@jamesnorth7](https://twitter.com/jamesnorth7)

MEDIA ANALYSIS

# Mondoweiss

News & Opinion About Palestine, Israel & the United States



“I am old enough to remember clearly how the Six-Day War was reported at the time. Just about everything we were told then was wrong, as the major historians of the period all acknowledge today. This Mainstream Narrative remains unchallenged in the popular imagination, 50 years later. Just [the other day](#), a *New York Times* reporter stated as fact that in 1967, “Israel defied annihilation by its Arab neighbors“.”

“Norman Finkelstein, the distinguished scholar, has done as much as anyone to uncover the truth about the Six-Day War. In a wide-ranging interview in his Brooklyn office, he refuted the Mainstream Narrative point by point. You can find his detailed revisionist account in a chapter of his now classic *Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict*, supplemented by another work: *Knowing Too Much: Why the American Jewish Romance with Israel is Coming to an End*.”

“Finkelstein emphasizes that no genuine academic today, whatever their political orientation, endorses the Mainstream Narrative. He starts by identifying what he has called the “**Two Biggest Lies:**” (1.) The truth is that Nasser and the other Arab leaders had absolutely no intention of invading Israel in June 1967; (2.) And Israel’s existence was never in the slightest doubt, as both Israeli and American leaders knew that Israel could easily win any conflict, even against a coalition of Arab states.”



In Lee O’Brien’s 1986 book, *American Jewish Organizations & Israel*, published by the Institute for Palestine Studies, she reveals that the APPME, “apologists for official Israeli policy,” was joined at the hip with a non-profit branch, the American Academic Association for Peace in the Middle East (AAPME), which sponsored the APPME’s quarterly publication, the *Middle East Review*, formerly called the *Middle East Information Series*, a Bulletin, and Special Reports.

With primary access to numerous documents published by the APPME and the AAPME, O’Brien also revealed that APPME and AAPME were monitoring and gathering data on American campus activities. In a March 1983 APPME memorandum sent to all APPME “regional chairmen and campus representatives,” it said:



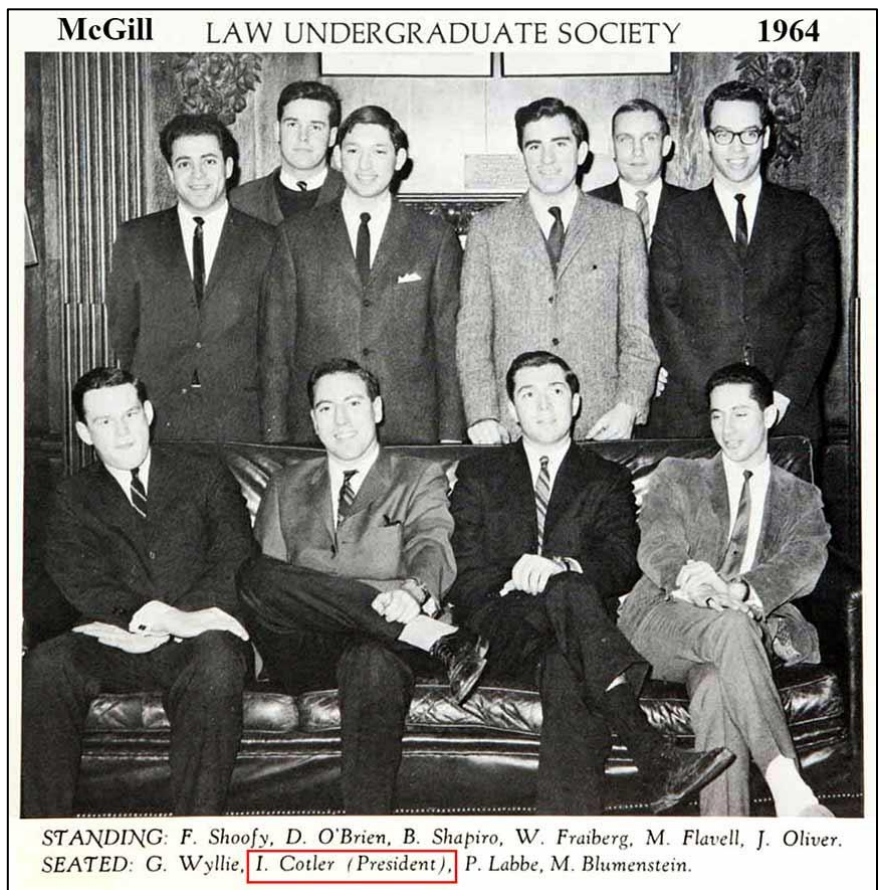
We have received a list of speakers who are being toured through the university circuit by other groups to present the Arab point of view. The problem with many of these presentations is that **they smack more of propaganda than of education**. In order of frequency and virulence the speakers are: Hatem Hussaini, Edward Said, Noam Chomsky, Fawaz Turki, Stokely Carmichael, James Zogby, Hassan Rahman, Chris Giannou, M.D., Israel Shahak, and Gail Pressberg. **It would be helpful if you would let us know whether any of these speakers appeared on your campus or on a neighboring university, what they said and what the question-and-answer period was like.** We would be equally interested to know whether any speakers presenting the Israeli point of view visited in your area and what transpired. While there are doubtless many speakers who espouse the Israeli position, it seems to us that there is no organized, centrally controlled, information plan like the one we are seeing on the Arab side. (Page 225)

By the mid-1980s, APPME had 16 regions and regional chairmen: New York Metropolitan; New York Upstate; Eastern Pennsylvania; Western Pennsylvania; Central Pennsylvania; District of Columbia; Midwest; Chicago; Southeast; Southwest; Texas; Southern California; Northern California; Northwest; and New England.

### 7.3. Cotler and the Canadian Professors for Peace Subsidiary Platform

Hannah Arendt was among a handful of intellectuals and academics who managed to escape the trap many others fell into, either willingly or otherwise. In the early 1970s, the Canadian press stated here and there that Irwin Cotler was credited for being the founder of the APPME Zionist subsidiary, the **Canadian Professors for Peace in the Middle East (CPPME)**. However, according to Howard Adelman's on-line obituary of July 26, 2023, it was Adelman, Harry Crowe, and Cotler that shared the honor of co-founding the CPPME sometime in 1973.

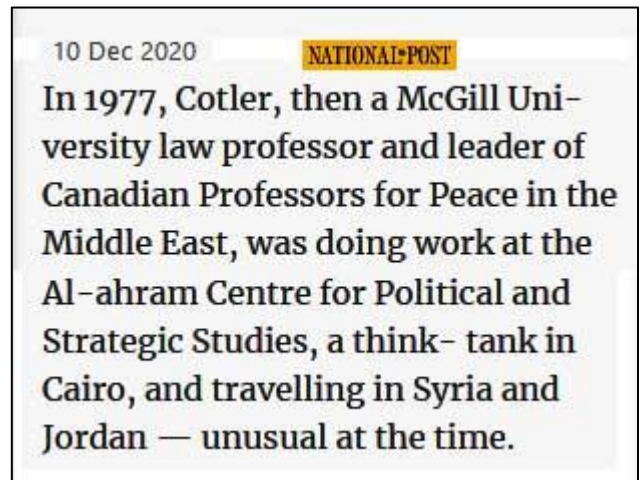
The "founding conference of Canadian Professors for Peace in the Middle East" took place the following year on November 10, 1974, at which "more than 400 people attended."



Professor Irwin Cotler of McGill University Law School was elected national chairman. Prof. Cotler said yesterday the organization, which already has active chapters at 17 Canadian universities, was formed because academics involved in Middle East studies felt it was becoming impossible to remain professionally neutral and wanted a non-political medium for becoming active.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>77</sup> *Scholars' group seeks peace in Middle East*, Globe and Mail, November 11, 1974

It was reported in the November 16, 1973, edition of the Toronto Star, a year prior to the founding conference, that a third chapter of CPPME had been formed at the University of Toronto. “York University and McGill University [where Cotler taught] already have chapters. The parent body is the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East, with 15,000 affiliates on 600 campuses.” “Morris Wayman, chairman of the group of about 25, said in a statement yesterday the main purpose of the new organization will be to study the Middle East situation and share its findings with the academic community and the community at large.”



In the Atlantic Jewish Council’s 1975 December issue of *Shalom*, University of New Brunswick political science professor Thomas Levy published a promotional article for CPPME. He stated:

CPPME is non-sectarian, that is, any Jew or non-Jew who subscribes to the goal of a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab states is welcome to join. The organization as such eschews direct political action and is not identified with any political party or faction. While academics who become members may differ among themselves as to the appropriate policies or proposals for peace in the Middle East and as to the degree of personal commitment required in pursuit of that goal, the common denominator at membership in CPPME is adherence to the principle of a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab states. This does not preclude individual members from expressing their own views in the public media or from associating themselves with other organizations concerned with Middle Eastern questions. Indeed, these activities are not necessarily inconsistent with the educational focus of CPPME.

Canadian Professors for Peace in the Middle East (CPPME) was launched on a nationwide basis in Toronto on November 10, 1974. Its sponsors include such distinguished Canadian academics as Ron Atkey, Lloyd Axworthy, John Brierly, Maxwell Cohen, Emil Fackenheim, Gernard Herzberg, Henry Hicks, Judy Lamarsh, Laurier Lapierre, Irving Layton, Gerald Le Dain, Albert Legault, David Lewis, Ronald St. John MacDonald, Donat Pharand, Maurice Pinard, Walter Tarnopolsky and Miriam Waddington, among others. CPPME’s principal object is to work for a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab states. This task is furthered in part by academic study and analysis of the social, political and economic issues underlying the conflict areas of the Middle East. In so doing, CPPME hopes to increase both awareness and understanding of these issues in the academic community and among the public at large.

As its APPME parent, the CPPME was an extended platform for political Zionism. In the CPPME’s toolkit was the Middle East Focus magazine, published by David Howard Goldberg, the later author of the 1990 book, *Foreign Policy and Ethnic Interest Groups: American and Canadian Jews Lobby for Israel*. Numerous Canadian academics served as CPPME chairmen over the following two decades, **including history professor Irving Abella in the 1980s**, the husband of the Supreme Court Justice who Cotler would later appoint in August 2004 when he served as Canada’s Justice Minister.



Israel's Six-Day War in June 1967 marked a significant staging moment and pivot point in the march of Israel/Zionism onto the international stage. Organizational and funding strategies advanced rapidly, particularly in the United States. Cotler was swept up in this growing wave as a young man then at Harvard Law School. He had graduated from McGill University Law School in 1964, where he probably met John Turner, the Liberal MP, in a mock debating forum. From about 1968 to 1972, Irwin served as Justice Minister Turner's speech writer and as one of his advisors. Cotler became connected to the federal Liberal Party. By 1971, Cotler was teaching poverty law at the City of Toronto's Osgood Hall Law School at York University. In 1973 Cotler moved to McGill University Law School where he was professor of international law, and where he remained until 1999 when he entered the federal political arena.

As with many other Canadian campuses, the human rights topics concerning Israel and Palestinians, alongside those of South Africa, Chile, Vietnam, Latin America, etc., were also prominent at McGill.

In the early 1970s, when he was chairman of the CPPME, Cotler participated at the 59<sup>th</sup> annual convention of Hadassah in Denver, Colorado, on August 28, 1973, where "more than 2,500 delegates representing 325,000 members in 1,400 chapters in the United States and Puerto Rico" attended.<sup>78</sup> Alongside I.L. Kenan, the chairman of the board of the American Israel Affairs Committee, Cotler was on the Zionist affairs plenary, where he was quoted: "the world relates more to the Palestinian condition than to the Israeli."<sup>79</sup> While on "a national speaking tour on Middle East affairs" in 1974,<sup>80</sup> Cotler was a guest speaker at the April 28-30, 1974, annual Hadassah Central States Regional conference in Dayton, Ohio, with his topic "A Time for War and a Time for Peace." Cotler, "a national executive of the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East, has stimulated much thought with his discussion of the "conspiracy to delegitimize Israel."<sup>81</sup> Eight months earlier, Cotler's topic, "Israel," was presented at the 14<sup>th</sup> annual conference of the Florida Region of Hadassah on May 5-7, 1974, at the Kahler Plaza Hotel.

#### 7.4. A Peek at the McGill Daily Newsletter, 1972–1975

**WE'RE USUALLY IN HOT WATER...**

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1974

**McGILL DAILY**

The Daily selects and covers news that will interest, inform and arouse McGill students.

If it means attacking the administration, we'll do it.

If it means exposing certain student politicians, we'll do it.

by arnold bennett  
VOL. 62, NO. 14 FRIDAY OCT. 6, 1972 THREE CENTS

## Daniels calls for Palestinian state

Pacifist Dan Daniels, an editor of *Our Generation* and a former organizer of the defunct Canadian Seamen's Union, talked about terrorism and non-violence to a handful of Sir George Hillel students Wednesday.

The main emphasis of the discussion was on the conflict between the Israelis and the Palestinians, including the events in Munich.

"Terrorism cannot be supported by reasons of any kind," Daniels declared. He defined two kinds of terrorism—"state terrorism" and "the terrorism of oppressed people or of people who think they are oppressed."

He pointed out that the condemnation of terrorism by the People's Republic of China has been unequivocal, and that China

condemned the Munich massacre in its statement to the UN.

"Even during the Cultural Revolution," Daniels maintained, "Mao always spoke out against the use of personal violence against opponents and advocated persuasion. If you could analyze the violence of the Cultural Revolution, you would probably find that most of it was committed either by counter-revolutionaries or by people who wanted to be more Maoist than Mao."

But he heaped scorn on the Portuguese condemnation of terrorism at the UN. "The Portuguese representative never mentioned state terrorism, like what Portugal is doing in Africa."

Daniels, who used to advocate a binational state of Israelis and Palestinians, no longer believes

continued on page 5

daily photo by alan feisher

DAN DANIELS, an editor of *Our Generation* speaking at a meeting where he advocated the formation of a Palestinian State.

<sup>78</sup> Hadassah's national convention Aug. 26-29 at Denver-Hilton, The Herald News, August 1, 1973.

<sup>79</sup> Galbraith urges economic controls, Greeley Daily Tribune, August 29, 1973.

<sup>80</sup> Dayton Daily News, April 27, 1974.

<sup>81</sup> Hadassah Confab Set, Dayton Daily News, April 24, 1974. It is possible that the reporter mistakenly stated he was on the executive of the APPME rather than the CPPME.

# Sarsoun on the struggle in the Middle East



daily photo by John Marrett

**LEBANESE PROFESSOR Samih Sarsoun spoke last night on the necessity for developing class struggle among the Arabs, while also waging war against imperialism and Zionism.**

Last night at the Carrefour International House, Professor Samih Sarsoun from Lebanon spoke on the topic of the current state of the Palestinian liberation struggle.

He began by giving a brief talk on the experience of the guerrilla movement and the Palestinian people.

"In 1890, with the collaboration of imperialist powers, the Zionist movement began," Sarsoun said that the British wanted control of the East bank of the Suez and the way in which this domination could be facilitated was by developing the Zionist ideology in that part of the world. Eventually, this Zionist colony grew to the point where the original Palestinian occupants had their land taken from them.

After Sarsoun's talk was finished a debate ensued between Sarsoun and some members of the audience as to the best strategy which the movement should employ. Several people disagreed with Sarsoun's contention that the struggle against Arab reactionary rulers should be put on the same level as the Anti-Imperialist, Anti-Zionist struggle. The main enemy of the Palestinian people is imperialist and Zionist interests, they believed. They felt that this

struggle should be given the priority over organizing the masses to overthrow people like Sadat. The direction of the movement should assume two forms. First, the movement should concentrate on defeating imperialism and Zionism and after this task is completed, it should attack the reactionary elements within the Arab world.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 26, 1972



RAAFAT JEWELY AND NESAR AHMAD at yesterday's forum.

daily photo by Jack Reiny

VOL. 62, NO. 87 WEDNESDAY FEB. 20 1973 THREE CENTS

## SGWU holds Middle East forum

by Linda Feldman

A meeting held last night at Sir George Williams University to discuss the Palestine Question elicited a lot of reaction, but few solutions among participants.

Approximately 70 students, including Palestinians and Israelis

Arabs and Jews, listened to guests Nesar Ahmad, editor of the Daily, and McGill Professor RAAFAT JEWELY evaluate Palestinian-Jewish relations since the founding of Zionism in the late 19th century.

Afterwards familiar themes of Israeli expansionism, Zionist ideology, treatment of Jewish minorities in Arab countries, Arab refugees, etc. threatened to invalidate the future-oriented tone set earlier by Ahmad.

"Theoretically, it should be more possible to hold a rational discussion on the topic here than in the Middle East, where tensions are so high," Ahmad told the audience.

According to Ahmad, Zionism would have to disappear as a political force if a basis for a permanent peace in Palestine is to be established. "The essence of the solution lies in establishing a socialist state that recognizes the rights of all the people in the area and devoid of laws like the Israeli Law of Return, which is a special privilege and not a right," he said. The Law of Return provides instant citizenship if desired for all Jews coming to Israel.

Ahmad rejected Zionist interpretations of history and persecution of Jews. Neither, he said, should be separated from the context in which it occurs. This attitude, he noted, promoted a tendency to ignore the existence of Palestinians as a people as much as possible. As a result, the question of a Palestinian-Israeli state became impossible.

"Peace will have to mean a change in attitude to the right to a Jewish state, Jewish character, and Jewish rights," he said. He strongly condemned Arab reactionaries seeking the elim-

ination of the Jewish state by the elimination or removal of Jews from the area. "This solution plays into the hands of the Zionists," he said. Israeli policies thereby became justified on the basis of "survival".

Professor Jewely said that the Israelis should not expect Palestinians to be dismissed from Palestine like exiles after 5000 years of history there. "If you want to tell Palestinians to forget about their homeland - good luck!" he said.

"I don't know why the Jews have to come from all over the world to live in a place which can't sustain them," one woman commented. Another member of the audience expressed the fear that Zionist ideology could result in a massive immigration of the world's 14 million Jews to Israel.

Other issues of contention included the definition of what a Jew is, and the right of all Jews to emigrate to Palestine. Not surprisingly, the first problem yielded no solution. Ahmad said that he did not accept "historical reasons" as being a sufficient ground for migrating to Palestine.

The discussion opened in an atmosphere of tension, since a student promoting the meeting was beaten up by 10 self-claimed Zionists earlier that day. In addition, posters advertising the event were removed from the university, and the Dean of Students received a phone call, allegedly from the Jewish Defence League, threatening to disrupt the meeting.

Organizers pointed out that in Palestine there was the same type of terrorism, and they added that the nature of Zionism had been revealed at the University.



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## STUDENT ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

Presents

### Dr. Louis Guttman

Originator of the Guttman Scale in Social Science Research.

Presently at MIT on leave from Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

### "SOLVING ISRAEL'S SOCIAL PROBLEMS"

Mon. Jan. 24th, 1 P.M. L219

FRIDAY, JANUARY 21, 1972

הסתדרות הסטודנטים הציונים

STUDENT ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

## ISRAELI DANCING

Today 12-2

## Comment

# The radical case for Zionism

by Stephen Aronson

Last Wednesday, the Daily printed a review entitled "The Radical Case Against Israel." The arguments raised in that article are representative of the anti-Israel stand that has become so fashionable in certain left-wing circles.

Addressing myself to the authors of Wednesday's article, I will attempt to demystify the anti-Israel position, describing the tendency of the left to view the Middle East conflict in either/or fashion.

I can think of few situations which lend themselves as little as the Mideast conflict to such simple-minded conceptualization.

How not to guard your oil interests

bastion of Democracy and the murderer of Vietnam, who tramples the downtrodden peoples and spares my life, who oppresses the blacks and supplies me with arms to save myself. You leave me no other alternative..." (Kenan, 'A Letter to All Good People, 23-3-58, Tel Aviv).

Accusing Israel of "imperialist" designs by virtue of American support is just one version of the old guilt-by-association line, by whose logic Ho Chi Minh was an imperialist aggressor as well, because he accepted American aid in the 1940's against the Japanese. Israel's alliance with America, even if it could be viewed as "unscrupulous", hardly justifies the call for the elimination of Israel as a state.

You claim that Israeli "democracy, social justice, and even 'socialism' are illusion and myth," and you claim that Bobor and the Matzpenists debunk the "myths". I want hard fact, not allusion and allegation. The fact of Matzpen's very existence — even while advocating the dismemberment of Israel — testifies to the fundamental democratic character of the state of Israel. Or is democracy worth so little to you progressive, good people these days? (There are other examples that would be instructive in this context. There are other, stronger and more important political groups in Israel that are as critical of aspects of Israeli society as is Matzpen. These would be more worthy of our attention.)

the common home into a flourishing community, the upbuilding of which may assure to each of its peoples an undisturbed national development". This resolution was passed by the Zionist Congress, September 1921; at Carisbad, Germany. Weitz' remarks, quite fortunately, never were official policy. I assume there to be closed-minded elements on both sides of the conflict. (Weitz' remarks sound strikingly similar to those of Arafat, Habash, or Khaddafi.)

Moshe Dayan's remarks that you seem so proud to reveal as 'proof of Israeli militarism' — "Without iron helmets and cannon we would never be able to plant a tree or build a house" — is this anything more than statement of a sad

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1973

continue to be viewed by the 'enlightened' international left as the violator of international morality.

Unfortunately, the view I am expressing is not now stated policy of the Israeli government (unless covert contacts have been established with Palestinian leaders, which is plausible, but not likely, given the intransigence of the Palestinian rhetoric). However, this non-maximalist, even 'anti-maximalist' Zionist position is held by a large number of Israeli leaders (Eliav, Ben-Aharon, and many others) and by a large enough majority of the population that it is only inevitable that it will be explicitly stated as Israeli policy.

In any case, I tell myself that this approach is the only way out of this

# ISRAEL MUST LIVE!

On Saturday morning on the holiest day of the Jewish calendar troops from Egypt and Syria violated the 1967 ceasefire lines and attacked Israel.

Other Arab nations, namely Jordan, Iraq, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Libya, Algeria,

and Tunisia expressed support by sending troops to fight shoulder to shoulder with the aggressors.

As part of the massive display of student solidarity with Israel's right to survive, there will be a mass rally TODAY!

Wednesday, October 10

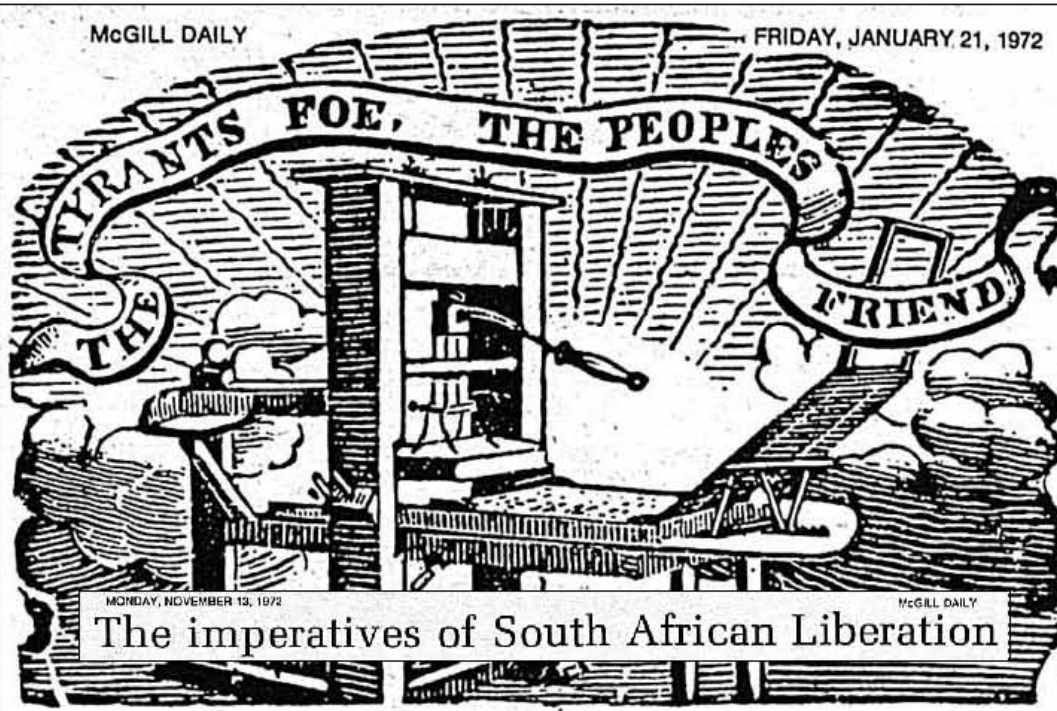
12:00 p.m.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1973

In Front of the Union

- Concerned Students for Israel





The imperatives of South African Liberation

# Canada aids apartheid says Echenberg

by David Rees

Canadian Government policy towards South Africa was called two-faced, in a talk by Professor Myron Echenberg, of the Department of History, before a small group of graduate students last night.

Echenberg said that while the Ministry of External Affairs calls the racist policy of apartheid "a cancer that will eventually lead to race war" and believes in majority rule in South Africa, it encourages Canadians to invest in South Africa.

In addition, the Ministry of Trade and Commerce, in its publication "Foreign Trade" also recommends the "excellent investment opportunities in South Africa's growing economy," he said.

Echenberg said that a uniform government position, clearly stating the dangers of investment in South Africa should be made. Present preferential tariffs for South African sugar should be abolished, he said, and government-financed technical assistance should be absolutely forbidden.

Canada should also encourage black liberation move-

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1974



A Canadian mining operation in South Africa.

ments, through the U.N. or the Organization of African Unity, and should welcome refugees from the "nightmarishly repressive government of South Africa," Echenberg said.

Echenberg said that total

Canadian investment in South Africa was small, but named several companies including Massey-Ferguson, Sun Life, the Aluminum Company of Canada and Falconbridge as large investors.



# Canada's role in Africa discussed at McGill

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1974

## Pro-Israel students demonstrate

VOL. 63, NO. 15, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1973

by Paul Vezina

About 400 people, students, and supporters of the Israeli cause in the Middle East gathered in front of the Union yesterday at a rally organized by the "Concerned Students for Israel" (CSI). The rally aimed at expressing solidarity by Jewish university students with Israel.

Each of the three speakers who addressed the assembly stressed the need for solidarity and for both financial and moral support. They condemned the recent Arab "aggression", saying that it is the cause of unnecessary loss of life on both sides, and that a long-term settlement is possible only through direct negotiations.

The main speaker, Myer Bick, executive-director of the Canada-Israel Committee in Montreal, attacked the news media, saying that it is biased against Israel.

He went on to assert that "Israel will be victorious." In a press release, the CSI condemned the Arab attack, launched on the Jewish Day of Atonement, saying that it "was vulgar from both political and ethical viewpoints." The CSI went on to say that "the attack accomplishes no long-term solution and only rekindles hatred towards Israel in Arab lands, and the futile denial of Israel's existence".

"We condemn this escalation of the Middle East war", the CSI continued. "We condemn Russian involvement in this action, both in planning the operation and supplying arms to make the war possible".

The rally concluded with the singing of the Israeli national anthem, after which it dispersed quietly.

by andrea kneeland

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1973

## Apologizing for Israel

"Survival first, morality second" is the basis of Israeli foreign policy, in the opinion of Professor A. Meltzer of the Jewish Studies Department at McGill. He accused some members of his audience at Hillel House of an "obsession with morality."

U.S.-supplied phantom jets are "angels of life" for Israel, Meltzer said, and Israeli foreign politics must court American approval at any cost. The decision to recognize South Viet Nam might be distasteful, he continued, but Israel cannot afford to argue with American "requests."

A member of the audience argued that Israel's recognition of the Thieu regime is far from crucial to the U.S., and Israel could allow its moral sense to overrule its self-interest. Meltzer answered that Israel's support to American policies assures the support of American Jews. Therefore, the U.S. cannot allow Israel to go its own way.

Support of the white minority regime in South Africa is justified by Israeli self-interest, Meltzer believes. Israel must worry about Jews, not blacks, and he implied

that Jewish interests in South Africa are white.

Israeli Arabs are allowed to remain in Israel, Meltzer said, but have no self-determination, and Arab immigration is forbidden.

"The idea of Zionism is a Jewish state in Israel... Therefore if Jews live in Israel, it must be at the expense of the Arabs."

Meltzer discussed the possibility of leftists gaining wide support in Israel. "In a democracy, the wrong opinion sometimes prevails. But they have no chance. The left is vocal, but an eternal minority."

Critical members of the audience were accused by Meltzer of looking at Israeli policy through a North American prism. Non-Israeli Jews have no right to attack Israel on moral grounds, he believes, because they have not lived through the Middle East war. "It is immoral, rather, to criticize Israel for trying to save Israeli lives... Everything we do, we must weigh against the Jewish blood that will be spilt."

His justification of Israel's self-interest was: "politics, sober politics."

## Indian leader says Ottawa genocidal

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1974

## Speaker calls for destruction of Israel

VOL. 63, NO. 8

MONDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1973

An American representative of the Israeli League of Human Rights says "the structure of the Zionist-Jewish state of Israel" — but not the people within it — should be destroyed.

Dr. Norton Mezvinsky, explaining that the cause of the problems in the Middle East is the Zionist nature of the state of Israel, said Friday at Sir George Williams University that his call for destruction is for "orderly and peaceful destruction." He called for the establishment of a secular, multi-racial state, but admitted that his proposals were only partial solutions.

Also speaking at Sir George Friday, which was the fourth day of a conference sponsored by the Quebec-Palestine Association on the Middle East, was Barry Rubin, foreign editor of the American radical weekly newspaper The Guardian.

Rubin predicted a violent future for the Middle East and disagreed with the view that U.S. policy in the Middle East is directed by the Jewish minority in the U.S.

U.S. policy in the Middle East is made in the interest of "the people that run the country, the majority of whom are not Jewish — in fact, they are anti-Semitic."



Barry Rubin (left) and Norton Mezvinsky discussing the Middle East question at Sir George last Friday.



# The Israel-Palestine conflict clarified

The following article is the transcript of a speech read on Tuesday night at the Middle East Conference held at McGill. The conference was sponsored by the Middle East Anti-Imperialist Coalition.

by Nesar Ahmad

The Middle East Anti-Imperialist Coalition has been formed recently, to solicit active cooperation and support of various groups as well as individuals in Montreal in disseminating accurate and responsible information on the struggles of the peoples in the Middle East. Since the struggle of the Palestinian people against the imperialist-backed Zionist colonialism is the major battle in the area today, its emphasis will understandably be placed on this struggle.

The need for the formation of such an organization is based on the fact that the media in Montreal, like the Western capitalist media elsewhere, has followed a policy of systematic distortion in presenting the Arab-Israel and the Palestinian-Israel conflict.

A number of writers, both Arab and non-Arab, have documented the widespread pro-Zionist bias in the Western media. To find evidence for this bias, all one has to do is to pick up an issue of almost any European or North American newspaper that contains a story on



this continued subjugation that the people of the Middle East are rising up and seeking a newer life which will be devoid of misery, exploitation and general stagnation.

What the coalition would like to explain in greater detail, however, is its anti-Zionist principle. It opposes Zionism for two fundamental reasons.

First, it opposes Zionism because it is essentially a colonialist doctrine, which has sought in the past, and is still seeking, to destroy an entire nation, the Palestinian nation, in order to establish and expand the settlement of the Jewish people in Israel. We look upon Zionism not as a movement of Jewish liberation but as the systematic establishment in Palestine of an alien settler state, existing at the expense of, and as the result of, the dispossession of the Palestinians. The corollary from this is that Israel cannot be maintained in its present form without also systematically excluding the Palestinian Arabs.

It is sometimes argued that Arab nationalism and Zionism are parallel political movements against colonialism and oppression. Where the Arab nationalism was a direct response to colonialism in the Arab world, Zionism, in implementing its "national expression", no matter how pressing and humane the reasons, became guilty of uproot-

ing discriminations in Israel, and homeless in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon.

It must be categorically rejected that one community has the right to put itself above the other, as the Zionists have done by means of the Law of Return and exclusively Jewish institutions. Palestinians are by no means obligated to provide land to solve the Western Jewish problem.

The second reason why the coalition opposes Zionism is because of its active alliance, ever since its inception, with the dominant imperialist power of the time. The Israeli leaders have not deviated at all from the method of operation set forth by the founder of Zionism, Theodore Herzl.

"From the moment that I entered the movement, I turned my eyes toward Britain because I saw that, owing to the general state of affairs over there, it was the centre of gravity where a lever could be applied."

"Britain, the great and free Britain, the ruler of the seas, will understand us and our aims. Starting from that point, the Zionist idea will take wing, ever farther and higher, we can be sure of that."

Theodore Herzl

All Herzl's efforts were aimed at securing the help of different imperialists—British, German, Turkish, eventually, the Zion-

## Palestinian and Israeli views on the Middle East conflict

October 11, 1973

The current war in the Middle East has aroused strong controversy at McGill as it has throughout the world. In an effort to elucidate the situation, Daily editor Jean Mandelberg invited several speakers to discuss the Arab and Jewish communities in Montreal. Each was asked the same questions about the present conflict and more generally, about the situation in the Middle East that has led to the conflict since the inception of the state of Israel.

**Dr. Faraj Fatah, President of the Quebec-Palestine Solidarity Committee** was born in Bilal, Palestine. In 1948, he became a refugee and lived for awhile in a refugee camp. From there he travelled through Europe and finally came to Canada.

**The purpose of the Quebec-Palestine Solidarity Committee** is to inform Quebecers about the situation in the Middle East and to provide support for the Palestinian people. It also aims to help the Palestinian people to express their solidarity with the people of Quebec and the Palestinian people.

**Mr. Faraj is the National Director of the Canada-Israel Committee** which is the representative of Canadian Public Affairs. He is also the head of the largest group of Canadian volunteers in Israel to help out during the 1973 war.

**Daily:** How would you define a Palestinian? **Faraj:** A Palestinian would be anyone who really fights for liberty, for democracy, for social justice, for human rights. A Palestinian is one of those people who were driven out of Palestine, and all those who will be there after the restoration of Israel and the creation of a democratic state where Jews, Moslems, Christians, Alevis, and others, could live together. These people will be Palestinians.

**Daily:** Are there children also Palestinians? **Faraj:** Those children are the first to be considered because they have suffered since 1948. They have no home and no identity. In this world, if you don't come from a country, and you have no identity, you will look at you as a refugee. You will lose your dignity. These children should gain their right to identify to go back and live in a democratic and peaceful way.

**Daily:** How would you define an Israeli? **Faraj:** An Israeli is someone who has been born in his own land in Palestine since 1948, especially those who were born there. I would not define Abba Eban as an Israeli, because he was born in a future Palestine, I would not define Ben-Gurion as an Israeli, because he was born in any other land, and he was not Jewish or any other Israeli when he left his land. In the Palestinian Israeli conflict, the Palestinians claim that they have a right to the land. What do you think about this claim?

**Daily:** It is important to differentiate between the rights to the land and the rights to dignity. The Palestinians today do not ask for the land. They want their dignity. They fight to create the society they are entitled to. In the same way, the Jews in 1917-1920, 20 per cent of the land was owned and occupied by the Jews. There were 50,000 Jews and 600,000 Arabs. In 1948, they agreed that the Jews would have 56 per cent of the land. The question today is, where do the Palestinians have today? The solution is to create a new state, a new state of a modern state. People would not say, "This is my land, this is my land." The Palestinians should have the land, demilitarized, and the Jews should have the land, demilitarized. The Jews should have the land, demilitarized, and the Palestinians should have the land, demilitarized. The Jews should have the land, demilitarized, and the Palestinians should have the land, demilitarized.

along with the progressive left in Israel which would oppose a settlement like that. Do they have to eliminate those or master them?

**Daily:** It is in the interest of the Palestinian people that this war go on continuously. If the Arab regimes stop, the masses will support the resistance more. If the Israeli government will get more support from the Arabs, they will have to give up their right, they have to give up their land. The masses of the war will probably be a negotiated settlement in the east of the Palestinian people and the left in Israel. If the Palestinians do good work and the Israeli continues, then the outcome will be much better.

**Daily:** You say a negotiated solution does not mean that there won't be a solution for the Palestinian people? **Faraj:** No. Before you put the negotiated solution into action, you have to eliminate those people who are against it. **Daily:** How, so it will be a peaceful solution just between Israel, Jordan, Egypt, and Syria. Do you think that the "Great Powers" should play a role in negotiating a final settlement to the Israeli-Palestine conflict? **Faraj:** They are already playing a role. They should play any role. They should be there at all, but the American interest in the Middle East is very big and they need Israel. The Soviet interest in the Middle East is very big as well. From a point of view of strategy, it is a powerful region and it has rich natural resources. From another point of view it is a good market for both of them. **Daily:** Do you think that Israel will remain an occupied or a U.S. economic destination in the future? **Faraj:** As long as America exists in Israel it will remain so.

**Daily:** Is it a very delicate thing to answer? **Faraj:** It is a very delicate thing to answer. The Israeli history, the Jews have lived everywhere, contributed to the culture of the countries they've lived in, have been the leading people in these countries and have produced writers and philosophers in every country they've lived in. I personally have nothing against them calling themselves a people who they've lived in. But on what basis do they consider a people? In fact, it is a human right. All Moslems or all Christians, one and one people. On this basis, I will not say that. But if they want to unite a people — as a group of people that have something in common — they should do it on their own. When they constitute a people, they should be a people, in one word, and I would not say that.

**Daily:** Do you think that the Jews are a people, and do they have a right to a homeland? **Faraj:** It is a very delicate thing to answer. The Israeli history, the Jews have lived everywhere, contributed to the culture of the countries they've lived in, have been the leading people in these countries and have produced writers and philosophers in every country they've lived in. I personally have nothing against them calling themselves a people who they've lived in. But on what basis do they consider a people? In fact, it is a human right. All Moslems or all Christians, one and one people. On this basis, I will not say that. But if they want to unite a people — as a group of people that have something in common — they should do it on their own. When they constitute a people, they should be a people, in one word, and I would not say that.

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Daily photos by Ron Mandel

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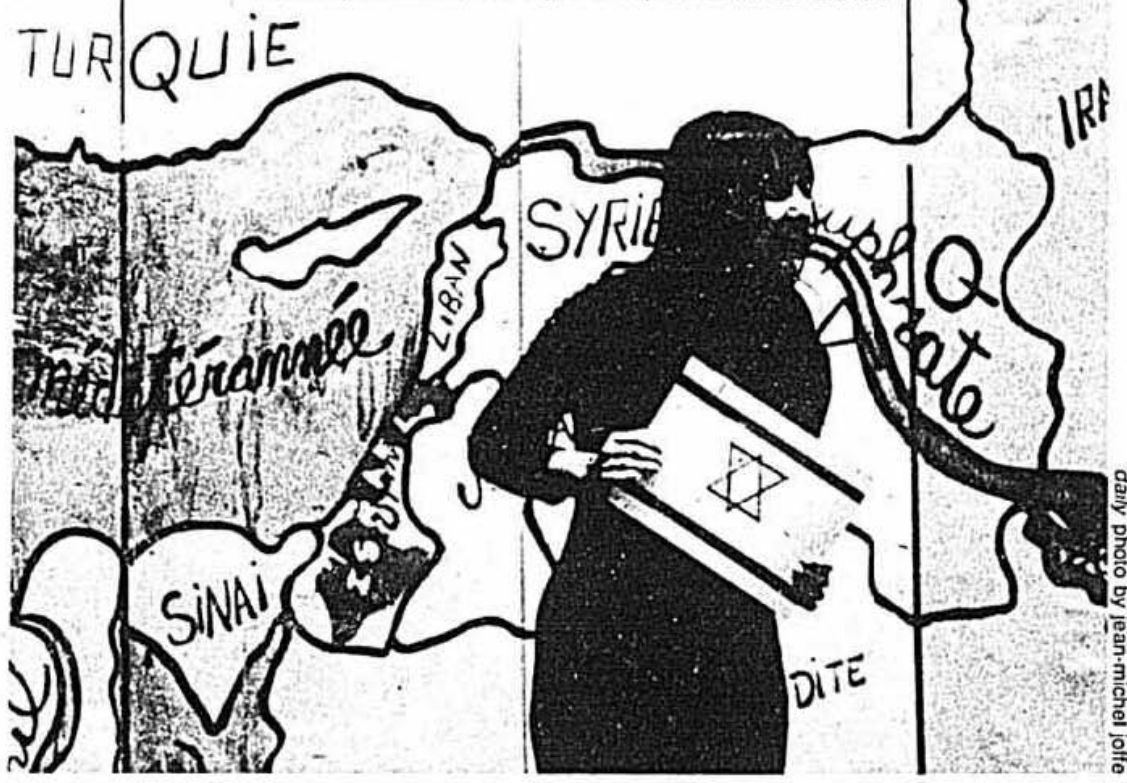
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by andrea kneeland  
VOL. 62, NO. 41 WEDNESDAY, NOV. 15, 1972 THREE CENTS  
**Vietnam**  
**penetration**  
**planned**





AN ACTRESS from the Quebec Workers' Theatre performs in a play presented last night in the Union Ballroom as part of a Quebec-Palestinian Solidarity Night. The evening was sponsored by the Arab Students' Society of McGill, the Palestinian Arab Association, the Arab Centre and the Palestinian-Quebec Solidarity Committee. Highlights of the evening included speeches on the history of the Palestinian resistance movement, solidarity messages from various progressive groups in Montreal, and a film on Palestine.

## Forum on Middle East

VOL. 63 NO. 43 TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1973 3 CENTS



Daily photo by Robert Bellini

Dr. Yehya Abubakar, director of the Arab Information Centre in Ottawa, seated on the left; and Abdullah, a representative of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, on the right, present their views on the latest developments in the Middle East at an Arab Students' Association sponsored forum.

There will be no peace solution in the Middle East, until the rights of the indigenous people of Palestine are gained, a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) said Friday night.

The PLO representative, Abdullah, was speaking on the current situation in the Middle East at a forum sponsored by the Arab Students' Association at McGill.

"Peace in the Middle East will emerge only if the rights of the Palestinians are restored," he said. "This means restoration of the right of self-determination in our country, in Palestine."

The solution to the (Palestinian) problem, according to Abdullah, would be the construction of a free, democratic state in Palestine, where citizens could enjoy equal status regardless of race, origin, or religion. In such a state, he said, Jews would retain the right to practice their religion and speak their languages. "Jews would be neither oppressed or oppressors."

Abdullah emphasized that the current fight was not "launched in 1973, but was a resumption of fighting from 1967 and from 1917 — after the Balfour declaration." He said, however, that this was the first time that "actual Arab unity was demonstrated, as well as international support from Third World countries."

Twenty-nine countries broke diplomatic relations with Israel during the last six months.

Abdullah said the "revenge of the Palestinians for their 25 year exile would be the creation of a democratic state." "Our struggle will not be the struggle of Arabs, of Palestinians, but of the Third World, of peace-loving nations throughout the world. We will continue holding weapons until that time."

The other speaker at the forum, Dr. Yehya Abubakar, the director of the Arab Information Centre in Ottawa, focused on oil and the attitude of the U.S. towards the Arabs.

Abubakar quoted Mitchell Sharp, the external affairs minister, saying that Canada would not cut off oil to the U.S. to appease the Arabs. "Nixon could dictate the export of Canadian oil to America because of American ownership of the Canadian petroleum industry. By the same principle, Nixon claims that oil produced in Arab countries is American oil," Abubakar said. He explained, "Oil produced in Arab countries is a natural resource of the Arabs — it is their oil."

He also said there was a time when the U.S. offered only four cents a barrel for Arab oil because of a feeling of cultural superiority. Abubakar termed this "cultural exploitation." "The U.S. said to the Arabs, 'You can live in tents. We need luxury. It would take you years to get used to luxury anyhow,'" said Abubakar.

He discussed the western commercial media stereotype of Arabs as "forbidding black-mailers." He then asked if Alberta was a blackmailed with its oil, or Manitoba with its grain, or the United States "of the whole world."

In the discussion period that followed Abdullah's speech, the PLO representative said that reports that Palestinian leaders had accepted invitations to the December peace conference were false. He said that one Egyptian newspaper, and the French paper *Le Monde* had spread the story that the Palestinian leaders had accepted, but that this was false as yet. "It is just a speculation whether they will attend," he said.

# THE OTHER ISRAEL

THE  
RADICAL  
CASE  
AGAINST  
ZIONISM

EDITED BY ARIE BOBER

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1973

The Other Israel: The Radical Case Against Zionism. Edited by Arie Bober. Doubleday, New York. 1972. 264 pp. Paper, \$2.75.

by Don Tapscott and Al Cappe

Richard Nixon's recent request for \$2.2 billion to finance Israel's military operation has caused many people to question the strong pro-Zionist position generally carried by the press, education system and other institutions of North American society. "History's biggest airlifts" (as Time magazine put it)—hundreds of 747's, 707's, C-130 and C-141 cargo planes and F4 Phantom fighter bombers carrying tanks, bombs, 105 mm. shells, radar jammers, missiles, etc.—comes at a time when the memories of Vietnam are strong and clear.

And just as millions of people came to question why the United States was propping up the regime in South Vietnam, many are beginning to ask what interests Washington and the Pentagon have in backing the state of Israel.

The socialist critique of the roots of the Mideast problem is one which deserves serious consideration. The Other Israel: The Radical Case Against Zionism is a collection of articles and documents of the Israeli Socialist organization, Matzpen—an organization of Arabs and Jews in Israel.

Zionism was never supported by all Jews. In 1903, the first president of Israel, Chaim Weitzman, wrote that contrary to the beliefs of Western European Jewry, "the lion's share of (East European) youth is anti-Zionist—not from an assimilationist point of view, as in West Europe, but rather as a result of their revolutionary mood." In 1970 the Israeli daily Ha'aretz wrote that

"there is no doubt that a movement like Matzpen attracts the youth... The Zionist youth movements lost their attractiveness a long time ago."

In order to establish the state of Israel in Palestine, 750,000 Palestinian people had to be driven from their homeland into the desert. 1.3 million people still live in refugee camps today because of this. Palestine was not a "land without people, waiting for a people without land". At the time of the U.S. partition of Palestine in 1948, the Jews were only one-third of the population. The formation of the Jewish state required the purchase of land from absentee landlords and the forcible eviction of the native population. Bober uses powerful quotations from the Zionist leaders themselves to prove this point. He quotes from the diary of R. Weitz, the long time head of the Jewish Agency's colonization department:

"Between ourselves it must be clear that there is no room for both peoples together in this country... We shall not achieve the goal of being an independent people with the Arabs in this country. The only solution is a Palestine, at least Western Palestine, (west of the Jordan River) without Arabs... And there is no other way than to transfer the Arabs from here to the neighbouring countries—to transfer all of them; Not one village, not one tribe should be left... only after this transfer will the country be able to absorb the millions of our own brethren. There is no other way out." (Emphasis in the original.)

Or as Moshe Dayan said: "Without iron helmets and cannon we would never be able to plant a tree or build a house."

Bober's book shows how Zionism is not the solution to the problem of the Jews. Only by breaking from Zionism and supporting the just struggle of the Palestinians to return to their homes can the Jewish people begin along the road of ending anti-Semitism. Rather than being a bulwark against the oppressed, the Jewish people could become the centre of the struggle for a socialist society based on the abolition of all forms of persecution.

Bober quotes from an underground youth paper in Israel:

"You, the tired and young man awake! Liberate yourselves from the traditions of your father and your grandfather. Protest against the stupid leadership that brought you here. Stop agreeing with every word uttered by Dayan and Golda. Go into the streets, mount the barricades and fight for peace... The war was not forced upon us; it was forced upon yourself by following your leaders. Do as young people all over the world. They fight for peace in foreign places, and you don't fight for peace in your own country."

Demonstrators protest against Israel's actions in the latest Middle East war.

VOL. 63, NO. 14, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1973

## Israeli actions condemned

Three hundred people, members and supporters of the Arab community in Montreal, turned out to support a demonstration against "Israeli aggression" at 5:30 p.m. yesterday.

The crowd gathered at the Roddick gates, from where they

moved west along Sherbrooke Street and then north along Cote des Neiges to McGregor. On McGregor they stopped in front of the Israeli consulate, where they chanted such phrases as:

"Long live the Palestinian Revolution! Long live the struggle

of the Arab peoples against Zionist aggressors! Down with Zionism and U.S. imperialism!"

The demonstration then went back along McGregor to McTavish and down to Dominion Square, where it ultimately dispersed.

VOL. 62, NO. 90 MONDAY, MARCH 5, 1973 THREE CENTS



daily photo by mark saniford

ANTI-ZIONIST HISTORIAN Norton Mezvinsky reveals a dark family secret. One of his relatives sits in the Israeli Parliament for the ultra-religious party.

by linda feldman

## Zionism hotly debated - again

The only solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is to de-Zionize the State of Israel, American historian Norton Mezvinsky told an audience of 150 at McGill last Friday.

"I know the likelihood of Jews de-Zionizing is minimal," he said, "but there are shifts in American and Jewish public opinion."

"And there are indications that youth in Israel is moving that way," he said.

According to the University of Connecticut professor, the Zionist nature of Israel is the fundamental problem in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

"From the Arab viewpoint, the State is exclusivist and discriminatory," Mezvinsky said. He supported these views with references to Zionist ideology and practices.

"Zionism cannot allow the Jewish nature of the State to be demographically threatened," he said. The Law of Return, he pointed out, encourages Jewish immigration. However, non-Jews desiring Israeli citizenship are subject to complicated procedures which can result in the rejection of their applications.

Mezvinsky also claimed that no repatriation of Arabs had taken place since the 1948 and 1967 wars. In fact, land ownership laws, and confiscation practices have led to a reduction in the amount of Arab-held lands.

"The Emergency Defense Regulations," Mezvinsky also noted, "have been used to hold 16,000 Arabs since 1951." In that same period, only one Jewish male and nine Jewish females — all coincidentally married to Arabs — were arrested under the Regulations, which date from the British mandate.

Mezvinsky said the Zionist concept of aliyah — "coming up" into the land of Israel — was the base for Israeli expansionism. Zionism presupposes that Jews are faced or will be faced with anti-Semitism, he noted. Thus, it

encourages the emigration of world Jewry to Israel.

"If Jews were to emigrate, Israel would have to expand," he pointed out.

According to Mezvinsky, Zionism as a secular expression of Jewish nationalism is antagonistic to basic precepts of Judaism. "It's not a valid philosophical or theological expression of the Jewish religion," he claimed.

Mezvinsky stated that Israel's insistence on "safe" borders was invalid in an age of sophisticated weaponry and nuclear armaments. Egypt's President Anwar Sadat, by calling for Israel to withdraw to the pre-1967 borders, in effect had recognized those borders, Mezvinsky claimed. Therefore, the Zionist argument that Israel's borders must be recognized before any withdrawal was negated.

The American professor expressed the hope that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict would be settled peacefully. "Part of the problem is that both sides have certain rights to the land," he admitted.

"No issue is good enough to provoke the killing of people by other people," he concluded.

Also appearing at the meeting was Quebec labour leader Michel Chartrand.

Addressing the audience partly in French, he said it was humiliating how much people here had been deceived by reports on the conflict.

"We have had the impression that the Palestinians were werewolves," he said. "But in fact, the Israelis have acted towards them in the same way the French did towards the Algerians."

"I may not be an intellectual," Chartrand continued, "but I know that if someone were in my house, I would want to get that person out."

Chartrand visited Palestinian refugee camps last summer in a tour of Arab countries. He ex-

continued on page 4



# Anti-Semitism and Zionism

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1972



According to the Zionist logic, any person who does not accept Zionist aspirations or does not support unconditionally the policies of Israel is an anti-Semite. David Riesman of Harvard University, writing in the *Jewish Newsletter* said: "the Zionists can muster not merely the threat of the Jewish vote, and the no less important Jewish financial and organizational skills, but also the blackmail of attacking anyone who opposes their political aims for Israel as an anti-Semite." An American writer, the late Dorothy Thompson, a longtime advocate of the Jewish cause, suddenly was accused of being an anti-Semite because she raised her voice in defence of the Palestine Arab refugees.

Senator Jacob K. Javits in refuting "rumours accusing Richard Nixon of anti-Semitism" during the 1960 Presidential election campaign, presented the argument that "Vice-President Nixon has long been a friend of Israel." As if the criterion for deciding who is and who is not an anti-Semite depends entirely on one's attitude towards Israel.

Perhaps few people remember that widespread support for Zionism by American Jewry is a relatively recent phenomenon. Until the second quarter of the present century a majority of American Jews remained apathetic to the program of political Zionism, and a sizeable and influential minority namely, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, was unalterably opposed to it.

Zionist historians admit that it was the Hitlerite catastrophe that gave post-war Zionism "a moral argument to which the Gentile world could have no answer"; and that when the British Navy turned immigrant ships away from the Palestine coast, it gave the Jews "a great moral weapon." It was, perhaps, to establish this "moral argument" that the Zionists sabotage schemes to admit Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe. According to Er-

skine Childers, when President Roosevelt, during the war, was considering the feasibility of helping Jewish refugees to settle in America and elsewhere, his plan was opposed by Zionists and anti-Semites alike. Childers quotes Sulzberger of the *New York Times* as having asked in 1946: "Why in God's name should the fate of all these unhappy people be subordinated to the single cry of (Jewish) statehood?"

The conflict of interests between "these unhappy people" and the Zionist cry for Jewish statehood was recognized by Ben Gurion as early as 1938. "Zionism is endangered," he wrote. "If Jews will have to choose between the refugees, saving Jews from concentration camps, and assisting a national museum in Palestine, mercy will have the upper hand and the whole energy of the people will be channeled into saving Jews from various countries."

In Germany itself, the Zionist movement thrived during the first months of the Hitler regime. And as Hannah Arendt, in her book, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, points out, all leading positions in the Nazi-appointed *Reichsvereinigung* were held by Zionists, because Zionists, according to the Nazis, were the 'decent' Jews since they too thought in "national terms".

Since the basis of Zionism is that Jewish assimilation in other countries is in the long run impossible and that anti-Semitism and persecution are bound to break out sooner or later, Zionism has almost a vested interest in racial discrimination, to prove its point.

An examination of events in the Middle East clearly shows how Zionism thrives on insecurity, real or imaginary, in Jewish communities throughout the world, and on the so-called danger to Israel. When tensions subside, the Israelis stage border incidents to remind world Jewry of Israel's "peril" and their duty to raise funds for its

"defence".

And as the historical events are reconstructed on the basis of a growing accumulation of data and of careful analyst, in a recent *Ramparts* interview, stated that the contributed substantially to the creation of the crisis of May 1967. A former NSA (National Security Agency) analyst, in a recent *Ramparts* interview, stated that the U.S. agency was "picking up data as early as February that the Israelis had a massive build-up of arms, a massing of men and material, war exercises, increased level of penetration of Arab territory—just everything a country does to prepare for war". The NSA expressed the belief to the White House that "there is some preparation for unexpected Israeli attack". And last March, the Chief of the Supplies and Provisions Section of the Supreme Council of the Israeli Army during the 1967 war declared that to say Israel was under the threat of annihilation is "a delusion that arose and grew only after the war". He felt the government had the view that only such a threat could justify the waging of war.

Zionists have openly admitted the use of anti-Semitism for their own benefit. William Zukerman in the *Jewish Newsletter* points out that "It is not surprising that the Zionist press is exaggerating the slightest anti-Semitic incidents into grave dangers. This is a fundamental principle of Zionist ideology: for anti-Semitism is the force to drive Jews to leave their American 'exile' and settle in Israel."

There is no doubt that without the constant threat of anti-Semitism, there could be no Zionism. Israel has to create an anti-Semitic atmosphere in order to insure the flow of Jewish immigration to Israel, and more importantly, the flow of colossal financial aid she now extracts from Western Jewry.

Nesar Ahmad  
Julian Sher

# Why Zionism is under attack

## Comment

In the past few weeks a paranoid reaction has echoed through the pages of the western commercial press in response to the UN resolution on the racist character of Zionism.

A recent *Gazette* editorial said the resolution "will serve as a cover of respectability for those with the darkest designs for bringing peoples into subjection to authoritarian power." An article in the same paper had described it as an "inversion of history through rewriting in order to serve current political ambitions."

The *Gazette* editorial warned that the resolution "constitutes an immediate and present threat" to the functioning of the UN.

Indeed the past couple of years has seen important changes in the UN. Once an organization totally dominated by the US, the UN today has become an arena in which the countries and peoples of the third world and non-aligned nations have effectively challenged superpower aspirations for world domination and simultaneously forged new levels of unity among themselves.

The resolution condemning Zionism as being racist is another manifestation of the new third world solidarity in the struggle for national independence and genuine political sovereignty.

A look at some of the major issues which the 30th Assembly of the UN is dealing with shows that everywhere imperialism is on the defensive and people's struggles are progressing.

A draft resolution submitted by Algeria, China, and other countries aims to remove the 40,000

American troops still stationed in south Korea under the United Nations flag.

The questions of Puerto Rican independence, the status of the Panama Canal Zone, and fascist repression in Chile command the attention of the UN and help to show how all of Latin America and the Caribbean are becoming important areas of anti-imperialist struggle.

The push to review the UN Charter to expand the power of the General Assembly while restricting the power of the Security Council is also aimed at giving third world countries greater representation and curbing the ability of the superpowers—the US and the USSR—to veto the demands of the world's peoples.

The attack on Zionism comes in this context and in the context of the struggle for a new world economic order based on the principles of sovereignty, equality, and mutual benefit rather than on exploitation by imperialist countries.

Israel continues to hold large sections of Arab territory and arrogantly attempts to block the efforts of the Palestinian people for self-determination. For the US and the USSR, Israel is a handy tool for maintaining the state of tension in the Middle East which allows them to contend for spheres of influence, places of strategic importance, and oil resources.

The commercial press would have us think that the attack on Zionism is an anti-Semitic attack, that it is racist to call Zionism racist.

The *Gazette* editorial puts Zionism "in the mainstream of national movements... that has

brought self-determination not just to the nation of Israel, but also to most of the nations that now would brand Zionism racist."

This unsubstantiated assertion ignores the role of Zionism in oppressing the Palestinian people and in collaborating with various leading imperialist powers throughout its history. It also fails to differentiate between the Zionist movement that brought people from all over the world into a land that already belonged to the Palestinian people and the national liberation struggles which attempt to rid a people of foreign domination. The latter may be characterized as a national movement; the former is better characterized as a movement against a nation.

It is through a muddled argument that the *Gazette* convinces its readers of the opposite of the truth. For it is Zionism that has served to bring people into "subjection to authoritarian power"; it is Zionism that has "inverted history through rewriting in order to serve current political ambitions."

The only bit of truth in the *Gazette* editorial is that the resolution "constitutes an immediate and present threat" to the functioning of the UN, that is the old imperialist-dominated UN.

The principal progressive force in the world today consists of the oppressed nations rising against imperialism, colonialism, and hegemonism. The attack on Zionism is not an attack on the Jews living in Israel; it is another step forward in the struggle against all ideology that is used for the oppression of people.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1975 —Andrew Plank



Rodinson:

## Is peace in the Middle East possible?

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1975

by Marc Cassini  
Professor Maxime Rodinson, on a two-day Quebec visit from France and considered an expert on the Middle East, delivered an appraisal of the Arab-Israeli situation last evening in the Parish hall of Mary Queen of the World Church.

Rodinson was invited to speak by the Committee for Peace in the Middle East, which, since its establishment last November has been advocating that a free and independent Palestine be set up under the auspices of a Geneva conference.

Rodinson prefaced his speech with the question: "Is peace impossible?" and added that the alternatives facing the

belligerents are total military victory or compromise.

"The root of the problem," said Rodinson in characteristic Parisian drawl, "is that the state of Israel was established in 1948 amidst Arab nations who were set against it."

He addressed this question by focusing on Zionist aspirations in Palestine. "How can Palestine, which has historically been an Arab state, logically become Jewish?"

Rodinson believes, however, that Zionist ideology was historically inevitable. "Events," he stated, "and the traditional messianic aspirations of the Jewish faith have pointed to Jewish nationalism," a phenomenon that Rodinson consi-

ders 'Palestinocentrism'.

Rodinson peppered a large part of his speech with sarcasm directed primarily at the relationship between the Jewish faith and Zionist politics. "Originally, the Jews as a whole were paradoxically against Zionism," said Rodinson.

"Strangely enough," he added, "there was no density of Jewish population where Zionism emerged, while nationalism usually springs up in areas with conglomerations of like-minded people."

Part of his exposition was devoted to the misunderstandings that have plagued Arab-Israeli relations. "A basic one is that the Arab language has only

one word for both nationalism and nationality. In other words, the Arab nations interpret Zionism as the assertion of a nationality—which Zionists are not."

Rodinson criticized the Jewish tendency to consider themselves in the same light that Marxists see the proletariat—the embodiment of all exploitation and misery."

Rodinson finally returned to his initial question: "Is peace impossible?"

Rodinson said that a total Israeli military victory, which would force the Arab nations to recognize recent Israeli conquests and to accept Israeli occupation of captured territories, is inconceivable.

"A total Arab victory," said Rodinson, "which would imply the conquest of Israel, and a victory for Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), is equally inconceivable."

Rodinson believes that compromise is the sole solution. He considers the establishment of a free and independent Palestine essential. Rodinson also believes that Israeli conquests will have to stand.

Peace, according to Rodinson is impossible. "The year 1948 was supposed to be the end of Middle East catastrophes. But both sides have committed horrors since then. It is only logical," Rodinson continued, "that both sides will find a place for horror in the future."

VOL. 63 NO. 53 TUESDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1973 3 CENTS

## Middle East coalition formed

by Linda Simmons

A conference at McGill tonight on the current Middle East situation marks the first activity of a new group, the Middle East Anti-Imperialist Coalition.

The group, founded three weeks ago, is based on three principles: anti-imperialism, anti-zionism, and support for the liberation struggles of the Palestinians and other peoples in the Middle East.

"The coalition was founded because many people felt there was a lack of objective information on the Middle East, especially during and after the October war," a spokesman for the group said.

He said the coalition plans to give the public a "truer point-of-view than that which so far has been presented in the biased Western media."

"One of our main objectives will be to inform progressive people in Quebec on a wide-scale basis about the liberation cause in the Middle East," he said.

Another objective is the formation of various study groups to thoroughly research affairs in the Middle East, and keep the public informed on developments there.

"I think the Middle East problem is relevant to Quebecois since they are affected by the oil cutbacks," he said. "I think they should realize what is happening."

"The Middle East question isn't a regional problem any more. It's an international question and all those who work for peace and justice should be concerned about it."

Coalition activities, including conferences, are only in the planning stage, subject to the decision of the committee.

The coalition is a Montreal-based organization with eight member groups, as well as unaffiliated individual members. It is not a university-based group, but draws its members from students, teachers and workers.

Although the coalition hopes to attract new members, a spokesman said a large following was not important. "It's a question not of numbers, but of quality," he said.

"We want people to develop their political consciousness in regards to the Middle East question," the spokesman said. "They must be able to understand the problem and the enemy they are facing, wherever they are, are the same — imperialism."

ARAB STUDENTS  
and THE ARAB CENTRE  
Present

## PALESTINE DAY

On Nov 13, 1974, Yasser Arafat, head of the PLO, declared at the UN General Assembly that a just and lasting peace in the M.E. is only possible with the total restoration to the Palestinian people of its legitimate and historical right.

Featuring: A representative of the PLO  
Films

Friday, Nov 14 at 12:00 Noon  
Union Building Ballroom



## 7.5. Cotler and the Media Messaging Distortion of UNESCO (1974-1975)

It just so happened that during the November 10, 1974, founding conference of the Canadian Professors for Peace in the Middle East, UNESCO convened its annual General Conference from October 17 to November 23 in Paris, France. The UNESCO conference marked a significant shift in its international policies in two ways: the appointment of a new Director General, Amadou Mahtar M'Bow of Senegal, the first ever representative from Africa. A background profile of M'Bow was featured in the February 1975 monthly edition of the UNESCO Courier. The other part of that shift, in unification with the United Nations General Assembly, was the international recognition and implementation of human rights and civil liberties, and the congruent permission of "representatives of fourteen African liberation movements accepted as observers as well as the Palestine Liberation Organization" at the conference.

### AMADOU MAHTAR M'BOW A PROFILE OF THE SIXTH DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF UNESCO *by Pierre Kalfon*



### An age of solidarity or An age of barbarism? *by Amadou Mahtar M'Bow* Director-General of Unesco

## UNESCO'S GENERAL CONFERENCE ENDS

**T**HE 18th session of Unesco's General Conference, which opened on October 17, 1974, closed on November 23 after electing a new Director-General, Mr. Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, and adopting Unesco's programme and a budget totalling \$169,992,000 for the period 1975-1976. The General Conference of Unesco is composed of the government representatives of all Unesco Member States.

Representatives of fourteen African liberation movements were accepted as observers as well as the Palestine Liberation Organization. The Conference expressed "the firm hope that Palestine will rejoin the community of nations within the international organizations including Unesco."

Following a debate on general policy, the Conference adopted a resolution which recalls that "hundreds of millions of human beings, threatened by poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance, have not yet reached the threshold of human dignity." This resolution also affirms that "the defence and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms and the struggle against incitement to war, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racialism, apartheid and all other forms of oppression and discrimination are an essential duty for Unesco."

In the course of the Session, the General Conference voted after long debate several resolutions concerning Israel.

Since the Unesco General Conference of 1968, the Organization had on repeated occasions issued urgent appeals to Israel to "desist from any alteration of the cultural and historical character of Jerusalem, particularly with regard to Christian and Islamic religious sites". Earlier

this year the Unesco Executive Board at its 94th Session (May 20 to June 28, 1974) had "condemned Israel's persistent violation of the resolutions adopted by the General Conference and the Executive Board in this regard". On November 20, 1974, the Unesco General Conference voted a resolution which "condemns Israel for its attitude which is contradictory to the aims of the Organization as stated in its constitution". The resolution invites the Director-General "to withhold assistance from Israel in the fields of education, science and culture until such time as it scrupulously respects the aforementioned resolutions and decisions."

In addition, the General Conference voted a resolution calling on Israel "to refrain from any act hindering the populations of the occupied Arab territories in the exercise of their rights to national education and cultural life."

At the close of the General Conference the new Director-General, Mr. Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, launched "an urgent appeal for tolerance and understanding". "We must avoid at Unesco's General Conference those conflicts that take on the character of systematic confrontations. We should perhaps even avoid the adoption of resolutions, even with large majorities, that could result in deep bitterness in certain quarters... The golden rule for an organization such as Unesco should always be the search for a consensus through patient and open dialogue."

The  **Courier**  
DECEMBER 1974 27TH YEAR



Out of the UNESCO conference came a resolution critical of Israel's continued "**alteration of the cultural and historical character of Jerusalem.**" "On November 20, 1974, the UNESCO General Conference voted on a resolution which "condemns Israel for its attitude which is contradictory to the aims of the Organization as stated in its constitution". As stated in the UNESCO Courier edition of November 1974, "earlier this year the UNESCO Executive Board at its 94<sup>th</sup> Session (May 20 to June 28, 1974) had "condemned Israel's **persistent violation of the resolutions** adopted by the General Conference and the Executive Board."

The December 1974 edition of the UNESCO Courier included a statement by Alberto Obligado, UNESCO's Assistant Director General for Communications, regarding the November 1974 resolution about Israel. Obligado clarified misrepresentations published in the international mass media after the conference, misrepresentations communicated to the media by pro-Israeli networks and academics.

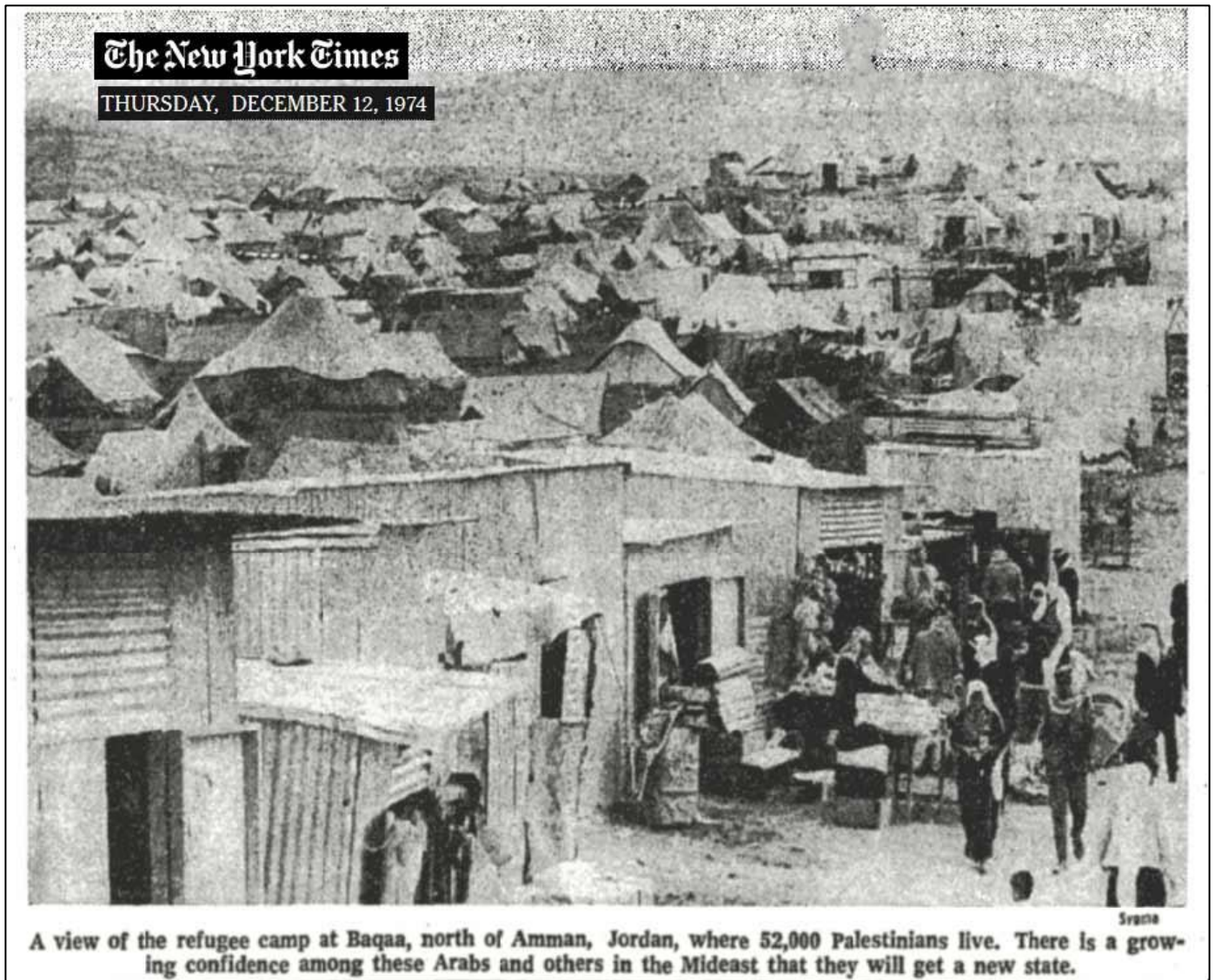
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>ISRAEL AND UNESCO</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">A statement by the Secretariat of Unesco</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">(signed) <i>Alberto Obligado</i> <i>Assistant Director-General</i> <i>for Communication</i></p>
<p><b>I</b>n the light of misunderstandings, reflected in some press reports during the past few weeks, of resolutions voted by the last session of the General Conference of Unesco that affect Israel, the Secretariat of Unesco wishes to underline the following facts:</p>	<p>At present, the consequence of this resolution is interpreted to mean only the withholding of aid under Unesco's Participation Programme (Israel received \$24,000 in 1973/1974).</p>
<p>1) Israel has not been "excluded" from Unesco. Nothing in any of the resolutions passed affects Israel's continuing membership in Unesco. As a Member State it is able to participate in all activities of the Organization as in the past, including all meetings and conferences. Israeli scientists, educators and cultural specialists will be called upon to contribute to the Organization as they have done in the past, and the hope is that they will continue to do so.</p>	<p>4) Regarding possible assistance to the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Secretariat has received no such request, which, according to the pertinent resolution, should come through the League of Arab States. An authorization for aid under the Participation Programme was part of broader decisions to associate African liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity, as well as the Palestine Liberation Organization, recognized by the League of Arab States, with the activities of the Organization. Assistance has already been provided by Unesco to African liberation movements in the field of education.</p>
<p>2) Israel has not been included in the European Regional Group of Unesco—one of the five regional groupings for programme purposes established by the General Conference—as Israel had requested. However, it can participate, as an observer, in European or other Regional Conferences, as has been the case in the past.</p>	<p>5) Finally, an additional resolution of the General Conference invited the Director-General to "exercise full supervision of the operation of educational and cultural institutions in the occupied territories and to co-operate with the Arab States concerned and the Palestine Liberation Organization with a view to providing the populations in the occupied territories with every means of enjoying their rights to education and culture". The Director-General is studying the means of carrying out this resolution. The General Conference has been advised that a good deal of information will have to be gathered and consultations initiated before certain practical problems of implementation can be presented to Unesco's Executive Board for advice.</p>
<p>3) Regarding Jerusalem, the General Conference invited the Director-General to "withhold assistance from Israel in the fields of education, science and culture until such time as it scrupulously respects" previous General Conference resolutions concerning the cessation of archaeological excavations, the protection of monuments and the preservation of the historic character of the city of Jerusalem. The Director-General intends to execute this resolution faithfully, and has already so informed the General Conference.</p>	

It was reported in the New York Times on November 26, 1974, that on November 25<sup>th</sup> France's Secretary of State for Women, Françoise Giroud, commented that UNESCO's decision "was shocking in my eyes with regard to Israel." A written protest manifesto endorsed by 31 French intellectuals were "charging UNESCO with "**spiritual abolition of Israel.**" Of those 31 intellectuals, were "Laurent Schwartz, a Trotskyite, who is a mathematician; Raymond Oron, a conservative who is a sociologist; Simone de



Beauvoir and Jean-Paul Sartre; Eugen Ionesco, Arthur Rubenstein, Jean-Louis Barrault, actor-director, and Francois Jacob, a Nobel Prize-winner for medicine.” The ‘protests’ originating in France triggered international eruptions.

“Spiritual abolition of Israel,” was potent, poisonous, super-charged suggestive language carefully chosen to attack both the Arab nations and the United Nations, words which were later adopted in newspaper advertisements in the United States and Canada by newly created Ad Hoc Committees, such as the one sponsored in January 1975 under the chairmanship of McGill University Professor Irwin Cotler in Canada.



The fallout of criticism against the UNESCO resolution took hold internationally, repeated by syndicated newspaper columnists, in bold headlines, and in letters to the editor. What was almost entirely overlooked by newsprint reporters was a breakdown of why the UNESCO resolution had been adopted, failing to counter the widespread, unmitigated propaganda. Such analysis did appear randomly but was drowned against a sea of distracting choirs with pro-Israel statements made by high-ranking statesmen and a host of others, statements and allegations that had nothing to do with the underlying facts.

Binyamin Mazar, the archeological professor at Hebrew University, called the UNESCO resolution “**intellectual terrorism.**”<sup>82</sup> After the June 1967 Six-Day-War, Israel’s Ministry of Religious Affairs, Israel began excavation projects and altering structures within the old City of Jerusalem under former occupation. In October 1971, the Jordanian government filed a complaint with UNESCO, concerning the project work of Rabbi Perla, who supervised a tunnel being bored beneath the ‘Wailing Wall.’

“Even Israeli archeologists are baffled as to what Rabbi Perla is tunneling for, and not archeologists are employed on the work – only engineers. Archeologists see the tunnel’s purpose as religious and not scientific. Respected archeologists say that King Solomon’s temple did not lie anywhere in the direction of the tunnel. Critics of the Wailing Wall tunnel make a case that it has been primarily responsible for the cracking and the near collapse of valuable medieval buildings located above the excavation, the most important of which is the Ribat Kurd, a Moslem hospice dating from AD 1293. Once the cracking occurred, architects and environmentalists raised an outcry.”<sup>83</sup>

## —Contravention of international laws

On Nov. 7, 1974 the Cultural Commission of the UNESCO General Conference resolved by 54 votes to 21 (with abstentions) to condemn the state of Israel for its persistence in altering the historical features of the city of Jerusalem and by undertaking excavations which constitute a danger to its monuments.

Israel disfigured and transformed the unique cultural characteristics of Jerusalem and bulldozed over 600 buildings in the old city including religious endowments, mosques and churches. Israeli excavations along the southern and western walls of the Al Asga Mosque resulted in the cracking and in some places the actual collapse of some religious buildings adjacent to these walls, thus endangering the mosque itself. This was all carried out in contravention of the The Hague convention for the protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict.

The General Assembly of the United Nations, the Security Council and the UNESCO General Conference called upon Israel since 1967 to desist from altering the face and status of Jerusalem and to scrupulously preserve all sites, buildings and cultural properties in the old city of Jerusalem. In the fall of 1973, the director general of UNESCO designated Prof.

Raymond Lemaire of the Department of Architecture at Louvain University to study and report on Israel’s observance of the The Hague convention. Prof. Lemaire’s detailed report pointed out that Israel was **neither** complying with the convention **nor** with relevant UN resolutions. His report stressed the damage being caused to Jerusalem’s cultural heritage by Israeli excavations. Thereupon the general conference of UNESCO voted to withhold “education, cultural and scientific” assistance to Israel.

Understandably the Israeli government suspended its contributions to UNESCO. There have been also moves in the “Zionist-controlled U.S. Congress” — to quote Senator William Fulbright — to withhold American funds until UNESCO reverses its decision. Zionist puppets in North America, who have sold their souls to the Zionists through blackmail, pittance and for religious bigotry, wage a hate and defamation campaign against UNESCO. Yet “good men” in North America do nothing in the meantime forgetting Edmund Burke’s warning: “All that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing.”

Brandon Sun  
M. E. HAWASH  
Box 177, Baldur, Man. Manitoba  
January 31, 1975

The elevated international criticism of what was a reasoned measure by UNESCO upon the State of Israel became an unbridled and manipulative stunt by pro-Israeli spin masters. The irrational counter measures were meant to fan the flames, to turn the public against the United Nations, a body which had just officially invited liberation movement spokesmen, like the Palestine Liberation Organization, to sit as observers.

<sup>82</sup> *Arabs, Jews Battle on New Front - - Restoring Old Jerusalem*, Fresno Bee, December 29, 1974.

<sup>83</sup> *Tunnel in Jerusalem at heart of dispute - Why UNESCO acted against Israel*, Ottawa Citizen, January 7, 1975.



*Destruction of town*

**Canada won't  
put blame  
on Israel**

*Open season on UN agencies*

**UNESCO fans fire**

**Canada should pull out of UNESCO**

**Israel  
shuns  
UNESCO**

**Scientists, Nobel Prize winners  
shun UNESCO for banning Israel**

*Israel action protest*

**Entertainers boycott UNESCO**

***How sick  
is U.N.?***

**Canada should shun a perverted UNESCO**

***UN agencies bloodied***

**Intellectuals  
Rap UNESCO  
Israel Ban**

**Anti-Israel move  
hurts UN agency**

*UNESCO issue*

**Stars  
rally  
to Israel**

***Support for UN  
is fading in U.S.***

**Anti-Israel vote hurts UNESCO**

**Backlash worries UNESCO**

**Boycott of UNESCO urged  
over ban on aid to Israel**

**Israel boycotts UNESCO**

**Theologians condemn  
UN's pro-Arab stand**

**U.S. upset, re-examines ties with UN**

**30 musicians boycott UNESCO**

# Palestinians turn out 8 PhDs for UN debate

Toronto  
Star  
Nov. 13, 1974



## *Arafat defies assassination vow*



THE BIGGEST SECURITY FORCE in New York city's history is guarding the safety of Arab guerrilla leader Yasser Arafat today. Policemen lined up in the

Waldorf Astoria Hotel yesterday to protect members of the Palestine Liberation Organization who are staying there. Militant Jews have threatened to kill Arafat.

—AP photo



From January 20 to January 24, 1975, the Canadian Ad Hoc Committee for Human Rights ran at least five large size ads, titled "In the Name of Human Rights:" in the Ottawa Citizen and Montreal Star (20<sup>th</sup>); the Ottawa Journal (21<sup>st</sup>); the Globe & Mail (23<sup>rd</sup>); and the Montreal Star (24<sup>th</sup>), the ads which included the words, "spiritual abolition of Israel." The identified chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee was Irwin Cotler.

**Ottawa Journal**  
**Jan. 21, 1975**

# IN THE NAME OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The recent action of Unesco in voting to withhold assistance from Israel and in denying Israel the right of representation and participation in any of the regions into which Unesco has divided its operations, has aroused worldwide indignation. In protest against this subversion of Unesco — in defiance of Unesco's own constitutional mandate and respected tradition — internationally renowned scholars, writers, artists and scientists, including Nobel Laureates, have refused to participate further in the activities of Unesco. We reprint herewith the Declaration of a number of leading French intellectuals first issued on the occasion of the Unesco Resolutions.

The cultural commission of Unesco has refused to include Israel in any of its regional groupings. As a result, the Jewish State will not be able to participate in any regional activity of Unesco.

One might think that this was to indicate that Israel and its heritage belong to all of mankind. But no, if Israel has been placed neither in Asia (as was Australia) nor in Europe (as was Canada), this means that she belongs nowhere: namely, Israel does not exist.

One should not be deceived by the "Administrative" form of this device, for some states, whose systems are hardly partial to freedom of thought, arrogate to themselves the right to decide in what region of the world a country belongs.

They have decided that Israel does not have the right to exist: therefore, she does not exist.

The spiritual abolition of Israel justifies in advance her physical annihilation. It is the extermination process perfected by the totalitarian systems of the twentieth century. We know how it cost the lives of tens of millions of men and women.

Unesco is the U.N. Organization whose responsibility is to protect education, science, and culture. What has just taken place represents a perversion, a reversal of its role.

**The undersigned henceforth refuse to collaborate in this body so long as it does not prove, as regards Israel, its faithfulness to its own goals.**

Raymond Aron Jean-Louis Barrault Simone De Beauvoir Jacques Berger Alain Besancon Roger Braun Diomedes Catroux Pierre Chauuu Jean Daniel Jacques Ellul	Pierre Emmanuel Georges Friedmann Henri Gouhier Bernard Halpern Eugene Ionesco Francois Jacob Claude Lanzman Emmanuel Leroy-Ladurie Andrie Lwoff	Jacques Madaule Henri Irenée Marrou Daniel Mayer Albert Memmi Kostas Papaloannou Francois Perroux Madeleine Renaud Michel Riquet Marthe Robert Emile Roche	Denis De Rougemont Claude Roy Arthur Rubinstein Nathalie Sarraute Jean-Paul Sartre Laurent Schwartz Andre Et Simone Schwart-Bart Mannis Speiber Jean Ullmo
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**The following individuals associate themselves with the above statement:\***

DORIS ANDERSON <i>Editor, Chatelaine</i> JEAN-PAUL AUDET <i>University of Montreal</i> FATHER GREGORY BAUM <i>University of Toronto</i> ABA BAYESKY <i>Artist</i> JEANNINE BEAUBIEN <i>Director Theatre de la Poudriere</i> ROBERT BELL <i>Vice Principal, McGill University</i> ANDRE BELLEAU <i>Author</i> MARIO BERNARDI <i>Conductor National Arts Centre Orchestra</i> CLAUDE BISSELL <i>University of Toronto</i> RENE BONENFANT <i>Director Editions de L'Honrire</i> JACK BORDEN <i>Vice-Minipal Concordia University</i> JACQUES BRAULT <i>Poet</i> JOHN BRIERLEY <i>McGill University</i> JUNE CALLWOOD <i>Writer</i> THERESE CASGRAIN SOLANGE CHAPLAIN-ROLLAND <i>Author Commentator</i>	CATHLEEN COBURN <i>Professor Emeritas, University of Toronto</i> IRWIN COTLER <i>McGill University</i> FRANZ PAUL DECKER <i>Conductor Montreal Symphony Orchestra</i> ADRIENNE de LAGRAVE <i>Psychologist</i> JEAN-PAUL de LAGRAVE <i>University of Montreal</i> FERNAND DUMONT <i>University of Toronto</i> PAUL DUVAL <i>Critic</i> EMIL FACKENHEIM <i>University of Toronto</i> SARAH FISCHER <i>Founder Sarah Fischer Concerts</i> JACQUES FOLCH-RIBAS <i>Author</i> MAUREEN FORRESTER <i>Artist</i> ERIC FREIFELD <i>Artist</i> NORTHROP FRYE <i>University of Toronto</i> ROBERT FULFORD <i>Editor, Saturday Night</i> LOUISE GAREAU-DES BOIS <i>Author</i>	JEAN GASCON MAYNARD GERTLER <i>Publisher</i> GUSTAVE GINGRAS <i>Director, Rehabilitation Institute of Montreal</i> JACQUES GOUBOUT <i>Author</i> MICHELLE GUERIN <i>Novelist</i> WILSON HEAD <i>York University</i> ROBERT HENRY <i>Editor Le Quebec Industriel</i> SHALIN HERRON <i>Author</i> GERHARD HERZBERG <i>Nobel Laureate</i> LYONEL G. ISRAELS <i>Executive Director</i> HENRY HICKS <i>President, Dalhousia University</i> <i>Former Chairman, Canadian National Commission for UNESCO</i> <i>Memorial Concert Treatment and Research Foundation</i> LEO JAFFE <i>Vice-Principal, McGill University</i> LUCIEN JARRAUD JEAN PAUL JEROME <i>Artist</i>	JUDY LAMARSH ANTONIO LAMER <i>Vice-Chairman, Law Return Commission of Canada</i> JACQUES LAURIN <i>Director Editions de L'Homme</i> IRVING LAYTON <i>York University</i> ROGER LAMELIN <i>Publisher La Presse</i> C. B. MacPHERSON <i>University of Toronto</i> GILLES MARCOTTE <i>University of Montreal</i> SISTER MARIE-NOELLE <i>Director, Centre la-Ca-EI</i> HERBERT MARX <i>University of Montreal</i> SIMONE MASER <i>University of Ottawa</i> NORMAN MAY <i>York University</i> MAVOR MOORE <i>Playwright</i> FERNAND OUELLETTE <i>Author</i> JEAN OUELLETTE <i>University of Montreal</i> THOMAS G. PAVEL <i>University of Ottawa</i> CLERMONT PEPIN <i>Composer</i>	JEAN-GUY PILON <i>Artistic Director Radio-Canada</i> FRANCIS RIGALDIES <i>University of Montreal</i> JEAN-LOUIS ROUX <i>Director Theatre du Nouveau Monde</i> FRANK SHUSTER ERNEST SIRLUCK <i>President, University of Manitoba</i> ARNOLD SPOHR <i>Artistic Director Royal Winnipeg Ballet</i> LEONARD STONE <i>General Manager Winnipeg Symphony</i> HAROLD TOWNE <i>Artist</i> ANDRE TREMBLAY <i>University of Montreal</i> GILLES TREMBLAY <i>Composer</i> MICHEL TREMBLAY <i>Playwright</i> IVAN VLASIC <i>McGill University</i> JOHN WAYNE WILLIAM WITHROW <i>Director Art Gallery of Ontario</i>
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CONTRIBUTIONS TO DEFRAY THE COST OF THIS WILL BE APPRECIATED.

**Ad Hoc Committee for Human Rights — POB 330, Victoria Station, Montreal**  
**Irwin Cotler, Chairman — Rene Le Clerc, Secretary**

\*Affiliation for Identification Purposes Only

The manifesto wording of the second half, or lower part, of the ad was identical to the American "We Protest" ads that began to run in California / Hollywood press from December 17 to December 30, 1974. The American and Canadian manifesto ads not only distorted the facts, but also included an extreme, far-fetched statement about an impending, consequential threat of Israel's "physical annihilation," to promote public doubt and anger towards UNESCO and the United Nations. The doom-minded statement was a translation made by "French intellectuals" in late November 1974 from their public declaration:





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**The New York Times**

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1974



**This may be your only opportunity  
to obtain Israel's magnificent  
David Ben-Gurion Silver Commemorative Coin**

Shown larger than actual size to illustrate detail.  
The gold and proof issues are completely sold out.

**A limited number of  
Brilliant Uncirculated  
commemorative coins  
are available  
exclusively through  
this special  
invitation at the  
official issue price.**



The opportunity for you to receive this special commemorative issue is made possible exclusively by the American Israel Numismatic Association in pursuit of its goal to encourage a greater knowledge and appreciation of Israeli numismatics. To obtain your specimen at the original issue price established by Israel, simply complete the coupon on this page and return it with the appropriate remittance. Please note that only one BU commemorative is available per person.

