

**LEARNING EACH OTHER'S HISTORICAL NARRATIVE:
Palestinians and Israelis**

This is a preliminary draft of the English translation

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LEARNING EACH OTHER'S HISTORICAL NARRATIVE: Palestinians and Israelis

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INTRODUCTION

Schoolchildren studying history in times of war or conflict learn only one side of the story – their own – which is, of course, considered to be the ‘right’ one. Teaching is often doctrinaire, its purpose to justify one side while presenting a negative portrait of the other. One side’s hero is the other side’s monster.

Research informs us that textbooks usually focus on the conflict, with its human losses and suffering, while periods of peace or coexistence between the two sides are neglected. In a certain respect teachers become the nation’s cultural emissaries and are expected to emphasize the goodness of their own side versus the evil of the other.

We believe that teachers can be trained to be emissaries for peace-building, to teach both sides’ narratives and to allow their pupils to question what they learn regarding *both* narratives. A peace agreement, of course, makes it easier for the teachers to do so, for in the normal course of events nations then change their educational curricula to reflect a culture of peace rather than one of war.

At PRIME we appreciate the importance of education and school textbooks in peace-building, and we are well aware that the situation between Palestinians and Israelis these days is not a peaceful one. Therefore, developing a booklet that includes the Palestinian and Israeli narratives of three important historical events – the Balfour Declaration, the 1948 war and the 1987 Palestinian Intifada – has not been an easy task.

In this project, six high school history teachers from each side worked together to develop the two narratives, which were translated into Arabic or Hebrew so the booklet could be published in both languages. Our purpose was not to criticize or to

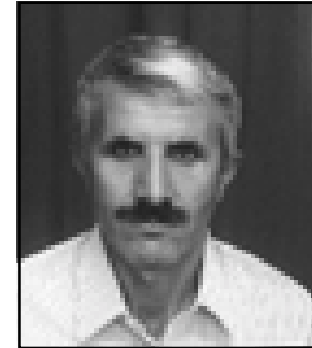
change the narratives, nor is it realistic at this stage to develop a single, joint narrative.

This booklet gives both teachers and pupils the opportunity to learn the other’s narratives. It was designed so that on each page, in between the Palestinian and Israeli narratives, there is space for pupils to write their own comments. In December 2002 the teachers who helped develop the project began teaching the narratives to their 9th and 10th grade classes.

We know that this process is not without problems or difficulties, and consider it to be an experiment in education. We will follow-up and draw conclusions about the success of the project by noting the reactions and comments of pupils and teachers. This data will enable us to recommend the future development and revision of school textbooks and teaching methods.

We regard history as an attempt to build a better future by ‘looking under every rock’ rather than rather than throwing them at each other. We hope you – teachers and pupils – will share our vision and join us in undertaking the challenge.

Sami Adwan, Dan Bar-On, Adnan Musallam and Eyal Naveh



Yousuf Tumaizi (1957–2002) was born in the village of Idna. He was arrested more than 20 times and spent several years in Israeli prisons. He had BA in education.

He became a peace activist and took part in projects and activities the object of which was to build peace, understanding and tolerance.

He died on August 19, 2002, the first day of the third seminar for this project, which he had planned to attend. He is survived by a wife and five children, the youngest just four months old at the time of his death.

From the very beginning he was a most enthusiastic supporter of this project.

From the Balfour Declaration to the first White Paper

Introduction

The birth of the Zionist movement

Zionism, the Jewish national movement, was born in the 19th century when the ideology embodied in the *Enlightenment* was disseminated in the European Jewish community. These new ideas planted the first seeds of Jewish nationalism; the subsequent birth of Zionism was the result of several factors:

- 1) The rise of modern anti-Semitism – a deeply-rooted and complicated mixture of traditional religious hatred augmented by ‘scientific’ racism which categorized Jews as a depraved and pernicious race.
- 2) The disappointment of western European Jews with the *emancipation* which pledged that the position of Jews in society would equal that of the Christians. The Jews were discouraged when it became clear that in many instances there was equality in name only. Discrimination continued.
- 3) New European nationalist movements such as those appearing in Italy and Germany inspired similar aspirations among the Jews.
- 4) An important element was the longing for Zion, an integral aspect of Jewish religious and national identity throughout history. This longing stemmed from the biblical promise that the land of Israel was given to the people of Israel by the God of Israel, and on memories of those historical eras when the people of Israel lived independently in their land. This concept inspired the national anthem, written at that time:

Hatikvah: The Hope

*As long as in our heart of hearts
the Jewish spirit remains strong,
And we faithfully look toward the east,
Our eyes will turn to Zion.*

The Balfour Declaration November 2, 1917

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Historical background

In April 1799 Napoleon Bonaparte put forth a plan for a Jewish state in Palestine. During the siege of Acre, he sought to enlist Jewish support in return for which he promised to build the Temple. The project failed after the defeat of Napoleon in the battles of Acre and Abu-Qir. It represents the first post-Renaissance expression of cooperation between a colonialist power and the Jewish people

However, it was the events of 1831-40 that paved the way for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. Lord Palmerston, the British Foreign Secretary in 1840-41, proposed establishing a British protectorate in the Ottoman Empire to be settled by Jews as a buffer area – an obstacle to Mohammed Ali of Egypt and to political unity in the Arab regions.

*We have not yet lost our hope,
The hope of two thousand years,
To be a free people in our land –
The land of Zion and Jerusalem.*

The Zionist movement was born in the major centers of Jewish population in Europe, and its purpose was to return the Jewish people to its land and put an end to its abnormal situation among the nations of the world. At first there was a spontaneous emergence of local associations ('Lovers of Zion') out of which an organized political movement was established, thanks to the activities of 'The Father of Zionism,' Theodore Herzl [whose Hebrew name is *Benjamin Ze'ev Herzl*].

In 1882 there was a small wave of immigration [*aliya*/ pl. *aliyot*] to 'the land' [i.e., the land of Israel], the first of several. The purpose of these *aliyot* was not just to fulfill the religious obligations connected to the land, as had been the case in the past, but rather to create a 'new' kind of Jew, a productive laborer who would work on his own land and help establish a Jewish political entity in the land of Israel.

In 1897 the First Zionist Congress took place in Basle, Switzerland, and there the goals of the movement were delineated (the Basle Plan): "The purpose of Zionism is to create a refuge for the Jewish people in the land of Israel, guaranteed by an open and official legal arrangement."

There were two basic approaches to Zionism:

- 1) *Practical Zionism* focused on increasing immigration, purchasing land, and settling Jews on the land. By 1914, in the first two waves of immigration, nearly 100,000 people immigrated (although most of them later left the country). Dozens of agricultural settlements were established and there was a significant increase in the urban Jewish population.
- 2) *Political Zionism* focused on diplomatic efforts to get support for Zionism from the great empires in

Britain launched a new policy supporting Jewish settlement in Palestine after Eastern European Jews, particularly those in Czarist Russia, whose living conditions were poor in any case, suffered cruel persecution. Consequently, with the rise of nationalism, Zionism appeared as a drastic international solution to the Jewish problem, transforming the Jewish religion into a nationalist attachment to a special Jewish homeland and a special Jewish state. Other factors influencing the birth and development of the Zionist movement were the increasingly competitive interests shared by European colonialists in Africa and Asia, and the Zionist colonialist movement for control of Palestine.

British imperialism found in Zionism a perfect tool for attaining its own interests in the Arab East, which was strategically and economically important for the empire. Likewise, Zionism used British colonialist aspirations to gain international backing and economic resources for its project of establishing a Jewish national home in Palestine.

This alliance of British imperialism and Zionism resulted in the birth of what is known in history books as the Balfour Declaration (November 2, 1917). It is a conspicuous example of the British policy of seizing another nation's land and resources and effacing its identity. It is a policy based on aggression, expansion and repression of a native people's aspirations for national liberation.

For the Palestinians, the year 1917 was the first of many – 1920, 1921, 1929, 1936, 1948, 1967, 1987, 2002 – marked by tragedy, war, disaster, killing, destruction, homelessness and catastrophe.

Dividing the Arab East

Imperialist Britain called for forming a higher committee of seven European countries. The report submitted in 1907 to British Prime Minister Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman emphasized that the Arab countries and the Muslim-Arab people living in the Otto-

order to obtain a legal and official charter for wide-scale settlement in the land.

Chaim Weizmann, who became Zionism’s leader after Herzl’s death, integrated both aspects of the movement.



The moshav Nahalal, a semi-cooperative agricultural settlement, was established in 1921 in the Jezreel Valley.

The Balfour Declaration

The first time any country expressed support for Zionism was in a letter sent by Lord Balfour, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Lord Rothschild, a leader of the Jewish community in Great Britain. It came to be known as the Balfour Declaration. The letter was dated November 2, 1917, shortly before the end of the first world war. It expressed the support of the British Government for establishing a national home for the Jewish people in the land of Israel:

*Foreign Office
November 2nd, 1917
Dear Lord Rothschild,*

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty’s Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

man Empire presented a very real threat to European countries, and it recommended the following actions:

- 1) To promote disintegration, division and separation in the region.
- 2) To establish artificial political entities which would be under the authority of the imperialist countries.
- 3) To fight any kind of unity – whether intellectual, religious or historical – and taking practical measures to divide the region’s inhabitants.
- 4) To achieve this, it was proposed that a “buffer state” be established in Palestine, populated by a strong, foreign presence which would be hostile to its neighbors and friendly to European countries and their interests.

Doubtless the recommendations of Campbell-Bannerman’s higher committee paved the way for the Jews to Palestine. It gave British approval to the Zionist movement’s policy of separating Palestine from the Arab lands in order to establish an imperialist core that would insure foreign influence in the region.

Jewish imperialist projects in Palestine followed in quick succession. World War I, 1914–1918, was a critically important period for Zionist and British imperialist policies for Palestine. Included in an exchange of letters between Sharif Hussein of Mecca and Sir Henry McMahon was the Damascus Protocol (July 14, 1915.) Sharif Hussein indicated to McMahon the boundaries of the Arab countries in Asia to which Britain would grant independence – the Arabian Peninsula, Iraq/Mesopotamia, Syria and southern parts of present-day Turkey. He excluded Aden because it was a British military base. McMahon’s response in a letter dated October 24, 1915 designated areas to be excluded from the independent Arab states – the Syrian coastal areas west of the Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo provinces and the two regions of Alexandretta and Marsin. The exclusions did not include Palestine. This second letter is known as the Hussein-McMahon Agreement.

Why did Great Britain make such a commitment?

- 1) At the height of World War I Britain tried to marshal support for its war efforts from Jewish organizations in the US and from Jews in Russia; the Balfour Declaration was aimed at gaining Jewish support. Government leaders believed that the Jewish community had a great of influence on policy-makers in the world, especially upon those of two of the great powers – Russia and the United States.
- 2) The British had information that Germany was about to make a similar commitment, and felt it was important to anticipate their enemy’s move.
- 3) British Prime Minister Lloyd George and Foreign Minister Balfour were devout Christians who had been educated to believe in the return of the people of Israel to the land of Israel, in the spirit of the Bible. Balfour expressed his attitude towards Zionism in a speech in the House of Lords: He said that Britain wished every country in which the ‘Jewish race’ was dispersed to know that Christianity neither ignored their fate nor neglected to appreciate the heritage that the Jewish religion bequeathed to the greatest religions of the world. Because the Jews were forced to live in countries to whose ‘race’ they did not belong, Balfour wished to present them with the opportunity to live in peace under British rule, so they could develop their talents, which they now expended in countries in which they were foreigners.
- 4) Chaim Weizmann’s diplomatic activities, especially his many contacts with members of the British government, contributed greatly to the Zionist cause. Weizmann managed to make the topic of Zionism one of the important political issues of the day and helped persuade the British to draft a position paper on the subject.
- 5) The British desired a foothold in the Middle East, especially adjacent to the Suez Canal, a key link to India. France also was interested in the region, and

Steps leading to the Balfour Declaration

The Balfour Declaration is considered a political gain for the Zionist movement at the expense of Arabs and Muslims, who originally owned the Holy Land. The Declaration was a culmination of several events:

* In 1845 an English supporter of restoration of Jews to Palestine, Mitford, advocated making room for Jewish immigrants by deporting Muslim inhabitants to Asia Minor. He believed that Arab peasants would gladly leave Palestine in return for better lives and agricultural opportunities in other countries such as Syria and Babylonia [Iraq].