This December, with all of the pride that accompanies the unveiling of a majestic work of art, the Bank Of Israel will issue a superb silver commemorative coin honoring Israel's first Prime Minister and Minister Of Defense, David Ben-Gurion. The beautiful coin is a profound and fitting tribute to one of the most remarkable leaders of the twentieth century. Although the vast majority of the 175,000 coins minted have already been reserved on a subscription basis, by acting promptly you can still obtain this outstanding memorial issue.

**Legal Tender Of Historic Significance**

The silver BU commemorative coin bears an exquisite relief portrait of Israel's most distinguished statesman whose name and dates of birth and death are also inscribed in Hebrew and English. The denomination—25 Israeli lirot—appears on the obverse in Hebrew together with the word "Israel" in Hebrew, English and Arabic. A tiny Star of David mint mark indicating the official government mint at Jerusalem appears below the emblem of Israel. Each coin is a full 37mm in diameter and contains 26 grams of silver, 935. With your coin, at no additional cost, you will receive an attractive presentation case and an illustrated brochure describing the life and times of David Ben-Gurion.

Whether you are an established collector of fine coins or simply wish to possess an impressive memento of a beloved leader who forged the destiny of Israel, you will want to take this opportunity to own what may well be the most prized coin issued by any nation in 1974. If you choose it as a gift for someone else, your thoughtfulness will be enhanced by the fact that previous Israeli commemorative coins have increased in value dramatically.

**Detach Here And Mail Today.**

American Israel Numismatic Association, Inc.  
c/o American Bank & Trust Company  
70 Wall Street, New York, N.Y. 10005

YES! Please send me a silver Brilliant Uncirculated David Ben-Gurion Commemorative IL.25 coin at the official issue price of \$25 plus \$2 for shipping and handling.

I enclose check or money order to the order of American Bank & Trust Company.

New York City residents add \$2—(8%) sales tax.  
New York State residents add \$1.75—(7%) sales tax.

Payment enclosed \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
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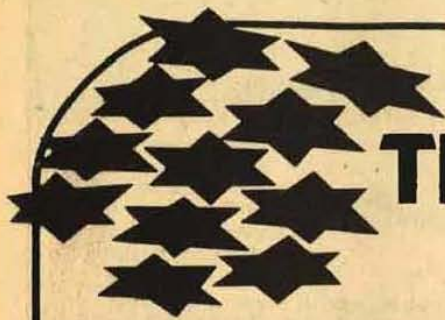
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Please allow several weeks for overseas delivery.

B-2





# Israel and Canada The Great Get-Together

In February of '76 a great many Canadians will be visiting Israel to participate in the Fourth National Convention of the Canadian Zionist Federation. Representing eleven constituent Zionist organizations of national stature, the Federation has planned a most dynamic and imaginative program which will take participants to all parts of the country and give them an opportunity to meet Is-

rael's heroic people . . . from government leaders to city folk, to farmers in the field. This event will represent a milestone in the history of warm and friendly relations between Canada and Israel . . . and if you would like to come along, we'd be happy to have you with us! Contact us for more information.



Israel is  
Zionism  
Zionism  
is Israel



**Canadian Zionist Federation**

*Atlantic Region:*

1551 South Park Street, Halifax, N.S.  
B3J 2L2 (902) 422-7491

## National Convention In Israel- A Milestone For Canadian Zionists

CZF Convention Chairman Louis D. Silver reports that preparations for the Fourth National Convention of the Canadian Zionist Federation, scheduled to be held in Israel from February 9 to 18, 1976 are in high gear. The response to early releases was overwhelming and registration is in full swing. The slogan "Israel is Zionism - Zionism is Israel" underscores our priorities.

Zionists as well as unaffiliated members of the Jewish community are taking advantage of the exceptional convention trip package offered (\$670 from Montreal) which includes return flight by El Al jet, de luxe accommodation at Hilton Hotels in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, Israeli breakfasts and several additional meals, as well as all convention program features: meetings with prominent Israelis, touring, workshop excursions for special interest groups, and much more. Arrangements for extended stays in Israel are possible upon request.

Planned for convention delegates and observers are gatherings addressed by the President, the Prime Minister, the Minister of Defense, the Leader of the Opposition, cabinet members, the Mayor of Jerusalem and other luminaries.

Israeli experts will give background talks during "workshops on wheels", focusing on topics such as Economy and Industry; Defense; Aliyah and Absorption; Education; Politics; Medical, Health and Research Institutions; Developing Urban Communities, and Minorities. The entire program combines touring with an in-depth study of the contemporary Israeli scene. Sight-

seeing excursions will cover many points of historical and archeological interest, off the beaten track and not accessible to regular tourists.

Requests for detailed, 12-page brochure, reservations and deposits should be directed to the C.Z.F. Regional Office at 1551 South Park St., Halifax Tel. 422-7491.



Left to right Lou Silver and Dr. Leon Kronitz in Jerusalem with Shimon Peres who has accepted an invitation to be guest speaker at the CZF Convention in Israel.



## 7.6. Cotler and the Zionism as Racism Engagement

Cotler's appointment and role as special spokesman for the Ad Hoc Committee for Human Rights came into play once again one year later with a new assembly of advertisement signatories. In ads published in a few major Canadian newspapers in British Columbia (Vancouver Sun), Ontario (Ottawa Journal) and Quebec (Montreal Star) from January 26 to 28, 1976, they included the support of 126 named individuals: 60 Members of Parliament (including NDP Tommy Douglas), 11 Senators, 21 representatives from Canadian universities and colleges, and so on. It is not known if similar ads appeared in the United States.

# NOVEMBER 10, 1975

## The day the U.N. voted against itself.

The United Nations Resolution of 10 November, 1975 equating Zionism with racism, is not only a dreadful untruth but it also endangers the future effectiveness of the United Nations.

This Arab bloc sponsored resolution is an attempt to legitimize anti-Semitism everywhere and continued aggression against Israel. Zionism is the expression of the Jewish people's right to and desire for national life and self-determination — for survival itself. The General Assembly, by this action, has symbolically voted to dismantle the Jewish State, and in contravention of the United Nations Charter, has given aid and comfort to those

who seek the destruction of a member state of the United Nations.

We applaud the position of our Government and the Canadian Parliament for their absolute rejection of this resolution, which we oppose and condemn. Its aim, content and method of passage are contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter and the International Declaration of Human Rights.

We urge all people of good will and moral conscience to record their opposition to this infamous resolution in the hope that the United Nations will proceed with its work for the betterment of life and harmony among peoples everywhere.

The following individuals associate themselves with the above statement\*.

Howard Adelman York University	Antal Deutsch McGill University	Adrienne de Lagrave Psychologist	B. Keith Penner, M.P.
Lincoln M. Alexander, M.P.	Meory Devergnas, Journalist	Edouard Lachapelle, Artist	Jack Pearsall, M.P.
Eudore Alford, M.P.	Walter Dussdale, M.P.	Francisco Laporte Judge, Citizenship Court	Jean-Guy Plon, Poet
Hugh Alan Anderson, M.P.	Maurice A. Dionne, M.P.	Fernand Lachance College Marie-Victorin	Arthur Portelance, M.P.
Louis Applebaum Director, Ontario Arts Council	Tommy Douglas, M.P.	Jacques Laurin Director, Editions de L'Homme	Catherine Prince-Lachance
Ursula Appoloni, M.P.	William Dunphy University of Toronto	Allan Lawrence, M.P.	Senator Josie D. Quarr
Jean-Paul Audet Université de Montreal	A. Jake Epp, M.P.	Flora MacDonald, M.P.	S. Victor Ralston, M.P.
James Balfour, M.P.	R. Gordon L. Fairweather, M.P.	Sister Marie-Noelle Director, Centre MI-CA-EL	John D. Reynolds, M.P.
André Bedard Université de Sherbrooke	Maureen Forrester, C.C.	J. R. Mallory McGill University	Francis Rigaldies Université de Montreal
Roger Bédard President, CKLM Radio	Senator Eugene A. Forsey	Jack Marshall, M.P.	John Roberts, M.P.
Senator Rhea Bellise	Lloyd Francis, M.P.	Herbert Marx Université de Montreal	Marcel Rioux Université de Montreal
André Belleau Université du Québec	John A. Fraser, M.P.	Peter Paul Masnick, M.P.	Douglas Roche, M.P.
Leslie G. Benjamin, M.P.	G. S. French University of Toronto	Robert Muir, M.P.	Abraham Rotstein University of Toronto
Claude T. Bisson, C.C.	Robert Fullford Editor, Saturday Night	Jack Murfin, M.P.	Gitta Kayserman-Roth Sculptor
University of Toronto	Jean-Robert Gauthier, M.P.	Mavor Moore, O.C., Playwright	Donald Roy, Montreal
Jean-Jacques Blais, M.P.	Rosairo Gendron, M.P.	Robert Muir, M.P.	Marcus C. Roy, M.P.
Reginald Boisvert, Author	James Gillies, M.P.	Gus MacFarlane, M.P.	S. M. Max Saltzman, M.P.
Proper Bouanger, M.P.	Peto Gourvitch, McGill University	Mark R. MacGuigan, M.P.	William C. Scott, M.P.
Alice Brunel-Roche, Author	Hon. Herbert E. Gray, M.P.	Hon. J. Angus MacLean, M.P.	Geratime Sherman, Broadcaster
Senator Sydney L. Buckwald	Louise Garsau-Des Bois, Author	Senator Alexander Hamilton McDonald	David Silcox Director of Cultural Programming Metropolitan Toronto
Norman A. Carik, M.P.	Senator John James Greene	Senator Charles McEman	W. A. S. Smith Dean of Arts, Simon Fraser University
Senator Chesley W. Carter	Jacques Gauthier, M.P.	Dan McKenzie, M.P.	Bernadette Sulg Managing Editor, Saturday Night
Solange Chapul-Rolland Author and Journalist	Roger Guindon Rector, University of Ottawa	Robert E. McKinley, M.P.	George Tetas, Montreal
Robert Coates, M.P.	Hon. Stanley Halasz, M.P.	Aileen Nicholson, M.P.	Charles Templeton, Toronto
Robert Choquette Author, Diplomat	Robert Henry, Editor-in-chief Le Québec Industriel	Peter Newman Editor, Maclean's Magazine	Jacques L. Trudel, M.P.
Joseph Clark, M.P.	Andrew Hogan, M.P.	William Richards University of British Columbia	Claude Wagner, M.P.
Philippe Ferland President, Familles Culturelles Canada français-Israel	Simma Holt, M.P.	Senator Margaret F. Norrie	Harold M. Waller McGill University
Edgar Cowan Publisher, Saturday Night	Jack Horner, M.P.	David Onkwo, M.P.	J. C. Weston McGill University
Senator David A. Croll	Howard Arthur Huntington, M.P.	Sean O'Sullivan, M.P.	Dean W. Whiteway, M.P.
Alexandre Cyr, M.P.	Robert Kaplan, M.P.	Fernand Ouellette, Poet	Roger C. Young, M.P.
Alan Davies Victoria College	William Kilbourn, Historian	Jean Ouellette Université de Montreal	
David Demson Emmanuel College	Martin Kneelman, Critic	Ernest Pallascio-Morin, K.J. Author	
	Franz Kraemer, Director of Music Toronto Arts Production	Gilbert A. Parent, M.P.	
	Jean-Paul de Lagrave Author, editor		

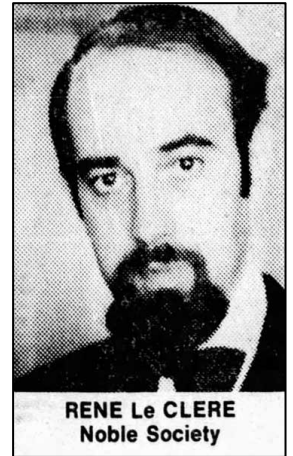
\*affiliation for identification only

**AD HOC COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS**  
**P.O.B. 171, Victoria Station, Montreal**

**Secretary, Rene Le Clerc**  
**Chairman, Irwin Cotler**

At the top of the signatory list was the name of Howard Adelman, the professor from York University. He was a 1973 co-founder of the Canadian Professors for Peace in the Middle East. In December 1976, Adelman was the head of the 19-member CPPME delegation who travelled to Israel and negotiated with Palestinians about problems in the Westbank.

Cotler's mysterious secretary with the Ad Hoc Committee of Human Rights, **Rene Le Clere**, the same secretary named in the first Ad Hoc Committee ad from January 1975, immigrated to Montreal in 1963 from France. He was a dedicated monarchist, a "chevalier" officer "in the Noble Company of the Rose," part of a knighthood "from the late King Peter of Yugoslavia," "an offshoot of the famed Augustan Society," "another branch" being "the Hereditary Order of Armigerous Augustans."



Asked how the society got its name, he said it was called after the Roman Emperor Augustus, who was a model of the organization. "We have 13 Canadian Augustan members, three of whom live in Quebec, but I'm the only one to be named a chevalier of the Noble Order of the Rose."

The Augustans, whose main interests are genealogy and heraldry, have their own headquarters in California but members from all over the world.

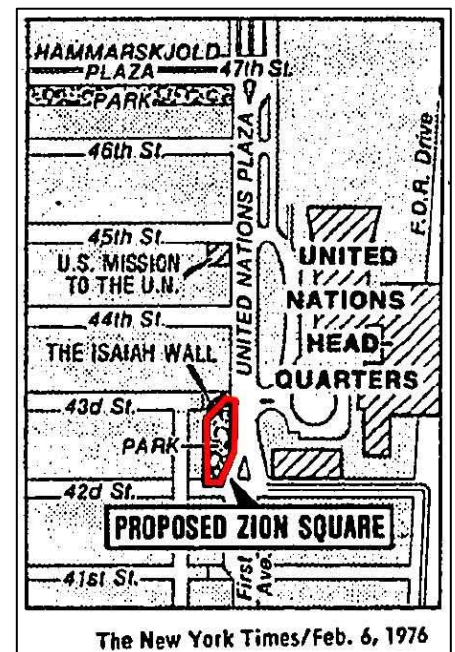
"Money won't get you in," said Chevalier le Clere. "An applicant must produce a list of 16 ancestors, which in most cases requires much research." The conferring of a knighthood in the Noble Company must be performed by a crowned head, but His Most Serene Highness Ernst August, Prince of Lippe, has the right to confer lesser titles," he said. "Although he's the head of the House of Lippe in Germany, the family lands were confiscated following the First World War. Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands is a member of the family."

Among famous Augustans are former King Umberto of Italy, the former King of Bulgaria and many high-ranking military and naval persons. Like the Knights of Malta and St. John of Jerusalem, the order is a chivalrous one. "We want members who are committed to 'noblesse oblige' (nobility obligates)." **Its goals, he said, are those of the Knights Templar during the Crusades, to protect the poor, respect justice, defend the rights of others and love one's country.**

He's secretary-general de la Societe des Ecrivains Canadiens; Counsellor of L'Alliance Francaise de Montreal, and of the Canadian branch of the International P.E.N. club [an association of novelists, essayists, editors, poets and playwrights], a life member of La Societe de l'Oise (France), and a member of a research group in French heraldry.<sup>84</sup>

With persistent headlines and editorials running in North American and European newsprint following the United Nations 'Zionism as Racism' resolution 3379 on November 10, 1975, by December 1975 American Zionists with the American Jewish Congress began a boycott campaign against Mexico, and then began a similar, but smaller, campaign against Brazil who voted for the U.N. resolution. There was so much pressure building in America about the U.N. resolution that New York City's Council Committee on Parks, Recreation and Cultural Affairs unanimously approved to change "the name of part of the United Nations Plaza to Zion Square."

The sponsor of the bill, Councilman Henry Stern, expected that approval of the bill by the full Council "would be an act of



<sup>84</sup> *Knighthoods bestowed on society members*, The Gazette, February 2, 1978.



justice by the City Council, on behalf of a people whose right to exist has been challenged, both across the world and across from Zion Square.”

As sponsor, Councilman Stern agreed to an amendment moving the site of Zion Square away from the block where the United States Mission to the United Nations is situated, and where several Arab missions are expected to have offices.<sup>85</sup>

It was reported that “the militant **Jewish Defence League**” (described in Part 9) began a campaign in December 1975 to follow and harass United Nations diplomats who voted in favor of Resolution 3379.<sup>86</sup> In May 1976, Israel’s UN ambassador Chaim Herzog had to apologize to the Security Council, “who accused Jewish “terrorists” in New York of issuing threats against the Soviet mission.”<sup>87</sup>

On May 11, four months after Cotler’s January 1976 advertisement, Canada “was the only country to vote against two draft resolutions overwhelmingly approved by the 54-member economic and social council” of the United Nations. “It blamed the General Assembly’s anti-Zionism resolution last fall for compromising the situation.”

The draft resolutions, which now go to the fall meeting of the General Assembly, were part of the preparatory work for a world conference in Ghana next spring on the UN Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. ... Canada could not go along with the language of a key part of the first resolution, although Zionism was not specifically mentioned. In particular, Canada objected to a paragraph welcoming the adoption by the General Assembly of resolutions and measures bearing on racism, racial discrimination, apartheid, decolonization and self determination called for under the program for the decade.

Ambassador Saul Rae, permanent head of the Canadian UN mission, said that despite the efforts by a number of countries to draft texts acceptable to all, in the Canadian view the language in the paragraph “can still be regarded as encompassing indirectly” the anti-Zionism resolution passed by the assembly last November. “Therefore, Canada has been given no choice but to oppose this paragraph and the resolution as a whole,” Ambassador Rae said.

Canada also objected to a paragraph calling for convening the world conference in Ghana “to mobilize world public opinion and adopt measures likely to secure the full and universal implementation of United Nations decisions and resolutions on racism, racial discrimination, apartheid, decolonization and self-determination.”

“This paragraph still contained ambiguity in its relationship to resolution 3379 and can be said to lend support to that unfortunate resolution,” Rae told the council. He noted that **Canada always has opposed racial discrimination, and condemns that form institutionalized in apartheid in South Africa.** “It is precisely because of our commitment to the original aims of the decade ... that Canada cannot and will not accept any attempts to forge a link between racism and Zionism,” Rae said.<sup>88</sup>



Ambassador Saul Rae

<sup>85</sup> *City Moves to Establish a Zion Sq. in U.N. Plaza*, New York Times, February 6, 1976.

<sup>86</sup> *Jewish group begins to harass diplomats*, New York Times, December 13, 1975.

<sup>87</sup> *Israel hits Jewish group*, Montreal Star, May 13, 1976.

<sup>88</sup> *Canada adamant: Zionism isn't racism*, Vancouver Sun, May 12, 1976.

The New York Times

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1975

# THE UNITED NATIONS HAS CONDEMNED ZIONISM

## THE UNITED NATIONS HAS NOT CONDEMNED JUDAISM

On November 10, 1975, the General Assembly of the United Nations voted to condemn Zionism, not Judaism, as a form of racism and racial discrimination.

The Zionism that this resolution speaks about is a concrete political ideology, articulated by a concrete political organization and which manifested itself in concrete practices, which had the effect of excluding some people on the basis of their being non-Jews and including others on the basis of their being Jews - Jewishness being defined officially by Zionism as an ethnic and not strictly a religious definition.

### IT IS ZIONISM, NOT JUDAISM THAT IS ON TRIAL TODAY

We in the Arab world welcomed and showed hospitality to the Jews who came fleeing from inquisition and persecution in Europe when European anti-Semitism was driving them into our arms; we welcomed them to come and share our lives and share our limited resources and to have as much freedom as we ourselves had, because we were receiving them as individuals of Jewish faith. It was only when the Zionists came, and instead of the Jews saying, I should like to live with you, the Zionists said, I want to live in place of you; it was only when Zionism became a hostile force in our midst, that, despite our hospitality to the Jews, we showed hostility toward Zionism.

### IT IS ZIONISM, NOT JUDAISM, THAT HAS BEEN CONVICTED BY THE WORLD BODY

To insist on the identification of Zionism with Judaism is to insist that all Jews are Zionists, and, by implication, attribute "eternal" political loyalties regardless of time and place. Is not that the essence of anti-Semitism, which objectifies the Jew, rather than see him as an ordinary human being rooted in his history, and who is likely to espouse any political position? The civil rights of the Jews are "sacred" insofar as human rights are sacred, but there is nothing inherently sacred or profane about any political ideology, even if it is Zionism, or any State, even if it is Israel.

- It is Zionism, as a political ideology and a political movement, that was responsible for the expulsion of two million Palestinians from their homeland.
- It is Zionism that promulgated a Law of Return granting citizenship to any Jew who landed in Palestine, denying the same to a Palestinian who was born there.
- It is Zionism that is adamantly refusing to implement United Nations resolutions which would help lay the foundations for a just peace in the Middle East.
- It is Zionism which was condemned at the International Women's Year Conference in Mexico, July, 1975, by the Organization of African Unity in Kampala, July, 1975, and at the Non-Aligned Conference in Lima, August, 1975.
- It is Zionism which is denying the people of Palestine the exercise of their inalienable right to national self-determination in their homeland.
- It is Zionism that has been responsible for acts of terrorism at Deir Yassin (1948 massacre of 254 unarmed Arab villagers by Irgun and Stern Gang terrorists) and Kafr Kassem (1956 massacre of 47 inhabitants of an Arab village by Israeli border guards) and the systematic obliteration of 385 Arab villages from territory occupied by Israel, between 1948 and 1967.
- It is Zionism that manifests itself in militarism and territorial expansionism, occupies territories by force, indiscriminately bombards Arab civilians and refugee camps, schools and hospitals.
- It is Zionism which is systematically destroying the Arab character of Arab territories occupied in 1967 and distorting the aesthetic, historical complexion of Holy Jerusalem.

If criticism of Zionism is criticism of the Jewish people and of Judaism, does it then follow, by Zionist standards, that criticism of nazism is criticism of the German people and of Christianity?

There are many Jewish individuals, groups and organizations within Israel itself and in this country who are opposed to Zionism, Jews who are non-Zionists, and Jews who are anti-Zionists. In fact, the first objections and opposition to the doctrines of Zionism as a political ideology were aired by prominent Jewish intellectuals and prominent Jewish organizations. We reject the claim of Zionism to be coextensive with the Jewish people. And therefore we reject the claim of Zionism that to be anti-Zionist is to be anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic.

## ZIONISM HAS NO IMMUNITY

### ZIONISM DESERVES CONDEMNATION!

ARAB INFORMATION CENTER  
747 THIRD AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

AMBASSADOR

Amir Hilmy II

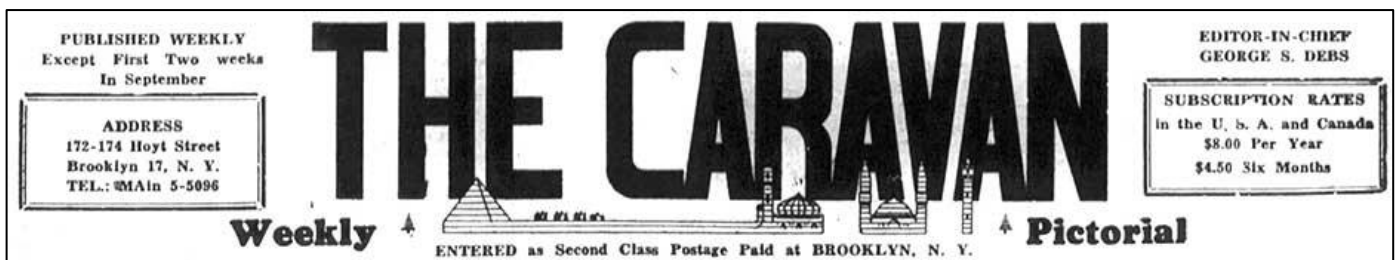


## Part 8. Fayez Sayegh: Mover, Shaker and Resolution Maker

The general vitriol by American and international media – stimulated by Israeli, American and Canadian Zionists and prominent federal supportive politicians who demonized United Nations November 1975 Resolution #3379, including the demonization of the United Nations – failed, of course, to investigate and to debate the Resolution’s veracity. To have done so, and to acknowledge its applicable, ethical framework, meant openly criticizing the Zionist Israel project and its flimsy, immoral foundation, thereby criticizing the United States’ highly questionable and supportive role, which would inevitably equate the project with public growing disdain of South Africa apartheid under investigation by the United Nations. All hands were on deck by America’s influential Israel lobby to emotively manoeuvre the media vessels to prevent such a catastrophic fate, which would, nevertheless, inevitably unfold and gain international traction from 2022 - 2024. By extension, academics, and institutional professors at the time, like Irwin Cotler, would fail to acknowledge and engage, intentionally or not, in recognizing its veracity at the immediacy of the Resolution’s passage and in the decades to follow. That was the nature of the Zionists’ political game.

The context and story behind the much-maligned resolution, and Israel’s evolving extended propaganda in the late 1970s onward to equate terrorism to Arab peoples, and with fueling the onset of Islamophobia, is inextricably tied to dislodging the influential fabric and significant societal role that the intellectual Fayez Sayegh particularly had on transforming the thinking of the American, Canadian, and international public.

Fayez Sayegh’s role as initial prime mover and shaker have largely been forgotten. As someone thoroughly grounded in the operations of the United Nations, as an academic philosopher keenly interested in primary research history of the Middle East, as a passionate advocate for fellow forsaken Palestinians, Sayegh was the primary mover and manager of the unshakable and armor-piercing Resolution #3379.



Sixteen years previous, described in a special February 19, 1959, edition of the Caravan weekly newspaper in glowing tribute to him, *Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh: Missionary of Arabism in America*, Sayegh was a pillar, a celebrated, popular ambassador and learned statesman for the Arab world. He so excelled in his oratory and written craft, that it was indeed a rare moment that someone had the means to counter his arguments in either open, or written, debate. A key revelation reported by the Caravan is that even academically trained Zionists particularly feared to engage in open debate with him because of his intimate knowledge and wit.

During the past four years, Dr. Sayegh has received general recognition as the most outstanding Arab spokesman in the United States. Dr. John C. Campbell, writing in the New York Herald Tribune, put it this way: “For years he has been the most indefatigable and probably the most effective defender of the Arab cause on the lecture platforms and the radio and television channels of America. He has fought the propaganda battle of Palestine from coast to coast, acquitting himself well in what has been, to say the least, an uphill struggle.”

Dr. Sayegh’s vast and widely read writings have become the “Bible” of the Arab position on every question that has arisen during recent years. Leading colleges, foreign-affairs groups, and other

organizations have literally waited in line to schedule him as a speaker, and he has become a familiar figure over radio and television.

### Feared by Zionists

Dr. Sayegh has proved so effective in speaking on the Arab-Israeli conflict that the Israeli agencies do not have a single speaker who would dare engage him in a public debate! This is an incredible fact if one considers the virtually unlimited resources of the Zionists and the efficiency of their world-wide propaganda machine.

Most Americans, including many enlightened ones, know surprisingly little about the current Arab world. Our schools and public information sources have been lax in this respect. Perhaps we have been unduly influenced by Hollywood films, which present the typical Arab as a hooded, robed, bearded polygamist, who sits in front of a tent and puffs on a water pipe, while dreaming of additions to his harem [Lawrence of Arabia?].

**“Dr. Sayegh is a sincere, loyal servant of the Arab-speaking peoples and their great Awakening which Westerners prefer to call the Arab Nationalism. He is to the Arab World what St. Francis of Assisi was to the Church – a completely dedicated man whose fidelity and devotion to Arabism transcends all possible money, ambition, fame, comfort, health ... everything!”**

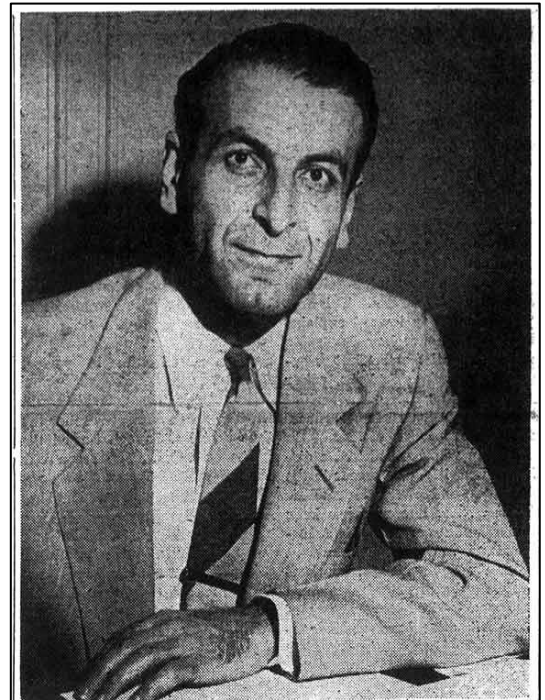
As an added complication, the American public has tended, perhaps unknowingly, to view the Arab

world through the eyes of the hostile Zionist propagandists and their sympathisers. No one can seriously deny that the Arab position has never been adequately presented in the United States. Nearly all the press-radio-television facilities tend to parrot the familiar Israeli line. Yet, in spite of these obstacles, Dr. Sayegh has managed to make incredible strides in getting the Arab message across to many Americans.

As a beginner, there is the rather obvious fact that Dr. Sayegh's output during the past four years has been nothing short of staggering. Pursuing a pace-that-kills schedule, he has travelled to every major city in the United States, participating in over 50 foreign affairs conferences, appearing on more than

240 radio and television programs, lecturing on the campuses of at least 125 colleges and universities, and speaking to countless numbers of church, civic and fraternal groups.

Between these personal appearances, Dr. Sayegh has seldom taken time to rest. Somehow, he has found time to conduct painstaking research and to author a score of articles, booklets, and monographs, among them *Palestine Refugees*, *League of Arab States*, *Arab-Israeli Conflict*, *Strife in the Holy Land*, *Record of Israel in the United Nations*, *Communism in Israel*, *Arab Plight in the Holy Land*, *Suez Controversy*, and *Turmoil in the Middle East*. Dr. Sayegh's articles on Arab affairs have been printed in various publications. He has been interviewed by hundreds of reporters and newscasters. Since May 1957, he has written a weekly column for the CARAVAN, America's most widely circulated English-language newspaper devoted to Arab affairs.



**DR. FAYEZ A. SAYEGH**

George S. Debs, Editor  
AS A TRIBUTE, THIS ISSUE OF  
THE CARAVAN IS DEDICATED TO HIM



When one analyzes the writings and lectures of Dr. Sayegh, it must be remembered that his are NOT the superficial efforts of a hired public relations man. He is not merely doing his work for a living. Of crucial importance is the realization that Dr. Sayegh is a sincere, loyal servant of the Arab-speaking peoples and their great Awakening which Westerners prefer to call the Arab Nationalism. He is to the Arab World what St. Francis of Assisi was to the Church – a completely dedicated man whose fidelity and devotion to Arabism transcends all possible money, ambition, fame, comfort, health ... everything!

It is a significant fact that – after four years of steady writing and lecturing on controversial subjects – no critic has ever successfully challenged the authenticity, accuracy, or logic of Dr. Sayegh’s presentations! On the other hand, the critics have been quick to see his respect for scholarly, objective procedures.

... Dr. Sayegh is gifted with a rare intellectual depth and alertness. **He can absorb a vast quantity of carefully documented facts and categorize them in such a manner that they are always on ready call. Thus equipped, he is always ready to answer a challenge and spot an accuracy by quickly marshalling out an indestructible army of indisputable facts.**

Amongst many tributes from scholars and prominent spokesmen featured in the Caravan’s special edition, George M. Barakat, executive director of American Middle East Relief, said:

**“Many Caravan readers frequently send us clippings from the local press. Our files contain literally hundreds of clippings about Dr. Sayegh’s speeches and debates. We have selected for this Special Issue some extracts of these clippings. They reveal the high esteem in which the Arab speaker is held in American journalistic circles.”**

In my well-considered judgement, Dr. Sayegh has made a most profound and salutary impact on American public opinion and has given what should be a most convincing demonstration to Arab leaders that informed Americans can be counted upon to stand up for what is fair and just. It is now up to all those who genuinely desire an improvement in Arab / American relations, from both the Arabs and American sides, to help make the truth known throughout the grassroots of America. For only through the dedicated and selfless devotion of competent people of the calibre of Dr. Sayegh can the truth find its way into the minds and hearts of Americans who will one day soon insist on a sound and just foreign policy that will serve the best interests of Americans as well as Arabs.

Dr. (Rabbi) Elmer Berger, the executive vice-president of the American Council for Judaism, also presented his tribute to Sayegh and in recognition of their “personal friendship” that began about 1951:

I am one of those Americans who believe in the necessity, for my country, to understand the Middle East and to develop with its people sound and enduring relationships, based on a mutuality of self-interest. I have admired and felt a strong affection for Fayez Sayegh for himself. But he knows that I have also admired and honored him because of the service that he has performed for millions of my fellow Americans. He has enabled them to see and understand, in his person, the hopes, fears idealism, capacity for self-criticism, integrity and intensity of purpose – which qualities must pervade the revolution in the Arab world if it is really to benefit those it is intended to serve. By understanding Fayez Sayegh, my fellow Americans have come to understand their obligations – and their failures – in the Middle East. He has therefore served America well – even as he was, and primarily, serving his own people’s interests. This, I think, accounts for his titanic achievements here. I am sure he would want it no other way.

## Abba Eban Withdraws Again...

### ISRAELI AMBASSADOR REFUSES TO DEBATE WITH DR. SAYEGH

The 67th Annual Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, held in Detroit, Michigan, witnessed an interesting and revealing episode.

The President of the group, which represents 11,000,000 women throughout the world, invited Abba Eban, Ambassador of Israel, and Fayez Sayegh, Counsellor of the Arab States Delegation, to appear jointly before the 3,500 delegates who were scheduled to attend the Convention. Both speakers accepted the invitation.

Eban's acceptance came as a surprise to everyone who was familiar with the facts. For Eban had consistently refused to debate the Arab-Israeli question with Sayegh at any time, on any platform, on radio or on television or before any group. Eban's refusal to face Sayegh on the debating stand had become well known to countless individuals and organizations who had sought in vain to arrange for such a debate.

A few days before the Convention, the surprise of Eban's original acceptance was removed. For Eban changed his mind and refused to participate. He appointed another speaker, to appear before the 3,500 women on the last day of the Convention. Sayegh remained scheduled to speak on the first day, however.

When Sayegh finished his speech, the President of the Convention asked him if he would return on the last day, listen to the speaker representing Israel, and then participate together with that speaker in answering questions from the floor. Dr. Sayegh promptly accepted the public invitation; and the debate took place on the closing day of the Convention.

It was amusing however, that a woman from Israel took the floor and severely criticized the Federation for having permitted its Convention to become "a platform for Arab propaganda." It is equally amusing that the *New York Times*, which did not print a word about Sayegh's speech the first day, found it fit to report on the Israeli woman's statement criticizing the Federation for inviting Sayegh to speak.

When the debate was over, the Israeli woman once more came to the microphone to "deplore" again the fact that Sayegh presented the Arab point of view before women - delegates from every state in America and from seventeen foreign countries as well, and to "request" that an "Israeli delegate" be invited to address the Convention of the Federation in future years. . . . She had forgotten, apparently, that Eban was invited and that, after originally accepting the invitation, he changed his mind "at the eleventh hour" and declined to attend, suggesting another spokesman for Israel instead. . . .

In the June 19, 1958, sample article in the Caravan weekly (above) which features one of the many open debates avoided by Zionists, it did not mention American Israel ambassador Abba Eban's chosen replacement for the June 4, 1958, session of the General Federation of Women's Clubs convention in Detroit, Michigan. His choice was Fairleigh Dickenson University Social Science professor, **Nasrollah Saifpour Fatemi**, a former Iranian diplomat and "a direct descendant of the Prophet Muhammed's only daughter." Earlier that year, Fatemi was invited to speak at several seminars hosted by the American Christian Palestine Committee (ACPC), "the first Moslem ever to address the ACPC".<sup>89</sup> The ACPC was formed in 1946, a merger of two Zionist entities: the Christian Council on Palestine and the American Palestine Committee. In 1947, the year following the ACPC's creation, now with a membership of over 15,000 'Christians,' "it advocated quick implementation of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine's plan".<sup>90</sup> Amidst many invitationals, Fatemi also spoke "at a

### WOMEN PROD U. S. ON GLOBAL AMITY

DETROIT, June 4 (AP)—Greater world understanding by the United States was urged today at the opening of the convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. About 3,000 were present.

A protest on a speaker came from two Israeli delegates, Mrs. Pirina Herzog and Mrs. Hernana Simon. They contended that an address by Dr. Fayez Sayegh of the Arab-states' delegation had been political.

*The New York Times*

June 5, 1958

<sup>89</sup> *Democrat and Chronicle* newspaper, February 17, 1958.

<sup>90</sup> Wikipedia, "America Palestine Committee."



meeting of the American Jewish Congress,”<sup>91</sup> and at a “conference sponsored by the Zionist Organization of America in Houston Hall at the University of Pennsylvania”.<sup>92</sup> Clearly, both Christian and Jewish Zionists preferred hearing Mr. Fatemi’s interpretations on political and historic matters pertaining to the Middle East over other Arab intellectuals.

Of course, Sayegh was familiar with Abba Eban’s sudden replacement. For instance, in Sayegh’s archival records is a May 7, 1957, letter addressed to Reverend Archimandrite Khouri, of the Saint Nicholas Orthodox Church in Grand Rapids, Michigan, about a “misleading subtitle” in a newspaper article about Fatemi. He wrote: **“This man, Dr. Fatemi, has been doing a great deal of mischief in the recent months, by pretending to speak out for sympathy for the Arabs, but filling his talks with poison - - although his poison is at times sugar-coated.”**



Abba Eban: ‘Not Me!’

## Want Israeli View, Too

Knoxville News Sentinel

Pro-Arab Talk

June 6, 1958

Causes Dissension

DETROIT, June 6 (UPI)—The General Federation of Women’s Clubs tries today to calm the teapot tempest it brewed Wednesday by putting a strongly pro-Arab speaker on its convention program.

The leaders of the convention will put another Arab speaker on the program today.

They hope this will calm the storm because today’s speaker is a more moderate authority on the Arab-Israeli problem.

The trouble started Wednesday when Dr. Fayez Sayeg, counselor to the Arab states delegation to the United Nations and head of the Arab Information Center in New York, spoke to the convention.

Mrs. Hermona Simon, wife of an Israeli diplomat in Montreal, and representing Israeli club-women at the convention, protested to the airing of Sayeg’s pro-Arab and—she thought—anti-Israeli views. She said there should be an expression of an Israeli view, also.

As parallel Sayegh countermeasure, Fatemi had been engaged on lecture tours in the United States from about 1955 onwards following the United Kingdom and United States’ 1953 brazen and scandalous coup in Iran. In an April 29, 1957, article, *Arab says Sixth Fleet averted Jordan Collapse*, published by the Lansing State Journal in the State of Michigan, Fatemi, who spoke at the eighth annual Michigan Zionist region convention on April 28th, the night before, “described Zionists as “those who believe the Jews should have a natural home” and credited them with a share in the creation of Israel.”



TRUMAN’S AIR FORCE CHIEF AT UNIVERSITY

Nasrollah Fatemi

The Record, February 13, 1958

Former Air Force Secretary Thomas K. Finletter, seated, checks with officials of the World Arms Control Center of Fairleigh Dickinson University before speaking yesterday at the Tea-neck campus. Standing left to right are Dr.

Nasrollah S. Fatemi, co-ordinator of arms-control studies; Dr. Sidney S. Kronish, director of the conference on arms control for world security; and Dr. Clarence R. Decker, director of the Center. The Record, February 13, 1958

<sup>91</sup> *The Record* newspaper, January 8, 1958.

<sup>92</sup> *Arab Union held Threat to Israel*, Philadelphia Inquirer, February 3, 1958.




In his four-point plan [for peace in the Middle East], Dr. Fatemi suggested the U.S. inform the Arabs: “We are your friend and want to help you develop. But we are not going to pay with the state of Israel as the price of friendship.” He said the United States also should tell Israel that no territorial expansion into Arab states would be countenanced.

Sayegh’s debating skill was also noted by Andrew Killgore in his December 2005 tribute published in the *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, [25 Years After his Death Dr. Fayez Sayegh’s Towering Legacy Lives on](#), attributing Sayegh’s inner grounding as “a philosopher and political scientist who always saw philosophy and logic as “the vehicle to realize justice and freedom”.”

That Dr. Sayegh was a masterful debater is evidenced by reading an account of his Dec. 3, 1967, exchange with the sharp, Zionist TV host David Suskind. Fayeze’s encyclopedic knowledge of the Middle East, his marvelous facility in English and his passionate honesty left the cocksure Suskind at a loss for words. For years after that show, no Zionist or pro-Israel debater would appear with Fayeze publicly.

What, pray tell, does this tell us of Sayegh? Why would heavy-hitter Zionists avoid him? It was because of Sayegh’s depth of knowledge, his total defence of that ever-deepening knowledge, his love of fellow Palestinians and of all peoples, his love and pursuit of truth, his keen focus of attention, and his active creativity in daily experiences and circumstances adopted to strategically solving – particularly – the plight of the Palestinians. Sayegh was able to demonstrate, on each occasion, that Zionism was a house built on sand, that Zionist’s defence claims were spurious.

Three months before Sayegh began publishing lengthy, informative articles in almost all the Caravan weekly newsletters from May 1957 to February 1959, and a year after the Caravan began featuring excerpts of Sayegh’s appearances on radio, television and speaking engagements in America, on February 14, 1957 the Caravan printed the transcript of an interview with

UNITED NATIONS  NATIONS UNIES	
<u>BIOGRAPHICAL DATA</u>	
Name:	Fayez Abdullah SAYEGH
Education:	B.A., M.A., Ph.D., in philosophy and political science.
Experience:	Teaching (of philosophy and political science) at the American University of Beirut, Beirut, Lebanon, 1945-1947. Teaching of Arabic at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., and the Language Training Institute of the Department of State, Washington, D.C. Journalistic experience: editor-in-chief of an Arabic daily newspaper in Beirut, Lebanon, called <u>an-Nahda</u> . Research work at the Legation of Lebanon, Washington, D.C., as research officer in charge of the research work of the Legation, since April, 1949. Special contract with the Radio Division of the United Nations, since October 13, 1950. Script-writing for the Radio Division of the United Nations on special contract basis, since 1948.
Further relevant information:	I was invited by the Lebanese-Syrian communities in Niigeria and the Gold Coast (British West Africa) to go on a lecturing tour, during the fall of 1947, during which tour I had the chance to acquaint myself with the internal conditions in those two African countries. Similar acquaintance was made with conditions in Algiers for a brief period early in October, 1947. I have published a few books in Arabic, on national and social problems in the Arab World. I was an adviser to the Delegation of Lebanon to the General Assembly, during the third session (second half) and the fourth session. I am preparing an English translation of a book on the social implications of Islam, <u>Al-Risala al-Khalida</u> , written by Abdul-Rahman Azzam Pasha, Secretary General of the Arab League. The translation is to be published by the American <del>Section</del> <sup>Council</sup> of Learned Societies.
References:	Dr. Charles Malik, Minister, and Mr. George Hakim, Counselor, Legation of Lebanon, Washington, D.C. Dr. Karim Azkoul, Delegation of Lebanon to the United Nations, N.Y. Messrs. Hugh Williams and George S. Khouri, Radio Division, U.N.

Sayegh’s December 21, 1950 application to the United Nations



Sayegh, made on the January 10, 1957 edition of the Mike Wallace “Night Beat” program “televised every evening from 11:00 to 12:00 over Dumont Station WABD, Channel 5 in New York,” the Mike Wallace who was to later host the famous “Sixty Minutes” television program. At the very end of that interview Sayegh stated that he was an Arab Christian.

**Wallace:** One final question Dr. Sayegh. You are a Christian.

**Dr. Sayegh:** Yes.

**Wallace:** Are you, as a person, as Fayez Sayegh, are you anti-Jewish?

**Dr. Sayegh:** Sir, neither as a Christian, nor as an Arab, and I want to speak with all my candor now and entirely apart from any official position I might have, or I might not have. As a Christian and as an Arab there is no hostility, no conflict, no tension, no problem between us and the Jews. Any problem is between us and the Zionists, as a political movement, and Israel as a State, not between us and the Jews, because Arabs whether they are Christians or Moslems, religiously speaking, we are cousins; linguistically and culturally speaking we are tremendously related. The conflict is not Arab versus Jew, the conflict is Arab versus Zionist and Israeli.<sup>93</sup>

In an October 29, 1950, address, *The Palestinian Refugees: A Challenge to the Christian American Conscience*, given before The School on World Relations, run by the Heidelberg Evangelical and Reformed Church in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the 28-year-old Sayegh was ready to challenge, prod and wake up the sleeping and wayward Christian minds, much like an updated, spiritually forceful Sermon on the Mount, two years after the ‘birth’ of the Israeli colonial state:

Wherever there is misery or destitution anywhere in the world, and no matter what its cause may be, there is a challenge to the conscience of the Christian, whoever and wherever he may be. And wherever there is injustice or injury anywhere in the world, and no matter who its perpetrator may be, there, too, there is a challenge to the conscience of the Christian, whoever and wherever he may be.

But there is still a more direct challenge to any conscience that is even faintly and but remotely Christian: the challenge, I mean, of those situations where **you** are the cause of the misery and the perpetrator of the injustice. I submit that there is such a challenge in the Arab world today, facing – bluntly and harshly – the **American** Christian conscience in the first instance.

I refer to the challenge of the one million Palestinian refugees – women, children and men; Christians and Moslems – who are dispersed in poverty all over the neighboring lands, and who have been

**EDITORIAL**

**The Caravan**  
**May 3, 1956**      **HAIL DOCTOR!**

The man we are referring to here is Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation to the United Nations, and one of the most brilliant minds of the Arab World today.

Faris Bey El Khoury, Dr. Charles Malik, Dr. Farid Zeineddine, Dr. Ahmed Shukairi, Dr. Kareem Azkoul, and many other Arab delegates and representatives who came to this country, have rendered wonderful services in promulgating the Arab cause in the United Nations and in diplomatic circles. Many notable American friends of the Arabs, who were and are still aware of the real issues involved, have been directly or indirectly trying in the best interests of America to promote better understanding between this country and the Arab States.

However, with all due respect to all these able gentlemen, leaders and organizations, we have not yet encountered a more active, more alert, more forceful and convincing speaker and lecturer, who understands and is able to impress AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION as much as Dr. Sayegh is doing.

Fifty-four lectures, delivered in fifty-four different localities within a period of only two weeks, is a record hard to beat. The feather in Dr. Sayegh’s cap goes, however, not for the quantity of these lectures and debates, as much as for their supreme quality and sensibility.

It is too bad that Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh was not dispatched to America many years ago!

**George S. Debs**

<sup>93</sup> Mike Wallace’s “Night Beat” *Zooming in Popularity*, February 14, 1957.

# For The Record

By  
Dr. Fayed  
A. Sayegh



## DAIR YASEEN — TEN YEARS LATER

On 9 April 1948, the massacre of Dair Yaseen shocked the entire civilized world. Today, the memory of the Zionist atrocities in that Arab village is all but lost, amid the jubilations and the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the establishment of Israel.

There is irony in this selective memory of mankind. For the state, whose establishment ten years ago was then hailed as a compensation for Hitlerite atrocities and is now being celebrated, entered into history via the massacre of Dair Yaseen. Dair Yaseen was the first Palestinian village forcibly occupied by the Zionists; the first step in the phase of forcible occupation of Palestine and the establishment of Israel.

But Dair Yaseen, horrible though its fate was, was only the first — not the sole — atrocity committed by the Zionists, and later on by Israel, in Palestine.

Prior to the entry of the Arab armies into Palestine on 15 May 1948, a number of other massacres were perpetrated by the Zionists in addition to Dair Yaseen. These included Saffouriyah, Salah-ed-dine, Ain-ez-zaidoun, and others.

After the establishment of the state, other Arab villages and towns joined the sad roster of names headed by Dair Yaseen. The destruction of the Catholic village of Ikrith on Christmas Eve 1951, and the massacre of the villagers of Kafr Kassim on 30 October 1956, have become glaring highlights of the 10-year career of Zionist Israel. These two villages lay within the territory occupied by Israel.

There were also villages in neighboring Arab countries which underwent the same fate. Qibya, whose civilians were murdered in October 1953, Nahhaalin, in March 1954, and Qalqilya, in October 1956, are just a few examples. Unarmed civilians were the target and victims of attack in every one of these incidents.

In the spring of 1956, when the city of Gaza was bombarded, the hospital was the main target; and over 60 patients were killed.

Finally, after the occupation of the Gaza Strip by the Israeli forces in November 1956, over 400 inmates of the refugee camps were machine-gunned in cold blood by the Israeli army.

All these are manifestations of a regime of terror and bloodshed imposed on the Holy Land by the Zionists since 1948.

Although Dair Yaseen is not the only victim of bloodthirsty Zionism, it nevertheless merits being deemed specially significant among the many manifestations of Israeli terrorism.

For, in the first place, it marked a turning-point in the long history, Zionist forces attacked and captured Palestine. For the first time in 50 years of Zionist history, Zionist forces attacked and occupied by force an Arab area. Since then, this pattern has been the rule rather than the exception.

In the second place, Dair Yaseen was designed to herald a systematic process of intimidation and expulsion of the Arab residents of Palestine, and thus to bring into existence the cruel problem of the Arab refugees. The man who was responsible for the raid on Dair Yaseen, Menachim Begin (at the time leader of the Irgun terrorist organization, and now leader of the Herut political party, which is the second largest in Israel), boastfully takes credit in his book, *The Revolt*, for the flight of the Arab refugees. He says on page 164 that, as a result of

Dair Yaseen, Arabs throughout Palestine "were seized with limitless panic and started to flee for their lives. This mass flight soon developed into a maddened, uncontrollable stampede. . . The political and economic significance of this development can hardly be overestimated."

It must be remembered that Dair Yaseen, and the resultant forcible occupation of Arab territory and the expulsion of Palestinian Arabs, occurred on 9 April 1948 — that is to say, before the entry of the armies of the Arab States into the Holy Land, before the Arab-Israeli War, before the establishment of Israel, and before the withdrawal of the British forces from Palestine and the termination of the British mandate.

\* \* \*

World public opinion today may have been largely influenced by the limitless outpouring of Israeli and Zionist propaganda to forget the slaughters and massacres which began at Dair Yaseen, and may have been influenced into thinking of the Arab refugees as "voluntary exiles" and conceiving of Israel as a peaceful and law-abiding state. But history cannot be rewritten, even by a shrewd and effective propaganda machine; and the truth cannot be indefinitely dimmed.

The facts concerning Dair Yaseen — as well as the other instances of Israeli terrorism — are available for everyone who cares to unearth them. One account will suffice. The Zionist Journalist Jon Kimche, who today edits the official magazine of the British Zionist movement, and who was in Palestine at the time of the raid on Dair Yaseen reporting as a Reuters correspondent, described the raid in his book *Seven Fallen Pillars* as follows:

"On Friday, April 9th, 1948, a commando force composed of Irgun and Stern soldiers raided the village. There was no obvious occasion for them to do so. What happened afterwards has been the subject of conflicting versions, explanations and excuses by the terrorists; but nothing they have said has explained, or can explain away, the murder of some 250 innocent Arabs, among them more than a hundred women and children. No less disgusting was the subsequent publicity parade by the Irgun of a number of poor Arab prisoners through the streets of Jerusalem."

Nor are the moral principles involved in Dair Yaseen successfully misrepresented by sheer propaganda. The eminent historian, Arnold Toynbee, says in Volume VIII of his monumental ten-volume books *A Study of History* (pages 290-291) that:

"If the heinousness of sin is to be measured by the degree to which the sinner is sinning against the light that God has vouchsafed to him, the Jews had even less excuse in A.D. 1948 for evicting Palestinian Arabs from their homes than Nebuchadnezzar and Titus and Hadrian and the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition had had for uprooting, persecuting, and exterminating Jews in Palestine and elsewhere at divers times in the past. . ."

He goes on to say:

"The evil deeds committed by the Zionist Jews against the Palestinian Arabs that were comparable to crimes committed against the Jews by the Nazis were the massacre of men, women, and children at Dayr Yasin on the 9th April, 1948, which precipitated a flight of the Arab population, in large number, from districts within range of the Jewish armed forces, and the subsequent deliberate expulsion of the Arab population from districts conquered by the Jewish armed forces. . . The massacre and the expulsions, between them, were responsible for the exile of all those Palestinian Arab 'displaced persons' (to use the current euphemism), from the territory conquered by the Israelis, who fled from or were driven from this territory after the 9th April, 1948. . ."

"If, on behalf of Israel, it were to be pleaded that these Jewish outrages in A.D. 1948, even reckoned *pro rata*, were dwarfed in quantity, as well as in heinousness, by the Nazi atrocities in A.D. 1933-45, it would have to be taken into account, on the other side, that the Jews had had much more experience than the Germans had had of the sufferings that they were inflicting. If the Nazis were debarred from filing the plea that they knew not what they did, the Israelis were debarred a *fortiori*."

The world's greatest living historian goes on to elaborate:

"In A. D. 1948 the Jews knew, from personal experience, what they were doing; and it was their supreme tragedy that the lesson learnt by them from their encounter with the Nazi German Gentiles should have been not to eschew but to imitate some of the evil deeds that the Nazis had committed against the Jews. On the Day of Judgement the gravest crime standing to the German National Socialists' account might be, not that they had exterminated a majority of the Western Jews, but that they had caused the surviving remnant of Jewry to stumble."



finding shelter – if shelter it be called – in caves and encampments and barracks and improvised quarters for the last two years. I propose to talk to you this evening about the challenge of the Palestine refugees to **your** Christian conscience.

... Inasmuch as you are responsible for the birth of Israel – and, God knows, you undoubtedly are immensely responsible – you are also and to the same degree responsible for the exile and impoverishment and degradation of those victims of Israel's birth, those refugees who had to be driven out of their lands in order that Israel and the hosts of Jewish immigrants now pouring into it may have room in the land of Christ.

... But beside the physical hardships which these refugees have been suffering for over two years, cognizance must be taken of their spiritual and psychological and moral plight. ... One million human beings are leading now a life of this sort. They are already in the third year of their tribulation.

... This, then, is the problem and the situation of the Palestine refugees. The main elements thereof are: first, the misery of the refugees, physical and spiritual; secondly, the threat to the peace of the Near East, implied in the refugees' continued plight; and, thirdly, the threat to American prestige, reputation and interests in the Arab World, borne by the delay in the repatriation of the refugees, for which delay the United States is at least passively – if not actively – responsible.

This situation presents a challenge to the Christian conscience in general, and to the American Christian conscience in particular: first, because it is a situation of misery; secondly, because it is a situation of man-made misery, that is, a situation of injustice and injury; and, thirdly and primarily, because it is, at least partly, an American-made situation of misery and injustice.

It is perhaps safe to say that most Americans are still entirely unaware of this whole problem. Most Americans are victims of a conspiracy of silence, calculated to prevent them from knowing about the plight of the Palestine refugees. ... The silence of American papers regarding the refugees is remarkable indeed. ... Perhaps, after all, there is a great measure of truth in Dorothy Thompson's remark that **it has become dangerous for an American publicist to criticize the State of Israel in any way, and that "Israel and its American supporter are claiming an absolutely unique immunity from criticism."**<sup>94</sup>

There were two notable contributions attributed to Sayegh in his thirty-year long research advocacy: of introducing the concept of 'settler colonialism;' and of identifying Israel as an Apartheid State,<sup>95</sup> what should clinically be identified as an **Hafradeid State** (from the Hebrew word *Hafrada*, "separation"), equating the Zionist state, under careful parallel examination, with South Africa. These concepts, which were later seriously recognized, applied and adopted by research communities and human rights campaigns, were painstakingly pre-developed by Sayegh resulting from his indefatigable research that began in the late 1940s, always attended to and nurtured under his own cerebral microscope which was continuously re-calibrated.

It is evident that the edifice document upon which all his succeeding research documents were mirrored was Sayegh's February 1952, 61-page, publication, *The Palestine Refugees*. It was a response critique of a memorandum, *The Arab Refugee Problem, How it can be Solved*, submitted to the United Nations by "a group of nineteen American citizens (acting as an independent group)."<sup>96</sup> It stated:

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<sup>94</sup> Dorothy Thompson, "Whole of Christendom Neglecting Christian Refugees of Palestine," in the Evening Star (Washington, D.C.) issue of January 26, 1950.

<sup>95</sup> *Palestinian Non-Violent Resistance and the Apartheid Analogy: Framing Israeli Policy in the 1960s and 1970s*, Nina Fisher, 2020, page 6.

<sup>96</sup> Letter to the Friends of the American Christian Palestine Committee from Karl Baehr, its executive secretary, who referred to Sayegh's publication as "this counter document," April 21, 1952.

On the 15th of December 1951, nineteen prominent Americans submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations a Memorandum on the Arab refugees. This Memorandum was then published as a 117-page booklet.<sup>97</sup> It has already drawn some favorable comments, editorial and otherwise, in the American press. Thus, *The Nation*, which published the full text of the first section of the Memorandum in its issue of December 29, 1951, voiced full support for its purposes and wrote editorially: "It is with great satisfaction that we present in this issue the proposals for a solution of the Arab refugee problem presented last week in the form of a memorandum to the United Nations."

The *New York Times*, in an editorial, hailed the plan as "sensible and imaginative," "a fine example of civic initiative and good sense," worthy of "consideration and support." Several outstanding readers of the *Times* – including Messrs. Hans Kohn [New York Times, November 26, 1951], Carl Alpert (Director, Education Department, Zionist Organization of America), Louis Lipsky (Chairman, American Zionist Council), Daniel A. Poling, Carl Hermann Voss, and Karl Baehr (respectively Co-Chairman, Chairman of the Executive Council, and Executive Secretary, of the American Christian Palestine Committee) – joined that paper in supporting the

## Anti-Defamation League Defaming Arabs - Sayegh

Challenges Authors to Denounce Ben-Gurion  
For "Vicious Insult to American Jews" The Caravan  
May 3, 1956  
By Bill Debs

In a forceful counter-attack against the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, and Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, authors of "Cross Currents" in particular, Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh, Deputy Director of the Arab States Delegation to the United Nations, charged the League with a policy of deliberately trying to smear and defame the Arabs in the eyes of the American public so as to prevent "the other side of the story" from being heard.

### JUDAISM Versus ZIONISM

SAYEGH: Now there is a much more important aspect of that statement which I have just listened to, though; and that is the claim that we, Arab diplomats in this country, are attacking American Jewish citizens. Now let me say, at the very outset: We have nothing whatsoever against Jews, whether in America or elsewhere. Whatever we have in the way of hostility or friction or enmity is with Zionism. And there are Zionists who are Jews and Zionists who are Christians, just as there are many, many, many Jews (and I know many of them personally, and I have the best personal friendships with them) who are non-Zionists, and many other Jews who are even anti-Zionists.

Now at the very outset, therefore, I would say that, unfortunately, Epstein and Forster refuse to see that there is any distinction between a Jew and a Zionist. To us, there is a very basic distinction between a Jew and a Zionist. **Judaism is a religion. Zionism is a political nationalist movement.**

TEX: Now wait a moment. All Zionists are Jews.

SAYEGH: No, Sir. Mr. Churchill said that he is a Zionist, and he is a Christian. He said that here in New York City, in a press conference, two or three years ago.

TEX: But broadly, basically, Mr. Churchill is a politician as well as a statesman.

SAYEGH: Yes.

TEX: Broadly, basically, all Zionists are Jews, wouldn't you grant me that that is generally —

SAYEGH: No, I believe my study of the history of Zionism through Zionist authors is that at the initial stages, in particular, Zionism grew through the support of many non-Jewish Zionists — people who felt for one reason or another that the establishment of a State for what they called the "Jewish people" was a necessity or was something expedient or good. And these have been Zionists by every definition of the term, although they were not Jews.

TEX: Well, I don't want to quibble; but let's say, Forget history and talk about today. Isn't it generally true that today all Zionists are Jews, that it is essentially a Jewish movement.

SAYEGH: I would say that the overwhelming majority of Zionists today are Jews but not —

TEX: But your contention is that all Jews are not Zionists.

SAYEGH: Not all Jews are Zionists.

TEX: Right. Okay, All right.

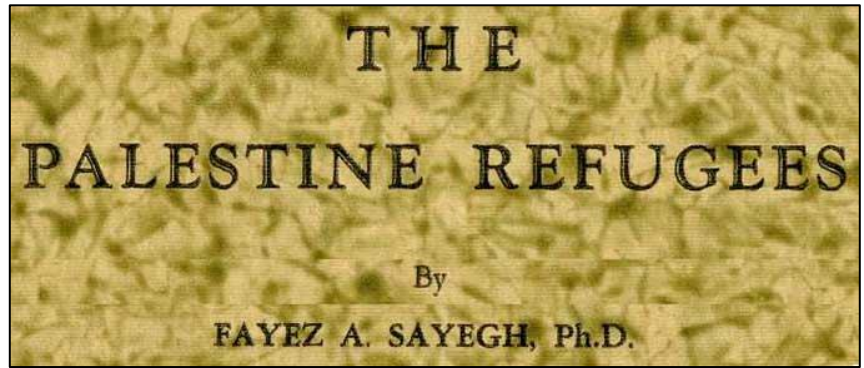
SAYEGH: Now, we have nothing whatsoever to say against Americans of Jewish faith as Jewish Americans. If they happen to be Zionists and they happen to feel that their loyalty as Zionists is in a special way to the State of Israel, then we feel that, by supporting a State which is at war with our countries, they are supporting an enemy State and they are supporting an enemy cause. We are against them. But that does not mean in any respect, in any sense, we are against Jews.

**The Caravan, May 3, 1956**  
**"Dr. Sayegh's Counter-Attack against**  
**'Defamation' Charges"**

<sup>97</sup> *The Arab Refugee Problem. How It Can Be Solved.* Proposals submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations, December 1951, by Dr. Dewey Anderson [Executive Director, Public Affairs Institute], Dr. Henry A. Atkinson [General Secretary, Church Peace Union], Dr. Donald B. Cloward [Executive Secretary, Council on Christian Social Progress of The American Baptist Convention], Dr. Frederick May Elio [President, American Unitarian Association], The Rt. Rev. Charles K. Gilbert [Retired Episcopal Bishop of New York], Earl G. Harrison, The Very Rev. Ivan Lee Holt [Methodist Bishop of Missouri], Freda Kirchway [President, The Nation Associates], Dr. Kenneth Scott Latourette [President, American Baptist Convention], Archibald MacLeish [Boyleston Professor, Harvard University], Dr. Daniel L. Marsh [Chancellor, Boston University], The Rt. Rev. Norman B. Nash [Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts], Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr [Professor of Christian Ethics, Union Theological Seminary], James G. Patton [President, Farmers International and Cooperative Union], Paul Porter, Jacob S. Potofsky [President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America], Prof. James T. Shotwell [President Emeritus, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Dr. Russell H. Stafford [President, The Hartford Seminary Foundation], and Sumner Welles [former Under Secretary of State, 1936-1943, under President Franklin D. Roosevelt].



Dean Virginia Gildersleeve, chairman of the executive committee of America Middle East Relief, Inc., who wrote Sayegh's preface, got into hot water with Freda Kirchway, president of The Nation Associates Inc. <sup>99</sup> – one of the 19 authors of the memorandum – as explained in Kirchway's March 19, 1952, nine-page rebuttal letter, which was retrieved from the Sayegh



archives at the University of Utah's Willard Marriott Library. Kirchway's letter, a frank Zionist apologetic through and through, which displayed her racism and ignorance, disavowed or disappointed Kirchway's "long association" with Gildersleeve.

The American Arab Association published a media release of Sayegh's document on March 6, 1952:

The American Arab Association (Amara) Press released today a reply to the recently proposed plans of nineteen prominent American clergymen and civic leaders in a Memorandum submitted to the United Nations. The reply is a booklet written by the leading Arab scholar, Dr. Fayez A. Sayegh ... In his reply, Dr. Sayegh contends that the only solution to this tragic situation is the recognition of the legal and moral rights of the Arab refugees to return to their homes, now In Israeli-held territory. Dr. Sayegh charges the Zionist movement with direct responsibility for the displacement of the Arab refugees. He estimates the number of Palestine refugees from available statistical reports at over one million.

Sayegh's first salvo publication put him, thenceforth, firmly in the crosshairs of the activated Christian and Jewish Zionists who were utterly outraged, indignant and incendiary at his lengthy, carefully researched, rebuttal. Sayegh painstakingly dissected the 117-page, 1951 memorandum, carefully cross-fact-checking each statement with historic texts, providing almost 60 separate footnote references.

Unfortunately, the authors have not succeeded in emancipating themselves completely from the grip of those misconceptions, half-truths, or distortions which have been shrewdly and systematically disseminated in the last three or four years. Consequently, their understanding of the nature of the problem is essentially vitiated by their uncritical acceptance – among other things – of such absurd accounts of its origins and causes as even a casual acquaintance with the authoritatively documented facts will refute.

It is in a modest endeavor to indicate and remedy the shortcomings inherent in the Memorandum that these pages are written. Our primary purpose is to state the facts – the full facts – about the Palestine refugees and to present the picture – the total picture – of their situation. Our sole motive is to state the truth – the whole truth – about a problem which has so far been wrapped in layers of falsehoods and half-truths, when not entirely forgotten. For half-truths are often more dangerous than total falsehoods. <sup>100</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Introduction, *The Palestine Refugees*.

<sup>99</sup> On page 61 of Sayegh's report, he quotes the editor of the Jewish Newsletter (February 4, 1952 issue): "*The Pamphlet [referring to the Memorandum] is, strangely enough, not issued by the Zionists themselves, but by a group of prominent American supporters of Zionism and is published under the auspices of **The Nation Associates**, but no attempt is made to hide the fact that the statement represents anything but the official Israeli position on the Problem.*"

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

After spending most of his younger life in Palestine, Sayegh departed in 1947 at 25 years of age, after which he took on the role of spearheading the rightful return of Palestinians and their illegally confiscated lands, probing the depths of all and any written and first-hand accounts. He often corrected statements repeatedly claiming that the total number of exiled / displaced Palestinians was at about 700,000, when in fact it was over a million. He stated at some point later in the 1950s that one of his duties in his pursuit of knowledge, to help instill and solidify Zionist objectives, was to read Israeli Ben Gurion's book over and over at night before falling asleep. One can't imagine the strange dreams he must have encountered by doing so.

After seemingly endless written contributions and lecture tours, primarily in America, and some in Canada, over the following thirteen years (following the publication of *The Palestinian Refugees*), Sayegh began a new, concentrated phase of his conscientious Palestinian directive, by his intensively supportive academic and political role with the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) after its onset in 1964, and through his active participation at the United Nations, particularly following the November 20, 1963, onset of the United Nations General Assembly declaration, the *Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*, under which he would later become the UN special rapporteur of that International Convention (1968-1980). It was growing painstakingly clear to him in 1965, and to all, that, after 17 long and hellish years, and two years before the 'Six Day War,' Zionist Israel was not going to bend, was ever more defiant against the return of Palestinians, was ever more defiant of keeping what it stole and wanting to steal more, was ever more defiant of United Nations resolutions forged by international states and bodies, was ever more watchful of what the world was thinking and saying with scheming counteractive messaging.

While becoming a member of the Palestine National Council in 1965, Sayegh's major contribution to the cause of the PLO, that is, for the liberation of his fellow Palestinian peoples – for the liberation of all peoples under colonial rules, for the benefit of all – was the establishment of the Palestine Research Center, his forte.

The Palestine Research Center was established in 1965, just one year after the PLO itself, as both a research and educational institution. The decision to found it was taken on 28 February of that year by the PLO executive committee, and its first director was Fayiz Sayigh [misspelling, Sayegh]. It occupied 6 floors of a 7-storey building on Colombani Street in the residential Hamra district of Western Beirut and was accorded diplomatic protection by the Lebanese government. The purpose was to gather materials, books, articles and publications bearing on Palestinian history, society culture and politics – both Israeli and Palestinian. It also published a quarterly, *Shu'un Filastiniyyah* ("Palestinian Affairs") and *Al-Watha'iq Al-Filastiniyya* (The Palestinian Documents) from 1971 onwards. By 1982 it had managed to build a substantial library of some 25,000 volumes in English, Arabic and Hebrew, together with a microfilm collection, forming a repository of Palestinian archives, what the center's director stated was perhaps "the world's largest collections of manuscripts on the question of Palestine." Courses in Hebrew were also taught.<sup>101</sup>

When Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982, shortly after Sayegh's passing – as the precursor invasion of Israel's total annihilation of Palestinian universities, colleges and libraries within the boundaries of the Gaza concentration camp in 2023-2024 – it sought to destroy the Palestine Research Center in Beirut and murdered many of its staff. The Zionist Israel project was intent on destroying the written histories and memory banks of Palestine and Palestinian resistance to Zionism, committing memory-cide and intellectual-cide.

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<sup>101</sup> Source, Wikipedia, [Palestine Research Center](#), accessed on June 13, 2024. Note: all information on Wikipedia should be double-fact-checked. With the rise of on-line Wikipedia, Israelis have hired myriad trolls to monitor and edit Wikipedia.



Facts & Figures Series – No. 2

THE UNITED NATIONS  
AND THE  
PALESTINE QUESTION

April 1947 – April 1965

by Fayez A. Sayegh, Ph. D.

**No other country in the world, whether member or non-member of the United Nations, has been the object of so many rebukes, censures and condemnations by the principal organs of the United Nations - for actions in violation of the Charter, and for non-compliance with decisions of competent bodies of the World Organization.**

Research Center \* Palestine Liberation Organization

BEIRUT - LEBANON

SEPTEMBER 1966

P. L. O. Research Center

606 Sadat St., Beirut

Established in February 1965

PUBLICATIONS

1. Palestine chronology 1965 :

- 1 - 1 Jan - 15 Feb. (Arabic)
- 2 - 16 Feb. - 31 March (Arabic)
- 3 - 1 April - 15 May (Arabic)
- 4 - 16 May - 30 June (Arabic)
- 5 - 1 July - 15 Aug. (Arabic)

2. Facts & Figures :

- 1 - Do you know? Twenty Basic Facts About the Palestine Problem (Arabic, English, French, & Spanish).
- 2 - The United Nations & The Palestine Question (English, French, & Spanish).
- 3 - Discrimination in Education Against the Arabs in Israel (English).
- 4 - Israel in the International Field (Arabic).
- 5 - The Palestine Problem in 33 International Conferences, 1954 - 1966 (Arabic).

3. Palestine Essays :

- 1 - The Concepts & Slogans of Bourguibism (Arabic).
- 2 - Zionism & Racism (English).

4. Palestine Monographs :

- 1 - Zionist Colonialism in Palestine (Arabic, English & French)
- 2 - The Armistice in International Law (English).
- 3 - Zionist Expansionist Policy (Arabic).
- 4 - Kibbutz (Arabic).

5. Palestine Books :

- 1 - The Israeli Economy (Arabic).
- 2 - The Arabs & the Vatican & Israel (Arabic).
- 3 - Liberation - Not Negotiation (English).

6. Six - Color Map of Palestine (100 x 40 cms.)

7. Special Publications :

- 1 - The Afro - Asian Institute - Tel - Aviv. (Arabic).

## Arabs to Drive for UN Recognition of 'Liberation Army'

### Eban Against Refugee Force Authorized at an Arab Summit Meeting

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y. — (JTA) — With the United Nations General Assembly's resumption after a brief recess, it was learned here that the principal activity of the Arab delegations at the Assembly will be a drive to win United Nations recognition of the "Palestine Liberation Organization" which is now recruiting a fighting force among Arab refugees to "liberate Palestine."

In an appearance before the General Assembly, Abba Eban, Israel's deputy premier, denounced the "Palestine Liberation Organization" authorized by an Arab summit meeting last September at Alexandria. He called it an "Israel liquidation organization" and said Israel would be defended in the future as in the past against "all Arab aggressions and threats." Mr. Eban addressed the Assembly in reply to nine speeches made in the last three weeks by representatives of Arab states who, he charged, proclaimed openly "a message of war and a threat of force for the elimination of Israel."

Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle  
January 1, 1965

Sayegh's seminal creation for the Research Center was his often-cited publication, *Zionist Colonialism in Palestine*. After almost 60 years since its release, the short but concise treatise is so singularly powerful, so remarkable, it stands out as a timeless monument. His 1965 monograph analysis, revealing the 'ugly truth' of Zionism, was the culmination, condensing and sifting of endless information and wrestling with the facts, from the whirlwind of gainful insights and perspectives from within Sayegh's operative cranium reactor core.

Published in September 1965 for the PLO, being the Center's first monograph, it became the architectural cornerstone for Sayegh's participatory edifice of the United Nations Resolution #3379 adopted ten years later, the tool and sword that he, and others, would effectively employ and draw from at the United Nations in the interim decade, used by national governments and non-governmental bodies alike.

This connection to and acknowledgement of Sayegh's publication were and remains to be, with a few exceptions, ignored by Zionists and their supporters.<sup>102</sup> In contrast to the international, collective media outrage in November 1975, where one might ask, were the international protests by Zionists and their supportive media after its publication in

September 1965 to collectively counter Zayegh's argumentative linking the Zionism project to racism, to intolerance, to violence, and to unconditional, ideological hatred. That all came later, well after the fact.

Sayegh understood, perhaps better than anyone else, that the primary method by which to disarm Zionism, and therefore to better empower the liberation of his fellow Palestinians, was to expose it, to fully describe it, to disseminate it to the world as enlightenment, to then apply that knowledge through the mandates, processes and legal frameworks of the United Nations. He well understood Zionism's shadowy antithesis, its living, inherent contradiction, and its common denominator acceptance by the self-righteous, the pandemic disease of colonial racism, a virus impregnated into millions of souls.

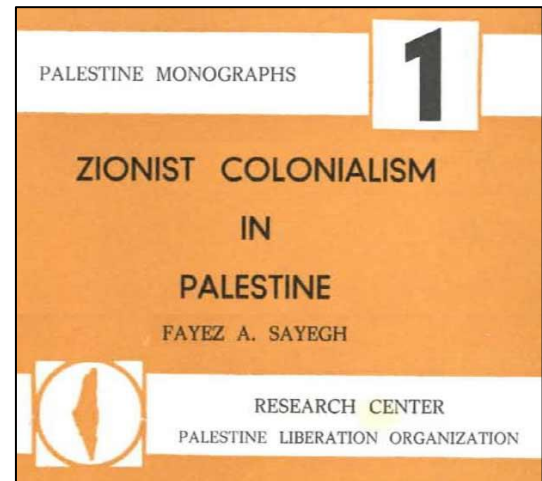
The tragic fate of Palestine subsumes all these elements of foreign domination, exploitation, and dispossession – and others besides. The territory of Palestine is under alien rule. Its resources are exploited by others. Its people are exiles from their homeland. The remnants of its Arab inhabitants 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.<sup>103</sup>

Sayegh includes in his 1965 monograph one of the biggest masterminded lies spokespeople for Zionist Israeli (with the support of Christian Zionists) have perpetrated over the last 76 years, namely the "right" of the Israeli State "to defend itself" from Palestinian resistance, the very topic that UN Palestinian Rapporteur Francesca Albanese has more recently clarified and corrected over, and over again to audiences that have been brainwashed by Israeli propagandists. In his monograph Epilogue, and in numerous presentations and written accounts in the 1950s and early 1960s, he points out that it is the Palestinians, not the State of Israel, which have the right to self-defence, protected under the United Nations Charter. The fact that Israel, as an "alien" "settler state," a state terrorizing Palestinians, has gotten away with distorting that right, forever daring to turn the table and labelling Palestinians terrorists since the 1950s, is because the United States, Israel's primary superpower backer, has irresponsibly used its veto powers and arguments at the United Nations to deny and obscure Palestinians their right and claims under the Charter to do so:

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<sup>102</sup> For instance, the July 2013 study in American Jewish History, *Equating Zionism with Racism: The 1965 Precedent*, authored by Ofra Friesel. The author, amazingly, fails to mention Fayeze Sayegh, and/or reference his monograph. However, the Zionist organization, NGO Monitor, published *False Knowledge as Power: Deconstructing Definitions of Apartheid that Delegitimise the Jewish State*, authored by Joshua Kern and Anne Herzberg, 8 years later, December 2021. In that 57-page report, they reference Friesel, while at the same time referencing Sayegh. Indeed, a rare moment. Sayegh's equation of Zionist Israel to Apartheid was still a big thorn in the Zionist project's side.

<sup>103</sup> Page 50.





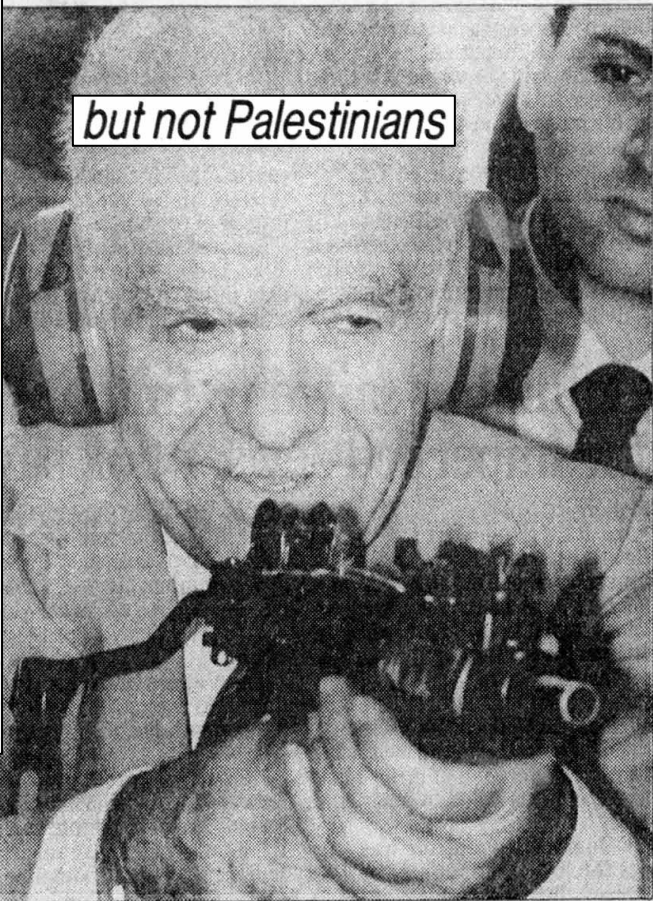
Thursday, September 5, 1991

Mr. Shamir also said the methods of Lehi and Palestinian guerrilla groups were different.

**"We never fought against unarmed civilians. We fought against oppressors, against occupiers, while the main targets of the Palestinian terror groups are civilians, old people, women, children," he said.**

Israeli historian Benny Morris said Lehi mainly targeted British officials but said not all of them were armed. He also said the group robbed banks and extorted money from Jewish businesses to finance its activities.

Palestinian groups under Israeli occupation target police, soldiers and Jewish settlers in their midst, while the last year has seen a surge of stabbing attacks on Jewish civilians by individuals not linked to any particular group.



**but not Palestinians**

REUTERS

**TAKING AIM: Yitzhak Shamir tries out submachinegun**  
Vancouver Sun September 5, 1991

## Jewish terrorism justified, but not Arabs', Shamir says

Associated Press

JERUSALEM — Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, recalling his days as the leader of the Jewish underground, said Wednesday Jews were justified in using terrorism to win statehood but Palestinians aren't.

"Personal terrorism is a way of fighting that is acceptable under certain conditions and by certain movements," said Shamir.

The Jews, stateless and persecuted, had no choice, he said. But the Palestinians are "fighting for land that is not theirs. This is the land of the people of Israel."

Shamir was interviewed by Israeli army radio on the 50th anniversary of the founding of Lehi, the group in which Shamir fought British rule in Palestine in the 1940s.

Lehi, also known as the Stern Gang after its founder, assassinated Lord Moyne, the British minister-resident in Cairo, in 1944. It also was blamed for the 1948 murder of United Nations mediator Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden,

although his killers were never caught.

Critics have also said the group was supported by fascist Italy to help destabilize Britain in the Middle East before and during the Second World War.

In the interview, Shamir dropped his customary reticence about the past and defended Lehi's actions at some length.

"Under the conditions that existed then, when the Jewish people were without a voice, without a homeland, without military force, vulnerable, totally abandoned by the whole world, there was justification and also usefulness in using this extreme method, to hurt those people who were responsible for what was being done to the Jewish people," Shamir said.

Asked to compare Lehi with Palestinian guerrilla groups fighting for independence, Shamir said: "Their objective is not just. They are fighting for land that is not theirs."

"This is the land of the people of Israel."

### Shamir: Terrorism not wrong if cause just

Boca Raton News  
September 5, 1991

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

**2** JERUSALEM — Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, recalling his days as a guerrilla commander, said Wednesday that Jews are justified in using terrorism to win statehood, but that Palestinians aren't.

"Personal terrorism is a way of fighting that is acceptable under certain conditions and by certain movements," said Shamir.

The Jews, stateless and persecuted, had no choice, he said. But the Palestinians are "fighting for land that is not theirs. This is the land of the people of Israel."

"The right to self-defence" argument is part of Zionist Israeli leadership's pattern of militant propaganda messaging, as in Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's interrelated statement in September 1991: that his use of "terrorism" is justified if committed only by Zionists, but not the defensive actions taken by Palestinians to return to their stolen lands and have their freedoms returned, "fighting for land that is not theirs." Ilan Pappé's book, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, contradicts Shamir's narrative, "we never fought against unarmed civilians," in examination of Israel's historic documents, namely, that armed Zionists murdered, massacred, and forced Palestinians from their homes, settlements, farms, properties and thriving businesses, whereby stealing, renaming, and profiting from their lands.

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 (*United Nations Charter*, Article 51). 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.

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 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.<sup>104</sup>

After describing the origins of Zionism and the setting up of the conditional state of Israel in the first two Sections of his monograph, under Section III, *The Character of the Zionist Settler-State*, he states that “the political embodiment of Zionist Colonialism (namely, the Zionist settler-state of Israel)<sup>105</sup> is characterized by three features: (1) its racial complexion and racist conduct pattern; (2) its addiction to violence; and (3) its expansionist stance.” Under the first feature, “Racism,” he states:

Racism is not an acquired trait of the Zionist settler-state. Nor is it an accidental, passing feature of the Israeli scene. It is congenital, essential, and permanent. For **it is inherent in the very ideology of Zionism and in the basic motivation for Zionist colonization and statehood.**

... Zionist racial identification produces three corollaries: *racial self-segregation*, *racial exclusiveness*, and *racial supremacy*. These principles constitute the core of the Zionist ideology. The primordial impulse for Zionist Colonialism is the pursuit of “national self-realization” by the “Jewish nation,” by means of territorial regrouping and independent statehood. *Racial self-segregation is therefore the quintessence of Zionism.*

By its very nature, racial self-segregation precludes integration or assimilation. From Herzl to Weizmann, from Ben Gurion to Goldmann, the leaders of Zionism have all believed and preached that the chief enemy of Zionism is not Gentile “anti-Semitism” but Jewish “assimilation”. “Anti-Semitism” and Zionism thus agree on the basic premise: that all Jews are one nation, with common national characteristics and a common national destiny. The difference between them is that, whereas “anti-Semitism” disdains the alleged “national characteristics” of Jews and delights in Jewish suffering, Zionism idealizes those fancied characteristics and strives to bring all Jews together into a single Jewish state, to which even moderate Zionists attribute a “special mission”.

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid., pages 49-50.

<sup>105</sup> In an article published by The Caravan newsletter on July 17, 1958, Sayegh previously referred to Israel's project as “Zionist super-colonialism.”



**“Just as the heart-beat consists of two rhythmic operations – pumping-in and pumping-out – so too the program of Zionism consists of two inter-related operations, each of which is essential for the heart-beat of Zionism and neither of which is dispensable: the detachment of Jews from their respective countries and their mass-transfer to Palestine, and the detachment of the indigenous Palestinian Arabs and their mass-transfer from Palestine.”**

“The Zionist ideal of racial self-segregation demands, *with equal imperativeness*, the departure of all Jews from the lands of their “exile” and the eviction of all non-Jews from the land of “Jewish destination”, namely, Palestine. Both are essential conditions of “Zionist fulfillment” and Jewish “national redemption”.

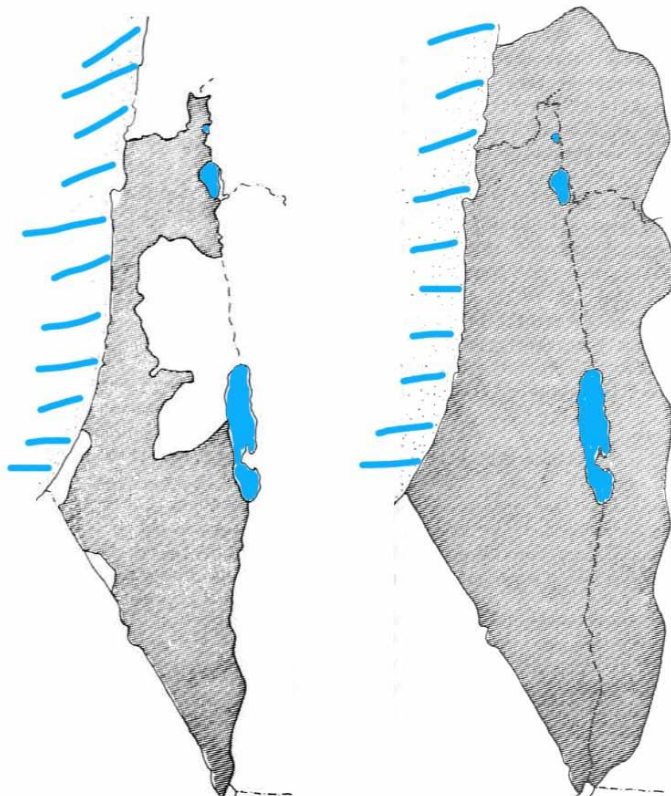
It is only in such a condition of thoroughgoing self-segregation that “Jewish superiority” can at last manifest itself, according to the teachings of Zionism: the “Chosen People” can attain its “special destiny” only when it is *all together and all by itself*.

Herein lies an important difference between Zionist racism and other

## Map from Zayegh’s Monograph

**Below:**  
 Israel occupied lands in 1965

**Below:**  
 Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan territories covered by the Zionism Organization in 1919



forms of European racism familiar, since the advent of Colonialism, to the peoples of Asia and Africa. *Race-supremacist European settlers elsewhere in Asia and Africa* have, by and large, found it possible to express their “supremacy” over the other strands of “lesser peoples” and “inferior races” within the framework of “hierarchical racial coexistence.” Separate and unequal, the European colonists and the “natives” have on the whole coexisted in the same colony or protectorate. Though they have openly disdained the “natives,” ruthlessly suppressed them, and methodically discriminated against them, European colonists have as a rule deemed the continued presence of the indigenous populations “useful” for the colonists themselves; and, as such, they have reserved for the “natives” all the menial functions and assigned to them inferior roles in the settler-dominated societies. Not so the Zionists! *Race-supremacist Zionist settlers in Palestine* have found it necessary to follow a different course, more in harmony with their ideological system. They have expressed their fancied “supremacy” over the Arab “natives,” first, by isolating themselves from the Arabs in Palestine and, later on, by evicting the Arabs from their homeland.”

**“Nowhere in Asia or Africa – not even in South Africa or Rhodesia – has European race-supremacism expressed itself in so passionate a zeal for thoroughgoing racial exclusiveness and for physical expulsion of “native” populations across the frontiers of the settler-state, as it has in Palestine, under the compulsion of Zionist doctrines.**

So long as they were powerless to *dislodge* the indigenous Arabs of Palestine (the vast majority of the Country’s population), Zionist colonists were content with *isolating themselves* from the Arab community and instituting a systematic boycott of Arab produce and labor. Accordingly, from the earliest days of Zionist colonization, the principle was established that only Jewish labor would be employed in Zionist colonies. The “Jewish Agency,” the “Jewish National Fund,” the “Palestine Foundation Fund,” and the “Jewish Federation of Labor” vigilantly ensured the observance of that fundamental principle of Zionist colonization.

Contentment with boycotting the Arabs of Palestine instead of evicting them from their country was, however, only a tactical and temporary suspension of the Zionist dogma of racial exclusiveness. It was forced upon Zionism by the circumstances surrounding the early stages of Zionist colonization. And it was viewed as a necessary evil, to be endured only so long as a more rigorous application of the racist doctrines of Zionism was prevented by extraneous factors beyond the control of the Zionist Movement. The ultimate aim of ousting the Arab inhabitants of Palestine in order to make possible the incarnation of the principle of racial exclusiveness, though momentarily suspended, was never abandoned, however.

**The Zionist concept of the “final solution” to the “Arab problem” in Palestine, and the Nazi concept of the “final solution” to the “Jewish problem” in Germany, consisted essentially of the same basic ingredient: the elimination of the unwanted human element in question. The creation of a “Jew-free Germany” was indeed sought by Nazism through more ruthless and more inhuman methods than the creation of an “Arab-free Palestine” accomplished by the Zionists: but behind the difference in techniques lay an identity of goals.**

The remnants of Palestine’s Arabs who have continued to live in the Zionist settler-state since 1948 have their own “Bantustans,” their “native reserves,” their “Ghettoes” – although the institution which they encounter in their daily lives is given by the Zionist authorities the euphemistic name, “security zone.”