* In order to assist the Jews in establishing themselves in the land a Society for Colonizing Palestine was established in 1860. Its direct aim was to establish a large Jewish agricultural colony in Palestine as a cover for establishing a new Jewish state. Likewise, agricultural schools were established – including Mikveh Israel near Jaffa in 1870. In 1878 Jews from Jerusalem founded the first agricultural colony, Petah Tikva. Rishon Lezion, established 1882, was the first agricultural settlement the political goal of which was establishing the Jewish homeland in Palestine.

* Zionist activity reached it’s peak when Theodore Herzl convened the first Zionist conference in Basle, Switzerland in 1897. Its principal aim: To create an internationally guaranteed homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine. At the conference the “Basle Plan” delineated the means for achieving this purpose:

- 1) Colonizing Palestine with agricultural laborers and Jewish industrialists.
- 2) Organizing international Jewry and connecting it to the Zionist movement through local and international organizations.
- 3) Strengthening and nourishing Jewish feeling and Jewish national awareness.
- 4) Taking preliminary steps to obtain necessary government guarantees to realize the goals of Zionism.

the British believed that Zionist support would help them gain influence in the area.

Zionists throughout the world were thrilled by the Balfour Declaration. They saw it as the long-desired charter for which Herzl had labored. Its importance was particularly momentous since, if and when the war ended with an Allied victory, as a leading power Britain was in a good position to gain control over the land of Israel from the Ottoman Turks. (At this time, the end of 1917, the war had not yet ended and the Ottoman Turks still controlled the land of Israel.)

The wording of the Declaration was ambiguous; thus it contained no obligation to any actual practical action. In spite of this, it did include an obligation not to harm the rights of the non-Jewish residents of the land, an obligation that might nullify any real action for establishing a national home for Jews. Also, the area of the Jewish national home was not delineated, except for the fact that it would be in the land of Israel, i.e. not in the entire area but rather in a part of it. Chaim Weizmann wrote that he was waiting outside the meeting room while the Cabinet was in session to approve the final draft. Mark Sykes emerged from the room and showed him the document, saying: "Dr. Weizmann, it's a boy!" Weizmann adds that it was not quite the child he had wished for, but he did know that it was the start of a great journey which would be laced with new obstacles, but which would also bring great results.

The Mandate

At the end of the war, after the Ottoman Turks were defeated and their empire dismantled, the land of Israel came under British military rule. In 1920 the victorious nations, with the approval of the international community, decided to give a mandate to Britain for control of the land of Israel. The post-war system of mandates succeeded the previous colonialist policy. The League of Nations assigned control of the conquered areas to the victors for a limited

* The second Zionist conference in 1898 ratified the formation of the Colonization Committee and established the Jewish Colonial Bank, the financial tool for the Zionist movement; it provided the opportunity for the Jews, as foreign owners, to buy land for the Jewish people. However, the immigration of the Jews came years before the first Zionist conference due to the persecutions in Czarist Russia in 1881 following the assassination of the Czar. In the first wave of immigration 2000 immigrants came to Palestine.

* The second wave of immigration, 1905-1907, included David Ben-Gurion and Itzhak Ben-Zvi who imposed the principle of boycotting Arab labor. They expelled the Circassian and Bedouin guards of Jewish farms and established the *Hashomer* Organization, which later became the armed branch (*Haganah*) of the Zionist Organization.

* From 1908 and until the beginning of the first world war, Zionists established eleven new settlements in Palestine. The process of purchasing lands and settling Jews in agricultural colonies was the responsibility of the Palestine Office of the World Zionist Organization headed by Arthur Ruppin. The Palestine Office helped the Jewish National Fund to build a Jewish suburb of Jaffa - Tel-Aviv. It also founded the Palestine Land Development Company and opened centers to train Jewish immigrants in agricultural and industrial labor. Although the Jewish population in Palestine continued to increase (from 50,000 in 1897 to 85,000 in 1914 including 12,000 living in agricultural colonies) Zionist settlement of the land was met with opposition.

* The Balfour Declaration on November 2, 1917 opened a new page in the history of the Arab East. It became the basic pillar and the principal argument for the British Mandate for Palestine and the basis for all events which took place in or related to Palestine. Britain used it to justify its Palestinian policy. It had a most serious effect not only on Palestine, but on the future of the entire region. The unholy marriage

time; the purpose was to prepare the infrastructure in these lands for the establishment of independent states. Control of the Middle East was divided between France and Britain: France was given the mandate on areas which became Syria and Lebanon, and Britain received the mandate on areas which became Israel, Jordan and Iraq.



The area of the British Mandate. In 1922 it was divided into two parts: the land of Israel and Transjordan.

between Britain and the Zionist movement included the formulation of a letter sent by Arthur Balfour, the British foreign secretary, who worked zealously for the interest of Zionism, to the well-known Jewish philanthropist, Baron Edmond de Rothschild:

His Majesty's Government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

This document crowned the efforts of the Zionist-British team under the leadership of Chaim Weizmann whereby Britain granted a land she did not possess (Palestine) to a group who did not own it (the Zionists) at the expense of those who possess and deserve it (the Palestinian-Arab people who formed more than 90% of the population). This led to usurping a homeland and making an entire people homeless in an unprecedented manner. What is noteworthy is that Britain committed this crime before her armies even arrived in Jerusalem.

Arrival of the Zionist mission in Palestine (April 1918) and Arab reaction

In April 1918, Chaim Weizmann and a Zionist mission were sent by the British war Government to lay the groundwork for implementing the Balfour Declaration, and at the same time, to quell the suspicions of the Arabs concerning the real intentions of Zionism.

Subsequently, in 1918 Muslim-Christian societies were established as a reaction to Zionist activities. Leading figures from the principal cities of the country headed the Muslim and Christian societies.

It is worth mentioning here an incident that had implications on the trilateral relations among the

Britain's role in holding the mandate for the land of Israel was stipulated in a League of Nations document – the Mandate. In the Mandate Britain recognized the historical connection of the Jewish people to the land of Israel and obligated itself to implement the Balfour Declaration by creating conditions that would ensure the establishment of a 'national home'. The Mandate spells out commitments to Jewish immigration and settlement, recognizes Hebrew as an official language, and calls for cooperation with the Zionist Labor Organization (the *Histadrut*).

The Mandate (July 24, 1922)

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have... agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2nd, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country; ...the Council of the League Of Nations; confirming the said Mandate, defines its terms as follows: ...

ARTICLE 2. The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, ... and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion. ...

Arabs, the British and the Zionists in Palestine. Weizmann visited Ismail Al-Husseini and his cousin Mufti Kamel Al-Husseini. Weizmann attempted to quiet the fears of his two hosts concerning the various problems that were a cause for alarm among the Palestinians. Then Weizmann touched on the very core of the problem which most distressed the Arab leaders – the land. Weizmann assured his two hosts that seizing the lands of the landowners and Arab peasants or forcing them out was the last thing he wished to do.

The British officer Ormsby-Gore noted that the two Arab leaders were reserved in their answers. However, his report ignored an important incident which reflects the political mood in Palestine at the time. This incident was a theatrical event, "The Girl of Adnan and the Fortitude of the Arabs," which took place in Jerusalem on the nights of the eleventh and twelfth of April 1918 as part of the Al-Rashdiyyah Forum. Lights were focused on a large relief map of Palestine. Under the map the following verses were written:

*Oh land of Palestine which was blessed
Oh auspicious land of the children of the Arab nation,
Oh God's own beloved land, don't lose hope.
I love only you.
We will redeem you with our souls
And travel the road of travail
Gathering light from Arab East and Arab West.
Until Palestine will shine,
Radiant as the sunrise.*

The first practical step in implementation of the Balfour Declaration was changing the boundaries of Palestine to suit British and Zionist imperialist interests. This was done after complicated negotiations which lasted several years among representatives of Britain, France and the Zionist movement. The borders put Palestine on one side, with Lebanon and Syria on the other, according to the French-British Agreement signed on December 23, 1920. The borders with

ARTICLE 4. An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home. ...

ARTICLE 6. The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.

The Mandate had an additional diplomatic implication for the Zionists: The League of Nations had recognized the Balfour Declaration by documenting that commitment as one that obligated the international community.

The question remained: Would Britain would actually implement its commitment to the Jews in the land of Israel, or would it back off in the interests of expediency and changing priorities?

The 1920-21 Riots

In 1920 the first violent confrontations broke out between Jews and Arabs in the land of Israel.

The 1920 riots can be divided into two parts: the events at Tel-Hai and those in Jerusalem.

Tel-Hai was a remote settlement in the extreme northern part of the Galilee, some distance from Metulla [the main village in that region]. The settlement had been established in 1918 by members of *Hashomer* [the Watchman] an organization whose goal was to take over the security and labor in the Jewish settlements – functions which had been primarily filled by Arabs.

The story of what happened there became the first Zionist myth.

Transjordan were defined by the British High Commissioner of Palestine and Transjordan on September 1, 1922. The borders with Egypt had already been defined according to the agreement signed on the October 1, 1906. (The Jewish state was ultimately established in 1948 on 77% of the area of Palestine, that is 20,700km². The Jews occupied the remainder of Palestine in the 1967 war.)

Issuing and implementing the Balfour Declaration repudiated British and Allied support for the right to self-determination, as expressed during World War I. When the United States attempted to apply the principle of self-determination in Palestine, Britain and France agreed to do so out of courtesy, but the two European powers refused to send delegates to the King-Crane Commission, which had been appointed to discuss the issue. The results of the referendum revealed the opposition by Palestinian Arabs to the establishment of a homeland for Jews and Zionists in this country. It also indicated the desire of the Palestinians to preserve their country’s historical and geographical unity with Syria. The results of the referendum were never publicized so that Britain and her partners could continue the pro-Zionist policies in Palestine at the expense of its legitimate Arab inhabitants who constituted 90% of the total population as late as 1922.

The Arab demands, crystallized at the General Syrian Conference in July 1919, were presented to the King-Crane Commission:

- a. The unity of Syria and Palestine (which is the southern part of Syria.)
- b. Refusal to divide Syria.
- c. A political system based on constitutional monarchy.
- d. Rejection of the British Mandate.
- e. The right of self-determination for all peoples.
- f. Rejection of the Balfour Declaration, including establishment of the Jewish national homeland

In January 1920 Joseph Trumpledor arrived, with a group of *Shomrim* [Watchmen] to defend this isolated point adjacent to the border area between the French and British zones. For the Jewish settlers, Trumpledor was a legend in his own lifetime. He had been an Orthodox *yeshiva* [religious school] student when he was drafted into the Russian Czar's army. His fighting ability and courage in the Russo-Japanese war led to promotion; he was the first Jewish officer in the Czar's army. The fact that he lost his left arm in that war only enhanced the legend. He was one of the founders of the Independent Jewish Defense Organization and a Zionist-Socialist ideologue and leader.



Statue of the 'Roaring Lion' at Tel-Hai, sculpted by Avraham Melnikov in 1932.