## 8.1. Zionist Israel Project Tyranny in 1967 / “The Situation in the Middle East”

The aftermath of the Six Day War, and the June 13, 1967, enjoining letter to the UN (A/6717) by Gromyko, the Soviet Union’s Minister of Foreign Affairs – “to bring about the liquidation of the consequences of aggression and the immediate withdrawal of Israel forces behind the armistice lines” – forced the United Nations to convene its Fifth Emergency Special Session, held from Saturday June 17 to Monday September 18, 1967 (Plenary meetings 1,525 to 1,559). Israel’s aggression took place during the United States’ ongoing aggression upon Vietnam then three years into the making, escalating tensions between the US and the Soviet Union within the Member States body. UN plenary president Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, the Afghanistan ambassador, referred to Israel’s military expansion as “the situation in the Middle East:”

“Our discussions here should also demonstrate clearly where the failures have occurred in maintaining peace and what steps are needed in order to remedy those failures of the past. It is necessary for the causes of failure in the responsible organs of the United Nations to be identified in order to succeed in the search for and the restoration and preservation of peace. It is evident that if this crisis is not brought to an end through the use of all the peaceful methods at the disposal of the international community, we shall all – every one of us – be confronted with very grave consequences. In our search for solutions, it is our duty to think not only of present circumstances but of future consequences. Our ultimate aim is peace, lasting peace, and we, should remember that genuine peace is based solely on justice, and therefore just solutions must be sought. ... Have we not for too long tried to build peace by disconnected efforts with almost no attempt to put the elements together in a single rational structure representing our ultimate and imperative desire, that is to say, world peace?”

Mr. Kosygin, the chairman of the Soviet Union’s Council of Ministers, stated on June 19, the second meeting:

“By occupying territories of the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Syria, Israel continues to challenge the United Nations and all peace-loving countries, and this is why the main task of this Assembly is to condemn the aggressor and take steps for an immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops behind the armistice lines. In other words, the task is to clear all the territory of the Arab countries occupied by Israel troops of the invaders. As a result of the Israeli aggression traffic through the Suez Canal, an important international waterway which the invaders have turned into a front line of battle, has been paralysed.”

“Eliminating the consequences of aggression also means making restitution for the material damage inflicted by the aggressor upon those whom he attacked and whose lands he occupied. The actions of the Israeli forces and Israeli aircraft have resulted in the destruction of homes, industrial establishments, roads, and means of transportation in the United Arab Republic, Syria and Jordan. Israel is in duty bound to reimburse the full cost of everything it has destroyed and to return all captured property. It is obligated to do this within the shortest possible time.”

After drawn out and contentious statements from Abba Eban, Israel’s Minister of Foreign Affairs, the representative from Saudi Arabia, Mr. Baroody, said on June 19<sup>th</sup>:

“The leader of my country has time and time again made it explicit, in various capitals of Western Europe, that the Arab world cannot accommodate Zionism in our midst. It is not a question of thousands of official statements, I should like to tell Mr. Eban. <sup>106</sup> If our leaders did not reflect the mood of the Arab people, they would not remain leaders. This is something which should be noted by

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<sup>106</sup> Eban had stated, the “thousand official statements by Arab leaders in the past two years announcing their intention to destroy Israel by diverse forms of organized physical violence.”

all countries, especially the Western countries which were instrumental in creating Israel. They have forgotten that this artificial State has destroyed the indigenous people of Palestine. Forget that they are Arabs: they were the natives of Palestine.

... But **our problem is not with Judaism**; our problem is with political Zionism, which made of Judaism, a noble religion, the motivation for its own political ends. We consider the leaders of Israel as Europeans, as representing a new form of colonialism. We do not wish to destroy the Jews. We protected the Jews throughout our history. But we cannot accommodate a European political incursion in our midst. Any leader who does not reflect the mood and the ethos and the thinking of the Arab world will be liquidated by none other than the Arab people. Let this sink into the minds of those who created Israel. We have a history of 6,000 years in the area. This dark cloud will be dissipated by time, not through rancour and hatred. If the same European Zionists were to come as Jews to worship their God with us, to worship the same God as we do, we would have no quarrel with them. But to bring their own culture from Europe and impose it upon us – that is something which the Arab people will not accept. We tried to reason with them, I amongst others, before the creation of the State of Israel. Face to face, man-to-man we reasoned with them. But they insisted on colonizing a part of the Arab homeland. ... I should like to say that the policy of the European Zionists is like what Samson said: “On my head and on the heads of my enemies I would bring down this structure.”

On June 20<sup>th</sup>, at the 1,527<sup>th</sup> plenary meeting, Mr. Al-Atassi, the Head of the Syrian Arab Republic, stated (translated from Arabic):

“The Security Council was unable to discharge its responsibilities in condemning the Israeli aggression, ordering the withdrawal of its forces, and liquidating its consequences, due to the obstruction of the United Kingdom and the United States of America. ... I only wish you would review the records of this Organization in its different organs in order to realize the incredible number of aggressions to which our Arab people has been subjected by Israel, the frequent condemnations and the many resolutions adopted by the Security Council, the General Assembly, and the United Nations organs in the region. Israel has not observed any of those resolutions; it has paid no attention or regard to those decisions, taken by the highest international organs, which reflect the international conscience.

But the graph of the Israeli aggression has since [1956] taken an upward turn. This time it aimed specifically at the Syrian Arab region. Development works and civil projects were hit last year by Israeli napalm bombs. Roofs were destroyed from over the heads of children and old people by the Israeli bombers. That took place on 14 July 1966. In spite of irrefutable proof of this deliberate aggression and the reports of the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), certain great Powers which protect Israel and encourage its aggressive policies prevented the Security Council at that time from condemning that aggression. Not long after, the Arab village of Es-Samu was subjected to a deliberate destructive raid, which the aggressors considered as just a bit of a show to exhibit their force and ruthlessness, at the expense of the suffering of women, children, and the aged.

Then came the aggression of 7 April this year on Syria. Israeli aircraft reached the skies of Damascus, destroyed peaceful villages in the frontier zone with heavy bombardment, without fear of any international censure. This provided the aggressors with encouragement to plan and execute the latest comprehensive aggression, the consequences of which this Organization is facing today. In spite of the concentrated Zionist propaganda, intended to deceive world public opinion, the responsible Israeli authorities did not hide their aggressive intentions when they repeatedly declared that they were going to occupy Damascus and topple its progressive regime. They even proclaimed they were protected by the American Sixth Fleet.



We warn the General Assembly not to be deceived by the hypocritical appeals to peace which have been part and parcel of the Israeli routine. The history of Israel in the last twenty years has proved beyond any doubt that Israel makes such appeals as a preparation for a new aggression. That was the case before the 1956 aggression. That also was the case before this most recent aggression. In both cases Israel deceived world public opinion, claiming not to have any aggressive intentions or to be preparing for a war. But the world witnessed their sneak attack on 5 June 1967.

It is worth mentioning that, when Syria and Israel agreed to the cease-fire ordered by the Security Council, the Israeli forces of aggression had not yet occupied one iota of Syrian territory. It was after we informed Secretary-General U Thant that we had ceased fire as from 1630 hours GMT, 10 June, that the Israeli invasion of our territory began. This invasion took place at the time when the Security Council was in session and after it had already issued an additional cease-fire order. The Israeli invasion was coupled with the deliberate delaying tactics of both the United States of America and the United Kingdom representatives in the Security Council. While the invasion was progressing, the Israeli representative was submitting to the Security Council false information, categorically denying the occupation of Syrian territory as well as the bombing of Damascus.

If many small countries have in the past experienced, and today also experience, colonialist aggression, as in Viet-Nam, where a heroic people, small in number, is fighting against ruthless forces, the Arab people assuredly have the distinction of experiencing subjection to the domination of a most peculiar alliance, in unprecedented fashion and degree. This is the full alliance between traditional colonialism and international Zionism as incarnated in Israel. As a matter of fact, this Israeli neocolonialism is based in its essence on the total extermination of the Arab people and the introduction, in their place, of other conquering elements, as happened in occupied Palestine and as is happening in the Arab territories recently occupied. Youth are assembled in public places, their eyes are bandaged, and then they are shot. Other Arab inhabitants are driven out of the occupied territory to wander as refugees without home or shelter. In Syria after the most recent events, the number of human beings in this category has reached a total of 40,000 refugees.

**Eban Reported Adamant**  
**JERUSALEM, June 18 (Reuters)**—Israel will defy any United Nations resolution telling her to pull her troops back to her old frontiers. Foreign Minister Abba Eban said in an interview today. "This has been made clear to the major powers," The Jerusalem Post quoted him as having said.  
"If the General Assembly were to vote by 121 to 1 in favor of Israel returning to the armistice lines tomorrow," he said, "Israel would refuse to comply with that decision."

The mention in the Israeli Yearbook that the State of Israel should extend from the Nile to the Euphrates demonstrates incontestably why the Zionist conquerors now sit at a distance of fifty kilometres from Damascus and a hundred kilometres from Cairo, why the original inhabitants have been expelled from the occupied territory to wander as refugees, and why youth are shot in cold blood. The Arab people are indeed being subjected today to an operation of extermination, surpassing in dimensions what the Nazis did. It is in truth experiencing a dual colonialist operation aimed at eradicating its very existence and at subjecting the surviving part to direct colonialist domination.

The Arab homeland, with its important strategic location, its petroleum resources and huge potential wealth, is considered by the colonial Powers – and, first and foremost, by the United States of America and Britain – as a zone of influence and a domain of vast vested interests.

In order to safeguard these interests, the colonial States use all means, without discrimination. ... Colonialism wishes to seize the raw material of our homeland and that of most of the countries of the Third World, to take it at the cheapest cost, manufacture and then reexport it to the Third World market at the highest price. This is a formidable equation. To maintain it constantly in its favour, colonialism uses every means.

Representatives may have read the challenge issued by the Foreign Minister of Israel when he declared that his Government would not give any weight to any resolution adopted by this Organization, even: “If the General Assembly were to vote by 121 to 1 in favour of Israel returning to the armistice lines ... Israel would refuse to comply with that decision.” This was reported in The New York Times on Monday, 19 June.”

When Sabah Al-Ahmed Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, Kuwait’s Foreign Affairs Minister, addressed the General Assembly in Arabic on June 29, 1967, at the 1,540<sup>th</sup> plenary meeting, one can distinctly recognize that Sayegh – who had just taken on the duty as Senior consultant to Kuwait Ministry of Foreign Affairs, assigned to the UN Kuwait delegation – had diligently composed the Minister’s speech:

**Embargo on oil stands**  
Kuwait has not altered, and will not alter, its attitude of stopping oil exports to the countries accused of helping Israel in the Middle East war, Kuwaiti Premier Sheikh Jaber A-Ahmed Al-Sabah announced. Kuwait banned the export of oil to the United States and Britain on June 6. Evening Post - Aug 7, 1967

“Failure to secure the withdrawal of Israel will embolden Israel itself to resort to armed aggression once again in the future for the purpose of attaining further territorial aggrandizement. For it was precisely the original failure of the United Nations in 1948 to apply effectively the principles of the Charter to the conduct of Israel that encouraged Israel to believe that it could always accomplish lasting territorial aggrandizement by resort to armed aggression; and it was this belief that prompted Israel to launch its recent aggression.

We all recall that when it began to face the question of armed hostilities in Palestine in 1948, by calling for a cease-fire and a truce, the Security Council declared solemnly and unambiguously, on more than one occasion, that a principal condition of the truce was that “no party is

entitled to gain military or political advantage through violation of the truce.” This principle was enunciated in Security Council resolution 56 (1948) of 19 August 1948, was reaffirmed on 19 October 1948 [59 (1948)], was enunciated once more on 4 November 1948 [61 (1948)] and was again reaffirmed on 16 November 1948[62 (1948)]. But the Security Council failed to apply this principle in practice to the actual progress of hostilities. As a result, Israel proceeded to violate the truce time and again, and was thereby enabled to occupy vast areas of Palestine which had not been under its control when the Council proclaimed or reiterated the aforementioned principle. Had the world Organization carried out its duties in 1948, translating its words into deeds, we would not be meeting today to consider a new act of Israeli aggression, which is in reality a repetition of those earlier acts of aggression but on a larger scale. Accordingly, if the United Nations now fails to put an immediate, decisive, and complete end to the consequences of the recent Israeli aggression, it will have planted the seeds of a new Israeli aggression with its own hands in a fertile soil – **the soil of the Zionist movement, ever eager for expansion, devoutly attached to violence and the use of force, and desecrating the principles of international law and the United Nations Charter.**

I referred a moment ago to the Zionist eagerness for territorial expansion. I wish to emphasize that that was not a figure of speech but a realistic and accurate description of a Zionist ideological drive which has been embodied in practical policies and has already achieved actual and steady fulfilment. The Zionist movement, which set out from the very beginning to conquer the entire area it calls Eretz Israel, and which has pursued that objective through a carefully planned approach of stage-by-stage implementation, remains until Today – despite the recent expansion accomplished this month – at a station along its charted path: it has not yet arrived at its terminal. **Even if we accept, as a definition of ultimate Zionist territorial ambitions, the minimum demands officially made by the Zionist movement in its 1919 Memorandum to the Paris Peace Conference, we cannot fail to observe that there are still large areas of Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan which are earmarked for Israeli expansion in the future – to say nothing of the much larger areas coveted by so-called Zionist “extremists,” whose territorial target stretches all the way from the Nile to the Euphrates. If,**



then, it does not now impose upon Israel withdrawal from the recently occupied territories of the Arab States, the United Nations will have virtually addressed an open invitation to Israel to proceed tomorrow to achieve another instalment in its well-known expansionist programme.”<sup>107</sup>

**United Nations General Assembly, Official Records, 1547<sup>th</sup> Plenary Meeting,  
Tuesday, 4 July 1967, New York, Fifth Emergency Special Session.**

**Fayez Sayegh, Representative from Kuwait, stated:**

“For surely in any catalogue of the causes of tension in the Middle East there are at least three causes that should be mentioned, but these are ignored in the Latin American draft resolution. There is first **the racist policy of the settler community in Israel towards the natives of Palestine**. I say it is a racist policy of discrimination because in the hierarchy of the society in Israel the European and American Jews are given top place; the oriental Jews are given second place; and the Arabs, the natives, the indigenous population, are given third place. Surely the Middle East cannot be tension-free as long as Arabs living under Israeli rule continue to be discriminated against and persecuted and on occasion subjected to pogroms, as at Kafr Qasim in 1956.

Secondly, there is the well-known fact that Israel, in the view of every one of its leaders and every leader of the Zionist movement, **is still an unfinished enterprise; that before Israel there lies a programme of further territorial and demographic expansion**. Even with all the expansion accomplished last month, the Israeli programme has not been completed and there are still territories in Syria, Lebanon and Jordan that will be the target of further conquest and annexation if the blueprint of Israel has a chance of success. There can be no tension-free Middle East as long as one State considers itself an unfinished enterprise, as long as one State considers that there are still territories which are part of its patrimony and its national homeland.

Finally, there is another element in the catalogue of causes of tension which the Latin American draft resolution ignores completely; that is what one may call **the Israeli addiction to violence**. It is not an addiction to violence that we surmise. **It is an addiction to violence that is recorded in documents of the United Nations itself**. What State has been the subject of as many condemnations and censures for resort to violence against the territories of its neighbours as has the State of Israel? Need I take the time of this Assembly to cite Security Council resolutions 93 (1951) of 18 May 1951, 101 (1953) of 24 November 1953, 106 (1955) of 29 March 1955, 111 (1956) of 19 January 1956, 171 (1962) of 9 April 1962, and 228 (1966) of 25 November 1966?

The Latin American draft resolution has all these defects and all these shortcomings. We shall therefore vote against the whole resolution and against every individual provision or portions of a provision contained in it. We should like to say that for all States in this Organization the adoption of the Latin American draft resolution would mean that no small State from now on could go to sleep with a clear mind thinking that should its neighbour attack it, should its neighbour seek to annex part of its territory, the United Nations would step in to remedy the situation and to protect the invaded party. ... May I indulge in this spirit of sloganeering of the session and add my own label. The Latin American draft resolution, from the standpoint of the United Nations, is a prescription for abdication and for suicide.

For **the bitter truth** is that whereas one or more constructive resolutions, consistent with the spirit of the Charter, are not of and by themselves sufficient to sustain indefinitely the structure of world order, unfortunately one resolution inconsistent with the spirit of the Charter is of and by itself sufficient to destroy the edifice of world order.”

On July 4, 1967, the UN General Assembly passed resolution 2253 (ES-V), *Measures taken by Israel to change the status of the City of Jerusalem*, which requested the UN Secretary General to notify the government of Israel to immediately respond to the resolution, whereby it's measures altering the status of Jerusalem as "invalid" and to "rescind all measures already taken and to desist forthwith." After the Six Day War, Israel defied and violated the United Nations "Charter and of the norms of international law" by annexing the Old City of Jerusalem, which former Prime Minister Ben Gurion declared as "our eternal capital."<sup>108</sup>

In Israeli Foreign Affairs Minister Abba Eban's July 10, 1967, 4-page response letter to that resolution, he begins with the following: "**As a result of aggression launched by the Arab States against Israel in 1948**, the section of Jerusalem in which the Holy Places are concentrated had been governed for nineteen years by a regime which refused to give due acknowledgment to universal religious concerns."

Of the General Assembly delegations responding to Eban's letter on July 13, 1967, one was by Kuwait delegate Fayeze Sayegh:

"The document circulated by the Secretary-General, containing Mr. Eban's response, is to say the least – and I am carefully trying to use the least sensational words – an unusual document. It is, to say the least, an astounding document because what we have before us in this exchange is not a dialogue, a question and an answer, a statement and a response; what we have in this document is, in fact, a succession of monologues.

According to Mr. Eban's version, the Arabs were the aggressors in 1967 and they were the aggressors in 1948. ... he does assert that the aggression which we all know is the reason why we are meeting in this emergency special session was an aggression by the Arab States against Israel and not vice versa. He builds that upon his claim that in 1948 the Arabs also were the aggressors.

Now, 1967 is still too fresh in our memories for any of us to need to be reminded of what really happened on 5 June. But 1948 is a bit remote, and Mr. Eban apparently believes that an untruth, repeated frequently, becomes the truth by the sheer weight of repetition. Just because for nineteen years he has been saying that the Arabs were the aggressors in 1948, he believes that that makes them the aggressors in 1948. May I just refresh the Assembly's memory, and that of Mr. Eban, as to who was the aggressor in 1948?

We are told that Israel, which came into being late on 14 May 1948, suddenly found itself exposed to aggression by Arab armies on the morning of 15 May. But the record of April and early May of 1948 shows, without a shadow of a doubt, that on 9 April Arab

## Kuwait Hints U.S. Abusing Power in U.N.

Stockton Evening Sunday Record  
July 13, 1967

UNITED NATIONS, July 13 (UPI)—Kuwait's envoy to the United Nations said today "one great power" abused its influence to prevent United Nations action against Israel. He clearly meant the United States.

Fayeze A. Sayegh, foreign minister of the oil-rich kingdom, appeared before the General Assembly to ridicule Israel's contention that its occupation of Jerusalem brought great humanitarian and social gains.

Sayegh did not refer to the United States by name but he used identical expressions used by other Arab leaders in singling out the United States earlier.

### FAILS DUTIES

"Israel has been emboldened to be evasive, been emboldened to fail to comply with the decision of the United Nations (against annexing Jerusalem), been emboldened to annex Jerusalem, by the failure of the United Nations to perform its task and discharge its duties," he said.

"The Security Council and the General Assembly have not been permitted to act largely because one great power used its influence to sway votes and change them.

"This great nation which abused its own great power in the Security Council and the General Assembly bears a large share of responsibility for what Israel today is doing."

<sup>107</sup> United Nations General Assembly, 1542<sup>nd</sup> Plenary Meeting, Fifth Emergency Special Session, Thursday, 29 June 1967, New York (A/PV 1542), page 2.

<sup>108</sup> General Assembly, July 13, 1967, 1551<sup>st</sup> Plenary Meeting, A/PV 1551, page 1.



villages in Palestine were already being raided and destroyed and razed to the ground by Zionist paramilitary and terrorist organizations, and their populations massacred; that on 26 April, the city of Jaffa, which was earmarked by the General Assembly for the Arab State of Palestine and not for the Jewish State, fell into the hands of Zionist military organizations; that early in May, the city of Acre, also earmarked for the Arab State, fell into Zionist hands; and that therefore by 14 May, prenatal Israel – embryonic Israel – had already raided and occupied portions of the Arab State of Palestine envisaged by the General Assembly.

Israel was an aggressor before it was born. Prenatal Israel had already committed an act of aggression. The Arab armies entered Palestine on 15 May 1948 at the request of the Arab community of Palestine, through the recognized representatives of that community, in order to prevent the rest of Palestine from being occupied by prenatal Israel, an occupation which now has been accomplished in consequence of the invasion of 5 June 1967.

May I say, in all candour, that Israel has been emboldened to be evasive, it has been emboldened to fail to comply with the will of the United Nations, it has been emboldened to annex Jerusalem – and will be further emboldened to annex the remaining territories it occupies as a result of the recent aggression – by virtue of **the failure of the United Nations to perform its tasks and to discharge its duties.**

**Had the Security Council and the General Assembly, in its present session, been permitted to order immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from the territories occupied as a result of the recent invasion, there would have been no opportunity for Israel to annex Jerusalem. But neither the Security Council nor the General Assembly was permitted to act, largely because one great Power chose to abuse its power and exert its influence in order to sway and twist the will of sovereign States and change the votes of delegations, thereby preventing the adoption of the resolution, the only resolution consistent with, and mandatory under, the Charter.**

Thus, the General Assembly and the great Powers which abuse their influence and power in the General Assembly and in the Security Council, must bear a share of the responsibility for what Israel is doing today.”

## 8.2. The Special Political Committee

*“On 5 June 1967 armed conflict erupted between Israel and certain Arab States. When the firing ceased, Israel was in occupation of the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula, the West Bank of the Jordan and the Golan Heights and Quneitra area in the south-western corner of Syria. More than half of the refugees registered with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) had been living in these areas; over 300,000 persons, including some 120,000 registered refugees, are reported to have been rendered homeless or to have left their homes as a result of the hostilities. Many had lost their homes for the second time in their lives. In addition to the grave political issues at stake, the plight of these people confronted the international community, and UNRWA in particular, with new and urgent problems of a humanitarian character.”*

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From a selected period – December 1967 to end November 1975 – of Fayez Sayegh’s participatory record, he made some fifty meeting statements at the UN’s **Special Political Committee (SPC)**, an organ later absorbed into the United Nations Fourth Committee in about 1993. Formed in 1950 as the Ad Hoc Political

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<sup>109</sup> Opening statement in, *Report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, 1 July 1966 – 30 June 1967*, report A6713.

Committee, meant to ease the burden of the UN's agenda items, many of the SPC's summary recorded meetings which Sayegh attended dealt with the topic and theme of Palestinian refugees and the UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA). Sayegh's two statements on November 14, 1973, at the 886<sup>th</sup> meeting, are typical of his argumentative ability to present in-depth, accurate, and rebuttal information.

“Although other peoples had experienced foreign occupation, subjugation or exile, the Palestinians were the only ones who had lived through all of those and were still experiencing one or another of them. Secondly, the multiple hardships affecting the Palestinian people were the result of the action or the inaction of the organized international community, which had, however, been established to satisfy the aspirations of mankind for justice, equity, peace and respect for human rights. Thirdly, it was during the era of decolonization that the Palestinian people had become the victims of a process of colonization made possible by the deeds and the inaction of the United Nations, which had presided over the process of decolonization elsewhere. In the age of rising expectations, the people of Palestine had been delivered nothing but rising frustrations. Fourthly, the tragedy of the Palestinian people was not a quirk of fate: it was the inevitable consequence of an ideology and a movement and, later, of the conduct of a State. **It was not the work of blind forces of nature, but of a conscious will that was a testimony to man's inhumanity to man.** The meeting of 200 Jews at Basel in 1897 to establish the Zionist movement, which was to devote itself to the creation of a *Judenstaat* in a land occupied by non-Jews, had spelt the beginning of the

*United Nations* **AD HOC POLITICAL COMMITTEE**  
**GENERAL ASSEMBLY** 1st MEETING *Saturday,*  
**ASSEMBLY** 30 September 1950,  
**FIFTH SESSION** at 10.45 a.m.  
*Official Records*  *Lake Success,*  
*New York*

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*Chairman: Mr. Víctor A. BELAÚNDE (Peru).*

Because of the heavy load of political problems on the agenda, the committee voted to create a special political committee, to share the work with the Political and Security Committee. The Assembly will have to choose a President for the special committee, technically known as the Ad Hoc Political Committee. The two favorite choices are Lester B. Pearson, Canada, and Sir Carl Berendsen, New Zealand.  
 Cincinnati Enquirer, September 23, 1950

tragedy of the people of Palestine. Fifthly, the Palestinians had remained the victims of that tragedy in spite of solemn promises by the international community for half a century assuring them that such would not be their fate.

... Those safeguard clauses had also been included in the recommendation concerning the partition of Palestine adopted on 29 November 1947 by the General Assembly (resolution 181 A (II)). The United Kingdom Government, the League of Nations and the United Nations each had solemnly promised in turn to guarantee the rights of the Palestinians. What had they done to enforce that guarantee? It was no wonder that the Palestinian people felt that they had been betrayed and that they were the victims not only of the Zionists but also of the international community.

The last point to be remembered was that the Palestinians had never submitted to the *fait accompli*; they had never surrendered their rights. From 1920 to 1948, until their displacement, they had waged their war of liberation almost continuously. ... After 1948 the struggle of Palestinians for liberation had taken a new form, but they had never surrendered their right nor had they ceased to defend their dignity. Israel could not point to a single group which had ever accepted as legitimate the situation established in Palestine by force.”



**“It was lamentable that, contrary to the South African regime, Zionism and Israel had never been the subject of a thorough study, for Israel represented in south-west Asia the same assault on human dignity that apartheid represented in southern Africa. He [Sayegh] cited as proof an interview with David Ben-Gurion in The Jerusalem Post of 23 June 1969 (weekly overseas edition) in which Mr. Ben-Gurion said that he had told the Prime Minister of the South African Government that if the white settlers had done in South Africa what the Jews had done in Palestine they would have been spared considerable troubles, a point with which the Prime Minister had agreed.**

If the situation led Israel to rid itself of the syndrome which characterized it, it might be possible to arrive at a solution that respected the rights of both the Palestinians and the Jews. The representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization had suggested in his statement (882nd meeting) what that solution might be – a solution that also he himself had contemplated at the twenty-fifth session (737th meeting). That solution would make it possible to alter the irreconcilable nature of extreme positions.

**Indigenous Arabs, both Moslem and Christian, and Jews, whether indigenous or not, should live together in Palestine in a State to which they would all equally belong, and which would belong to all of them equally. They should dedicate themselves, not to excluding one another, but to working together as human beings linked by bonds of humanity transcending religious, linguistic, racial and national differences. A State should be created in Palestine in which all those human beings would work together.** That solution would symbolize the triumph of humanity over factionalism and the triumph of vision over obstacles that seemed insurmountable. It would enable the Arabs to renew what had always been their tradition of tolerance. It would also enable Jews living outside Israel to renew their tradition of pluralism, in which their salvation lay. All that the Israelis had to lose was something that had never belonged to them.”<sup>110</sup>

Since December 19, 1968 – because of follow up discussions from Israel’s military territorial annexation during the Six Day War in June 1967 – when the UN General Assembly established *The Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories*, the UN’s Special Political Committee had been tasked with reviewing the special *Israeli Practices* reports, the number of which totalled to seven by October 1975.<sup>111</sup> As noted in the 7<sup>th</sup> report of October 27, 1975 (A/10272), “The investigations of such allegations continue to be hampered by **the persistent denial of the government of Israel to the Special Committee of access to the occupied territories.**”<sup>112</sup> Shown in the October 1954 news article to the right, South Africa had previously “refused to allow” the Special Political

## Integration Said Road To Racial Peace

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. (AP)—A U.N. committee reported today that gradual integration is the only likely road to racial peace in South Africa. It warned that agitators and subversive forces were making use of the white-colored strife in that nation to further their own ends.

The committee’s report said persons who support the racial segregation policies of the South African government “will have to jettison theories of racial supremacy which give a semblance of legality to political supremacy.”

Those who oppose segregation, it said, “will have to realize that the ideas of fraternal equality and collaboration . . . cannot become reality at the stroke of a magic wand, without passing through many successive stages.”

It was the second unanimous report on the South African race situation made by the committee. South Africa charged the first report was full of errors of fact and conclusion.

Members of the commission are Hernan Santa Cruz of Chile, Dantes Bellegarde of Haiti and France’s Henri Laugier.

Their report, drafted for the Special Political Committee of the Assembly for debate at this session, was authorized last year over South African protests that the inquiry violated her sovereign rights. The South African government refused to allow the committee to make an on-the-spot study. Much of its evidence was collected by interviewing witnesses in Geneva.

Indiana Gazette, October 26, 1954

<sup>110</sup> A/SPC/SR886.

<sup>111</sup> No. 1, A/8089 (October 26, 1970); No. 2, A/8389 (October 5, 1971); No. 3, A/8389/Add.1, (December 9, 1971); No. 4, A8828 (October 9, 1972); No. 5, A/9148 (October 25, 1973); No. 6, A/9817 (November 4, 1974; and No. 7, A/10272 (October 27, 1975).

<sup>112</sup> Page 8.

Committee “to make an on-the-spot study” of its apartheid practices. Israel was consistent in its later refusals to allow UN Special Rapporteurs entry on their UN missions to investigate the human conditions in the occupied territories. The 7<sup>th</sup> report stated:

“The evidence before the Special Committee indicates that the policies and practices pursued by the occupying Power in the occupied territories, in so far as they affect the human rights of the population of those territories, have not changed to any marked extent ... The general situation continues to give cause for concern because the civilian population has now been living under military occupation since June 1967. This has created a state of restlessness which has manifested itself this year in the marked increase of incidents, often violent; reprisals by the military occupying authorities; and the noticeable increase in the number of persons in custody. As indicated in section IV, the economic dependence of the occupied territories, in particular the continued abuse of the labour force from the occupied territories, persists. There is no evidence that prison conditions have improved; on the contrary, the recent increase in the number of detainees has not served to ameliorate prison conditions. The state of occupation and the consequent interference with daily life for such a long period are obviously affecting the youth of the occupied territories, who have become the object of military intervention as their sense of frustration and resentment at occupation grows with its prolongation.

In section IV-A above, the Special Committee gave a sample of the evidence before it on the existence of a policy of annexation and settlement of the occupied territories and the implementation of such a policy. The recurring references by members of the Israeli Government to the existence of plans for the establishment of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories, together with uncontradicted reports of the establishment of such settlements, prove the existence of this policy, which is contrary to articles 47 and 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention. The Special Committee notes with particular concern the measures that have been taken in the Gaza Strip and in the Rafah area where numerous persons have been forcibly evicted from their land to allow the construction of Israeli settlements.

The Special Committee would draw attention once again to the proposal that as repeatedly made for the adoption of an arrangement inspired by the **Protecting Power formula** envisaged under the Geneva Conventions which protects civilian persons living in occupied territories. This machinery or one similar to it should be established to provide future protection for the population of the occupied territories.<sup>113</sup>

At the first of three Special Political Committee meetings (985<sup>th</sup>, 986<sup>th</sup>, 987<sup>th</sup>) held on November 26, 27, and 28, 1975, which member Fayez Sayegh attended (who requested that a “film,” mentioned in the 7<sup>th</sup> report, be shown to the Committee), Mr. Amerasinghe (from Sri Lanka), being the chairman of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices, began the session. He:

... introduced the Special Committee’s report (A/10272) and referred to the genesis of the four Geneva Conventions of 1949, especially the fourth, the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. Those Conventions had been the product of the reaction of mankind to the excesses committed during the Nazi occupation in the Second World War, and **it was therefore a matter of tragic irony that the first country whose conduct as an occupying Power should have come under investigation after the adoption of those Conventions was precisely Israel, whose co-religionists had been the victims of the regime of violence under that occupation.** Moreover, he wished to state quite clearly that he did not in the least presume to compare the Israeli occupation with the Nazi occupation during the Second World War.”

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<sup>113</sup> Pages 31 and 35.



“The fourth Geneva Convention was based on two assumptions: the first being that the occupation would be only temporary and the second, that there would be the least possible interference by the occupying Power with the life and customs of the occupied country. Unfortunately, the first of those assumptions had not been justified in the case of Israel, since the occupation of the Arab territories had already lasted for eight years.

The report was based on facts and facts alone, and he challenged anyone to point to a single statement in it that could be described as a figment of the imagination. Secondly, it was based largely on information from Israeli sources, especially descriptions of facts and policy declarations by members of the Israeli Cabinet ...”

On the 987<sup>th</sup> meeting, on December 1, 1975, the Syrian Arabic Republic delegate, Mr. Sibahi, said he:

“Commended the Special Committee for the excellent work it had carried out despite Israel’s refusal to allow it to enter the occupied territories, a refusal motivated by a desire to hide other more revealing proof of one of the most obnoxious crimes in history. **That position of Israel was not surprising, for Israel had flouted the Charter, international agreements and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and did not abide by United Nations resolutions.**

It was therefore obvious that the report of the Special Committee was the only vehicle whereby the international community could learn about Israeli practices in Palestine and the occupied Arab territories. That impartial report had exposed the imperialist, expansionist and colonialist sides of Israel, which confiscated properties and annexed territories to build settlements in the occupied territories. Those plans violated basic human rights and international law, in particular, the fourth Geneva Convention and the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict.

The Special Committee’s report also described the economic exploitation of the occupied territories, which the Israeli representative [Mr. Doron] saw as constituting “reforms,”<sup>114</sup> whereas in fact it was merely a source of cheap labour for Israel. The report likewise revealed the retaliatory, oppressive and terrorist measures and Nazi methods – administrative detention and mass arrests and military tribunals – used by the Israeli authorities to exert pressure on the nationalist elements. Paragraph 106 of the report gave a clear example of such repressive measures.

It was necessary to examine the seriousness of the Israeli practices not only in relation to the Charter of the United Nations, international law and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but also with respect to the Geneva Conventions, **which Israel had signed but then rejected, especially the fourth one.** Israel’s rejection of the fourth Geneva Convention was an attempt to free itself from its guilt complex for its inhuman practices and provided additional proof of its criminal intentions and its disregard for international resolutions and international law.”

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<sup>114</sup> Mr. Doron stated on November 28<sup>th</sup>: “The vicious diatribes against Zionism voiced by Arab delegates might give the Committee the impression that while the rest of the world supported the **Jewish national liberation movement**, the Arab world was always hostile to Zionism. That was not the case. Arab leaders had recognized the rights of the Jewish people and had fully endorsed the virtues of Zionism. The leader of the Arab world during the First World War had written on 23 March 1918 in the daily paper of Mecca that he recognized that for the Jews streaming into Palestine from all parts of the world, the country was, for all their differences, a sacred and beloved homeland. His son, who had represented the Arab world at the Paris Peace Conference, had stated on 3 March 1919 that the educated Arabs especially looked with deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement and wished the Jews a hearty welcome home; **they were working together for a reformed and revised Near East, and the two movements complemented each other; Zionism was national and not imperialistic.** There was room in Syria for both and neither could be a success without the other.”

“His delegation drew attention to the conclusion reached in the report that it was essential that the United Nations change its attitude with regard to the occupation problem. **It was high time for the international community to think seriously about the possibility of imposing international sanctions in all fields against the Zionist racist entity existing in Israel**, according to the provisions of the Charter, and for a timetable to be established for the implementation by Israel of the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions calling for an end to the occupation and aggression and for recognition of the inalienable rights of the inhabitants of the occupied territories.”

### 8.3. CERD Rapporteur Sayegh

*Many representatives voiced regret at the fact that, twenty years after its creation, the United Nations was still called upon to consider the deplorable phenomenon of racial discrimination. With such discrimination unfortunately persisting in various parts of the world, despite the repeated appeals and condemnations emanating from the United Nations, the Organization must now take more vigorous measures to eliminate the discriminatory policies pursued in breach of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.*<sup>115</sup>

*1. By resolution 2544 (XXIV), the General Assembly designated the year 1971 as International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and considered that the Year should be observed in the name of the ever-growing struggle against racial discrimination in all its forms and manifestations and in the name of international solidarity with those struggling against racism. The Assembly approved the programme for the observance of the Year prepared by the Secretary-General, and called upon States to co-operate in every way in its implementation.*

*2. In the resolution, the Assembly urgently appealed to all States to intensify and expand their efforts at the national and international levels towards ensuring the rapid and total eradication of racial discrimination, including the policy of apartheid, nazism and all of its contemporary forms, as well as other manifestations of racism. The Assembly also invited the organs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies concerned to co-operate and participate in the preparatory work and in the observance of the International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.*<sup>116</sup>

On December 21, 1965, the United Nations' General Assembly adopted **Resolution 2106 (XX)**, the **International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination**. It was a comprehensive, monumental resolution emanating from the United Nations' Charter, the outcome of endless wrestling at United Nations' sessions and committees concerning the international question of human rights. Its preamble about: the Charter, “the principles of the dignity and equality inherent in all human beings ... to promote and encourage universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion;” and the affirmation concerning “the necessity of speedily eliminating racial discrimination throughout the world in all its forms and manifestations;” led to States Parties agreement of the Convention's Twenty-Five Articles, of few samples from which follow:

1. In this Convention, the term “racial discrimination” shall mean any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life.

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<sup>115</sup> Report of the Third Committee, *Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination*, November 24, 1970, submitted to the UN General Assembly, A/8163, page 5.

<sup>116</sup> *International Year for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination*, Report of the Secretary General, September 22, 1970, report A/8061, page 4.



3. State Parties particularly condemn racial segregation and apartheid and undertake to prevent, prohibit and eradicate all practices of this nature in territories under their jurisdiction.
4. State Parties condemn all propaganda and all organizations which are based on ideas or theories of superiority of one race or group of persons of one colour or ethnic origin, or which attempt to justify or promote racial hatred and discrimination in any form, and undertake to adopt immediate and positive measures designed to eradicate all incitement to, or acts of, such discrimination and, to this end, with due regard to the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the rights expressly set forth in article 5 of this Convention.
5. ... (d) Other civil rights, in particular: (i) the right to freedom of movement and residence within the border of the State; (ii) the right to leave any country, including one's own, and to return to one's country; ... (iv) the right to own property alone as well in association with others; ... (vii) the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; the right to freedom of opinion and expression."

Of significance, one of the two superpowers, the United States of America, would **not** become a State Party signatory to the Convention until October 1994.<sup>117</sup> The Russian Federation, on the other hand, became a State Party in February 1969. The State of Israel would not become a State Party until January 1979, upon the following condition: Israel "does not consider itself bound by the provisions of article 22 of the said Convention," the provision that subjects "any dispute between two or more State Parties" to be "referred to the International Court of Justice for decision." Canada acceded to the Convention in October 1970.

The Convention came into force on January 4, 1969, upon which "duly designated representatives of the State Parties to the Convention" held meetings in 1969 to elect members for the "Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination" (CERD). Because the United States and Israel chose against becoming State Party members, the CERD could not report on those members, or any other non-Party members, unless a member State of the Convention might file a related complaint. Reported below, Syria would make such claims against the State of Israel.



Upon the activation of the 18-member CERD in January 1970, during its second meeting, it chose a Working Group of five amongst its members. By January 23, 1970, **the Working Group nominated Fayez Sayegh as its Rapporteur, a position he held until 1980.** The Working Group then proceeded to lay the policy and planning groundwork for the CERD.

In the new age of human rights recognition, birthed under the creation of the United Nations Charter, member States and NGOs endlessly argued for almost two decades, that if the world's citizenry wanted to move away from colonialism, and wanted to move towards acceptance of human worth and dignity, participatory nation states had to change their legal precepts and frameworks. Giant cogwheels, "organs," were fashioned for new machines to do so. It all took painstaking time and effort. Getting a large group of Nation States to agree on a set of principles, especially with the unequal voting power structure at the UN, was itself challenging, and then monitoring Nation States on the progress or transgression of those agreements.

The first planning phase of the CERD was to communicate to each State Party Member to prepare reports –

<sup>117</sup> [United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter IV, Human Rights, 2. International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, New York, March 1966.](#)

a compliance under Article 9 of the Convention – each of which would then be evaluated by the CERD.<sup>118</sup> States Parties were to provide detailed information on “legislative, judicial, administrative or other measures” to “give effect to the provisions of the Convention before and since entry into force of the Convention.” Later CERD meeting minutes describe that States Parties, who “acceded” to the Convention, were “obligated” to “adopt legislative measure to combat racial discrimination.” The CERD recommended to the General Assembly “that all States which ... had no specific legislation to combat racial discrimination should adopt the legislative, judicial, administrative or other measures which they had undertaken to enact in acceding to the Convention.”<sup>119</sup>

For instance, under Sayegh’s “assessing the completeness” of one report submitted by Brazil in 1971 – discussing the Committee’s evaluation of Brazil’s claim “that no racial discrimination existed in its country” – he commented that “the situation was different with regard to racist and propaganda organizations:”

“Whether or not racial discrimination existed in their countries and whether or not they needed to adopt legislation to eliminate racial discrimination, States Parties were obligated under article 4 of the Convention to adopt legislation to outlaw racist organizations and propaganda. In the case of Brazil, therefore, the Committee did not need to ask the Government whether it had adopted legislation to eliminate racial discrimination, but whether it had taken any action under article 4 of the Convention.”<sup>120</sup>

By 1971, the CERD had received some 40 reports from States Parties. The Committee summarized in their annual report to the General Assembly that reports filed by individual member States had received one of three consensus evaluations, “satisfactory,” “unsatisfactory,” or “incomplete.” 15 States Parties received “satisfactory” status, 17 States Parties received “incomplete” or “unsatisfactory,” and the remaining as “complete.”<sup>121</sup>

In the 1971 annual report, the CERD included a statement from the Syrian Arab Republic:

“... some 110,000 Syrian citizens of the Golan Heights have since June 1967 been deprived of those fundamental human rights enunciated by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Covenants on Human Rights and specifically by article 5 of International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. **It is therefor incumbent upon the parties to the latter Convention to carry out their individual and collective responsibilities towards the termination of the Israeli discriminatory and racist policies and practices in occupied territories.**”<sup>122</sup>

CERD’s 1971 annual report went on to state that the Syrian Arab Republic had later “submitted a supplementary report” regarding “Israel’s violations of human rights in the Golan Heights.” The supplementary report referenced “reports submitted by the investigating organs of the United Nations” on “Israeli racist policies,” namely “the Report of the Special Working Group of Experts established under resolution 6 (XXV) of the Commission on Human Rights (E/CN.4/1016 and addenda) and the October 26, 1970 *Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories* (A/8089).” In the CERD’s 1973 annual report, A/9018, Sayegh composed a draft statement, adopted by the CERD at its 113<sup>th</sup> meeting, which was forwarded to the General Assembly, with “the hope that the population of the Golan Heights will be able as soon as possible to enjoy fully their human rights and fundamental freedoms as citizens of the Syrian Arab Republic” (page 105).

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<sup>118</sup> Annex III, A. Text of Communication sent to States Parties under Article 9 of the Convention, in A/8027, Report of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, 1970.

<sup>119</sup> CERD/C/SR.63, 63<sup>rd</sup> meeting, August 25, 1971, page 46.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., page 49.

<sup>121</sup> A/8418, page 8 ff.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., page 9.



#### F. Conduct of the investigation

22. The Committee conducted its investigation in the period from 25 March 1970 to 15 June 1970, during which it held a total of forty-six meetings for the purpose of hearing witnesses and several other meetings for planning and organizing its work. The Special Committee met at United Nations Headquarters in New York during the period 23 to 29 March; in London from 31 March to 5 April; Beirut from 6 to 8 April; Damascus from 9 to 13 April; Amman from 13 to 21 April; Cairo from 21 to 29 April; and Geneva from 30 April to 2 May 1970. A total of 146 persons was heard, as follows: London, thirteen, including five in closed or partly-closed session; Beirut, eleven, including three in closed or partly-closed meetings; Damascus, thirty-three, including one in closed meeting; Amman, thirty-five, including four in closed or partly-closed meetings; Cairo, fifty, including four in partly-closed meetings; Geneva, three, including one in a partly-closed meeting; New York, one. The Special Committee visited refugees in Djeramanah Tents, Damascus, on 12 April, and at the Jerash refugee camp in Jordan on 18 April 1970. The Special Committee held meetings at Headquarters from 10 to 15 June and at the United Nations Office at Geneva from 13 to 24 July and 31 August to 5 September 1970. A list of persons appearing before the Special Committee in open meeting is given in annex IV to the present report.

45. The evidence presented to the Special Committee consists of oral statements made under a solemn declaration, documentary evidence in the form of newspaper articles by journalists, published statements of responsible representatives of the occupying Power, published reports, including reports of surveys such as those conducted by the Institute of Palestine Studies and the American University of Beirut, and of investigations such as those undertaken by Amnesty International, the National Council of Churches of Christ, USA, and the International Association of Democratic Lawyers; and graphic evidence in the form of films on the human rights of the population of the occupied territories.

46. The Special Committee was not allowed by the Government of Israel to visit the occupied territories, but despite this, sufficient evidence has been forthcoming from outside those territories to justify certain clear findings and conclusions.

34. With regard to the first question, both resolutions 2443 (XXIII) and 2546 (XXIV) refer to the situation that developed subsequent to the hostilities of June 1967. The areas under Israeli occupation are: the Golan Heights, the West Bank (including East Jerusalem), the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula.

47. There were other witnesses from Israel who corroborated the general evidence of systematic violations of human rights (A/AC.145/RT.3, 40, 41). The Special Committee would refer in particular to the evidence given by a representative of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights on behalf of that organization, Mr. Joseph Abileah, an executive member of the League who was authorized by the League's executive to testify before the Special Committee (A/AC.145/RT.40,41). He presented on behalf of the League a memorandum dated 8 June 1970, which forms part of the records of the Special Committee (L2, appearing as annex VI to this report). In this memorandum the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights refers to alleged instances of breaches of human rights, such as collective punishments, blowing up of houses, administrative detention, expulsions and torture, killing during curfew, and supports these allegations with statistics and names of persons affected. Mr. Abileah supplemented the memorandum with oral evidence.

The 128-page A/8089 investigation on *Israeli Practices* document (see excerpts above) was released to the Twenty-Fifth session of the General Assembly on October 26, 1970, "in accordance with paragraph 4 of the General Assembly resolution 2443 (XXIII) of 19 December 1968." Of the many descriptives in the report, it laid out the history of Gaza under the previous control of Egypt, "an analytical study of the laws that were applicable prior to 5 June 1967," describing that, unlike Israel, the Egyptian government had afforded rights and laws to Palestinians in Gaza, providing "for the protection of the freedom of the Palestinian citizen and of the Palestinian identity in all aspects."

In the CERD's annual report for 1974, A/9618, in continuation of consideration of Syria's "third periodic report," the CERD noted:

**A new Constitution had been promulgated in the Syrian Arab Republic in 1973** to replace the Provisional Constitution of 1969; that the new Constitution not only embodied all the provisions relevant to the Convention which had been included in the Provisional Constitution, but also guaranteed and textually included nearly all the rights listed under article 5 of the Convention; that the information contained in the third periodic report was intended to be illustrative and was not exhaustive of all the laws and regulations adopted or the administrative measures taken to give effect to the provisions of the Convention; that many other such measures had already been adopted; and that some other measures were currently in the process of being drafted or codified. **The Committee took note also of the statement that no cases involving violations of the anti-discrimination provisions of Syrian law had been brought before the courts.** The Committee welcomed the information that the Syrian Arab Republic had ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and **had been the first Member State to sign the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.**<sup>123</sup>

The CERD, "by consensus," requested the "General Assembly to take the necessary steps in order to enable the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic to take over full responsibility for the implementation of its obligations under the Convention **on its whole national territory.**"<sup>124</sup>

<sup>123</sup> Page 51.

<sup>124</sup> Page 81.



In the CERD's 1974 annual report, A/9618, Luis Valencia Rodriguez of Ecuador commented on "the reservations expressed by the representative of Israel concerning the conduct of the Committee's work" made at the UN's Third Committee in 1973, pertaining to the reports from the Syrian Arab Republic about the Golan Heights, "regarding the situation in Israeli-occupied Syrian territory." Rodriguez wished to go on record in support of the CERD's chairman who, "having presided over the adoption of decision 4 (VII)" – the draft statement made by Sayegh, as noted above, from page 105 – "had acted impartially and in good faith, abiding by the provisional rules of procedure and the powers conferred on the Committee under the Convention."<sup>125</sup>

In 1972, the CERD exchanged nine of its eighteen members. Of the western Nation States, Germany (Karl Josef Partsch) and the United Kingdom (Sir Herbert Marchant) continued their membership, with the addition of members from France (Marc Ancel) and Canada (Ronald St. John MacDonald).

In the CERD's 1972 annual report (A/8718), was a summary of Rapporteur Sayegh's assessments:

43. At the 92nd meeting fifth session, when the Committee opened its consideration of reports submitted by States Parties in accordance with article 9, paragraph 1, of the Convention, the Rapporteur presented a preliminary comparative analysis of the 79 reports (45 initial reports, 11 second periodic reports, and 23 supplementary reports) which had been received since the establishment of the Committee from 45 States Parties.

44. According to that analysis, 25 of the reporting States Parties had declared in their reports that racial discrimination did not exist on their territories. Many of these States Parties explained the reason for the absence of racial discrimination from their territories, 10 attributing that absence to their respective "national traditions," "national outlooks," or "deep-seated convictions;" four, to their respective religions; five, to their respective social systems; and two to the absence of conditions conducive to the rise of racial discrimination. Only six States Parties admitted, or implied, the existence of practices of racial discrimination on their territories; but two of these States Parties attributed such practices to other States, not parties to the Convention, controlling or occupying portions of the national territory of the reporting States Parties.

48. As far as judicial measures were concerned, three States Parties supplied information on cases before the courts relating to racial discrimination, and five stated that no cases involving racial discrimination had been brought before the courts.

49. Administrative measures designed to combat racial discrimination or to promote racial tolerance and harmony were reported by six States Parties; seven reported on educational programmes they were undertaking for the same purpose; and two mentioned economic measures benefiting all racial groups and therefore contributing to the objectives of the Convention.

50. Finally, four States Parties reported that they were implementing resolutions adopted by United Nations organs concerning relations with racist regimes in southern Africa, and another State Party reported that it was contributing to certain international educational programmes relating to southern Africa.

By 1972, "the number of the States Parties had risen from 37 to 65 since the establishment of the Committee."<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Page 10.

<sup>126</sup> Section 104, A/8718.

The 1972 annual report summarized that in Canada's report to the CERD was a statement by its Secretary of State for External Affairs, "that **Canada fully complies with the arms embargo against South Africa,**" and that this compliance was but a manifestation of "**the emphatic opposition of the Canadian Government and people to the practice of apartheid**." It also stated that "during the discussion" of Canada's report "at the 98<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Committee, Mr. Sayegh recalled that other States Parties in addition to Canada had volunteered information on their implementation of resolutions adopted by the organs of the United Nations concerning relations with the racist regimes in southern Africa." Though 'progressive' western State Parties were openly criticizing South Africa apartheid, when it came to criticizing Israel's inhumanity those matters were often put aside.

At the CERD's 111<sup>th</sup> meeting in 1972, Jan Tomko, the member from Czechoslovakia, suggested that "a comparative survey of the provisions of the criminal laws of States Parties relating to penalties for acts of racial discrimination should be prepared."

101. Observing that "the criminal laws of many States Parties provide penalties for racial discrimination, which is considered a crime," while some States Parties, although they prohibit racial discrimination, "do not provide specific penalties therefore," and that, of the penalties specified in the laws of the former group, some are "very severe" and others are "moderate," the Committee would – in accordance with Mr. Tomko's draft recommendation – consider that "a survey should be made of the question" and request its Rapporteur, in cooperation with the Secretariat, "to prepare such a survey by the seventh session of the Committee on the basis of the reports received from States Parties." In accordance with the draft recommendation, the Committee would also note that "such a survey would be of use not only for the work of the Committee, but also to States Parties," inasmuch as it could be "of assistance in the legislative activities of the States Parties."

102. All members of the Committee who participated in the discussions welcomed the proposal and emphasized its usefulness; but certain Members expressed objections and reservations pertaining to some aspects of its practical implementation.

In 1972, the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) were permitted cooperative observer status at CERD meetings. The matter arose in 1971 at the CERD's 55<sup>th</sup> meeting, "particularly in light of the 1958 ILO Convention Concerning Discrimination in respect of Employment and Occupation and the 1960 UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education."<sup>127</sup> The ILO and UNESCO came to the table because their members understood the critical nature of the CERD mission, and under the UN Secretary General's suggestion, "a full exchange of information and documentation between the Committee and the corresponding bodies of the ILO and UNESCO," namely the "material as to the functions of their organs active in the field of racial discrimination." And it was Rapporteur Sayegh who finessed this agreement.

At the CERD's sixth session on August 18, 1972, while considering the "tenth paragraph of the preamble" of the CERD's Convention, whereby "**States Parties have "resolved" to build an international community free from all forms of racial segregation and racial discrimination,**" and considering "article 3 of the Convention, "States Parties particularly condemn racial segregation and apartheid," the CERD called upon "all the trading partners of South Africa to abstain from any action that constitutes an encouragement to the continued violation of the principles and objectives of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination by South Africa and the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia." Israel had already undertaken economic relations, and other ties, with South Africa.

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<sup>127</sup> A/8418, page 29.



In the 1972 CERD annual report was a long list of Nation States, among the first of which were concerns about the “illegal” and “racist minority regime” of Southern Rhodesia, which originated from a “working paper forwarded by the *Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.*” It went on to state that “Portugal has been increasingly developing its relations with the racist regimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia,” and that Portugal:

“... receives broad financial and military assistance from certain countries, in particular the member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The Committee welcomes General Assembly resolution 2795 (XXVI) of 10 December 1971, in which the Assembly appealed once again to all States, particularly to the members of NATO, to withdraw any assistance that enables Portugal to prosecute the colonial war in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).”

A. The Committee has taken note of General Assembly resolution 2795 (XXVI) of 10 December 1971 and Security Council resolution 312 (1972) of 4 February 1972, which have deplored the continuance of measures of repression by the Government of Portugal against the African people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). The Committee believes that the process of decolonization of these and all the other Territories under Portuguese administration will be greatly assisted by the insistence of the General Assembly on a full compliance with its reiterated decision by all Member States, without exception.

B. The Committee regrets to have to report that, in some material respects, the situation in the Territories under Portuguese administration in regard to the implementation of the provisions of the Convention has, far from improving, deteriorated during the year under report. The number of Africans who have been rounded up and resettled in new *aldeamentos* (strategic villages) has markedly increased. Furthermore, an increasing percentage of the budget of the Territories is being utilized to finance Portuguese military operations against the inhabitants. The repressive war, involving wanton destruction of life and property, is continuing unabated and constitutes a massive form of racial discrimination. ...

#### 8.4. The CERD and the Decade for Action

*Mr. [Vasily] Safronchuk [Union of Soviet Socialist Republics] reminded the Committee of the contents of General Assembly resolution 3134 (XXVIII), and recalled that the Committee had been praised in the Third Committee for devoting much attention at its seventh and eighth sessions [in 1973] to the discharge of its obligations under article 15 of the Convention and also that “many speakers who had taken part in the discussion of the report had expressed the hope that the committee would give special attention to the flagrant and wide-scale violations of human rights practised by the colonialist and racist regimes in South Africa and Israel and thereby contribute to the fight to end those violations.”*<sup>128</sup>

The CERD’s singular mandate to examine and make recommendations on States Parties reports and petitions regarding the implementation of discriminatory practices was expanded under amendment during its ninth session (March – April 1974), namely its participation from the UN General Assembly’s November 1973 declaration, to become an active party in the “Decade for Action to Combat Racism and

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<sup>128</sup> CERD 1974 annual report, A/9618, page 9.

Racial Discrimination.”<sup>129</sup> The update in its mandate flowed, not only due to the CERD’s recognized success recently noted by the UN’s Third Committee and General Assembly, for advancing dozens of States Parties adoption against discriminatory practices – which had been hinged on Fayez Sayegh’s complex role as its Rapporteur – but from the progressive outcome of the UN General Assembly’s December 6, 1971 resolution 2784 (XXVI), obligating the **Commission on Human Rights** “to submit suggestions with a view to launching continued international action to combat racism on the basis of a “Decade for vigorous and continued mobilization against racism and racial discrimination in all its forms”.”<sup>130</sup> In turn, the Human Rights Commission “drew the attention of the **Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities** to certain points to be considered as guidelines in the study of the subject and the preparation of the suggestions and draft programme.”<sup>131</sup>

On January 10, 1973, the UN’s Economic and Social Council directed the Commission on Human Rights “to give the highest priority to the consideration” for getting the Decade for Action on its feet, and on May 18, 1973, the Council authorized the UN Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations, “regarding the role of non-governmental organizations,” to have the NGOs to be involved “in the programme.”<sup>132</sup>

Both the Philippines – a member of the UN’s Special Committee on Apartheid, and which had “consistently condemned countries which advocate any type of racial discrimination” – and the Syrian Arab Republic provided comments at the Economic and Social Council’s 1877<sup>th</sup> meeting on August 8, 1973, to enhance the wording of the nine-page draft programme.<sup>133</sup> In paragraph 11 of that draft, which states that “No support should be given to Governments or regimes which practise racial discrimination that will enable them to perpetrate racist policies or practices,” the Philippines suggested that “the text should indicate in more specific terms the type of support that ought to be withheld from regimes practicing racism or racial discrimination,” and reminded the Council of the General Assembly’s resolutions 1761 (XVII) and 2022 (XX) regarding South Africa and Rhodesia, which “**specifically mentions sanctions which should be taken against these countries,**” and that “the crime of apartheid, to be broad enough to cover amendment of existing international instruments.”

The Syrian Arab Republic – which was acting in defense of Palestinians who had no standing at the UN – suggested the addition of “two new paragraphs” to section 12 (“National”), a “new paragraph” to section 13 (“Regional and International”), and additions to sub-sections a and b of section 15 (“Research and Study”) of the draft programme:

[Section 12] First: To invite all States to refrain from offering any assistance to Governments and regimes which exercise policies depriving the indigenous people from their inalienable rights, particularly Governments and regimes which refuse to permit the indigenous people to return to their countries from where they have been expelled for racist reasons or for doctrines based on racial discrimination.

Second: To call upon all States to adopt legislations preventing and punishing the activities of persons or groups which aim at inciting people to emigrate from their land for purposes of settling and occupying land belonging to others and arousing the sectarian and racial passions in order to realize their objectives in the countries of the others.

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<sup>129</sup> General Assembly resolution 3057 (XXVIII), November 2, 1973, and supportive December 14, 1973, resolution 3134 (XXXVIII) for the CERD to “fulfill” resolution 3027.

<sup>130</sup> A/9094, August 27, 1993, *Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination*, page 2.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid. The nine-page draft programme is included as Annex I in document A/9094.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., page 4.

<sup>133</sup> A/9094.

[Section 13] A new paragraph should be added to this part indicating the necessity of implementing the United Nations decisions and resolutions concerning the right of peoples to self-determination from which they are deprived because of colonialist, racist, religious and other reasons.

[Section 15] (a) **Examination of symptoms of settler-colonialism** and its implications such as: the racial discrimination and the deprivation of the indigenous people from their inalienable rights (national, educational, economic rights).

(b) Devoting special studies for policies of discrimination which the occupying authorities exercise against the population of the occupied territories.

The suggestion by Syria's representative to include the wording "settler-colonialism," reflects the recognized influence of Fayez Sayegh's term which he introduced in his 1965 monograph, noted above. The suggestions by the Philippines and Syria symbolized the cement needed to form the two pillars holding up the archway of the November 1975 UN resolution 3379, one concerning the blemish of South African Apartheid, the other Zionism, that is, without the Syrian representative having specifically mentioned the names of Israel or Zionism.

During the unfolding of the mechanics for the Decade to Combat Racism, at the CERD's Ninth Session, at the 175<sup>th</sup> to 177<sup>th</sup> meetings from March 26 to 27, 1974, three of its members:

... registered their disappointment at the fact that the Committee had not been given a specific task to perform during the Decade, that its role in the proposed world conference on combating racism and racial discrimination had not been clearly defined and that the Committee had not been more closely associated with the activities included in the Programme. Those members favoured an active involvement of the Committee in the Decade as well as in the implementation of the Programme and pointed out that the Committee, by being the only United Nations body exclusively dedicated to the elimination of racial discrimination, was particularly interested in associating itself with the efforts aimed at making the Decade a success.

However, four other members, including Canadian delegate Ronald Macdonald, wanted the CERD to "follow an indirect approach." Five months later, in late August 1974, during the CERD's 10<sup>th</sup> session, it adopted a statement for the General Assembly resolving "its contribution ... to the total and unconditional elimination of racism and racial discrimination in accordance with the powers vested in it by the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination," and "noting the need for continuous international action against all forms of racial discrimination and, in particular, against apartheid." Under point number 2 of the statement, the CERD "considers it necessary ... to concentrate its [CERD's] efforts on preparing recommendations with regard to the most flagrant and large-scale manifestations of racial discrimination, **particularly in areas which are still under the domination of racist and colonial regimes and foreign occupation.**" Under point number 5: "that the General Assembly continue to decline to accept the credentials of the representatives of the Republic of South Africa, which practises apartheid as a State policy in flagrant violation of many United Nations decisions and the Committee's recommendations." <sup>134</sup>

In 1975, during the CERD's 11<sup>th</sup> (April) and 12<sup>th</sup> (August) sessions, members continued to discuss the CERD's role in contributing to the Decade to Combat Racism. <sup>135</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> A/9618, pages 81-83.

<sup>135</sup> A/10018, Section III, CERD annual report, 1975.



## 8.5. The Third Committee

From 1967 through to 1975 – the years leading up to the November 10, 1975, UN Resolution 3379 – Fayez Sayegh, the Kuwait delegate, made about 20 presentation statements at the UN's Third Committee,<sup>136</sup> the Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural Committee, the Committee dealing with “promotion and protection of human rights.”<sup>137</sup>

### 8.5.1. Sayegh's Argument Opposing Anti-Semitism

On December 7, 1962, the General Assembly “requested the Economic and Social Council to ask the Commission on Human Rights ... to prepare a draft declaration on the elimination of all forms of religious intolerance.”<sup>138</sup> It took until January 1965 for a “preliminary draft” of the Convention to be presented to the Commission on Human Rights. In April 1965, the Commission “adopted a preamble” and “resolution 1.” In April 1966, the Commission “added five more articles to the preamble and four articles which it had adopted at its twenty-first session but was unable to complete its work on the draft Convention.” On March 9, 1967, the Commission sent it onward for approval to the Third Committee and then on to the General Assembly, and then back again to the Third Committee. The General Assembly had hoped to complete the Convention “in time for the International Year for Human Rights.”<sup>139</sup>

In the June 25, 1967, A/6660 report, *Elimination of All Forms of Religious Intolerance*, that was forward to the General Assembly, the Third Committee included an amendment to “article VI of annex A of the draft international convention” for the General Assembly's consideration. Article VI stated:

States Parties undertake to adopt immediate and effective measures, particularly in the fields of teaching, education, culture and information, with a view to combating prejudices as, for example, **anti-Semitism** and other manifestations which lead to religious intolerance and to discrimination on the ground of religion or belief, and to promoting and encouraging, in the interest of universal peace, understanding, tolerance, co-operation and friendship among nations, groups and individuals, irrespective of differences in religion or belief, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and this Convention.

The amendment stated the following: “add immediately after the word ‘anti-Semitism,’ the following words: ‘Nazism, Fascism and Zionism’.” The matter of the amendment, and the fate of including the reference to “anti-Semitism,” was debated by the Third Committee when it reviewed the draft Convention over a period of a month, from October 17 (1486<sup>th</sup> meeting) to November 14, 1967 (1514<sup>th</sup> meeting), under Agenda item 54, “Elimination of all forms of religious intolerance.” Because of Sayegh's argument on the sixth day of debate (the 1493<sup>rd</sup> meeting), it was on the ninth day (the 1497<sup>th</sup> meeting on October 27, 1967) that the Third Committee voted to delete the reference to “anti-Semitism.”

It was Aboul-Nasr, the representative of the United Arab Republic, who first weighed in on Article VI on the first day of the Third Committee's debate on Agenda item 54. He said the “most controversial article was Article VI, a detailed study of which had been prevented in the Economic and Social Council by means

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<sup>136</sup> Two in October 1967; five from October to November 1968; three in November 1969; eight from October to November 1971; one in November 1973, and one on October 17, 1975.

<sup>137</sup> The GA Handbook: A Practical Guide to the United Nations General Assembly: “The Third Committee deals with human rights, humanitarian affairs and social issues. This includes questions relating to the advancement of women, the protection of children, the treatment of refugees through the elimination of racism and discrimination, the promotion of fundamental freedoms and the right to self-determination, indigenous issues and a range of social matters such as issues related to youth, family, ageing, persons with disabilities, crime prevention, criminal justice, and international drug control.”

<sup>138</sup> A/6660, July 25, 1967, *Elimination of all forms of Religious Intolerance*, page 1.

<sup>139</sup> A/C.3/SR.1486, Third Committee, 1486<sup>th</sup> meeting, October 17, 1967.

of a procedural motion.” He said, “anti-Semitism was liable to lead to confusion,” because “there were many people who confused anti-Semitism with anti-Judaism,” that “the term “Semite” designated a race, not a religion, and was therefore out of place in the convention.” He said that when the draft convention came up for discussion by the General Assembly, it “had decided by a substantial majority to delete the reference to anti-Semitism.”

It was for political reasons that, on the original proposal of the Israel delegation, anti-Semitism had been included in the text of article VI adopted by the Commission on Human Rights at its twenty-second session. **The Zionists regarded anyone not supporting Israel policy unconditionally as an anti-Semite.** ... He deplored the practice of describing anyone defending the Arabs as anti-Semitic, and he knew that he himself, as a denouncer of the acts recently committed by Israel in Jerusalem, was liable to be regarded as such. The Israel amendment following which express mention had been made of anti-Semitism had had a political purpose. It was aimed, not at Nazism, but at anyone showing sympathy towards the Arabs.

Shortly after 1948, Arab intellectuals and statesmen were ever more cognisant of the Israeli Zionists’ manipulative intentions and interpretations of history behind the use of ‘anti-Semitism,’ a ploy which Sayegh in particular, had continually and openly criticized since at least 1950 in his writings and public presentations. Sayegh and others were painfully aware that the Zionists were keen on keeping up the façade.

The delegate from Israel, Mrs. Harman, stated on the morning of the second day of debates:

It was vile and cynical to attempt to equate anti-Semitism with Zionism, or to equate the legitimate longing of Jews for independence and self-government, and their desire to live in peace and to protect themselves from attack, with the shocking persecution to which they had been subjected. The fact was that Zionism had its source and its justification in the very origins of the Jewish people. But the people of Israel, which had undergone so much persecution throughout the ages, had no animosity towards its neighbours although it did resent their violent antagonism and their refusal to acknowledge its right to independence. Israel held out its hand to its Arab neighbours and ardently wished for peace.

... She [Mrs. Harman] failed to see, therefore, why there should be any objection to the inclusion of a reference to anti-semitism in article VI of the draft Convention, since that was an extreme and particularly hateful form of intolerance. The distinction between anti-Semitism, anti-Zionism, and anti-Judaism was blurred by the fact that most people related all three to Jews irrespective of the context.

On the afternoon of the second day, Aboul-Nasr stated: “A clear distinction had to be made between the Jewish faith, as a religion which was respected and recognized by all, and Zionism as an ideology which ought to be condemned, as it had been done by so many leading Jewish thinkers. The “Jewish race,” like the “German race,” was a myth.” He stated at the very end of the fourth day, October 20<sup>th</sup>, that he “had the greatest respect for the Jewish religion, but Judaism should not be confused with Zionism. Even among the Jews themselves voices had been raised to condemn and disavow the acts committed by the Israelis, acts which he too condemned in the name of morality and humanitarian principles.”

On the afternoon of the fifth day, Monday, October 23, the delegate from Sudan, Mr. Fakhreddine, said:

The term “anti-Semitism” had been invaluable in conceptualizing the facts of persecution of the Jews and as an instrument of Zionist agitation for the creation of a Jewish State, but it had now been reduced to a vague slogan frequently invoked to silence criticism and consolidate the influence of a particular group. ... People in Europe or the United States, to whom that might seem quite

appropriate [“to combatting prejudices”], should know the facts of the situation of the Arabs in the State of Israel. Before the establishment of the State of Israel there had been no animosity between Arabs and Jews in Palestine. But the establishment of the State of Israel, the exclusive domain of the Jews in which the Arab culture was despised, had completely changed the situation. It was one of the great ironies of history that the victims of Hitler’s racism should uphold and profess a philosophy based on racial exclusiveness and the assumption of their own intellectual superiority.

The word “anti-Semitism” had acquired the meaning of “anti-Judaism” only in the European-American context. At the present time an anti-Arab form of anti-Semitism was being practised in Israel more than anywhere else in the world, for the Jews who had come to Palestine from the four corners of the earth had used every means at their command to intimidate the Arab inhabitants and expel them from their lands. They had burned their houses, usurped their lands, and tortured and intimidated them to the point where the majority had become refugees, while those who remained had suffered the deepest humiliations.

Fayez Sayegh had waited to comment on the draft Convention until the sixth day of the debates, Tuesday morning, October 24<sup>th</sup>:

He formally objected to the retention in article VI of the reference to anti-Semitism, not because he approved of anti-Semitism but because of what such a reference would imply. He knew that it was customary to cite specific examples in order to illustrate a general idea, but the notion of religious intolerance was unfortunately quite clear enough without needing to be illustrated. It had been said that anti-Semitism was a classic example of religious intolerance. In his view, it was, rather, a classic example of racial prejudice, for while anti-Semitism might at first have taken the form of a religious prejudice it had become, in modern times, a complex phenomenon involving economic, social, political and, above all, racial factors, as Theodor Herzl himself, the promoter of Zionism, had observed in his book The Jewish State. It was quite obvious that it was not religious but economic, political and racial considerations which had incited the Nazis to practise anti-Semitism.

... But whereas apartheid was indeed a form of racial discrimination, it could not similarly be stated that anti-Semitism was purely a form of religious discrimination. The various arguments put forward in justification of the mention of anti-Semitism in article VI were therefore not valid; it was, however, for an entirely different reason that Kuwait felt obliged to take a formal stand on the matter. The Israel representative’s statement had convinced it that the doctrine of Zionism consisted precisely in identifying Judaism with the State of Israel. Thus, any opposition to Israel became opposition to the Jewish religion and any criticism of Israel became a manifestation of anti-semitism. That attitude was tantamount to the exploitation of anti-Semitism for nationalist ends. Israel would thus take advantage of any reference to anti-Semitism in the draft Convention to stifle all opposition to Israel itself and to silence all criticism of Zionism by calling it anti-Semitism. That tactic was not new: Israel had already levelled the charge of anti-Semitism against all those who had sided with the Arab States in the recent Middle East conflict. ...

... Israel was pursuing a policy of blackmail and conjuring up the spectre of anti-Semitism to incite all the Jews of the world to emigrate to its shores, thus promoting its economic and political interests. It wanted anti-Semitism to be mentioned in an international convention so that it could impose on States new obligations with regard to Israel itself. That was the essential reason why his delegation objected to the reference to anti-Semitism alone in article VI of the draft Convention. It would prefer that the text should make no reference at all to any particular form of intolerance, but if examples were going to be cited they should not be limited to one; all forms of intolerance should be cited, including Zionism, which constituted a flagrant example of intolerance towards non-Jews and which, as such, should be mentioned in the same context as nazism and fascism.



On Thursday, October 26, the eighth day of debates on Agenda item 54, the day before the Third Committee removed “anti-Semitism” from Article VI of the draft Convention, Sayegh had some parting words for Mrs. Harman, the Israeli delegate. On the previous day, Mrs. Harman stated, in part:

... she had to point out that statements made at previous meetings by representatives of various Arab States were a distressing and disturbing example of inaccuracy, perversion of fact, quotations out of context and deliberate falsehoods, which could only add fuel to the fire. ... Israel had primarily absorbed the homeless, the persecuted, the humiliated and the frightened. The only war which Israel had contemplated waging was the war against the desert, ignorance and disease. In 1947, when Israel had accepted the United Nations resolution on the partition of Palestine, it had been the Arab States which had replied with war and to say that the Arabs were expelled for religious reasons was a gross untruth. ...

In reply, Sayegh stated on October 26:

The Israel representative had invoked intellectual integrity and accuracy in accusing him of misinterpreting or misquoting Herzl – without, however, saying when or how – and thereby misleading the Committee. He [Sayegh] had actually quoted two passages from Herzl’s The Jewish State, the first from the introduction and the second from the section entitled “Causes of anti-Semitism,” which showed that anti-Semitism was not a purely religious phenomenon but a complex combination of political, economic, social and especially racial factors, along with religious factors. He [Sayegh] assured the Committee that those passages had not been quoted out of context and a reading of the complete work would bear that out.

On a more important point, the representative of Israel had asserted that the Arabs had not been driven out of Palestine by the Jews but could have remained on their land if they had agreed to the partition which had originally been planned and which had been prevented by the 1948 war, caused by Arab aggression. He for his part would assert that the programme of Zionism consisted precisely in driving all non-Jews out of Palestine and replacing them with Jews, in order to have an entirely Jewish State. In that connexion, he again referred to Herzl, who stated in his Diaries that the Jews would expropriate, gently, the private property on the estates assigned to them and would “remove” the indigenous population elsewhere; he also quoted Chaim Weizmann, who, in his autobiography expressed the hope that, by Jewish immigration, Palestine would become as Jewish as England was English. Expulsion of the Arabs from Palestine was therefore necessary, if Zionism was to achieve its objective of creating an exclusively Jewish society. Thus, the reason why the Palestine refugees had been expelled from their country and had been refused the right to return, despite the injunctions of the United Nations, was that they were not Jewish. In order, however, to fill the vacuum left by the expulsion of the Arabs, Jewish immigration had had to be encouraged. The representative of Israel had stated in that connexion that the Jews who had immigrated to Palestine were primarily the persecuted and the homeless. In fact, many Jewish immigrants had come from the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, South Africa and Latin America, where they had not been exposed to persecution. **Their reason for coming to Israel was not, therefore, to escape from oppression but to take the place of the Arab refugees, to serve the political interests of Israel, to contribute to its economic development and to strengthen its military power.** Consequently, the Zionists were exploiting anti-Semitism as a spur to Jewish emigration to Israel. The danger, where they were concerned, came not from anti-Semitism, but from the lack of anti-Semitism. Thus, the President of the World Zionist Organization, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, had stated at a meeting of the World Jewish Congress at Geneva in 1958 that the current decline of anti-Semitism represented a new threat to the survival of Judaism. Similarly, the President of the American Jewish Congress, Joachim Prinz, had acknowledged that the freedom now enjoyed by Jewish communities and their gradual assimilation constituted the main danger to Jews. Because there was no real anti-Semitism, the Zionists were

forced to resort to dubious devices. They recalled the anti-Semitism of the past by keeping alive the memory of Nazi persecution; they exaggerated minor incidents, such as the placing of a bomb in a synagogue at Atlanta, in the United States, in 1958; they even went to the extent of fabricating incidents, such as the alleged anti-Jewish outrages at Baghdad, which had led to a mass exodus of most of the Iraqi Jews but which, it was subsequently revealed, had in fact been fomented by Zionist organizations seeking, in that way, to frighten the Jews of Iraq into emigrating to Israel.

Mrs. Ould Daddah, the delegate representing Mauritania, voiced her approval of Sayegh:

The representative of Kuwait had already explained why the reference to anti-Semitism should be deleted from the draft. Although it need not examine the political aspects of the Middle Eastern tragedy, the Committee should bear in mind that its origin lay in religious factors. Both Christian and Moslem Palestinian Semites had been dispossessed by other Semites. Israel, whose existence was based on discrimination, would always oppose the return of the refugees. To mention anti-Semitism in the Convention would mean accepting the Zionists' point of view. She hoped that the Committee would appreciate the fate to which the Palestine refugees had been condemned for the past twenty years simply because they did not belong to the Jewish religion – **a fate which was as tragic** as that of the Jews in the Nazi era.

### 8.5.2. 1968: International Year for Human Rights, Conference, and Third Committee Review

*The [International Year] Conference had never been intended to act as a kind of political organ with the task of devising final and binding solutions to the various specific problems that existed in the field of human rights; rather, its purpose had been to serve as a catalyst for ideas and a focus of new initiatives and incentives to be submitted to the competent United Nations organs for consideration in the course of their work within the framework of the established division of labour in the United Nations system.*<sup>140</sup>

On December 19, 1966, some thirteen years before the Shah of Iran fled his own country, and some thirteen years after the Americans and British staged a clandestine government coup in Iran, the UN General Assembly accepted the government of Iran's invitation to hold the **International Conference on Human Rights** in Iran's capital city, Teheran, held from April 22 to May 13, 1968, in the New Majlis Building. The conference was convened in conjunction with the UN's planned declaration of 1968 as **International Human Rights Year**. At the first conference meeting, attended by representatives from 84 States, and "certain non-governmental organizations,"<sup>141</sup> attendees were called to observe "one minute's silence in tribute of the memory of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King"<sup>142</sup> who was recently assassinated, symbolizing, in part, the significant and relevant challenges of the conference's agenda.

In the numerous documents prepared in advance for the UN conference was the January 29, 1968, 50-page report<sup>143</sup> prepared by the **Committee of the League of Arab States for the Celebration of the International Year for Human Rights**, *Report on the Activities of the League of Arab States in the Field of Human Rights*. Written in Arabic and then translated into English, a reader of the highly informative report may very well conclude that the League of Arab States had organized its own version of the United

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<sup>140</sup> A/Conf.32/L.4, *United Nations and Human Rights*, study prepared by A.K. Brohi, February 15, 1968, page 33.

<sup>141</sup> Some of which included the: Co-ordinating Board of Jewish Organizations; Consultative Council of Jewish Organizations; International Council on Jewish Social and Welfare Services; International Council of Jewish Women; World Jewish Congress.

<sup>142</sup> A/Conf.32/38, *Report of the Drafting Committee to the International Conference on Human Rights*, May 12, 1968.

<sup>143</sup> A/Conf.32/L.11. Like the recognition of other early regional organizations established under the UN Charter, as the Council of Europe, the Organization of American States, and the Pacific Community, the Arab League "since 1950 ... has been attempting to gain" that recognition (page 6).

Nations, witnessed through the League's documented history of human rights advocacies, and the planning, in March 1967, of a concurrent International Conference, called **International Year for Human Rights: International Arab Conference Organized by the League of Arab States in Co-operation with the United Nations**, that was scheduled to be held in Jerusalem, May 8 – 15, 1968, overlapping the end of the Tehran conference.<sup>144</sup> The draft subjects for the Jerusalem conference agenda included: “condemnation of all forms of racial discrimination;” “the violation of the right of life in respect of the Palestine-Arab refugees;” and “Arab participation in the condemnation of racial discrimination and the combating of Israel's racial discrimination against Arabs residing in the occupied territories.”

In the numerous conferences organized by the Arab League<sup>145</sup> from 1948 onwards concerning human rights issues summarized in the report, the League, in lieu of the International Year for Human Rights, planned to hold a “preparatory Arab conference in Damascus” from December 1 to 10, 1967. The draft agenda for Arab States members and the PLO “working groups” included the following subjects: “the situation of the Arabs in occupied Palestine,” and “the rights of the Palestine Arab refugees.”

The Arab League report outrightly condemned apartheid in its Council resolution 1659, adopted at its 33<sup>rd</sup> session in 1960: “The political committee has studied with alarm the South African policy of racial discrimination and the persecution inflicted upon the majority of the people by the minority ... The League has studied the consecutive United Nations resolutions from 1946 on which opposed the racial policy of the Government of South Africa.”

In stressing the Arab-African mutual co-operation and for the unity of their struggle against colonialism, the Council upheld the decisions of the African Unity Organization of the first African Summit Conference held in Addis Ababa, May 1963, and the second African Summit Conference held in Cairo, July 1964, and agreed to undertake the following: ... (2) To call upon all States which still have diplomatic and economic relations with the Government of South Africa to sever these relations and discourage the policy of racial discrimination; ... (6) **To demand the release of Nelson Mandela**, Walter Sisolo, Monja Lisoro Boco and other political prisoners, who are imprisoned in accordance with the abusive laws and practices of South Africa; (7) To call upon all oil-producing countries immediately to stop sending oil and other oil products to South Africa; (8) To call upon all African States immediately to implement the decision which was adopted in Addis Ababa in May 1963 for boycotting South African goods and to cease exportation of all raw materials and other goods to South Africa.

In the Arab League's report introduction, points one and two acknowledged the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, “which was adopted on 10 December 1948.” It stated that both the Koran and the Bible “stressed” and taught “foundations and principles” which “correspond with the foundations and principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.” Under point number 5:

Perhaps the most severe and unfortunate circumstance prevailing in our contemporary world is that while it is approaching the year of 1968, which the nations declared to be the International Year for Human Rights we find a great many peoples still living under the dark shadows of colonial conspiracy and racial discrimination which brought about the aggressive assault on the Arab nations. Such aggressive assault evidently stressed the characteristic nature of colonialism and racism, which always and naturally aims towards the destruction of everything sacred to a human being, depriving him of his fundamental and inherent right to life, liberty, security and peace. The aggressive war

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<sup>144</sup> I could not confirm if the Jerusalem conference took place.

<sup>145</sup> “Following adoption of the Alexandria Protocol in 1944, the Arab League was founded on March 22, 1945. ... The first major action was joint intervention to keep Palestine from being divided into two states in the keeping with the decision of the United National General Assembly.” Source, Wikipedia, accessed July 5, 2024.



## **Palestine Question – League of Arab States’ Declaration of the Arabs of Palestine Document S/6003**

### **Letter to the President of the UN Security Council, October 8, 1964**

1. In an attempt to deal with the Palestine problem detached from its historical context, the Israel representative made deliberate misrepresentations and deletions regarding the statement on Palestine in the Declaration [annex] issued by the Council of the Kings and Heads of State of the member States of the Arab League at its second session held at Alexandria, from 5 to 11 September 1964. This Declaration has reaffirmed the views that our Governments separately and jointly have expressed in the United Nations, and which were supported by joint declarations and resolutions adopted in international conferences, to uphold, restore and safeguard the rights of the Palestinian people to their usurped homeland. **These rights stem from the universally accepted principle that a country belongs to its indigenous inhabitants regardless of allegations made by colonial forces working to determine its destiny against the free will of its own people.**

2. Therefore, the Declaration “stressed the necessity of utilizing all Arab potentialities, and the mobilization of their resources and capabilities, in order to counter the challenge of colonialism and Zionism as well as Israel’s continued aggressive policies and its insistence on denying the rights of the Arabs of Palestine to their homeland.”

3. Israel, which was born as a result of colonial aggression, has consistently violated and disregarded the resolutions of the Security Council regarding Palestine. While no Arab Government has ever been condemned by the Security Council, the unfounded statement made in the letter regarding the “years of hostile and bellicose policies against Israel on the part of the Arab States” must, therefore, be examined in the light of the fact that Israel has been condemned five times by the Security Council for premeditated military attacks. These condemnations were embodied in the following resolutions:

(a) Security Council resolution of 18 May 1951 concerning the “aerial action taken by the forces of the Government of Israel on 5 April 1951” on the Syrian borders.

(b) Security Council resolution of 24 November 1953 regarding the “action at Qibya taken by the armed forces of Israel 14-15 October 1953.”

(c) Security Council resolution of 29 March 1955 which condemns the attack which was “committed by Israel regular army forces against the Egyptian regular army force” in the Gaza strip on 28 February 1955.

(d) Security Council resolution of 19 January 1956 which condemns the Israeli attack against Syria on 11 December 1955 as a “flagrant violation ... of Israel’s obligations under the Charter” and expresses the Council’s “grave concern at the failure of the Government of Israel to comply with its obligations.”

(e) Security Council resolution of 9 April 1962 which reaffirmed “the Security Council resolution of 19 January 1956 which condemned Israeli military action” against Syria and determined that “the Israeli attack of 16-17 March 1962” (near Lake Tiberias) constituted “a flagrant violation of that resolution.”

The most flagrant example of Israel’s acts of aggression has been the attack on Egypt in 1956, which was roundly condemned by the international community.

4. The record of Israel in the international community hardly qualifies it to accuse other States of violating the United Nations Charter and of posing a threat to international peace and security. **No other Member of the United Nations has such a consistent record of aggression, violations and lawlessness.**

launched against the Arab peoples during June 1967, and the continuing occupation of the Arab land by the enemy forces, is but naked evidence of the true character and illegal existence of Zionism, based on usurpation of the Arab lands as a continued source of aggression and a bridgehead to it. The ugliest acts of inhumanity are beyond all imagination. ... At the outset it is essential, therefore, to put an end to the inhuman atrocities taking place in the form of wars, usurpation and persecution in the Middle East, Viet-Nam and parts of Africa, in addition to the repulsive and heated racial discrimination and conflict taking place in the United States of America and many other parts of the world.

The Arab Council's report stated that following "the recommendation of the eighth conference of the heads of Palestine offices and the Political Committee," the Council "adopted the following recommendations" at its 42<sup>nd</sup> session:

(a) To combat the racial discrimination which is practised by the Israeli authorities against the Arab minority in occupied Palestine; (b) To spare no effort at the United Nations and other international organizations to make known the danger of the colonial and racial policy of Israel and to take the necessary steps to eliminate that policy; (c) To continue to provide comprehensive information on Israeli policy and to bring such information to the attention of the world organizations once more in its forthcoming session.

Upon the Arab League's submission of its report (A/Conf.32/L.11) to the United Nations on January 29, 1968 – three months in advance of the Teheran conference – the State of Israel, having consumed its contents, was assumably ever more determined to attend the conference so as to counter criticisms and statements made by any and all conference States Members and delegates, and to therefore voice opposition to conference resolutions that involved actions directed toward its conducts of aggression, occupation, displacement and inhumanity.

As Mr. Kadhim Khalaf (head of Iraq's delegation and Iraq's Under-Secretary of State) astutely pointed out to attendees on the eleventh day of the conference, Monday April 29, 1968, he, "speaking on a point of order," "felt bound to protest once again having to

hear the representative of a country [Mr. Michael Comay, Israel's delegation head, and Political Adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ambassador-at-Large] that was committing aggression against States Members of the United Nations." He noted that Mr. Comay "was seeking the floor day after day ... to attempt to justify his government's aggressive policies." Mr. Khalaf then made a stinging rebuke, noting that **"the Governments of Portugal and South Africa, however dishonest their policies towards their subject populations, had been honest enough at least not to attend!"**

**"Mr. Khalaf (Iraq) ... said he was reluctant to take up the Conference's time at that late stage of the meeting but felt bound to protest against once again having to hear the representative of a country [Israel] that was committing aggression against States Members of the United Nations. The representative of Israel, far from refraining from exercising the right of reply in accordance with his stated intention, was seeking the floor day after day, and if he was to be heard every time he wanted to attempt to justify his Government's aggressive policies, that would be tantamount to putting a premium on crime. His own country had been hesitant about attending the Conference at all, for it had not wished to be present at meetings in which an aggressor State was also participating. The Governments of Portugal and South Africa, however dishonest their policies towards their subject populations, had been honest enough at least not to attend."**  
(Monday, April 29, 1968, Summary Record of the Eleventh Meeting, UN International Conference on Human Rights, A/Conf.32/SR11.)

In other words, the two State parties, Portugal and South Africa, under continual severe condemnation by United Nations' organs, decided against attending the International Conference. As stated by the delegate from Mauritania, Mr. Ould Eribih on April 30<sup>th</sup>, at the fourteenth plenary meeting:

Violations of the rights of the Palestinian people were just as intolerable as similar violations in South Africa, Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea. His [Eribih's] delegation had been shocked, though not surprised, by the note of confidence founded on superior force, of arrogance, of triumphant aggression **sounded by the representative of Israel, which was out of place in a conference on human rights where humility, objectivity and hope ought to be the order of the day.** The excesses perpetrated by the Nazis against the Jews in no way justified the spoliation of an entire people or warranted actions that had rendered stateless nearly two million men, women and children who were now refugees living on international charity. That was one of the greatest violations of human rights, for those unfortunate people had lost not only their livelihood, but their freedom and dignity as well.

Well-demonstrating Zionist Israel's belligerence, Mr. Comay stated on the second day, and on the second last day of the conference, respectively, that: "The Jews, themselves oppressed for so long, would not oppress other peoples," and:

"... from the beginning his [Comay's] delegation had urged that the Conference should avoid being dragged into the Arab-Israel conflict, for a debate on that subject would only waste its time and energy and lower its prestige. Almost two weeks previously his delegation had declared that it would as far as possible refrain from replying to anti-Israel propaganda; yet such attacks had continued since."

The Teheran Conference began with two addresses, by the host country's Imperial Majesty Shahinshah Aryamehr, and the second by UN Secretary-General U Thant.<sup>146</sup> Thant walked through the origins of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted "towards midnight on 10 December 1948," upon which Australian delegate Dr. Herbert Evatt, president of the General Assembly session, stated on that evening:

It is the first occasion on which the organized community of nations had made a declaration of human rights and fundamental freedoms; that document was backed by the authority of the body of opinion of the United Nations as a whole, and millions of people, men, women and children all over the world, will turn to it for help, guidance and inspiration. ... Its initial provisions boldly proclaim as its philosophical basis and an article of faith that "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood." Consequently, everyone is entitled to all rights and freedoms set forth in the Declaration "without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status" and no distinction is allowed as to the political status of the territories to which the Declaration applies".

A significant point was reached when, in 1960, twelve years after its adoption, the General Assembly itself proclaimed in another Declaration, namely, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, that "All States shall observe faithfully and strictly the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" as well as the new Declaration which was then being adopted. Within the United Nations family, specialized agencies, such as the International Labour Organisation and UNESCO, have found inspiration for specific actions of special importance in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

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<sup>146</sup> The texts are found in Annex II of the UN document, *Final Act of the International Conference on Human Rights*, A/CONF.32/41.



After outlining the many of the applications of the Human Rights Declaration made by Nation States in the 1950s, Thant stated:

In recent years, this movement of setting worldwide standards continued at an accelerated pace. The more pressing concern of the Members of the United Nations for the respect of human rights everywhere found its expression in a rapid succession of significant international instruments. The Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination which was approved by the General Assembly in 1963 was followed in 1965 by the adoption of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Nineteen States have now ratified or acceded to that Convention; eight other ratifications are needed to bring it into force. In 1966 the International Covenants on Human Rights and an Optional Protocol were adopted after many years of consideration and study. The vote of all 106 participating Member States was unanimous and it underlined the gradually emerging common philosophy within the United Nations regarding the right of every individual, without distinction, to secure respect for his dignity as a human being – whether in the political and civil or the economic, social and cultural fields – and of the right of peoples to self-determination. The principles proclaimed in the Universal Declaration and the right of self-determination of all peoples were placed in an incontestable legal context. The International Bill of Rights, for the enactment of which fervent hopes had been expressed in the early years of the United Nations and which was to consist of the Universal Declaration, the Human Rights Covenants and the measures for their implementation, was thus completed.

The only specific mention U Thant made, indirectly, to a State contravening the Human Rights Convention was a reference to “apartheid which, in the words of the General Assembly, constitutes one of the most flagrant abuses of human rights and fundamental freedoms.” Thant included a quote from an address he made in 1964 to the Algerian House of Assembly, shortly after the defeat and removal of France as a colonial occupying State:

“There is the clear prospect that racial conflict, if we cannot curb and finally eliminate it, will grow into a destructive monster compared to which the religious or ideological conflicts of the past and present will seem like small family quarrels. Such a conflict will eat away the possibilities of good of all that mankind has hitherto achieved and reduce men to the lowest and most bestial levels of intolerance and hatred. This for the sake of all our children, whatever their race and colour, must not be permitted to happen.”

There were 19 “special messages” presented for the Conference, 17 of which were from heads of States, including Pope Paul VI.<sup>147</sup> Of the 17, only: the USSR specifically mentioned apartheid; Yugoslavia specifically mentioned Vietnam, South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal’s colonies; Kuwait mentioned “the flagrant violation of the human rights of the Palestinian Arabs on the hand of the Zionist usurpers.”

The United Nations’ First and Second Committees forwarded reports to the Conference by their respective Rapporteurs, Mr. Saadollah Ghaoucy of Afghanistan,<sup>148</sup> and Mr. Willibald Pahr of Austria,<sup>149</sup> who both made statements at the Conference. Ghaoucy’s focus was dedicated to summarizing the evils of apartheid. In fact, the First Committee, in addition to its report, also forwarded its Special Rapporteur report on apartheid to the Teheran Convention for consideration, *Study of Apartheid and Racial Discrimination in Southern Africa*.<sup>150</sup> Although Rapporteur Pahr’s report for the Second Committee dealt with protecting the

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<sup>147</sup> The “See,” or Vatican, is considered a head of state.

<sup>148</sup> A/CONF.32/33, 43 pages.

<sup>149</sup> A/CONF.32.34, 88 pages.

<sup>150</sup> E/CN.4/949 (66 pages), and E/CN.4/949/Add.1 (49 pages).

world's refugees, which included Palestinians (the name of which did not appear in Pahr's report), there was no mention of "refugees" in his Conference address.

This omission, of course, helped fuel one of the more contentious moments by the Israeli delegation at the Teheran Conference, namely the Conference Committee's adoption on April 28<sup>th</sup> of an additional Agenda item "for plenary meetings of the conference," the item sponsored by the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Syrian Arab Republic delegations that addressed the plight of Palestinian refugees.<sup>151</sup> The Provisional Agenda item 11 – "Formulation and preparation of a human rights programme to be undertaken subsequent to the celebrations of the International Year for Human Rights for the promotion of universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, colour, sex, language or religion" – already had seven conditional agenda sub-item statements, now with the addition of another, under the title *Respect and Implementation of Human Rights in Occupied Territories*.

At the seventh plenary meeting, on April 25<sup>th</sup>, Mr. Daoudy of Syria, in "his answer to the accusations of the Israel representative," raised the issue of "violations of human rights in the occupied Arab territories," which he said, "several delegations were going to submit for inclusion in the agenda of the conference," because "the Arab countries sought justice for their people and for others." In response, Mr. Comay of Israel "strongly opposed in the inclusion of a separate item on the Middle East in the agenda; it would simply reopen an acrimonious debate and serve no constructive purpose."

It was the delegate from Morocco, Mr. Mehdi ben Abdeljalil, who:

said that the problem was not the discussion of Israel's aggression in the Middle East, which was being considered by other competent United Nations Organs but that of human rights which every human being should enjoy wherever he happened to be. The Palestine people had not only been deprived of the most elementary human rights, but their very existence as a people was threatened. The Universal Declaration had been promulgated at a time when the torturing of people under the Nazi occupation was still fresh in the minds of the whole world; today an entire people was being martyred. **He appealed to the whole of mankind and to all Jews throughout the world to denounce the methods employed by the Israel Government in Israel-occupied territories as being at variance with the Charter and the Universal Declaration.**

The Morocco delegate's "appeal ... to denounce" Israel's methods was similarly referred to in Mr. Daoudy's refutation of Israel delegate Comay's plenary statements of April 25<sup>th</sup>, the day before. Daoudy provided two references, one from a letter published in the New York Times on July 17, 1967, written by Methodist Christian Church Reverend H.A. Bosleyn, that "Israel's present territorial claims and policies towards peoples in occupied territories should not expect and would not receive general support from Christian groups in the United States." The other to a long letter published in the Los Gatos Times on August 31, 1967, by "the Jewish author, Moshe Menuhin, the father of the famous violinist, Yehudi Menuhin." In his letter, Menuhin "had said that the Jewish nationalists were not Jews as far as he was concerned but Jewish Nazis who had lost all sense of Jewish morality and humanity and that anti-Zionism was not anti-Semitism." Daoudy also said that "Menuhin had quoted the Jewish philosopher Martin Buber who, not long after the first Sinai-Suez war, had said "The majority of the Jewish people preferred to learn from Hitler rather than from us. Hitler showed that history does not go the way of the spirit but the way of power and, if a people is powerful enough, it can kill with immunity"."

Menuhin's letter, *Rage, Reason and Reaction*, was a hard-hitting, lengthy critique and frank expose of Zionist Israel. It is evident that Menuhin, who considered himself a follower of the Judaic faith, utterly

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<sup>151</sup> A/CONF.32/21, Second Report of the General Committee, April 28, 1968, and A/CONF.32/L.15, April 27, proposed item for Agenda by the three sponsors.

despised Zionism and went to some lengths for everyone to understand why. A letter of response by Jill Derby, published on October 5, 1967, in the Los Gatos Times, stated:

“It is a laudable and rare courage that brings one to speak honest convictions in the face of considerable censure and pressures to the contrary. ... My wholehearted admiration goes to Mr. Moshe Menuhin. Along with it goes my gratitude and respect to the Los Gatos Times, Saratoga

Observer for the journalistic integrity it has demonstrated in printing Mr. Menuhin’s letter. Many newspapers in the past have yielded to outside pressures and refused space to the expression of anti-Zionist convictions on the grounds of their “controversial nature.” I am proud of my hometown newspaper. It is a credit to the profession of journalism and the American free press.”

Menuhin’s collective views were published in his 1965 book, *“Jewish” Nationalism: A Monstrous Historical Crime and Curse*, which was reprinted and revised in 1969 under a new title, *The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time* by the Beirut based *Institute for Palestinian Studies*. The revised edition began with a quote from the New Testament’s fourth Gospel, John, 8:32: “Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free.” Halfway through his book, Menuhin gave a short tribute to Fayeze Sayegh, the “former counselor to the Arab Delegations at the United Nations ... one of the most remarkable speakers I ever heard in all my life.” Menuhin included two quotations from Sayegh, one from a letter printed in the Jewish Newsletter on July 28, 1958, and the second from an undated address to the “student body of San Jose State College, California:”

“Are the wrongs committed by a people seeking to defend its rightful possessions, to be equated with the wrongs committed by others in their endeavor to acquire those possessions? There has been no scarcity of political proposals for settlement. What has been lacking is the earnest grappling with the “original sin” which generated, and which has also permeated, the evolution of the Palestine problem.”

“The New York Times often repeats the statement that the Arabs wish to drive the Jews out of Israel into the Mediterranean Sea. This does not correspond to the facts. We are ready to sit down with Israel at one day’s notice, if and when they are ready to deal with us on the basis of the resolutions of the United Nations.”

The 27 volumes (358 pages) of the Teheran International Conference plenary session proceedings, compiled by UN staff (A/CONF.32/SR.1 to SR.27), document the numerous instances of States Members registering concerns and criticisms about Israel’s notorious conducts upon Palestinians in the occupied territories. Many of these instances at the Conference were initiated because of provocations and historical distortions made by Israeli delegates. For instance, Comay’s statement on April 29<sup>th</sup>, “the **so-called Palestine question** ... under discussion by the United Nations for over twenty-one years and hundreds of resolutions on the subject had been adopted.” On the other hand, with the absence of South African apartheid delegates at the Tehran Conference, States Member delegates and NGOs freely criticized and condemned apartheid without face-to-face backlash, which they did almost daily.





### **Teheran Conference (Conf.) Day 2:**

**Mr. Daoudy of Syria:** “protested against the presence at the Conference of the representative of the Government of Israel, which was guilty of numerous violations of human rights and aggression against States Members of the United Nations and which was following a policy of terror and intimidation towards the Arab minorities and the inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories.” Mr. Khalaf of Iraq and Mr. Yazid of Algeria also voiced criticisms upon Israel.

### **Conf. Day 3:**

**In the morning session, Mr. Comay of Israel:** makes a lengthy speech (4 and a half pages). In Comay’s celebration of the Declaration of Human Rights, he said “with the renewal of independent Jewish nationhood ... the Israel Declaration of Independence had guaranteed equality of social and political rights to all inhabitants of the State, which was to be based on freedom, justice and peace as envisaged by the prophets of Israel.”

**During the afternoon session, Mr. Daoudy of Syria** referred to the 1955 Bandung Conference, where “29 Afro-Asian countries ... upheld the rights of the Arab people of Palestine, calling for the implementation of the UN resolution on Palestine in order to obtain a peaceful settlement of the Palestine question.” After describing the history and political circumstance of Apartheid South Africa, he then “summarized the history of the Palestine question,” and “described the tragic fate of the Arab people of Palestine who were expelled or massacred when Israel occupied their territory and again during the tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956 and the Zionist and imperialist action of 5 June 1967,” and “the racist colonial system in occupied Palestine could not survive with the full support of American imperialism.” “Until such time as the forces of peace and democracy co-operated to put an end to racial discrimination, colonialism and the Zionist occupation of Arab territories, the Universal Declaration would not be a really effective instrument, since freedom – political, economic, social and intellectual – was a prerequisite for the exercise of human rights.”

**Mr. Abu Ghazaleh of Jordan:** “The Zionist movement, which had given rise to the State of Israel, was both in theory and in practice a cult of force; it defied the basic principles of humanity, and even those of Judaism.” “The creation of the State of Israel had made nearly a million Arab refugees. In 1967 the same scene had been re-enacted; force, prejudice and racism had again prevailed. That time, two and a half million Palestinian Arabs had been obliged to suffer occupation or to become refugees. Not only that, but the aggression had been extended to peaceful Jordan and other Arab territories, thus displacing more and more Arab inhabitants.” “Zionism was a threat to world peace. The Israelis would agree to peace only if the Arabs presented them Palestine – and other territories as well – on a silver platter as a Christmas gift. If the Arabs presumed to defend their right to existence and to resist occupation, they were branded as guerillas, saboteurs and enemies of peace.”

**Mr. Daoudy of Syria:** “described newspaper articles written by Israel citizens and sometimes even published in Israel, which stated that Israel soldiers had orders to fire at sight on anyone attempting to cross the Jordan at night. Eye-witness accounts were appalling. At dawn the banks of the Jordan were strewn with the corpses of men, women and children. The Israel soldiers dispatched the wounded, who begged to be spared. Sometimes the corpses were buried; sometimes they were bulldozed under or cremated en masse.”

### **Conf. Day 4:**

**In the morning session, Mr. El-Sayad of the United Arab Republic:** “Its [the UN Security Council] duty was to deal with all matters affecting human rights and that was why the delegation of the United Arab Republic felt it had a duty to draw the attention of the present Conference to the gross violations of such rights in the areas under Israel’s occupation. Those violations had been reported in several newspaper articles .... The Commission on Human Rights had been distressed by those reports and had taken an exceptionally drastic step in sending to the Government of Israel, through the Secretary-General, a telegram expressing its deep anxiety about the treatment to which the Israel the Israel authorities were subjecting the Arab civilian population in the areas occupied

after the hostilities of June 1967 and calling upon the Government of Israel to desist from such practices and to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms.”

**Mr. Comay of Israel:** “said he had hoped that the disputes and controversies of the previous day would die down; but he realized today that his optimism had been unfounded. Further accusations had been made against Israel, and he was regrettably compelled once again to use his right of reply in order to set the record straight.”

**In the afternoon session. Mr. Kamenov of Bulgaria:** “A further problem arising from the violation of human rights was that of the Arab refugees, who were obliged to live in conditions unworthy of human beings. The most astonishing fact for the present generation, which had witnessed the barbaric treatment of the Jews by Hitler, was that the Jews themselves had become the agents of racism and aggression. It was high time to put an end to the intolerable situation created by Israel’s aggression in the Near East.”

**Mr. Daoudy of Syria:** “Israel’s so-called respect for the United Nations was refuted by an article written by S.Z. Abramov in the June issue of the American Zionist, which said that the United Nations should be eliminated as an active factor in the Israel-Arab controversy, since it had proved to be a peace-preventing instrument.” “Lastly, he quoted a speech made by Professor Vincent Monteil of Dakar University which referred to diaries kept by two French missionaries who had lived for ten years in Palestine, working with both Jews and Arabs. The diaries had been published in the French newspaper Temoignage chretien of 27 July 1967. ... He read out several passages from the two diaries testifying to the atrocities committed against the Arab population by the occupying forces which had been witnessed by the missionaries.”

#### **Conf. Day 6:**

**In the afternoon session. Mr. Hakim of Lebanon:** “... felt bound, however, to call attention to the denial of human rights to the Arabs of Palestine. Their struggle for freedom under the British Mandate and after the Second World War had been frustrated by colonialism and Zionism. Israel continued to deny the right of self-determination to the Arabs of Palestine. The creation of the State of Israel in 1948 had resulted in the expulsion of the majority of the Arabs of Palestine from their ancestral homeland. Those who had remained were considered second class citizens and suffered from various forms of discrimination. Again in 1967 almost half a million Arabs had been driven from their homes and the territories occupied by the Israel armed forces. Twice in a lifetime many Arabs had been forced to become refugees.”

#### **Conf. Day 7:**

**In the morning session. Mr. Khalaf of Iraq:** “was reluctant to take up the Conference’s time at that late stage of the meeting but felt bound to protest against once again having to hear the representative of a country that was committing aggression against States Members of the United Nations. The representative of Israel, far from refraining from exercising the right of reply in accordance with his stated intention, was seeking the floor day after day, and if he was to be heard every time he wanted to attempt to justify his Government’s aggressive policies, that would be tantamount to putting a premium on crime. His own country [Iraq] had been hesitant about attending the Conference at all, for it had not wished to be present at meetings in which an aggressor State was also participating. The Governments of Portugal and South Africa, however dishonest their policies towards their subject populations, had been honest enough at least not to attend.”

#### **Conf. Day 8:**

**In the morning session. Mr. Comay of Israel:** “It [Israel] would take the present opportunity of expressing its views regarding the inclusion of the item in the agenda and would reserve the right to place before the Conference the whole truth about the Middle East situation and to reveal the naked propaganda and political intent underlying the pressure for the additional [Agenda] item. ... There was no real justification for including the item at all; to do so could only impair the value of the

Conference. ... There was nothing “urgent and important” for the Conference about a question which had existed for a long time and which in any case was being dealt with by the Security Council and the General Assembly through the Secretary General. Accordingly, even on the analogy of the General Assembly rules of procedure, the proposed item would not be receivable. In any case, it was superfluous. There was nothing to be said or proposed about it which could not be said or proposed in the course of the twenty-year review of human rights under agenda item 9. Indeed, Arab representatives had already been taking up a great deal of time under that item with their anti-Israel obsession, and had in no case been ruled out of order. The proposal did not therefore arise from the need to fill a gap in the agenda but simply and solely from the desire to make propaganda.” “Israel was imperfect, as were all peoples; but its friends knew that it was striving to build up a decent, free, progressive and humane society, and it was in that spirit that it dealt with all the populations for which it was responsible: Jews, Arabs or others. Those who had come to the Conference to criticize others should be prepared to establish their own moral credentials to do so.”

**Mr. Abo Ghazaleh of Jordan:** “Jordan was one of the sponsors of the new item now being recommended by the General Committee. In the occupied Arab areas, gross violations of human rights were taking place, involving life, liberty and property, that fully justified inclusion of the item in the Conference’s agenda. The mere fact of a nation’s being under aggressive occupation by another was an infringement of human dignity and liberty.” “With no legal investigation or reasonable proof, Arab houses were being blown up on the mere suspicion of harbouring members of the Palestine Liberation Movement. Failure to abide by the United Nations resolution providing for their return to their homes was compelling many thousands of Arab refugees to live in misery and degradation. Persecution, fear or economic destitution was causing thousands more to leave the Gaza Strip and the Western Bank of the Jordan for the Eastern Bank. The official Jordanian figure for the numbers involved in March 1968 was over 5,000.”

**Mr. Mehdi ben Abdeljalil of Morocco.** “The Palestine people had not only been deprived of the most elementary human rights, but their very existence as a people was threatened. The Universal Declaration had been promulgated at a time when the torturing of people under the Nazi occupation was still fresh in the minds of the whole world; today an entire people was being martyred. He appealed to the whole of mankind and to all Jews throughout the world to denounce the methods employed by the Israel Government in Israel-occupied territories as being at variance with the Charter and the Universal Declaration.”

**Mr. Daoudy of Syria:** “said that by including the item in its agenda, the Conference had recognized that the question of respect for human rights in occupied territories was of great importance to the international community. He expressed appreciation of the note submitted by the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency UNRWA (A/CONF.32/22), which provided a brief account of the plight of Arab refugees, the victims of aggression by Israel.”

**In the afternoon session. Mr. Alfozan of Saudi Arabia:** “Not only in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa and the Portuguese colonies were flagrant violations of human rights occurring; the same was happening in the occupied territories of Palestine, Jordan, Syria and the United Arab Republic. ... It was the Jews themselves who practised racial discrimination, in accordance with the racist principles of Zionism, a movement which resulted in crimes worthy of the nazis. The price of the peace proposed by Israel was annexation, deportation and expropriation. The Arabs could hardly be blamed for rejecting it, nor could they be expected to keep silent when the Palestine Arabs, expropriated and cheated of the income from their property, were reduced to poverty or condemned to live on international charity of six cents a day per person – less than the expense of maintaining a pet. The word anti-Semitism had been mentioned, but the majority of the Jews in Palestine were Ashkenazis, descendants of the Khazars converted to Judaism in 720. The real crime of anti-Semitism was that committed against the Arabs of Palestine.” “He denounced the collusion between Zionism and apartheid, pointing out that **the person [Mr. Comay] who had attacked the Arab States as a whole had been born in South Africa and had served in that country’s police force.** An article in the New York Times of 14 December 1965 had stated: “The first head of State to



visit the newly-founded State of Israel was the President of South Africa because it was felt that Israel, like South Africa, is surrounded by hostile coloured neighbours”.”

**Mr. Ould Erebih of Mauritania:** “The unfortunate dispute in the Middle East could not escape mention. It had inspired eloquence in some quarters of the Conference; in others there had been an eloquent and guilty silence. ... it was wrong to ask the Conference, on the pretext of allowing the discussions to take place in a peaceful atmosphere, to shut its eyes to the fate of the people of Palestine. Their martyrdom was no less poignant than that of the people of South Africa and Zimbabwe. Violations of the rights of the Palestinian people were just as intolerable as similar violations in South Africa, Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea.” “His delegation had been shocked, though not surprised, by the note of confidence founded on superior force, of arrogance, of triumphant aggression sounded by the representative of Israel, which was out of place in a conference on human rights where humility, objectivity and hope ought to be the order of the day. The excesses perpetrated by the Nazis against the Jews in no way justified the spoliation of an entire people or warranted actions that had rendered stateless nearly two million men, women and children who were now refugees living on international charity. That was one of the greatest violations of human rights, for those unfortunate people had lost not only their livelihood, but their freedom and dignity as well.”

### **Conf. Day 9**

**On the morning session. Mr. Mehdi ben Abdeljalil of Morocco:** “In Asia and the Middle East dangerous situations were nullifying the implementation of human rights and, even worse, creating tensions which threatened world peace and security. The Palestinian people were fighting an heroic battle for their very existence and lost freedom. The Moroccan people, indeed the whole world, was profoundly concerned and deeply disappointed at the course of events were taking in the Middle East, where Israel was adopting the very methods practices by the erstwhile executioners of the Jews, using force and aggression in defiance of United Nations resolutions and decisions. Mass massacre of women and children, concentration camps, profanation of holy monuments and places – nothing was being spared the Palestinian people.”

### **Conf. Day 10**

**On the morning session. Mr. Al-Sani of Kuwait:** “The world was witnessing a new type of racial discrimination: the policy of the Israeli authorities against Arabs in the occupied areas. ... International courts have often ruled that laws passed by occupying authority could not and should not be binding on the population of the occupied territory. Israel had violated international law, natural law and even the most basic rules of common decency. He quoted a passage from the report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) (A/CONF.32/22, fourth paragraph):”

“The tragic circumstances which the Palestine refugees found themselves, and the harsh conditions they have had to face over the last twenty years raise inevitably the question whether their status can be reconciled with the precept of Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights ...” The Palestine refugees have faced their hardships with courage and, in a very real sense, it has been part of UNRWA’s task to assist, as best it could within the limited resource available to it, in preserving for more than one and a quarter million Palestine refugees some semblance of human dignity, without which human rights are meaningless. This task has been discharged by the Agency for nearly twenty years and the details of the execution of this task have been a matter of annual report to the General Assembly. However, in the most summary terms it may be stated that, since its inception, UNRWA has provided basic rations of about 1,500 calories a day for about 850,000 persons in a refugee population which, by May 1967, numbered 1,300,000 persons. It has afforded supplementary feeding to specially vulnerable groups, such as infants, schoolchildren

and pregnant women. It has distributed more than 10,000 tons of clothing and built camp shelter for more than half-a-million people.”

### III. RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE

#### I. Respect for and implementation of human rights in occupied territories

(ADOPTED WITHOUT REFERENCE TO A COMMITTEE)

*The International Conference on Human Rights, Being guided by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,*

*Having heard the statements made in the Conference with regard to the question of “respect for and implementation of human rights in occupied territories”, and noting the note submitted by the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (A/CONF.32/22),*

*Bearing in mind the provisions of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 regarding the protection of civilian persons in time of war,*

*Recalling Security Council resolution 237 (1967) and General Assembly resolution 2252 (ES-V) in which the Council and the Assembly considered that essential and inalienable rights should be respected even during the vicissitudes of war and called upon the Government of Israel to facilitate the return of those inhabitants who have fled the areas of military operations since the outbreak of hostilities,*

*Recalling further articles 7, 18 and 30 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and resolutions 2253 (ES-V) of 4 July 1967 by which the General Assembly called upon Israel to rescind all measures already taken and to desist forthwith from taking any action which would alter the status of Jerusalem, as well as resolution 2254 (ES-V) of 14 July 1967 by which the General Assembly deplored the failure of Israel to implement the earlier resolution,*

*Mindful of the principle embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights regarding the right of everyone to return to his own country,*

*Further recalling:*

(a) Resolution 6 (XXIV) of the Commission on Human Rights affirming the rights of the inhabitants who have left since the outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East to return, and that the Government concerned should take the necessary measures in order to facilitate the return of those inhabitants to their own country without delay,

(b) The telegram dispatched by the Commission on Human Rights on 9 March 1968, calling upon the Government of Israel to desist forthwith from acts of destroying homes of Arab civilian population inhabiting areas occupied by Israel,

1. *Expresses its grave concern* for the violation of human rights in Arab territories occupied as a result of the June 1967 hostilities;

2. *Draws the attention* of the Government of Israel to the grave consequences resulting from disregard of fundamental freedoms and human rights in occupied territories;

3. *Calls on* the Government of Israel to desist forthwith from acts of destroying homes of Arab civilian population inhabiting areas occupied by Israel, and to respect and implement the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 in occupied territories;

4. *Affirms* the inalienable rights of all inhabitants who have left their homes as a result of the outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East to return, resume normal life, recover their property and homes, and rejoin their families according to the provision of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

5. *Requests* the General Assembly to appoint a special committee to investigate violations of human rights in the territories occupied by Israel and to report thereon;

6. *Requests* the Commission on Human Rights to keep the matter under constant review.

*23rd plenary meeting  
7 May 1968*

In the UN document, *Final Act of the International Conference on Human Rights* (A/CONF.32.41), it cited Resolution “I” passed at the Conference’s plenary meeting of May 7, 1968, *Respect for and implementation of human rights in occupied territories*, namely the new agenda item requested by delegates from three Nation States, passed under protest by delegates from the State of Israel.

The matter of the UN International Conference of Human Rights, its *Final Act* document, and documents A/7194, A/7195 and A/CONF.32/22 (renamed as A/C.3/L.1626 for the Committee), were forwarded to the UN’s Third Committee for discussion as **Agenda Item 62** beginning on November 27, 1968. The UN delegate from Sweden, Mr. Forshell, summarized: “Since the Conference had not been an organ for formal decisions, all the ideas and requests that emanated from it should, as a matter of course, be transmitted to and further considered by States, by the competent United Nations organs and by the other organizations concerned.”<sup>152</sup> The matter, which was debated by third Committee for several weeks – November 27 to December 9 – involved the participation of Kuwait delegate Fayez Sayegh.

The delegate from India, Mr. Ganesh, whose country gained independence in 1947, stated on November 29, reconfirming and recalling what the “President of the General Assembly” had stated twenty years previous “when the Universal Declaration had been formally approved,” namely that its adoption “was a “step forward in a great evolutionary process” and that it was “the first occasion on which the organized community of nations had made a declaration of human rights and fundamental freedoms”.” Ganesh then

<sup>152</sup> A/C.3/SR.1621.

stated, “since that memorable date, the Declaration had been a source of inspiration for thirty-three important international instruments adopted by the United Nations and the specialized agencies.”

A major item of debate under Agenda Item 62 by the Third Committee centred on the added agenda resolution at the Teheran Conference, *Respect for and implementation of human rights in occupied territories*, a resolution which requested the General Assembly to investigate the plight of and condition of human rights for Palestinian refugees. In review of the events that led up to the Conference resolution in May 1968, Mrs. Eshel, the Third Committee Israel delegate, stated on November 27: “Her delegation had found itself the target of a political propaganda offensive which had disrupted the proceedings, created dissension and led to the adoption of a one-sided political resolution.”

Mr. Tomeh, the delegate from Syria, responded to Mrs. Eshel’s statements:

“The truth was that the Teheran Conference had not been subjected to any Arab propaganda, since the question of the violation of the human rights of the Palestine refugees had been closely related to the items that had been studied. The question had not been raised out of context, but with reference to a report on the subject submitted by the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, which had been submitted to the Conference by the Secretary-General, and his delegation had formally requested that that report should be circulated as a General Assembly document. Israel’s assertions were merely a smokescreen designed to hide its failure to comply with a number of humanitarian resolutions regarding the Palestine refugees, such as **Security Council resolution 237 (1967)**, reaffirmed unanimously in **General Assembly resolution 2252 (ES-V)**, and **Security Council resolution 259 (1968)**, in which the Secretary-General had been asked to send a special representative to the area. ... The report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East covering the period 1 July 1967 to 30 June 1968 revealed that the Palestine refugees lacked the most basic needs for their subsistence and that Israel, far from complying with the relevant resolutions, had destroyed the camps and schools that the refugees had been using. Moreover, the tragedy was not over. Israel was still demolishing houses, forcibly expelling the civilian inhabitants from their homes and committing an infinity of acts contrary to the Geneva Conventions, which were not only described in the statements by the Arab delegations but were recorded in official documents of the United Nations.”

On November 29, at the Third Committee’s 1,624<sup>th</sup> meeting, the Australian delegate, Dame Mabel Miller, wandered her presentation into the “discrimination against the Jewish people,” notably “more attacks” after the Second World War. She mentioned “a renewed campaign in the Soviet Union aimed at reviving the old clichés of anti-Semitism,” and how “Soviet information media were cloaking their anti-Semitic propaganda by using the term “Zionism”.” She said, “it was obvious that the so-called anti-Zionist propaganda possessed many of the age-old attributes of anti-Semitism.”

Shortly thereafter, Sayegh, “speaking in exercise of the right of reply,” said he:

“... objected to the Australian representative’s identification of Judaism with Zionism and of anti-Semitism with anti-Zionism, for if that was the case, the horror which anti-Semitism inspired throughout the world would enable a State which proclaimed itself Jewish, as did Israel, to be virtually immune from criticism of any action that it might take. What was more, such a State could request assistance from the international community even for the purpose of carrying out policies which were wrong, since the denial of aid could be interpreted as anti-Semitism.”

The delegate from Indonesia, Mr. Abdulgani, said his country had great sympathy for the Palestinian people.



The Indonesian people were particularly concerned with the human aspect of the problems faced by the Arabs of Palestine, whether Moslem or Christian, and by Arabs in other occupied territories in the Middle East. ... Indonesia felt deep concern over the problem of the refugees, firstly, because Indonesians were only too familiar with the plight of refugees, since hundreds of thousands of them had been refugees in their own land during the years 1945-1950, and, secondly, because the people of Indonesia had had a sense of solidarity with the people of Palestine for many years. In 1927, a number of Indonesian leaders had participated in a conference held in the Middle East to discuss the renewed threat of political Zionism, which had been stirred up by the Balfour Declaration. Apart from its religious ties with the people of Palestine, and a common search for independence, Indonesia deplored the situation in the Middle East, as it saw that the Middle East continued to be a meeting place of conflicting large-Power interests, and that the refugees were the victims of that political confrontation.

Indonesia was one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/C.3/L.1626 and Add.1, which attempted to deal with the matter in a humane manner and in conformity with the spirit of the International Year for Human Rights. ... His delegation hoped that the political and humanitarian aspects of the refugee problem would be resolved before another generation of refugees grew to maturity in the same misery as the present one.

The first Third Committee speaker on the afternoon session of December 2<sup>nd</sup> was the Israeli delegate, Mrs. Eshel, who set the tone with the following remarks:

The representative of Pakistan had called the Israeli nazis – an absurd identification which was the height of moral depravity. It was the Arab countries which had given refuge to hundreds of nazi war criminals and had incorporated them in their governmental work. Mein Kampf had been translated into Arabic and new editions were constantly being printed and officially distributed not only in the Arab countries but in other countries too.

Some two hours later, the delegate from the United Arab Republic, Mr. Aboul-Nasr, finally weighed in:

Zionism was similar to nazism in that it advocated territorial expansion, resorted to violence and encouraged racism – all of which were facts reported daily in the Press. ... In his own view, the only difference between nazism and Zionism, intellectually speaking, was that the crimes of the former had been committed before the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights had entered into force, while the crimes of the latter had been committed afterwards. The Palestinian Arabs would never yield; they sought to win back their rights and freedoms.

Mrs. Eshel of Israel then replied: “There would have been no refugee problem if the Arab States had not attacked Israel in 1948 and if they had agreed to negotiate with Israel in order to arrive at a peaceful settlement.”

Fayez Sayegh responded in a short reply: “in order to refute the Israel representative’s assertion that if the war had not taken place, there would be no refugees, [Sayegh] quoted a passage from the diary of Theodore Herzl, who, as early as 1895, had foretold the occupation of Palestine, which, he wrote, would one day become as Jewish as England was English.”

On December 3, at the Third Committee’s 1,627<sup>th</sup> meeting, the delegate from Syria, Mr. El-Fattal stated, in support of the Teheran Conference Resolution I:

It was regrettable that some Governments, namely those of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Portugal and Israel, based their policies on the cynical idea that they could not survive without

depriving the indigenous peoples of their fundamental rights. Ensuring respect for human rights required more than simply hailing the adoption of a document. In 1948, the year of the adoption of the Universal Declaration, an entire people had fallen victim to one of the most flagrant violations of human rights: driven from their homeland, forced to become refugees, the Palestinians had been denied the right to self-determination, to a nationality, to life, to liberty, to security and to prosperity.

On the morning of December 4, at the Third Committee's 1,628<sup>th</sup> meeting, during the discussion on the adopted draft resolution A/C.3/L.1623, the delegate from Jordan, Miss Hlass, said:

It was her painful duty to speak for the 2.5 million of her fellow Arabs who had been reduced to the status of refugees by Israel's aggression in Palestine. Since world recognition of the human rights of those refugees would help to bring their sufferings, privations, frustrations and fears to an end, she appealed on their behalf to all the members of the human family, without distinction as to race, colour, religion or frontier. **The innumerable documents, declarations and instruments relating to the subject had had no effect at all on the situation of the Palestine Arab refugees, for it was impossible to solve the problem unless a humanitarian approach was taken.** While international bodies held lengthy debates on the subject, thousands of Arabs were forced to abandon their homes and saw their lands occupied by strangers coming from afar. While useless declarations were being drawn up, the Palestine Arabs, deprived of their fundamental rights, were suffering cold and hunger.

Resolution I of the Teheran Conference on respect for an implementation of human rights in occupied territories, in which the Government of Israel was called on to recognize the rights of the population of the occupied areas, had aroused among the Palestine Arabs the hope that Israel would comply with its obligations under the United Nations Charter. **That resolution, however, had fared no better than many others concerning Palestine,** for the Israelis had ignored it, just as, in their determination to confront the world with a fait accompli, they had ignored earlier decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council and had refused to allow a representative of the Secretary-General to investigate the situation in Palestine. As a result, the Arab refugees would have to face another winter without proper shelter or clothing.

Among the specific violations of human rights committed by Israel, she cited the expulsion of 400,000 Arabs, by force or by threats, from the West Bank of the River Jordan and from the Gaza Strip. Despite the General Assembly's appeals that the refugees should be allowed to return, Israel was continuing to apply measures of intimidation to drive out the population of the occupied areas, with the aim of depriving those areas of their Arab character. Nor did the Israelis hesitate to raze entire villages and compel the inhabitants to sell their lands to new occupants. At the same time, **they were continuing to deport Arab leaders, and students who had gone abroad to study were being prevented from returning.** The political pressures, the arbitrary arrests, the destruction of homes and the other acts of harassment to which the Arab population was subjected had given rise to a reign of terror which had aroused protests even on the part of Israel intellectuals.

On December 5<sup>th</sup>, the delegate from Syria, Mr. Tomeh, stated in part:

Despite the efforts of the Red Cross, it had still not been possible to determine the fate of 120 Syrian civilians who had been taken prisoner by the Israel forces; the fate of 200 Syrian soldiers who had disappeared during the hostilities was also unknown. The inhuman acts committed more recently by Israel included the demolition of Syrian villages with bulldozers; the shooting to death of 100 peasants who had attempted to return to their homes in search of their personal belongings; and the killing by Israel soldiers of two Syrian women who had been gathering figs, the latter incident having been reported by General Odd Bull.

On the afternoon of Thursday, December 5<sup>th</sup>, the day before the Third Committee voted in favour of draft resolution A/C.3/L.1626 and Add.1, the delegate from Kuwait, Fayez Sayegh, made his arguments in favour of the resolution.

3. [Sayegh] pointed out that the resolution adopted at Teheran was not an isolated text. To begin with, there were a number of international instruments having mandatory force which had been adopted during the past twenty years in order to provide for respect for human rights in occupied territories, a matter for which there had been provision before the Second World War: Article 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights provided that everyone was entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in the Declaration, without distinction of any kind, and regardless of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which he belonged. Later various United Nations organs had adopted resolutions concerning the rights of Arab citizens in the territories occupied by Israel since 1967. Lastly, there were many factors which revealed that Israel respected neither the general provisions of the Geneva Conventions nor the special provisions of the texts adopted by the United Nations and that, far from ceasing, those violations of human rights in the occupied territories were multiplying. In those circumstances, the draft resolution before the Committee seemed extremely moderate: it made no judgement on the human rights situation in the occupied territories and merely implied that an investigation by an impartial committee would be justified, and it did not in any way prejudge the result of that investigation. There were a number of precedents for the use of that method, which was simply the application of the principle that a country was less tempted to violate human rights when the eyes of the world were upon it.

4. He himself thought that the proposed investigation was perfectly justified in view of the many violations of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949<sup>153</sup> which had been reported from various sources. For example, article 49 prohibited mass or individual forced transfers and deportations. Yet it was stated in paragraph 105 of the report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East<sup>154</sup> that, following the hostilities of June 1967, forty-eight teachers had been deported from the Gaza strip. Israel had also deported thirty-two notables from the West Bank of the River Jordan to the East Bank – four of them in 1967, one in March 1968, five in September 1968 and twenty-two during the past five weeks. The Israel Press itself described the circumstances in which those nocturnal deportations were carried out, the victims being given very little advance notice and being treated like criminals. It was not only the considerable increase in the number of deportations in recent weeks that was causing alarm, but the type of persons being deported, who included teachers and individuals of note. There was no doubt whatever that those deportations were contrary to international law; there was therefore every justification for an investigation.

5. Article 53 of the Geneva Convention to which he had referred forbade the occupying Power to destroy real or personal property; yet Israel had not only destroyed whole villages as a result of the hostilities but had since then continued with its destruction of dwellings belonging to Arabs. According to a British journalist writing in *The Times* in November 1967, already at that time the number of houses that had been destroyed had probably amounted to thousands.

*In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Mahmassani (Lebanon), Rapporteur, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 62

International Year for Human Rights (continued) (A/7194, A/7195, A/7195/Add.1 and Add.3-7, A/CONF.32/41, A/C.3/L.1626 and Add.1, A/C.3/L.1633/Rev.1, A/C.3/L.1635/Rev.1, A/C.3/L.1636, A/C.3/L.1637/Rev.1, A/C.3/L.1638-1641, A/C.3/L.1642/Rev.1, A/C.3/L.1644, A/C.3/L.1647):

(a) Measures and activities undertaken in connexion with the International Year for Human Rights: report of the Secretary-General;

(b) International Conference on Human Rights

CONSIDERATION OF DRAFT RESOLUTION A/C.3/L.1626 AND ADD.1 (concluded)

<sup>153</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, Vol. 75 (1950), No. 973.

<sup>154</sup> Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-third Session, Supplement No. 13.



6. The first paragraph of article 33 of the Convention prohibited collective penalties and the third paragraph prohibited reprisals. Those two paragraphs had been violated by Israel and an Israel journalist had justified those violations on the grounds of a regulation that had been adopted by the Mandatory Power in 1945 and against which the Jewish Agency had protested at the time. Paragraph 15 of the report of the Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East <sup>155</sup> described the wretched aftermath of the hostilities at Gaza, the curfews, interrogations, detentions and destruction of houses. In the Gaza strip and many towns on the West Bank, the inhabitants were subjected to a curfew for twenty-four hours a day. Houses and shops had been seized and it was stated in paragraph 85 of the report of the Secretary-General under General Assembly resolution 2252 (ES-V) and Security Council resolution 237 (1967) that houses had been seized even when their owners had been away only temporarily on a visit to Amman or even when, in the absence of the owner, one of his relations had been present. Israel could try to justify its actions by invoking its annexation of Jerusalem, but, in the first place, the United Nations had declared that annexation null and void and, secondly, article 47 of the Geneva Convention stipulated that the Convention was applicable even in the event of the annexation of the occupied territory by the Occupying Power.

7. Article 146 stipulated that each Contracting Party would be under the obligation to search for persons alleged to have committed, or to have ordered to be committed, grave breaches and to bring such persons before its own courts, but General Dayan, who had committed the breaches defined in the Convention, had not been brought before the Israel courts.

8. Article 144 provided that the Contracting Parties were to disseminate the text of the Convention as widely as possible and that any civilian, military, police or other authorities who in time of war assumed responsibilities in respect of persons protected by the Convention must possess the text of the Convention and be instructed as to its provisions. Yet it had been revealed by journalists whose articles had been published in *The Observer* and *The Guardian* in January 1968 that an Israel colonel had never heard of the Geneva Convention.

9. Article 31 prohibited the exercise of any physical or moral coercion, in particular for the purpose of obtaining information, but the *Jerusalem Press* had described how a father had been punished for refusing to give information about his son, which was simply the reverse of the method practised by Hitler of forcing sons to give information about their fathers. Furthermore, General Dayan had announced on 13 October that shops would be demolished if their owners refused to reveal the identity of those responsible for attacks.

10. The Convention prohibited looting, but the Israelis had looted a hospital.

11. Article 49 stipulated that the occupying Power was not to deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupied. Yet since September 1967 Israelis had been settled in twenty-three points of the occupied territories, although Israel denied that it was trying to colonize those territories, and on 3 December the Jewish Telegraphic Agency had announced that Israel intended to settle its citizens in twenty-five points of Syrian territory.

12. A number of neutral observers, including priests of churches in the United States, had been upset

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<sup>155</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-second Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1967, document S/8158.

## Resolution A/C.3/L.1623 and Add.1

“The General Assembly,

“Guided by the Principles and Purposes of the Charter of the United and by 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,

“Mindful of the principle embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights regarding the right of everyone to return to his own country, and recalling Security Council resolution 237 (1967), General Assembly resolutions 2252 (ES-V) and 2341 B (XXII), Commission on Human Rights resolution 6 (XXIV) and Economic and Social Council resolution 1336 (XLIV), in which these organs of the United Nations called upon the Government of Israel, inter alia, to facilitate the return of those inhabitants who have fled the area of military operations since the outbreak of hostilities,

“Recalling the telegram dispatched by the Commission on Human Rights on 9 March 1968, calling upon the Government of Israel to desist forthwith from acts of destroying homes of Arab civilian populations of areas occupied by Israel,

“Recalling also Security Council resolution 259 (1968), in which the Council expressed its concern for the safety, welfare and security of the inhabitants of the Arab territories under military occupation by Israel, and deplored the delay in the implementation of resolution 237 (1967),

“Noting resolution 1, on ‘respect for an implementation of human rights in occupied territories,’ adopted on 7 May 1968 by the International Conference on Human Rights, in which the Conference, inter alia,

(a) Expressed its grave concern for the violation of human rights in Arab territories occupied by Israel,

(b) Drew the attention of the Government of Israel to the grave consequences resulting from disregard of fundamental freedoms and human rights in occupied territories,

(c) Called on the Government of Israel to desist forthwith from acts of destroying homes of Arab civilian population inhabiting areas occupied by Israel, and to respect and implement the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 in occupied territories,

(d) Affirmed the inalienable rights of all inhabitants who have left their homes as a result of the outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East to return, resume normal life, recover their property and homes, and rejoin their families according to the provision of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

“1. Decides to establish a special committee of three Member States to investigate Israeli practices affecting the human rights of the population of the occupied territories;

“2. Requests the President of the General Assembly to appoint the members of the special committee;

“3. Requests the Government of Israel to receive the special committee, to co-operate with it and to facilitate its work;

“4. Requests the special committee to report to the Secretary-General as soon as possible and whenever the need arises thereafter;

“5. Requests the Secretary-General to provide the special committee with all the necessary facilities for the performance of its task.”

by those practices. Although Israel insisted that nobody was forced to leave the occupied territories, the fact was, according to The New York Times and the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, that Israel wanted the Arabs to leave. Despite many resolutions adopted by the United Nations, and in violation of article 13, paragraph 2, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Israel persisted in prohibiting the refugees from returning to their land. It was true that, following appeals from the Secretary-General and the Ambassadors of the United States, the United Kingdom and France, Israel had authorized the return of 17,000 refugees, but that did not constitute implementation of the United Nations resolutions or recognition of the refugees' right to return to their country; it was simply an authorization granted to a few of them and a maneuver designed solely to present Israel to world public opinion in a more favourable light.

13. It had also been reported that, despite General Dayan's denials, prisoners had been tortured in violation of the Geneva Convention; in his view, representatives of the Red Cross should be allowed to interview prisoners in private. Released ex-prisoners should also be interviewed. The investigation by the committee, the establishment of which was proposed in the draft resolution under consideration, would reveal how many prisoners there were, whether they had been informed of the charges against them, whether they had been tortured and why they were in camps.

14. The serious violations of the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War and the other violations of the rights of the Arabs in the occupied territories which he had mentioned fully warranted an impartial investigation. The United Nations was now the victims' only hope; for that reason, draft resolution A/C.3/L.1626 and Add.1 must be adopted by a very large majority.

On Friday, December 6, 1968, the Third Committee voted on resolution A/C.3/L.1626 and Add.1, which was adopted "by 55 votes to 16, with 41 abstentions. Of the 16 Member States that voted against, were Australia, Israel and the United States. Of the 41 Member States abstentions, they included Ireland, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, United Kingdom and Northern Ireland, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Finland, and France. Of the western European Member States that voted in favour, were Greece and Spain.

On the morning of December 9<sup>th</sup>, at the Third Committee's 1,633<sup>rd</sup> meeting, the delegate from Israel, Mrs. Eshel, "protested against the tactics used at the 1,632<sup>nd</sup> meeting to suppress freedom of speech, which had prevented her delegation and a number of others from speaking before the vote on the resolution which had been adopted."

"Such conduct was an indication of the motives and spirit which had lain behind the proposal ever since its birth at the Teheran Conference and made it obvious that it was not a humanitarian proposal but a political and propaganda exercise. The inclusion of a passage from resolution I of the Teheran Conference which prejudged the results of the proposed inquiry made the text a mockery of the accepted canons of fairness and ethics. ... For those reasons, her Government rejected the draft resolution as one-sided, discriminatory and prejudicial to the Jarring Mission; it would do nothing but introduce another complication into an already sensitive and complex situation. Her delegation had been gratified to note that the great majority of impartial Member States which maintained relations with both Israel and the Arab States had refused to support it."

Sayegh immediately replied:

"He was proud to have voted for the draft resolution (A/C.3/L.1626 and Add.1), which expressed concern not only for the Arab peoples at present being subjected to inhuman treatment under foreign military occupation, but also for any human beings who might find themselves in similar



circumstances. The resolution reflected the feeling of urgency surrounding the creation of the proposed committee and the need for it to complete its task with dispatch. It implied that the special committee's task would not be completed until it was terminated by a decision of the General Assembly, or the military occupation was ended.”

### **8.5.3. 1968: International Year for Human Rights and The Special Political Committee (SPC)**

The matter of Palestinian refugees that was up for discussion by the Third Committee was not the only UN organ doing so. Concurrently, from November 18 to December 13, 1968, the Special Political Committee (SPC), which Fayez Sayegh was also a member of, under order of the General Assembly, reviewed **Agenda Item 33**, the urgent *Report of the Commissioner-General of UNRWA for Palestine Refugees in the Middle East*, report A/7213. The opening statements from Miss Dever of Belgium, summed up the state of urgency:

Since June 1967, the tragedy of the existing refugees had been compounded by the flight of thousands from their homes and camps. That being so, none could fail to support the Secretary-General's call at the 612th meeting, for urgent action, in accordance with Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, to facilitate the return of those who had fled. The solution of the refugee problem was to be found in an over-all settlement on the lines indicated by Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 which her delegation hoped would be implemented as soon as possible.

The September 15, 1968, UNRWA Commissioner-General's heart rending, 100-page annual report opened with the following paragraph:

The year which followed the hostilities of June 1967 in the Middle East was one of new hardships and anxieties for the Palestine refugees, as they lived under the shadow of dangers and uncertainties. Those who became refugees for a second time (about 175,000), together with most of the 350,000 or more other persons newly displaced from the occupied areas of southern Syria, the west Bank of Jordan, Gaza and Sinai, were in need of the very essentials of physical survival – food, water, shelter blankets, clothing and health care and, scarcely less important, the education of their children. For many, these needs could be met only in tented camps where winter cold and storms brought additional suffering. Inhabitants of the camps in the Jordan Valley found themselves exposed to the physical danger of military action as well and fled again to the higher lands away from the Jordan Valley; for many it was their fourth move within a year.

Mr. El Kony, the delegate from the United Arab Republic, stated that the General:

“Assembly should devise means of ensuring that the refugees had access to the income from properties usurped from them by the Israel authorities and of which they alone should be the beneficiaries. It was painful for the Arab people of Palestine to find themselves living on international charity when they should be able to sustain themselves through their property in Israel.

For twenty years the Palestinians had waited in vain for the international community to expedite the implementation of the early resolutions concerning their repatriation and compensation. The only reward for their patience had been that many of them had had to suffer eviction yet again. The others, living under Israel military occupation, led a sad existence for, as the Commissioner-General's report stated, they were subject to the psychological stress of living under an occupied authority and to restrictions inseparable from military security measures.”

Following a lengthy speech by the Israeli delegate Mr. Comay, came a lengthy rebuttal by the delegate from Syria, Mr. Tomeh, who stated, “legally, the Arabs owned the land of Palestine, and conquest did not terminate that legal right.” Following Tomeh’s statements, Fayez Sayegh, who was an authority on Palestine refugees, then weighed in:

It was clear that the representative of Israel did not understand what was meant by a Palestine refugee; to him, a Palestine refugee was merely one who suffered economic privation. Economic hardship, however, was only the result of being a refugee, the result of being deprived of a home and a country. A Palestine refugee was an inhabitant of Palestine who had been evicted from his home and country against his will and barred from return. The Palestine refugees had been deprived of the opportunity to exercise self-determination on their native soil. A double standard appeared to be applied with regard to the meaning of a refugee. On the one hand, Israel and the political movement which it represented repeatedly claimed that Jews all over the world, even wealthy Jews, were refugees, living in a state of exile that would not terminate until they “returned” to Palestine, where they had never lived. Yet Israel considered the Palestine refugee, who had been expelled from his home, to be only a poor man whose suffering would end when his economic plight had been improved. ... [Zayegh] had been disappointed to note that after the previous meeting, when it had been announced that a film produced by UNRWA depicting the plight of the refugees would be shown, the entire Israel delegation had left the room, perhaps in order to avoid being disillusioned by what they would see.

After Mr. Comay made excuses about why his delegation avoided viewing UNRWA’s documentary film about the refugees at the meeting, Mr. Tomeh stated in reply: “The documentary film in question had not been produced in Hollywood, as the commercial film Exodus and a new film depicting the six-days’ war had been. The Arabs could not offer any films of that kind, only the documentary film produced by UNRWA.”

At the SPC’s second session, Ould Daddah, the delegate from Mauritania, stated “for twenty years, the United Nations had been trying in vain to put an end to that human tragedy:”

The Zionists wished people to believe that the refugees were belligerent whose only objective was the destruction of Israel. That false propaganda, spread with the help of powerful and well-organized information media, had created a psychosis that was not only anti-Palestinian, but also anti-Arab. Israel tried to make out that it was a peace-loving State, with the best of the intentions toward its neighbours; yet that State which wished to be considered “peace-loving,” whose very existence was based on a monstrous injustice, and which had once again increased its size out of all proportion.

And, it was during that second session, under special privileges adopted by the SPC on November 18<sup>th</sup> (document A/SPC/127), that the Palestine Liberation Organization was permitted to make a presentation by way of Mr. Hassan. The following is a snippet from the long summary:

“The question of Palestine was directly connected with the question of freedom itself and with the fate of liberated peoples all over the world. It was the means whereby the Arab nation could examine its ability to realize its goals, namely, political, social and economic independence. Like the struggle of the various Afro-Asian peoples against colonialism and foreign occupation, the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine was legitimate. It was similar to the struggle waged by the national resistance movements in Europe during the nazi invasion. It was a battle against a hardened ideology, namely, Zionism, and against neo-colonialism and racial discrimination. The Palestine question must therefore be viewed in its broad perspective and not simply as a question of refugees to be fed or displaced persons to be sheltered, or even of border incidents or occupied territories. The essence of the problem was that a homeland had been forcibly usurped and a people militarily uprooted. To

attempt to fragmentize an indivisible question or to consider only its humanitarian aspects was deliberately to ignore its true nature, in the hope that, with the passage of time, it would lose its crucial importance. Yet nothing would weaken Palestinian resistance to the presence of Israel. In such a vital situation which involved the entire population of a country of more than 2,5 million inhabitants and affected the Organization and the world at large, the principles of dignity, justice and freedom must be honoured and to fight to uphold them was a duty.

Palestine had been a peaceful country – the whole of it cultivated by its inhabitants. Yet Zionist propaganda had tried to give the impression that the Zionists had gone into Palestine to transform the desert into a garden on the well-known pretext of a civilizing mission. ... Zionism had been able to give the impression that it was the innocent victim and that the Arabs, although in a state of self-defence, were the aggressors. That was a lie which the Zionist-dominated information media had never ceased repeating.

The Palestine case had been the cause of three wars in the Middle East, and if it was not solved in accordance with the principles of justice, equity and morality, it would continue to be a threat to peace and security. In the absence of such a solution, the Arab population of Palestine would continue its national struggle and exercise its legitimate and national duty in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the principle of self-determination and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Since Israel had been created by colonialism, to which it was organically linked, it was difficult to imagine a struggle for the liberation of Palestine without its being also a struggle against colonialism. Palestinians today were living through a revolution whose most important goal was the victory of the forces of good over evil. It was a battle to put an end to the acts of aggression, injustice and terror and to the occupation and colonization perpetuated by the Zionists.”

At the third SPC session on Agenda Item 33, Mr. Abdalla, the delegate from Sudan, said:

The most humiliating blow to the [UN] Organization had been Israel’s admission to membership at a time when the whole nation of Palestine had been living on charity in refugee camps. The United Nations could not then escape its responsibility for rendering justice to the Palestinian people, who had every right to statehood. The United Nations Mediator on Palestine, Count Bernadotte, had declared – the day before his murder by the Zionists – that the right of innocent people uprooted by terror and war to return to their homes must be affirmed and made effective. That right had been affirmed in General Assembly resolution 194 (III) and reaffirmed in Security Council resolution 237 (1967), but it had never been made effective. Israel refused to implement any United Nations resolutions.

The United States delegation’s statement to the Committee (616th meeting) had implied that Israel was outside United Nations authority. Zionist influence on United States policy in the Middle East had become scandalous. The Zionist armed forces, encouraged by United States protection, had found war rewarding and defiance of United Nations resolutions pardonable. Clearly, the Zionists would never comply with any such resolution so long as they were protected by the United States.

At the SPC’s fifth session, on December 2<sup>nd</sup>, Fayez Sayegh recalled the resolutions adopted by UN organs on “the inherent right of the refugees to return to build their future in their homes and lands.” Those were, “notably, Security Council resolution 237 (1967), General Assembly resolutions 2252 (ES-V) and 2341 (XXII), resolution 6 (XXIV) of the Commission on Human Rights, Economic and Social Council resolution 1336 (XXIV), resolution ‘I’ adopted in May 1968 by the International Conference on Human Rights and resolution 38 adopted by the World Health Assembly at its twenty-first session.” Sayegh then stated that “all those resolutions had been thwarted by the obstinacy of one Member State: despite its seeming acquiescence, Israel did nothing but reject the international community’s wishes:”



Israel's ideology and motives remained the same and the 1967 hostilities had provided the Israelis with an opportunity to repeat their behaviour of 1948. In view of the fact that 1 million Arabs had remained in the territories occupied by Israel, the Zionists had been faced with two imperative tasks; the first, which was demographic, was to maintain Jewish predominance in the territories controlled by Israel. The second was to pursue an expansionist policy. Three ways of resolving those two problems had been proposed. The first had been suggested by **Mr. Begin**, taking South Africa and Southern Rhodesia as an example, and consisted of annexing the occupied territories without giving the inhabitants the right of citizenship. The second proposal had been made by **General Dayan** and was in the classic colonial mould, in other words, it entailed the economic integrating of the territories, which would have occupied status. The third proposal had been made by **Mr. Allon**, the Deputy Prime Minister of Israel, and consisted in the annexation and colonization of the sparsely inhabited areas of the occupied territories and the maintenance of semi-autonomous enclaves. Those three proposals obviously had only one purpose-to retain as much territory as possible with the Arab population kept to a minimum.

A member from the Palestine Arab delegation, Mr. Nakhleh, was permitted to speak to the SPC on December 5, 1968, under prior consent (document A/SPC/126). In his long delivery, he said, "the Palestine Arab refugees had rejected resolution 242 (1967) in toto and were determined to resist any settlement which deprived them of their inalienable right to self-determination and of their right to return to their ancestral homeland. They were also determined to resist any Arab State or any Arab leader who might be forced to submit to the pressure of the great Powers and might be tempted to recognize any right of sovereignty for the Jew-Khazar invaders over one square metre of Palestine soil." With regard to the UNRWA annual report A/7213, in which "the Commissioner-General was asking ... for \$42,469,000 for the 1969 budget," he said that "ten times the amount of that budget, however, would not provide the refugees with a standard of living equal to the standard they had enjoyed in their homes and homeland. The \$15 million or so provided in the budget for rations for 875,000 beneficiaries meant an expenditure of some paltry five cents per day per person."

Nakhleh "expressed his gratitude" of the UN Secretary-General's "statement made to the [Third] Committee (612<sup>th</sup> meeting) pleading the cause of the Palestine Arab refugees," where he "reminded members that in the twenty years the General Assembly had never taken any steps towards a real solution of the tragic problem of the refugees," at which time he also "invoked the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly which called for the return of the new refugees," he noted that the Secretary-General's "courageous and just statement ... had been viciously attacked by the Jewish Press in Tel Aviv and the United States." Nakhleh pointed the finger at the "governments of the United Kingdom and the United States" who had provided "assistance to the illegal Jewish racist regime which enabled the Zionists to defy the United Nations." He said, "Arab freedom fighters were being tortured, imprisoned and murdered in cold blood, or tried as common criminals, contrary to the Geneva Convention." He stated:

The Zionist spokesmen were constantly saying that the Arabs wanted to drive the Jews into the sea. Yet was it not a fact that they had themselves driven the Arab people of Palestine into the desert? Jewish propagandists such as Mr. Eban, Mr. Comay and Mr. Tekoah, whose parents or ancestors had never set foot in Palestine, were distorting facts in the most shameless manner. They justified the Jewish wars of aggression as being acts of legitimate self-defence, and the Jewish occupation and usurpation of Arab property as liberation and integration.

**The world Jewish leaders had unleashed a propaganda campaign on an unprecedented scale to endeavour to justify their monstrous crimes.** Having achieved their object and proclaimed a Jewish State, they were asking the world to forget the past and the fact that there was a Palestine or a people of Palestine. The Jews contended that international law, the Charter of the United Nations and the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples had

**no application to the Palestine problem** because the “chosen people” had been repatriated to the land of its forefathers as the fulfilment of Jehovah’s promise.

In 1955, Jewish leaders had made a secret deal with the French Government whereby they had given that Government the secrets of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, illegally obtained by Ben Gurion from Jewish scientists who had served in the United States Atomic Energy Commission. In exchange, the French Government had undertaken to build the atomic reactor in Dimona and to supply the Tel Aviv regime with all the military supplies it might need. The Jewish aggressors had refused to sign the Treaty for the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons so as to avoid all international inspection of the reactor.

During the last twelve years, from 1956 to 1968, **Jewish circles in the United States had completed their domination of United States politicians and of the United States administration**, so that the United States could protect and strengthen the Jewish colonial occupation in Palestine and block any resolution in the United Nations which might give a semblance of justice to the Arabs of Palestine. The Jews of America had thus been able to collect annually tax-free funds amounting to more than \$650 million, \$500 million of which had been poured into the coffers of the Tel Aviv clique. In addition, direct aid amounting to more than \$1,500 million [1.5 billion] had been given by the United States Government, in the form of grants and aids during the past twenty years. The United States and the world Jewish leaders had extracted from the Federal Republic of Germany, under the pretext of “atonement for German guilt against the Jews,” more than \$1,000 million [1 billion] of compensation and grants for the Tel Aviv colonial regime as well as more than \$4,000 million in compensation for the relatives of alleged Jewish victims of Nazi Germany.

**The very important principles which the General Assembly had affirmed in its resolutions dealing with apartheid, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia must be applied to the Palestine people’s national liberation movement.** The tragedy of the Palestine Arabs was even greater than that of the indigenous peoples of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. ... By their criminal war of June 1967, the Jewish colonial invaders had occupied all the territory of Palestine as well as parts of Syria and the United Arab Republic and had committed war crimes and acts of genocide against the civilian population. The Palestine national liberation movement deserved the support of all peoples who believed in peace and freedom. The Jewish usurpers dared to regard the Palestine freedom fighters as “terrorist gangs,” whereas it was the Jews themselves who had desecrated the Holy Land and had persistently carried out atrocities and acts of terrorism since 1948.<sup>156</sup>

At the following SPC meeting on December 6, the delegate from Algeria, Mr. Bouattoura:

“... recalled that Palestine had been recognized as a nation well before many other countries which today were sovereign and independent, but, unfortunately, history had not followed the same course in Palestine as in the colonized countries of Africa and Asia. It was paradoxical that, though two great concepts had emerged immediately after the Second World War, human rights on the individual level and the self-determination of peoples on the national level, the United Nations, although adhering to those two principles, had disregarded them as far as Palestine was concerned. ... The result was the tragedy of a people driven out of its native land as refugees who were even denied the status of political refugees, and who were the victims of a conspiracy which sought to destroy them as an organized society after having destroyed them as a national community.

In the SPC December 9 opening statement at the 630<sup>th</sup> meeting, the Israeli delegate Mr. Comay said: In the interests of comprehension, his [Comay’s] delegation wished to comment on the origin of the refugee problem in a spirit of sober analysis. That problem was the product neither of a diabolical Zionist plot nor of the United Nations partition decision of 1947. ... **Zionism had been launched in the late nineteenth century as the national liberation movement** of a small, battered people and

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<sup>156</sup> SPC, 628<sup>th</sup> meeting, pages 1-6, A/SPC/SR.628.

represented a unique and unbroken connexion, extending nearly 4,000 years, between the land and the people of the Bible. **It was perhaps the oldest liberation movement.**

## 8.6. The UN Declaration of Zionism and Apartheid as Co-Colonial Fusion Forces

On October 26, 1973, the UN General Assembly discussed Agenda Item 42, *Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa*, which specifically concerned South Africa's political prisoners.<sup>157</sup> The matter of apartheid, Agenda Item 42, was further considered by the Special Political Committee in October and early November 1973.

Mr. BARAKAT AHMAD (India), Rapporteur of the Special Committee on Apartheid, said that the four reports he was introducing were dismal, depressing and disconcerting. **The list of United Nations resolutions on apartheid, most of which remained unimplemented, ran to more than five pages.** The annual report of the Special Committee on Apartheid to the General Assembly as contained in document A/9022. The three reports contained in documents A/9168, A/9169 and A/9180 represented an attempt by the Special Committee to make a contribution to the search for an effective strategy of struggle against the apartheid regime and its policies. The reports were in many ways unusual.

In 1973 the [Special] Committee [on Apartheid] had taken an important step by approaching Governments at the highest possible level. Meetings had been held with the foreign ministers and other high Government officials of several countries with historical, political, economic and other ties with South Africa which the Committee felt might be persuaded to sympathize with its point of view. The visit by a delegation from the Special Committee to the Federal Republic of Germany (ibid., paras. 164-170) was particularly significant in that respect. Further such high-level consultations were envisaged for the coming year; preliminary consultations during the current session of the General Assembly had been most encouraging. The Committee had again launched an earnest appeal to Member States from Western Europe, North America and Australasia: to reconsider their attitudes and to join the Committee, which had two vacancies to be filled from those groups.<sup>158</sup>

The Special Political Committee expanded the October 26 UN plenary resolution, assembling seven additional draft resolutions for adoption by the General Assembly.

The seven draft resolutions deal with various aspects of the question and outline various courses of action aimed at bringing the policy of apartheid to an end. These draft resolutions were adopted with overwhelming majorities and in some cases with unanimity. The texts thereof are contained in paragraph 28 of the report. The Committee recommends them to the General Assembly for adoption by a large majority.<sup>159</sup>

In the early afternoon of Friday, December 14, 1973, during the final discussion of Agenda Item 42, *Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa*, at the 2,201<sup>st</sup> plenary meeting of the General

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<sup>157</sup> In April 1973, the city of Oslo, Norway, hosted the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in South Africa. Document A/9061, *International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid in South Africa*, May 7, 1973. In Appendix III of A/9061, the president of Tunisia, Habib Bourguiba, said in a message to the conference: "Of all the ills that still afflict mankind, colonialism and apartheid unquestionably give rise to the greatest concern. The exploitation of one human being by another is compounded by racial discrimination which excites hatred and intensifies violence. For the victims of colonialism in southern Africa, the outrages of that system against their dignity and their very persons are a daily event. The same is true for those under the Israeli yoke in Palestine and the occupied Arab territories."

<sup>158</sup> A/SPC/SR.859, Special Political Committee meeting 859, October 9, 1973.

<sup>159</sup> A/PV 2201, 2201<sup>st</sup> plenary meeting, December 14, 1973, page 10.



Assembly, Mr. Ndabaniwe, the delegate from Burundi and “a sponsor” of the draft resolution, introduced a two-paragraph supplement, under draft sub-Resolution ‘G’:

“My delegation proposes that after the sixth paragraph of the preamble the Assembly should add the following:

“Emphasizing the collusion between Portuguese colonialism, **the apartheid regime and zionism**, as exemplified by the political, military and financial aid supplied to each other by Portugal, South Africa and Israel.”

And after operative paragraph 4, my delegation would propose that the following be added:

“Condemns, in particular, the **unholy alliance between Portuguese colonialism, South African racism, Zionism and Israeli imperialism.**”<sup>160</sup>

The commonalities and shared ideologies between colonial South African apartheid and the settler colonial Zionist Israel project had been observed and noted since 1948. Those observances, followed upon by numerous, separate, ongoing investigations by United Nations’ organs, were distilled and crystallized over time, noted and documented by academic intellectuals like Fayez Sayegh. Although the international media, under pressure by Israeli and Christian Zionist influences, generally shepherded attention more towards the condemnation of South African apartheid, and although Member States representatives at the United Nations, like Canada, often openly criticized South African apartheid, the UN special committee organs condemned both, equally. The investigative reports of both regimes were piling up, accumulating. By the early 1970s investigative committees and rapporteurs were forensically reporting on the many links – political, military, economic, and discriminatory – between the two Member States, as the United Nations sought to introduce boycott programs against South Africa. By 1973, especially following Israel’s October 1973 military engagement, the subject matter and the pronouncements became ever more serious.

Mr. Ndabaniwe, the delegate from Burundi, went on to say:

It is a fact that this Assembly has always condemned those forces which support apartheid in South Africa. **The attitude of Portugal and South Africa after the [Israeli] war of 6 October has proved that the Tel Aviv – Pretoria – Lisbon axis is a reality.** It is hardly necessary to dwell on the multifarious assistance which South Africa and Portugal give each other in order to perpetuate their domination over the peoples of southern Africa and to continue to plunder their enormous wealth. Everyone is aware that during the recent Middle Eastern war, Portugal made its territory available to planes which were ferrying men, material and all sorts of weapons to Israel.

On 14 October last the Minister of Defence of South Africa justified the collaboration and the alliance between Israel and South Africa by stating the following: first, that the peoples of South Africa and Israel were fighting against the same enemy; secondly, that South Africa would not fail to provide Israel with all necessary assistance; and thirdly, that South Africa was playing the role of a responsible sentinel for the security of shipping round Africa, that Israel would play the same part in connexion with navigation through the Suez Canal, and that both countries were thus providing an equal service to the West. It should be added that this statement was made immediately after the official visit to Israel of a member of the South African Government, who was received with great ceremony.

I should like to say in conclusion, and for what it is worth, that most of the sponsors of this draft resolution have been contacted and have agreed to the amendments which I have just read out. I should like to say also that the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, at its eighth extraordinary session in Addis Ababa, from 19 to 21 November last, unanimously adopted a

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<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

resolution along these lines. I am convinced that the adoption of these two amendments I have just put forward would result only in filling a regrettable gap in the draft resolution.

What the sponsors of the draft resolution did by adding the supplement to part 'G' on short notice was a brilliant and necessary strategic move. It caught the Israeli delegates by surprise, and Israeli delegate Mr. Doron then attempted to argumentatively negate its inclusion for plenary committee adoption citing inappropriate use of Rules. The sponsors of the supplement had anticipated the Israeli arguments, and the inclusion of the supplement was subsequently adopted on the same day, December 14, 1973. Its adoption happened to coincide with the General Assembly's launch of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination that came into force a few days previous, the Decade of Action that led to two UN international conferences in 1978 and 1983 which both the United States and Israel boycotted.

Just before the voting procedures for the adoption of the Resolution's separate items 'A' through 'G,' Mr. Hicks, the representative of Canada, who voted against item 'G,' addressed the Assembly:

The delegation of Canada believes that amendments of the kind proposed by the representative of Burundi are not appropriate or helpful in dealing with the question of apartheid in South Africa. The policies of apartheid, as practised in South Africa are repugnant to virtually all Member States of the United Nations, and my delegation has supported in the Special Political Committee, and will support here this morning, all the draft resolutions concerning those policies except draft resolution G, on which, for reasons explained in the Special Political Committee, we abstained. Those reasons had to do particularly with the provisions of this draft resolution which might be interpreted as approving a resort to violence and the principle of **isolating or excluding a country from the international community, a principle with which Canada disagrees even though we may not agree with all the policies and practices of the country in question.** ... At least in its form then, the draft resolution dealt largely with one subject and one country. **The amendments now before us would include general and wide-ranging references to several other policies and principles and to several other countries and do not relate to the question of the policy of apartheid in South Africa.** We do not think those changes are appropriate additions to a draft resolution dealing with apartheid, and accordingly, we shall vote against the amendment and, in any event, abstain in the vote on the main draft resolution, as we did in the Special Political Committee.

Moments before the vote on sub-item 'G' was adopted, the delegate from Israel, Mr. Doron, said:

Let me sound a note of warning, behind these attacks on Israel and on Zionism lurks a basic, primitive anti-Semitism, and let no one come up with that cheap pseudo-ethnologic gimmick that Arabs cannot by definition be anti-Semitic because they are Semites themselves. Everybody knows that anti-Semitism is commonly and clearly understood to mean anti-Jewishness. ... This amendment is a mean and hypocritical text.

After the adoption of Agenda Item 42, Mr. Ogbu, the delegate from Nigeria, and the UN chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid, made a long, summary presentation.

We are deeply conscious that the decisions on apartheid adopted by the General Assembly at this session are not routine actions. The Assembly has given a new dimension to the role of the United Nations and the international community in the effort for the total eradication of the inhuman policy of apartheid which has been of ever-increasing international concern for a quarter of a century. ... Today, it has further declared categorically that the South African regime has no right. to represent the people of South Africa.

Many Member States have tolerated the presence of this racist regime – which represents at most a majority of the white minority in South Africa – in the hope that it can be persuaded by the pressure of international opinion to abandon its disastrous course and seek a just and peaceful solution to the situation in that country. But that regime has proved to be utterly intransigent. Even now it is continuing and intensifying its brutal repression of the black people of South Africa and resorting to threats against neighbouring States.

The General Assembly has also adopted the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid [resolution 3068 (XXVIII)]. We consider this step long overdue. We can no more rest content with annual condemnations of the ever-increasing brutality inflicted on the millions of people of South Africa, the repeated defiance of the United Nations and the constant aggravation of the threat to international peace and security in southern Africa.

The General Assembly has now taken a firm position and given clear guidance to the Special Committee, to Governments and to organizations. ... It has defined apartheid as a crime against humanity and called for total isolation of the criminals. It has thus clearly delineated the course of further international action and called for maximum international involvement in the effort.

It was Mr. Teymour, the delegate from Egypt, that had the final parting words:

It certainly hurts him [the delegate from Israel] very much to hear that in a resolution presented in Addis Ababa last November the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of South Africa condemned Zionism and considered it a reflection of apartheid, as well as of the hideous policy and system of the Portuguese colonialists.

I should like to quote another Zionist source about Zionism. I have said this previously, but I should like to repeat it. Mr. Ginewsky, a French Zionist writer, the author of *Israel devant l'Afrique et la Vie*, has published *The Two Faces of Apartheid*, in which he advances a new theory in support of apartheid. "Apartheid, with its Bantustan concept" argues Ginewsky, was nothing more than **Bantu-Zionism**. I do not want to go into the whole text because it would take a long time, but this reflects what the Zionists themselves think about Zionism. It is another Bantu system. It is a Bantu Zionism. It is a replica of Zionism. It is the other face of the same coin, apartheid and Zionism.

I should like to quote also what The Christian Science Monitor said on 4 February 1972, under the heading "Zionist and South Africa:"

"In response to the question of why African Jewry had not taken a stand against apartheid, a recent letter by Richard Stevens states "Prime Minister Verwoerd says the Jews took Palestine from the Arabs who inhabited the country for over one thousand years. Israel is exactly like South Africa, an apartheid State. If the Jews [will] denounce the policy of separate developments here people will ask why the policy of separate development pursued by Israel should be justified there."

That was said by The Rand Daily Mail on 23 November 1961.

I should like to tell the Assembly what the relationship between Zionism and the hideous apartheid of South Africa is, because this seems to hurt the representative of Israel very much. "One thousand millionaires gathered for Israel." That was reported by The African World on 22 September 1973. It says: "Israel serves as a very useful base for South African factories that cannot supply to the African countries. These were the words of South African businessman Benny Weinstein during a recent conference in Israel of over 1,000 industrialists and businessmen, virtually all of them millionaires."



I do not want to go into the whole article, but I should like just to give another quote to show the Assembly what was said in 1971, in a document of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid:

“Other reports in the press indicate that there is a remarkably close if little known partnership between Israel and South Africa. According to an article published in The New York Times, South Africa manufactured the Uzi sub-machine gun under licence. Official secrecy surrounding military matters is strict, but rumours circulating in Johannesburg indicate that after the Israelis secured plans of the French Mirage fighter engine through agents in Switzerland, they improved it and made blue-prints available to the local authorities. [Document A/AC.115/L.285/Add.2]

For the first time in United Nations resolution history, it included the word ‘Zionism’ and equated it with South African racism and imperialism. This was the springboard, the originating moment, that eventually led to the adoption of Resolution #3379 on November 10, 1975, equating Zionism with racism on its own. From this moment forward, many were now free to openly state the association.

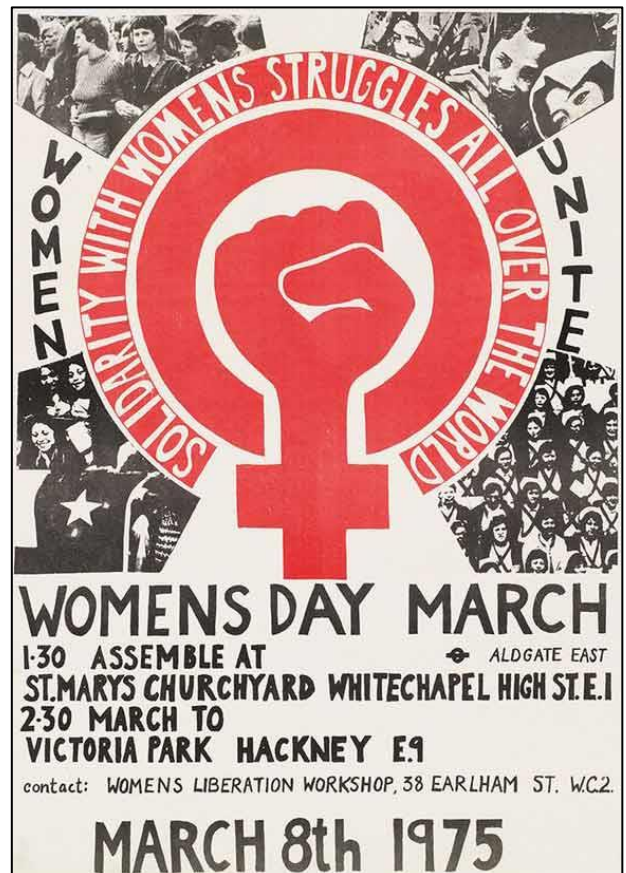
### 8.7. Mexico City: The 1975 Zionism as Racial Discrimination Pivot Point

Exactly three months before draft resolution 3379 was submitted by the UN’s Third Committee, the World Conference of the International Women’s Year, held in Mexico City from June 19 to July 2, 1975, passed a Declaration and a resolution with contextual phrases condemning Zionism. The forum was sponsored by the United Nations following its December 18, 1972, resolution # 3010, proclaiming “1975 as International Women’s Year,” a year “to be devoted to intensified action ... promoting equality between men and women, ensuring the integration of women in the total development effort, and increasing the contribution of women to the strengthening of world peace.”

At the forum, the delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organization distributed a letter from Yasser Arafat, the Chairman of the PLO executive committee. The letter, dated June 23, 1975, stated:

“The task of the Conference, we believe, is to guarantee not solely the rights of women but all human rights without discrimination. The Palestinian people have been suffering occupation and the denial of human rights. The Israeli occupation forces continue their inhuman and barbaric acts against our people; they persistently disregard the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the Geneva Conventions in addition to a complete disregard of all resolutions adopted by the various commissions and organs of the United Nations.”

“To the delegates we appeal that they raise their voice and condemn and put an end to the practices of the occupation forces against hundreds of our women and thousands of our men held arbitrarily in Israeli prisons under torture and inhuman conditions. We appeal to the delegates to support us in our struggle to regain our inalienable national rights in Palestine and in particular the right to return and



the right to self-determination and the right to national independence and sovereignty. We know that the Conference is aware and conscious of the fact that under alien domination progress is hindered. The Palestinian woman can fulfil her part, in all fields of development and progress, in a concrete way once her occupied homeland is liberated.”



A June 27, 1975, Israeli delegation letter for conference circulation, signed by Zina Harman, the deputy head of Israel’s delegation, stated the following:

“The presence and participation by representatives of the P.L.O. in the work of any United Nations organ or conference, is contrary to both the letter and the spirit of the United Nations Charter and the general principles of International Law.

It is enough to glance at the Purposes and Principles enshrined in the Charter to realize the absurd situation created by the participation of the P.L.O. in the work of the United Nations or of any body under United Nations auspices. The avowed objectives of the P.L.O. are to destroy Israel, to deprive its people of their independence, sovereignty, self-determination and equality with other nations.

An organization such as the P.L.O., which deliberately sets out to murder children in school-buses and in their homes or in the markets, should not be permitted to participate in the deliberations of this Conference. In these circumstances, the delegation of Israel wishes to place on record its strongest protest and objection to the participation in the work of this Conference of representatives of the P.L.O.”

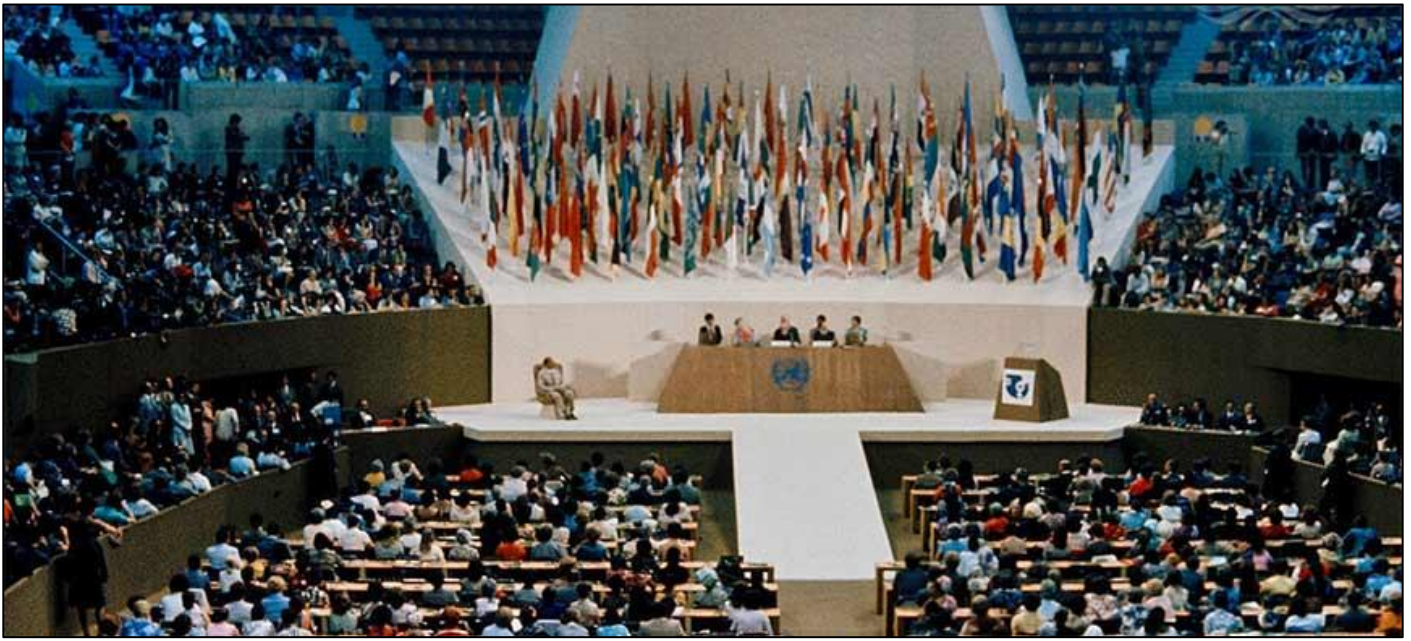
ISRAEL	
<u>Head of Delegation</u>	Mrs. Lea Rabin
<u>Deputy Head of Delegation</u>	Mrs. Zena Harman
<u>Representatives</u>	
Mrs. Shoshana Arbeli-Almozlino	Member of Knesset (Parliament)
Mrs. Pnina Herzog	President of National Council of Women
Mrs. En'am Zu'bi	President of Women's Club of the Working Women's Council, Nazareth
<u>Alternate Representatives</u>	
Mrs. Ada Cohen	Attaché Embassy of Israel, Washington, D.C.
Mr. Hanan Aynor	Ambassador Plenipotentiary and Extraordinary Embassy of Israel, Mexico
<u>Advisers</u>	
Mr. Jacob Doron	Ambassador, Permanent Mission of Israel to U.N. New York
Mr. Victor Harel	First Secretary, Israel Embassy, Mexico
Miss Yael Katzir	
Mr. Tuwia Livne	

In the International Women’s Year Declaration,<sup>161</sup> it repeatedly emphasized the disqualification of Zionism, apartheid, racism, colonialism, racial discrimination, etc. It stated in the Declaration preamble:

Taking into account the role played by women in the history of humanity, especially in the struggle for national liberation, the strengthening of international peace, and the elimination of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, foreign occupation, **Zionism**, alien domination, racism and apartheid,

<sup>161</sup> Published as a United Nations report E/Conf.66/34, *Report of the World Conference of the International Women’s Year, Mexico City, 19 June – 2 July 1975.*





... Recognizing that women of the entire world, whatever differences exist between them, share the painful experience of receiving or having received unequal treatment, and that as their awareness of this phenomenon increases they will become natural allies in the struggle against any form of oppression, such as is practised under colonialism, neo-colonialism, **Zionism**, racial discrimination and apartheid, thereby constituting an enormous revolutionary potential for economic and social change in the world today.

The International Women’s Declaration included the following “principles” for ‘promulgation:’

24. International co-operation and peace require the achievement of national liberation and independence, the elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism, foreign occupation, **Zionism**, apartheid, and racial discrimination in all its forms as well as the recognition of the dignity of peoples and their right to self-determination.

26. Women and men together should eliminate colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, foreign domination and occupation, **Zionism**, apartheid, racial discrimination, the acquisition of land by force and the recognition of such acquisition, since such practices inflict incalculable suffering on women, men and children.



**Wherefore, The World Conference of the International Women’s Year:** 1. Affirms its faith in the objectives of the International Women’s Year, which are equality, development and peace; 2. Proclaims its commitment to the achievement of such objectives; 3. **Strongly urges Governments, the entire United Nations system, regional and international intergovernmental organisations and the international community as a whole to dedicate themselves to the creation of a just society where women, men and children can live in dignity, freedom, justice and prosperity.**

In a discussion of the voting procedure of the Draft Declaration explained on page 152 of the 1976 UN Women’s Conference report, the representative from Israel requested a separate roll-call vote on the



inclusion of “Zionism” in the quoted texts above: “**It was decided, by 61 votes to 23, with 25 abstentions, to retain the word.**” Voting against were: “Australia, Belgium, **Canada**, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Germany (Federal Republic of), Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay.”

Under Chapter 3, *Resolutions and Decision* Adopted by the Conference, **Resolution 32, Palestinian Arab Women**, the Resolution stated, in part:

Deeply concerned about the prevailing conditions – political, social, demographic and economic – of the Palestinian people and, in particular, the conditions under which the Palestinian woman lives, and recognizing the close relationship between such conditions and the question of Palestine,

Reaffirming the futility of speaking about equality of human beings at a time when millions of human beings are suffering under the yoke of colonialism,

Considering that international co-operation and peace require national independence and liberation, the elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism, fascism, **Zionism**, apartheid and foreign occupation, alien domination and racial discrimination in all its forms and also respect for human rights,

Deeply concerned that no just solution to the problem of Palestine has yet been achieved and recognizing that the problem of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East continue to endanger international peace and world security,

Expressing its grave concern that the Palestinian woman and people have been prevented from enjoying their inalienable rights, and in particular their right to return to their homes and property from which they have been displaced and uprooted, the right to self-determination and the right to national independence and sovereignty,

Recalling General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974 and resolution 3281 (XXIX) of 12 December 1974 adopting the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States,

Recalling the final resolutions and declarations of the regional seminars held in Mogadishu, Kinshasa and Caracas,

1. Appeals to all women of the world to proclaim their solidarity with and support for the Palestinian women and people in their drive to put an end to flagrant violations of fundamental human rights committed by occupied territories;
2. Appeals also to all women in the world to take the necessary measures to secure the release of thousands of persons, fighters for the cause of self-determination, liberation and independence, held arbitrarily in the prisons of the forces of occupation;
3. Appeals also to all States and international organizations to extend assistance - moral and material - to the Palestinian and Arab woman and people in their struggle against Zionism, foreign occupation and alien domination, foreign aggression, and help them restore their inalienable rights in Palestine, and in particular the right to return to their homes and property from which they have been displaced and uprooted, the right to self-determination and the right to national independence and sovereignty in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;

4. Requests the United Nations, its organs and specialized agencies, as well as all national, regional and international women's organizations, to extend their help - moral and material - to the Palestinian woman and its organization and institutes.