Due to its isolated position, Tel-Hai had suffered many attacks and the Jewish leadership was split on the question of whether to abandon or defend it. The leaders of the Labor Movement maintained that it must be defended at any price, as the placement of Jewish settlements would be a decisive factor in drawing the future borders of the state. A leader of the Labor Movement said: 'If we fear forces stronger than our own, then we should abandon Metulla today, Tiberias tomorrow and then everywhere else.' (From

- g. Abolishing all secret treaties in accordance with the right of self-determination.

The close cooperation between Britain and the Zionist movement during the years 1917–1948 (when the Jewish national homeland became a state) provided the foundations for that state: the land, the people and sovereignty. It was done through purchasing land, enacting land laws, enacting immigration laws to bring in Jews from abroad, subjugating the economy of Palestine to the Jews, and Judaizing the administration of the land.

The end result of the First Zionist Conference, and the Balfour Declaration was Ben-Gurion's declaration of independence for the state of Israel on May 14, 1948. The declaration referred to what it called the 'historical ties' between Jews and Palestine and the right of the Jewish people to national resurrection. Then it mentioned the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate as recognition of that right. After mentioning the persecution of the Jews, the document went on to the resolution of the United Nations of November 29, 1947 which recommended the partitioning of Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish state. It declared that the establishment of this state is the aim of world Zionism and of the Jewish people in Palestine.

The end of the document states: "The State of Israel will be open to the immigration of Jews from all countries of their dispersion... Our call goes out the Jewish people all over the world to rally to our side in the task of immigration and development..."

Arab reaction: Popular uprisings 1920 and 1929

The uprising of 1920

One of the most important direct Arab reactions in Palestine against Zionism and the schemes of the British occupation in this period was the uprising which started in Jerusalem in 1920 during the celebrations held by Muslims on the Feast of the Prophet Moses

Zionism by Moshe Lipshitz, Or-Am Publishers, 1993 (in Hebrew).

On the first of March local Arabs asked if they could come into the Tel-Hai courtyard to see if there were armed Frenchmen there. The leaders of Tel-Hai allowed them to enter and, for reasons that are unclear, a shot was fired; then a full-scale battle broke out in the courtyard. Members of the Tel-Hai leadership were killed or wounded, among them Trumpledor himself, who was mortally wounded. A physician who treated Trumpledor later said that his last words were: "It's good to die for our country." This sentence, whether or not it was ever actually uttered, became a part of the educational ethos and a rallying cry for national unity during the first 50 years of Jewish settlement in the land of Israel. The statue of the roaring lion at Tel-Hai became a site for pilgrimage for youth groups, and ceremonies marked Tel-Hai Day in the spring (on the 11th of the Jewish month of *Adar*) in schools and at gatherings throughout the land.

A month after the Tel-Hai incident violent confrontations broke out in Jerusalem. Arab crowds were preparing for the celebrations and pilgrimage to the tomb of *Nebi Mussa* [near Jericho in the Judean desert] when false rumors spread that the Jews were about to take control of Muslim holy places in Jerusalem. The crowds attacked Jews living in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City and went on to attack those living in Jewish neighborhoods outside the walls. The riots spread to the north of the country.

Zvi Nadav, who defended the Jews in the Old City of Jerusalem, wrote his personal recollection of the riots:

Nehamia [Rabin] and I went down David Street to get to the Jewish Quarter. A terrible scene unfolded in front of our eyes – feathers flying through the air, stores smashed and looted. It was a familiar picture that reminded me of riots in Russia...I revered that place [Jerusalem], whose holiness was now desecrated. It was like a

(Nebi Mussa). While the Muslims were celebrating this holiday, the first bloody disturbances in Palestine took place between April 4-8 in Jerusalem. The traditional event turned into violent demonstrations and clashes with Jews and British police, and several Jews and Arabs were killed or wounded. The British military administration took the initiative in forming a military committee to investigate the incident. The committee's report attributed the disturbance to: The despair of the Arabs concerning the non-fulfillment of war-time promises of independence; their belief that the Balfour Declaration represented aggression against their rights; and that the establishment of the Jewish national homeland would lead to Arab subjugation by Jews. However, British officials kept this report secret because it advocated a measure of justice for the native inhabitants of the country.

The 1929 Uprising

The 1929 uprising is known as the *Al-Buraq* uprising, and was caused directly by the disturbances and inciting practices of Jews near the Al-Buraq wall. The Arabs were astonished by and resented their actions.

On August 15, 1929 a large Jewish demonstration began in Tel-Aviv and spread to Jerusalem. The next day the Muslims organized a bigger demonstration because they felt that Jews had come to Jerusalem to challenge them.

The Muslim demonstration coincided with the Prophet Mohammed's birthday; after prayers they went towards the Al-Buraq wall, and cleared away things that had been left there by the Jews. Following these incidents, clashes spread throughout Palestine. These happened because the Arabs were disappointed because the Shaw Committee report did not meet their political aspirations and hopes; they feared for their economic well-being.

These clashes of 1929 ended in a number of deaths on both sides. A group of Jews attacked the home of Sheikh Abed Al-Ghani A'oun in Jaffa and killed him

pogrom. The [British] police and army did nothing to stop the rioters.

From *The Defense of Jerusalem*,
edited by Rachel Yanait Ben-Zvi

The riots led to the establishment of a Jewish defense organization called the “*Hagana*” [Defense]. Reasons for this included: The number of people killed; a feeling of helplessness in the Jewish community; the indifference of the British police and its lenience to the attackers.

After the 1920 riots, Winston Churchill, British Colonial Secretary at the time, arrived in the land in order to investigate the causes of the violence. However, his visit did not prevent their reoccurrence. A group of immigrants held a parade on the first of May, 1921 – International Labor Day; as they marched they were attacked by Arabs who also attacked the immigrants’ hostel in the Ajami neighborhood of Jaffa which, for the Arabs, symbolized Jewish immigration to the land of Israel. The rioters continued to adjacent Jewish neighborhoods – Neveh-Shalom, Manshiye and Abu-Kabir. After the attacks in Jaffa they attacked in other locations – Petach Tikvah, Hadera and Rehovot, where they were driven back by the local residents. During the riots a considerable amount of property was looted and destroyed, and 47 Jews were killed, one of whom was the author Joseph Chaim Brenner.