In a discussion of draft Resolution 32 (E/CONF.66/L.6)<sup>162</sup> during the 16<sup>th</sup> First Committee session of the Women's Conference, "a separate vote was taken by roll-call on the fifth preambular paragraph," concerning the word "Zionism:" "Considering that international co-operation and peace require national independence and liberation, the elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism, fascism, **Zionism**, apartheid and foreign occupation, alien domination and racial discrimination in all its forms and also respect for human rights." The Conference report stated that "the Committee adopted the entire paragraph by 65 votes to 13, with 34 abstentions."<sup>163</sup> Those nation representatives who voted against it were: "Bahamas, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Iceland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America." During another vote by the Conference's Second Committee regarding Resolution 32, the Israel representative requested a roll-call vote on its entirety. The resolution was passed by "71 votes to 3, with 40 abstentions." The three nation votes against were, "Bahamas, Israel, United States of America."

### **8.8. The 1975 Resolutions on Palestine by the Organization of African Unity**

The website, [Black Agenda Report](#), notes that the African Union "was unable to nullify" Israel's observer status at the United Nations in February 2024, "after the South African government" had taken Israel "to the International Court of Justice for genocide." The website reflected on the African Union's predecessor, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which "had taken an important stance against Zionism and racism." It states that "by 1973, when Zionism was condemned as racism and linked with South Africa's apartheid policy by the member states of the United Nations, African countries began severing their relationships" with Israel, "the rogue regime." By 1975, at the OAU's Twelfth Ordinary Session held in Kampala from July 28 to August 1, its Assembly of Heads of State and Government passed a "resolution of the Question of Palestine," (AHG/Res. 77 XII).

However, there was not just one resolution adopted, but a second, the "resolution on the Middle East and Occupied Arab Territories" (AHG/Res. 76 XII). Both resolutions were similar to the two resolutions adopted a month later by the Non-Aligned Countries' conference in Lima, Peru, described below. In fact, the Peru Conference resolutions appear to be based on the OAU's resolutions. This makes perfect sense, since the member states of the OAU were also members of the Non-Aligned Countries.

#### **1. Resolution on the Middle East and Occupied Arab Territories**

Having heard the statements delivered during the Session of the Council of Ministers by the representatives of the Arab Republic of Egypt and the PLO and other delegations,

Having received the report of the OAU Administrative Secretary-General (CM/660 and 660 Add. I (XXV)),

Recalling resolution AHG/res. 67 (IX), AHG/Res. 70 (X), CM/Res. 332 (XXIII), as well as the resolution CM/Res. 393 (XXIV), and the declaration concerning Palestine and the Middle East, CM/ST.14 (XXIV),

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<sup>162</sup> The final Resolution 32 was previously Resolution 26 (XXVI) during Second Committee draft discussions.

<sup>163</sup> Germany later "informed the Committee that his vote on the fifth preambular paragraph should have been registered as a negative vote rather than as an abstention."

Guided by the principles and objectives of the Charter of the OAU and the UN and by the common destiny of the Arab and African peoples, as well as their continuous struggle, for their rights, freedom, peace and independence.

Noting with deep concern the constant deterioration of the situation in the Middle East as a result of Israel's persistent policy of aggression and refusal to abide by the United Nations resolutions together with its continued aggression on the Arab people within and outside the occupied Arab territories, and its continuous obstruction of every effort to achieve a just and durable peace, with the aim of gaining time and imposing a fait-accompli to establish aggression and occupation,

Reaffirming that just and permanent peace in Palestine and the Middle East can only be attained on the basis of complete Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories and the exercise by the Palestinians of their full national rights to sovereignty, national independence and self-determination,

Asserting that continued Israeli occupation of Arab lands by force and violation of the national rights of Palestinian people are, in themselves, a continued aggression and a serious threat to the security, the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of Arab countries and peoples,

Deeply concerned by the invalidity and illegitimacy of the measures taken by Israel to alter the human geographical and cultural features in the occupied Arab territories with the aim of Judaization of Jerusalem and other parts of occupied Arab territories,

Convinced that owing to Israel's continued violation of the principles of the UN Charter and its continued aggression against Arab countries and the Palestinian people, it is time to apply the sanctions stipulated by the Charter of the UN against Israel,

Further convinced of the necessity for the OAU to adopt adequate and practical measures to confront the Zionist enemy's continued aggression and violation:

1. REAFFIRMS its total and effective support for the frontline states and the Palestinian people in their legitimate struggle to restore all the occupied territories and usurped rights by every possible means;
2. CONDEMNS Israel's policy of aggression, expansion, and annexation of Arab territories by force, and its attempts to alter their demographic, geographic, economic and cultural features;
3. CONDEMNS Israel's continued refusal to abide by the resolution of the United Nations and its deliberation, obstruction, by all means of maneuvering, of every effort exerted to establish a just and permanent peace in the area;
4. FURTHER CONDEMNS the persistent policy of repression pursued by Israeli occupation authorities against Arab inhabitants in the occupied Arab territories, as well as its persistent violation of their human rights, and its violation of the 1949 Geneva Convention, in particular the fourth, concerning the protection of civilian inhabitants, and its barbaric attacks and raids of refugee camps and bombardment of civilians targets in the towns and villages of Southern Lebanon in violation of all principles of international and human laws;
5. STRONGLY CONDEMNS the attitude of the States supplying Israel with assistance, arms and means of killing and destruction, and holds that the real purpose underlying the flooding of Israel with such enormous quantities of weaponry is to establish it as an advanced case of racism and



colonialism in the heart of the Arab and African World and the Third World and further considering that any aid or support to Israel is actually an encouragement and a participation in the consolidation of Israeli occupation and persistent aggression;

6. REAFFIRMS once more its resolution CM/Res. 20 of the Eighth Extra-Ordinary Session;

7. INVITES all African States to extend all possible potentialities available in the African World to the Arab confrontation powers so as to reinforce their struggle against the Zionist aggression;

8. CALLS UPON all OAU Member States to take the most appropriate measures to intensify pressures exercised against ISRAEL at the UN and other Institutions, including the possibility of eventually depriving it of its status as member of these Institutions.

9. CONSIDERS Zionism a danger to world peace, and decides to organize an information campaign in which all African information media participate to unmask the racist aggressive nature of the Zionist entity in a continuous and planned manner, and to confront and refute all Zionist misleading propaganda campaign aimed at arousing hostility against both the Arab and African Worlds;

10. REQUEST the OAU Administrative Secretary-General to closely follow up developments in the Middle East and to report thereon to the 26th Session of the Council of Ministers and decides to keep the situation in the Middle East as one of the agenda of the next Session of the OAU Council of Ministers.

## **2. Resolution of the Question of Palestine**

Recalling the resolution adopted by the OAU Council of Ministers at its Twenty Fourth Ordinary Session held in Addis Ababa from February 13 – 21 1975,

Guided by the principles and provisions of the Charter of the OAU and the UN, and noting with appreciation the heroic sacrifices of the Palestine people in the face of the Zionist aggression for the liberation of Palestine,

Having studied the developments of the Palestine cause and the grave situation arising from the continued occupation by Israel of Arab territories, its usurpation of the legitimate rights of the Palestine people, its refusal to abide by the United Nations resolutions in this respect, particularly United Nations General Assembly Resolution No. 3236 adopted at its 29th Session, its denial of the national rights of the Palestine people in Palestine, including their return to their homeland, their right to recover their property and to self-determination without any foreign intervention, and having likewise condemned the continued Israeli usurpation of Palestine and the dispersal of its people,

Considering that this situation constitutes a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and Resolutions as well as of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and that its continuation represents a grave threat to international peace and security,

Considering that the Palestinian question is the root cause of the struggle against the Zionist enemy,

Reasserting the legality of the struggle of the Palestine people for the restoration of their full national rights,

Considering that the racist regime in occupied Palestine and the racist regimes in Zimbabwe and South Africa have a common imperialist origin, forming a whole and having the same racist structure

and being organically linked in their policy aimed at repression of the dignity and integrity of the human being,

Expressing its conviction that the military, economic, political and moral support of Israel by a member of states, notably the U.S., enables it to persist in its policy of aggression and to further reinforce its usurpation of Palestine and its occupation of Arab territories,

Considering that maintaining relations with Israel in the political, economic, trade, communication and other domains assists it to reinforce its usurpation of Palestine and to persist in its expansionist policy of aggression,

Considering that the continuation of the membership of Israel in the United Nations contradicts the principles and Charter of the United Nations and encourages Israel to ignore UN resolutions and to collude with various racist, expansionist and aggressive regimes,

1. DECIDES:

a) to provide full and effective support to the Palestine people in their legitimate struggle to restore their national rights, including:

- Their right to return to their homeland, Palestine, and to recover their property,
- Their right to self-determination without any foreign intervention,
- Their right to sovereignty over their territory,
- Their right to establish their independent national authority.

b) To work in all domains to concretise recognition of these rights and ensure respect for them, The Member States of the OAU also undertake to adopt all appropriate measures towards that end;

c) that the OAU Liberation Committee and the Palestine Liberation Organization should jointly lay down a strategy aiming at liberating Palestine, considering that the cause of Palestine is an African cause;

2. CALLS upon all Member States to support the people of Palestine by every means in its Struggle against Zionist racist colonialism to restore their full national rights. Member States, moreover, assert that restitution of their rights is an essential condition for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East;

3. CALLS upon the United Nations to work for the application of Resolution 3236 adopted by the General Assembly at its 29th Session;

4. REASSERTS that the Palestine Liberation Organization is the sole legal representative of the Palestine people and their legitimate struggle;

5. REQUESTS Member States to implement the pertinent resolutions of previous OAU Summits and Foreign Ministers Conferences on the Palestinian Cause as soon as possible;

6. REITERATES that it is desirable, in order to ensure the success of the PLO in its struggle to concretize the future of the Palestinian People's State, to provide it with all facilities and opportunities to intensify its contact with the governments of Member States;

7. CONDEMNS Israel's violation of human rights in the occupied Arab territories and its refusal to implement the Geneva Convention of 1949 on the protection of civilians in times of war, its policy of judaizing the physical and cultural aspects of the occupied territories and considers that such acts and behavior are war crimes and a challenge to mankind at large;

8. CONSIDERS that all the measures adopted by Israel in the occupied Arab territories and designed to alter their demographic, geographical, social, cultural and economic aspects – including those aiming at judaizing the Holy City of Jerusalem are null and void and that under no circumstances can these measures or their consequences be recognized;
9. CONDEMNS all States that provide military, economic and human support to Israel, and calls upon them to desist from doing so forthwith;
10. CALLS UPON all countries that have not yet done so, to sever political, cultural and economic relations with Israel;
11. CALLS UPON all OAU Member States to take all appropriate measures to intensify pressure against Israel at the United Nations and the other Agencies, including the possibility of eventually depriving it of its status as a Member of these Agencies;
12. DECIDES to inscribe the item of the “Question of Palestine” on the Agenda of the 26th Session of the Council;
13. REQUESTS the Secretary-General to submit a report on the developments of the question of the question of Palestine to the next Session.

### **8.9. United Declaration of War Against Zionism: the August 1975 Lima, Peru Resolutions**

On September 5, 1975, Peru’s ambassador, Javier Perez de Cuellar, forwarded to the UN General Assembly copies of a 120-page report, *Lima Programme for Mutual Assistance and Solidarity*. Translated into four languages, it contained the proceedings of the recently held Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Lima, Peru from August 25 to 30. <sup>164</sup> Delegates from 81 nation member states, observer delegations from 14 nation states, and 9 invited nation states as “guests,” <sup>165</sup> attended the international conference.

Hot on the tail of the July 1975 International Women’s Conference in Mexico, the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held in Peru in late August 1975 **amounted to a declaration of war upon Zionism by close to half the world’s nation states**. The Conference of Ministers’ declaration and resolution statements, now open for the world to read and ponder, was a direct threat to the Zionist Israel colonial project. The Non-Aligned states also specifically condemned the United States, and by association, most of the NATO membership. This became a serious problem for those so accused.

Such a bold, politically unified, strategic move was also unprecedented. This context helps one to understand the electrifying mechanics behind the introduction and adoption of United Nations Resolution 3379. As Fayeze Sayegh would state on October 17, 1975, Zionism was “not a concept which has no precise definition.” It didn’t come out of thin air.

The conference document opened with its 95-item declaration, beginning with the following item:

Non-Aligned Countries have become through their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, Zionism, apartheid and any other form of foreign domination one of the decisive elements in the significant changes that are taking place in international relations. With their

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<sup>164</sup> A/10217, originally referenced by the Conference of Ministers as NAC/FM/CONF.5/15.

<sup>165</sup> Australia, Austria, Finland, Guatemala, Honduras, Philippines, Portugal, Romania, and Sweden.



action in favour of peace, freedom and independence, the liberation of peoples, for a new world economic order and for the democratisation of international relations the Non-Aligned Countries have increased their influence and responsibility.

Item numbers 12 and 13 stated the following:

The Lima Conference is taking place at a time when the world situation is basically characterised by the successes of historical movements for national liberation and of progressive forces within a process of “détente” which is still limited in its scope by the hardening of hegemonic and imperialistic pretensions in all their manifestations as a reaction against the political awakening of the peoples of the Non-Aligned and other developing countries and by the deterioration of the world economic situation as a consequence of the old and inequitable international order.

The Meeting of Foreign Ministers in Lima takes place at a time when the peoples in Asia and Africa commemorate the 20th anniversary of the historic [1955] Bandung Conference of Asian and African Nations that formulated the Ten Principles of Bandung, which have constituted a tremendous moral force for the colonial peoples in their struggle for national independence and are recognized as principles for peaceful coexistence and cooperation.

Item 15, identified the following:

There is a series of persisting conflicts and tensions in which imperialist policies and persistent unpunished aggression prevent the application of formulae for a true solution, as in the case of the Middle East and Palestine, Cyprus, South Africa and the situations of alien domination and dependence which still exist in Latin America, Asia and Africa.

Items 37 to 39:

The Conference took note with concern of the recent visit of the head of the racist regime of South Africa to Uruguay and Paraguay, as well as of the increasing relations of other governments of Latin America, particularly the Chilean government, with the South African regime. The Conference is deeply concerned over the growing cooperation between the racist regimes of South Africa and Israel, particularly in the military, political, diplomatic, economic, and cultural fields. The participants deem it necessary to invite the attention of the international community to the fact that the United States, France and the United Kingdom have made simultaneous use of their veto power in favour of the racist regime of South Africa, twice in a period of six months, in order to thwart the will of the majority of the members of the United Nations.

Item 46:

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs welcome the overthrow of the colonialist regime in Portugal. They express their satisfaction at the Portuguese Government’s positive attitude towards the decolonization of its former African territories.

Item 48:

The situation in Palestine and the Middle East continues to constitute a serious threat to international peace and security. Israel’s obstinacy to pursue its occupation of the Arab territories and its disregard of the national rights of the Palestinian people, constitutes a permanent aggression and a systematic violation of the principles which govern the international community, the Charter and the Resolutions of the United Nations, as well as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Items 50 to 52:

The Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs strongly condemns all those powers and in particular the United States of America which continues to afford military, economic, political and moral support to Israel, and calls for the immediate cessation of such aid. This massive support to the racist Zionist regime eliminates all doubts as to the deliberate intention of United States and other imperialist powers to make Israel a base of colonialism and imperialism within the Third World, and use it to break the liberation movements, consolidate racist regimes, threaten peace and security in the developing countries and plunder their natural resources.

In this regard, the Conference expresses its deep concern at these maneuvers of Zionism and Colonialism, which tend to dilute the efforts exerted in the search for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and whose objective is none other than to prolong Israel's occupation of Arab territories conquered by force and to deny the national rights of the Palestinian people.

The Conference expresses that any steps that may be taken by way of partial or interim solution should by no means prejudice the national and legitimate rights of the people of Palestine to return to its homeland and exercise its self-determination or to a total and immediate withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories,

Item 54:

The Conference considers that the interest of security and peace in the world rests on the immediate implementation of relevant United Nations resolutions and reiterates that a just and durable peace in the Middle East must be based on the two following principles:

1. The immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all the territories occupied since June 5, 1967;
2. The exercise by the Palestinian people of all their national rights, including their right to return to their country and to self-determination and political independence.

Items 56 to 59:

By its continuing aggression against Arab countries and by its persistent violations of the UN Charter and Resolutions, Israel has isolated itself from the international community. The time has come for the Non-Aligned Countries to consider other measures against Israel, in conformity with the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Non-Aligned Countries demand therefore, that the United Nations Security Council, in compliance with its responsibilities, take all necessary measures, including those contemplated in Chapter VII of the Charter in order to force Israel to cease its aggression and its violations and implement all UN Resolutions concerning the Palestinian and the Middle East question.

The Conference most severely condemns Zionism as a threat to world peace and security and calls upon all countries to oppose this racist and imperialistic ideology.

The Conference reaffirms its satisfaction on the recognition by the General Assembly of the United Nations of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole representative of the Palestinian people and welcomes the resolutions which grant the PLO the status of Observer in the United Nations Organization and reaffirm the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, which must be taken into account in any solution to the Middle East problem. It welcomes the admission of the PLO

as a full member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries which constitutes a new expression of the firm solidarity of the Non-Aligned Countries with the heroic struggle of this people for its inalienable national rights.

The Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries adopted 13 Resolutions, one of which pertained to South Africa. The following two pertained to Palestine:

### **1. Resolution VIII – The Middle East and the Occupied Arab Territories**

Having heard the statements delivered during the Conference by various delegations,

Noting with deep concern the constant deterioration of the situation in, the Middle East as a result of Israel's persistent policy of aggression and refusal to abide by the United Nations resolutions ...

Reaffirming that a just and permanent peace in Palestine and the Middle East can only be attained on the basis of a complete Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories and the exercise by the

Palestinians of their full national rights to sovereignty, national independence and self-determination,

Asserting that continued Israeli occupation of Arab lands by force and violation of the national rights of the Palestine people are in themselves a continued aggression and a serious threat to the security, the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of Arab countries and peoples,

... Convinced that, in view of Israel's continued violation of the principles of the UN Charter and its continued aggression against Arab countries and the Palestinian people, **it was time to apply the sanctions stipulated by the Charter of the United Nations against Israel**,

1. Reaffirms its total and effective support for the frontile States and the Palestinian people in their legitimate struggle to restore all the occupied territories and usurped rights by every possible means;
2. Condemns Israel's continued policy of aggression, expansion and annexation of Arab territories by force and its attempts to alter their demographic, geographic, economic and cultural features;
3. Condemns Israel's continued refusal to abide by the resolutions of the United Nations, and its deliberate obstruction by all kinds of maneuvers of every effort exerted to establish a just and permanent peace in the area;
4. Further condemns the persistent policy of repression pursued by Israeli occupation authorities against Arab inhabitants in the occupied territories as well as its persistent violations of their human rights and its violations of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, in particular the Forth Convention on the protection of civilians, and its barbaric attacks and raids on refugee camps and bombardment of civilian targets in the towns and villages of Southern Lebanon, in violation of all principles of international and human laws;
5. Denounces the attitude of the States supplying Israel with assistance, arms and means of killing and destruction and holds enormous quantities of weapons is to establish it as an advance base for racism and colonialism in the heart of the Arab and African world, and of the Third World in general, and further considers that any aid or support to Israel is actually an encouragement and a participation in the consolidation of Israeli occupation and persistent aggression;



6. Invites all Non-Aligned Countries to extend all available forms of assistance to the Arab confrontation powers so as to reinforce their struggle against the Zionist aggression;
7. Requests Non-Aligned Countries to **take the most adequate measures in order to strengthen their exerted pressure on Israel in the UN and its specialised agencies, including the possibility of eventually depriving it of its membership in these institutions;**
8. Considers Zionism a danger to world peace and decides **to organize an information campaign** in which all information media of Non-Aligned Countries should participate to unmask the racist and aggressive nature of the Zionist entity in a continuous and planned manner and to confront and refute all Zionist misleading propaganda campaigns aimed at arousing hostility against the Arab world;
9. Requests the Bureau of the Non-Aligned Conference to closely follow up developments in the Middle East and to report thereon to the Summit Conference and decides to keep the situation in the Middle East as one of the important items on the Agenda of the said conference.

## **2. Resolution IX – The Question of Palestine**

Guided by the principles of Non-Alignment, and noting with pride and appreciation the heroic sacrifices of the Palestine people in face of the Zionist aggressors for the liberation of Palestine,

Having studied the developments of the Palestine cause and the grave situation arising from the continued occupation by Israel of Arab territories, its usurpation of the rights of the Palestine people its refusal to abide by the United Nations resolutions in this respect, particularly General Assembly resolution No. 3236 adopted at its 29<sup>th</sup> Session, its denial of the national rights of the Palestine people in Palestine and their return to their homeland, their right to self-determination without any foreign intervention, and to national sovereignty over its territory, and the continued Israeli usurpation of Palestine and the dispersal of its people,

Considering that this situation constitutes a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and Resolutions as well as of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, and that its continuation represents a grave threat to international peace and security,

Considers that the Palestinian question is the basic cause and core of the struggle against the Zionist enemy,

Reaffirming the legality of the struggle of the Palestine people for the restoration of their full national rights,

Considering that the racist regime in occupied Palestine and those of Zimbabwe and South Africa are of one imperialist origin and organically linked in their policies aiming at suppressing the freedom and dignity of man,

Expressing its conviction that the military, economic, political and moral support of Israel by a number of states notably the U.S. enables it to persist in its policy of aggression and to further reinforce its usurpation of Palestine,

Considering that maintaining relations with Israel in the political economic, trade, communications and other domains assist it to reinforce its usurpation of Palestine and to persist in its expansionist policy of aggression,

Considering that the continuation of the membership of Israel in the United Nations contradicts the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and encourages Israel to ignore its resolutions and to collude with various aggressive racist and expansionist regimes,

1. Decides:

(a) To reaffirm total and effective support to the Palestine people in their legitimate struggle to restore their national rights in Palestine, including:

    Their right to return to their homeland and property

    Their right to self-determination without any foreign intervention

    Exercise of their right to sovereignty over their territory

    Establishment of their independent national authority

(b) To work in all domains to concretise recognition of their rights and to adhere to them. Non-Aligned Countries also undertake to adopt all appropriate measures towards that end.

(c) To work in co-ordination between the Non-Aligned Movement and the PLO to lay down a strategy aiming at liberating Palestine, considering the question of Palestine an important one to Non-Aligned Countries.

2. Calls upon all States to **support the people of Palestine by every means** in its struggle against Zionist and racist colonialism, to restore their full national rights, and asserts that restitution of these rights is an essential condition for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

3. Calls upon the United Nations to work for the application of Resolution 3236 adopted by the General Assembly at its 29 Session,

4. Reasserts that the Palestine Liberation Organization is the sole legal representative of the Palestine people and their legitimate struggle,

5. Requests all Non-Aligned Countries to abide by all the relevant resolutions of the Non-Aligned Summit and Foreign Ministers Conferences on the Palestinian Cause and to implement them as soon as possible,

6. Deems it advisable, for the success of the Palestine Liberation Organization in their struggle for the establishment of the future state of the Palestinian people, that they be given all opportunities to increase their contacts with the Governments of Non-Aligned Countries and that this may take the form of representation in their respective Capitals,

7. Condemns Israel's violations of human rights in the occupied Arab territories and its refusal to implement the Geneva Convention of 1949 on the protection of civilians in times of war, its policy of Judaizing the physical and cultural aspects of the occupied territories and considers that such acts and behaviour are war crimes as being a challenge to mankind at large,

8. Considers that all measures adopted by Israel in the occupied Arab territories and designed to alter their demographic, geographical, social, cultural and economic aspects including those aiming Judaizing the Holy City of Jerusalem are null and void and that under no circumstances can these measures or their consequences be recognised,

9. (a) To condemn the attempts of the Israeli occupation authorities to Judaicize the occupied territories and desecrate the holy sanctuaries, in particular the recent desecration of the sanctity of the Haram al Ibrahimy in HEBRON and to consider such acts as null and illegal;

(b) To call upon the nations of the world to oppose such violations and to refuse to recognize any geographic, cultural and demographic alterations affected in the occupied territories.

10. Condemns all States that provide military, economic and human support to Israel, and calls upon them to desist from doing so forthwith,
11. Calls all those countries that have not severed political, cultural and economic relations with Israel to do so,
12. Requests Non-Aligned Countries to take the most adequate measures in order to strengthen their exerted pressure on Israel in the United Nations and specialized agencies, **including the possibility of eventually depriving it of its membership in these institutions,**
13. Decides to inscribe the item of the “Question of Palestine” on the Agenda of the Summit Conference held in Sri-Lanka in 1976,
14. Requests the Bureau of Coordination of the Non-Aligned Countries to submit a report on the developments of the question of Palestine to the next Non-Aligned Summit Conference due to be held in Sr-Lanka in 1976.

### 8.10. The Momentum

With the adoption of resolutions and a declaration from the:

- **International Women’s Conference** Declaration urging the United Nations “to dedicate themselves to the creation of a just society where women, men and children can live in dignity, freedom, justice and prosperity,” under the principle that “international co-operation and peace require the achievement of national liberation and independence, the elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism, foreign occupation, Zionism, apartheid, and racial discrimination in all its forms as well as the recognition of the dignity of peoples and their right to self-determination;”
- 28 July to 1 August 1975 Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the **Organization of African Unity** held in Kampala and its Resolution 77 (XII), its consideration “that the racist regime in occupied Palestine and racist regimes in Zimbabwe and South Africa have a common imperialist origin, forming a whole and having the same racist structure and being organically linked in their policy aimed at repression of the dignity and integrity of the human being;”
- 25 to 30 August 1975, Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of **Non-Aligned Countries** held in Lima, Peru, its adoption of the Political Declaration and Strategy to strengthen International Peace and Security and to intensify Solidarity and Mutual Assistance among Non-Aligned Countries, “which most severely condemned Zionism as a threat to world peace and security and called upon all countries to oppose this racist and imperialist ideology,”<sup>166</sup>
- and consideration of the December 14, 1973, UN **General Assembly Resolution, 3151 G** (XXXVIII) – which “condemned inter alia the unholy alliance between South African racism and Zionism” –

they were all consolidated under preparatory strategic consideration in September to October 1975 by States Members of the United Nations.

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<sup>166</sup> Zionism: “A Form of Racism and Racial Discrimination.” Four statements made at the U.N. General Assembly, by Fayez A. Sayegh, PH.D., Representative of Kuwait, Office of the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations, 1976. Reprinted by Americans for Middle East Understanding, pages 40-41.



## 8.11. Third Committee Delegate Statements Referencing Zionism, September to October 1975 (Agenda Item 68, Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination)

The following is a chronological sequence of selected quotes made by delegates attending the meetings of the UN Third Committee's 30<sup>th</sup> Session, the discussions and resolutions made under Agenda Item 68, *Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination*.<sup>167</sup> The selections demonstrate the abundant concerns expressed about Zionism, leading to the adoption of UN General Assembly's Resolution 3379 on November 10, 1975, about Zionism.

The debates and dialogue under Item 68 concerned information contained in two main documents submitted to the Third Committee for review, and additional items submitted during the Committee's meetings. One was the 100-page *Report of the Economic and Social Council on the Work of its Organizational Session for 1975 and of its Fifty-Eighth and Fifty-Ninth Sessions (A/10003)*, which included a summary of the International Women's Year conference, and summaries of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and the Report of the Commission on Human Rights. In its preface, Iqbal Akhund, the president of the Economic and Social Council, said:

I would say that the success or failure of the United Nations will be judged by, and its survival or demise depend upon, whether it succeeds or fails in bringing about peaceful settlement where there is war or cause for war; in enforcing the norms of justice and human dignity where these are systematically flouted and in removing the vast and ever-widening economic disparities between countries. Peace in the Middle East, racial discrimination and minority rule in Africa, the grinding poverty in many parts of the world, these are the problems of fateful importance for the future of mankind. If we do not face up to them, if we fail to solve them the most faithful observance of the rules and regulations and most devout adherence to the principles of the Charter will not save the United Nations from irrelevance and atrophy.

The other document was A/10197, the Secretary General's 10-page report on the *Status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*. It summarized the history and progress status of States Members who were now a party to the Convention since its creation in 1965, the process of which was overseen by Fayeze Sayegh, the nominated rapporteur of. As of September 1975, the Convention now had 87 Member States.

After deliberations on the agenda, discussions on Agenda Item 68 began on Thursday, September 25, 1975, the 1,214<sup>th</sup> meeting.

### (a) Sept. 29 – Mr. Samhan, United Arab Emirates:

“The United Arab Emirates condemned all racist policies, particularly in southern Africa, and called for the liberation of peoples under foreign domination; it was in favour of granting all types of assistance, especially military, to liberation movements, condemned those who maintained relations with racist regimes and urged all Member States to comply with the resolutions of the United Nations on the subject. **It also condemned the policy of Israel, which was based on Zionism, an expression of racial discrimination and racism** that had led to the practice of expelling Palestinians from their own lands and had deprived them of their rights to self-determination and to residence in their own territory. **The comparison between the Palestinian situation and the situation in southern Africa was therefore logical.** ... It called for the release of all political prisoners in southern Africa and Palestine and fully endorsed those sections of the Declaration 3 adopted at the World Conference of the International Women's Year, held in Mexico from 19 June to 2 July 1975, relating to that matter.”

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<sup>167</sup> Extending from the 2,116<sup>th</sup> meeting to the 2,132<sup>nd</sup> meeting.

**(b) Sept. 29 – Mr. Elhofari, Libyan Arab Republic:**

“Since the adoption of the resolution initiating the Decade, both positive and negative trends had been observed. Among the former were the action in the General Assembly suspending South Africa and the unanimous condemnation of the South African regime and, secondly, the fact that the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization had been accorded observer status. Among the negative trends it must be noted that the racist minorities of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia were using every possible means to prolong their regimes, while the Palestinians found themselves obliged to continue fighting for recognition of their rights. **The racism of southern Africa and zionism had parallel characteristics**, such as discrimination and the support which they received from certain States Members of the United Nations.”

**(c) Sept. 29 – Mr. Al-Hussamy, Syrian Arab Republic:**

“It must also be asked if it could be foreseen that the Pretoria regime would accede to the Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid or apply it or whether the regime of the Zionist invaders of Palestine would accede to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. That was impossible, for **apartheid and zionism were two dogmatic ideologies based on colonization, racial discrimination and fanaticism.**”

**(d) Sept. 30 – Mr. Golovko, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic:**

“The Decade was intended to combat all forms of racial discrimination; zionism was one of those forms, since it was based on the alleged superiority of one race and had consequently been condemned on a number of occasions by the United Nations.”

**(e) Sept. 30 – Mrs. Ben-ito, Israel:**

“Malicious attacks had been made not only against Israel but also against zionism, its national liberation movement, which had inspired many other movements of a similar kind. It was grotesque to say that zionism was based on racism, since it was well known that it was the ancient liberation movement of the Jewish people, arising out of the racial discrimination to which that people had been subjected under various regimes and in various ways.”

**(f) Sept. 30 – Mr. Al-Hussamy, Syrian Arab Republic:**

“At the preceding meeting he [Al-Hussamy] had not referred to the situation in the Middle East but had talked about racism and settler-colonialism in connexion with paragraph 13 of the Programme. It could not be claimed that zionism did not follow such policies: Zionist activities had begun with the deportation of Palestinians from their own country. Was it not colonialism when a population was deported and other people were brought in to occupy the land? The very close relationship between Israel and South Africa had lasted for many years, and there were a number of links between zionism and apartheid, including political and military ties, since Israeli troops received training in South Africa. Moreover, Israel was in effect an apartheid country. In that connexion he quoted excerpts from a report of the Special Committee against Apartheid on recent developments in relations between Israel and South Africa referring to economic collaboration and cultural relations between those two countries. Lastly, he asked how it was possible to claim that zionism, or its history of discrimination, colonialism, and settlement in land belonging to others, was a liberation movement.”

**(g) Sept. 30 – Mr. El Hofari, Libyan Arab Republic:**

“Zionism was a sectarian regime based on odious principles, and both at the World Conference of the International Women's Year, held in Mexico from 19 June to 2 July 1975, and at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-aligned Countries held at Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975, it had been considered a form of racism.”

**(h) Oct. 1 – Mrs. Marinkevitch, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic:**

“The Byelorussian SSR supported the Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and their Contribution to Development and Peace adopted at the World Conference of the International Women's Year (see E/5725, chap. I), particularly with regard to the need to broaden the struggle against all forms of oppression imposed by colonialism, neo-colonialism, zionism, racial discrimination and apartheid. In that context, it should be noted that the success of the liberation movement was hindered because, as the General Assembly had observed on more than one occasion, the racist regimes in southern Africa continued to receive aid from members of NATO. All States must unite in rejecting racist policies and practices.”

**(i) Oct. 1 – Mr. Rahman, Palestine Liberation Organization:**

“The Palestinian people, like the peoples of Zimbabwe, South Africa, and Namibia, was continuing to suffer the consequences of racism, and the majority of that people was exiled or forced to live under zionism, enduring its barbarous racist practices. ... Alan R. Taylor, in his book *Prelude to Israel - An Analysis of Zionist Diplomacy, 1897-1947*, stated that another leader of zionism, Israel Zangwill, had appealed to Jews to go to Palestine, asserting that it was a land without a people and that it was right to give it to a people without a land. Yet, at the time when those ideas were being spread, Palestine had been inhabited by the Arab people. In 1891, before the Zionist colonizers had arrived in Palestine, it had been inhabited by more than half a million Arabs-Moslem and Christian-and some 20,000 Jews in the atmosphere of religious tolerance that had always characterized the Arab culture. ... Zionism was based on racial discrimination in every sphere, and the Israeli authorities had practised every kind of discrimination and had violated the fundamental rights guaranteed by international instruments.”

**(j) Oct. 2 – Mr. Alfonso, Cuba:**

“It could well be asked whether racism and racial discrimination in southern Africa could have continued to exist without the military equipment received from Western Europe and the United States, without the relevant vetoes in the Security Council and without investments by such companies as the European American Banking Corporation, IBM and Motorola. Furthermore, it was doubtful that the racists in Salisbury could have remained in power had it not been for the trade they maintained with western industrialized countries; in that connexion he noted in particular the sales of chrome to the United States. In the Middle East, the situation had remained unchanged since the previous year. Zionism, true to its discriminatory nature, continued to deny the fundamental rights of the inhabitants of the Arab territories occupied by force since 1967, in particular the Palestinian people. It should also be noted that the links between the Zionist regime and South Africa had become stronger since the 1973 war.”

**(k) Oct. 2 – Mr. Al-Hadawi, Iraq:**

“A flagrant example of racism was also to be found in the policies of the Zionist regime. The Committee was aware that the Zionist regime had refused to allow the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories to enter Palestine and had thus violated recommendations made by the Commission on Human Rights. Moreover, the Zionist regime co-operated with South Africa and therefore, at the 2281<sup>st</sup> plenary meeting of the General Assembly, on 12 November 1974, had not voted for the proposal to suspend South Africa from participation in the work of the Assembly during its twenty-ninth session. It had also not ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. In addition, it had adopted other measures, including the enactment of the “law of return,” which enabled all Jews to go to Israel and to become Israeli citizens, but prohibited the Palestine people from exercising their right to return to their own land. Such a policy could be justified only in terms of the discriminatory element inherent in zionism. The “emergency law” enacted by the Zionists also confirmed the racist character of that regime because it provided for the



expropriation of Arab property and its redistribution to the Jews. In fact, the Israeli authorities had proclaimed a state of emergency only in order to be able to enact such laws.”

**(l) Oct. 2 – Mr. Rifai, Jordan:**

“Although the United Nations was moving speedily towards total universality, there still remained an obstacle in the way of that ultimate goal, namely, racism and racial discrimination. The regimes of South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Israel were the main proponents of the outdated doctrine of racism and racial discrimination and they thrived on an ideology which was contrary to the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and which had been condemned in countless United Nations resolutions. Whether it was apartheid, racism or Zionism, the facts were the same and policies of alien domination, minority rule and racial discrimination continued to be followed. In fact, the situations in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Israel could fittingly be called neo-colonialist. His delegation firmly believed in the legitimate and inalienable right of the Palestinian people to continue their just struggle against their Zionist oppressors. It also supported the oppressed peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe in their fight to liberate themselves from the yoke of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid.”

**(m) Oct. 3 – Mr. Obadi, Democratic Yemen:**

“It was impossible to forget the racial discrimination practised by South Africa against the African majority and by Zionism against the Palestinians. South Africa and Zionism were linked by an organic bond. Zionism, as a world movement condemned by the United Nations in General Assembly resolution 3151 (XXVIII) and by the non-aligned countries, as could be seen from the report of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975, constituted one of the most serious forms of racial discrimination at the present time. The Zionist regime was pursuing a policy of persecution and oppression of the Palestinians and the Arabs of the occupied Territories, expelling the indigenous inhabitants, confiscating their property and land and destroying their villages and homes. More than 17,000 Arabs, including religious leaders, scientists and students, were under detention in Zionist camps. All the acts of Zionism have been condemned by the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, and by the General Assembly in resolutions 2546 (XXIV), 2851 (XXVI), 3005 (XXVII), 3092 (XXVIII) and 3240 (XXIX). Moreover, those acts had been condemned by the Commission on Human Rights in resolutions recently adopted at its thirty-first session in Geneva.”

**(n) Oct. 3 – Mr. Al-Hussamy, Syrian Arab Republic:**

“Whenever the Committee considered the question of racism and racial discrimination, the representatives of Zionism attempted to distract attention and, by an extraordinary manoeuvre, set themselves up as the defenders of Jewish minorities in various parts of the world. In the Syrian Arab Republic, no discrimination was practised on religious grounds, and the Jews living there were Syrian citizens who enjoyed the same rights as the rest of the community. ... The Jews of the Syrian Arab Republic had refused Israeli tutelage and had condemned Zionist aggression as strongly as the other citizens of the country. The Syrian Arab Republic was a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and, in keeping with its obligations under that instrument, had already submitted three reports which had met with the approval of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. On the other hand, the world was well aware of the Israeli practices in the occupied Arab territories—practices which had been repeatedly condemned by the United Nations.”

**(o) Oct. 3 – Miss Bihi, Somalia:**

“The peoples of Africa had been subjected to the terror of apartheid and of similar practices perpetrated by the racist regime in Southern Rhodesia, which thrived on the exploitation and brutal suppression of the indigenous population by the white minority. The General Assembly had unequivocally condemned such practices and had also condemned the unholy alliance with the

Zionist regime in the Middle East. That regime had shown beyond doubt that it used the same methods against the indigenous population as the racist regimes of southern Africa, since it had uprooted the Palestinians from their homeland and deprived them of the free exercise of the right to self-determination. ... Zionism, through the practices of the Zionist military authorities in Palestine, showed beyond doubt the abominable nature of racial discrimination.”

**(p) Oct. 3 – Mr. Herzog, Israel:**

“The amendments contained in document A/C.3/L.2157, under cover of an attack on Zionism, constituted not only an anti-Semitic attack of the most offensive type but also an attack on Judaism, one of the oldest religions in the world, which had given the world the human values of the Bible and from which two other great religions, Christianity and Islam, had sprung. ... A group of countries, drunk with the feeling of power resulting from the majority vote automatically at their disposal and without regard to the importance of achieving a consensus, had decided to “railroad” the Committee in a contemptible manoeuvre into bracketing Zionism with the subject under discussion. Zionism was the name of the national movement of the Jewish people and was the modern expression of the ancient Jewish heritage. ... Israel had endeavoured to create a society which strove to implement the highest political, social and cultural ideals for all the inhabitants of Israel, irrespective of religious belief, race or sex. It was difficult to cite another pluralistic society in the world where two nations lived together in such harmony as in Israel and where the dignity and rights of man were observed before the law. ... Zionism, of course, encountered problems in its attempt to build a society in which the vision of the prophets of Israel would be realized, and people in Israel were free to disagree with the Government’s policies, because Zionism had created the first and only genuinely democratic State in a part of the world that had never really seen democracy and freedom of speech.”

**(q) Oct. 3 – Mr. Baroody, Saudi Arabia:**

“The Arab world had no quarrel with Judaism. On the contrary, the Arab world regarded Judaism as another religion and highly appreciated the wisdom contained in the Old Testament. He stressed that the quarrel of the Arab world was with Zionism, a political movement which had originated in Europe and not in the Orient, where the Jews had never been discriminated against and where many persons in the Arab culture happened to be Jews.”

**(r) Oct. 3 – Mr. Garment, United States of America:**

“His delegation strongly opposed the amendments to that draft resolution, contained in document A/C.3/L.2157. The content of the amendments was not only unjust but ominous, because it treated the word racism as if it were merely an epithet to be flung at whoever happened to be one’s adversary. ... Amendments of that kind could only exacerbate group hostility and increase the tensions and passions which had for so long prevented the achievement of peace in so many troubled areas of the world. They were, in his delegation’s view, entirely incompatible with the purposes of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. To equate Zionism with racism was to distort completely the history of the Zionist movement, born of the centuries of oppression suffered by the Jewish people in the western world and designed to liberate an oppressed people by returning them to the land of their fathers. It was no service to the great goals of the United Nations to ignore and to distort history in that fashion. The tragedy in the Middle East stemmed from the failure so far to find a way of protecting and accommodating the rights of each group living there, those of the Jews and those of the Arabs, both with a long and proud history in the region.”

**(s) Oct. 3 – Miss Bihi, Somalia:**

“Somalia was proud of its record in the field of human rights. As the representative of Israel had stated, her country and others were involved in a moral war with the Zionist regime in the Middle East and opposed that regime because Zionism, like apartheid, was used as an instrument for perpetuating oppression and discrimination against one group of people by another, by depriving the

Palestinians of their homeland and of their property for believing and professing another religion and for being Arabs. If the Zionists were really interested in peace and a peace settlement in the region, they should recognize the just rights of the Palestinian people to their homeland. The Zionist regime would be ostracized and shunned not only by the United Nations, which, through numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, had shown its overwhelming opposition to the existence of Israel as currently constituted, but also by all peace-loving people all over the world.”

**(t) Oct. 3 – Mr. Badawi, Egypt:**

“Under the Israeli “law of return,” any Jew who went to Israel could obtain Israeli citizenship, but that right was denied to the Palestinian Arabs. That was a clear example of exclusivity and racial discrimination. Paragraph 13 (f) of the Programme for the Decade, which condemned activities aimed at encouraging settler colonialism, could be used as a criterion to determine that Israel’s policy of not allowing the Palestinians to return to their homeland was racist in nature. Another criterion was to be found in the definition of “racial discrimination” contained in article 1 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. It had been on the basis of those criteria that the World Conference of the International Women’s Year held in Mexico City and the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries held in Lima in 1975 had taken the stand of linking zionism to racist policies and condemning it along with apartheid.”

**(u) Oct. 13 – Mr. Sharaf, Yemen:**

“It was regrettable that, on the eve of the fifteenth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, there should still be peoples who were deprived of their right to self-determination, that the South African regime should be persisting in its racist policy, that a white minority regime should continue to oppress the people of Zimbabwe, and that racist Zionism should continue to flout human rights in Palestine and in the occupied Arab territories. The Palestinian people had the same inalienable rights as all other oppressed peoples, and full observance and exercise of those rights were essential for maintaining international peace and security. The General Assembly, furthermore, had recognized in resolution 3236 (XXIX) the Palestinians’ right to return to their homes and it was to consider in the near future a report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of that historic resolution.”

**(v) Oct. 14 – Mrs. Waldron-Jackson, Guyana:**

“The people of Guyana, having rid themselves of the oppressive burden of colonialism, had joined other sovereign peoples in calling for the speedy granting of independence to colonial Territories in order to ensure the effective guarantee and observance of human rights. ... Her Government therefore viewed with total abhorrence the oppressive policies and practices of the illegal racist regime in South Africa. It denounced the policy of apartheid and called on the Committee and on the international community at large to give meaning to its condemnation of the racist practices of the Vorster regime by taking appropriate collective action. ... Guyana would continue to give positive support to the liberation movements of southern Africa and it urged all States to support those movements in tangible ways. It was encouraging that even though some peoples in southern Africa remained oppressed, the freedom fighters in the former Portuguese colonies had succeeded in achieving their liberation. ... The Middle East could enjoy peace only when the rights of the Palestinian people had been acknowledged, and if the expansionist policies of zionism were pursued there could be no solution to the Palestinian problem. Guyana would support the struggle for liberation in that area until Israel was made to withdraw from the Palestinian territory it was occupying by force.”

**(w) Oct. 14 – Mr. Dabo, Guinea:**

“His country fully supported the freedom fighters in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and Palestine who had been deprived of their right to self-determination by apartheid and zionism and



reaffirmed its respect for the fundamental principle of the right of all individuals to live freely in their homelands. It was glad to note that the struggle of peoples still under colonial domination was becoming increasingly organized, despite the experience acquired by the imperialists in the art of repression and exploitation. His delegation considered that the military, material, financial and diplomatic support of certain Western countries to the minority regimes of southern Africa and Israel was a flagrant violation of the right of all peoples to self-determination ...”

**(x) Oct. 14 – Mr. Abdallah, Tunisia:**

“The reason why racial discrimination and colonialism persisted in various parts of the world was that the international community had not been able to induce the racist States, which were Members of the United Nations and had subscribed to the provisions and basic principles of the Charter, to respect the human person and its sacred rights. Tunisia had many constitutional, legislative, judicial and administrative provisions to eliminate any tendency towards racial discrimination or, indeed, discrimination of any kind. It was firmly on the side of those who fought against racism and racial discrimination in all its forms, and in particular the new aspect of racism, zionism.”

**(y) Oct. 14 – Mrs. Ben-ito, Israel:**

“She stressed that the Jewish people had the same right to self-determination as all other peoples and that the goal and purpose of zionism had been and was the realization of that right. That was what zionism was all about and, although many delegations viciously maligned zionism, she said she was proud to be a Zionist.”

**(z) Oct. 16 – Miss Bihi, Somalia:**

“ ... introduced draft resolution A/C.3/L.2159, which was simple and to the point. The preambular paragraphs recalled and quoted General Assembly resolutions 1904 (XVIII) and 3151 G (XXVIII). They noted and took into account texts which had been adopted during the current year: the Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and their Contribution to Development and Peace, adopted by the World Conference of the International Women's Year, held in Mexico, resolution 77 (XII), adopted at the twelfth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, held in Kampala, and the Political Declaration and Strategy to strengthen International Peace and Security and to intensify Solidarity and Mutual Assistance among Non-Aligned Countries, adopted at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Uma. The single operative paragraph showed beyond question the link between zionism and racial discrimination.”

**(aa) Oct. 16 – Mr. Zahawie, Iraq (long speech about Zionism):**

“As to the similarities between zionism and apartheid, Mr. John Davis, former Commissioner General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), had stated that Arabs and Jews would be able to live together peacefully once again when the practice of apartheid, currently applied in Israel against Arabs, had ended. Israel, like South Africa, was an apartheid State. That had been pointed out by no less authorities on apartheid than Mr. Verwoerd and Mr. Vorster themselves. Mr. Verwoerd had said, in the Rand Daily Mail of 23 November 1961, that Israel, like South Africa, was an apartheid State. Mr. Vorster, in an interview with C.L. Sulzberger in the New York Times of 30 April 1971, stated that Israel was faced with an apartheid problem and that South Africans viewed Israel's position with understanding and sympathy. It was not surprising, therefore, that the South African Zionist Federation and the South African Jewish Board of Deputies worked actively to deflect criticism of South Africa by other Jewish bodies. According to a December 1962 issue of the Jewish Chronicle, the Board of Deputies had resolved that the Jewish community should take steps to explain South Africa's position to Jews overseas and at home. It was to be noted that none of the Zionist-oriented Jewish non-governmental organizations having consultative status with the United Nations ever raised or discussed the apartheid issue in the United Nations.”

**(bb) Oct. 16 – Mr. Vinci, Italy:**

“Setting forth the position of the nine members of the European Economic Community (EEC) ... were unable to support the amendments contained in document A/C.3/L.2157. The same arguments had led the Governments of the nine countries to oppose draft resolution A/C.3/ L.2159, which repeated the substance of amendments already rejected by them. The wording used was not itself any more acceptable than that of the earlier amendments, since the Governments of the EEC countries categorically rejected the concept that zionism was a form of racism and racial discrimination. ... At the political level, furthermore, the adoption of draft resolution A/C.3/L.2159 would not fail to have deep repercussions on public opinion in many countries, not only because of its content, but also because of its wording.”

**(cc) Oct. 16 – Mr. Herzog, Israel:**

“The attempt now being made by certain Arab Governments to strike at the very roots of Israel, by trying to denigrate zionism, its ideological basis, was nothing but a renewed effort by the enemies of the Jewish people to deprive it of its homeland. Unlike the sponsors of the anti-Zionist draft resolution, Israel had a free and democratic society which was striving to implement the highest ideals of mankind – political, social and cultural – for all the inhabitants of Israel, irrespective of religious belief, race or sex. Zionism had created a society in which Arabs were free and equal citizens and enjoyed freedom of expression, including the right of publicly opposing the policies of the Government of Israel. Zionism had been the first movement in the Middle East to base itself on the dignity of labour, of the working man. Not so long ago, Palestinian Arabs from the West Bank in territory administered by Israel had declared in an interview given by Arabs to Arabs and published in an Arab newspaper in an Arab country, that the Israelis had given for the first time to the Arab worker the image of man and the dignity of a human being. The draft resolution, which was designed to divert the Committee from the true purpose of the Decade, was part of a dangerous anti-Semitic idiom which was being insinuated into every debate by those who had sworn to block the current move towards accommodation and ultimately towards peace in the Middle East.”

**(dd) Oct. 16 – Mr. Sharaf, Jordan:**

“It was in Europe that zionism had emerged in the late nineteenth century. Zionism in fact was a negative and hostile reaction to negative and hostile circumstances. It was based on the same negative premise on which antisemitism was predicated, namely, that Judaism should constitute the basis of a distinct national identity, that it should be exclusive and in a necessary relationship of hostility with its environment. Zionism emerged as a call to the Jews not to seek their future in universal brotherhood but in a perverted national chauvinism which brought them as conquerors to a peaceful land which they had invaded, sowing violence and terror among an innocent population. ... Jews should not be confused with zionism any more than Italians should be confused with fascism or Americans with the Ku-Klux-Klan. Within every people it was possible to find movements and ideologies that were harmful and subversive. They must be identified and condemned in the interest of humanity. Such was the case with apartheid; such as also the case with zionism. The zionist movement had enjoyed in Western countries the support of many well-meaning citizens who had been led astray by intellectuals and pseudo-liberal politicians pursuing opportunist aims. With the help of Israel, zionism had built up powerful bases in Europe and America, feeding on the feeling of guilt and on the ignorance of the majority regarding the situation in the Middle East. It had created powerful lobbies in Western legislatures and had erected an information barrier around the public in those countries which revented any meaningful dialogue with the Arabs who only sought their self-protection and their rights.”

**(ee) Oct. 16 – Mr. Baroody, Saudi Arabia:**

“For centuries oriental Jews and Arabs had lived peacefully side by side in Palestine. The Arab peoples were willing to make peace with all other Jews provided that they abandoned their colonialist

and expansionist policy, symbolized by zionism. If Jews from all over the world came to Palestine inspired by religious feelings, they would be well received; but if they used their religion to invade the country and to dispossess its inhabitants, all Arabs would unite to ensure no peace would be made which would be prejudicial to the Palestinians, whose sacrifice would not be in vain. The representative of Israel had invoked Judaism, which cemented the union of Jews throughout the world. It was time for the Israelis to be guided by the spirit of the Bible as the Arabs were by the spirit of the Koran, instead of keeping to the letter of the interpretation given to it by the dangerous ideology of zionism.”

## 8.12. October 16 to 17, 1975: Draft Resolution A/C.3/L.2159

In May 1975, after examining “activities undertaken or planned in connexion with the Decade,”<sup>168</sup> the U.N.’s Economic and Social Council submitted document A/10145 (*Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination*) to the General Assembly on July 25, 1975. It included two resolutions adopted by the Council. The report and its resolutions, along with two other reports (E/5636 and E/5637), were then forwarded under instruction by the General Assembly to the UN’s Third Committee for review and amendment in September 1975, to be then passed on back to the General Assembly for adoption in November.

**Draft Resolution A**, called “Implementation of the Programme,” stated the following:

“The General Assembly,

“Recalling its resolution 3057 (XXVIII) of 2 November 1973, in which it reaffirmed its determination to achieve the total and unconditional elimination of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid,

“Considering that the policies of racism, racial discrimination and apartheid are flagrant violations of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and constitute serious violations of the obligations of Member States under the Charter,

“Bearing in mind the vital importance of establishing a new economic and social world order based on justice and equality,

“1. Condemns the intolerable conditions which continue to prevail in southern Africa and elsewhere, including the denial of the right to self-determination and the inhumane and odious application of apartheid and racial discrimination;

“2. Reaffirms its recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle of oppressed peoples to liberate themselves from racism, racial discrimination, apartheid, colonialism and alien domination;

“3. Urges all States to co-operate loyally and fully in achieving the goals and objectives of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination by taking such actions and measures as:

“(a) Implementing United Nations resolutions bearing on the elimination of racism, apartheid, racial discrimination and the liberation of peoples under colonial domination and alien subjugation;

“(b) Ensuring immediate termination of all measures and policies, as well as military, political, economic and other activities, which enable racist regimes in southern Africa to continue the repression of the African people;

“(c) Providing full support and assistance, morally and materially, to the peoples that are victims of apartheid and racial discrimination and to the liberation movements;

“(d) Cessation of emigration to South Africa;

“(e) Ensuring the release of political prisoners in South Africa and of those subjected to restriction for their opposition to apartheid;

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<sup>168</sup> A/10145.



- “(f) Signing and ratifying the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, a/ the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid b/ and all other relevant instruments;
- “(g) Formulating and executing plans to realize the policy measures and goals contained in the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Facial Discrimination, including the advisability of establishing national arrangements to follow up the implementation of the Programme for the Decade;
- “(h) Reviewing internal laws and regulations with a view to identifying and rescinding those which provide for, give rise to, or inspire racial discrimination or apartheid;
- “(i) Complying, when due, with the provisions of paragraph 18 (e) of the Programme for the Decade, which call for Governments to forward a report every two years on the action taken under the Programme for the Decade, on the basis of a questionnaire circulated by the Secretary-General;
- “(j) Educating in particular youth in the spirit of equality and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms;
- “4. Urges Member States which are parties to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination to continue to comply fully with their obligations under the Convention and, in particular, to submit their reports within the timetable laid down under article 9;
- “5. Urges also United Nations organs and bodies, the specialized agencies and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to ensure the continuation of their activities related to the Decade with emphasis on, inter alia:
- “(a) Providing moral and material support to the national liberation movements and victims of apartheid and racial discrimination;
- “(b) Assisting and conducting vigorous education and information campaigns to dispel racial prejudice and to involve public opinion in the struggle against racism and racial discrimination;
- “(c) Examining the socio-economic and colonial roots of racism, apartheid and racial discrimination with a view to eliminating them;
- “6. Requests national sports federations of Member States to refuse systematically to participate in all sports or other activities together with the representatives of the racist regime of South Africa;
- “7. Welcomes any contributions and suggestions related to the Programme for the Decade by the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;
- “8. Requests the Secretary-General to draw on the expertise of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination while undertaking the relevant activities of the Decade;
- “9. Also requests the Secretary-General to submit to the General Assembly at its thirty-first session a report containing proposals to implement efficiently paragraph 17 of the Programme for the Decade which calls for the establishment of an international fund on a voluntary basis;
- “10. Expresses the hope that adequate resources will be made available to the Secretary-General to enable him to undertake the activities entrusted to him under the Programme for the Decade;
- “11. Decides to consider at its thirty-first session, as a matter of high priority, the question entitled ‘Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination’.”

On October 3, 1975, different group sponsors from Third Committee delegates submitted four separate amendments to draft Resolution A.<sup>169</sup> It was the fourth draft amendment, A/C.2/L.2157, that became contentious and received majority approval. On October 3<sup>rd</sup>, it was the member from Somalia, Miss Bihi, that “introduced” draft L.2157, incorporating the word “Zionism” within six parcels of draft Resolution A:

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<sup>169</sup> Document A/10320.

1. Add the following paragraph [to Resolution A] after the first paragraph of the preamble: "Recalling that in its resolution 3151 G (XXVIII) of December 1, 1973, it condemned the unholy alliance between Zionism and racism."
2. Add the following paragraph after operative paragraph 1: "Considering Zionism as one of the forms of racial discrimination must be addressed in the Program for the Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination."
3. Change the numbering of the following paragraphs accordingly.
4. In current paragraph 2, add "Zionism" between "apartheid" and "colonialism".
5. In current paragraph 3 (c), add "Zionism" between "apartheid" and "and racial discrimination."
6. In current paragraph 5(a), add "Zionism" between "apartheid" and "and racial discrimination."
7. In current paragraph 5 (c), add "Zionism" between "apartheid" and "and racial discrimination."

In defence of the amendment, Miss Bihi stated, "the Zionist regime ... had shown beyond doubt that it used the same methods against the indigenous population as the racist regimes of southern Africa," and "had been condemned on several occasions by the United Nations for the practice of racial discrimination against the population and its traditions, culture and religion." She then stated that "Zionism, through the practices of the Zionist military authorities in Palestine, showed beyond doubt the abominable nature of racial discrimination."

After the delegate from Israel condemned L.2157, Mr. Vinci, the delegate from Italy, speaking on behalf of "nine members of the European Economic Community," said "they do not believe that it was appropriate or relevant for the proposed amendments to identify Zionism as a form of racial discrimination," which "would hamper the efforts being made to find a solution to the conflict in the Middle East."

The United States delegate, Mr. Garment, said "his delegation strongly opposed the amendments" in L.2157, "not only" that "the contents of the amendments" was "unjust but ominous:"

... because it treated the word racism as if it were merely an epithet to be flung at whoever happened to be one's adversary. It turned an idea with vivid and obnoxious meaning into an ideological tool and deprived the members of the Committee of the ability to see reality together and deal with it together. That could be nothing short of a tragedy for an Organization so dedicated to, and so dependent upon, the possibilities of reason and persuasion. Amendments of that kind could only exacerbate group hostility and increase the tensions and passions which had for so long prevented the achievement of peace in so many troubled areas of the world. ... **To equate zionism with racism was to distort completely the history of the Zionist movement**, born of the centuries of oppression suffered by the Jewish people in the western world and designed to liberate an oppressed people by returning them to the land of their fathers. It was no service to the great goals of the United Nations to ignore and to distort history in that fashion.<sup>170</sup>

By October 16, an amendment to L.2157 was adopted by the Third Committee, and L.2159 became its replacement. The L.2159 replacement amendment stated:

Recalling also that, in its resolution 3151 G (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973, the General Assembly condemned in particular the unholy alliance between South African racism and Zionism,

Taking note of the Mexico Declaration on the equality of women and their contribution to development and peace proclaimed by the World Conference of the International Women's Year, held in Mexico City from June 19 to July 2, 1975, which promulgated the principle according to which "international cooperation and peace require national liberation and independence, the elimination of

<sup>170</sup> Paragraphs 28-30, 2,121 Session.

colonialism and neo-colonialism, foreign occupation, Zionism, apartheid and racial discrimination in all its forms, as well as recognition of the dignity of peoples and their right to self-determination.”

Taking note also of Resolution 77 (XII) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held in Kampala from July 28 to August 1, 1975, which considered that the racist regimes in occupied Palestine as well as the racist regimes in Zimbabwe and South Africa have a common imperialist origin, form a whole, present the same racist structure and are intrinsically linked by their policies aimed at repressing the dignity and integrity of the person Human Rights, Taking note also of the Political Declaration and Strategy for Strengthening International Peace and Security and Strengthening Solidarity and Mutual Assistance of Non-Aligned Countries, adopted at the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Lima (Peru) from August 25 to 30, 1975, which very severely condemned Zionism as a threat to world peace and security and called on all countries to oppose this racist and imperialist ideology,

1. Considers Zionism to be a form of racism and racial discrimination.

The delegate from Haiti, Mr. Verret, said that Haiti “could not regard a people’s national feeling for unity as a form of racial discrimination and considered that Zionism was, in a way, the expression of a religious nationalism.” Verret, supporting the arguments by the Israeli delegation, argued that “Zionism had nothing to do with apartheid, colonialism or racial discrimination. It was a Jewish way of thought which was intimately bound to Judaism and no one had previously thought of making it a crime against mankind.”<sup>171</sup>

The delegate from Iraq, Mr. Zahawie, then gave a lengthy lecture to correct the views of Mr. Verret. Zahawie also criticized / mocked Mr. Garment, the delegate from the United States:

In alleging, as he had at the 2121st meeting, that the word “racism” was used in the amendments as a term of opprobrium applied to any possible adversary, the representative of the United States seemed to forget that the non-Jews of Israel had suffered from such racism and discrimination for the past 27 years; but that undoubtedly did not matter to him. Perhaps that representative was himself a Zionist, since he accepted the Zionist claim to be a liberation movement, and he asserted that to associate Zionism with racism was a distortion of history.<sup>172</sup>

The delegate from Italy, Mr. Vinci, said, in “setting forth the position of the nine members of the European Economic Community (EEC),” he “explained why” they:

... were unable to support the amendments contained in document A/C.3/L.2157. The same arguments had led the Governments of the nine countries to oppose draft resolution A/C.3/ L.2159, which repeated the substance of amendments already rejected by them. The wording used was not itself any more acceptable than that of the earlier amendments, since the Governments of **the EEC countries categorically rejected the concept that Zionism was a form of racism and racial discrimination.**<sup>173</sup>

The delegate from Israel, Mr. Herzog, blamed “certain Arab Government” for “trying to denigrate Zionism” and “its ideological basis,” that the wording in both L.2157 and L.2159 were “nothing but a renewed effort by the enemies of the Jewish people to deprive it of its homeland.”

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<sup>171</sup> Paragraphs 23 and 24, 2,132<sup>nd</sup> meeting.

<sup>172</sup> Paragraph 33, 2,132<sup>nd</sup> meeting.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., paragraphs 44 and 45.

Unlike the sponsors of the anti-Zionist draft resolution, Israel had a free and democratic society which was striving to implement the highest ideals of mankind – political, social and cultural – for all the inhabitants of Israel, irrespective of religious belief, race or sex. Zionism had created a society in which Arabs were free and equal citizens and enjoyed freedom of expression, including the right of publicly opposing the policies of the Government of Israel. Zionism had been the first movement in the Middle East to base itself on the dignity of labour, of the working man. Not so long ago, Palestinian Arabs from the West Bank in territory administered by Israel had declared in an interview given by Arabs to Arabs and published in an Arab newspaper in an Arab country, that the Israelis had given for the first time to the Arab worker the image of man and the dignity of a human being.

The draft resolution, which was designed to divert the Committee from the true purpose of the Decade, was part of a dangerous anti-Semitic idiom which was being insinuated into every debate by those who had sworn to block the current move towards accommodation and ultimately towards peace in the Middle East.<sup>174</sup>

The delegate from Jordan, Mr. Sharaf, said that “the main objections” to L.2159 “had been advanced by the Western countries, particularly the countries of the European Economic Community, and by the United States; and that was not surprising.” He said: “Zionism emerged as a call to the Jews not to seek their future in universal brotherhood but in a perverted national chauvinism which brought them as conquerors to a peaceful land which they had invaded, sowing violence and terror among an innocent population:”

The complex feeling of Westerners about the plight of the Jews in Europe was understandable. They involved guilt, compassion and eagerness to remedy an episode of gross human injustice in Western civilization. However, it was hard to understand their insensitivity to a similar situation and their tolerance of the fact that peaceful Arab populations were being exposed in the Middle East to systematic and organized violence. ... The Zionist movement had enjoyed in Western countries the support of many well-meaning citizens who had been led astray by intellectuals and pseudo-liberal politicians pursuing opportunist aims. With the help of Israel, Zionism had built up powerful bases in Europe and America, feeding on the feeling of guilt and on the ignorance of the majority regarding the situation in the Middle East. It had created powerful lobbies in Western legislatures and had erected an information barrier around the public in those countries which prevented any meaningful dialogue with the Arabs who only sought their self-protection and their rights.

Many Jewish leaders, inside and outside Israel, were currently arguing against Zionist leaders who persisted in a policy of violence, intransigence and militarism. There were many liberal Jews in Western countries who were raising their voices against Zionist lobbies in defence of the cause of freedom and justice.<sup>175</sup>

The delegate from the Syrian Arab Republic, Mr. Allaf, in response to comments made by the delegate from Barbados, stated that “the sponsors” of L.2159:

... were opposed to Zionism not because it called for the emigration of Jews to Israel but because under Zionism one group sought to unite peoples of various races, colours and origins on the basis of their common religion and persuade them to invade a land and expel its indigenous inhabitants. At the same time, Zionism claimed to be based on the existence of a distinct Jewish people and of a specific land belonging to that people and sought moral and material support for that distinct people in that specific land. It was thus an exclusive and segregationist ideology claiming the existence of a chosen people to whom God had promised a specific homeland. It was that racist basis of Zionism and not

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<sup>174</sup> Ibid., paragraphs 47 to 52.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., paragraphs 54 to 63.



Judaism as such which he opposed. Judaism as a religion had the respect of men and women, everywhere, regardless of religious affiliation, but Judaism, like Christianity and Islam, was a matter of moral choice and spiritual links between man and his creator.

Since its establishment, Israel had constantly violated human rights and sought to expand its territory. Within less than one year, Israel had occupied a territory three times the size of that allotted under the partition plan. The attacks launched by Israel against Arab countries had been supported by the colonialists and racist Powers. In that regard, he said that a number of official United Nations documents showed clearly the economic, political and cultural links existing between the Zionist regime in occupied Palestine and colonialist and racist Powers such as South Africa. It had been claimed that Zionism was a liberation movement. However, how could a liberation movement cooperate so closely with a regime such as that of South Africa? How was it possible for a liberation movement to be supported by countries known to support racist regimes? <sup>176</sup>

The delegate from Saudi Arabia, Mr. Baroody, said that he “had considerable experience of the United Nations,” and had for quite some time seen “the Zionists at work in many places.”

The Jews must try to become accepted in the Middle East and to escape from the psychosis in which Zionism had imprisoned them. He himself had been born and had grown up in the Middle East and had then lived in France and in the United Kingdom before living in the United States; he had thus been able to see the Zionists at work in many places. Their influence was so great that in the United States Congress they could count on the support of 76 senators. In the United Kingdom, France and many other countries, they manipulated information media and preyed upon gullible public opinion with their propaganda.

There were four States delegates who maintained that Zionism was, or was related to, a “concept.” On October 16, the delegate from **Italy**, Mr. Vinci, said “the EEC countries categorically rejected the concept that Zionism was a form of racism and racial discrimination.” On October 17, the delegate from the **United States**, Mr. Garment, stated “the draft resolution changed words with precise meanings into purveyors of confusion and destroyed the moral force of the concept of racism.” On October 17, the delegate from **Canada**, Mrs. Masson, said “her delegation regarded those amendments as inappropriate because they sought to link the concept of Zionism with the racial doctrine of *apartheid*,” and “if draft resolution A/C.3/L.2159 was adopted, it could well corrupt and distort the goals of the Decade.” On October 17, the delegate from **Sweden**, Mr. Stahl, “speaking on behalf of the delegations of the Nordic countries ... Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden ... deplored the introduction of a new element – the references to Zionism – which could radically change the concept of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination,” namely, “to state that Zionism was a form of racism and racial discrimination was totally unacceptable.” The idea put forth by some delegates that Zionism was merely a concept was blown apart by Fayez Sayegh’s lengthy rejoinder and arguments as to why the Third Committee should support the adoption of L.2159.

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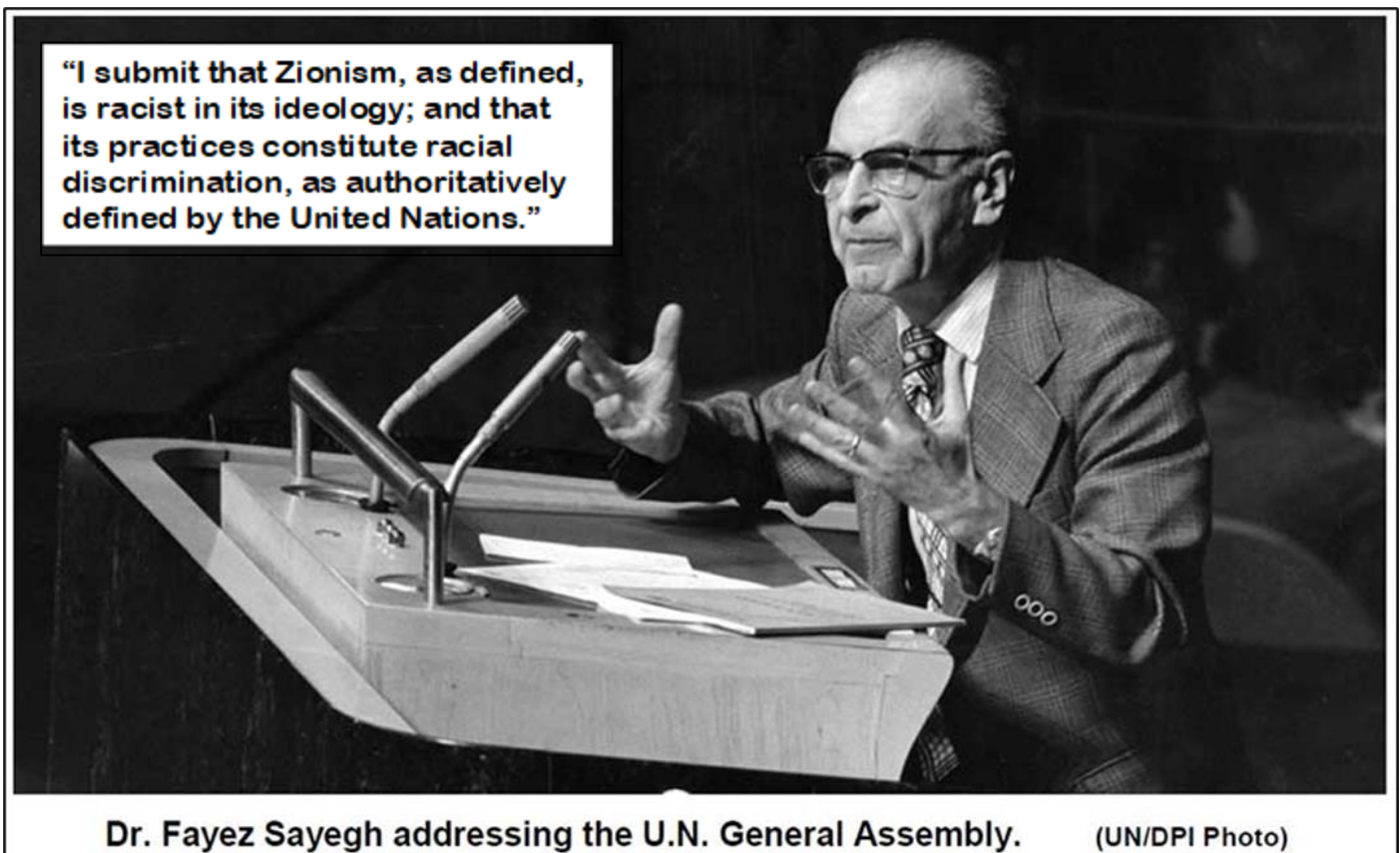
<sup>176</sup> Paragraphs 13 to 21, 2,133<sup>rd</sup> meeting, Friday October 17.

### 8.13. October 17 – Fayeز Sayegh’s Defence of L.2159

On the afternoon of Friday, October 17, moments prior to the Third Committee’s vote and adoption of draft resolution L.2159, which was then forwarded to the General Assembly, Fayeز Sayegh, the delegate from Kuwait, delivered one of his most important speeches made at the United Nations, provided in full, below.

Sayegh ably demonstrated to the delegations at the Third Committee, and to the world, why Zionism is “a form of racism and racial discrimination,” and why the term Zionism had to therefore be included in the wording of the United Nations’ Resolution on *The Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination*. Sayegh had well prepared himself, and his supporters, for this moment: **it was the first time in United Nations’ proceedings that the Zionist Project was formally equated with South African Apartheid.**

The Office of the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization, located at the time on Park Avenue in New York City, thought Sayegh’s October 17<sup>th</sup> speech, and three others made on November 10<sup>th</sup>, so important, it published a special compendium booklet of them in early 1976, *Zionism: “A Form of Racism and Racial Discrimination,” Four Statements Made at the U.N. General Assembly*. The publication, reprinted by Americans for Middle East Understanding, states in its preface that the four texts “are reproduced (without change or editing) from the verbatim records of the meetings,” and that each of “Sayegh’s four statements were made without a text.” The fact that Sayegh was able to deliver his speeches without a prepared, organized text is testimony to his articulate philosophical skill, his photographic memory, and oratory gift. The preface also states that Sayegh’s October 17<sup>th</sup> address was “reproduced from a transcript made from [a] voice recording,” because the Third Committee’s proceedings “are published in summary form only.” After the transcript of the October 17 speech was completed, it was “edited by Dr. Sayegh, who also supplied all additions, including the footnotes which provide the sources of information or quotations cited in the texts as well as relevant additional information.”



**Fayez Sayegh's October 17, 1975, Full Statement, Third Committee, 2,134<sup>th</sup> Meeting**  
("reproduced from a transcript made from the voice recording," published by the Office of  
the Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization, 1976)

- I -

[Beginning at Paragraph 14] "Permit me, Mr. Chairman, to make a few preliminary observations with regard to the draft resolution contained in document A/C.3/ L.2159, of which my Delegation is proud to be a co-sponsor.

**First:** The issue before us is not the Palestine Question; it is not the Arab-Israeli Conflict; it is not the Situation in the Middle East. All these issues – and other related issues – are on the agenda of the General Assembly at its current session. They will be considered, in due course, either in plenary meetings of the Assembly without prior reference to a Main Committee or by the Special Political Committee in the first instance. The issue now before us, however, is: "The Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination;" and the draft resolution under consideration addresses itself to Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination and to nothing else.

**Secondly:** Zionism, with which the draft resolution before us is concerned, **is not a concept which has no precise definition.**<sup>177</sup> The draft resolution does not refer to a word of indeterminate meaning. Zionism is not an amorphous concept which lacks precise form or specific content. On the contrary, the "Zionism" to which the draft resolution refers is a specific political reality. It is a political movement launched at a precise moment in time (in August of 1897) in a precise place (Basle, Switzerland) at the inspiration of a specific man (Theodor Herzl) – a movement which took the form of a specific organization (the World Zionist Organization), which has held twenty-eight regular Zionist Congresses which, in turn, have created specific legislative, executive and other institutions and have adopted a number of formal resolutions, constituting the official doctrine and the official program of Zionism. It is all this (and nothing else other than this) that the draft resolution speaks about. Any semantic play on words is entirely beside the point. We are not engaged in semantic games here, but in very serious business.

**Thirdly:** The meaning of "racial discrimination" is well known to this Committee. Items on "racial discrimination" have been on the agenda of the Third Committee for many, many years. And it was this Committee which formulated the authoritative United Nations definition of "racial discrimination" twelve years ago. The "United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination," proclaimed by the General Assembly on 20 November 1963 in resolution 1904 (XVIII), defines racial discrimination, in article 1, as "discrimination between human beings on the ground of race, colour or ethnic origin." The "International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination," adopted by the General Assembly in resolution 2106 A (XX) of 21 December 1965, defines racial discrimination, in article 1, as "any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin." It will be recalled that both documents were passed by the *Third Committee and by the General Assembly without dissent.*

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<sup>177</sup> *Note:* Sayegh was responding to a number of statements made by States delegates at the Third Committee on October 16 and 17, that Zionism was merely a "concept." Here, in the text, edited by Sayegh during the transcript in 1976, he inserted the following footnote, the first of 31 footnotes:

"During the debate at the Third Committee and at the plenary meeting of the General Assembly, some representatives sought refuge in semantic acrobatics as a means of escape from a substantive discussion of the issues. Some attributed to the concept of "Zionism" a very general and wide-ranging meaning; others thought it was an old, indeed, ancient, movement. Perhaps it is appropriate here to cite the definition of "Zionism" which may be found in a very authoritative Zionist reference work. The two-volume *Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel* was published in New York by the Herzl Press in 1971. It was edited by Raphael Patai; and the Chairman of its Editorial Advisory Committee was Emanuel Neumann. That both these gentlemen are prominent Zionist luminaries is evidenced by the fact that each of them is the subject of an independent, full-length entry in the *Encyclopedia* itself; and the details of their respective biographies attest to their authoritative status on matters of Zionism. Furthermore, the *Encyclopedia* informs its readers that it was prepared "under the distinguished patronage of Zalman Shazar, President of Israel." The Zionist credentials of our source are therefore unassailable. On page 1262 of Volume II, under the heading, "Zionism," we read: "Term coined by Nathan Birnbaum in 1890 for the movement aiming at the return of the Jewish people to the Land of Israel (Palestine). From 1896 on Zionism referred to the political movement founded by Theodor Herzl, aiming at the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine..."

That definition is precisely the one on which the draft resolution now under discussion is based; it is that definition that forms the criterion by which the draft resolution “determines that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination.”

We do not come before this Committee today with a new, arbitrary definition of our own invention and ask it to adopt our definition in order to determine that Zionism is a form of racial discrimination. On the contrary, we come to this Committee with its own, long-established and universally accepted definition of “racial discrimination,” and ask it to judge whether or not Zionism, *as defined by the Zionist movement itself*, constitutes a form of racism and racial discrimination, *as defined by the Committee itself long ago*.

-II-

I submit that Zionism, as defined, is racist in its *ideology* (that is to say, in its *doctrines*, in its *objectives*, and in its *programs*); and that its *practices* constitute racial discrimination, as authoritatively defined by the United Nations.

**Let me first offer a brief analysis of the ideology of Zionism and then proceed to describe some of its practices.**

The central doctrine of Zionism is that the Jews of the world, wherever they may be and regardless of the degree or quality of their religious commitment to Judaism, constitute one nation, one people.<sup>178</sup> Zionism maintains that whatever their citizenship or status in their respective countries, all Jews throughout the world constitute one, separate and distinct people. The corollary of this contention is the belief that Jewishness is a national / ethnic attribute, a bond that links together all Jews anywhere – including those to whom Judaism as a religious faith may be totally irrelevant or only of minimal relevance, or who do not practice the rites or observe the teachings of the Jewish faith.

While maintaining that all Jews constituted one nation, or one people, early Zionists were not unaware that large and influential segments of Jewry rejected that contention<sup>179</sup> and others were unconscious of their alleged

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<sup>178</sup> “We are a people – one people,” wrote Herzl in *Der Judenstaat* (Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State*, [tr. by Berl Locker], Tel Aviv, Newman, 1956, p. 38). “We are a people—one people,” he repeated in an essay on “The Solution to the Jewish Question” (Theodor Herzl, *Zionist Writings: Essays and Addresses*, [tr. by Harry Zohn], New York, Herzl Press, 1973, Vol. I, p. 23). “We are a nation... A nation is a historical group of people who recognizably belong together and are held together by a common foe,” he wrote in reply to an anti-Zionist essay by Dr. Gudemann, Chief Rabbi of Vienna (*Ibid.*, p. 67). “We are a group, a historical group of people who clearly belong together and have a common enemy; this seems to me an adequate definition of a nation,” he wrote in an essay on “Judaism” (*Ibid.*, p. 51; see also p. 146). His chief aide, Max Nordau, put it succinctly in an essay entitled, “Zionism,” as follows: “The one point which excludes, probably forever, the possibility of understanding between Zionist and non-Zionist Jews is the question of Jewish nationality. Whoever maintains and believes that the Jews are not a nation can indeed not be a Zionist... He who is convinced to the contrary that the Jews are a people must necessarily become Zionist... We are a people apart and desire to bring about an unequivocal separation between us and the other nations.” (Arthur Hartzberg, *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader*, New York, Doubleday and Herzl Press, 1959, p. 243).

<sup>179</sup> To illustrate: Much of the first volume of Theodor Herzl: *Zionist Writings: Essays and Addresses*, op.cit., covering 1896-1898, is devoted to replies to statements and essays by the leading rabbis of the day—including Dr. Gudemann, Chief Rabbi of Vienna; Dr. Maybaum, Chairman of the German Rabbinical Association; Dr. Vogelstein, Founder and President of the Association of Liberal Rabbis and Rabbi of Pilsen and Stettin; Chief Rabbi Adler of London; and Rabbi Bloch of Brussels. Considerable space is devoted also to a reply to Claude Montefiore, President of the Liberal Jewish Movement in England and President of the Anglo-Jewish Association. There is a reply also to a declaration issued by the Executive Committee of the Association of Rabbis in Germany, and signed by the Rabbis of Berlin, Frankfurt, Breslau, Halberstadt and Munich, contesting the “erroneous notions” about the “tenets of Judaism and the objectives of its adherents” which had been disseminated through the convocation of the First Zionist Congress and the publication of its agenda. And there are comments on the opposition of the Jewish Religious Community of Munich to the convening of the First Zionist Congress, which compelled the organizers to change the venue of the Congress from Munich to Basle. (See pages 62-70, 89-97, 119-124, 148, and 232-239.)

Rufus Learsy sums up the early reaction of European Jewish organizations to Herzl's message in the following words: “The important Jewish organizations of western Europe – the French *Alliance Israelite Universelle*, its Austrian counterpart, the *Israelitische Allianz*, the Jewish Colonization Association in London—came out in opposition... The Maccabees, a society of Jewish intellectuals in London, listened to Herzl politely but coldly...” While there was some opposition from Orthodox rabbis, he adds, “the most bitter opponents of all were the Reform rabbis. The Jews, they asserted, were not a nation and must not seek to become one.” (Rufus Learsy, *Israel: A History of the Jewish People*, Cleveland, World Publishing Co., 1966, pp. 521-522.)



common peoplehood. Hence the emphasis, in the Basle Program proclaimed by the First Zionist Congress in 1897, on “the strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and consciousness” as one of the four principal means to the attainment of the aim of Zionism.<sup>180</sup> Even half a century later, when the Twenty-Third Zionist Congress, the first to be held after the establishment of Israel, adopted the Jerusalem Program, it felt it necessary to proclaim in its new program that one of the five principal aims of Zionism was “the preservation of the identity of the Jewish people through the fostering of Jewish and Hebrew education.”<sup>181</sup>

If all Jews – whatever their citizenship or other status in their respective countries and whatever the degree or quality of their commitment to Judaism – constituted one, separate and distinct people, it followed that the so-called “Jewish people” was entitled, and indeed called upon, to create a “Judenstaat” or State of Jews. The creation of a State of Jews – of all Jews, and only for Jews – was the principal objective of Zionism.<sup>182</sup>

The doctrine and the principal objective of Zionism give rise to the third part of the Zionist ideology: its program.

It is a program of total transformation of the situation of Jews. Its aim is nothing less than changing the condition of Jews, from the initial condition which prevailed at the time the Zionist movement was launched, when Jews were spread throughout the world, into the condition which would prevail if the Zionist objective were fully achieved, when all Jews would be totally segregated and assembled in one separate “State of Jews.”

Two inter-related programmatic processes are required in order to accomplish such radical transformation of the situation of Jews:

Firstly: Jews must be separated from their respective countries and transplanted into one territory, the site of the “State of Jews;” and

Secondly: Non-Jews must be removed from that territory in order to make room for the transplanted Jews and thus make possible the establishment of a “State of Jews.”

Both processes must take place, if the Zionist objective is to be achieved.

Just as the heartbeat consists of two rhythmic operations – pumping-in and pumping-out – so too the program of Zionism consists of two inter-related operations, each of which is essential for the heartbeat of Zionism and neither of which is dispensable: the detachment of Jews from their respective countries and their mass-transfer to Palestine, and the detachment of the indigenous Palestinian Arabs and their mass-transfer from Palestine.

### -III-

The dynamics of the “pumping-in operation” – namely, the program of mass-immigration of Jews into Palestinian territories under Israeli jurisdiction or occupation – are too familiar to warrant detailed elaboration. They involve manifold inducements for mass-immigration, institutions for financing and organizing mass-immigration, and legal and organizational arrangements for settling the immigrants.

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<sup>180</sup> For the text of the Basle Program, see N. Sokolow, *History of Zionism*, London, 1919, Vol. 1, pp. 268-269.

<sup>181</sup> For the text of the Jerusalem Program, see *The Jerusalem Post* (Weekly Overseas Edition), 6 April 1970.

<sup>182</sup> Although Herzl made it quite plain, by the very title and contents of his booklet, *Der Judenstaat*, and in all his other writings, that the aim of Zionism was the establishment of a “State of Jews,” the First Zionist Congress found it expedient to euphemize; it declared: “The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law.” (Even the Biltmore Program of 1942 confined itself to speaking of a “Jewish Commonwealth.”) However, in his Diaries, Herzl candidly wrote on 3 September 1897: “Were I to sum up the Basel Congress in a word – *which I shall guard against pronouncing publicly* – it would be this: At Basel I founded the Jewish State. If I said this out loud today, I would be answered by universal laughter. Perhaps in five years, and certainly in fifty, everyone will know it.” (*The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl* [tr. by Harry Zohn], New York, Herzl Press, 1960, Vol. II, p. 581. Emphasis added). Weizmann reminisces fifty years later: “We, not less than Herzl, regarded it [the Zionist Congress] as the Jewish State in the making” (*Trial and Error: The Autobiography of Chaim Weizmann*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1949, p. 68). And Ben Gurion speaks of the early Zionist immigrants as having “resolved to devote all their energies to the revival of their homeland ... and eventually to establish a State and become a sovereign people” (*Ben Gurion Looks Back*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1965, p. 165).

If, notwithstanding all these efforts, a relatively small proportion of the Jews of the world has responded to the persistent Zionist call for immigration,<sup>183</sup> it is certainly not for lack of perseverance or ingenuity on the part of the Zionist Establishment.

Nor should the limited success of the “pumping-in operation” obscure the fact that this operation has been, and remains, a primary programmatic principle of Zionism. In the Basle Program of the World Zionist Organization, proclaimed by the first Zionist Congress on 29 August 1897, the first of the four means to the attainment of the end of Zionism was “the promotion, on suitable lines, of the colonization of Palestine by Jewish agricultural and industrial workers.”<sup>184</sup> In the “Proclamation of Independence” of 14 May 1948, the first paragraph following the declaration of the establishment of Israel and the designation of its provisional government opens with the words: “The State of Israel will be open to the immigration of Jews from all countries of their dispersion.”<sup>185</sup> One of the first fundamental laws of Israel (the so-called “Law of Return” of 1950) states in section 1: “Every Jew has the right to come to this country as an *oleh*” (i.e., “a Jew immigrating into Israel”);<sup>186</sup> and the Nationality Law of 1952 states in section 2 (a): “Every *oleh* under the Law of Return, 1950, shall become an Israel national.”<sup>187</sup> In the 23rd World Zionist Congress – the first to be held after the establishment of Israel – the Basle Program was replaced by the Jerusalem Program, and Jewish immigration (*Aliya*) was no longer viewed as one of the “means to the attainment” of the end of Zionism but as one of the “aims.” The new Jerusalem Program states:

“The aims of Zionism are: “The unity of the Jewish people and the centrality of Israel in Jewish life; The ingathering of the Jewish people in its historic homeland Eretz Israel through *Aliya* from all countries”...”<sup>188</sup>

#### -IV-

The “pumping-in operation,” which was unequivocally proclaimed by the Zionist Establishment from the very beginning as a primary programmatic principle of Zionism, has met with less-than-spectacular success in practice. On the other hand, its counterpart, the “pumping-out operation,” was enunciated as a correlative programmatic principle with greater subtlety, some equivocation, and not a little euphemization; but it was more efficiently conducted in practice and it has met with greater success.

The dislodgement of the bulk of the indigenous Palestinian Arab population of the territory seized by Zionism in 1948 was swift; the acquisition of their lands, homes and other property was immediate; and their return to their ancestral Homeland has been effectively prevented.

Since the aim of Zionism, as Weizmann put it in 1919, was that Palestine should become “as Jewish as England is English,”<sup>189</sup> and since indigenous Palestinian Arabs constituted nine-tenths of the population of Palestine at that time, it followed that they (or most of them) had to be removed by one means or another if the aim of Zionism was to be attained. That is the reason why, as the American King-Crane Commission reported to President Wilson in 1919, “the Zionists looked forward to a practically complete dispossession of the present non-Jewish inhabitants of

<sup>183</sup> During the twenty-seven years which have elapsed since the establishment of Israel, only one out of every ten Jews in the world has immigrated. This modest accomplishment becomes even less impressive when it is viewed in conjunction with three other facts: (1) Since more than 45% of the immigrants arrived during the first few years of euphoria following the establishment of Israel – some 685,000 arriving between 15 May 1948 and 31 December 1951 – it follows that, during the past twenty-four years, less than 7% of the Jews of the world have immigrated. (2) Since 1948, more than 250,000 Jews have emigrated from Israel, constituting the equivalent of over 16% of the total number of immigrants notwithstanding the extraordinary difficulties placed in the way of emigration. (3) In the same period, several hundred thousand other Jews emigrated from their countries and chose to go to destinations other than Israel. In all, then the results of the intensive Zionist program of inducing mass-immigration during the past quarter-century have been less than spectacular.