As a result of the riots, Churchill published a British official position paper, which was called Churchill’s White Paper, or the first White Paper (1922). In the document the British government reiterated its obligation to implement the Balfour Declaration and even recognized the right of the people of Israel in the land of Israel. Along with that, the document placed limitations on two promises given to the Jews: 1) The area where the national home was to be reestablished was reduced, as the area east of the Jordan river was designated as a separate political entity; 2) The number of Jewish immigrants would

and his family; they slashed his stomach and crushed the heads of his wife, his daughter and his nephew. In Jerusalem another group desecrated the tomb of a Muslim holy man, O’qasha, and went on to destroy the tombs of holy men – companions of the Prophet Mohammed.

In the official bulletin of the Palestine Government concerning the disturbances of 1929, and specifically in the newspaper of the Palestine Government on August 25, 1929, the situation was described as follows:

The Jerusalem area:

The situation is quiet in the Old City and in the heart of the New City (outside the walls). Some isolated Jerusalem suburbs were threatened by a small number of Arab snipers. No significant losses in persons or property occurred in the suburbs; the Talpiot quarter was evacuated without loss of life. In all areas of the city, the threatened suburbs and the isolated Jewish colonies, there were patrols of British infantry, armored vehicles and Air Force soldiers. These patrols will stay in these areas for the time being. Injuries to date were as follows:

Condition	Muslims	Christians	Jews
<i>Dead</i>	10	3	14
<i>Seriously injured</i>	21	1	37
<i>Lightly injured</i>	32	15	66

Hebron:

Yesterday there was a severe attack on the Jewish quarter which resulted in heavy loss of life. It appears that the number of those killed is at least forty-five Jews and eight Muslims, and the number of wounded at least fifty-nine Jews and ten Muslims. A strong detachment of British Air Force soldiers and British police restored order. This detachment will stay in Hebron for the time being. Jewish inhabitants evacuated Jewish neighborhoods. They are currently residing at the police stations.

be limited by the economic capacity of the land to absorb additional population.

**British White Paper (on Palestine)
June 1922**

During the last two or three generations the Jews have recreated in Palestine a community, now numbering 80,000, of whom about one fourth are farmers or workers upon the land. This community has its own political organs; an elected assembly for the direction of its domestic concerns; elected councils in the towns; and an organization for the control of its schools. ... Its business is conducted in Hebrew as a vernacular language, and a Hebrew Press serves its needs. It has its distinctive intellectual life... This community then, with its town and country population, ... has in fact "national" characteristics.

When it is asked what is meant by the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, it may be answered that it is not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community, with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and a pride.

...it is essential that it [the Jewish community] should know that it is in Palestine as of right and not on the sufferance. That is the reason why it is necessary that the existence of a Jewish National Home in Palestine should be internationally guaranteed, and that it should be formally recognized to rest upon ancient historic connection.

The Zionist movement saw the document as the beginning of a process of British abandonment of promises to the Zionists. The process was to continue and reached a climax with the third White Paper in 1939, on the eve of the Second World War.

Nablus:

On Saturday morning a crowd of Arabs attempted to force their way into a police station. However, they were repulsed. Two of them were seriously injured and eight were lightly injured.

Beisan:

A clash took place yesterday between Arabs and Jews residing in Beisan. Two Jews were seriously injured and eight were lightly injured. Order was quickly restored. Detachments of the Transjordan Border Force are stationed now at Al-Majami' Bridge, Beisan and Safad.

Safad:

Some tension yesterday and this morning in relations between Arabs and Jews. The Transjordan Border Force detachment stationed at Safad was reinforced by relief forces from the British Police from Haifa. The situation has improved.

Haifa:

A small number of Arabs forced their way into the Hadar Hakarmel. The police repulsed them without any difficulty. The situation is calm.

General news:

Airplanes and armored vehicles from Amman are deployed in different parts of Palestine. Yesterday 50 British soldiers arrived from Egypt by plane and are stationed in Jerusalem. Also this afternoon, 600 British soldiers arrived from Egypt; another 450 soldiers will arrive tomorrow. Tomorrow morning the cruiser "Sykes" with a military detachment will arrive in Jaffa from Malta. On Tuesday morning, the warship "Burham" will bring another military detachment to Jaffa coming from Malta.

On June 17, 1930, Fuad Hijazi, 'Ata Al-Zeer, and Muhammad Jamjoum who participated in the incidents

Conclusion

The era of British rule in the land of Israel began with great hopes for the Zionist movement, thanks to the Balfour Declaration which expressed British support for the establishment of a Jewish national home in the land of Israel. These hopes were reinforced when the Mandate was formalized, which lent international validity to the Balfour Declaration. However, the violent reaction of the Arabs to Jewish immigration and settlement caused the British to retreat little by little from its commitments. The Jewish community, for its part, continued with immigration and settlement while creating its own, independent, defensive forces.

Glossary

Aliya (literally *going up*)

Jewish immigration to the land of Israel. The source of the expression dates back to the time of Temple and Jews fulfilled the Biblical commandment to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Temple. The expression implies a kind of value judgement: immigration to the land of Israel means “going up” from a lower place to a higher one. Generally five waves of immigration are delineated in pre-independence Israel, beginning in 1882. Each wave was characterized by the origin, ideology and economic situation of the immigrants, and are called “The first *Aliya*, the second *Aliya*, etc. Immigration continued after the establishment of the state until the present day.

Emancipation

The liberation of a person or a social group from legal or civil dependence and the entitling of every individual to the rights of the entire population. (i.e. granting of equal rights and opportunities). Emancipation permitted Jews to integrate into various sectors of society that had previously been closed. (From *The 20th Century: On The Threshold of Tomorrow* by Eyal Naveh). [in Hebrew]

of 1929 were executed. This news item was published in banner headlines in the newspaper *Palestine* as follows:

Execution of Fuad Hijazi, 'Ata Al-Zeer and Muhammad Jamjoum

A result of the Balfour Declaration policy.