<sup>184</sup> See N. Sokolow, *History of Zionism*, London, 1919, vol. 1, pp. 268-269.

<sup>185</sup> J. Badi (ed.), *Fundamental Laws of the State of Israel*, (tr. by Leo Kohn), New York, Twayne, 1961, pp. 8-11.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 156-157.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 254-258.

<sup>188</sup> See *Jerusalem Post* (Weekly Overseas Edition), 6 April 1970, p. 10.

<sup>189</sup> *Chaim Weizmann: Excerpts from His Statements, Writings and Addresses*, New York, The Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1952, p. 48. See also, *Chaim Weizmann, Trial and Error: The Autobiography of Chaim Weizmann*, op. cit. p. 244; and *Palestine Government, The Political History of Palestine Under British Administration*, Jerusalem, Government Printer, 1947, p. 3, para. 12.

Palestine.”<sup>190</sup> And that is why Theodor Herzl, the father of the Zionist idea and the founder of the Zionist Organization, had written in his Diaries on 12 June 1895 that “when we occupy the land ... we must expropriate gently the private property on the estates assigned to us” and “try to spirit the penniless population across the border.”<sup>191</sup>

To be sure, Zionist leaders knew that the dispossession and removal of the Palestinians could not take place overnight. So long as a powerful Zionist community had not assembled in Palestine in adequate numbers, and so long as Palestine remained under the control of a third Power, the ultimate goal had to be deferred. But when, in 1948, the inhibiting factors had disappeared and that goal could be attained, no time was wasted in attaining it.

In his Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator on Palestine, Count Folke Bernadotte, later slain by Israeli terrorists in Jerusalem, wrote:

“The exodus of Palestinian Arabs resulted from panic created by fighting in their communities, by rumours concerning real or alleged acts of terrorism, or expulsion... There have been numerous reports from reliable sources of large-scale looting, pillaging and plundering, and of instances of destruction of villages without apparent military necessity.”<sup>192</sup>

Little wonder that Weizmann then described the panicky exodus of the bulk of Palestinian Arabs as a “miraculous simplification of *Israel's tasks*”<sup>193</sup> or that Ben Gurion spoke of the lands emptied of their Palestinian owners and taken over by the Zionist government<sup>194</sup> with equal elation: “For decades we collected pennies to buy a scrap of earth. Now we have millions of dunams to dispose of.”<sup>195</sup>

The same logic that had originally decreed the inevitability of Palestinian dislodgement has also produced the corollary Zionist imperative: that the displaced Palestinians must not be permitted to return to their homes. The rationale of this inflexible Zionist policy was candidly expressed by General Moshe Dayan when, admitting that “economically we can” absorb the refugees, he nevertheless imperiously ruled out the return of the displaced Palestinians as being “not in accord with our aims.” He explained: “It would turn Israel into either a bi-national or poly-Arab-Jewish state instead of the Jewish state, and we want to have a Jewish state.”<sup>196</sup>

The ideological requirements of the cardinal Zionist principle of “Jewish exclusiveness” have thus been given absolute precedence over the moral and legal requirements of inalienable human rights. As early as 1948, the late Count Bernadotte wrote:

“It would be an offence against the principles of elemental justice if these innocent victims of the conflict were denied the right to return to their homes while Jewish immigrants flow into Palestine, and, indeed, at least offer the threat of permanent replacement of the Arab refugees who have been rooted in the land for centuries.”<sup>197</sup>

<sup>190</sup> Quoted in: Palestine Government, *The Political History*, op. cit., p. 3, para. 13.

<sup>191</sup> *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 88.

<sup>192</sup> *Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator on Palestine*, U.N. Document A/648 (*General Assembly Official Records: Third Session, Supplement No. 11, Part I, chapter V, paragraphs 6 and 7.*)

<sup>193</sup> James G. McDonald, *My Mission in Israel*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1951, p.176 (Emphasis added).

<sup>194</sup> For a *Zionist* assessment of the area of the Palestinian Arab lands taken over by Zionist authorities, see Jewish National Fund, *Jewish Villages in Israel*, Jerusalem, Keren Kayemeth Leisrael Head Office, 1949, page xxi: “Of the entire area of the State of Israel [approximately 8,000 square miles] only about 300,000-400,000 dunams [75,000-100,000 acres]—apart from the desolate rocky area of the southern Negev, at present quite unfit for cultivation—are State Domain which the Israel Government took over from the Mandatory regime. The J.N.F. [Jewish National Fund] and private Jewish owners possess under two million dunams [under 500,000 acres]. *Almost all the rest belongs at law to Arab owners, many of whom have left the country.* The fate of these Arabs will be settled when the terms of peace treaties between Israel and her Arab neighbours are finally drawn up. The J.N.F., however, cannot wait until then to obtain the land it requires for its pressing needs. *It is, therefore, acquiring part of the land abandoned by the Arab owners, through the Government of Israel, the sovereign authority in Israel.*” (Emphasis and explanations within wall brackets added).

<sup>195</sup> David Ben Gurion, *Rebirth and Destiny of Israel* (tr. by Mordekhai Nurock), New York, Philosophical Library, 1954, p. 504.

<sup>196</sup> CBS NEWS, “TRANSCRIPT: FACE THE NATION (as broadcast over the CBS Television Network and the CBS Radio Network),” 11 June 1967, p. 12.

<sup>197</sup> *Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator on Palestine*, op. cit., Part I, chapter V, para. 6.

How ironical it is that, more than a quarter-century later, the world witnesses the Zionist Movement invoke universal moral principles in order to rally support for one part of its exclusionist program (the “pumping-in operation”) while flouting the same moral principles in furtherance of the other, correlative part of its program (the “pumping-out operation”) – invoking, in other words, the principle of free movement of people in order to put pressure on certain countries to permit their Jewish citizens to emigrate en masse to Israel, while flouting the same principle in preventing the Palestinian Arabs from returning to their homes. Need I emphasize that the right of free movement is indivisible? Need I remind the Committee that that right was enunciated by the General Assembly, in article 13 (paragraph 2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in the following words: “Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country?”

-V-

By its very essence, Zionism implies a system of “distinctions,” “exclusions,” “restrictions” and “preferences” – to use the four keywords employed in article 1 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination to define “discrimination.”

The question now arises: Is the system of discrimination which is inherent in Zionism a form of racial discrimination? Are the “distinctions,” “exclusions,” “restrictions” and “preferences,” which are inseparable from the objectives and programs of Zionism, based on “racial” grounds? Is the criterion by which Zionism makes “distinctions” between human beings – in accordance with which some are “excluded” and others “included,” some are given “preference” and others are subjected to “restrictions” – a “racial” criterion?

Clearly, the basic criterion is Jewishness. In its pursuit of its objective of creating a “State of Jews,” Zionism has developed a dual program for separating Jews from non-Jews – by detaching Jews from their respective countries and transplanting them into Palestine, and by detaching the indigenous Palestinian Arabs and removing them from Palestine. But is Jewishness a “racial” attribute?

My Delegation maintains that Jewishness is primarily a religious attribute. But it is not what we maintain that is relevant: in the present context, it is what Zionism itself believes that counts!

Moreover, I must once more remind the Committee that, in our attempt to determine whether “Jewishness,” according to Zionism, is “racial,” we must keep in mind the Committee’s (and the General Assembly’s) own generic definition of “race” – which encompasses not only “race” in the narrow sense of the term, but also “colour,” “descent,” “national origin” and “ethnic origin.”

So, the question I raised a moment ago must be re-phrased as follows: Is the system of “distinctions,” “exclusions,” “restrictions” and “preferences” (which is inherent in Zionism, and which constitutes “discrimination”) based on an interpretation of “Jewishness” which equates it with any of the following concepts: “race,” “colour,” “descent,” “national origin,” or “ethnic origin?” Or is that system of distinctions based on a view of “Jewishness” as a religious attribute? Is Zionism primarily, therefore, a form of “racial” discrimination, as we all understand that word, or is it primarily a form of “religious” discrimination – and therefore outside the purview of our present discussion of the item, “Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination?”

From the very beginning, Zionism opted to discard the purely religious interpretation of Jewishness. Jews, it proclaimed, are a people; and Jewishness, therefore, is a national / ethnic bond. While it eschewed more precise definitions of Jewishness (partly, perhaps, in order to avoid divisions within its ranks), Zionism did lay primary emphasis on the alleged peoplehood of Judaism. I refer members of the Committee to a relevant passage in the Diaries of Herzl, in which the father of Zionism described a conversation he had had with his chief lieutenant, Max Nordau. Wrote Herzl:

“Yesterday with Nordau, over a glass of beer. Also discussed the Jewish question, of course. Never before had I been in such perfect tune with Nordau. Each took the words right out of the other’s mouth. I never had such a strong feeling that we belonged together. This has nothing to do with religion. He even said that there was no



such a thing as a Jewish dogma. But we are of one race . . .”<sup>198</sup>

Herzl and Nordau may have over-stated the negative thesis: not all Zionists would agree that “there was no such a thing as a Jewish dogma.” But certainly all Zionists must endorse the affirmative proposition that Jews are one people, and the corollary that Jewishness is a national/ethnic bond—or they would not be Zionists at all.

In an essay entitled, “Zionism,” Herzl wrote:

“When the Jews, as Mendelssohn wished, came together only for religious services and for the rest adjusted themselves to the people among which they happened to be living, then they were no more related to each other than are perhaps the various peoples of the respective Christian rites. The history of the group was to be put to an end, its homogeneity was to become unrecognizable... We do not want to give up our own nationality; on the contrary, we want to cherish it...”<sup>199</sup>

For half a century (from its birth in 1897 until the proclamation of Israel in 1948), Zionism was able to avoid giving a more precise, legal answer to the question, “Who is a Jew?” other than reiterating that “*all Jews are one people and that Jewishness is a national / ethnic bond, not merely a religious attribute.*”<sup>200</sup> In fact, some Zionist scholars have offered an excuse for this delinquency. Thus, Dr. Nathan Feinberg, then Associate Professor of International Law and Relations at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, wrote just before the establishment of Israel that

“neither the Mandate nor any other international document contains a definition of the term ‘Jewish people’ or a criterion by which membership of the Jewish people could be ascertained. This is not accidental. The peculiar situation of the Jewish people, which is the outcome of its abnormal history, does not permit of a comprehensive legal formula which would be applicable to all Jews wherever they might be.”<sup>201</sup>

But, with the establishment of Israel, the resolution of the problem could no longer be deferred. Important day-to-day decisions had to be made in application of the so-called Law of Return, the Nationality Law, and a host of other laws and regulations governing questions of personal status (including marriage, divorce, burial, legitimacy, etc.); and they all presupposed the existence of a precise, legal definition of “Who is a Jew?” Nevertheless, it took twenty-two years for such a definition to be written into law. The definition of Jewishness has proved to be one of the thorniest public issues with which the so-called “Jewish state” has ever had to grapple! The clashes between religious and secular parties within the ruling coalition; differences between the views of Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Jews; and differences between the position of the Judiciary, on the one hand, and the political interests of the Executive and the majority of the Legislature, on the other hand – all these contributed to the difficulty of providing a precise and definitive answer to the question, “Who is a Jew?” It was not until March 1970 that the question was resolved – who knows, perhaps only temporarily.

<sup>198</sup> *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 196.

<sup>199</sup> “Zionism,” in Ludwig Lewisohn (ed.), *Theodor Herzl: A Portrait for This Age*, Cleveland, World Publishing Co., 1955, p. 321.

<sup>200</sup> In his monumental book, *The Balfour Declaration*, which is a Zionist classic, Leonard Stein summarizes very neatly the essence of Zionism, as “proclaiming that the Jews were a people or a nation, and not a sect or religious brotherhood.” (Leonard Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, New York, Simon and Schuster, 1961, p. 73). This belief remains the essence of Zionism. A few recent illustrations may be useful. William Mehlman, then Editor of the now defunct, *The Times of Israel and World Jewish Review*, asserted in 1974: “Historically speaking, the Jews were promised the state long before they ever got the Torah. *We are not a religion – let’s get that straight right now. We are a people, and we began our political existence with the promise of a state. Without that state we are no longer a people or a religion.*” (The Times of Israel and World Jewish Review, Volume I, No. 3, February 1974, p. 76; emphasis added). An Israeli Zionist professor, Amos Perlmutter, stated in a recent interview: “For me, Judaism is symbiotic. It is both a people and a religion. If you look at the history of the Jews, you see *there could no Jewish religion without the ethnic group, the Jewish people, and there could not be a Jewish people without the Jewish religion...*” (Newsweek, 2 February 1976, p. 39; emphasis added). According to the London Jewish Chronicle, a statement by Dr. Bruno Kreisky, Chancellor of Austria (who is a Jew) to the effect that “there is no Jewish nation, only a Jewish religious community or a community of faith” appeared to have indirectly affected relations with Israel (No. 5560, of 14 November 1975, p. 3).

<sup>201</sup> N. Feinberg, “The Recognition of the Jewish People in International Law,” in N. Feinberg and J. Stoyanovsky (eds), *The Jewish Yearbook of International Law: 1948*, Jerusalem, Rubin Mass, 1949, p. 18.

I would be straying far beyond the proper limits of my present statement were I to attempt to summarize the evolution of the question from 1948 until 1970. Suffice it to say that, after a showdown between the Supreme Court and the Cabinet over the Shalit case, the Court ruled on 23 January 1970 that a person can be considered a Jew without belonging to the Jewish faith. The Cabinet promptly moved to draft legislation (which was completed on 4 February 1970) restoring the compromise which had prevailed until the landmark ruling of the Court was made; and the Knesset finally enacted a law, on 10 March 1970, which in effect reaffirmed the rabbinical interpretation of Jewish law and determined that a Jew was one born of a Jewish mother or a convert. It was precisely this definition of Jewishness that had been assailed by a Supreme Court judge several years earlier as “biological,” “racist” and reminiscent of the Nazis! Judge Haim Cohn, of the Supreme Court of Israel, had said:

“It is one of the bitterest ironies of fate that the same biological or racist approach which was propagated by the Nazis and characterized the infamous Nuremberg laws should, because of an allegedly sacrosanct Jewish tradition, become the basis for the official determination or rejection of Jewishness in the state of Israel.”<sup>202</sup>

The point I have been trying to make is simple. Zionism, essentially, vests certain rights – very important rights – in some people and denies them to others. For example: it says that a Jew, simply by virtue of being a Jew, has a “right” to “return” to the Palestinian territories occupied by Israel, even if he had never been there before! But it also says that his compatriot, a non-Jew, has no such right; and that the indigenous Palestinian Arab, dislodged in 1948 or 1967, also has no such right – because he is not a Jew. Here we have a clear-cut case of “distinctions,” “preferences,” “exclusions” and “restrictions” – that is to say, of “discrimination” – based solely on the basis of whether a person is or is not a Jew. And Jewishness, all Zionists would agree, is a national / ethnic bond; it is, under Israeli law, determined – for the vast majority of the persons involved – by birth and ancestry. Therefore, in accordance with the authoritative United Nations definition, the discrimination which is inherent in Zionism is incontestably a form of racial discrimination for it is based on “descent” or “national origin” or “ethnic origin,” all of which are subsumed under the generic concept of “race.”

One more brief observation before I conclude this portion of my statement, on the ideology of Zionism:

Whenever a regime discriminates, in law or in fact, against a Jew, that discrimination is unhesitatingly described as “racial discrimination” by Zionists;<sup>203</sup> and the regime is duly condemned as “racist.” If a practice perpetrated by a non-Jew against a Jew is described as “racist” and “racially discriminatory,” how can it be denied that, when the same practice is perpetrated by a Jew against a non-Jew, the perpetrator is also a “racist” and the practice is also a form of “racial discrimination?” Does anyone suggest that an injustice inflicted by a non-Jew against a Jew is wrong, but the same injustice inflicted by a Jew against a non-Jew is less wrong or not wrong at all? The suggestion itself – if and when it is made, in an effort to exonerate Zionism or to shield it from being branded “racist” and “racially discriminatory” – would be a supreme instance of racism and racial discrimination!

-VI-

**Let me turn now to the second part of my statement, on the practices of Zionism in Israel. I propose to deal with three aspects of those practices.**

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<sup>202</sup> The Times (London), 25 July 1963. Mr. Justice Cohn's views appear to be shared by other Israelis, including some prominent members of the “Establishment.” Thus, Menachem Israel, Israeli correspondent for the Jewish Press (which reminds its readers three times in every issue that it has “the largest circulation of any Anglo-Jewish weekly newspaper in the world”), wrote recently: “The fact seems to be that there are far more Jews than we are aware of, in Israel as well as in the Diaspora, who not only do not know, but who are also nodding their heads in agreement – some vigorously, some ruefully – with the U.N. resolution” (Jewish Press, 14 November 1975, p. 4). In a later dispatch from Israel he becomes more explicit – referring not only to Cohn but also to Mrs. Shulamit Aloni, then head of the Ya'ad faction in the Parliament of Israel (Jewish Press, 12 December 1975, pp. 4 and 23). Another article in the same issue, by Mordecai Bar Lavoy, was devoted to an analysis of Mrs. Aloni's statements (“Racist Israel: According to Shulamit Aloni,” Jewish Press, 12 December 1975, p. 16).

<sup>203</sup> Weeks after the present statement was made at the Third Committee, a prominent Zionist leader who had railed against the General Assembly resolution (Arthur Hertzberg, who, among many other things, is president of the American Jewish Congress), described U.S. immigration quotas which had restricted the immigration of Jews to the United States as “avowedly racist.” (See Lawrence Mosher, “Five American Backers of Israel,” in *The National Observer*, 10 January 1976).

Like a cancer, racism has a propensity for expansion: it defies containment. Having adopted a racist approach towards non-Jews, Zionism soon came to draw a color-line or a racial line among the Jews themselves. The Zionist myth of “one Jewish people” was exploded as soon as Jews from different cultural, ethnic and racial backgrounds were assembled together. Oriental Jews and Black Jews found themselves subject to discrimination by *other Jews* – i.e., by the Jews of the “White Jewish Establishment.”

If the “white” Jews from Europe and America, who constitute the backbone of the “Establishment,” are Israel's first-class citizens, the Oriental Jews and the Black Jews constitute the second-class and third-class citizens of the *Judenstaat* respectively. This makes the Arab citizens, the remnants of the Palestinian Arab people in Israel, fourth-class citizens in their own land.

The discontent of Oriental Jews in Israel, and their restiveness under the system of *de facto* inequality to which they have been subjected, have erupted in demonstrations, disturbances and riots half a dozen times or more in the past quarter-century. First came the riots of Yemeni Jews in 1950; then the demonstrations of Iraqi Jews in 1951; then the uprising of Indian Jews, and their withdrawal from Israel, in 1952. Then there were the bloody riots of Moroccan Jews in 1959; and then, again, the rioting of Yemeni Jews in 1961 and of Iraqi Jews in 1965. And finally, there appeared on the scene the phenomenon of “Black Panthers” – with outbursts in March, April, May and August of 1971. (Even the disturbances in Ashdod, which took place a few weeks ago, were not unrelated to the grievances of Oriental Jews.)<sup>204</sup>

When the lengthy disturbances of the “Black Panthers” in 1971 made headlines in the Western Press, the story of the inequality suffered by Oriental Jews began to be known among people who had been led to think of Israel as the “bastion of democracy in the Middle East.” The true situation of Oriental Jews in Israel became better known abroad. Although Oriental Jews constituted more than half of the population, only one Oriental Jew was to be found in the eighteen-member Cabinet, and only 21 of the 120 seats in Parliament were occupied by Oriental Jews. It was also revealed, at that time, that only 3% of the officials in the top levels of the Civil Service and 4% of the chief executives of public companies were Oriental Jews. In high schools, only 25% of the enrollment was by Oriental Jews; in the universities, only 10%.

The situation of the Black Jew in Israel is even worse than that of the Oriental Jew. Two groups of Black Jews have been in the news in recent years: Fellasha Jews from Ethiopia, and American Black Jews coming to Israel either directly or via Liberia.

I have before me an article which appeared in *Sh'ma: A Journal of Jewish Responsibility* (Volume III, No. 44, dated 22 December 1972; pages 30 and 31) under the heading: “Does Color Determine Marginality?” I would like to read out a few paragraphs:

“The Fellashas are deeply religious Jews and have been for two thousand years. They are intelligent, hard-working people living off the land. It would be easy to settle them on kibbutzim. At present, there are only a dozen Fellasha Jews begging the Israeli consul to grant them visas. Among them are Samuel Wubshet, his wife and his baby ...

“Recently, the case of the Wubshet family’s departure for Israel reached the crisis point. After waiting two years for the right to make aliyah (to immigrate to Israel), the Israeli Embassy in Addis Ababa informed them they would finally be granted ‘tourist’ visas – if they could meet two prior conditions. First, they would have to produce their tickets to and from Israel (\$560 each way); second, they would have to produce \$100 for each member’s stay in Israel in order to prove financial independence during their visit.

“*Needless to say, these demands have never been asked of any tourist – Jewish or non-Jewish – going to Israel...*” (Italic emphasis added).

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<sup>204</sup> More recently, Joseph Harmatz, Director of ORT-Israel, stated in a report presented to the National Conference of the American ORT Federation: “The gap between the ‘two Israels,’ those of Western and those of non-European origin, continues to be one of the most anguished sores on the social fabric of Israel.” (Jewish Telegraphic Agency Daily News Bulletin, 30 January 1976, p. 4).

Let us keep in mind that this was in 1972 – when Israel was pleading with the Jews of Europe and America to immigrate! The story of American Black Jews can best be told through number of dispatches published in the semi-official, Zionist news bulletin, *The Jewish Telegraphic Agency Daily News Bulletin*:

Vol. XXXVI, No. 243-24 December 1969: “Israeli officials decided today to admit 39 American Negroes – 15 of them children – who arrived here unexpectedly yesterday declaring themselves Jews seeking to settle in Israel as immigrants. They have been given temporary visas for a three-month stay in the country pending the issuance of permanent residence permits.”

“The group, originally from Chicago, came here from Liberia...”

“Whether the group will be granted immigrant status and the privileges that go with it remains to be seen...”

Vol. XXXVIII, No. 168-1 September 1971: “A leader of the self-styled Black Hebrews who began coming to Israel from the United States two years ago and are demanding citizenship..., Ben Ami (formerly Ben Carter), ... accused the government of being a ‘racist, Jim Crow country.’ He contended that the state and rabbinate refused to give them equal rights, housing, education or jobs because they were not considered Jewish. The first of the group arrived in 1969 after an unsuccessful attempt to settle in Liberia and were given resident status and flats in Dimona. Others, including Carter, came later and were given tourist visas. He has demanded that they be accepted at once as immigrants... *The Interior Ministry has refused to grant them citizenship which, under the Law of Return, is automatic for Jewish immigrants...*” (Italics emphasis added).

Vol. XXXVIII, No. 190-6 October 1971: “The Interior Ministry has instructed immigration officials at Lydda Airport and Haifa port to deny admission to persons arriving in Israel without visible means of support. It was learned that the order stemmed from the small but continuing flow of American Blacks... About 300 Black Jews ... have come to the country in the past two years...

“An American Black family that arrived at Lydda Airport on a TWA plane over the week-end with a one-way ticket and \$7 cash was returned to the U.S. aboard the same plane...”

Vol. XXXVIII, No. 191-7 October 1971: “A group of 20 more self-styled Black Jews arrived at Lydda Airport from the United States today but were denied entry into the country...”

Shortly after the foregoing dispatch was disseminated, the Israeli Interior Minister referred to the question of the “Black Hebrews” of Dimona in a lecture in Tel Aviv. The following report on his statement appeared in the *Jerusalem Post* (Weekly Overseas Edition) of 19 October 1971:

“Recent statements made by members of the group – derogatory to the State and to Jews in general – reveal their true character,’ he said. This was why he had given instructions to border control officials to prevent the entry of additional undesirable elements of this kind.”

The next step was to begin to get rid of the Black Jews who had already been admitted to the country. Thus, in *The Jewish Telegraphic Agency Daily News Bulletin* (Vol. XXXVIII, No. 202, of 26 October 1971) there appeared the following dispatch:

“An Interior Ministry spokesman said yesterday that the visitors’ visas of the self-styled Black Hebrews of Dimona would not be renewed when they expire at the end of this month...” Further developments in the case have not been reported with much regularity. Perhaps the following dispatch may have some bearing on the sudden fall of the curtain on the story of the Black Jews:

Vol. XXX VIII, No. 217-16 November 1971: “TEL AVIV—Moshe Gilboa, Israel's Consul General in Atlanta, Ga., said here that the furor over the case of the Black Hebrews in Dimona is harming Israel’s image among American Blacks in the South...”

From the few reports in the general press, however, one gathers that deportation of the Black Jews from Israel began in earnest in late 1973. One learns from a report in *The New York Times* of 5 September 1973 that – according to police officials – Israel planned to deport the entire group of Black Jews of Dimona: “A spokesman said that about 15 members of the group had recently been deported to the United States and that it was ‘just a



matter of time until we send them all back.” On 3 October 1973, it was reported that the Israel High Court postponed the expulsion of 28 more American Black Jews “but rejected their right to remain in Israel” (New York Times, 4 October 1973).

My Delegation has no further information on the present status of Black Jews in Israel; perhaps some other, more knowledgeable Delegation might enlighten the Committee on that question.

There is, however, one observation that must be made about the exceptional difficulties encountered by Black Jews, whether Fellashas from Ethiopia or “Black Hebrews” from the United States, *and by no other group of Jewish immigrants.*

Some reports have indicated, or intimated, that the “Jewishness” of these groups was in doubt, and that that was the reason for the refusal of the Israeli authorities to admit them under the so-called Law of Return or to extend to them the privileges following therefrom. This may be so. However, the same doubts had been expressed, often by the same authorities, about the “Jewishness” of some of the *European* Jews who were immigrating into Israel at about the same time. Yet one finds no evidence that any group of European or American white Jews was denied the status of *olim* (Jewish immigrants) under the so-called Law of Return, or was prevented from entering the country, or was deported, on those grounds.

As for the claim that Black Jews – Ethiopian “Fellashas” or American “Black Hebrews” – were denied entry into Israel because of their lack of funds, everyone knows that the Jewish Agency and a host of other Zionist organizations have spent millions of dollars annually on subsidizing the mass-immigration of needy European Jews; that lack of funds among the prospective immigrants has never been a barrier to the entry of white Jewish immigrants under the so-called Law of Return. After all, supporting the immigration and settlement of Jews is what Zionism is all about: need for such support cannot be the real reason why the immigration and settlement of Black Jews is obstructed by the Zionist authorities.

#### -VII-

Discrimination against the indigenous Palestinian Arabs by the Zionist regime in Israel may be discussed under two headings: discrimination against the majority, dislodged in 1948 and 1967 and prevented since then from returning to their homes and Homeland, because their return would alter the “Jewish character” of Israel; and discrimination against the remnants of the Palestinian Arab community who were permitted to stay behind. I have alluded already to the fate of the first group in earlier parts of my statement. As for the status of the minority – the Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel – I am spared the need for discussing it at length by the brilliant statement made yesterday by my good friend, Wisam Zahawi, the distinguished representative of Iraq.

A few observations may be in order, however.

*First:* Discrimination against the remnants of the Palestinian Arab people in Israel exists both *in law* and *in practice.*

In some respects, they suffer *de jure* inequality: their enjoyment of certain rights is restricted by certain laws which purport to grant certain fundamental rights to *Jews only* and by other laws which provide for *different standards* relative to the enjoyment of other basic rights by Jews and non-Jews. For example, the so-called Law of Return purports to bestow upon every Jew, anywhere, the “right” to “return” to a country which he had never seen before: no non-Jew, including the indigenous Palestinian Arab, has such a “right” under Israeli law. The Nationality Law sets up different standards for the acquisition of Israeli nationality: section 2 provides that “*every oleh* (i.e., Jewish immigrant) under the Law of Return *shall* become an Israel national” (italics emphasis added); under section 3, however, the acquisition of Israeli nationality by a person to whom section 2 does not apply (i.e., by a non-Jew) requires the fulfillment of three conditions.

Under the Keren Kayemeth Leisrael Law of 1953, the Covenant of 1961 (on the relationship of Israel and the Jewish National Fund), the Agricultural Settlement Law of 1967, and other related legislation, all land acquired by the Jewish National Fund (see above, footnote 18) or by the state – including the lands owned by the Palestinian

Arab refugees and lands requisitioned from the Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel – is subject to the restrictive provisions of the Charter of the Jewish National Fund and the Constitution of the Jewish Agency. These provisions prohibit the sale of land to non-Jews, the *leasing* of land to non-Jews, or the *employment* of non-Jews!

In other respects, however, discriminatory treatment of the Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel results not from specific mandatory provisions of discriminatory legislation but from the application of permissive clauses in general legislation (such as the Emergency Regulations).

*Secondly:* As a result of the system of *de jure* and *de facto* discrimination to which the Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel are subjected, their daily life is governed by multiform “distinctions,” “exclusions” or “restrictions” reminiscent of the most obnoxious forms of anti-Semitism perpetrated against Jews by racist regimes in other lands and other periods of human history. That former victims of racial discrimination elsewhere should have turned around and inflicted similar forms of discrimination against the remnants of the Palestinian Arab people is one of the more tragic ironies of contemporary history.

*Thirdly:* Some apologists for Israel and Zionism have sought to refute the charge of Israeli discrimination against Palestinian Arabs by pointing to certain political and civil rights which, they say, Palestinian Arabs do enjoy in Israel – such as the right to participate in national elections, including the right to be elected to Parliament. I fail to see how the enjoyment of one right can conceal – or justify – privation from other rights. Must discrimination be total and all-encompassing in order to be real, or objectionable? I leave it to members of this Committee to decide for themselves whether they would be persuaded by a defense against charges of cruelty, which is based on the assertion that one limb of a victim had in fact been spared amputation during his torture!

*Fourthly:* Another favorite argument of the defenders of Israel against charges of discrimination is the allegation that the Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel are economically “better off” now than they were in 1948 and “better off” than Arabs in other countries. Our immediate concern now is whether the Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel are in fact subject to discrimination in the Zionist *Judenstaat*. Are they, or are they not, subject in some instances to “restrictions” and in other instances to “exclusions?” Are there, or are there not, “distinctions” between them and the Jewish immigrants; and do these Jewish immigrants, or do they not, enjoy “preferences?” That is the question. And that question can be definitively resolved not by comparing the condition of the Palestinian Arabs in Israel in 1975 with their own condition under the British Mandate in 1948 (is there any place in the world, I ask parenthetically, where people have fewer television or radio sets in 1975 than they had in 1948?), nor by comparing their condition with that of Arabs in other Arab countries – but only by comparing their condition today with the condition of Jews in Israel today! Is there any representative in this hall – including the representative of the United States and the representative of Israel – who would contend that the remnants of the indigenous Palestinian Arab people enjoy equality with the Jewish immigrants in Israel?

#### -VIII-

The final aspect of the practices of Israel which I would like to discuss lies in the field of foreign policy and international relations. I refer to the growing intimacy and collaboration between Israel and South Africa.

I realize that, at this very moment, another Committee of the General Assembly (the Special Political Committee) is meeting in a chamber not far from us and considering this very question, under the general item, “Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa.” Representatives in that Committee have before them a number of reports, prepared by the competent body of the United Nations (the Special Committee Against Apartheid) surveying recent developments in the relations between Israel and South Africa (documents A/AC.115/L.383, L.396 and L.411) as well as other reports prepared by that same body containing information on the relations of South Africa in specific fields with other countries, including Israel (documents A/AC.115/L.414, L.415, L.416 and L.417). These documents contain abundant information drawn from all the authoritative sources available to that specialized United Nations body. It would hardly be appropriate for me to take your time to present information which is available in official United Nations reports. I shall content myself with making three brief observations on the subject:

*First:* The wealth of evidence submitted by the Special Committee Against Apartheid shows that, precisely when the international community was acting to isolate the South African regime, Israel was stepping up its activities to de-isolate that regime.

*Secondly:* Confronted with this situation, the General Assembly proceeded at its twenty-eighth session (in 1973) and again at its twenty-ninth session (in 1974) to condemn what it has termed an “unholy alliance” between the two regimes.<sup>205</sup> In resolution 3151 G (XXVIII) of 14 December 1973, the General Assembly –

“Emphasiz[ed] the collusion between Portuguese colonialism, the apartheid regime and zionism, as exemplified by the political, military and financial aid supplied to each other by Portugal, South Africa and Israel” (preambular paragraph 7), and

“Condemn[ed], in particular, the unholy alliance between Portuguese colonialism, South African racism, zionism and Israeli imperialism” (operative paragraph 5).

And in resolution 3324 E (XXIX) of 16 December 1974, the General Assembly –

“Condemn[ed] the strengthening of political, economic, military and other relations between Israel and South Africa” (operative paragraph 5).

*Thirdly:* The expanding relations between the two regimes is a manifestation of an underlying ideological affinity that attracts the bastion of racism in western Asia and the stronghold of racism in southern Africa to each other.

#### -IX-

In lieu of a conclusion, I would like to call on two witnesses – two very different individuals: a non-Zionist and an arch-Zionist; a philosopher of history and a political activist – to shed some light, each from his own chosen perspective, on the ideological kinship of Zionism and *apartheid*.

My first witness is the renowned observer and analyst of the human scene, Arnold Toynbee. In his book, *Experiences*, Toynbee reflects on the great changes which came to the world during his eighty years of life. Chapter IV of this great work is devoted to what he calls, “The Struggle Between Human Feeling and Inhumanity;” and section ii of this chapter is entitled, “Human Feeling versus Genocide, Eviction and Apartheid.” I cannot commend this whole section too strongly.<sup>206</sup>

Toynbee begins by describing one of the anomalies of history in his lifetime:

“There has not, so far as I know, been any previous age in which the common humanity of all human beings, just in virtue of our all being human, has been so widely recognized and acted upon as it is today,”

he writes. But this is only one part of the story; for, he continues,

“the age through which I have lived has also seen the moral implications of mankind’s common humanity repudiated in outrageous doctrines that have served as excuses for atrocious acts.”

Toynbee has thus set the stage for his analysis of three varieties of “outrageous doctrines” which repudiate mankind’s common humanity and serve as excuses for atrocious acts. He describes them in descending order of outrageousness.

<sup>205</sup> Towards the end of its thirtieth session (of 1975), the General Assembly adopted another resolution, again on the recommendation of its Special Political Committee, in which it reaffirmed that “continued collaboration” with the South African regime “impedes the efforts for the eradication of *apartheid*” and “again condemn[ed] the strengthening of relations and collaboration between the racist regime of South Africa and Israel in the political, military, economic and other fields” (preambular paragraph 7 and operative paragraph 4, respectively, of resolution 3411 G (XXX), adopted by the General Assembly on 10 December 1975.)

<sup>206</sup> Arnold Toynbee, *Experiences*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1969, pp. 241-252.

Toynbee begins with genocide:

“Human beings have occasionally massacred each other unconstitutionally – apart from the hallowed ritual form of massacre in war—since the earliest times of which we have surviving records. But in our time we have had to coin a new word, ‘genocide,’ to describe a new kind of massacre. The distinguishing marks of our twentieth-century genocide are that it is committed in cold-blood by the deliberate fiat of holders of despotic political power, and that the perpetrators of genocide employ all the resources of present-day technology and organization to make their planned massacres systematic and complete.”

He cites several illustrations of twentieth-century genocide, of which the most effective was –

“the Nazis’ genocide of the Jews both in Germany and in the other European countries that were temporarily overrun and occupied by the German military forces.”

Of the second variety of “outrageous doctrines” serving as an “excuse for atrocious acts,” Toynbee writes as follows:

“To be massacred is a worse fate than to be evicted from one’s native land and to be robbed of one’s home and property. The refugee has ransomed his life at this price, and, so long as he remains alive, he can cherish at least a forlorn hope of eventual repatriation and restitution, or alternatively of compensation and resettlement... All the same, the eviction of entire populations, or even of diasporas, is a recent relapse, in the present age, into a barbarous practice that was occasionally followed in past times, but in those times less remorselessly and less thoroughly.”

Again, Toynbee cites several illustrations of twentieth-century mass evictions, and concludes that –

“The fate of these transplanted [populations] has been happy compared with the fate of the Palestinian Arabs who have fled, or have been evicted, from their ancestral homes and have been robbed of their property since the establishment of Israel on Arab-inhabited territory in Palestine in 1948. Since the Third Arab-Israeli War (the Six Days’ War of 1967), the number of Palestinian Arab exiles, including children born and brought up in exile, had risen in 1967 to about one million and a half.”

After describing the situation of the “residual Palestinian Arabs under Israeli rule” as that of a “politically subject” population, Toynbee returns to the exiles:

“As for the Palestinian Arab evicted persons and refugees, those who were robbed of their homes and property by the Israelis in 1948-9 have been prevented, under pain of being shot at sight, from returning to their homes on the Israeli side of the 1949 armistice-lines, and they have received no compensation for their stolen and unrecoverable property either from the Israelis or from anyone else.”

After Nazi genocide and Zionist eviction, comes South African apartheid. Writes Toynbee:

“To be massacred is a worse fate than to be evicted and despoiled, and to be evicted and despoiled is a worse fate than being left un-uprooted at the price of being penalized. The penalization of a weaker section of a population is not a new form of inhumanity in itself. People have been penalized in the past frequently on account of their religion, their nationality, and their race. Penalization of innocent people on any ground is immoral, but the outlook is the most ominous – and this for the persecutors as well as for the persecuted – in cases in which the ground for the penalization is a difference in physical race.”

The supreme illustration is in southern Africa:

“Within my lifetime I have lived to see penalization on racial grounds intensified, and the obliteration of racial differences through interbreeding obstructed by increasingly harsh legislation, by the ‘white’ dominant minority in South Africa. The ‘white’ dominant minority in Rhodesia is taking the same road.”



My second witness is David Ben Gurion – whose credentials as a Zionist are well known. I shall quote from an interview with Ben Gurion published in the *Jerusalem Post* (Weekly Overseas Edition) of 23 June 1969, immediately after his return from a trip to South Africa. He said:

“I spoke to the Prime Minister, a very interesting talk. I told him the white settlers made a mistake – they should have done what we have done here with ‘*Avoda Ivrit*.’<sup>207</sup> Then they would have been spared their present troubles. The Prime Minister agreed with me—but it is too late in the day now.”

#### 8.14. Zionism as Racism D-Day, November 10, 1975

“As members of the Assembly are aware, the draft resolution was the subject of many consultations, in addition to meetings and highly charged procedural and substantive debates in the Third Committee.”

On the afternoon of November 10, 1975, at 3:50 p.m., the United Nations General Assembly’s Thirtieth Session, at its 2,400<sup>th</sup> Plenary Meeting, dealt with four Agenda items. It was Agenda Item 68, *Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination*, its three sub-items, and the attached November 3rd Report of the Third Committee (document A/10320), that sparked one of more contentious and divisive meetings ever held by the United Nations. Specifically, A/10320’s Draft Resolution III, *Consideration of Draft Resolution A/C.3/L.2159*, which sought to equate Zionism with Racism and Racial Discrimination.

After a brief introduction of the Agenda Items by Mrs. Selela Kaninda of Zaire, the Third Committee’s Rapporteur, the General Assembly’s President, Mr. Gaston Thorn of Luxembourg, opened the floor. The first item for consideration, raised by Mr. Longerstae, the member from Belgium, was a specific request for “deferment ... on draft resolution III.” Of those opposing Belgium’s deferment, came the statement from Mr. El-Shibib of Iraq:

I believe that the time that has elapsed between the vote in the Third Committee and our meeting today has been sufficient for any delegation of any country seriously concerned with a problem which is affecting the lives of millions of people to have received instructions. On a question of such importance, **importance which is testified to by the presence in this Hall of so many representatives**, it is incumbent upon every delegation to try and seek instructions so that the General Assembly may not defer that important question to another year but rather vote upon it at the proper time and in the proper place, which is here today. **We have all played this game at the United Nations** and we know this is merely a manoeuvre to delay, to dissipate time and energy, so that issues which some delegations may not wish to face may be killed by the passage of time. This

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<sup>207</sup> The doctrine of ‘*Avoda Ivrit*,’ or Hebrew Labor, is an important doctrine in Zionist ideology. The following brief summary of its genesis and rationale appears in Volume I of *Encyclopedia of Zionism and Israel*, op. cit., p. 213, under the item, “Conquest of Labor (Kibbush ‘*Avoda*),” to which the reader is referred under the item, ‘*Avoda Ivrit*’ (on page 99): “Doctrine developed by the Second Aliya (1904-1914) and, in particular, by Ha Po’el Ha Tza’ir, stressing the importance of Jewish labor as the basis for a Jewish society in Palestine. By the beginning of the 20th century, the development and consolidation of the Jewish agricultural settlements, especially those in Judaea and Samaria, had reached a stage at which they were in need of hired labor. Most of the laborers employed were Arabs; some worked on a permanent basis, but by far the larger number were seasonal laborers drawn from neighboring Arab villages. Joseph Aronowicz, leader of the Ha Po’el Ha Tza’ir party and editor of its weekly, *preached the replacement of Arab labor by Jewish labor, not only because of the need to provide employment for Second Aliya immigrants but because without Jewish hired labor a Jewish majority in Palestine would be unattainable. Palestine would not be made Jewish by the mere possession of title to properties or merely by Jewish management but only by the performance by Jews of their own manual labor, whether on the farm or on the factory; in other words, only the ‘Conquest of Labor’ by Jews and not the mere conquest of land by purchase would assure the realization of Zionism and the attainment of a Jewish majority.*” (Italics emphasis added).

issue is too important to be deferred and too lively and too burning to be killed by the passage of one year. I would therefore request representatives to vote against the motion for deferment.

The deferment motion then went to a vote and was defeated. Immediately after the vote, the same member from Belgium then requested that draft Resolution III be voted on again on the issue of “priority.” To which, Mr. Baroody of Saudi Arabia replied:

Mr. President, it is not at all fair of my good friend the representative of Belgium, to use a French expression, to *mettre des batons dans les roues* – **to put a spoke in the wheel**. Why does he not lose gracefully with the others? This is a parliamentary body. The vote was eloquent. There were 12 more votes for non-postponement than votes of those who wanted to postpone and **who have been subjected to pressure during the past three or four days**, and even before. Three representatives approached me personally before I came into this Hall and in an apologetic manner told me that they would like to vote for the draft resolution on Zionism, but **under pressure had received instructions from their Governments** to vote for postponement. Is this a game of hide-and-seek?

Fayez Sayegh then stated:

In making his exceptional request for exceptional treatment, for deviating from the normal sequence, the Belgian representative had only one justification, and that justification was that this would be one last chance to reach a consensus on the draft resolution regarding the Decade. **The justification was the same ultimatum that we have been hearing ever since 16 October, when the Third Committee was first seized of the draft resolution regarding zionism.**

What do the Belgian representative and the European Economic Community [EEC], in whose name I presume he was speaking, mean by their consensus on the Programme for the Decade? Does he mean words? Is it a verbal vote in support of the Programme for the Decade, or is it action? After all, it is the Programme for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. It is action that is the substance of the consensus. Is there anybody in this Hall gullible enough to believe that Belgium would have participated in action in order to combat racism and racial discrimination but for the draft resolution on zionism? Is there anybody in this Hall who is gullible enough to believe that the EEC group of countries would have opposed racism in South Africa actively, by action, were it not for the draft resolution on zionism?

**The record is clear. Every member of EEC maintains relations with South Africa.** The EEC countries make up the majority of the major trading partners of South Africa. All of them voted against the report of the Credentials Committee at the twenty-ninth session rejecting the credentials of South Africa. All of them voted against the suspension of South Africa at the twenty-ninth session. Was the Belgian representative on the verge of coming to this platform – itching to come, dying to come – and saying: “We are going to sever our relations with South Africa, we are going to stop trading with South Africa, we are going to stop being against the suspension of South Africa, if you do not support the draft resolution on zionism?” He said nothing of the sort. The consensus he promised was only a verbal consensus, but the Programme for the Decade is a programme for action. Therefore, the ultimatum of the Belgian representative is irrelevant, and I urge my fellow representatives to vote against it.

The member from Belgium’s request went to a vote and was, once again, defeated.

The president of the Assembly then stated that his original “intention” was that “there was no need to discuss the four reports of the Third Committee,” and that the Assembly would simply “proceed to the vote.” Instead, the president decided to open “debate on the report submitted at the beginning of this

meeting.” The debates, adoption of resolutions, and speeches after the final votes, would then continue for another six hours, extending to 10:35 at night.

In the almost thirty years that Fayez Sayegh had participated in and or monitored the proceedings of the United Nations (1950 – 1980), it was during the second half of his involvement, from about 1968 to 1975, that Israeli Zionists ramped up their propaganda and influence machines. One of those machines was focussed on, and aided by, specifically American Zionists who hypocritically called themselves Christians. Ecumenical Christianity has many traditional denominations, some of which were actively countering and openly protesting the Israeli Zionist project. By the early 1970s, some, like Canada’s United Church, were being legally assailed by the threat of anti-Semitism, who then forced their prominent member critics to put down their swords or punt them.

Some of these irksome and disturbing manifestations were referred to by the delegate from Costa Rica, “the Reverend Nunez.” In the ensuing debates on November 10, Nunez, evincing “certain spiritual and ethical values,” issued from his “heart as a priest,” dared to boast before the Assembly that “distinguished leaders of the Catholic and Protestant Churches,” who met the previous “week in the City of Memphis” Tennessee, composed a letter to the UN Secretary-General, stating “To compare Zionism with racism is a calumny against the Jews and a return to the old anti-Semitism that was a scourge of mankind for centuries. ... Another leader of the Catholic Church, Monsignor Donnellan of Atlanta, vigorously denounced the anti-Zionist proposal and asserted: “It is not in keeping with reality. It is diabolical and should be denounced and repudiated wherever it raises its head”.”

Nunez then presumptively stated:

“Anti-Semitism or any attitude provoking anti-Semitism is therefore regarded today by the Christian churches – and on this my Government agrees – as an attack against a people which has given the world a religion that has been the basis for other religions, among them my own faith and the Muslim faith to which the large majority of the co-sponsors of the anti-Semitic draft resolution belong. I ask my Muslim brothers to ponder this truth and, rising above political expediency, to do honour to the transcendental values of our own common spiritual ideology.”

Nunez then quoted from a speech made by Costa Rica’s Minister for External Relations, who had wrongly attacked the union of Non-Aligned Countries and its recent declaration against Zionism:

“Zionism is the liberation movement of a people which for centuries was subjugated to colonial yoke and racial persecution. It was created to provide the Jewish people with its own State. Thus, it is equally ironical, as well as being a cause for indignation, to find that many Member States of the so-called non-aligned group, which claim to be champions of anti-colonialism and which owe their existence to the efforts of young national liberation movements, should now attack Zionism, the oldest of all those liberating movements.”

The chronological presentation of the debate proceedings during the afternoon of November 10<sup>th</sup>, made prior to the Assembly’s vote on and adoption of Draft Resolution III, featured 27 statements / speeches. 21 of the 35 States Member representatives which voted against Draft Resolution III, made statements: <sup>208</sup>

**Israel** (paragraphs 44 to 82), opposed; **Costa Rica** (paragraphs 95 to 113), opposed; **Liberia** (paragraphs 114 to 125), opposed; **New Zealand** (paragraphs 139 to 146), opposed; **United Kingdom of Great Britain** (paragraphs 147 to 158), opposed; **Canada** (paragraphs 159 to 162),

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<sup>208</sup> United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland was considered as one State, although two separate statements were made.

opposed; **Federal Republic of Germany** (paragraphs 166 to 171), opposed; **Netherlands** (paragraphs 172 to 177), opposed; **Australia** (paragraphs 178 to 185), opposed; **Uruguay** (paragraphs 194 to 196), opposed; **Northern Ireland** (paragraphs 197 to 213), opposed; **Fiji** (paragraphs 214 to 218), opposed; **France** (paragraphs 219 to 226), opposed; **Sweden** (paragraphs 227 to 228), opposed; **Italy** (paragraphs 229 to 232), opposed; **Finland** (paragraphs 265 to 268), opposed; **Denmark** (paragraphs 269 to 272), opposed; **Norway** (paragraphs 273 to 276), opposed; **Luxembourg** (paragraphs 277 to 281), opposed; **Belgium** (paragraphs 282 to 284), opposed; **Dominican Republic** (paragraphs 285 to 288), opposed; **Austria** (paragraphs 289 to 294), opposed.

Only three of the 27 statements / speeches favoured, and only three noted they were abstaining. In other words, the States Members in favour of Resolution III, which amounted to a majority of the final vote, did not wish nor felt the need to make a statement. And it was Fayeze Sayegh who, once again, made a lengthy explanatory statement of why Kuwait, and other States, favoured Resolution III.

**Mr. Herzog – Israel** (paragraphs 44 to 82): “It is symbolic that this debate, which may well prove to be a turning point in the fortunes of the United Nations and a decisive factor as to the possible continued existence of this organization, should take place on 10 November. This night, 37 years ago, has gone down in history as the Kristallnacht, or the Night of the Crystals. This was the night of 10 November 1938 when Hitler’s Nazi storm-troopers launched a co-ordinated attack on the Jewish community in Germany, burnt the synagogues in all the cities and made bonfires in the streets of the Holy Books and the Scrolls of the Holy Law and the Bible. ... It is indeed fitting that this draft resolution, conceived in the desire to deflect the Middle East from its moves towards peace and born of a deep, pervading feeling of anti-Semitism, should come up for debate on this day which recalls one of the tragic days in one of the darkest periods of history. It is indeed fitting that the United Nations, which began its life as an anti-Nazi alliance, should, 30 years later, find itself on its way to becoming the world centre of anti-Semitism. Hitler would have felt at home on a number of occasions during the past year, listening to the proceedings in this forum and, above all, to the proceedings during the debate on Zionism.

... I come here to denounce the two great evils which menace society in general and a society of nations in particular. These two evils are hatred and ignorance. These two evils are the motivating force behind the proponents of this draft resolution and their supporters. These two evils characterize those who would drag this world Organization, the idea of which was first conceived by the prophets of Israel, to the depths to which it has been dragged today.

Zionism is the name of the national movement of the Jewish people and is the modern expression of the ancient Jewish heritage. The Zionist ideal, as set out in the Bible, has been, and is, an integral part of the Jewish religion. Zionism is to the Jewish people what the liberation movements of Africa and Asia have been to their peoples. Zionism is one of the most stirring and constructive national movements in human history.

We in Israel have endeavoured to create a society which strives to implement the highest ideals of society – political, social and cultural – for all the inhabitants of Israel, irrespective of religious belief, race or sex. Show me another pluralistic society in this world in which, despite all the difficult problems among which we live, Jew and Arab live together with such a degree of harmony, in which the dignity and rights of man are observed before the law, in which no death sentence is applied, in which freedom of speech, of movement, of thought, of expression are guaranteed, in which even movements which are opposed to our national aims are represented in our Parliament.

This malicious resolution, designed to divert us from its true purpose, is part of a dangerous anti-Semitic idiom which is being insinuated into every public debate by those who have sworn to block



the current move towards accommodation and ultimately towards peace in the Middle East. This, together with similar moves, is designed to sabotage the efforts of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East and to deflect those who are moving along the road towards peace from their purpose. ... We are seeing here today but another manifestation of the bitter anti-Semitic, anti-Jewish hatred which animates Arab society.

I stand not here as a supplicant. Vote as your moral conscience dictates to you. For the issue is not Israel or zionism. The issue is the continued existence of the Organization, which has been dragged to its lowest point of discredit by a coalition of despotisms and racists. The vote of each delegation will record in history its country's stand on anti-Semitic racism and anti-Judaism. You yourselves bear the responsibility for your stand before history, for as such will you be viewed in history. But we, the Jewish people, will not forget.”

**The Reverend Nunez – Costa Rica** (paragraphs 95 to 113): “Is there a single representative in this Assembly who, before God, can declare that the proposed anti-Semitic resolution fulfils any of the objectives of the Charter? ... this Third Committee draft resolution, if adopted here, will serve as a warning to the Jewish people to intensify their Zionist activities and as a warning to all the free peoples of the world that the Hitlerite and fascist evil has not yet been eradicated from the face of the earth.

If the Arab Governments and the PLO believe that, should the anti-Zionist draft resolution be adopted, they will have achieved the greatest of successes, I venture very respectfully but strongly to warn them that by adopting this draft resolution, which is an unbridled invitation to genocide against the Jewish people and to reopening chapters of history of pain and persecution for that people, they will have ensured the greatest failure for those who support it. It does honour neither to those representatives nor to their Governments. Some day, when people can freely express their views, they will accuse them of betraying the conscience of mankind, which aspires to a better world of peace, justice and human dignity.”

**Mr. Wilson – Liberia** (paragraphs 114 to 125): “The delegation of Liberia was one of the 20 African countries south of the Sahara that did not support draft resolution III, which is now called the resolution on zionism. In their attempt to equate zionism with racism, some of the sponsors of the draft resolution made some brilliant statements in order to prove their thesis. As I listened attentively to all those eloquent statements, it seemed as though the sponsors were competing with each other as to which one was eloquent enough to convince the Committee that zionism is racism. Anxiously, I waited in vain for a definition of racism as it relates to zionism, but no definition was given. ... The spiritual and moral aspect of zionism was stressed a few days ago by Bishop Ralph Ward, President of the Bishops of the United Methodist Church. He said: “Zionism means much more than a political entity. It implies moral and spiritual values, characteristic of the Jewish people through the ages”.”

**Mr. Templeton – New Zealand** (paragraphs 139 to 146): “We simply cannot accept, however, that zionism constitutes a form of racial discrimination comparable to, for example, apartheid, which is the kind of doctrine and practice that have been universally accepted as racist. The controversial characterization of Zionism as a racist doctrine, an issue on which the General Assembly is deeply divided, will not in any way advance the objectives of the Decade. On the contrary, it will destroy the consensus which has hitherto existed and will place the remainder of the Decade in jeopardy. ... The New Zealand delegation appeals to all Members not to imperil the opportunity which still exists for us to move forward together to eliminate the scourge of racism and to implement the human rights provisions of the Charter.”

**Mr. Richard – United Kingdom of Great Britain** (paragraphs 147 to 158): “Our hopes of continuing this co-operation were shattered on 17 October when certain delegations saw fit to change the agreed basis of the Decade. After the Third Committee debate, the whole thrust and the whole character of the proposal has been altered. It has now been transformed into a decade against zionism. My country cannot accept this mutation.

First, we consider that to stigmatize Zionism as racism is, as the International Commission of Jurists has pointed out, to confuse racism and racial discrimination with nationalism. Such a confusion can serve only to undermine the right of the State of Israel to exist and the United Kingdom categorically rejects and will oppose any such move. I should like too to reiterate the declaration made on behalf of the nine countries of EEC, that we totally reject any notion that zionism is racism. The United Kingdom stands by that statement. It represents our view today. ... But by its very nature the United Nations cannot succeed in an atmosphere of discord and division. We should surely be trying to lessen differences, not to provoke them. We believe that the move to equate zionism with racism and racial discrimination is precisely the sort of resolution which is unhelpful in this regard. Capriciously introduced and wantonly pursued, it has proved the most divisive issue of this Assembly. It may well lose support for the Decade against racism. It has certainly exacerbated our differences. It risks bringing this whole organization into disrepute. It is exactly the wrong issue, raised in the wrong way and at the wrong time, and we will have none of it at all.”

**Mr. Rae – Canada** (paragraphs 159 to 162): “Canada’s opposition to all forms of racial discrimination and our total commitment to and support for the Decade of Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination remain as strong as ever. For over a quarter of a century, successive Canadian Governments have expressed their abhorrence for the policies of apartheid as practised in South Africa. We shall continue to condemn those policies, and we shall never relax our opposition to those degrading and oppressive laws. ... we were also presented with a draft resolution which attempts to define Zionism as a form of racial discrimination, and the Canadian delegation said that it found the draft resolution then under consideration in the Committee, and now before us as draft resolution III, to be inappropriate, imprecise, contentious and unnecessary. Consequently, Canada voted against that draft resolution. Unfortunately, the draft resolution was adopted by the Third Committee. We strongly believe that this draft resolution corrupts and distorts the goals of the Decade. It introduces an unacceptable element of an essentially unnecessary nature into the consideration of the Decade.”

**Baron Von Wechmar – Federal Republic of Germany** (paragraphs 166 to 171): “The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and public opinion in my country are alarmed by the fact that such a draft resolution could have been approved by a Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations. If draft resolution III should be adopted by the Assembly, this would in our mind deal a severe blow to the spirit of co-operation which so far has prevailed in the Organization. The equation of zionism with racism and racial discrimination is devoid of any foundation and therefore unacceptable to us. At this delicate moment, such an equation will, furthermore, contribute to undermining prospects for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East by inciting emotions and increasing passions through the introduction of racist notions. ... our even-handed and constructive approach to the situation in the Middle East does not mean that we can accept draft resolutions such as the one equating zionism with racism and racial discrimination. Quite the contrary. By such an undertaking our attitude with regard to the situation in the Middle East is challenged in a most serious fashion.

If draft resolution III should be adopted, the main objectives of the Programme for the Decade, namely, the combat against racism and racial discrimination, will recede into the background and will be supplanted by a political struggle which has nothing to do with racism and racial discrimination. If

the Assembly should decide to adopt draft resolution III on zionism, that would put the United Nations on a dangerous road.”

**Mr. Kaufmann – Netherlands** (paragraphs 172 to 177): “Draft resolution III is reprehensible to my Government. Its single operative paragraph is tantamount to unwarranted distortion of the concept of racism. To attempt to equate zionism with racism is a falsification of history and an attack on the integrity and existence of a people. Introducing this element into the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination is to change the essence of the Decade from a commonly shared ideal, an ideal to which the Netherlands Government fervently adheres, into a divisive, politically motivated campaign against a Member State of the United Nations. My delegation is deeply concerned that the adoption of draft resolution III will undermine the moral authority of the United Nations, tarnish its image and thus seriously affect the very fundamentals of the Organization. As a result, our efforts here in the United Nations to seek solutions and to foster international co-operation will seriously suffer.

**Mr. Harry – Australia** (paragraphs 178 to 185): “It is particularly regrettable, therefore, that this year a number of delegations have seen fit to put at risk the unanimity with which we have thus far approached this subject; they have risked the failure of the Decade by using this item for the promotion of political ends related to the Middle East. It is regrettable that when preparations for a world conference on racial discrimination have scarcely begun, some delegations are seeking to undermine and prejudice the success of that conference. ... We will not, however, join in efforts to equate zionism with racism, for that is a proposition which we cannot accept in any sense. In our view, the advocacy of such a definition is an incitement to anti-Semitism and a violation of the Convention. The attempt of the sponsors of draft resolution III to make such an equation is, we believe, a distortion of fact, is unhelpful in the context of the search for a settlement in the Middle East, and raises the very real possibility that it will exacerbate religious animosities in a number of countries.”

**Miss Dubra – Uruguay** (paragraphs 194 to 196): “Even partisan fervor cannot justify these excesses, which will not stand up to the slightest historical or intellectual analysis. To equate Zionism with racism would be tantamount not only to diverting us from the item before us but also to confusing two entirely different concepts. In my delegation’s view, this type of draft resolution only serves to increase hostility in an area of the world in which a just and durable peace must be sought by peaceful means.”

**Mr. Kennedy – Ireland** (paragraphs 197 to 213): “We are at one with ether Member States of the United Nations in total rejection and abhorrence of racial discrimination practised as official policy, as in the case of the odious system of apartheid in South Africa. It is the people of southern Africa who are victims of the most virulent forms of racism and whose situation demands priority attention from the United Nations. ... We contribute to humanitarian aid for the victims of racialism in South Africa through the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa as well as the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa. It is significant that the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa held its 19175 meeting in Dublin at the invitation of its Irish branch and in association with the Irish anti-apartheid movement.

I should like in this regard to refer to the remarks just made by the representative of Kuwait [Fayez Sayegh. My country does not have diplomatic relations with South Africa; our official contacts with that country are minimal. Furthermore, my Government has supported and observed the arms embargo against South Africa and has urged other countries to do likewise. As we have stated frequently, most recently in the debate on apartheid in the Special Political Committee, my Government believes in the maintenance of contacts on an individual basis primarily as a means by

which the views of the world community can be borne in on the Government and the ruling white minority community.

We voted in favour of draft resolutions I and 11 in the Third Committee, but the Irish delegation would have wished that the Assembly could have an opportunity to vote first on draft resolution III, so that it could have approached the vote in the knowledge of the full implications of support for draft resolutions I and II. We deplore the decision not to permit that. ... Our objections to this last draft resolution, which we share with all our partners in EEC, were explained in the Third Committee by the representative of Italy in his capacity as representative of the country that is the current President of the Community. I will not repeat the statements already made on behalf of my delegation in the Third Committee, but I shall simply repeat the central fact that we reject the statement of the operative paragraph determining that zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination as a false judgement. Since the formulation of draft resolution III would determine zionism to be a form of racism and racial discrimination, this would place zionism unequivocally within the terms of reference of the Decade and the conference. It follows that the other draft resolutions will be equally unacceptable if draft resolution III is adopted. The adoption of these draft resolutions will mark a departure from the spirit of common purpose which has characterized the United Nations struggle against apartheid and racism, and will introduce a divisive element that will seriously affect the cohesion of the United Nations in combating these evils. ... Furthermore, while we recognize that it may not have been the intention of the sponsors, draft resolution III comes dangerously close to encouraging the very evil that the Decade is designed to combat.”

**Mr. Sikivou – Fiji** (paragraphs 214 to 218): “We have decided to oppose it because it introduces a new Element – the element of zionism – into the objectives of the Decade to combat racism, racial discrimination and apartheid to which we at the United Nations are pledged to turn our undivided attention and efforts. Whereas this subject has enjoyed strong and undivided support in the past, as exemplified by the consensus reached in the Economic and Social Council on the implementation of the proposals on the Programme and the world conference, the zionism element has divided our ranks. It has dampened our enthusiasm; it has weakened our determination and has diluted our efforts to help the victims of racial discrimination and apartheid, who hopefully and rightly look to this Organization for concerted and united action to help to end their plight. We fail to see why we should be asked to single out zionism for stigmatization. We regard zionism as a nationalist movement of the Jewish people. We will not attempt to define zionism; it has been very ably defined by the representative of Israel.

The only place I can think of that would be free from racial discrimination is the Kingdom of Heaven. All of us practise it in various forms and shades, with South Arica as by far the worst and most extreme. Its Government, its business and its society as a whole are riddled with it. That is why we must attend to racial discrimination as it exists in South Africa and not weaken our efforts by linking our endeavours with zionism.”

**Mr. De Guiringaud – France** (paragraphs 219 to 226): “The French delegation fully supports the statements made on behalf of the nine countries of EEC on 3 and 16 October last by their spokesman. Not only do we find draft resolution III untimely and unacceptable, but if adopted it will also certainly have a direct or indirect impact on the Decade. ... On the draft resolution relating to zionism, my delegation will cast a categorical and definitive negative vote. It will not let itself be misled by confused terms or confused thought nor be drawn into an insignificant game of words, and it hopes that many other delegations will take the same responsible stand. It believes that the initiative which has been taken is particularly inappropriate, since it is directed against those who were not so very long ago the victims of the most odious form of racism. I wish to reaffirm that France shares with those who have suffered the most from this scourge the legitimate desire to eliminate and uproot



racism. One cannot but regret, however, that the United Nations is being obstructed by inappropriate actions as it tries to do its utmost to combat that evil. Regrettably, it is clear that the adoption of draft resolution III would weaken the Organization's fight against apartheid and racial discrimination, by diverting attention, dispersing efforts and weakening the will to participate. The success of the proposed world conference to combat racism and racial discrimination to be held at Accra in 1978, which is to be the central manifestation of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, has now been seriously jeopardized because many defections are now to be expected."

**Mr. Rydbeck – Sweden** (paragraphs 227 to 228): "My Government totally and utterly rejects the idea that zionism is a form of racism. I think I can say, without running the risk of being contradicted, that Sweden has always been found in the forefront of the fight against racism, within the United Nations and elsewhere. ... my delegation will vote against not only draft resolution III but also against draft resolutions I and 11. We do so with the greatest regret, but we have been given no choice. As a consequence, we shall also be unable to vote for any funds for the world conference to combat racism and racial discrimination."

**Mr. Vinci – Italy** (paragraphs 229 to 232): "We associated ourselves with the statements made on 3 and 16 October, on behalf of the nine members of EEC, in the Third Committee. We regretted then, and in future we shall regret even more, the adoption of draft resolution III, to which we remain totally opposed. ... I would simply like to say that we have repeatedly warned the members of the Assembly of the effect the adoption of this draft resolution would have on the support of my country, and others, for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and of the various negative consequences that it would entail. ... I strongly believe, however, that this resolution will be a step backward in the history of our Organization and will constitute a serious threat to international co-operation through the United Nations system."

**Mr. Karhilo – Finland** (paragraphs 265 to 268): "For reasons already explained in the Third Committee, my delegation will, consistently, have to vote against draft resolution III in the plenary Assembly. We deeply regret that because of the serious implications for the Programme for the Decade of the operative paragraph of draft resolution III on Zionism, we shall be compelled also to oppose the two draft resolutions concerning the activities of the Decade."

**Mr. Hjorth-Neilsen – Denmark** (paragraphs 269 to 272): "Our objections are fundamental. We unconditionally reject this dangerous and fallacious concept of equating zionism with racism. Until the question of zionism has been effectively separated from the problem of racism, a cloud will continue to hang over the efforts of the Organization, and the struggle against racism, and public support in our countries will be eroded."

**Mr. Vraalsen – Norway** (paragraphs 273 to 276): "The Norwegian Government is firmly opposed to racism and racial discrimination. My Government has given its full political, moral and material support to those peoples which are in the forefront of the struggle against these evils, namely, the African peoples of southern Africa. Consistent with this policy, we were looking forward to active participation in the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, seeing the Decade as an instrument to highlight the degrading practice of racial discrimination and arouse the world's conscience. It is totally unacceptable to my Government to equate zionism with racism. We reject the mere idea that zionism is any kind or any form of racism. ... I feel it to be my responsibility too, to express deep concern about the harmful consequences which the adoption of draft resolution III will have for the future standing of the United Nations with the Norwegian people, which has been an ardent supporter of the United Nations from its very inception to this date. We are also concerned

about the effects which the draft resolution, if adopted, might have on the future work of our Organization.”

**Mr. Rettel – Luxembourg** (paragraphs 277 to 281): “My country is and always has been very strongly opposed to all forms of racial and other discrimination. That is why we supported draft resolutions I and II on the Decade in the debate on the subject in the Third Committee. Unfortunately, the draft resolutions were watered down after the event by another draft resolution which seeks to decide that zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination. My delegation most definitely rejects the equation of the two concepts, which it considers to be false as to substance and extremely dangerous for the future of the United Nations. This draft resolution, if adopted, would considerably reduce the moral authority of the United Nations and its ability to promote a genuine international dialogue in the interests of international co-operation.”

**Mr. Longerstaey – Belgium** (paragraphs 282 to 284): “I should like to confirm the total opposition of my delegation to draft resolution III, on which we are about to vote. The representative of Italy twice explained eloquently in the Third Committee on behalf of the nine members of EEC the reasons for this total opposition, and we fully endorse what he said. Zionism is not a form of racial discrimination. The unfortunate development of this situation will compel us to vote against draft resolutions I and II as well. We shall do so with deep regret, having done everything possible in the Assembly to prevent things reaching this point.”

**Mr. Moreno Martinez – Dominican Republic** (paragraphs 285 to 288): “We are radically opposed to racism, and because we are, we will vote in favour of draft resolutions I and II in the hope that draft resolution III will be rejected. We believe it is wrong and unjust to consider that zionism is a form of racial discrimination. Draft resolution III not only is unjust and erroneous, it is also damaging. I believe we have all realized that for a long time now. It is damaging because it has destroyed the consensus which had been achieved to combat racial discrimination and because it introduces a new disruptive element in the already difficult conflict in the Middle East and makes it even more unlikely that a just and lasting peace will be brought about there.”

**Mr. Jankowitsch – Austria** (paragraphs 289 to 294): “As my delegation has already stated on several occasions, and especially in the debate we had on this topic in the Third Committee one month ago, Austria had placed high hopes in the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. ... at that time my delegation had already pointed out that if the draft resolution, equating zionism with racism and racial discrimination were adopted, it would be forced to reconsider its attitude towards draft resolutions I and II relating to the Decade. ... That decision has been motivated by my delegation’s firm belief that the introduction of elements unconnected with and, in our view, totally alien to the noble cause of eradicating racism and racial discrimination constitutes a tragic and meaningless aberration in our common effort and can only have grave and disruptive effects on the Organization. This attempt clearly distorts the original purpose of the Decade and upsets the splendid record the Assembly and the Organization have achieved in their fight against racism and real racial discrimination, a fight which my country has never failed to support.”

Shortly after the delegate from Italy, Mr. Vinci, made his statement, the president of the Assembly acknowledged the turn of Kuwait delegate, Fayeze Sayegh, to make his (paragraphs 241 to 264). Sayegh realized he had to, once again, educate the United Nations delegations on why Zionism was a form of racism and racial discrimination. He was aware that some Member States’ delegates may have been ignorant, or somewhat unclear, on this matter, while cognizant that others were not. Before he did so, he had to clear up a matter made by the delegate from Ireland when he stated, “I should like ... to refer to the remarks just made by the representative of Kuwait. My country does not have diplomatic relations with South Africa; our official contacts with that country are minimal.”

I should also like to take this opportunity to invite the attention of the representative of Ireland to a document prepared by the Special Committee against *Apartheid*<sup>209</sup> which contains a table under the heading, “Diplomatic and other official relations of South Africa with States Members of the United Nations.” In that table, the name of Ireland appears in both columns: among those countries which have official missions in South Africa – and it is indicated there that there is a consular mission or missions for Ireland in South Africa – and those countries where South Africa maintains missions, and there it is also indicated that South Africa has commercial and technical offices or officers in Ireland. If the representative of Ireland has any quarrel with these facts, I suggest that he refer to the Special Committee against *Apartheid*, on the basis of whose information my delegation made the remark earlier today.

I will not repeat Sayegh’s entire statement, as his statement made at the Third Committee, provided above, is comprehensive. But I will include most of his statement which pertains to the moment:

“We shall vote proudly and strongly in favour of the recommended draft resolution III. We shall vote on that draft resolution in that manner on the basis, first, of our knowledge of what the authoritative United Nations’ definition of racism and racial discrimination is, and secondly, on the basis of our knowledge of what the Zionists’ official definition of zionism is; and by comparing the authoritative and official United Nations’ definition of racism with the official Zionist definition of zionism, we conclude – as I am certain every delegation that took the trouble to view the matter without political, extraneous elements entering into the picture. would also conclude – that zionism is a form of racism and of racial discrimination.

The United Nations definition of racism and racial discrimination is contained in the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolution 1904 (XVIII)] ... We accept no abridgement of this definition. Racial discrimination is not only discrimination based on race in the biological, genetic sense of the term. Racial discrimination, the United Nations maintains, is not only the discrimination that is based on colour; racial discrimination is also discrimination that is based on descent, on national origin or on ethnic origin. This is the definition of racial discrimination less than which we shall not accept, because this is already the approved, formal, authoritative definition by the United Nations. Remarks to the effect that zionism does not involve discrimination on the basis of colour begin from an abbreviated and abridged definition of racism, instead of beginning from the total definition of racism adopted and espoused by the United Nations.

As for zionism, with all due respect to those who try to inject elements of semantic acrobatics into the debate, the zionism that this draft resolution speaks about is a concrete political ideology, articulated by a concrete political organization which launched a concrete political movement at a precise moment in time, which created concrete political institutions, and which manifested itself in concrete practices which had the effect of excluding some people on the basis of their being non-Jews and including others on the basis of their being Jews – Jewishness being defined officially by zionism as an ethnic and not strictly a religious definition.

My delegation presented the documentation supporting every word I have just now said in the Third Committee, and I defer to the urgency of our meeting and to the time of the representatives and shall not take the time of this meeting to re-read into the record once again the statements made by the founder and father of the zionist movement and reiterated and carried forward until the present day in Israel as a continuation of the idea that Jewishness and the Jewish bond are not only, and not even

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<sup>209</sup> Document A/AC.115/L.415.

primarily, a religious bond, but rather the membership in the ethnic community of Jewry, and that it is that which makes a person a Jew or excludes him from being a Jew.

**By virtue of what principle of consistency can we say that a practice against a Jew by a non-Jew is racism and the same practice against a non-Jew by a Jew is not racism?** Those who spoke about the dignity of the United Nations and the integrity of the United Nations – let them recall that dignity and integrity rest in the first instance on consistency and on truthfulness, and not on twisting the truth to suit one's prejudices and one's biases with respect to who is affected here and who is affected there. Zionism now makes a unilateral proclamation, saying that Zionism is synonymous with Judaism and therefore opposition to Zionism is synonymous with opposition to Judaism – that is, it is anti-Semitism.

Let me recall that the first objections and opposition to the doctrines of Zionism, to the objective of Zionism, to the programme of Zionism, were aired by Jews, prominent Jewish intellectuals, prominent Jewish thinkers and prominent Jewish organizations. Long before Zionists had become a world phenomenon, it was within the Jewish community, within Jewry, that the claim of Zionism to be coextensive with Jewry and the claim of Zionism to be coextensive with and identical to Judaism were challenged. And to this day, while many Jews support Israel, those who are enrolled in the Zionist organization and consider themselves card-carrying active Zionists are an infinitesimal minority of Jews. Even in this country [the United States], where the Zionist organization is as strong as it is anywhere else, and perhaps much stronger than it is in many other countries, even here the membership of the Zionist organization is a minority membership within the large body of American Jews.

We too reject the claim by Zionism that Zionism is synonymous with Judaism. We in the Arab world, be we Christian Arabs or Muslim Arabs or Jewish Arabs, have nothing but reverence for Judaism as a faith, Judaism as a religion, Judaism as a tradition of religious and spiritual values. We revere Judaism as Christians, whose Christ proclaimed that He came to fulfil and not to destroy. We revere Judaism as Muslims, whose faith teaches us respect and veneration for all the prophets of Judaism. We reject the claim of Zionism to be coextensive with Judaism. We reject the claim of Zionism to be coextensive with the Jewish people. And therefore we reject the claim of Zionism that to be anti-Zionist is to be anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic.

We are all only too familiar with the abuse and exploitation of this argument by Zionism to silence all its critics, to intimidate its critics and also to draw solidarity and sympathy to itself from Jews who had otherwise not shown much sympathy for Zionism. We know that in many instances Zionism has been the chief exploiter of anti-Semitism, real or alleged, and therefore Zionism has been the first to proclaim that any criticism of Zionism is a form of anti-Semitism, in furtherance of the same principle that has animated all its activities.

We shall not be intimidated. We are against Zionism as a form of racism. We are against anti-Semitism, and we reject the equation of anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism. We revere the Jewish faith. We in the Arab world showed hospitality to Jews who came fleeing from persecution in Europe when European anti-Semitism was driving them into our arms; we permitted them to come and share our lives and share our limited resources and have as much freedom as we ourselves had, because we were receiving them as human beings. It was only when the Zionists came, and instead of the Jews, saying, "I should like to live with you," the Zionists came, saying "I want to live in your place."

We have also been told that Zionism is a national liberation movement. In fact, this claim was first voiced in 1968 by the 28th World Zionist Congress. It took Zionism 71 years to discover its purported identity. When Zionism started, it called itself colonialism. Herzl wrote to none other than Cecil



Rhodes. I would refer members to volume 4 of his *Diaries*, page 1193 onwards. He said, "Please make a statement that you have examined my programme and found it appropriate. Why do I come to you, Mr. Rhodes, you will ask: because my programme is a colonial programme." At that time colonialism was in vogue. Zionism had no difficulty in recognizing its true identity as a colonial movement. It called its first bank the Colonial Trust Company. It called its department of settlement the Department of Colonization. It called its settlements colonies. It likened itself to the conquistadores. It likened itself to the French colons in North Africa. This was the literature of zionism. This was recognition by zionism of its colonial nature.

But now, in the 1970s, with national liberation movements the vogue of the day, zionism also wants to jump on the bandwagon and call itself a liberation movement. It tried it with Gandhi, and Gandhi said no. It wanted to get from him a recognition that it was a legitimate national movement. He said, "You are an alien body in the Middle East." The liberation movements know themselves. There is no national liberation movement in existence today that does not feel fraternal bonds with the PLO or condemn zionism as a racist and colonial movement. An authentic national liberation movement views its salvation through its liberation, but not through the enslavement of others. No movement that views its salvation through the enslavement of others can be a true liberation movement. No movement that seeks its ingathering through the dispersal of others can be a true national liberation movement. Zionism may try to jump on the bandwagon, but those on the bandwagon will push it away. Zionism cannot be accepted by the ranks of national liberation movements as a national liberation movement.

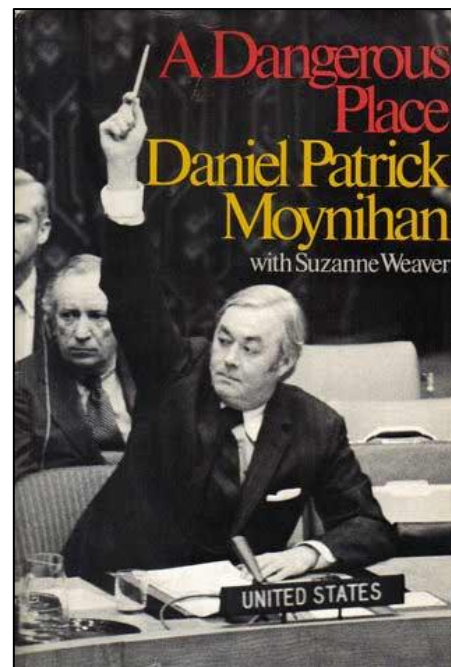
I appeal to all delegations that have already announced that they will oppose draft resolution III. **I appeal to them in the name of consistency and in the name of truth.** I say to them it is not yet too late. If they truly abhor racism, if truly they are for the truth and for consistency, then, despite their announcement, **let them vote for recommendation III and save the United Nations.** Save the integrity of the United Nations; save the United Nations from being accused of being an organization that would call a spade a spade in South Africa but would hesitate to call the same spade a spade in South-West Asia."

## 8.15. Lunch with Moynihan

*“I have also enjoyed telling varied audiences your remarkable story about the lunch with Daniel Moynihan when you enlightened him about the UN definition of racial discrimination.”<sup>210</sup>*

On page 215 of Daniel Moynihan’s 1978 book, *A Dangerous Place*, he states that the Ambassador of Kuwait was invited to a luncheon date that took place on October 29, 1975, twelve days before the General Assembly adopted resolution 3379. Moynihan notes “Dr. Abdallah [sic, Abdullah] al-Sayegh, a Palestine Arab born in Tiberias, now a Kuwaiti citizen,” was sitting at the luncheon table next to the Kuwait Ambassador. Moynihan didn’t bother to say much about the meeting, nor what Fayez Sayegh had said or lectured him on at some length. And Moynihan provided no compassionate acknowledgement, understanding or reference to the horrible, ongoing plight of the Palestinians since the UN gave birth to the Israeli state in 1948 – it seems as if he didn’t care, or didn’t want to.

There was one thing that Moynihan did remember in his book about that luncheon meeting, a topic undoubtedly raised in the aftermath context of the October 17 Third Committee draft resolution equating Zionism to racism and racial discrimination that everyone was gossiping about. It was his statement to the Kuwaiti representatives that the “General Assembly was about to brand the national liberation movement of a member country [Israel] with a term [“racism”] that the U.N. had never defined.” As cited below in Moynihan’s November 10<sup>th</sup> speech, his strategy was to attack Sayegh, and those backing draft Resolution III, for adopting the term “racism” – “the most awful accusation that could be hurled at Jews” [Moynihan’s words, page 218, in reflection of his luncheon meeting, instead of using the term “Israeli Zionists”]. Moynihan argued there was no standing definition or application of the word “racism” in the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and, assumed therefore its use as prejudicial and unapplicable.



It was only after the adoption of draft Resolution III was finalized in the evening hours of November 10, that the member from the United States of America, Mr. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the Harvard University professor, the recently appointed U.S. ambassador to the UN (July 1975 to February 1976),<sup>211</sup> delivered a lengthy prepared speech (paragraphs 307 to 325).

Keith Feldman reveals in Chapter One of his 2015 book, *A Shadow over Palestine: The Imperial Life of Race in America*, who it was that assisted Moynihan in composing his speech. They involved Norman Podhoretz, the editor of the American Jewish Committee’s *Commentary Magazine* and “Moynihan’s close

<sup>210</sup> Letter from Michael Adams, editor of the Middle East International, to Fayez Sayegh, December 10, 1976. Adams, a former Middle East journalist for The Guardian (1956-1962), a freelance journalist who reported on Israel’s mistreatment of Palestinians in 1967 “the first journalist to question the myth of Israel’s “benign occupation,” a life-changing event after visiting “Gaza, Jerusalem and the Westbank . . . outraged that none of this [Israel’s brutalities] was being reported by British or American correspondents in Jerusalem” (source: Michael Adams obituary, The Guardian, February 8, 2005). In 1967, Adams cofounded the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding (CAABU) and became editor of the *Middle East International* journal. In 1975, he co-authored with Christopher Mayhew the book, *Publish it Not: The Middle East Cover-Up*.

<sup>211</sup> In Keith Feldman’s 2015 book, *A Shadow over Palestine: The Imperial Life of Race in America*, he notes in Chapter One that it was Henry Kissinger who first gave Moynihan the offer of UN Ambassadorship in March 1975, and that UN Resolution 3379 became his “primary battleground.” A little gem in Feldman’s Chapter, was that Moynihan “took cues from Kissinger at the State Department” because of “his own ignorance about U.S. diplomacy in the Middle East.”

confidant,” who “provided the speech the exact language for its opening and closing sentences.” His other helpers were Leonard Garment (the U.S. UN diplomat who spoke at the UN Third Committee on draft Resolution III, see above), and Moynihan’s research assistant Suzanne Weaver. Feldman also noted that “Moynihan avoided engaging any of Fayeze Sayegh’s historical arguments,” and, of significance, that “Moynihan’s work at the UN attempted to delink racism from history.”

Realizing well in advance of the plenary meeting, as realized by many other delegations, that the General Assembly would vote in favour of draft Resolution III, Moynihan’s strategy, perhaps that of his delegation and political advisors’, was to have his views stated directly **after** that vote. That strategy was undoubtedly linked to making his condemnatory and inflammatory statements prominent in the national and international media headlines, portraying Moynihan as commander of ‘the voice of reason,’ which it was farthest from. After this bizarre and poisonous moment, Moynihan became a sort of hero, celebrated in books and tributes for decades to come: <sup>212</sup>

“There appears to have developed in the United Nations the practice for a number of countries to combine for the purpose of doing something outrageous, and thereafter, the outrageous thing having been done, to profess themselves outraged by those who have the temerity to point it out, and subsequently to declare themselves innocent of any wrongdoing in consequence of its having been brought about wholly in reaction to the “insufferable” acts of those who pointed the wrongdoing out in the first place. Out of deference to these curious sensibilities, **the United States chose not to speak in advance of this vote: we speak in its aftermath and in tones of the utmost concern.** The United States rises to declare before the General Assembly and before the world, that it does not acknowledge, it will not abide by, it will never acquiesce in this infamous act.

Not three weeks ago, the United States representative in the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee – and with what irony those terms ring on our ears today – pleaded in measured and fully considered terms for the United Nations not to do this thing. It was, he said, “obscene.” It is something more today, for the furtiveness with which this obscenity first appeared among us has been replaced by a shameless openness. There will be time enough to contemplate the harm this act will have done the United Nations. Historians will do that for us, and it is sufficient for the moment only to note one foreboding fact: a great evil has been loosed upon the world. The abomination of anti-Semitism – as this year’s Nobel Peace Laureate Andrei Sakharov observed Moscow just a few days ago – has been given the appearance of international sanction. The General Assembly today grants symbolic amnesty – and more – to the murderers of 6 million European Jews. Evil enough in itself, but more ominous by far, is the realization that now presses upon us: the realization that if there were no General Assembly this could never have happened. As this day will live in infamy, it behooves those who sought to avert it to declare their thoughts so that historians will know that we fought here, that we were not small in number – **not this time** – and that while we lost, we fought with full knowledge of what indeed would be lost. Nor should any historian of the event, nor yet any who have participated in it, suppose that we have fought only as Governments, as chancelleries, and on an issue well removed from the concerns of our respective peoples. Others will speak for their nations as others have: I will speak for mine.

In all our postwar history there has not been another issue which has brought forth such unanimity of American public opinion. The President of the United States has from the first been explicit: this must not happen. The Congress of the United States, in a measure unanimously adopted in the Senate and sponsored by 436 of 437 Representatives in our House, declared its utter opposition. Following only American Jews themselves, the American trade union movement was first to the fore in denouncing this infamous undertaking. Next, one after another, the great private institutions of

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<sup>212</sup> Gil Troy, the Canadian Zionist, published a book in 2012, *Moynihan’s Moment: America’s Fight Against Zionism as Racism*.

American life pronounced anathema on this evil thing-and most particularly, the Christian churches have done so. Reminded that the United Nations was born in the struggle against just such abominations as we are committing today – the wartime alliance of the United Nations dates from 1942 – the United Nations Association of the United States has for the first time in its history appealed directly to each of the 141 other delegations in New York not to do this unspeakable thing.

The proposition to be sanctioned by a resolution of the General Assembly is that “Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination.” **Now that is a lie, but it is a lie which the United Nations has now declared to be a truth, and so the actual truth must be restated.”**

At this moment in his speech, Moynihan points his proverbial finger at Fayez Sayegh.

“The very first point to be made-and here I must respectfully take issue with my colleague from Kuwait, a man genuinely distinguished for his scholarship but who none the less on this matter is simply wrong – is that the United Nations has declared zionism to be racism without ever having defined racism: “Sentence first, verdict afterwards,” as the Queen of Hearts said. But this is not Wonderland. It is a real world where there are real consequences to folly and venality.

Lest I be unclear, the United Nations has, in fact, on several occasions defined “racial discrimination.” The definitions have been loose but recognizable. It is “racism,” incomparably the more serious charge – racial discrimination is a practice, racism is a doctrine – it is racism that has never been defined. Indeed, the term has only recently appeared in General Assembly documents.

The one occasion that we have been able to find on which we know it to have been discussed was the 1644th meeting of the Third Committee on 16 December 1968, in connexion with the report of the Secretary-General on the status of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. On that occasion – to give some feeling for the intellectual precision with which the matter was being treated – the question arose as to what should be the relative positioning of the terms “racism” and “nazism” in a number of preambular paragraphs. The distinguished representative of Tunisia argued that “racism” should go first because, he said, nazism was a form of racism. Not so, said the no less distinguished representative of the USSR, for, he explained, nazism contained all the main elements of racism within its ambit and should be mentioned first. That is to say that racism was merely a form of nazism. The discussion wound to its weary and inconclusive end, and we are left with nothing to guide us, for even that one discussion of “racism” confined itself to word orders in preambular paragraphs and did not at all touch on the meaning of the words as such.

Still, one cannot but ponder the situation we have made for ourselves in the context of the Soviet statement on that not-so-distant occasion. If, as the distinguished representative declared, racism is a form of nazism, and if, as this resolution declares, Zionism is a form of racism, then we have step by step taken ourselves to the point of proclaiming – the United Nations is solemnly proclaiming – that zionism is a form of nazism. What we have here is a lie, a political lie of a variety well known to the twentieth century and scarcely exceeded in all that annal of untruth and outrage. The lie is that zionism is a form of racism. The overwhelmingly clear truth is that it is not.

The word “racism” is a creation of the English language, and relatively new to it. It is not, for instance, to be found in the Oxford English dictionary. The term derives from relatively new doctrines, all of them discredited, concerning the human population of the world, to the effect that there are significant, biological differences among clearly identifiable groups, and that those differences establish in effect, different levels of humanity. Racism, as defined by Webster’s Third New International Dictionary, is, “the assumption that ... traits and capacities are determined by



biological race and that races differ decisively from one another.” It further involves “a belief in the inherent superiority of a particular race and its right to domination over others.”

That meaning is clear. It is equally clear that that assumption, that belief, has always been altogether alien to the political and religious movement known as zionism. As a strictly political movement, zionism was established only in 1897, although there is a clearly legitimate sense in which its origins are indeed ancient. For example, many branches of Christianity have always held that from the standpoint of the Biblical prophets Israel would be reborn one day. But the modern zionist movement arose in Europe in the context of a general upsurge of national consciousness and aspiration that overtook most other peoples of Central and Eastern Europe after 1848 and that in time spread to all of Africa and Asia. It was to those persons of the Jewish religion a Jewish form of what today is called a national liberation movement.

Now it was the singular nature – if I am not mistaken it was the unique nature – of that national liberation movement that, in contrast with the movements that preceded it, those of that time and those that have come since, it defined its members not in terms of birth but of belief. That is to say, it was not a movement of the Irish to free Ireland or of the Polish to free Poland; not a movement of Algerians to free Algeria or of Indians to free India.”

As the final speaker of the General Assembly’s extended meeting of November 10, Sayegh responded:

I would say a word or two about the long statement made by the representative of the United States. In the first place, I have read Professor Moynihan, and **I must admit that Professor Moynihan is much more persuasive than Ambassador Moynihan.** The representative of the United States came with a facetious argument. He commented on something I had said regarding the definition of racial discrimination by the United Nations, and he said that the United Nations did not define racism. And then he created an absurd syllogism out of which he thought he reached an absurd conclusion, that zionism is a form of nazism, or the other way around – I even forget what he said. But in all this diversionary trick, he forgot to answer the question: does the definition of racial discrimination adopted by the United Nations apply to zionism or does it not? Do I take it that Mr. Moynihan’s silence on the question of racial discrimination means that he half agrees with the resolution; that he only questions zionism as being a form of racism, but does not question zionism as being a form of racial discrimination?

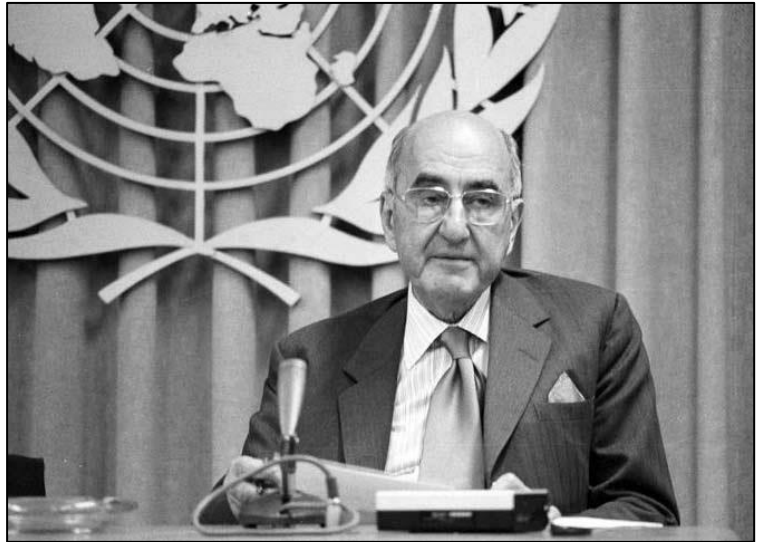
Because he admitted that there is a United Nations definition on that, but then, instead of answering the question – does that definition apply to zionism or not? – he went off at a tangent to give us his own philosophy of racism. He left unanswered the question: does the United States agree that zionism perpetrates racial discrimination, or does it not? In the light of his silence, I would presume to believe that it is implicit agreement to the statement that zionism is a form of racial discrimination.”

It is said that Moynihan’s strong support of Israel on November 10 was his ticket to win a seat in the US Senate (representing the Democrats in the State of New York) in November 1976. At the end of the November 21, 1975, the New York Times news article, *Moynihan’s Style in the U.N. is Now an Open Debate*, noted from interviews with “one [unnamed] participant” of the “more than 100 officials working at the American Mission to the United Nations” said that “the atmosphere” at “the staff meetings over which Mr. Moynihan presides” is “that of a college class with the professor lecturing his students.” And “some of the Foreign Service officials ... noting the vast publicity that Mr. Moynihan’s getting – and seemingly enjoying – these days, have asked privately whether he will be stay at the United Nations for long, or won’t, despite all disclaimers, seek elective office next year.” The article ends with the following

paragraph: “The insinuations that he is considering the United Nations as a jumping board for a political career are Arab and Soviet propaganda, Mr. Moynihan declares.”

### 8.16. Mr. Jamil Baroody’s Final Words

Mr. Jamil Baroody was a very well seasoned Saudi Arabian diplomat (appointed by King Faisal) who served as that State’s United Nation’s representative from 1946 through to March 1979, at which point, at age 74, he departed from this earth. Wikipedia <sup>213</sup> notes that, being “the longest-serving member of member States” at the UN, Baroody was born in Lebanon in 1905, became a convert to Christianity with the Melkite Greek Catholic Church, and studied and graduated at Beirut’s American University. “Baroody was known as a master of UN procedure and a colorful orator whose frankness, passion, and wit enlivened often dull debates:”



“According to historian Roland Burke, one of Baroody’s speeches on human rights was “a rhetorical vortex of references to the dinosaurs and their apparent demise by predation from the sabre-toothed tiger, digressions on the Sumerians, and on the dangers of psychiatry.” According to another account, Baroody’s interventions were “always wide-ranging, often entertaining; but he tended to speak at inconvenient times and at excessive length ... declaring awkward truths.”

It was also noted elsewhere that Baroody was a dear friend of King Faisal, who extended his trust to Baroody with the supervision of his children when they came to America, the same bountiful trust extended to Baroody that allowed him to speak freely at the UN without prior clearance from Faisal or his top state bureaucrats.

In the New York Times’ March 5, 1979, eulogy, *Jamil M. Baroody, Saudi Arabia’s U.N. Delegate, Dies*, was a quote from former UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, calling “Mr. Baroody a “landmark” at the United Nations and “an enthusiastic guardian” of its ideals and objectives.” He was also described “as an old-fashioned orator who delivered long, discursive speeches without the benefit of a text and with only a few notes.” And, according to type-notes on historic UN photos, Baroody was, for an unstated period of time, subjected to sit next to, and directly left of, the Israeli representative Yosef Tekoah, while presiding at UN Security Council meetings. That must have been an uncomfortable ordeal and a spiritual test of Mr. Baroody’s faith!



Baroody often berated Mr. Tekoah from Israel.

<sup>213</sup> Accessed on July 29, 2024.

On November 10, 1975, near the end of the General Assembly's 2,400<sup>th</sup> meeting, Mr. Baroody rose to give a rather lengthy response (paragraphs 373 to 412), not only regarding the vote and topic of Resolution 3379, Zionism as Racism, but in reply to what Ambassador Moynihan had stated.

"I feel constrained to exercise the right of reply, in particular to what the representative of the United States, Mr. Moynihan, said in explanation of his vote this evening. I will remind him of certain terms that he used that were even shunned at the height of the cold war. I know that there is detente between the Soviet Union and the United States, but **even when the cold war prevailed the United States representatives and the Soviet representatives were more polite in their interventions**, which were in opposition.

Mr. Moynihan said that the assessment of zionism as being tantamount to racism was a lie. Well, in this host country we know that the world "lie" means nothing. I have heard Americans call one another liars and bastards, but that was in jest. They say, "You bastard" or "You liar," but **we cannot accept in this Assembly terminology that by tradition we consider to be an insult**. In our part of the world, if someone calls another person a liar in public he reacts; he may even kill the man, and the judge may exonerate him for having been roused by such insults. Let the representatives of the host country beware: we are not used to such appellations, and we will not get used to them.

He said "It is a lie" again and again. Do the United States and the Western European Powers have a monopoly of the truth? Where is your decorum, my good friend Mr. Moynihan? You are entitled to your opinion. You might have said we were mistaken. But we are liars, 72 [State Members who voted on draft Resolution III] liars? Do you have a monopoly of the truth? You were a professor at Harvard, and you should not be so conclusive in your attitudes to others.

Mr. Moynihan stated that the adoption of the resolution on zionism was an infamous act. Tell me, Mr. Moynihan, was the partition of Palestine a famous act? I do not know how old you were then; you were a kid. Ask me about the partition of Palestine.

It is a shameful act, you said, to call the Zionists racists. Is the dispersal of a couple of million Palestinians by Zionists a pious, justifiable act? Was Mr. Morgenthau, who happened to be a Jew, your Ambassador to Turkey in 1917, wrong when he said you would arouse America in the long run against such Jews as identified their interests with that country and they did not want to set themselves apart. **Why do you not see the other side of the coin?** The father of the famous Jewish violinist Yehudi Menuhin, Moshe Menuhin, who wrote *The Decadence of Zionism in our Times*, said – and I am paraphrasing – that the Zionists were setting themselves apart as having a monopoly over what is right and wrong, and that this was a sign of decadence. Read his book, Professor Moynihan. It is available here; perhaps not in the United Nations library, but you can find it anywhere, and I shall be happy to send you a copy if you cannot find one.

Mr. Moynihan reaffirmed what the Zionists rationalized time and again, **that zionism was a liberation movement** based on Biblical prophecies. Why do you not, my good friend Mr. Moynihan, support the liberation of the Red Indians, for that matter, who have been placed in reservations? Why do you not start that liberation movement at home? The Palestinian people were sold down the Thames [River] by Mr. Balfour and down the Potomac [River] by Mr. Truman. And the late Mr. Woodrow Wilson returned to the United States from Versailles a broken man when he found the Allies, none other than the United Kingdom and France, placing Arab countries under mandates, which was colonialism in disguise.

Where were you then, Mr. Moynihan? Of course you may say you were not born. But you are a professor. Why do you not consult the books of history? Do you know anything about the Crane

mission? Mr. Crane was sent by your Government to find out what was what in Palestine. None of your United States representatives here mention a word about Mr. Crane's report. He said it would be an injustice to create a state in a country that is populated by Palestinians.

What business had Mr. Balfour and Mr. Truman to create an imbroglio in our midst? What have the Palestinians, and for that matter all the Arabs in the region, done to the United Kingdom and the United States? Why at a distance of six or seven thousand miles do you put your finger in our pie? "Ah," you might say, "if we did not, the Soviet Union would take over the Middle East." We are not clients of yours nor of the Soviet Union. You wanted to be free. You fought for your freedom 200 years ago. What brought you to our area?

But what about the influence that the Zionists had on you here? I find a gentleman sitting next to you, none other than Senator Humphrey, well known not only in the United States but everywhere: Can he in private, in earnest, tell me that all these years the Zionists have not brought pressure to bear on the United States to follow the policy that has boomeranged and is alienating all the people of the Arab world, nay, the people of the Muslim world and not only the people of the Muslim world, but the people of the third world all the people who had been oppressed by the colonial Powers?

Mr. Moynihan, my dear friend, I should like still to call you my dear friend. because brothers sometimes have differences. Please, you and Mr. Garment, your representative on the Third Committee, desist from using the word "obscene." You cited the English dictionary. You know what "obscene" means – foul, filthy, dirty, offensive to chastity. We do not use obscene words....

I can hardly add to what my colleague from Kuwait said in trying to make clear how we consider zionism as being tantamount to racism. Time and again I have told you for the last 26 or 27 years that we have no quarrel with Judaism. But it was European Jews who started this movement. They had nothing to do with our Jews. They used Judaism, a noble religion, for a political and economic end.

When the Zionists contend that they do not want to live side by side in a bi-national or any other State because they are exclusive and God gave them Palestine – **since when was God in the real estate business, my good friend Mr. Moynihan? Show us the title deed.** And since when did He give Mr. Balfour and Mr. Truman powers-of-attorney to transfer land that does not belong to them – land that was populated by people who, some of them at least, had at one time been Jews and who embraced Christianity because they got fed up with some of their rabbis, our rabbis who were fundamentalists? Does God parcel out land?

... even Balfour in his declaration mentioned "national home," not national State, although he had no legal authority over that part of the world. It was a mandate, and the Jews were hardly 6 per cent of the population. You stand for democracy and you stand for "one person, one vote." Did the British and the Americans care to find out by a plebiscite whether the Palestinian people would accept an alien element on the basis of Biblical prophecies? Ask me about the Bible and about the monotheistic religions of the Middle East. I believe that you once told me that you are Catholic, and that you do not read the Bible, you let your priests propound it for you. I read the Bible.

And can our illustrious friend, Senator Humphrey – whose presence here heartens me – **tell me why 76 Senators automatically marched at the behest of the Zionists?** Of course, the Zionists own most of the mass media of information, and political campaigns depend on the mass media – **campaigns for the election not only of Senators and Congressmen but also even of the President of the United States. God help any candidate in this country who is not supported by the Zionists! God help him!** And the Federal Government does not help out this City of New York, which I knew under La Guardia. I hope that because we live here Senator Humphrey will help the



city. But immediately the Senate will vote \$2,500 million to give to Israel, and Egypt gets the consolation prize - \$500 or \$600 million. \$2,500 million goes to Israel. Why? Because it is a “bastion of democracy.” What democracy? Ritualized democracy? Religion was ritualized before democracy. That is why people went to churches and in two world wars prayed to Jesus the Prince of Peace, who said: “Love thy enemy as thyself.” And the next day they cut each other’s throats.

What have we done to you, my good friends the Americans? We have common interests with you; we want to increase those interests with you – not only the Saudi Arabians, but many Arabs. You say to us: “If we do not act like that, the Soviet Union – communism – will overtake you.” But what brought the Communists into our midst? Your policies. ... The Soviet Union has no right to interfere; only you have the right to interfere.

I shall not say that it is a great shame that you should have engaged in such diatribes against 72 nations which, to the best of their knowledge, thought that the Zionists had gone too far – their exclusivity; the chosen people of God, **as if God discriminates and chooses one people. That is what we are fighting here: discrimination. What fiction!** And suppose that certain people do not believe in God and are atheists? You say: “Because of our historical background we should be in Palestine.” But the Canaanites were in Palestine before even our oriental Jews, who are our brothers, as I said time and again, came southward from Ur of the Chaldees in what today is western Iraq. Whom do you think you are fooling here? Propaganda? Baroody does not engage in propaganda; he tells you historical

You Zionists play on the emotions of the fundamentalists amongst the Christians – whether Catholic or Protestant – and say: “the Judeo-Christian background.” But God – assuming that we believe in Christianity and in Islam, as well as in Judaism – God sent Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Mary. But you renounced Him, you called Him a false prophet. You want to wait until a messiah of your own choosing comes to this earth.

But all this is rationalization, making Judaism, a noble religion, the motivation for political and economic ends. You are not fooling anybody. As I have said time and again, I was on speaking terms with the Zionists until 1944. Time and again I said: “Come and live as Jews; don’t ask for a State.” “No, we want a State because God gave us Palestine.” And even Mr. Eban, at this rostrum, mentioned it, which made me come over and tell him what I have just said: “Since when has God been in the real estate business?” Mr. Eban is a man who studied evolution at Cambridge or Oxford. And Mr. Herzog is a learned man, he is a writer of books. And he comes and plays on your sentiments.

You Americans, my good friends, wake up: we do not want you to hate anybody. We do not hate the Zionists. I personally feel sorry for them, because they are misguided and, **as many non-Zionist Jews have told me, they have developed a psychosis.** We have an Arabic proverb which says: “God have mercy upon them who know where to stop and stop there.” They do not know where to stop. Their forebears never laid eyes on Palestine. They are an alien 408. I have spent a lifetime in the Third Committee, people in our midst. The French and British have a Christian religion, which is Christianity, but that does not make Semites of them. The Nigerians, for that matter, or the Indonesians have a Semitic religion, Islam; but that does not make of them a Semitic people.”

Yet zionism would gather in, if it could, 16 million Jews dispersed all over the world, many of whom have identified themselves with their country of birth or of adoption and have done very well for themselves in the field of business or science or culture. Yet the Zionists still want to claim them as an exclusive people just because they practise Judaism, maintaining that they should be “enfolded” in Palestine, because God gave them Palestine – although I do not think that any of the Zionists have direct or indirect communication with God Almighty.

... There is no such thing as race: it is an oversimplification for the classroom; and Professor Moynihan should know better. It is the attitude, that sense of superiority, that sense of exclusiveness, that determines discrimination. It is not prejudice.

I have spent a lifetime in the Third Committee, 30 years, trying to understand what discrimination is. And you call our action obscene. Go and clean your country of obscenity, Mr. Moynihan – we will help you, if you want us to – before you speak such foul language. If you are strong, well, more power to you, **but use your strength for justice, not to support shady causes.**

No, I will oppose tyranny to my last breath in my part of the world, and I will continue to oppose tyranny wherever I find it. And do not give us those rubrics, those slogans, saying that you are upholding democracy. Did you act democratically in the partition of Palestine? Do not ritualize democracy; let democracy be in the behaviour of each one of us. It begins with our self-restraint, and not in licence. For heaven's sake, wake up, because before long – unless there is a man of the hour such as you, Mr. Humphrey, or somebody else to set this great nation on the right path – you will not be able to save this city from bankruptcy.

Where is Alexander the Great? Where are the Seleucids, the Romans, the Byzantines, the Mongols who came to the area? I am not talking about the Semitic Powers that came before them. Where are our brothers the Turks, who ruled at one time over the Middle East? Where are the British and French Mandates? Where are their empires? They went down the drain, and only God is great. We had three empires. The Arabs became drunk with power and with wealth, and they fell. For Heaven's sake, learn from history. You are only 200 years old. That is a lovely age to be, culturally. Learn from the history of the past. Do not call us names if you do not agree with us; but if you do, by mistake, wash your mouth out lest the foulness stay therein.”

## Part 09. David Sheen's Collections of Racism Revelations

Irwin Cotler, and many other international Jewish Zionists, have often stated their abhorrence to and denounced claims equating Zionism to racism, claims he and they say are grounded in unabashed Anti-Semitism. I.e., one of Cotler's earliest sponsored statements:

“This Arab bloc sponsored resolution is an attempt to legitimize anti-Semitism everywhere and continued aggression against Israel. Zionism is the expression of the Jewish people's right to and desire for national life and self-determination – for survival itself.”<sup>214</sup>

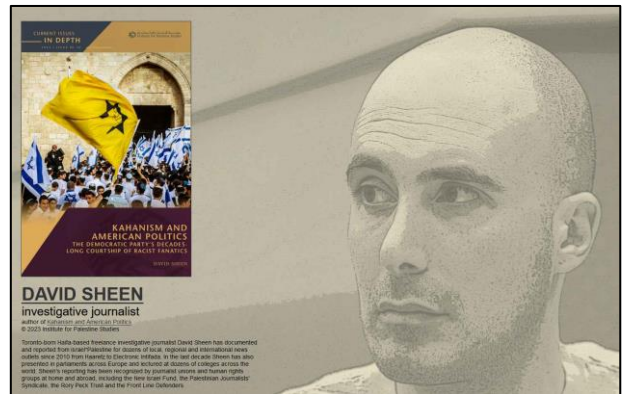
This is the central accusation in which the United States and Israel, as partners, first condemned the United Nations in November 1975, a condemnation that led to large public demonstrations in New York City at the time.

Examined in Part 8 of this report, *Fayez Sayegh: Mover, Shaker and Resolution Maker*, the United Nations Resolution 3379, Zionism as Racism, was an appropriate, well-researched, well-defined claim, evidentially supported by much of the world's U.N. representatives.

The Arab Information Centre in New York City published a full-page ad in the New York Times on November 21, 1975, stating that “the United Nations has condemned Zionism,” and “has NOT condemned Judaism,” explaining that Zionism is “a political ideology and a political movement,” “responsible for the expulsion of two million Palestinians from their homeland,” “responsible for acts of terrorism,” and which “manifests itself in militarism and territorial expansionism, occupies territories by force, indiscriminately bombards Arab civilians and refugee camps, schools and hospitals.”

As Israeli citizen and investigative journalist David Sheen has come to understand these underpinnings through years of research and reflection, the claim equating Zionism to racism not only has a solid foundation, but right-wing Zionist extremists, formerly rejected by Israel's Knesset, have taken over Israel's political agenda since the mid 1990s and have more recently accelerated racism to a shameless platform of political intolerance through unabashed and horrible edicts of mass elimination. Sheen relates that anyone with an open mind and who is fluent in the Hebrew language, and becomes intimate with Israel's political processes, would discern two different worlds: the world as it is lived inside of the Israel project, and the world outside of it. He says that inhabitants of the world outside of Israel don't understand the things that manifest inside of the colonial state. Sheen has created a special niche which investigates the political factions now dominating racist supremacist objectives, and his aim to educate the world outside about it.

On [David Sheen's website](#) are links to his numerous YouTube presentations and some 165 articles published from 2013 to 2024.<sup>215</sup> Sheen is a Canadian, born in Toronto, Ontario, and graduated from York University. In about the year 1999, he visited his family living in Israel. After several visits, he decided to live there. As an ethnic Jew, he was welcomed to do so by the State. From 2010 to 2011, as a “Haifa-based freelance investigative journalist,” he was “a reporter and editor for the English Edition of the Israeli daily broadsheet Haaretz” newspaper.



<sup>214</sup> The January 26 – 28, 1976 Canadian newspaper advertisement, sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee for Human Rights and chairman Irwin Cotler, titled, “November 10, 1975: The day the U.N. voted against itself.”

<sup>215</sup> Most of which were published for on-line news journals: Electronic Intifada, Mondoweiss, The New Arab, Alternet, and Muftah.

Of significance, the Six-Day, June 1967 Israeli war, by it the further theft of Palestinian Mandate lands, East Jerusalem City, and Syria's Golan Heights, created a twisted momentum of 'messianic' enthusiasm for secular and orthodox-based Zionism, and for enlisting sitting-on-the-fence Reform Jews, particularly those resided in North America. Jack Ross summarizes this phenomenon in his book, *Rabbi Outcast: Elmer Berger and American Jewish anti-Zionism*, that "the American Jewish community was overcome by a nearly messianic ecstasy that would not leave anyone in its path. ... In the deeply pro-military South [USA], Christian Zionism, with its "dispensationalist" theology, was on the rise, helping to create overwhelming sympathy for Israel, shocking many ACJ stalwarts in that region, and turning all of their previous assumptions upside down."<sup>216</sup> Rabbi Elmer Berger was particularly disappointed and dismayed that much of his anti-Zionist organization membership in the American Council for Judaism (ACJ), formed in 1942, was abandoning ship. This was more Zionist trickery.

Of the numerous initiatives that were jump-started because of the June 1967 internationally unlawful 'victory' momentum, there emerged in 1968 the fiery figure of 'Rabbi' Meir Kahane, erupting an unbridled, deep-seated vengeance, racism, hatred of all things Palestinians, communist, Arabs, blacks, etc. Sheen's historical examination on the redirected evil ways of Israel's apartheid and ongoing Nakba is centred on mischievous Kahane, an extreme Zionist terrorist, genocidal plotter extraordinaire, and his long train of mischievous followers who sought to champion and infiltrate Israel's Knesset after Kahane's assassination on November 5, 1990, a movement referred to as Kahaneism.

Kahaneism.

[Wikipedia](#) reports that Kahane, raised in Brooklyn by Jewish Orthodox parents, "was a member of an established rabbinic family," the "Flatbush Board of Rabbis," who as a young lad, "joined the Betar (Brit Trumpeldor) youth wing of Revisionist Zionism," and in the early 1950s, around the age of 20, "received his rabbinical ordination from the Mir Yeshiva in Brooklyn." In about 1954, Kahane went on to receive "a Bachelor of Law from New York Law School, and a Masters "in International Relations from New York University." By "1958, Kahane became the rabbi of the Howard Beach Jewish Centre in Queens, New York City." In 1966, at age 34, after ten years of marriage to Libby Blum birthing four children, Kahane had a secret affair "under the alias of Michael King," assuming "the persona of a Gentile." Kahane "became engaged to marry the 21-year-old model Gloria D'Argenio," who, now pregnant, would soon take her life jumping "off the Queensboro Bridge" after receiving a letter from Kahane announcing the "ending of their relationship," that is, "two days" before "expecting him to marry her." Kahane would later lie about his relationship with D'Argenio, claiming she "had died of cancer" and that she "had been his former secretary in his failed consulting operation." In March 1960, Kahane began writing for the "tabloid-style" Jewish Press newspaper, [under new ownership by a "group of leading Rabbis](#), known for "expressing right-wing political views and

During Trump's presidency, his son-in-law Jared Kushner and his bankruptcy lawyer David Friedman became, respectively, his special advisor and ambassador to Israel. Both men had previously donated money<sup>1</sup> to groups associated with the followers of deceased Rabbi Meir Kahane, who led the most racist and murderous Jewish political movement of the last half century. Rabbi Dov Lior, who heads Komemiyut, a Kahanist think tank Kushner and Friedman funneled money to,<sup>2</sup> has repeatedly praised one of the biggest mass murderers in Israeli history: "Baruch Goldstein is a holier martyr than all the holy martyrs of the Holocaust."<sup>3</sup> Goldstein murdered twenty-nine Palestinians during prayers in 1994 while wounding another 120.

**KAHANISM AND AMERICAN POLITICS: THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S DECADES-LONG COURTSHIP OF RACIST FANATICS**

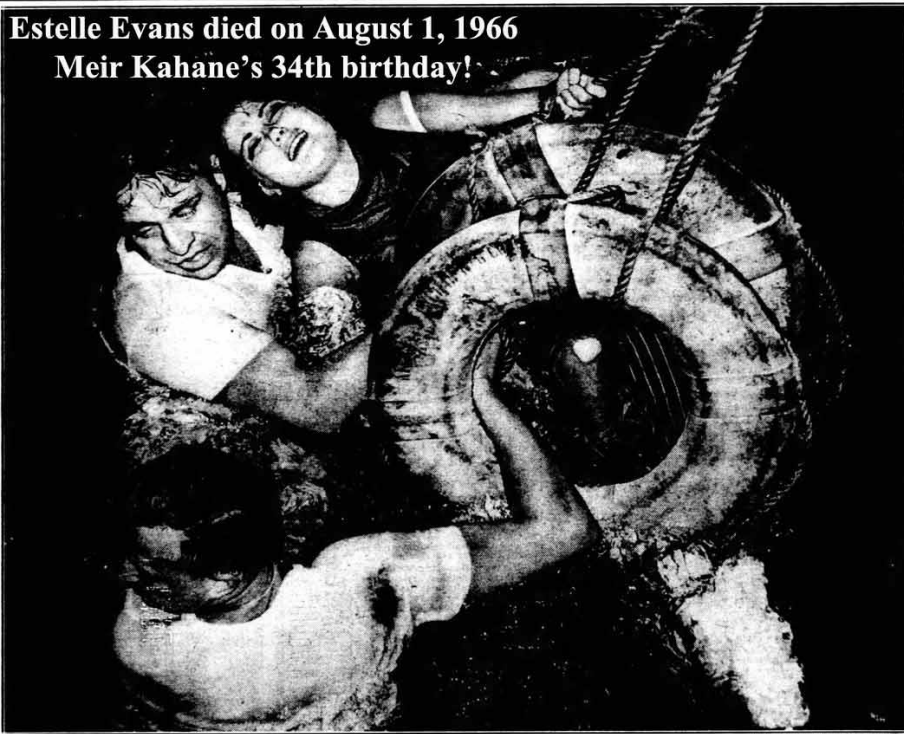
David Sheen | 2023 | ISSUE NO. 10 | مؤسسية الدراسات الفلسطينية | Institute for Palestine Studies



<sup>216</sup> Page 146.



## Estelle Evans died on August 1, 1966 Meir Kahane's 34th birthday!



**Clinging to Life.** Patrolman John Conway supports Estelle Evans as Patrolman Vincent Miller handles life preserver. Police said Miss Evans, a 21-year-old model, leaped 135 feet from the Queensboro Bridge into the East River early yesterday. Alerted by other cops, Conway and Miller spotted girl and leaped into water for rescue. —Story on page 3

“At about 4:30 a.m. on Saturday, July 30, a distraught Estelle Donna Evans walked along the lower level of the Queensboro Bridge near the Manhattan side with her roommate, Laura Warner. Sobbing convulsively, Estelle asked her roommate how she could have been such a fool. Afraid that she was going to commit suicide, Laura broke away from her friend and ran toward a passing car and called out: “Help! Help! She wants to jump!” A motorist sped to the foot of the bridge and alerted the police, but not before Estelle bolted for the rail and plunged 135 feet into the East River. Incredibly, she survived. Severely injured, she was rescued by two policemen, who dived into the water from the Manhattan side of the river.”  
(Source: *The False Prophet*, by Robert I. Friedman, 1990, pages 71-72.)

# Cops Rescue Model After 135-Ft. Bridge Leap



Patrolmen Vincent Miller (left) and John Conway use life rings in saving Estelle Evans. (NEWS photo by George Lockhart)

By MICHAEL HANRAHAN

An attractive, 21-year-old model, despondent over a broken romance, leaped 135 feet from the Queensboro Bridge into the East River yesterday morning and survived, thanks to two policemen who dived in after her from a pier and brought her ashore.

The girl, identified as Estelle Evans, of 345 W. 58th St., was taken to Lenox Hill Hospital, where she was reported in critical condition after a two-hour operation for serious internal injuries.

**Rescuers Also in Hospital**  
Her rescuers, Patrolmen John Conway and Vincent Miller of the E. 67th St. station, were admitted to the hospital for observation after their grueling swim in the swift-running incoming tide.

The drama began at 4:30 A.M.

as Miss Evans and her roommate, Laura Warner, 30, walked along the lower level of the bridge near the Manhattan side. Miss Warner, agitated and fearful, suddenly broke away, ran toward a passing car and called out: “Help! Help! She wants to jump.”

The unidentified motorist sped to the foot of the bridge and alerted radio car Patrolmen Kenneth Keller and Frank Sinelli of the E. 67th St. station. They drove out across the bridge and spotted Miss Warner running,

alone, along the walk. Nearly hysterical, she told the patrolmen her friend had jumped.

Keller and Spinelli radioed for help and among the first to respond were Conway and Miller, who drove to the Department of Sanitation pier at E. 62d St. Directing their car spotlight across the water, they spotted Miss Evans floating about 100 yards from shore.

Conway and Miller stripped to their underwear and plunged into the river with a life pre-

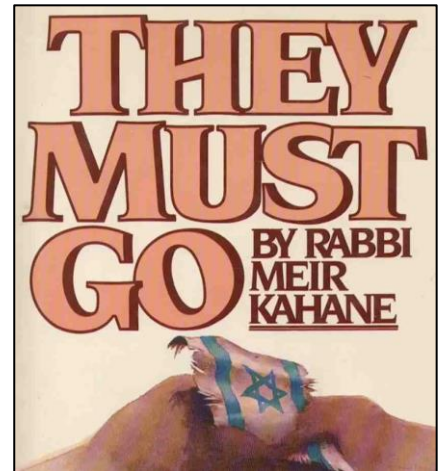
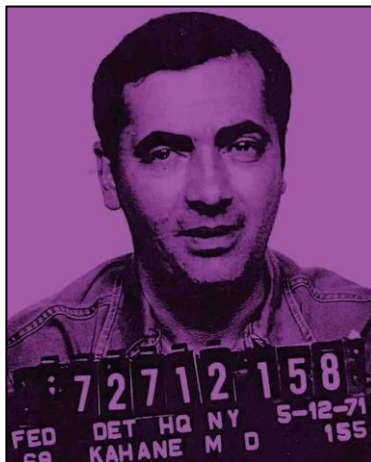
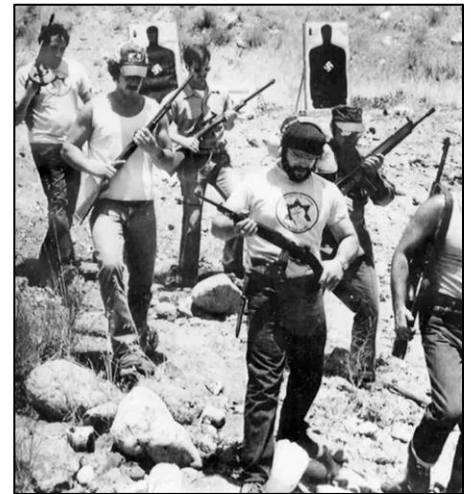
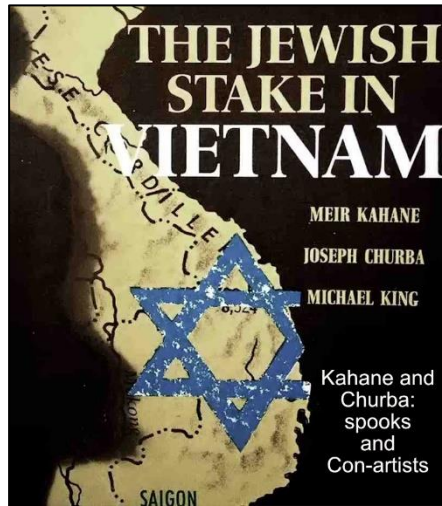
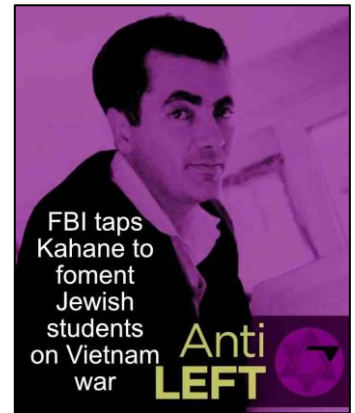
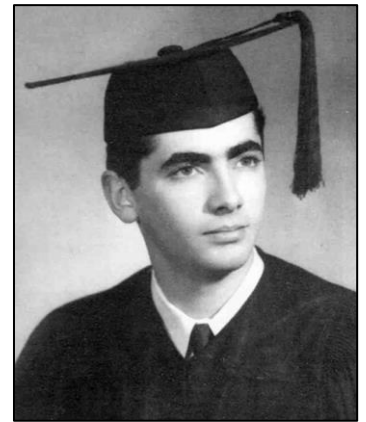
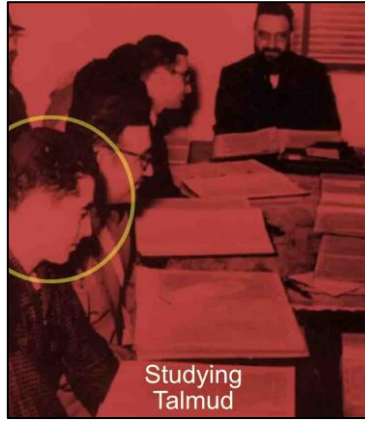


Rescuers Patrolmen Conway (l.) and Miller await blankets after climbing out of the East River. (NEWS photo by Jim Hughes)

server. When they reached the girl, who was conscious, they slipped the life ring over her head. A passing fishing boat saw the patrolmen struggling with Miss Evans, pulled alongside and hauled all three aboard. Miss Evans told police she had become despondent after receiving a letter from her boy friend breaking off their romance. In her handbag police

found \$183.60 in cash and a check drawn to her order for \$377.

Miss Evans' brush with death recalls the leap of pretty Roslyn Hirsch, 20, from the 248-foot-high upper level of the George Washington Bridge on June 25. Miss Hirsch, of 110 Post Ave., was hospitalized with a broken spine and internal injuries until July 6.





an unapologetic presentation of [Jewish] Orthodoxy," and "strong support for Israel." In late May 1968, Kahane launched the [Jewish Defence Corps](#), and quickly renamed it the [Jewish Defence League](#), "fearing that "Corps" would be construed as too militant."

**A 'Never Again' Militancy**

Philadelphia Daily News  
September 24, 1969

# Rabbi Builds Defense Force

By DON HASKIN

The rabbi looks like a meek man, scholarly in appearance, with salt-and-pepper hair that is thinning ever so slightly. From all appearances, he seems the type who spends endless hours poring over his books in an effort to become better versed in his religion.

The illusion disappears quickly, though, when he gets to talking about an organization that has become his life.

'Anti-Semitism is a jealous, consuming fire,' Rabbi Meir Kahane says, his voice quivering with emotion.

**THEN, RECITING** the creed of the Jewish Defense League, which he heads, he shakes his fist in the air and screams, "Never Again! Never Again! Never again!"

Rabbi Kahane came to Philadelphia last night from his home in New York to explain his organization to more than 300 persons who gathered at the YMHA at Broad and Pine sts.

He didn't mince words. "The Jewish Defense League stands for one thing," Rabbi Kahane said, "love of the Jewish people."

"The Jewish people are different," he said.

"They see a black cloud that says it's going to rain, but the Jew doesn't go for an umbrella. He must first catch pneumonia."

"Six million people caught pneumonia and died because there was no Jewish Defense League. The Jewish Defense League still smells the gas at Auschwitz."

**TO INSURE** against a repetition of persecution of Jews, Rabbi Kahane said, his group, which claims 6500 members nationwide, would meet violence with violence on a "two-eyes-for-one basis."

He said the JDL was willing to approach others with an extended hand as long as potential adversaries knew the hand bore a clenched fist.

He said his group, which trains husky Jewish boys in

the not-so-gentle art of karate, was developed in a long process that ended at the time of last year's New York school crisis, which he said bore anti-Semitic overtones.

Rabbi Kahane said tensions between teachers, most of whom in New York are Jewish, and members of the black community reached a peak at that time.

**HE SAID** violence that befell teachers convinced him it was time to act. Not only for their sake, but for Jewish merchants whose businesses were being robbed and vandalized.

Rabbi Kahane gave up his own congregation to devote full time to the JDL. After a group of black militants invaded his home in Queens, he moved with his wife and children to a new home in Brooklyn.

"Mimeographed protests are passe," the rabbi said. "We're speaking of physical threats to Jewish existence, of people who use public airways to say, 'Hitler didn't make enough lampshades.'"

He said the JDL had three



**JEWISH DEFENSE LEAGUE** is discussed in meeting at YMHA, Broad and Pine sts., by (l. to r.) Rabbi Meir Kahane, head of New York league; Sid Green, YMHA director of adult education, and Bertram Zweibon, league attorney. Daily News Photo by Elwood P. Smith

main aims. First, he said, was to teach Jewish pride. Second, he said, was Jewish self-defense, and last, political power.

**WHEN THE MEETING** was opened for questions, Rudolph R. Windsor, a black man who has been a Jew since birth, and who estimates there are as many as 50,000 black Jews in Philadelphia, asked the first question.

"Will the JDL accept the black Jews," he asked.

"It will and it has," Rabbi Kahane said.

A pretty young girl seated in front of Windsor turned in her chair, extended her hand and said, "Happy New Year."

Philadelphia's budding JDL chapter, headed by Rabbi Harold Novoseller, added 48 members after last night's meeting.

**Question:**

New York Times, June 24, 1969

## Is This Any Way for Nice Jewish Boys to Behave?



The Jewish Defense League answering a demand for reparations from synagogues.

**Answer:**

Maybe. Maybe there are times when there is no other way to get across to the extremist that the Jew is not quite the patsy some think he is.

Maybe there is only one way to get across a clear response to people who threaten seizure of synagogues and extortion of money. Maybe nice Jewish boys do not always get through to people who threaten to carry teachers out in pine boxes and to burn down merchants' stores.

Maybe some people and organizations are too nice. Maybe in times of crisis. Jewish boys should not be that nice. Maybe - just maybe - nice people build their own road to Auschwitz.

## THE JEWISH DEFENSE LEAGUE

IS DEDICATED TO THE PROPOSITIONS THAT:

- nice Jewish boys - or any nice boys - should not be forced out of their jobs by hoodlums.
- nice Jewish boys - or any nice boys - should not be victims of quota systems and reverse discrimination in schools.
- nice Jewish boys - or any nice boys - should not become victims of totalitarian revolutionaries of the Radical Left.
- nice Jewish boys - or any nice boys - should not be forced out of their stores and see a lifetime of work destroyed by extremist thugs.
- nice Jewish boys - or any nice boys - should not be forced to pay a penny to extortionists for crimes they never committed.
- nice Jewish boys - or any nice boys - should not have to endure the potential rise of a Radical Right reaction which would destroy democracy.
- nice Jewish boys - or any nice boys - should not be victims of a do-nothing city, state or federal government.
- NICE JEWISH, CHRISTIAN, WHITE AND BLACK BOYS SHOULD CREATE A SOCIETY OF JUSTICE AND EQUALITY IN WHICH PEOPLE CAN GET BACK TO BEING NICE.

*We Are Speaking of Jewish Survival!*  
*We Are Speaking of The American Dream!*

*How Much Is Jewish Survival Worth To You?*  
*How Much Are You Prepared To Give For It?*

Gentlemen:

I am overjoyed at your work. I wish to help in any way I can. Enclosed is my contribution of

— \$10,000 — \$5,000 — \$1,000 — other

Name .....

Address .....

Please mail to:

THE JEWISH DEFENSE LEAGUE  
156 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N. Y. 10010

I am overjoyed that your group has been formed.

— I would like to join. Enclosed is \$10 for membership. (\$3 for students)

— I also enclose an additional sum of ..... toward your urgent needs.

Name ..... Phone .....

Address .....

THE JEWISH DEFENSE LEAGUE  
156 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N. Y. 10010 Tel. 989-6460

## THE JEWISH DEFENSE LEAGUE

156 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10010 • Tel. 989-6460

MEIR KAHANE, National Director BERTRAM ZWIBON, General Counsel



# Why New York Jews turn militant

Toronto Star, August 6, 1969

By STAN FISCHLER  
Special to The Star

NEW YORK, N.Y.

"Is this any way for nice Jewish boys to behave?" The headline capped a photograph of six youths in their late teens and early 20s, all wearing sunglasses and brandishing clubs of varying dimensions as they lined up in front of a Manhattan synagogue.

Underneath the photo, part of a large advertisement in the New York Times, was the "answer." It read: "Maybe. Maybe there are times when there is no other way to get across to the extremist that the Jew is not quite the patsy some think he is."

The advertisement signalled the emergence of a new force—militant Jewish power—on the already troubled socio-racial sea in the United States. Like black power, it is a movement which has been fanned by racial strife and appears to be growing with awesome speed.

Its vehicle is the Jewish Defence League, a quasi-political-military group which has just celebrated its first birthday. Within a year it has mushroomed to 5,700 members—at \$10 a year—with branches in 17 cities, including Buffalo, Oakland, San Francisco, Detroit, Atlanta, Philadelphia, Chicago and Boston.

The Jewish Defence League also claims to have numerous members in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver, but has avoided establishment of a Canadian branch because, as its leader noted, "we have to give priority to the United States."

Meir Kahane (pronounced KAH-ee), a 36-year-old rabbi, who sprinkles his conversation with liberal doses of "a m a z i n g" and "amazed," organized the JDL and reigns as its national director. The rabbi is also spiritual leader of an orthodox synagogue in the borough of Queens, and edits the Jewish Press, a weekly tabloid with a circulation of 120,000, that is the unofficial organ of the JDL.

The unobtrusive-looking rabbi developed the idea for a Jewish protective organization in 1967 and early 1968 while editing the Jewish Press.

"I received numbers of letters detailing anti-Semitic incidents that somehow weren't printed in the local papers," Kahane told The Star from his Fifth Avenue office near Union Square in Manhattan. "Pretty soon it became an avalanche, and one point kept making itself clear—the government is apathetic and indifferent."

Rabbi Kahane, who wore a short-sleeved white shirt open at the collar and a black skullcap, explained that he was irritated by apparent municipal indifference.

## Small ad

"I said to myself, 'When the government abdicates its responsibility then we have no one to turn to but ourselves.' So I sat down with two or three friends and we decided to place a small ad in the Jewish Press explaining how we wanted to form the league. We got 40 or 50 people and we were in business."

The JDL manifesto begins with the slogan "Never again." It emphasizes the need for discipline and states in the opening paragraph: "We are fighting for the freedom and survival of the Jewish people in the face of the most serious threat to Jewish existence to ever face American Jewry . . . we are faced with crisis."

Kahane pinpointed a confrontation last January that launched the JDL as an action group, gave it national coverage and multiplied its enrolment. A local FM station, WBAI, aired a program in which allegedly anti-Semitic poems were read. The JDL organized a picket line in front of the studio that swelled to nearly 500 persons.

"One of the cops told me it was the angriest Jewish crowd he had ever seen," the rabbi remembered.

"Well, it's about time we Jews got a little angry. Imagine, broadcasting an anti-Semitic poem in a city of 2,500,000 Jews."

Within two weeks of the WBAI episode the JDL gained 2,000 members, had opened an office and had no difficulty finding crusades. The city had just emerged from a bitter teachers' strike that had polarized the black and Jewish communities and resulted in the harassment of some Jewish instructors.

## Advice sought

One Sunday morning Kahane received a phone call from a white Jewish teacher at Eastern District High School, one of the embattled predominantly Negro city schools. The teacher had been embroiled in a dispute with black students and had been warned to stay away from the building. He asked the rabbi for advice and was told that the JDL would personally walk with him into the school.

A day later a group of JDL members, sporting blue buttons adorned with a Star of David and the inscription "Never again," escorted the teacher to his classroom. Kahane proudly pursued, "and nothing happened."

Heartened by the response, the JDL began performing similar functions in other parts of the city. Aides escorted elderly Jews to polling places in black communities where, according to Kahane, Jews had been warned to stay away.

When violence erupted last spring at City College campus, the JDL confronted the Negro New Left groups, who attempted to close the university. It was the first major, although brief, physical clash for the JDL. Kahane claimed that the black militants attempted to disrupt his picket line and were repulsed.

## Started pushing

"They started pushing us and we pushed them back," he said triumphantly. "Our ranks didn't break and we made the point that they're not supermen; if you stand up to them."

At about the same time radical student groups were threatening to close Brooklyn College, which has one of the largest Jewish enrolments in the country and a similarly large JDL branch. When the New Left protesters occupied classrooms at the Brooklyn campus Kahane informed the college president and the local police that JDL members would evict the occupation forces that evening unless the police intervened. Their warning appeared to inspire prompt police action.

The most spectacular example of the JDL in action—as JDL members like to tell it—occurred in ear-



RABBI MEIR KAHANE organized the Jewish Defence League a year ago when, he says, it became clear the government was apathetic and indifferent to attacks on Jews. "We are faced with crisis," he says.

ly May when black militant James Forman demanded reparations from Christian and Jewish organizations. After Forman and his associates had occupied offices of Christian groups and had disrupted a church service, the Negro leader hinted that similar incursions would be made at Temple Emanu-El on Fifth Avenue, one of the largest Jewish congregations in the city.

A JDL official phoned Forman's office and reported that a force of 40 men would confront any black militants who attempted to enter the synagogue. Armed with bars, chains, pipes and helmets, the Jewish group waited in vain for Forman.

"We knew Forman wouldn't come," said Kahane. "He's got so many patsies in the churches who won't stand up to him he doesn't

need a confrontation with us. As for his reparations demand, he ought to remember that if there was any group that did not persecute the blacks it's been the Jews. We're proud of our civil rights record. We owe nobody anything. If they talk about reparations I know one group of people who should have first crack at it."

## Karate and riflery

The Temple Emanu-El demonstration, coupled with newspaper ads and the founding of a summer camp in the Catskill mountains near Woodbourne, New York, where members are trained in karate and riflery, has stirred concern among Jewish moderates.

The B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League condemned the newspaper ad and the JDL as a vigilante group "whose protection the Jewish community does not need or want." Arnold Forster, the Anti-Defamation League's general counsel, denounced Kahane's unit for "imitating the mindless tactics of racial hoodlums."

Samuel Dalsimer, national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League, called the JDL's behavior "an embarrassment and a potential danger."

"Of course a man like Forster would think the Jews don't need us. He's living in a nice suburb in Westchester," said Kahane. "The odd thing is that non-Jews understand us better than Jews. The non-Jew has no particular ghetto complex. He thinks clearly. He realizes we see a threat and logic dictates that we stop it. The idea that it's 'un-Jewish' to fight back is an absurdity. To turn the other cheek is not a Jewish concept. The Bible tells us that there's a time for peace and a time for war."

Several JDL members have expressed concern that the group has received a distorted image. They point out that it also conducts a busy speaker's bureau and is vigo-

rously involved in legal activities and city politics. The league currently is planning an extensive campaign to defeat Mayor John Lindsay and recently pressed a 45 r.p.m. record to this end. One side features Questions for Mr. Lindsay delivered by Kahane and the flip side features a sardonic Ballad of Fun City. One of the JDL's credoes is to defeat any politico it believes is apathetic to anti-semitism.

The fact that JDL members wear military-type uniforms, are conducting intensive training at their summer camp and have displayed aggressive behavior has caused some of the league's critics among the Jewish community to compare them to the Black Panthers.

By contrast, the JDL likes to think of itself in the genre of anti-Fascist groups prior to World War II and Jewish underground units in Palestine prior to the creation of Israel as an independent nation.

## Not like Panthers

"It's an incredible idiocy to link us with the Panthers," said Kahane. "The Panthers are not merely inspired by pride but also by hate. You can see it in their literature. Police, for example, are called 'pigs'. The whites are hated. We are not racist. We're not against the black man but we are for Jewish rights. We never shoot it out with the police and we don't hate others; we have pride in being Jews."

He insists he's sorry the JDL had to be formed. He expects that the pressure of league work will soon force him to resign his position as full-time rabbi and that he'll have less time to spend with his wife and children.

"We get no pleasure out of this organization," he admitted. "It was a sad day when we organized it but it had to be formed. We're talking about Jewish survival."

Opponents contend that the league is sensationalistic and is appealing to raw emotion. They say the group is apt to be a catalyst for riots and that it is paranoid in its thinking.

Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers, denounced the JDL on Tuesday as "extremist" and "fomenters of vigilantism." The powerful UFT boss blasted the organization after it had attempted to recruit membership and financial support from union teachers.

"True enough," said Shanker, "in times of turmoil Jews do often find themselves scapegoats and victims of extremist abuse. But it is just as certain as a minority Jew will find themselves deeper on the losing side if race problems are to be settled in the gutter."

## Not paranoid

"I know people think we're paranoid," said Kahane. "But what these people don't realize is that when militants talk about Jews-into-lampshades and about laking over this country, they really mean it. You don't need a large number of anti-Semites to cause trouble because the majority of the people are basically timid and easily cowed. The question that has to be answered is how many young intellectual blacks are anti-Semitic. We have the feeling that there's a burning hatred among many of them for Jews, and whites generally. That's why I think our league is going to get big; because things are getting much worse in this country."

He pulled out a photo of the Gestapo herding Jews to a concentration camp during World War II. "Let's face it, history has shown that the Jew must protect himself. The lesson we've learned is that the surest way to avoid a confrontation is to let the other side know you are prepared — and the surest way to get a confrontation is to back away from one."

## Question:

*Is This Any Way for Nice Jewish Boys to Behave?*



CONTROVERSIAL JEWISH DEFENCE LEAGUE AD  
Many Jews object but membership has reached 5,700





Mrs. Meir is Premier of Israel. But her favorite role is being a grandmother. While she steers the wheel of state, she is seen above wheeling her grandchild in a buggy for an airing in the park.

### Climax Building Up for Golda's Visit Friday

The climax to a great day was building up in Milwaukee as thousands of residents were talking and making plans to see and/or hear Mrs. Golda Meir, Premier of Israel, who was returning to the here would be filled to the hilt with excitement and delight, according to Albert B. Adelman, chairman, and William J. Feldstein, associate chairman, of the Milwaukee Committee greeting the former resident. Because of tight Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Before departing for the city, however, a Jewish youth group contingent, representative of all the young people's organizations, would greet Mrs. Meir at the airport and make a presentation.

## NCRAC Denounces Defense League for Forceful Tactics

**Rejects Paramilitary Operations as Harmful to Public Order**

NEW YORK — (JTA) — Eight major national Jewish organizations have joined in a statement denouncing the self-styled Jewish Defense League and other groups in the United States that would "take the law into their own hands" on the pretext of defending American Jews from threats by Arab terrorists. The statement was issued by the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council which made it clear that it shared the "indignation and outrage" of Jews over recent acts of terror against Israeli legations and business premises in Europe.

But the statement said the NCRAC "firmly rejects the paramilitary operations of the Jewish Defense League as destructive of public order and contributory to divisiveness and terror." The NCRAC is an organization representing nine national Jewish bodies and 82 local community agencies.

The Jewish Defense League, headed by an Orthodox rabbi, Meir Kahane, staged demonstrations in front of the United Nations mission headquarters of Syria, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Iraq. In newspaper advertisements and handouts to the press announcing the demonstrations, the League claimed that Arab terrorists have sought to terrorize American Jews, including threats to kidnap contributors to the United Jewish Appeal, and to bomb Jewish business premises.

The group said it would hold the Arab diplomats "responsible for any actions of terror against Jews in this country. About 500 persons took part in the demonstrations. Police broke up scuffles between League supporters and opponents but no arrests were reported.

## Firm Cease-Fire Must Precede Peace Moves, Abba Eban Tells UN

**Sets Forth Seven-Point Program of Principles and Proposals to Prevent War and Promote Peace; Assembly Votes to Consider Situation**

UNITED NATIONS — (JTA) — Mr. Eban told the United Nations that there can be no diplomatic effort pointing toward a Mideast peace unless the cease-fire is rehabilitated. In a General Assembly speech setting forth a seven-point program of principles and proposals to prevent war and promote peace, he urged that "as a first step, the Arab governments and Israel pledge anew their adherence to their obligations" under the June 6, 1967 cease-fire.

His six other central points were: 1. The Mideast states should declare their readiness to establish permanent peace and to negotiate detailed agreements on all matters at issue between them, including those listed in the Nov. 22, 1967 Security Council resolution. 2. Israel is ready to negotiate without any prior condition of any kind. He declared that "everything" is negotiable and that in negotiations Israel would naturally "define where our vital and indispensable interests lie."

### Financial Assistance for Increased Military Needs Indicated

WASHINGTON — (JTA) — Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir may seek United States financial assistance to meet increased military needs when she meets with President Richard M. Nixon, Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban indicated. He appeared on the nationally televised CBS program "Face the Nation."

Mr. Eban pointed out that Israel was the only free world country that carried its military burden alone. He was "certain" that Mr. Nixon would want to know about Israel's overall problems including the economic situation. Citing Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko's rejection of Mr. Nixon's Mideast arms limitation proposal, Mr. Eban made clear that Mrs. Meir would seek additional weapons to balance the Russian weapons flows to the Arabs.

Eban Voices Skepticism

## Jewish Defense League To Form Here

Akron Beacon Journal, September 28, 1969

By RUSS LILLY

The Ohio organizer of the armed Jewish Defense League (JDL) says about 20 from Akron plan to set up a local chapter.

Donald J. Kuby, a Cleveland insurance agent, said the 20 already have joined the New York-based group which urges Jews to arm themselves against white hate groups and black anti-Semites.

Kuby declined to name the Akron organizers.

**FOLLOWING** a speech in Cleveland by JDL founder Rabbi Meir Kahane of New York, Kuby said Akron-Canton, Toledo and Youngstown-Warren were the next organizational targets. He said the JDL is now based in 17 cities with 6,600 members.

"We're putting the world on notice that the Jew is no longer a patsy," Kuby said.

The former Catholic seminarian who converted to Judaism 15 years ago said a training camp to teach firearms use, judo and karate would be established at a site in Geauga County.

"We are for law and order and will operate only within the law," he said. "Only those authorized to bear arms will have them, but everyone will be trained in hand-to-hand combat."

**RABBI KAHANE** said government was no longer effective in providing protection to Jews.

"For more than a year I've been watching a very open rise in anti-Jewish feelings in New York. There is an unbelievable apathy by government to deal with it, and there is the feeling that government is no longer a barrier against this hate."

**KUBY ECHOED** those feelings. He admitted there has been little anti-Semitism in this area.

"But there are rumblings now in Cleveland, and there have been kinds of confrontations. Getting prepared takes a long time and this is our basic thinking."

Kuby and Rabbi Kahane said the organization "would stand behind and supplement them, not supplant them."

He predicted that "as in the past, synagogue leaders will blast us, but we will get a tremendous response from grassroots Jews."

**THE FIRST** criticism came from Rabbi Morton M. Applebaum of Akron's Temple Israel, who said the JDL "violates every ethic and tradition of Judaism and every concept of civil liberties and democratic process in American life."

"Armed with helmets and clubs for its 'protective work,' the league is resented by all in the Jewish community who are opposed to armed militancy of any kind," he continued.

"As Jews we look to our law enforcement agencies for whatever 'protection' may be necessary against physical threat and, likewise, for the guardianship of our rights and liberties," he continued.

Rabbi Kahane said shotgun-carrying league members had been patrolling Jewish areas in New York for months.

## U.S. Jewish defence group plans to set up branch here

The New York-based Jewish Defence League, which has organized armed patrols of Jews in black ghetto districts, plans to establish a branch in Montreal.

Bert Zweinbon, the league's legal counsel, said yesterday the branch will be organized in the next six weeks "because we believe in having things ready."

He said the group already has 25 members here and founder Rabbi Meir Kahane plans to meet with them to set up the chapter after he speaks at McGill University on Oct. 22.

He said the founding will likely be preceded by "a rather large rally, but to disclose the names of members now would be rather premature."

In Waterloo Wednesday, Rabbi Kahane said the league has 6,700 members trained in karate and drills with rifles. He said the group has decided to set up a branch in Montreal because it has "a more imminent problem."

Mr. Zweinbon said the league's main source of funds is the \$10-a-year membership dues. "Money is a big problem," he said. "The big wealthy establishment Jewish groups are violently opposed to us."

A spokesman for the Canadian Jewish Congress, national body for the Jewish community, said the group wanted to study the matter further before making comment.

Montreal Gazette  
October 4, 1969

By September 1969, Kahane's vigilante Jewish Defense League (JDL) was taking root across the United States, with new branches popping up in eastern Canada, as reported by the Montreal Gazette (above), following a full-page promotion in the Toronto Star on August 6, 1969 (above).

In Sheen's "Messiah Mode" YouTube, he states that after becoming an FBI intelligence asset in the 1960s, Kahane moved to become an Israeli intelligence asset in the 1970s in aiding the promoting of freeing Soviet Jews (see below). Wikipedia's page on Rabbi Kahane states that according to his wife Libby's biography of her former husband, Kahane, while serving the Howard Beach Jewish Center as Rabbi, had been "a consultant with the FBI" "in the late 1950s and early 1960s," with "his assignment to infiltrate the

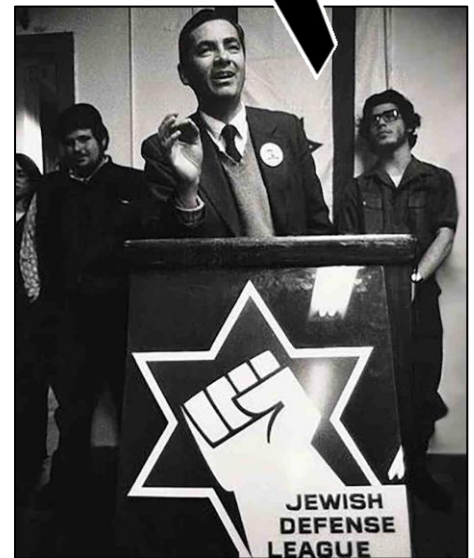


anti-communist Birch Society,” and is when he took on the persona of Michael King, under which he would later lure, deceive and decimate “the 21-year-old model Gloria D’Argenio.” This is when “he and Joseph Churba,” who later “co-authored the book *The Jewish Stake in Vietnam*,” “created the **July Fourth Movement**, which was formed to counteract widespread opposition towards U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War.” As explained in Part 7.1 of this report, the Zionist’s American Professors for Peace in the Middle East organization was created in June 1967 to emulate the influential anti-Vietnam movement in American universities and colleges, the Canadian branch of which, formed in 1973, was chaired by Irwin Cotler.

In one of David Sheen’s YouTubes, *False Messiah’s Donkey*, his presentation in Los Angeles on May 14, 2022, at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, he explains (with visuals shown here) that beginning in 1967, after the six-day war:

Israel now spreads in every direction, conquers territories east, west, north, south, and the conquest of the holy places, including the Al-Aqsa [Mosque], the Haram Sharif [the Temple Mount] in the Dome of the Rock. It filled theocratic Jews with the idea that they could now be in the messianic age, that they don’t have to wait any longer for God to come down and rid the country of non-Jews, that they could do it themselves, that we

were in a messianic era. And so yes, in Israel that played out the way it played out. And here in the United States the following year we saw that Meir Kahane – this is the same Meir Kahane beginning his political career – establishing the Jewish Defense League in New York City. This is the beginning of the messianic movement right here in the U.S., in the beginning of the transition. ... Kahane then moves to Israel [in 1971] and launches his political career there, with his Kach [“This is the Way”] Party.



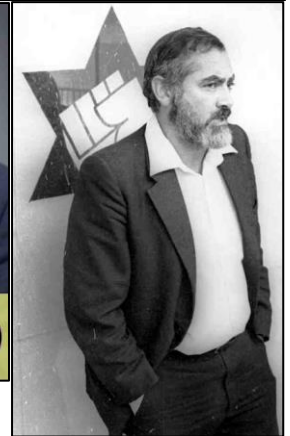
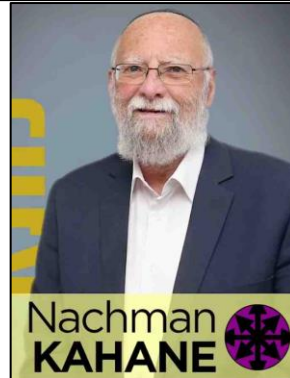
But, back in back in New York City he spawned a dozen terrorists that went on to terrorize New York City and other American cities, bombing boats, bombing banks, bombing bookstores, not just causing physical damage, wounding people, killing people, out and out terrorists. In the mid-1980s, the FBI declared them to be the number one domestic terrorist threat, Jewish supremacists. So of course, they attacked U.N. buildings, they attacked over a dozen consulates and embassies in the United States. And once Kahane moves to Israel he inspires over a dozen of these terrorists to move with him, American-born, Jewish terrorists move with him to Israel and launch terrorist

careers. In Israel he launches his words that become so inspiring in Israel that he inspires over a dozen Kahanist killers. But it’s not enough. He was hoping that he could sweep up larger chunks of the population. Yes. The Kahanists have killed dozens of people, mostly Palestinians in recent decades. They are certainly the most racist and most murderous Jewish political group to emerge in

the last half century. But it wasn't enough for Kahane. It wasn't coming fast enough. It wasn't scaring Palestinians into fleeing the country at the rate that he'd hoped. So, the Kahane movement needed

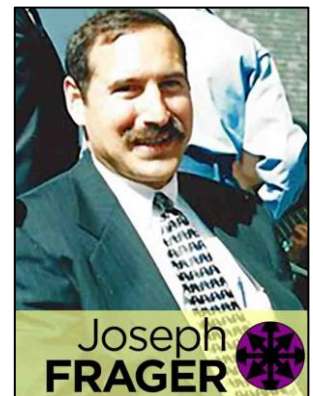


another way to achieve the same goal, albeit at a slower pace, but in a determined fashion. So, to do that he recruited his younger brother ... Nachman, also born and raised in New York City. Nachman, also just as Kahane, was a Rabbi of the **Young Israel** movement in New York. He moved to Israel and following his brother, or actually even before his brother, and established the Young Israel Synagogue in East Jerusalem. And he established the Kahanist vehicle for dispossessing Palestinians on the ground in East Jerusalem called **Ateret Cohanim**.

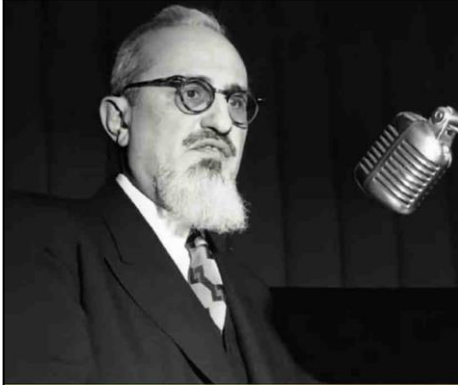
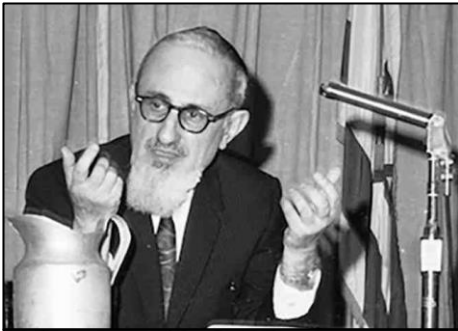


So, what's Ateret Cohanim? What do they do? Their objective is to, as I said, ethnically cleanse Jerusalem of non-Jews. And the way that they do this is by getting donations from Kahanist millionaires, here in the U.S., and then by funneling those funds to Israel and then purchasing properties in the old city, in the Muslim quarter, so that they can, one by one, piece by piece, take over an Arab area, and de-Arabify it, and Judaize it, property by property.

So, who does he get to fund, to be the point person in the USA, to make sure that that steady stream of funds keeps coming? He gets the vice president of Young Israel, **Joseph Frager**, also known for being the editor of a seven-volume compendium of Kahane's greatest hits [seven volume book set]. So, it's a Kahanist organization, top to bottom.







Joseph SOLOVEITCHIK 



But what about the [Jewish] Orthodoxy establishment? Well, New York really is the heart and soul of the Orthodox Jewish community in the Americas. And the flagship institution of higher learning for the Orthodox community is without a doubt an institution that's trained hundreds, thousands of rabbis over the years. I'm talking about Yeshiva University. And the head of Yeshiva University, for many many years considered the greatest mind of his generation, Torah scholar by the name of Rabbi **Joseph Soloveitchik**. So,



Chaim HERZOG 

Soloveitchik, you know on the face of it, he never spoke out openly in favor of Kahane. We didn't know about his affinity for Kahane until recently when we were going through the archives of Israel's former president [Chaim Herzog], the father of the current president. And peeling through the archives we realize we found a letter from Soloveitchik to Herzog. And he says in that letter, on Yeshiva

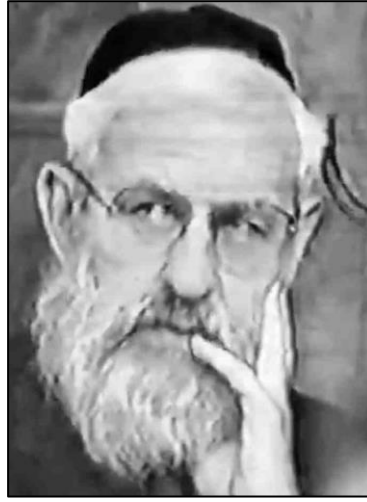
University letterhead, he writes: "It is publicly known that I do not express my opinions on Israeli politics. But nevertheless, there is a bitter taste in my mouth; I cannot understand."

What can't you [Soloveitchik] understand? What do you have a bitter taste in your mouth over? Now it's 1984. Kahane has just been elected to Knesset, and he's [Soloveitchik's] demanding that the president of Israel include Kahane in the government. So, all along the head of the flagship Yeshiva of the Orthodox movement was a closet Kahanist.

So, here he [Meir Kahane] is preaching at a Sephardic synagogue in New York City, fire and brimstone of course, inciting hatred. And sitting in the corner is the Chief Rabbi of this community. He's listening intently, listening to Kahane droning on and on about his ideology of hate. And once he gets to the end of his

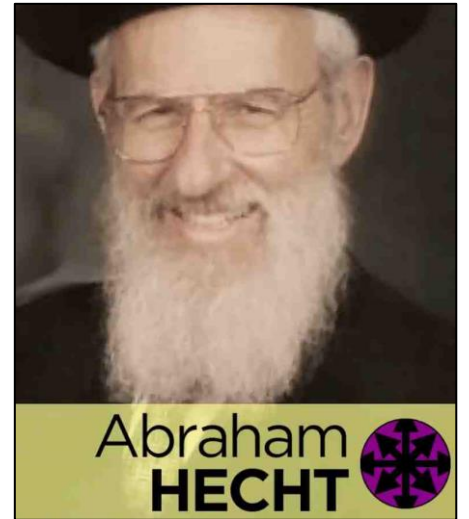






presentation, the Rabbi points at Kahane and he says, “**What this man speaks is truth, real truth.**” And then

he encourages the rest of the community, ‘we need to start fundraising for this guy, we need to start giving him money so that he can put his plans into practice.’ It’s all on video. This Rabbi, he’s not a marginal Rabbi. We’re talking about Abraham Hecht, the president of the Rabbinical Alliance of America. Hundreds of Orthodox Rabbis made him their president. And this is the person who stood by Kahane and promoted him and fundraised for him.



Sheen explains that, up to this point, he had been presenting his audience in San Francisco “the most-establishment-right-wing Rabbis of the Jewish community.” He had also sprinkled in advisories throughout his presentation of the diversity of different views and temperaments in Jewish communities, many not in this Zionist camp. There were estimates made in the late 1800s that less than five percent of all world Jewry were in the secular Zionist belief camp.

In chapter 2, “The Lines are Drawn,” of Jack Ross’ biography on Rabbi Elmer Berger, wherein he traces the origins and roots of the Zionist salesmen infiltrating the ranks and messaging of American synagogues, it was “in 1935, the year that Nazi Germany passed the Nuremberg Laws that began the long march toward the Final Solution, the Zionists began their major assault on the official anti-Zionism of the Reform movement.” Though not covered by Ross, the Zionist movement had been undertaking parallel strategies in Canadian synagogues. The American Zionists pushing for “Jewish nationalism” introduced a document in 1937 called “The Columbus Platform: The Guiding Principles of Reform Judaism,” regarding the “rehabilitation of Palestine,” which included a clause, “this is our messianic goal.” The prominent Zionist promoter, Stephen Wise, had “attracted a growing amount of scrutiny and outright opposition from those rabbis who were adamantly opposed to his version for the future of American Judaism.” The battlelines were finally drawn in 1938, where and when the Zionists forced their way in, like methods of many future forcings. One year earlier, Rabbi Irving Reichert, who “zealously adhered to Classical Reform” Judaism, “made his first significant declaration of his anti-Zionism in a January 1937 sermon:

... There is too dangerous a parallel between the insistence of some Zionist spokesmen upon nationality and race and blood, and similar pronouncements by Fascist leaders in European

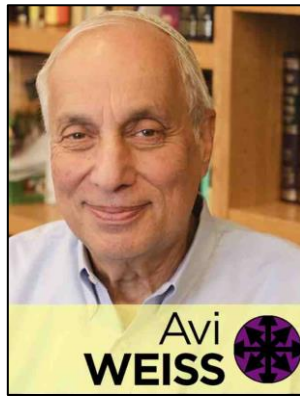
dictatorships. Some types of propaganda may prove too tragically successful for our comfort. If we succeed in teaching America that Zionism is the only instrument of our political salvation, we may live to regret it. Last summer, an American rabbi declared before the World Zionist Congress “We are not asking the world, we are telling it. We are not inviting decisions by the nations we are apprising the nations of our decisions.” No swashbuckling, sabre-rattling German Nazi or Japanese jingo ever used more provocative language than that.”

And there had been many prophetic utterances made by rabbis against the World Jewish Congress’ concept of a separate Jewish state. As Jack Ross cites from one of H.L. Mencken’s letters: “Whether intentionally or not, he [Stephen S. Wise] is constantly propagating the notion that Jews are a separate people, with interests quite distinct from those of the countries in which they live. This is the sort of thing that gives anti-Semitic demagogues their chance.” Ross also cites from Morris Lazaron’s 1940 pamphlet, “Homeland or State: The Real Issue:”

The political Zionist group charges all of us who do not accept their program with Jewish disloyalty and labels us antagonists of Palestine. Some go so far as to read us out of Jewish life. It would be unfortunate if we permit these charges to go by default. American Jews who are not secularists or political nationalists will not let themselves be jockeyed into this position. They will not permit themselves to become involved in political maneuverings under the guise of philanthropy or friendship for Palestine.

David Sheen continued in his presentation about American Jewry support of Kahane in the 1980s:

Let’s look at the most liberal of the Orthodox Rabbis as far left as we can go and still be called Orthodox. I’m talking about Avi [Avraham] Weiss. Rabbi Avi Weiss was so liberal, he also, of course, studied at Yeshiva University. He came from a very very traditional place. But over the years he, in his own synagogue, he preached a slightly different message. He encouraged women to participate in the services, and to take on leadership roles in the Jewish community and in the synagogue itself. And he actually established a rabbinical school for women. Well, this is

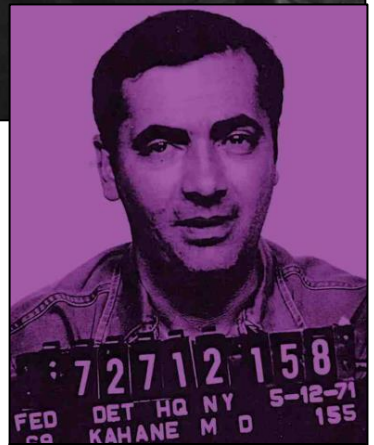
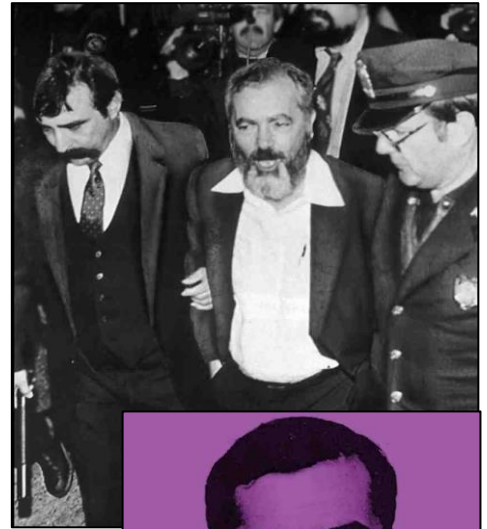


unheard of in Orthodoxy. Sure, in the more liberal streams of Judaism, conservative or reform, reconstructionist, we have female rabbis for decades already. But for the Orthodox, this is scandalous. And so, this really puts Avi Weiss on the far, far, far, far left of Orthodox Judaism. Okay, so surely **he** was reticent about Kahane’s views. No. Time after time he kept debating Kahane, sharing a platform with him, giving him an opportunity to espouse his racial hatred. But it wasn’t only that they met up and you know dialogued and debated. He also made him come to his own synagogue: [Quoting Avi Weiss] “Because of my affinity for him, I invited Meir many times to speak at **my** synagogue.” He provided the platform for Kahane to preach his hatred again and again. [Quoting Avi Weiss] “He spoke for almost two hours. The synagogue was packed. The congregation was riveted. No one moved.” This is the liberal left-wing Orthodox rabbi.





**Even** when Kahane was arrested here in the United States, in New York City, on charges that he ordered the assassination of a Russian diplomat, saying he wrote a letter to his followers in New York, saying, “Get someone to shoot a Russian diplomat, anyone,” doesn’t matter who. Even after that when Kahane went to court, [Avi] Weiss, as he said in his own words, “I also testified on [Kahane’s] behalf at his trial [on or near February 21, 1975], telling the court that ... Meir was **not** a violent man,” that this man was not a violent man. The chutzpah!



**ANTI-LEFT  
ANTI-BLACK  
ANTI-DIASPORA  
ANTI-LOVE  
ANTI-GENTILE  
ANTI-SECULAR**

Meir  
**KAHANE**

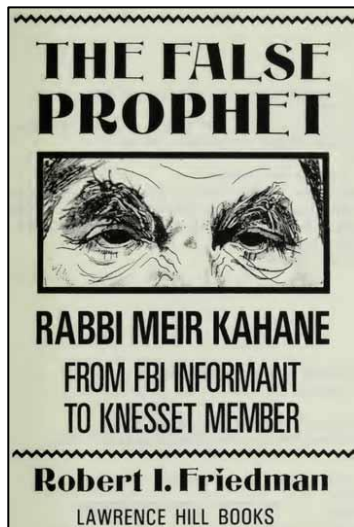
**Philadelphia Inquirer, July 8, 1990**  
**THE FALSE PROPHET**  
Rabbi Meir Kahane —  
From FBI Informant  
to Knesset Member  
Robert I. Friedman  
Lawrence Hill Books. 240 pp. \$19.95

Reviewed by Gerry O'Sullivan  
For Meir Kahane, as Robert I. Friedman shows in his first-rate study *The False Prophet*, is hardly the moral equivalent of anybody's founding father. Friedman, a staff writer for the Village Voice and recipient of the prestigious Smolar Award for Excellence in North American Jewish Journalism, has spent more than a decade investigating the doings of Kahane and his followers. The deftly written psychological and political profile that he presents is unsettling, to say the least.

In Sheen’s YouTube “Messiah Mode – The rise and fall and rise of Israel’s biggest racists,” his May 11, 2019, presentation at the University of Zurich, he says:

The [Israeli Zionist] nationalists want to acquire more and more territory, but at the same time they are secular. So, you can still have a conversation with them on a logical basis. That’s their release valve. Now, the religious camp, their vision is a totalitarian one. They want to implement a theocracy. There is no place for non-Jews, and their vision of what they want the state of Israel to become. But traditionally, the Orthodox position was that they were pacifists. They wouldn’t be activists; they didn’t want to physically implement that vision of what they wanted to come to pass. They said, that is for God to do, for God to come down and bring that into being. So, that’s their relief valve. So, each of these right-wing camps has a relief valve. But when Kahane combines the two then that new camp wants to implement this theocracy by force, by activism. So, I would argue that this new manifestation is a fifth camp. I would either call it the Monarchist camp or the Messianic camp. I would argue that that camp has six points in their platform.

In Sheen’s educational presentations published as YouTubes he doesn’t provide a reference for his main source of revelations on the early intrigue of Kahane’s role as U.S. and Israeli intelligence assets. They derive from riveting accounts in Robert Friedman’s ten-year long investigative research volume, *The False Prophet: Rabbi Meir Kahane – From FBI Informant to Knesset Member*, published in April 1990, seven months before Kahane was assassinated from a devastating .357 magnum bullet.



**Concord Monitor, May 15, 1990**  
**By ROBERT I. FRIEDMAN**  
For The Los Angeles Times

Department of Justice sources assert that Israel is still obstructing its investigation. While liberal Israeli politicians familiar with the case concede as much, they hasten to add that this is not out of love for the league trio, but because many Israelis view those who slay Arab-American supporters of the Palestine Liberation Organization or alleged Nazis as heroes. That makes Israel's compliance with an extradition request very difficult.

Israel advertises itself as a bulwark against terrorism in the Middle East. It has often chastised America for not combating Arab terrorism vigorously enough. But Israel's apparent lack of cooperation with the FBI in the league investigation calls into question its sincerity in prosecuting the war against terrorism when the terrorism emanates from Israel itself.

*(This article is adapted from Robert I. Friedman's The False Prophet: Rabbi Meir Kahane – From FBI Informant to Knesset Member.)*



# The Gaza Strip: A prison for 270,000



KLEINBERG

The Israeli-Arab war, which pits Biblical brothers against brother, is one of the longest and most emotion packed of our century. Miami News Managing Editor Howard Kleinberg has just returned from a 20,000-mile trip to Israel, Jordan and Egypt, where he talked to the people in the midst of the struggle. This is his report. Sixth of a series.

In Israel, the girls wear miniskirts and you eat chicken to your heart's content. The wine is good and the movies first-run.

In Egypt, hotel balconies overlook the Nile, the selection of meats is varied, you can gamble at a casino and the Cairo airport is a hub of traffic for Africa, Asia and Europe.

**Sandwiched between the two is the Gaza Strip, a prison for 270,000 human beings.**

They are the victims of world politics.

For more than 20 years, in the refugee camps the United Nations administers on the Gaza Strip, the people have waited for someone to do something. Egypt champions their cause in words. And Israel says it's a pity the Egyptians don't do more for them.

These are the people who fled when Palestine was carved into Israel and Jordan in 1948. They are the Arabs who found their land within Israeli territory. Many of them say they were forced out by the Israelis in a reign of terror. And the Israelis say they fled despite Israel's good intentions.

THE MIAMI NEWS Monday, Dec. 1, 1969

We drove into Gaza City, an established community before the arrival of Palestine refugees. It is supported by limited citrus plantations on the northern edge of the strip. Gaza is seven miles wide and 32 long. As it heads south, it becomes total desert.

In the city square sat two prominent items; one a monument, another an Israeli half-track with machine gun and soldier. The top of the monument had been blasted off by the Israelis and Hebrew words had been painted on the pedestal. The Israeli soldier scanned the people walking around the square.

But when you want to find chronic victims of this conflict, you turn to Gaza. The conditions are pathetic. Food is rationed, no one over 15 is eligible for milk, clothing is all second hand and comfort is an unknown word.

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency is headquartered just outside Gaza City, principal community of the strip that fronts the Mediterranean Sea. The agency tries to steer clear of politics; it's interested only in the humanitarian aspect of the Gaza problem.

We drove to Gaza in a car with Israeli license plates, but transferred to a marked UN vehicle once inside the strip. "It's safer in a UN car," said Arthur Geaney, the UN administrator there. "Incidents against Israeli cars are picking up."

One Arab woman kept picking up a thin gray blanket and throwing it down again. She was screaming at the officials. The blanket ration averages out to one blanket per refugee every nine years. Newcomers get one blanket for a family of 11 or less; two blankets for larger families.

This woman had a family of nine and she was being offered one blanket. It is hot in the daytime in Gaza, but at night it turns cool and damp. The woman argued, but the officials' hands were tied. Disgusted, she finally threw down the blanket and left empty-handed.

Nearby was the supplemental feeding center, where children of especially impoverished families can receive a rationed noon-time meal. The children were grimy, ill-clothed and hungry. They received, in metal plates, skimpy portions of sour milk, rice mixed with egg plant and a piece of Syrian bread.

We visited one refugee apartment, a single room about five by five feet. In it lived a family of five. The father, most pleasant, has been able to earn a meager living by fishing. But he was getting old and the fish were starting to outsmart him. In a few weeks, this family was expected to be on relief.

It is hard to deal with these people in terms of cold facts: a visitor can't help but feel personal about them. But there are facts such as these:

Of the total population, 95 per cent is Moslem and five per cent Christian Arab. UNRWA runs 100 schools in the strip and children are required to attend nine years. There are 60,000 in the 100 schools.

The politics of these refugees is simple: a return to their homes in Palestine. They probably would accept Egypt; anything is better than the parched Gaza where there are few jobs. But Egypt holds them off and blames their hardships on Israel.

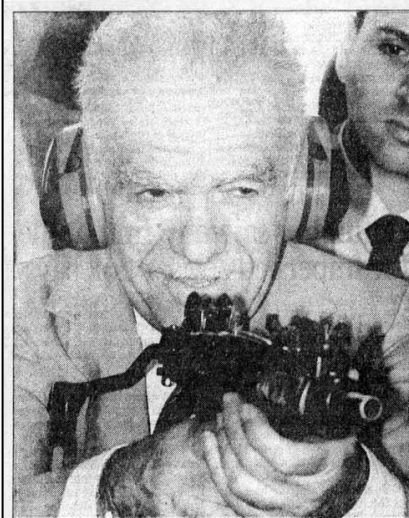
I was in Gaza the day after Egyptian President Abdul Nasser's blood and guts speech against Israel. When I asked UN administrator Geaney about refugee reaction to the speech, he shrugged his shoulders.

"It didn't have too much impact," he said. "There's been a lot of disappointment for these people in the past 20 years."

Some 30 months after the June 1967 six-day war – and during Israel's escalating secretive military and nuclear alliance with Apartheid South Africa, and during the midst of the Vietnam war, and some ten years before Israel hosted the pretentious June 1979 International Terrorism conference convened in Jerusalem – reportedly behind Israel Labour Party Premier Golda Meir's back a small group of Israeli political power players – which Friedman referred to as a “covert cabal of right-wing zealots”<sup>217</sup> – hatched a secret plan that would unleash a terrorism pit-bull, genocidal monster, and his pit-bull offspring disciples, upon the world and forever change it. On page 105 of Chapter 6, *For Every Jew a 22*, in Friedman's *False Prophet* book, he begins:

“If not for Israeli **Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir** and ultranationalist Tehiya Party leader **Geula Cohen**, Kahane might never have risen above the ranks of a New York City rabble-rouser. Despite their vehement denunciations of Kahane in recent years, the two were **part of a secret group** that helped make the militant leader of the Jewish Defense League an international figure and a force to be reckoned with in Israel. The secret relationship between Cohen, Shamir, and Kahane was forged one blustery cold morning in December 1969. Cohen, who had just been elected to the Knesset as a member of Menachem Begin's Herut Party, visited Kahane in his cramped JDL [Jewish Defense League] office on Manhattan's Fifth Avenue.”

Friedman states that the clandestine meeting between Cohen and Kahane had been arranged by Bernard Deutsch, “a founding member of the ILRRJ [International League for the Repatriation of Russian Jews], who says that [Geula] Cohen was impressed by Kahane's militant credentials and obvious public relations



TAKING AIM: Yitzhak Shamir tries out submachinegun  
Vancouver Sun September 5, 1991

**Jewish terrorism justified, but not Arabs', Shamir says**



Geula Cohen

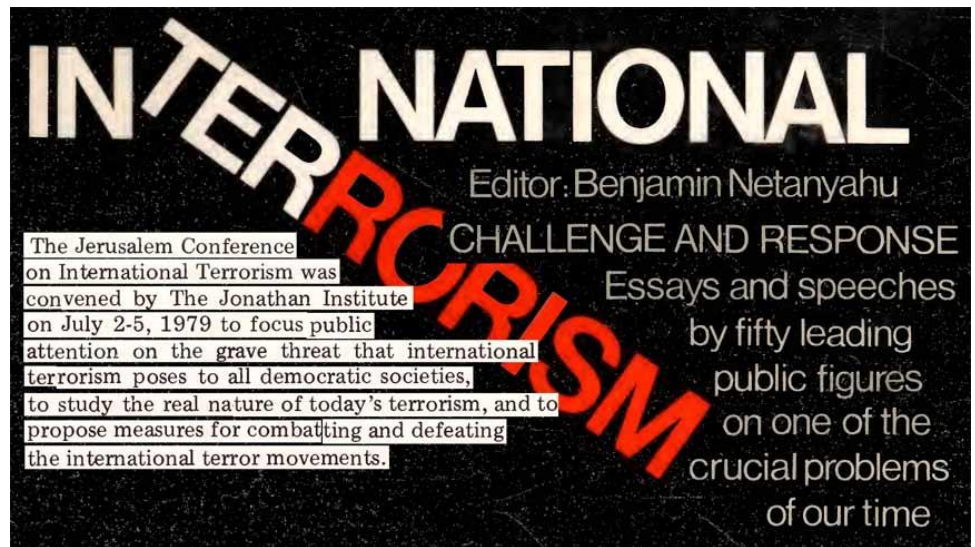
<sup>217</sup> *False Prophet*, page 107.



talent.” Cohen convinced Kahane to “lay the groundwork for a guerilla war against the Soviet Union that would be waged by the JDL:

and orchestrated by prominent right-wing Israelis, including several high-ranking members of Mossad. Cohen and Deutsch told me that the group’s central player was the quiet, morose former Stern Gang commander Yitzhak Shamir. Shamir had been Mossad’s chief of operations until 1965 and maintained close ties to the agency. “The JDL’s decisions weren’t made by Meir,” said Deutsch, a key member of the covert group that oversaw the JDL’s anti-Soviet operations. “If I were to tell you that Shamir was the head of our group and planned our activities, he would absolutely deny it. But I sat on his bed in his bedroom, which is where we had many of our meetings. I’m not looking to hurt Shamir, but that’s a fact.”

Well, well, well. The future Likud Party Prime Minister of Israel (1986 – 1992), “former [terrorist] Stern Gang commander,” hatching a terrorist program in the United States, Israel’s big bankroller, with his former female Stern Gang member, also putting American, foreign, and Jewish lives at risk! As if the Israeli air force jet incident in 1967 – the bombing, torpedoing, machine-gunning of the U.S.S.



Liberty, and target murdering of over one hundred of its American navy crew – wasn’t enough! And the added relevant question: if this, then what else was that supremacist terrorist member of the then Herut Party, and the former Mossad director up to?

Geula Cohen, referred to in April 1947 as “the Stern Gang’s “golden voice,” – 25-year-old, dark-haired beautiful Yemenite [Jewish] girl,” was a committed terrorist. Detained in a prison ward in Jerusalem City “serving a seven-year sentence” [actually, “seven years imprisonment for illegal possession of arms and two years for operating an illegal radio transmitter,” and also “known as Shoshana Levi”<sup>218</sup>], she escaped by a team of “Yemenite accomplices in Arab dress.”<sup>219</sup> A photo of Cohen taken on August 16, 1948, shaking hands with Sheikh Yusuf Abu Gosh in a village “ten miles from Jerusalem,” thanking “him for engineering her escape,” was published in Miami Herald on August 23, 1948. The photo caption states, “the Sheik revealed he and 70 of his villagers had been members of the Jewish underground for five years because he believed the British had “come to Palestine to create trouble between Arabs and Jews”.”<sup>220</sup>

Thirty years later, Cohen, then a “militant” Likud MP in Israel’s Knesset, was on the front lines demonstrating alongside Zionist Gush Emunim zealots, including “Rabbi Moshe Levinger,” against Israeli soldiers who were ordered by Defence Minister Ezer Weizman to remove “300 illegal settlers” in the Westbank from a hilltop “near the town of Nablus,” and settlers from another “outpost near Hebron.” The demonstrations were organized to disapprove of the Camp David agreement with U.S. president Jimmy Carter. On September 21, 1978, “the world executive of Betar, the youth movement of Mr. Begin’s Right-

<sup>218</sup> *Snatch Jewish Prisoner from Police in Jerusalem*, Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle, June 14, 1946. That article reported Cohen was 20 years old.