Let the blood of those martyrs, the righteous children of Palestine water the roots of the tree of Arab independence.

Commemorate this day every year.

The poets of Palestine recounted the glory of these martyrs in their folk songs and poems. Following is the first part of a soul-stirring popular song:

“And from Acre prison the funeral procession of Muhammad Jamjoum and Fuad Hijazi proceeded.....

Oh my people, punish the High Commissioner, his associates...”

The Red Tuesday was written by poet Ibrahim Toqan. (See his collection of poems pp. 42-49).

Here is the final verse:

The Three Heroes

Their bodies rest in the soil of the homeland

Their souls are in the Paradise of Pleasure

Where there is no complaint about tyranny

Where tolerance and forgiveness overflow.

Their souls will not request pardon from any but Him

He is the God

He holds the world in his hands

His greatness is mightier than that of all who rule over land and sea.

The Enlightenment

A movement that began in 18th century Europe. Philosophers and thinkers held that everything should be judged according to reason rather than tradition, and advocated a belief in progress towards a better future through logical thinking and reason. The Enlightenment challenged traditional authority by advocating individual freedoms in both the political and religious spheres. Its ideas inspired the French Revolution and also influenced Jewish society, particularly in central and Eastern Europe.

Haganah

An organization whose purpose was to protect the Jewish community in the land of Israel. Established in 1920, it was answerable to official organizations of the *Yishuv* (see below). The Haganah operated with the agreement of the British. After a number of violent outbreaks it was decided to enlarge the organization, which then set up workshops for making weapons locally, purchased armaments abroad and smuggled them into the land. At its peak, there were 20,000 members of the *Haganah*.

Theodore (Benjamin Ze'ev) Herzl (1860-1904)

The founding father of the Zionist movement. He turned to Zionist activity in the wake of anti-Semitic experiences as a student and journalist. His book *The Jewish State* elucidated his philosophy of Zionism and was a major contribution to the dissemination of Zionism in the world. He convened the First Zionist Congress and created the official institutions of the movement, thereby amalgamating the scattered Zionist organizations into a national political movement. He worked to get a charter from the great powers for the establishment of a Jewish State, and transformed Zionism into an internationally recognized movement which he headed until his death.

Glossary***Arthur James Balfour (1848-1930)***

The leader of the Conservative Party for more than 20 years, he served as prime minister of Britain from 1902 -1905. As foreign secretary in the war coalition government of Lloyd George from 1916 - 1919 he issued a famous letter in 1917 known as the Balfour Declaration.

Sykes & Picot

Sir Mark Sykes, a British diplomat, and George Picot, a French diplomat, met in London in November 1915 to negotiate a division of the Ottoman Empire in Asia. The Sykes-Picot agreement was named after them

Zionism

An imperialist political movement that bestowed a nationalist characteristic to the Jews and a sense of ethnic unity. It called for a solution to what was termed the Jewish Problem in Europe. It opposed the integration of the Jews in their original homelands and prompted them to immigrate to Palestine claiming that they have historical and religious rights in it. The interests of Zionism came together with the aims of imperialism in establishing a Jewish state in Palestine.

Zion

A mountain overlooking the eastern part of Jerusalem, Palestine. This mountain was mentioned in the Old Testament as a reference to a part of the city in which the Jebusite Arabs lived, who were the owners of the city of Jebus mentioned in the Old Testament. When King David, seized the city of Jebus from its inhabitants, he took hold of its fort, built on a mountain, and named it Zion.

Sharif Hussein (1854-1931)

Al-Hussein Bin Ali Bin 'Awn the Hashemite Qurayshi. He lineage is connected to Al-Hussein Bin Ali. He is the father of King Hussein's grandfather, King

The League of Nations

An international organization established as part of the post WWI peace agreements. Its objectives were: 1) safeguarding peace; 2) negotiating international disputes; 3) humanitarian assistance – medical, welfare, cultural; 4) protection of minority rights; and 5) disarmament. Many problems prevented its effective functioning.

Mandate

Power of attorney; authorization. In the historical context it refers to the authority granted by the League of Nations to certain countries for the control and administration of specific geographic regions. The purpose was to gradually develop self-rule or even independence by the region's local inhabitants. (Example: The British Mandate over the land of Israel).

Modern Anti-Semitism

The hatred of Jews that developed along with modernization in Europe. It is based on traditional Christian religious, anti-Jewish sentiments but in addition there were new elements. One such element was “scientific” racism which categorized Jews as a pernicious and depraved race that would eventually be exterminated in an existential racial war. Another element was the perception of Jews as responsible for causing economic and social disasters that were frequent in Europe in the modern period.

Nationalism

Loyalty to a certain nation or nationality and the desire to achieve political and sovereign independence. It is an ideology held by members of a group which places importance upon certain values including common ancestry, land, historical heritage, language, religion and shared culture. (From *The 20th Century: The Threshold of Tomorrow* by Eyal Naveh). [in Hebrew]

Abdullah, former king of Jordan, and the father of King Faisal I, who was King of Iraq after the end of the World War I. He became famous for leading the Great Arab Rebellion against the Turks in order to help the Allies in the first world war.

World War I (1914–1918)

Started on August 4, 1914, the fighting continued until armistice was declared on November 11, 1918. This war caused the greatest losses of any war until World War II (1939–1945).

The forces of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey fought the armies of the Allies – Britain, France, Belgium, Russia, Japan, Serbia and Italy. America joined the Allies in 1917.

The war ended with the Treaty of Versailles in 1919.

Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821)

Born in the Island of Corsica, Napoleon was a great soldier and became Emperor of France after the French Revolution. He formed a grand army which seized neighboring countries. Napoleon was also a shrewd politician. He invaded Russia and marched with his army until he reached Moscow in 1812. However, the Russians burned Moscow before he entered it. He was forced to leave Russia in the cold winter and returned to France. Only one-tenth of his soldiers returned alive.