<sup>219</sup> *Stern Gang’s “Golden Voice” escapes*, Daily Record, April 14, 1947.

<sup>220</sup> Miami Herald, August 23, 1948.

wing party condemned the Camp David agreement and demanded the extension of Israeli sovereignty over "all the land of Israel." On the day of the army's removal of the settlers, the "Gush Emunim leader Mr. Hanan Porat, said: "For each settlement removed by force, we shall start 10 new settlements."<sup>221</sup>

THE MIAMI HERALD Sunday, March 25, 1979

# The Knesset: Israel's National Arena of Emotion

Prime Minister Begin waits head-in-hand during a Knesset session as Speaker Yitzhak Shamir attempts to restore order during an outburst on the floor.



Knesset member Guela Cohen vehemently heckles Prime Minister Begin during a ceremonial session of the chamber that was attended by President Carter. She was ejected.



## Begin heckled as Carter goes to Parliament

JERUSALEM — (AP) — President Carter watched a fierce heckling war erupt Monday shortly after he addressed the Israeli parliament.  
Most Knesset deputies applauded politely at the end of a speech in which he appealed for flexibility in the quest for an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty.  
But pandemonium broke out when Carter sat and Prime Minister Menachem Begin marched to the rostrum.  
A small group, no more than three of Begin's own ruling coalition and about five communist members, heckled Begin furiously as he tried to speak to the 120-member body.  
Right-wingers accused Begin of selling out Israel, while the communists charged he was oppressing the Palestinians.



Guela Cohen (bottom of picture) heckles Prime Minister Begin during his speech. She was ordered out of the Knesset when she persisted.



President Carter, appearing tired and worried, listens to translation of Begin's speech.

Detroit Free Press, March 13, 1979

Geula's name was misspelled as "Guela" in North American newsprint media.

Philadelphia Inquirer  
March 11, 1979



Begin applauds at the conclusion of Carter's remarks on arrival at the airport in Tel Aviv

## Super-hawk savors Knesset victory

The Gazette, July 31, 1980

Los Angeles Times

JERUSALEM — When British troops broke into a clandestine radio station in 1946 and captured Guela Cohen, they charged her with possessing an illegal side-arm.  
"The fools," said Cohen, years later, "they didn't understand that my real weapon was the microphone." Sentenced to prison, she escaped from the British twice — once she was wounded and recaptured — and resumed the role in the pre-nationhood underground that gave her a feeling for *hasbara*, a Hebrew term for the blend of public relations and propaganda.

Her seven-year career in Israel's parliament was capped yesterday by the passage of her bill declaring Jerusalem officially to be Israel's capital.

Abroad, it was a public relations disaster, one that subjects Israel to world censure.

But at home, viewed from Cohen's fiercely patriotic, right-wing sense of world politics, it was a stunning victory.

One of eight women in the 120-member Parliament, a member of a splinter party with minimal political clout, she manoeuvred the government of Menachem Begin and the Knesset into doing exactly what she wanted them to do.

Cohen argued that it was the time to bring up the Jerusalem question before the autonomy talks on the West Bank proceeded further. A superhawk, she quit Begin's Likud coalition because she thought his agreement on the Camp David accords gave away too much.

When her bill prompted President Anwar Sadat of Egypt to break off the autonomy talks, inspiring United Nations votes against Israel, Cohen argued that parliament had no choice but to pass the legislation.

Cohen charged that Egypt and the U.S. hoped that at the end of the Palestinian autonomy talks "Israel will be too exhausted to fight for what it wants, and will compromise one way or another on East Jerusalem."

Compromise is not Cohen's way. She so mercilessly heckled Begin when he was appearing before parliament with U.S. President Jimmy Carter last year that she was ordered from the hall.

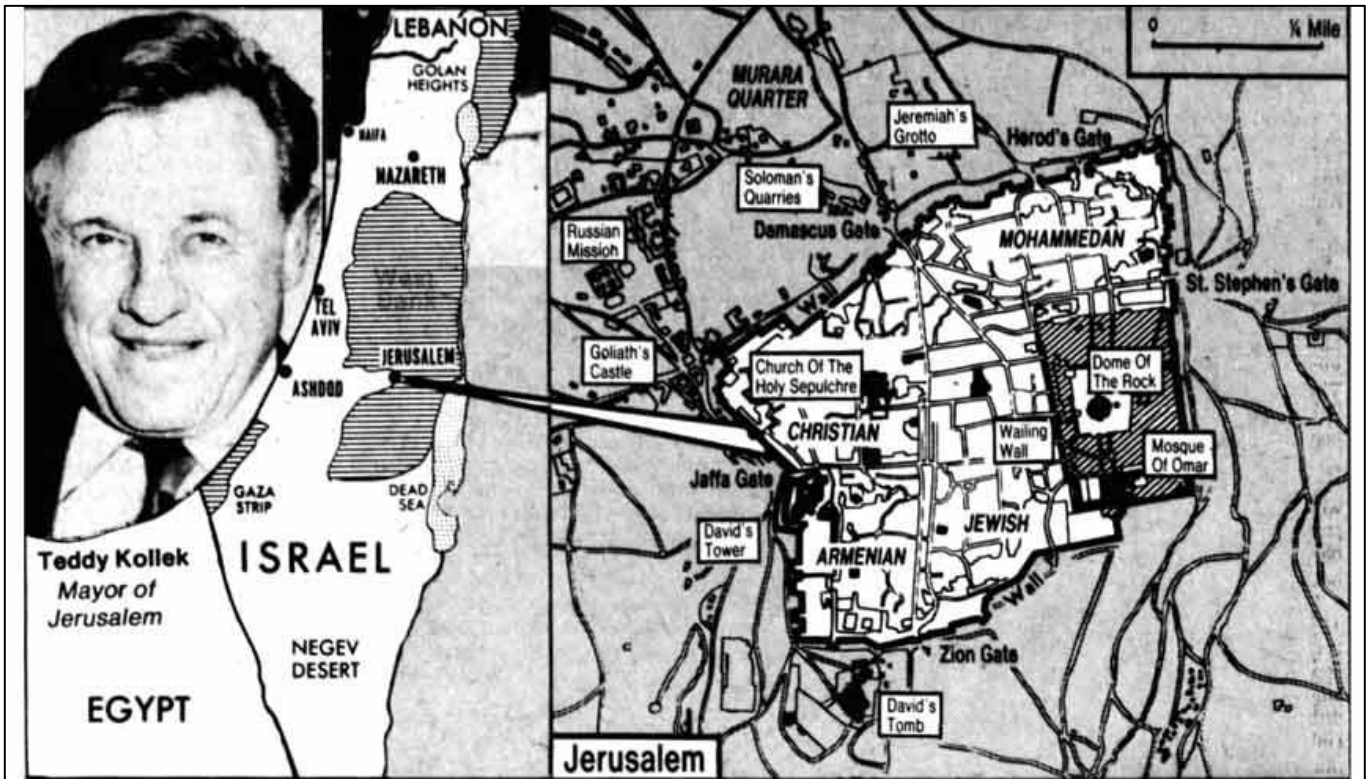
Widowed, with a son who is now a leader in right-wing politics at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, she is one of two Tehiya Renaissance Party members in Parliament. She backs Gush Emunim, the nationalist-religious group that favors unlimited settlement in the occupied West Bank, and would not be disappointed if her Jerusalem bill caused a terminal disruption of the Israeli-Egyptian peace talks.



GUELA COHEN  
Mixes PR, propaganda

<sup>221</sup> Troops evict hilltop Jews, The Guardian, September 22, 1978.





## 'Holy City' Wrapped In Distortion, Controversy For Thousands Of Years

JERUSALEM

THIS CITY'S Hebrew name, Yerushalayim, is taken to mean "City of Peace" and its Arabic name, Al Quds, means "The Holy." But  
 St. Louis Dispatch, Aug. 6, 1980

Jerusalem has seldom been peaceful, and once again it is the subject of an unholy battle over its control.

The furor aroused abroad by the vote last week in the Israeli Parliament affirming Jerusalem as a

united city and the capital of Israel merely reflects the city's history, which has been wrapped in myth, distortion and controversy for thousands of years.

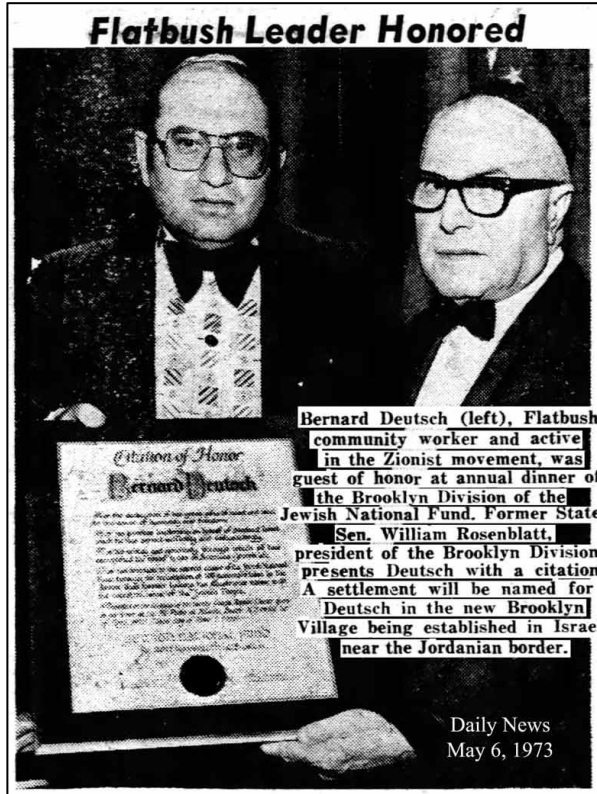
As Friedman lays out in his *False Prophet*, Yitzhak Shamir ran the show in developing Kahane's American operations for rescuing Soviet Jewry. In the first few months following early December 1969, Geula Cohen "laid the groundwork for a guerilla war against the Soviet Union." Cohen and Yitzhak "were also in contact with Jewish dissidents in the Soviet Union, sending them money and books and organizing some of their political protests," and "they also surreptitiously channeled funds to subsidize an underground publication network through Soviet Jewish emigre groups in New York City, Switzerland, and England." They "also arranged to pay bribes of up to \$50,000 for individual exit visas."

**Bernard Deutsch** "served as a courier frequently meeting group members in Israel, England and Switzerland." Deutsch's involvement "grew out of his long-standing ties to the leaders of the Revisionist Zionist movement." In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Deutsch was a "prominent member of the Brooklyn's Orthodox Jewish community." He was "a confidant of Herut leader Menachem Begin, who slept in Deutsch's home whenever he was in New York on business." Deutsch was "the chairman of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League's powerful Brooklyn chapter." In 1975 Deutsch was "convicted of stock fraud and conspiracy to evade taxes on more than \$4 million in personal and corporate income made between 1968 and 1972, roughly the same period when he worked with the group overseeing Kahane." "Proceeds from Deutsch's investments were used to help finance the JDL's secret operation." As "a

founding member of the International League for the Repatriation of Russian Jews,” made up of “Jewish businessmen and Orthodox Rabbis,” one of the League’s “key contacts was Richard Perle, Henry “Scoop” Jackson’s Senate aide.”

Friedman revealed that:

“Kahane’s handlers calculated that the selective use of violence against Soviet targets in the United States and Europe would inevitably strain U.S. - Soviet relations,” and “they predicted that rather than risk detente, the Soviet Union would be forced to alleviate the crisis by freeing hundreds of thousands of Jews who would then be herded to the Jewish state. An influx of Soviet Jews could help redress the demographic imbalance caused when Israel swallowed the Occupied Territories with its large Arab population. Since the founding of the State of Israel, one of Mossad’s prime directives has been to help bring Jews to Israel. It has operated underground networks in a number of countries, including Iraq and Ethiopia, to facilitate this task.”



## Ex-salesmen indicted in stock fraud

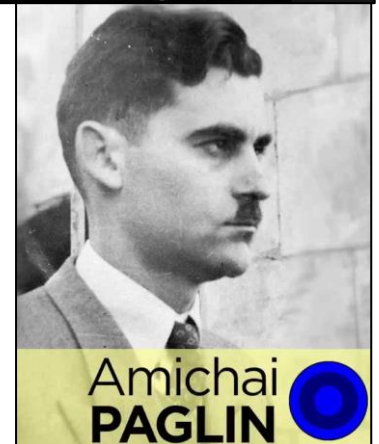
Herald News, January 11, 1974

NEW YORK (AP) — Two former stock salesmen were indicted for a fifth time yesterday on stock fraud charges. A federal grand jury charged Bernard Deutch, 40, of Brooklyn, and Stanley Duboff, 44, of Rockaway, N.J., with conspiring to manipulate the price of stock of Frigitemp Corp. of Brooklyn four years ago. Daniel Driesen, 45, a lawyer from Brooklyn, was named in the Frigitemp case. Deutch and Duboff were charged in four indictments handed up Nov. 29 with receiving secret kickbacks through a Swiss bank and causing investment losses by three mutual funds in Denver, Colo. The Frigitemp case involved purchases of the Brooklyn company's stock by the three Denver mutual funds and a secret cash payoff to Deutch and Duboff of \$20,000 by Gerald Lee, Frigitemp president, in return for the fraudulent sale of his Frigitemp stock, the charges said. Lee was not named in the indictment.

Of the others Friedman singled out in the Israeli-Kahane “covert group” were: **Pessach Mor**, an Israeli attorney, a later “member of the Tehiya Party’s Central Council;” “several [unidentified] wealthy American and Israeli businessmen;” “three [unidentified] top Mossad officers;” “several [unidentified] retired Israeli army officers who trained JDL youth in weapons and sabotage;” and Herzl Amicham, a “former Irgun operative who would often fly to the United States to confer with JDL officials.”

In David Sheen’s YouTube *Messiah Mode*, he narrates that after the early December 1969 introductory meeting with Kahane, Yitzhak Shamir and Geula Cohen introduced [Amichai Paglin](#) to Kahane:

“Who is Paglin? This is the man who was the chief bomb-maker of the Irgun. He [under codename “Gidi”] was responsible for the bombing of the King David Hotel, and all the people that died in it. And other bombings, Paglin was the mastermind. So now, Paglin is being brought to meet with Kahane to teach him bomb-craft, to teach him and his henchmen how to build bombs. And that information was then turned into instruction manuals. The Jewish Defense League then printed these instruction manuals. They explained how to make a Molotov cocktail, incendiary timebombs, booby traps, and they passed this knowledge on to the rest of the followers of Kahane.”





Wikipedia <sup>222</sup> states (link above) that after joining “the “Hayil Kravi” (Combat Corps) of the Irgun” in the early 1940s, Paglin participated in the “Irgun’s bombing of the Immigration Department in Haifa.” In 1946 he was appointed “Chief Operations Officer of the Irgun,” after which “he planned over 200 attacks” against both the British and Arabs. “Paglin planned the King David Hotel bombing [on July 22, 1946, killing 91 and injuring 46], the attack on the British Air Force base at Qastina [on February 25, 1946], the Goldschmidt House officers club bombing, the Acre Prison break [May 4, 1947], and led the Irgun squad that hanged two British sergeants from trees near Netanya, as a response to the hanging of convicted Irgun members by the British. He also led the battle for Jaffa in the 1947-1949 Palestine war and an unsuccessful attempt to conquer Ramle.” On Monday February 7, 1972, at a public meeting event in Tel Aviv convened by Menachim Begin, it revealed the “almost 26 years of secrecy” identifying some of the parties that partook in the King David Hotel bombing. Of those involved was Paglin, then 23-years of age, who gave “the final orders for the bombing” from “a Jerusalem synagogue.” <sup>223</sup>

Friedmann reports that Prime Minister Menachim Begin “appointed Paglin to the powerful post of Advisor to the Prime Minister on Counter-Terrorism” in 1977. Paglin’s advisory successor, **Amiram Nir**, “worked directly with Colonel Oliver North and John McFarland” on the “Iran-contra policy,” with Nir’s “scheme of shipping four thousand American-made TOW missiles to Iran and using profits to fund joint U.S.-Israeli covert operations.” <sup>224</sup>



In *False Prophet*, Friedman identifies numerous JDL terrorist incidents committed in America ordered by Kahane. Not all incidents were committed under his command. Some of his followers, the numbers of which were in their thousands, went off on their own terrorist and orchestrated campaigns.

The JDL’s membership grew with its increasing militancy. What began with a handful of hard-core activists and a mimeograph machine, by 1971 claimed more than ten thousand members in a least a dozen U.S. cities, as well as in England, France, and South Africa. The JDL had evolved into a mass movement, the likes of which Kahane and Churba had only dreamed about a few years before. “Kahane had the ability to take youth and give them incentives to become underground Jewish heroes,” said Murray Schneider, a JDL founding member and the Leagues treasurer until 1975. “We looked up to him like a god. He had incredible charisma. He was brighter than all of us.” But as the JDL grew, it became harder for Kahane to control. Soon handfuls of adventurous youths were carrying out violent operations without consulting the JDL leader. There were times when Kahane and his handlers had all they could do to guide the group in the direction they wanted. In the end, more JDL operations were carried out on an ad hoc basis by youths carried away by their own enthusiasm than were planned in advance by JDL leaders. <sup>225</sup>

\* **December 29, 1969** – The JDL’s “opening shot ... took over the offices of Tass (the Soviet press agency), Intourist (the Soviet tourist agency), and Aeroflot (the Soviet airline), and boarded a Russian

<sup>222</sup> Accessed on February 14, 2025.

<sup>223</sup> *Two Jews reveal roles in King David Hotel Blast*, Journal and Courier, February 8, 1972.

<sup>224</sup> Page 152.

<sup>225</sup> Page 115.

commercial passenger plane at Kennedy International Airport to spray-paint the cabin with Hebrew slogans like “Am Yisrael Chai!” – “The Jewish Nation Lives!”

\* **December 30, 1969** – “More than one hundred JDL members rioted in front of the Soviet Mission in New York.”

\* **May 22, 1970** – JDL invaded the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] office in midtown Manhattan. “The men broke down the door and two of them began to beat [PLO executive Sadaat] Hasan with clubs,” the secretary recounted to The New York Times. “The beating lasted six or seven minutes, I think. There was lots of blood.”

\* **June 15, 1970** – “The KGB arrested scores of Jewish activists across the Soviet Union. Among them were nine Jews charged with plotting to hijack a Soviet airliner at Leningrad Smolny Airport and fly it to Sweden. ... according to Deutsch and other sources directly involved in the operation, the hijacking was planned by Kahane’s control group in Israel, which had been secretly in contact with the plotters.”

\* **Europe** – 1970 - “Bombs Paglin had hidden inside three stoves and smuggled to JDL agents in Europe ripped through the Soviet cultural center in Amsterdam. Around the same time, he engineered the bombing of a Soviet container ship in Rotterdam, sent a letter bomb to the Soviet Embassy in London, and orchestrated attacks on Palestinians living in Europe, according to European and American intelligence sources. In one incident outside a train station in Paris, two JDL men trained by Paglin threw acid in the face of a well-known PLO supporter.”

\* **September 27, 1970** – “Avraham Hershkovitz, a tall, flabby, twenty-six-year-old concentration camp survivor and his nineteen-year-old wife, Nancy, attempted to board a 10 p.m. BOAC flight to London at Kennedy International Airport, concealing two loaded pistols and hand grenades, which had been handed to them moments before by two JDL men hiding in an airport bathroom. Nancy, a grenade taped to her thigh, was waved through by security, but Avraham – disguised as a Hasid and carrying a false passport – was arrested at the gate by alert policemen. When Nancy returned to look for Avraham, she, too, was taken into custody. ... Hershkovitz confessed that he and his wife were members of the JDL, and that they were on a mission to hijack an Egyptian airliner in London and divert it to Israel. ... “That was the cover story. Their real assignment, Calderon claims, was to assassinate Palestinian highjacker Leila Khaled who was then in a London jail. Calderon said a second JDL man-and-wife hit team had been sent to London ahead of the Hershkovitzs, but flew to Israel on false passports when they learned of the arrests.”

\* **Early October 1970** – “A young man carrying a tan, leather briefcase entered a building on 40th Street and Park Avenue where the PLO had its Manhattan office. The youth took the elevator to the third floor and deposited the briefcase outside the PLCs door. At 11 p.m., a powerful explosion ripped through the building, heavily damaging the PLO office.”

“The Jewish Defense League was conceived one overcast Saturday afternoon in May 1968, following morning services at Laurelton’s Young Israel



Synagogue. The group’s three founders resembled anything but freedom fighters. Joining Kahane in the synagogue were **Bertram Zweibon**, a pudgy, pugnacious probate lawyer whose father had been a colleague of Jay Lovestone’s in the Communist Party and whose uncle had been a cofounder of Betar in America, and **Morton Dolinsky**, a loud, loopy PR man ... The trio had one thing in common besides their allegiance to right-wing Zionism – an intense hostility to Blacks.” (*False Prophet*, pages 84-85)

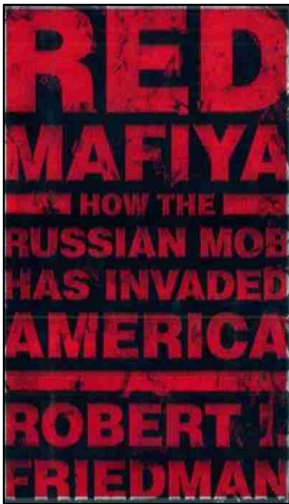
- \* **November 23, 1970** – “Bombs exploded in front of Aeroflot and Intourist offices in New York.”
- \* **January 8, 1971** – “A bomb exploded outside the Soviet cultural building on 18th Street in downtown Washington.”
- \* **January 19, 1971** – “JDL members began to follow Soviet officials and their family members in New York and Washington, spitting and shouting epithets at them. The same week, three Soviet diplomats’ cars were destroyed by firebombs.”
  
- \* **March 30, 1971** – “A bomb exploded outside the New York Communist Party headquarters.”
  
- \* **April 22, 1971** – “A bomb exploded inside Amtorg, the Soviet trade center, at 355 Lexington Avenue in Manhattan, gutting the nineteenth floor of the building. Sappers dismantled a second bomb, which nearly exploded while New York’s chief of detectives and other officials looked on.”
  
- \* **May 12, 1971** – “Kahane and a dozen other JDL members were arrested by federal agents in New York for conspiracy to manufacture explosives.”
  
- \* **June 12, 1971** – “A bomb was found at the official Soviet residence at Glen Cove, New York. The explosive was safely dismantled.”
  
- \* **July 9, 1971** – “Kahane pleaded guilty to manufacturing firebombs. Prior to sentencing, the judge [Jack Weinstein] stated in court that he had received hundreds of letters on Kahane’s behalf, some calling the JDL leader “another Moses or Abraham Lincoln,” “a saint,” “the victim of another Dreyfus trial,” “a Jewish Martin Luther King,” “a modern-day Maccabee,” and a man “fighting for the blood of Jews that has been spilled down through the ages.” [Judge] Weinstein said that, while Kahane may have believed he was in a superior moral position, “so far as the law is concerned – when the JDL uses guns and bombs illegally, they are not really distinguishable from the Weathermen or Black Panthers on the Left or the Ku Klux Klan on the Right.” Despite Judge Weinstein’s rebuke, he sentenced the rabbi to just four year’s probation.”<sup>226</sup>
  
- \* **November 30, 1971** – “Just weeks after Jewish militants fired a high-powered rifle from the roof of Hunter College into the Soviet Mission in New York nearly hitting a diplomat’s child - officials from the Justice Department, the Secret Service, and the FBI met in then U.S. Ambassador to the UN George Bush’s apartment in the Waldorf Astoria to plan how to derail the JDL.”
  
- \* **December 5, 1971** – “A bomb exploded outside a Fifth Avenue gift shop in Manhattan specializing in Soviet goods. A store in Minnesota that sold Russian gifts was destroyed by a bomb.”

Friedman explains that about four months after Kahane was forced to leave the United States in September 1971 to live in Israel, on January 26, 1972 “the anti-Soviet violence that [Geula] Cohen and her cohorts had helped set in motion some two years earlier finally ended in tragedy. On that date the JDL claimed its first victim – a Jew. A squad of JDL youths firebombed the Manhattan offices of Jewish impresario Sol Hurok, who brought Soviet performers to the United States. Iris Kones, a twenty-seven-year-old secretary in Hurok’s accounting department, choked to death on the fumes. According to the autopsy report, her lungs

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<sup>226</sup> Friedman notes on pages 37-38, that joining “the Betar movement in America,” and after Kahane’s first arrest “charged with assault” in 1947 for pelting British Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin with vegetables, “Judge Morris Rothenberg gave him a suspended sentence. **It was the first of what would be a long, unbroken string of light or suspended sentences that Kahane would receive from sympathetic Jewish judges in the United States and Israel.** “The judge was very anti-British and sympathetic to Betar,” Kahane later told me. It did not hurt that Kahane’s father was then the politically well-connected president of the Flatbush Board of Rabbis, nor that Judge Rothenberg was the president of the Jewish National Fund in America, had an agricultural settlement in Palestine named in his honor, and had himself assailed Bevin in 1947 – the same year that Kahane was brought before him – in a speech to a national Zionist conference.”

were filled with black soot mixed with mucus. Within hours of the bombing, an anonymous caller phoned NBC News and UPI in New York claiming credit for the bombing in the name of the JDL:”



“It was Zweibon who called Kahane from a JDL member’s house on Long Island with news of Kones’s death. ... Zweibon said that he urged Kahane to exploit the tragedy to promote the JDL’s agenda. “I told Meir that the Hurok bombing is our ticket into the dark world of terrorism,” said Zweibon. “It enhances the image we’re trying to project. ... **Zweibon said that he viewed Kones’s death as an acceptable if unfortunate byproduct of a greater struggle for the freedom of Soviet Jews.** As he had done in other JDL bombings, Kahane allegedly advised those involved in the Hurok incident to flee to Israel. Zweibon strongly denies that he helped anyone connected with the Hurok bombing to slip away. But one former JDL member who says he helped some of the accomplices leave the United States, claims that Zweibon had worked out the details of the escape, handed out cash and plane tickets, then swallowed the paper with the written instructions. At least four suspects were allegedly spirited out of the country this way, **two to Israel and two to Canada.**”<sup>227</sup>

After three members of the JDL were indicted by a “federal grand jury in New York” in June 1972 for the bombing and death of Kone, it was defendant Sheldon Seigal’s “defence attorney, **Alan Dershowitz,**” who got his client, “JDL’s premier bomb maker,” from being convicted, and by 1975 “the case was finally dropped.” Jerome Zeller, the man that “planted the bomb in Hurok’s office,” eventually in 1972 “found a safe haven in the home of Nachman Kahane,” Meir Kahane’s younger brother, who was “then Israel’s assistant minister of religious affairs.”<sup>228</sup>

Friedman points out in his remarkably courageous and investigatory third book, *Red Mafiya* (published in 2000), that, no thanks to Yitzhak Shamir’s icy-cold provocations, one of the most unfortunate, ill-fated, evil consequences of Israel’s covert and militant actions in America, Europe and Soviet Russia to free Soviet Jewry was that Russia’s “KGB took this opportunity to empty its jails of **thousands of hard-core** [ethnic claimed Jewish] **criminals**, dumping vast numbers of undesirables like Monya Elson on an unsuspecting America, as well as on Israel and other Western nations. ... Elson was given an Israeli visa; it was the only way the Soviets would let a Jew leave the U.S.S.R. But like many Jewish refugees, he wanted to go to the United States instead, and well-funded American Jewish organizations who supported the concept of free immigration helped large numbers of them to gain entry to America, infuriating Israel’s Zionist establishment, which believed that Israel should be the destination for all the Jewish people.”<sup>229</sup> Most of these hardened and ruthless criminals (which Friedman details from their gruesome and Gulag origins in the Soviet Union and following), the “majority” of which “settled in Brighton Beach,”<sup>230</sup> formed organized gangs in Israel, Europe, North America, etc., some of which coordinated criminal activities with the Italian mafia and corrupt rabbis. Some of these unleashed Russian criminals became operatives for Mossad. Some went on to help “train the [South African] Bantustan’s police and security service.”<sup>231</sup> Some went on to Wall Street to commit extortion, stock market fraud, and Ponzi schemes. Friedman notes in *False Prophet*, that “in the two-year period between 1972 and 1973” alone, “more than 66,000 Russian Jews emigrated.”<sup>232</sup>

Yitzhak Shamir’s golden pitbull Meir Kahane got under his skin when he failed to kidnap Soviet Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin who was to arrive in Canada on a scheduled visit in the summer of 1972. Kahane

<sup>227</sup> Pages 142-143.

<sup>228</sup> Pages 143-144.

<sup>229</sup> Chapter 1.

<sup>230</sup> Introduction.

<sup>231</sup> Chapter 3.

<sup>232</sup> Page 147.





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Montreal Star October 12, 1977

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★TORONTO STAR, MONDAY, MARCH 19, 1979 /A7

TORONTO GREET'S  
**AVITAL SHCHARANSKY**  
Tuesday, March 20 at 8:00 p.m.

PANEL DISCUSSION:

**"DOING BUSINESS  
WITH THE USSR"**

**SAM FOX**, President, Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto and  
Vice-President, Canadian Labour Congress

**PAUL CHAPIN**, Bureau of European Affairs, Department of  
External Affairs

**IRWIN COTLER**, Professor of International Law,  
McGill University

**AVITAL SHCHARANSKY**, wife of the imprisoned Soviet Jewish  
Activist

**B'NAI B'RITH HOUSE**

15 Hove Street  
Downsview, Ontario

(one block west of Bathurst Street, running north from Sheppard Avenue West)  
Toronto Committee for Soviet Jewry

**FREE THE PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE!**

**BETH TZEDEC CONGREGATION**

Toronto Star  
November 11, 1977

PRESENTS

**PROFESSOR  
IRWIN COTLER**

Professor of International Law, McGill University  
In a "Public Affairs" Weekend, November 12 & 13, 1977  
He Will Speak —

- 1) Saturday morning, November 12th at the Services  
Topic: **The Condition of Syrian Jewry**
- 2) Saturday evening, November 12th — 8:30 p.m.  
Topic: **The Arab Conceptions of Peace**
- 3) Sunday morning, November 13th — 10:00 a.m.  
Topic: **Quebec and the Future of Quebec Jewry**

Professor Cotler has returned recently from a trip to Syria and he is also on the "Board of Directors of the Policy Institute" set up to study Quebec Jewry.

All Lectures will take place at Beth Tzedec Congregation,  
1700 Bathurst Street, Toronto

The Public is cordially invited Services as indicated.

Ottawa to Host First National  
**Conference on Soviet  
Anti-Semitism**

Ottawa Journal  
Nov. 17, 1979

Sponsored by the Canadian  
Committee for Soviet Jewry

**November 18 - 19  
Skyline Hotel, Ottawa**

Speakers Include:

- Walter Tarnopolsky, Canadian Delegate U.N. Human Rights Commission.
- Dr. Emil Fackenheim, Professor of Philosophy University of Toronto.
- Dr. Irwin Cotler, Professor of Law, McGill University.
- Mr. William Korey, Director of Research International B'nai B'rith.

A meal package is available for \$50  
Registration fee: \$30

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SKYLINE HOTEL

# ONE PLANET:

TWO MEN

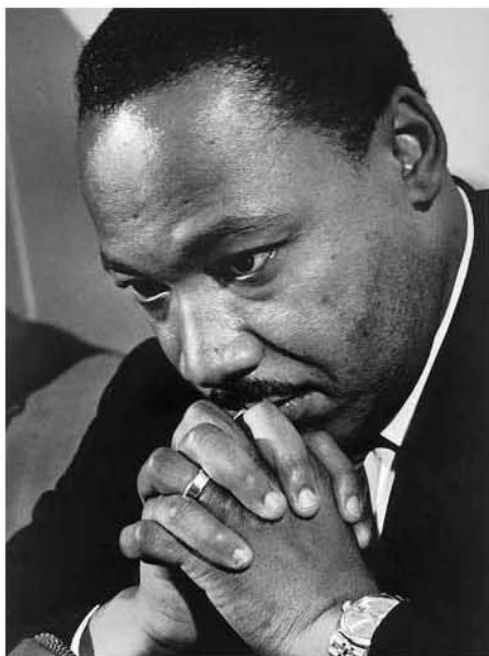
TWO FACES

TWO COLONIAL STATES

TWO ASSASSINATIONS

Martin Luther King Jr.

PREACHER OF



LOVE

April 4, 1968

Meir Kahane

TEACHER OF



HATE

November 5, 1990

had been given “\$70,000 to stage a number of violent demonstrations in England, France, and North America,” which included the abduction of Kosygin. Instead, Kahane pocketed the money “to finance his first unsuccessful run for the Knesset in 1973.”<sup>233</sup> Shamir’s secret circle then reportedly ended their Soviet Jewry operations relationship with the JDL.

## 9.1. “I Say What You Think”

“Years ago, Rabbi Meir Kahane broke the taboo when he publicly called for the expulsion of Israel’s Arabs. “I say what you think,” he would declare, claiming to have an inside track on Israel’s psyche. Now, virtually every ultranationalist politician worth his or her soapbox has concocted a formula for “transfer.”<sup>234</sup>

“In April 1991 – on the eve of one of Secretary of State James Baker’s visits to Jerusalem after the Gulf War to press the Israelis on a territorial compromise – [Rabbi Moshe] Levinger declared that the only way he would leave the West Bank was in a pine box. “From this house, the army will never take me out alive,” said one of Levinger’s supporters in Hebron. ... But would Levinger really give the order to fight the Israeli Army and shed Jewish blood? I asked. “Rabbi Levinger is like an egg,” he replied, caressing his child. “The more you cook it, the harder it becomes.” So worried are some of these settlers about an Israeli withdrawal that they have formed a new terrorist underground. But this time, their targets are brother Jews who have advocated negotiating with the PLO. They are called the Sicarii, after a sect of Jewish Zealots who murdered Romans and “Hellenist” Jews during the Second Temple period with short daggers that they hid in their robes.”<sup>235</sup>

[Moshe] Dayan understood the Palestinians’ deep historical attachment to the land. In April 1956, at the funeral of a close friend ... said, “How can we complain about the [Arab refugees’] fierce hatred of us? For eight years they have been sitting in the refugee camps of Gaza while right in front of their eyes we are turning the land and villages in which they and their forefathers dwelled into our patrimony. ... We are the generation of settlement, and without cannons and steel helmets we won’t be able to plant a tree or a house.”<sup>236</sup>

“Kahane’s younger brother, Nachman, an Orthodox rabbi with a synagogue in the Muslim Quarter across the road from Ateret Cohanim, described “Kahaneism” as unabashed love for the Jewish people. Then, under an overcast sky, one Kahane disciple after another called for death to the Arabs. “There is a time for love, a time for hate, a time to kill, a time to heal, a time for peace, a time for war,” said one rabbi quoting a passage from Ecclesiastes. “This is a time for war, for hate, for killing. We must banish the Arabs from our land!”<sup>237</sup>

Gush Emunim’s rabbis proclaimed that settling the biblical Land of Israel, including Judea and Samaria, otherwise known as the West Bank, was part of the divine process that would inexorably lead to the End of Days and the Redemption of Mankind. Thousands of Orthodox Jews answered the call to settle the occupied territories.<sup>238</sup> ... [Rabbi Moshe] Levinger might have remained an obscure rabbi if not for the Six-Day War. The Israeli victory unlocked pent-up messianic passions in many Orthodox Jews as they were reunited with the core area of ancient Israel, the West Bank, which they

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<sup>233</sup> *False Prophet*, page 145.

<sup>234</sup> *Zealots for Zion*, Robert I. Friedman, page 10. Friedman had written a review of Edward Tivnan’s 1987 groundbreaking book, *The Lobby: Jewish Political Power and American Foreign Policy*. On the jacket of Tivnan’s book was a quote from Carl Bernstein: “Edward Tivnan has turned a reporter’s eye on a subject that until now has been the stuff of gossip and polemics.”

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, pages 41-42.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, page 77.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*, page 185.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, page xxxiv.

refer to by the biblical names Judea and Samaria.<sup>239</sup> ... Ten months later [at the end of the six-day war, Zvi Yehuda] Kook sent his pupil, thirty- seven-year-old Moshe Levinger, to resettle Hebron. He would change the political as well as the physical landscape of Israel. ... On April 12, 1968, thirty-two Jewish families moved into the Park Hotel in downtown Hebron in defiance of official Israeli government policy, which then barred Jews from moving into West Bank Arab cities.<sup>240</sup>

Robert I. Friedman’s books, *The False Prophet* (1990), and *Zealots for Zion* (1992), on Meir Kahane and the Zionist zealots in Israel, are unique interview-product portals that also help shape the understanding of the 1975 U.N. resolution qualifier of Zionism as Racism.<sup>241</sup> The racism in Zionism, as espoused and penned by Fayez Sayegh from the early 1950s to the late 1970s which he defined in his 1965 monograph “Zionist Colonialism in Palestine,” gains new momentum, a new demented dimension, an uglier face about a year following the June six-day war. As Friedman paints on his canvases, this new phase begins when Rabbi Moshe Levinger enters amongst the first Jewish occupants of the Westbank lands, in Levinger’s case via the “forty Orthodox families” in the “fortified settlement” of Kiryat Arba, through his proclamatory ultra fanaticism, and “self-destructive messianism.” Integrated with this new phase, is Mossad’s central plan to migrate Soviet Jewry to Israel to out-populate the Palestinian majority. And with Kahane’s arrival in Israel in September 1971, four years before the adoption of U.N. Resolution 3379, the sparks really start flying.

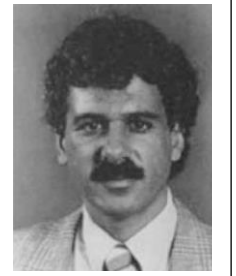
This Kahane “theocratic racist” shift in colonial Zionism is noted in Simha Flapan’s 1988 book, *The Birth of Israel:*

<sup>239</sup> Ibid., page 13.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid., page 14.

<sup>241</sup> I must note at least two bothersome weaknesses in Friedman’s two volumes, which are more evident in his second book, *Zealots for Zion*. Namely, Friedman’s seemingly uncritical portrayal of Israel as a ‘democracy,’ and his acceptance of the Zionists’ historical interpretation of the events of 1947 and 1948. My initial concern cast doubt upon his ability to see through the propaganda. But then I had to think about the period context, the times he spent in Israel and when he did his investigative reporting – the late 1970s to 1992. I then retrieved academic sources I remembered reading concerning the late 1980s when scholarly products of the “New Historians” (originally, the “new historiography”) of Israel emerged following the scheduled release of state documents that had been archived from public viewing (in Israel, Britain, etc.), and when serious public debating challenging the propaganda began. I had already examined some of early writings by Palestinians and other Arab historians on their accounts that were opposite to Israel’s propaganda accounts, but their accountings had been largely hidden and suppressed. In Part 8 of this report on Fayez Sayegh, I included an article he wrote on April 10, 1958, for the Caravan, “Dair Yaseen – Ten Years Later.” In it he muses, “World public opinion today may have been largely influenced by the limitless outpouring of Israeli and Zionist propaganda to forget the slaughters and massacres which began at Dair Yaseen and may have been influenced into thinking of the Arab refugees as “voluntary exiles” and conceiving of Israel as a peaceful law-abiding state. But history cannot be rewritten, even by a shrewd and effective propaganda machine; and the truth cannot be indefinitely dimmed.” Historians have largely forgotten or overlooked Sayegh, who exposed the Zionists’ propaganda. The new information sifted by the “New Historians” challenged the propaganda consumed by the world about Zionist Israel’s ‘myths,’ some of which Friedman, as so many, had swallowed. I then read historian Ilan Pappé’s September 2021 four-page explanatory, “The New Historians,” and examined two of his recommendations for “further readings:” Simha Flapan’s 1988 book, *The Birth of Israel: Myths and*

**“ROBERT I. FRIEDMAN** died July 2 at age 51 at Columbia-Presbyterian hospital in New York City of complications of a rare pneumonia he contracted in the slums of Bombay, India while on assignment for *Vanity Fair* on a story of sexual slavery. The piece ran



as a cover story in *The Nation*. Robert investigated the rise of the radical right in Israel while on his Patterson fellowship, work he turned into his first book, “The False Prophet,” a biography of Jewish Defense League founder Meir Kahane. Robert was assaulted by militant Jewish settlers when he was on assignment in Israel in 1994, shortly before his second book, “Zealots for Zion: Inside Israel’s West Bank Settlement Movement,” was published. He worked for the *Village Voice* from 1989 to 1995. As that paper wrote, “Robbie will be remembered as a dedicated pro who followed his reporting wherever it took him, no matter whom it offended or what it meant for his own career. In 1993, for example, Friedman castigated the FBI in the *Voice* for ignoring information it had developed on the Muslim extremist behind the first bombing of the World Trade Center, warning that without stronger action, terrorists would strike at the towers again. Though the story would cost him valuable sources within the FBI, Friedman published it and won a Society of Professional Journalists Award.” He was a freelancer for most of his career, writing for the *New Yorker*, *GQ*, *The Nation*, *New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and the *New York Review of Books*, among others. His 2000 book about the Russian mob in America, “Red Mafiya,” is the definitive work on the subject. He is survived by his wife, Christine Dugas, a reporter for *USA TODAY*.” (Source: Tribute to Robert Friedman, The Alicia Patterson Foundation, Alumni News.)



*Myths and Realities.*” Flapan, an Israeli citizen, who arrived in Palestine in 1930 at age 19, who died on April 13, 1987 “as this book went to press,” was undoing, shaking off the Zionism entangled and buried deep within him, a very difficult and emancipatory undertaking. He, as an Israeli, was at the forefront of what some have penned “the New Historians,” a disputed title by the New Historians themselves. Flapan explains that he had a team of researchers not only dissecting newly released, but limited, archival, classified records from the Israeli government, but re-reading and examining afresh the writings from a host of Arab and Israeli historians. Flapan, in communication and debates with other Israeli and non-Israeli historians, then began serious reflections and analysis on Zionist propaganda, primarily those, as he explains in his book, emanating from 1948 to 1952, distilling the ‘Seven Myths.’ What is remarkable, and fortunate, is that he gifted his insights to the world moments before his departure from it.

Flapan noted two central, political camps in Zionist Israel, the socialist Zionists and the revisionist Zionists, the latter of which hinged on the extreme ideology and twisted theocracy of Zeev Jabotinsky, Meir Kahane’s idol, who, as Friedman notes in *False Prophet* “was once a guest at the Kahane’s Flatbush home,” because Kahane’s father was “a fervent Zionist and a member of the right-wing Revisionist movement.”<sup>242</sup>

<b>MYTH ONE:</b> Zionists Accepted the UN Partition and Planned for Peace ▪ 13
<b>MYTH TWO:</b> Arabs Rejected the Partition and Launched War ▪ 55
<b>MYTH THREE:</b> Palestinians Fled Voluntarily, Intending Reconquest ▪ 81
<b>MYTH FOUR:</b> All the Arab States United to Expel the Jews from Palestine ▪ 119
<b>MYTH FIVE:</b> The Arab Invasion Made War Inevitable ▪ 153
<b>MYTH SIX:</b> Defenseless Israel Faced Destruction by the Arab Goliath ▪ 187
<b>MYTH SEVEN:</b> Israel Has Always Sought Peace, but No Arab Leader Has Responded ▪ 201

“The fiercest internal struggles in Zionist history occurred between Ben-Gurion’s socialist labor movement and the right-wing Revisionist party (of which Begin’s party, Herut, was the Israeli successor). Before independence, the split nearly caused civil war within the Jewish community in Palestine. With the establishment of the state of Israel, Ben-Gurion and Begin remained implacable enemies. Ben-Gurion refused even to allow the bones of Zeev Jabotinsky, the founder of the Revisionist movement, to be buried in Israel.”<sup>243</sup>

Regarding the two Zionist camps, Flapan in his earlier 1979 book, *Zionism and the Palestinians*, wrote:

The Arabs did not regard the internal struggle in Zionism as a reflection of genuinely contradictory trends in Zionism, but rather as a ‘**Jekyll and Hyde**’ phenomenon of the same movement. Worse, they believed that [Wladimir (Zeev)] Jabotinsky’s was the true face of Zionism, while [Dr. Chaim] Weizmann’s and his colleagues’ condemnation of Revisionist outrages was no more than a political cover up.<sup>244</sup>

As the catalyst for his reflections on the predatory-militaristic-racist sins of Israel, Flapan explains that the 1988 Israeli invasion-war of Lebanon “raised many crucial questions for Israelis interested in peace and for Americans and American Jews who have Israel’s fundamental interests at heart,” and revealed “deep divisions within Israeli society, divisions not always discernible according to party affiliation.” Flapan’s serious reflections led him to write the following:

Does this mean that the socialist leadership of the Jewish community in 1948 and their successors up until 1977 – when Begin’s [Likud] party came to power – were no different from their hated

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*Realities;*” and Avi Shlaim’s thirty-page contribution, “*The Debate about 1948*,” in editor Ilan Pappé’s collection of publications, “*The Israel/Palestine Question*.” My review of these sources helped to put me at ease about my nagging doubts about Friedman. Not just he, but almost everyone had swallowed the Zionist’s propaganda pills that had run roughshod, inundating the print and gossip world after 1948.

<sup>242</sup> Page 5.

<sup>243</sup> *Birth of Israel*, Pages 5-6.

<sup>244</sup> Page 97.

Revisionist rivals on this issue? And **even more frightening**, to what extent does the growing support for the theocratic racist Rabbi Meir Kahane – who talks openly of deporting the Palestinians from Israel and the West Bank and Gaza – have its roots in the events of 1948?

Like most Israelis, **I had always been under the influence of certain myths that had become accepted as historical truth**. And since myths are central to the creation of structures of thinking and propaganda, these myths had been of paramount importance in shaping Israeli policy for more than three and a half decades. Israel's myths are located at the core of the nation's self-perception. Even though Israel has the most sophisticated army in the region and possesses an advanced atomic capability, it continues to regard itself in terms of the Holocaust, as the victim of an unconquerable, bloodthirsty enemy. Thus, whatever Israelis do, whatever means we employ to guard our gains or to increase them, we justify as last-ditch self-defense. **We can, therefore, do no wrong**. The myths of Israel forged during the formation of the state have hardened into this impenetrable, and dangerous, ideological shield. Yet what emerged from my reading was that while it was precisely during the period between 1948 and 1952 that most of these myths gained credence, the documents at hand not only failed to substantiate them they openly contradicted them.

In Meir Kahane's time in Israel from September 1971 until the moment of his assassination in November 1990, he rallied many of the worst violent and intolerant behaviours known to mankind into the fold of Jewish Zionist citizenry, a military colonial settler state. The accounts of his racist and hateful provocations, and their dissipations upon Israelis, and those abroad, from this period are painfully numerous and seemingly unending. Many Israeli citizens hated and opposed Kahane. Some of those who hated him, who suppressed their inward thoughts, supported him. And the rest openly supported him. Shortly after he won a single seat in the Knesset in 1984, and when his followers began to feel they could release their hatred more openly, some Israeli

politicians, who would not openly stomach his unbearably harsh statements and his ungodly appeal to the worst forms of violence, even invoked the comparison of Nazi Germans to his persona. Among those was Israeli President Chaim Herzog, noted here in a news article in the Los Angeles Times from September 9, 1985, carrying a quote he made to Tel Aviv high school students: "... that a man could emerge in the Jewish state with a program that is very similar to the (Nazi) Nuremberg laws."

But the president of Israel, of all people, was not the only one thinking and saying so out loud, a claim which made today would land someone,

even a Jewish anti-Zionist, being quickly charged for 'anti-Semitism,' openly assailed and denounced by the Zionist's Anti-Defamation League. On Tuesday, October 29, 1985, while at the St. Francis Hotel in San

**Israeli President Chaim Herzog** compared the anti-Arab campaign of the Kach Party, led by Rabbi Meir Kahane, to anti-Jewish legislation in Nazi Germany. Speaking to high school students near Tel Aviv, he said, "I think it is a disgrace to the Jewish people and to the people of Israel . . . that a man could emerge in the Jewish state with a program that is very similar to the (Nazi) Nuremberg Laws." Kahane advocates expelling Arabs from Israel.

Los Angeles Times, September 9, 1985

#### ■ **UM AL FAHM, Israel**

About 1,000 Jews and Arabs marched through the narrow streets of this Arab city Saturday to protest Rabbi Meir Kahane's extremist views and discrimination against Israel's Arabs. There were hundreds of Jews in the procession, and some chanted in Hebrew, "Kahane, Kahane, go back to America!" One year ago, the New York-born Kahane, now an Israeli legislator, was prevented from entering Um al Fahm, Israel's largest Arab city.

Cincinnati Enquirer, September 1, 1985

—ENQUIRER NEWS SERVICES

The Sacramento Bee • Tuesday, October 29, 1985



Associated Press

Masked by a Palestinian kafiya, a protester makes known his opinion of Meir Kahane Monday at San Francisco State University.

Francisco, he accused “most American Jewish community leaders” as “pygmies, dwarfs and dangerous,” because they did want to “evict all Arabs from Israel.” As he spoke these words to reporters, “hundreds of Jewish and Arab protesters across the street held signs and chanted slogans calling Kahane a “fascist” and “racist”:

The current Israeli government leadership views Kahane’s Israel-for-Jews-only credo as menacing. Prime Minister Shimon Peres labels Kahane the greatest single threat to Israel’s democracy [the Zionist’s standard mythic claim].

Kahane told his listeners [the audience at the St. Francis Hotel] ... that “it’s a sick, twisted concept that you can’t throw Arabs out of Israel because it isn’t a nice thing to do. I want the Arabs out. I wish them well – anywhere else. It’s better to be a winner than a loser. It’s better to live than to die. I’m tired of all this mourning over the Holocaust. I don’t want mourning – I want respect.”

Willis Johnson, a Jewish student from Mississippi at University of California, Berkeley, said [during Kahane’s earlier speech at San Francisco State University the morning of the same day], “It is somewhat ironic that we are all protesting together, but we recognize a common enemy in Kahane – and that’s what Kahane represents.”<sup>245</sup>

The Los Angeles Times included a statement made by Kahane at “an airport news conference:” “Jewish leaders must decide soon whether they want a Jewish Zionist state or a Western democratic state.”<sup>246</sup>

**Jewish Defense League’s founder resigns**

**LOS ANGELES — Rabbi Meir Kahane, who founded the Jewish Defense League before becoming a member of Israel’s Knesset, has resigned as head of the organization. Irv Rubin said Sunday that he was appointed national chairman by Kahane, who resigned to concentrate on the political situation in Israel, where he advocates expelling all Arabs.**

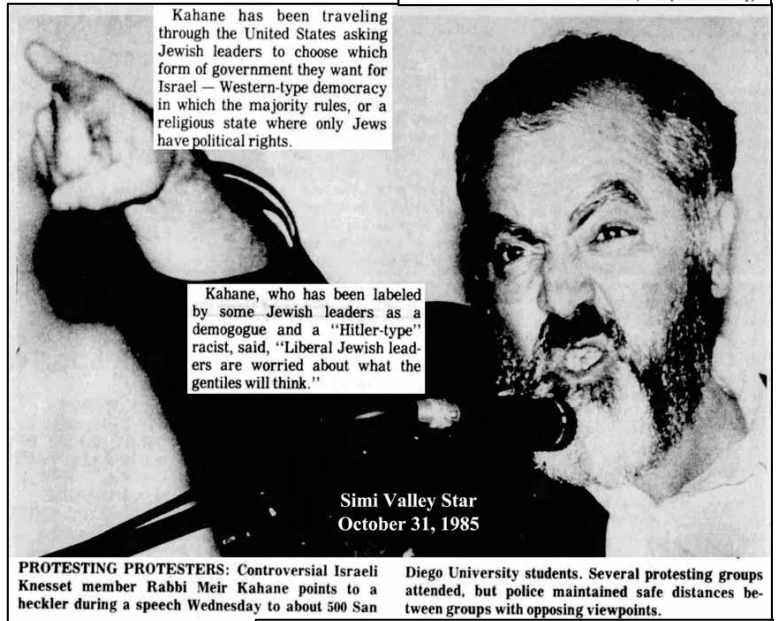
*Journal and Courier, August 19, 1985*

Engaged in numerous excursions to the United States – a curious allowance given his indictments and founder of a terrorist group – in his numerous fundraising speaking engagements in 1985, the “members of the Boston and Brookline Jewish communities said in a statement that Kahane’s is a “hooligan view of the

**TODAY’S QUOTE**

“Sometime in the next four years the Arab will turn on his radio and hear that Kahane is prime minister. Can you imagine what that will mean? They will leave. They’ll beg me to let them go.”

— Rabbi Meir Kahane, a member of the Israeli parliament, speaking in Los Angeles about his controversial campaign to force Arabs out of Israel.  
*The Charlotte Observer*  
October 31, 1985 (Halloween Day)



<sup>245</sup> *Kahane raises cash, ire in SF*, Sacramento Bee, October 29, 1985.

<sup>246</sup> *The State*, Los Angeles Times, October 29, 1985.



world” that is “indigestible poison.” The same news article quoted the New England regional chapter of the American Jewish Congress who called Kahane an “extremist who does not represent Jewish thought or tradition.”<sup>247</sup>

# Crowd denounces militant Israeli rabbi

North Adams Transcript January 25, 1985

BROOKLINE (UPI) — Protesters carrying signs and chanting, “Israel, yes, Kahane, no,” demonstrated outside a high school where militant Rabbi Meir Kahane sought support for his plan to rid Israel of Arabs.

Kahane, winding up a six-city tour of the United States, spoke Thursday night to a group of about 400 people inside the school.

Kahane, who advocates driving all Arabs from Israel, was in the country to create here a chapter of the “Kach” political party, which wants all Arabs expelled from Israel.

“This guy’s a nut, a dangerous nut,” said MIT Professor Frank Fisher. “He’s as close to a Jewish terrorist as you can get.”

Members of the Boston and Brookline Jewish communities said in a statement that Kahane’s is a “hooligan view of the world” that is “indigestible poison.”

Kahane was called an “extremist who does not represent Jewish thought or tradition” by the New England regional chapter of the American Jewish Congress.

Kahane said he was establishing the Kach movement in the United States as a political counterpart of his militant Jewish Defense League.

“What we will be doing is having JDL limited to a youth movement, a defense movement. Kach will be more political — for adults,” he said.

Kahane, 52, represents the Kach party in the Israeli parliament, the Knesset, having won a seat in the July 1984 general election after several unsuccessful runs.

He said he was in the United States “to raise money and to raise consciences” to his movement, which seeks to limit Israel only to Jews and which has small support in that Israel.

Kahane, a Brooklyn, N.Y.-born immigrant to Israel, would not offer numbers of supporters he enlisted in the trip, and did not say how much money he had raised. When pressed for a goal, he said it was \$5 million.

He said he is proposing to send all Arabs living in Israel from the country, first offering them restitution but later using force.

“What we are talking about is an exchange of populations,” he said, referring to some 800,000 Jewish refugees Israel has taken in from Arab countries since it was formed in 1948.

Kahane became angry at the suggestion that his plan for exclusivity was like South Africa’s apartheid policy of racial segregation.

“Jews are not a race,” he said.

“There are black Jews, and they are Jewish. There are polka dot Jews, and they are Jewish. I’m not against Arabs as Arabs, as a people which sincerely believe that their country has been stolen,” he said.

“I don’t hate Arabs. I love Jews.”

The New York Times

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1984

## Professor Debates Kahane on Israel

By ARI L. GOLDMAN

They attended the same yeshiva high school in Brooklyn and grew up conversant with the sacred Jewish texts, but the lives of Meir Kahane and Alan Dershowitz have taken radically different courses.

Rabbi Kahane, the founder of the Jewish Defense League, was elected in July to the Israeli Parliament on a platform calling for the expulsion of all Arabs from the country.

Mr. Dershowitz, a professor of law at Harvard University, has defended Jewish activists in the Soviet Union and has worked to build bridges between Jews and non-Jews in the United States and Israel.

On Sunday night they met to debate how best to insure the future of Israel. The encounter was marked by fiery exchanges, Biblical quotations and exhortations to the audience.

### Questions Posed by Rabbi

Nearly 1,000 people crowded into the Hebrew Institute of Riverdale, in the Bronx, to hear the three-hour debate. There were some mild hisses and boos, but the audience was generally polite. Outside in the rain, a handful of pickets carried signs calling Rabbi Kahane a racist.

Rabbi Avraham Weiss, the leader of the congregation, posed questions to each speaker about Jewish terrorism, the nature of Zionism, West Bank settlement, relations with non-Jews and American Jewry.

Both the rabbi and the professor are experienced debaters. Rabbi Kahane was the captain of the debating team at the Yeshiva University High School for Boys in Brooklyn in 1949. Professor Dershowitz was captain of the team in 1953.

The theme running through Rabbi Kahane’s remarks was that Israel was threatened by a growing Arab population and that Jewish law sanctioned violence to meet that threat. American Jews, he added, will face a “holocaust” if they do not emigrate to Israel.

### Compromise vs. Terrorism

Professor Dershowitz argued that compromise and conciliation were needed in dealing with the Arabs. Rabbi Kahane, he said, has generated “fear and hate” that has discouraged American Jews from moving to Israel and embracing a deeper Jewish commitment.

The professor called Rabbi Kahane’s praise for Jewish terrorists,

including those who murdered an Arab youth aboard a bus in Jerusalem in October, “despicable and racist.” But he said he hoped the terrorists got “a fair trial.”

“What bothers me,” responded Rabbi Kahane “is that there is going to be a trial at all. It is a disgrace to the Jewish people. They’re not criminals, they’re Maccabees.”

The Maccabees were the Jewish freedom fighters who were the heroes of Hanukkah. At another point in the debate, Rabbi Kahane likened killing Arabs to killing Nazis.

### A Study in Contrasts

In his opening statement, Professor Dershowitz, lawyer-like in a blue three-piece suit, said he rejected the counsel of some of his associates who had warned him that he was “legitimizing Kahane” by agreeing to debate. “To me,” the professor said, “the democratic response to Rabbi Kahane is to answer him.”

The rabbi, who wore his shirt collar open in the style of Israeli politicians, carried a small Hebrew-language Bible with him to the lecture. He condemned the Israeli Government for being “godless Hellenists” and said they had brought “a magnificent land to despair and defeat.”

“If we walk in God’s path,” he said, Israel will flourish. “If we go in the ways of Cambridge and Harvard and the Hellenists, then surely we will be destroyed.”

Rabbi Weiss said he knew of no rabbinic authorities who agreed with Rabbi Kahane’s position, especially on violence and the eviction of Arabs. He asked Rabbi Kahane how he justified his stands.

### Differences on Rights

Rabbi Kahane said “a great number of rabbis” supported him but were afraid to speak out publicly. Citing Bible passages, he said God had promised the Jews the land of Israel and supremacy over its inhabitants.

The notion of equal rights for Jews and Arabs, Rabbi Kahane said, is “fine for democrats, but not for Zionists.”

Professor Dershowitz responded, “The vast majority of Jews in the world support Zionism and democracy.” He said the “challenge of Zionism” was to create a society that enabled people of different backgrounds to live together.

In answer to a question about territories captured by Israel in the 1967

Arab-Israeli war, Professor Dershowitz said he agreed with Rabbi Kahane that Jews have “a Biblical right to the West Bank.”

“But the Arabs also have a Biblical right to the West Bank,” he added. A modern Jewish state “should not assert its right on the basis of a Biblical claim,” he said, but rather seek peace through “territorial compromise.”

### ‘Simple-Minded Solutions’

Rabbi Kahane said that forfeiting land would create grave problems for Israel. “Peace will come when the Jewish people do what God wants us to do,” he reiterated. He said this meant a mass migration of Jews to Israel and an adherence to “halacha,” or Jewish law.

Professor Dershowitz called his opponent’s ideas “simple-minded solutions” and said, “I will not let Rabbi Kahane define my Judaism for me.” He said that Rabbi Kahane, who set up vigilante groups to defend American synagogues in the 1970’s, had done some positive work, but that his philosophy had “degenerated” into justifying racism and murder.

Rabbi Kahane responded: “Judaism is not for you to pick and choose. It is for you to accept the yoke of Him. Sometimes that which He decrees goes against our Western brain.”

Conceding that his ideas might sound fundamental, Rabbi Kahane added, “Simple-minded solutions are usually rejected by professors.”

Rabbi Weiss asked Professor Dershowitz how he felt about Rabbi Kahane’s recent forays into Arab towns in Israel to encourage emigration. The professor said he would “support and defend” the rabbi’s right to do so and added, “But I will also defend the right of his enemies to make equally obnoxious statements.”



Alan Dershowitz, the lawyer and law professor who represented and freed one of Kahane’s Jewish Defense League’s fellow terrorists in 1972 - accused of killing a Jewish woman and bombing an office - helped fundraise, profile and smooth talk Meir Kahane in a public debate on Sunday, November 11, 1984 (Remembrance Day), at the Hebrew Institute of Riverdale, located in the Bronx of New York City. The debate is still available on YouTube. As Rabbi Avi Weiss is profiled by David Sheen (see above) as a supporter of Kahane, here Avi “posed questions to each speaker.”

The duo dared to hold a second controversial debate at Boston University in March 1985 under Dershowitz’ rubric of “freedom of speech,” but was cancelled due to the sponsoring group’s decision not to pay \$2,500 for “extra security.”

<sup>247</sup> Crowd denounces militant Israeli rabbi, North Adams Transcript, January 25, 1985.





## Meir Kahane pelted with eggs

The Associated Press

TEL AVIV, Israel — Thousands of Israelis pelted anti-Arab Rabbi Meir Kahane with eggs and tomatoes and smashed the windshield of his car yesterday at a rally he held in a Tel Aviv suburb.

Kahane, who won a seat in Parliament last year after calling for the expulsion of all Arabs under Israeli rule, shouted at the demonstrators: "We don't hate

Oakland Tribune September 23, 1985

Arabs, but you hate Jews. When we come to power we shall know how to deal with you."

His followers waved a yellow flag and wore yellow sweat-shirts bearing the Kach party's symbol of a clenched fist.

Tel Aviv Police Cmdr. Gaby Amir said 450 police in riot gear were assigned to the rally in Givatayim. Fewer than 400 Kach supporters attended the rally, but there were an estimated 10,000 anti-Kahane demonstrators.



In David Sheen's numerous evaluations of Israel's changing Zionist psyche due to the integration and expansionisms of Kahaneism, the one that disturbed and chilled me the most, and helped reveal to me Israel's utter depravity and detestable brutality currently underway in the Gaza and Westbank genocides, was his summary of extremist Rabbi Yitzchak Feivish Ginsburgh's approval of "Torat Hamelech" (or "Hamelekh", the English translation from Hebrew), the "King's Torah."

Wikipedia<sup>248</sup> states that *The King's Torah* are controversial Jewish halachic books by Rabbis Yitzhak Shapira and Yosef Elitzur that discuss "the circumstances in which Jews would be allowed by Jewish law to kill Gentiles, based on a selective reading of Jewish texts:"

## Population trend threatens to make Jews minority factor

Kingsport Times News June 17, 1985

By WESLEY G. PIPPERT  
United Press International

JERUSALEM — Israel faces the twin challenge of hardening attitudes toward the Arabs and birthrates that could make "Greater Israel" only half Jewish in 30 years, according to several new studies.

With modern Israel nearing its biblically significant 40th anniversary, the studies pose fundamental questions about the nature of the Jewish state:

—Will Israel care for "the widow, the orphan and the alien," as the Jewish prophets teach? It is clear to both sides the "alien" in Israel and the occupied territories is the 1.8 million Arabs living among the 3.2 million Jews.

—Will Israel remain a democracy with large Arab representation in government, or will it become a state where a minority of Jews dominate an Arab majority?

Already, says psychologist

John Hofman of Haifa University, "contact between Jews and Arabs, when it occurs at all, is confined to highly formal and constrained conditions — at work, in the market place, in government offices, in jails and so forth.

"Even then," he said, "the meeting is seldom between status equals, but rather between Jewish foreman and Arab worker, Jewish housewife and Arab peddler, Jewish official and Arab petitioner, Jewish guard and Arab prisoner."

A study by Hofman and colleague Kamil Najer disclosed less willingness by Arab students to have relations with Jews. Despite this erosion, they said, Arab students still are more willing to make friends than their Jewish counterparts.

"Not only does the average Jew not try to encourage good relations with the Arabs and to get close to the Arabs socially — he is also hypocritical enough to stress how much

we've (helped) the Arabs to progress and how liberal he is regarding relations with them," the study quoted a Jewish student as writing.

The Kach party of militant Rabbi Meir Kahane, who favors expelling all Arabs, published a Van Leer poll saying more than 40 percent of Israeli youth favor his ideas.

"Is Rabbi Kahane merely a 'fringe element' in Israeli politics, as some have sought to portray him — or is Kahane in fact on the verge of becoming a major force in Israel?" Kach asks.

Kahane won one seat in the Knesset last July and a poll published in the newspaper Ma'ariv Friday indicated he could win three to five if new elections were held.

Daniel Bar-Tal of Tel Aviv University's School of Education found that 50 percent of the literature dealing with Arabs read in Israeli grade schools puts them in a bad light.

"The first volume, published in 2009, mainly deals with the laws related to the killing of gentiles, in peacetime and in wartime. This part begins with the principled prohibition of killing Gentiles and

<sup>248</sup> Accessed on February 17, 2025.

continues with a discussion of situations in which it is permissible and sometimes even desirable to kill Gentiles, as a punishment for not observing the seven mitzvot of Noah's sons or in times of war. ...

The first volume of the book provoked a wide public controversy, with its critics claiming that it constitutes an incitement to racism and violence.

In addition, an intra-rabbinic controversy arose, with his critics claiming that he is not in

accordance with Orthodox law. Its writers were interrogated by the police but were not prosecuted for it. However, the High Court severely criticized its authors and stated that "it is difficult to doubt the racist approach of the authors"."



In his presentation, Sheen states that the *Torat Hamelech* is:

"... essentially a Gentile baby murdering manual. This man, **Yitzchak Ginsburgh**, if you read what these writings say, its right there in black and white. Straight up, he writes: "There is justification for killing babies if it is clear they will grow up to harm us!" These are the kinds of insidious, sickening messages that he puts out."

When I first watched and heard this segment from Sheen's *Messiah Mode* YouTube, my mind automatically latched on to the horrid on-line photos and video scenes of Israel Defense Forces bombing of the hospitals in Gaza from late 2023 onward, the scenes of infant incubators being targeted and disconnected, and snipers targeting babies, children, women, and the elderly.

In an August 16, 2019 article, "[Religio Fascism](#)," by Rabbi Jeremy Rosen<sup>249</sup> for *Tikkun* (an organisation as a "prophetic voice for peace, love, environmental sanity, social transformation, and unabashedly utopian aspirations for the world that can be), Rosen is outspokenly frank about his take on the forbidden teachings of fanatic Rabbi Ginsburgh's twisted, supremacist hypocrisy:

"I have often expressed my frustration with politics – in particular, Israeli politics. I dislike dogma and extremes on both sides. This week, I am turning on the Right in Israel. They are a very broad camp. They include economic conservatives, laissez faire economists, secular idealists, religious fanatics and, yes, **religious fascists**. Specifically, **I am focusing on someone I consider to be a very dangerous man and has done untold damage to traditional Judaism and Israel's case abroad.**

Yitzchak Ginsburgh is an American born Chabad Rabbi who heads a movement called *Derech Chaim* – The Way of Life. But the question is – whose life? His movement ought to be called **The Way of Death**.

He is certainly knowledgeable, prolific and, some say, charismatic. His *Gal Einai* institute publishes his self-help and other books – over a hundred in all apparently. *Gal Einai* means Open Your Eyes. I fear he is the perfect example of "none so blind as he who will not see." And he is the darling of the

<sup>249</sup> The editor's note: "Rabbi Jeremy Rosen was head of the British branch of the Yakar Educational Foundation, but more recently teaches Torah in New York City."



Nationalist Religious Right Wing because he has excused the 1994 massacre of 29 Muslims praying at the Hebron Tomb of the Patriarchs by Baruch Goldstein.

He wrote a book, *Barukh Ha-Gever*, devoted to the proposition that the massacre was justified as an expression of divine intimacy with terror as a mystical technique. Other works reiterate his views in favor of violence even if there are innocent victims. **He has become the godfather of national religious fascism justifying violence against non-Jews and non-Jewish property.** His views are heterodox and a distortion of the sources.

In 2009, two extreme students of his, Yitzhak Shapira and Yosef Elitzur, published a distorted tract (*Torat Hamelech*) justifying violence towards the Palestinians. It quoted sources claiming they permitted killing children “if there is a good chance that they will grow up to be like their evil parents.” Ginsburgh approved it and wrote an approbation for the book.

Ginsburgh has said that the commandment “Thou shalt not murder” does not necessarily apply to non-Jews. He has referred to Arabs as a “cancer” – a remark that led to him being charged, but never convicted, with incitement. Last year, a recording was released of Ginsburgh encouraging students to carry out a “strong retaliatory act” two days after Palestinian gunmen killed Rabbi Raziell Shevach in the northern West Bank.

Ginsburgh and his students have responded to the controversy over his views by claiming that his concepts are taken from the Kabbalah and Chasidut. But the same could be said of both the False Messiah Shabtai Zvi and the morally corrupt Jacob Frank. **A distorted mind can twist anything.**

This past week, two Right Wing members of the current Israeli government (I pray they won’t be in the next one), **Education Minister Rafi Peretz and Transportation Minister Bezalel Smotrich**, supported a gala held to honor Ginsburgh. In the event only Smotrich stayed for the award. This was much to the disgust of most Israelis from across the political and religious spectrum.”

Rabbi Jeremy Rosen wrote his article three months after David Sheen’s “Messiah Mode” presentation in Zurich, Switzerland, and three and half years into the first U.S. Trump administration, during which time Israel’s empire visions of a greater Israel were re-activated.



In Sheen's *Messiah Mode* presentation, he explains that Yisrael Ariel [born, Yisrael Stieglitz], the chief rabbi of the Temple movement [founder of "The Temple Institute" in 1982] in Israel, "a straight Kahaneist," Kahane's former "number two," who gave a recent presentation in Israel's Knesset, not only wanted to "ethnically cleanse" Palestinians from 'Israel,' "he goes further, he actually wants it all, he wants the entire Middle East:"

"I actually recorded him saying this. "We will conquer Iraq, Turkey. We will get to Iran, too. The mosques and the Christian spires and their crosses come down. If not, you kill all of their males, by sword. You only leave the women."

Sheen summarized the manner under Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's Likud party leadership in which he steered Israel's Education Ministry to implement religious education programs over time, one of which was at the **Bnei David military academy** located at Eli in the Westbank. There, young Israelis are infused with instruction by "radical rabbis" who seek "to increase the influence of religious Zionists within the army."<sup>250</sup>



Wikipedia states that Yisrael Ariel "served in the Paratroopers Brigade unit that captured the Temple Mount in the Six-Day War," and "ran as number two on the Kach list" for "the 1981 Knesset elections."

## 22 new IDF officers are graduates of the Bnei David academy

Yet another wave of soldiers leaves the doors of Training Base 1, whose alumni already include some of Israel's most legendary soldiers

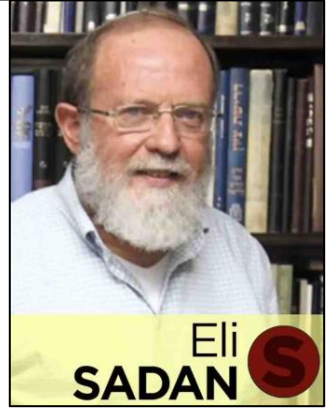
Arutz Sheva Staff / Feb 25, 2021, 8:55 PM (GMT+2)



LOVE AND SUPPORT BNEI DAVID MECHINA

 The logo features a blue menorah and the text "Bnei David Eli The Military Yeshiva Academy of Israel" along with Hebrew text "בני דוד עלי מכינה ישיבתית לצה"ל".

Wikipedia explains that [Eli Sadan](#), an "Israeli orthodox rabbi,"



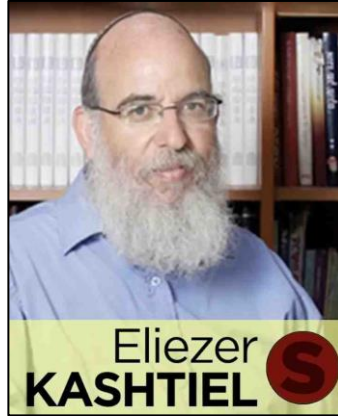
is the "founder and head of the [1988] mechina "Bnei David," the first pre-military preparatory program in Israel." Sadan, at 19 years-old, like Yisrael Ariel, "served in the Paratroopers Brigade" in 1967. Sadan was a student of Zvi Yehuda Kook, the son of Abraham Isaac HaCohen Kook, who was "[one of the fathers of the Religious Zionist Movement](#) whose belief is that redeeming the Land of Israel and the establishment of the state of Israel will bring about the Jewish Messiah." That belief is expressed in the term, Atchalta De'Geulah, meaning "the beginning of the redemption," "the core idea of the Religious Zionist movement." Zvi Yehuda Kook was "one of the main spiritual leaders of the Israeli settlement movement." Other Jewish

<sup>250</sup> At Bnai David Academy, young Jewish settlers prepare to join Israel's military elite, Le Monde, by Louis Imbert, June 5, 2023.



rabbis “opposed the concept of defining the State of Israel as an Atchalta De’Geulah.” Described in Wikipedia, Eli Sadan was a key player in the release of Natan Sharansky from Russia, the other being Irwin Cotler.

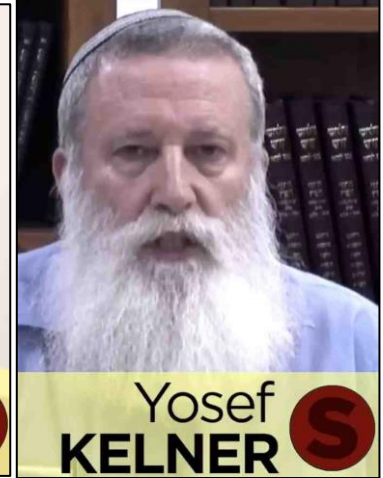
Sheen provides religious instruction ideological quotes, translated from Hebrew lectures, by a series of four Rabbis at Bnei David, the “top military academy” in the state of Israel: Eliezer Kashtiel, Giora Redler, Yosef Kelner, and Eli Sadan.



**Eliezer Kashtiel:** “Due to the abolition of legal slavery there are now deficiencies, since no one is responsible for the property [human property]. With the help of God, it [slavery] will return.”

**Sheen:** “So who were going to be these slaves?”

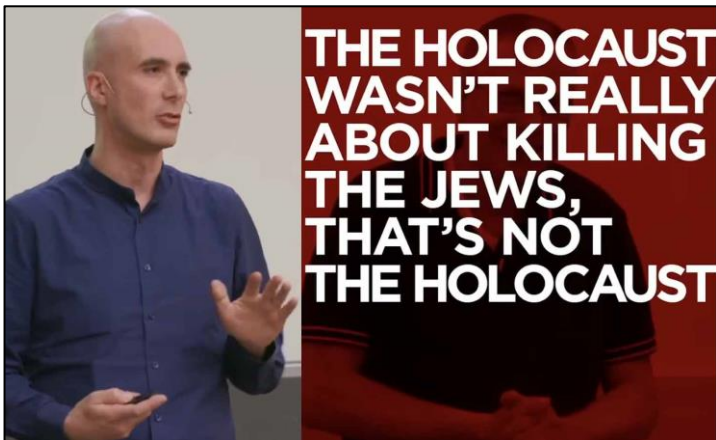
**Kashtiel:** “The Non-Jews will want to be our slaves. Being the slave of a Jew is the best. They must be slaves. They want to be slaves. Instead of wandering the streets, being foolish and violent, harming one another, now his life begins. All around us there are nations with genetic problems. Ask any simple Arab where he wants to be. He wants to be under the [Israeli] occupation. Why? Because they have a



genetic problem. They don’t know how to run a country. They don’t know how to do anything. Look at the state of them. Of course, racism exists! Are we unaware that there are different races in the world? Is it a secret? Is it untrue? What can you do, it’s true. Yes, we’re racists ... we believe in racism. Correct, there are races in the world, and the nations have genetic attributes, so it requires of us to consider how to help them. Racial differences are real, and this is precisely a reason to offer help.”

**Sheen:** “This is the premier military academy in the State of Israel. Okay, but maybe this is just one off, you know, maybe this guy’s an exception to the rule. Surely this can’t be the bulk of what they’re teaching, right? So, we move on. Here’s another rabbi, Giora Redler, and what he teaches it takes a different tack.

What he’ll have to say is about the Holocaust.



**Giora Redler:** “The Holocaust wasn’t really about killing the Jews. That’s not the Holocaust. All those excuses, that it was ideological or systematic – that’s nonsense. Because it was out of ideology, in a way, it was more moral than if it was just people just murdering. Humanism, the whole secular culture of believing in man – THAT is the Holocaust. The real Holocaust is to be pluralistic, to believe in man. THAT is called Holocaust. For many years already, God has been screaming that the Diaspora is over. But people

don’t listen to him, and that is their disease, which must be cured by the Holocaust.”

**Sheen:** “Oh, so, Jewish people living anywhere in the world, other than the State of Israel, that’s a disease? And the cure for this disease is to genocide said Jews. Wow, that is about revisionist as you are going to get. That’s pretty sickening stuff. And then he goes on.

**Redler:** “In relative terms, the logic of the Germans was internally consistent. Hitler said that a certain group in the population is the source of evil for all humanity. They cause evil to humanity, and therefore they must be exterminated. Let’s start with the question: Was Hitler right or not?”

**Sheen:** “Seems like a pretty obvious answer, right? But you’ll be surprised. He says:

**Redler:** “He [Hitler] is the most righteous person possible. Of course he was right in every word he said.”

**Sheen:** “He’s talking about Adolf Hitler. He goes on to explain:

**Redler:** “There is the masculine world, that wages war, that is concerned with respect. And then there is the soft, moral, feminine world of turning the other cheek. And it’s the Jews that carry on that tradition trying ... to ruin all of humanity, and therefore THEY are the real enemy. He’s on the wrong side, but otherwise he is 100% correct.”

**Sheen:** “So, briefly, he’s saying Hitler is saying that the correct way to be is strong, to believe that might makes right. And if you in fact believe in mercy, and being merciful to the other, then that is the most evil thing that humanity can do. So, Hitler was incorrect in describing that feminine, merciful quality to Jews. But that attitude, to believe that might makes right, and that mercy is evil, that’s 100 percent correct, according to Rabbi Geora Redler. That is Israel’s top military academy. Okay David, surely you know these are just two exceptions to the rule. There must be more! Unfortunately, these aren’t the exceptions, these are the rules. So, we’ll hear from another rabbi at that Academy, Yosef Kelner. He has a topic on another lecture. He says:

**Yosef Kelner:** “To not follow the Torah and Commandments is lack of morality and national treason.”

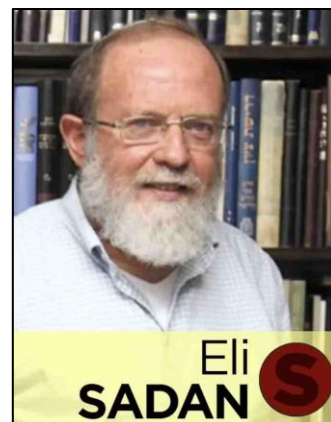
**Sheen:** “So, if you’re a Jewish person and you don’t follow all the minutia of rules and regulations written in the Talmud, then you are a traitor to the Jewish people.”

**Kelner:** “It’s called genociding a people.”

**Sheen:** “That’s genocide, to be a secular Jew.”

**Kelner:** “You are not a national criminal, you are an international criminal, it’s called crime against humanity. So now, can a nation protect itself from the traitors within? According to most, traitors are sentenced to a bullet in the head, everywhere. For those who betray them, every sanction is legitimate up to a bullet in the head.”

**Sheen:** “So, slavery? Thumbs up! We need to bring it back. The Holocaust – Hitler was 100 percent correct, the most moral person possible. And if you’re a secular Jew you are sentenced to death, you deserve to die, if I’m summarizing the ideology of the top Military Academy in the state of Israel, paid for with my tax money. Now, again, again you’re going to say, oh, this is some outlier. Surely this Academy isn’t important. Surely these people are condemned. Come on! This is the headmaster of the Academy, Eli Sedan.





**Sheen:** “And here he is a couple years ago receiving the **Israel Prize**, the highest prize in the country, receiving it from the Education Minister [Naftali Bennett, photo to right] at that time.”



The other recipient of a lifetime achievement award named by Bennett on Thursday is Rabbi Eli Sadan, for his efforts to integrate national-religious Israelis in the army.



Rabbi Eli Sadan speaks during a protest in front of the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem on February 21, 2016. (Yonatan Sindel/Flash90)

Calling him a “Zionist revolutionary,” Bennett said Sadan’s pre-army preparatory program for religious teens “put one of the greatest revolutions in Israeli society in to motion.”

The Times of Israel April 1, 2016

Wikipedia’s on-line file on “[The Israel Prize](#)” states that it is “regarded as the state’s highest cultural honor” in place since the 1930s, an award history fraught with controversies.

### Rabbi Eli Sadan – Israel Prize Laureate

Today, March 31, 2016, Rabbi Sadan received a phone call from Israeli Minister of Education Naftali Bennett.



The phone call arrived while Rabbi Sadan was speaking with the class of incoming students for next year’s mechina program, who had come to

Eli for a weekend of bonding in preparation for next year.

The education minister had phoned to notify Rabbi Sadan that he had been chosen to receive this year’s Israel Prize for Life’s Work and Special Contribution to the State of Israel and Israeli Society.

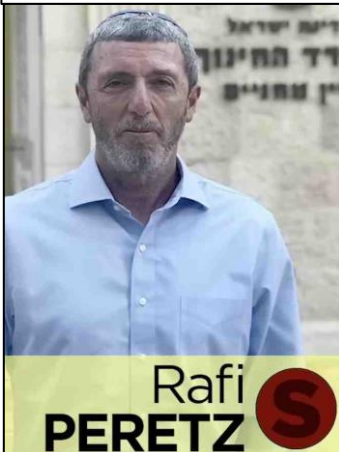
Bennett said that Rabbi Sadan was a Zionist revolutionary who had spearheaded one of the greatest revolutions in Israeli society. Thanks to Rabbi Sadan, thousands of Israeli youth have had the privilege of meaningful IDF service

Rabbi Sadan has forged a bridge and a bond between religious and Zionism and thesecular, the Torah and the army, the state institutions, settlement enterprise. Rabbi Sadan’s life’s work – the establishment of the religious and non-religious pre-army mechina programs – has borne a generation of soldiers who are as deeply dedicated to defending their country as they are to their Jewish heritage and as such he deserves the Israel Prize not only this year, but every year.



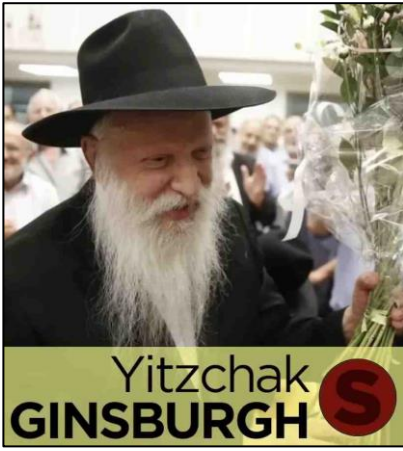
**Sheen:** “Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is there congratulating him.”

Sheen narrates an incident leading to the April 2019 Israeli election, where election candidates “wanted to come to



this important Academy to be able to speak to the students” at the Bnei David Academy, but Rabbi Eli Sadan, “the headmaster, did not allow Bennett the Education Minister, and he did not allow Netanyahu, the Prime Minister to speak to the students.”

**Sheen:** “The only politician he [Eli Sadan] allowed to speak to the students was his favorite politician and that’s this man [Rafi Peretz], **previously the Chief Rabbi of the Israeli army**. Netanyahu just made him the most recent Education Minister. This is our new Education Minister Rafi Peretz. And, Rafi Peretz, what does he do, now that he’s our Education Minister? Well, if you can imagine this, he gives a prize to, who does he give a prize to?”



This man! He's Yitzchak Ginsburgh. ... This is probably the most racist rabbi in the country and quite sickening, and at that he, a decade ago, published a book called the *Kings Torah* [noted above]. This book ... it asks, under what circumstances may a Jew kill a non-Jew? ... This



is the man who receives a prize from Israel's Education Minister, for essentially publishing a Gentile murdering manual."

**Sheen:** "In the meantime, Rafi Peretz, the Education Minister, coming up on those last elections in April, he voted to merge his party with the party of Meir Kahane, or the followers of Meir Kahane. And you know, if I've already given you a long list of horrendous



manifestations of racism in Israeli society, which are horrific enough in and of themselves, but then this step, to me, is a red line, is another beyond the pale moment. And it wouldn't necessarily be obvious to folks in this room who maybe don't have the same grounding in Israeli history. But once it did happen, once Peretz decided to merge his party with the Kahaneist party, to legitimize them, to mainstream them, to bring them back into the fold, and to give them a step into the next government, I said, okay, we need to understand what this means, how horrific this is. And we need to understand the movement of Meir Kahane and what he represents, and why this is so scary!"

The slow burner to full burner Al Nakba / Apartheid that Jewish Zionist leaders and followers committed from the 1920s to 1948, and then institutionalized over the subsequent decades to today's full-on genocide was rationalized through a host of propaganda fabrications (myths / falsehoods) to the world public through a multitude of Zionistische-well-funded communication apparati, in order to seek legitimacy for the new state of Israel's theft-displacement-murder-hate-torture crimes against humanity, breaking international jurisprudence as sequentially described and tabulated, ad nauseum, at the United Nations's organ-organizations and special rapporteurs.





“In 1989, Koors, the ailing international conglomerate that owned the [Jerusalem] Post (and is a subsidiary of the Histadrut, which is controlled by the Labor party) sold it to **Hollinger, Inc.**, a Canadian newspaper chain, for \$20 million. The Post was revamped to reflect the new owners’ right-wing views; it appointed as its publisher **Yehuda Levy**, a retired Israeli Army officer who had trained troops for Idi



**OLD PALS:** Hollinger chairman Conrad Black, right, extends a hello to Henry Kissinger, one of the media concern’s 22 directors, after the annual meeting yesterday.

Black defended the deal to buy the Jerusalem Post, saying it has real estate and printing assets that can be sold, reducing the \$17 million (U.S.) price tag.

Amin in Uganda and whose only previous experience in journalism was as a spokesman for the Israeli Army in Lebanon after the 1982 invasion. A new editorial board was formed, which included **Richard Perle** and **Robert Maxwell**, the late Fleet Street publishing baron who was **linked to the Mossad** by investigative reporter Seymour Hersh in his [1991] book *The Samson Option* [about the secretive rise of Israel becoming a nuclear power]. In the wake of the changes, more than thirty journalists quit the paper, which has subsequently drifted to the right of the Likud on many issues. The paper’s editor in chief, **David Gross**, is a Tehiya supporter; [**Yoram**] **Hazony** has brought in half a dozen of his extremist friends from Princeton to work there.

## Farewell from a ‘non-Kahanist’

Yoram Hazony

The [Jerusalem] Post’s devolution was never so apparent as on the day when Hazony memorialized Kahane. “**We found ourselves drawn to Kahane,**” Yoram wrote in a bylined column [November 8, 1990, *Farewell from a ‘non-Kahanist’*], “**because, unlike any other leader we had ever met, he was willing to say what needed to be said:** that an ignoramus was an ignoramus, that a phony was a phony, that there really were things in this world worth fighting for. By coming out and giving Jewish voice to the painful truths about our Jewishness, truths we had previously heard only from those openly opposed to Judaism, **he returned to us the belief that Judaism could have truth on its side,** that it could be something we didn’t have to be embarrassed about, that we should be proud to wear a *kippa* and make our stand on the world stage as Jews.”

**Although Hazony was never able to reconcile himself to Kahane’s predilection for violence, he praised the rabbi for inspiring, cajoling, and shaming tens of thousands of youths into being better Jews and Zionists. Kahane “changed our lives, thrilled and entertained us, helped us grow up into strong, Jewish men and women,” he wrote.**

(Source: “Zealots for Zion,” by Robert I. Friedman, from Chapter 7, “Rule by the Best,” page 187 ff)