Before his campaign against Russia, he attempted to invade Britain, which defeated his armies at Trafalgar in 1805. After his ultimate defeat at the Battle of Waterloo in Belgium, he was exiled; he died in exile in 1821.

Imperialism

The subjugation of a group of people to foreign rule. The native inhabitants are the colonized people, and the territories under occupation are colonized lands. Often the foreign country sends its inhabitants to live in the colonies, rule them and exploit the sources of wealth in such countries.

Riots

The name given by the Jews of the land of Israel to the violent attacks by Arabs against the Jewish population. The term is used when discussing the violent events of 1920-21, 1929 and 1936-39.

Chaim Weizmann (1874-1952)

A doctor of chemistry by profession, he was the leader of the Zionist movement after World War I. Most of his life was divided between his scientific and Zionist activities. He advocated the integration of political and practical Zionism. His successful intercession with leading members of the British government and diplomatic activities preceded the Balfour Declaration.

He was one of the leaders of the *Histadrut* [an umbrella organization for Jewish workers in the land of Israel] up until the state was established, at which time he was elected first President of Israel.

[The] Yishuv

The name the Zionist Jews in Israel gave themselves – i.e. the Jewish population in the land of Israel. The *yishuv* grew with every wave of immigration; with the demographic increase there was an expansion of the economy and the military. In 1917 there were about 55,000 Jews in the *yishuv* – about 10% of the entire population of the land. In 1947 there were 650,000 Jews in the *yishuv* – some 33% of the entire population of the land.

Zionism

The national movement of the Jewish people. It developed in eastern and central Europe as a result of disillusion with the promise of emancipation, the continuation of anti-Semitism, the inspiration of other national movements, and the continual connection of people of Israel to the land of Israel. Its purpose and aspiration was to return the people of Israel to their land and to create in the land of Israel a Hebrew

Israel

A state established on May 14, 1948 by Zionists supported by international powers on the land of Arab Palestine.

David Ben-Gurion (1886–1973)

The first prime minister of Israel after he declared the establishment of a state for the Jews in Arab Palestine and after expelling its Palestinian Arab inhabitants from their homes in 1948. He served as prime minister and minister of defense from 1948 until 1953, and from 1955 till 1963. During the Suez crises he ordered an Israeli invasion of the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula. Israeli forces withdrew upon the request of the United Nations.

Mandates

In the aftermath of the first world war and as a result of the Peace Conference in Paris (1919), the League of Nations, with support of the major powers, established mandates in the defeated countries. These mandates were a compromise between recognizing the complete independence of nations formerly under Turkish and German rule in accordance with the principles of the American president Wilson concerning self-determination, and the desire of the victorious European countries to divide among themselves these territories according to secret treaties concluded during the war.

Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924)

American president (1913–1921). During his term of office, the United States of America entered the first world war. He proposed a new world order after the war which included, among other things, the right of self-determination for peoples and the establishment of the League of Nations.

society and a sovereign Jewish state. This longing was realized by creating the organizations of 'a state in-the-making' during the 1920s, '30s and '40s, and was finally realized with the establishment of Israel in 1948.

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The War of Independence

Background

The violent confrontations between Jews and Arabs in the land of Israel started in the early 1920s. For the most part, the Jews defended themselves against attacks by the Arabs. The *Hagana* was responsible for defense of the Jewish community, and sometimes British armed forces intervened to end the violence.

The Hagana was established in 1920 primarily as a regional organization; in each settlement its members were responsible for its own defense. Every Jewish resident of the land of Israel was eligible to join, the main condition being the person's ability to keep the organization's activities secret. At first the Hagana's limited mobility hindered its capability to carry out attacks. After the 1921 uprisings the Hagana expanded by drafting new members, conducting courses for commanders and accelerating weapons' acquisition. Armaments were purchased abroad or manufactured in factories located primarily in *kibbutzim*. The Hagana was under the authority of the elected governing institutions of the *yishuv* (Jewish community in the land of Israel.)

In 1936 there was an Arab uprising which called for liberation from British rule. They attacked British forces and Jews as well. In the course of the revolt the British recommended a solution: To divide the land into two states – Arab and Jewish (the Peel Commission Report). The Arab leadership rejected the proposal of partition. The *yishuv* leadership accepted the principle of partition but opposed the borders suggested by the commission.

At the end of World War II, in spite of revelations about the scope of the Jewish Holocaust in Europe and the murder of millions of Jews, Britain refused to permit the establishment of a Jewish state. In post-war Europe there were over 100,000 Jewish refugees who could not return to their homes, but the British refused to allow them to immigrate to the land

The Catastrophe [*An-Nakbeh*] 1948

Contents

- * Historical background: Formative stages of the Catastrophe
- * Events of the 1948 Catastrophe, including eyewitness reports
- * Results of the Catastrophe, including eyewitness reports

This chapter includes:

- * Drawings of Naji Al-'Ali
- * Partition map of November 29, 1947
- * Ghassan Kanafani: *The Land of Sad Orange Trees* (a story)
- * Mahmoud Mufleh: *Palestine: Thyme and Bullets* (a poem)
- * Photographs of destroyed villages

Glossary

References

Historical background:

Formative stages of the Catastrophe

On November 29, 1947, the United Nations General Assembly passed Resolution 181, which calls for the partition of Palestine into two states, Arab and Jewish. This was the start of the countdown for the establishment of the state of Israel on May 15, 1948 and the 1948 Catastrophe, which uprooted and dispersed the Palestinian people.

The Catastrophe was: 1) the defeat of the Arab armies in the 1948 Palestine War; 2) their acceptance of the truce; 3) the displacement of most of the Palestinian people from their cities and villages; and 4) the emergence of the refugee problem and the Palestinian Diaspora.

of Israel. The yishuv fought the decision. Britain, whose resources had been drained by the war, turned the issue of the land of Israel over to the United Nations; the organization appointed a special committee which once more recommended partition as a solution to the problem.



The UN partition plan as approved on November 29, 1947

On November 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly, by a large majority, approved the resolution calling

First and foremost, Britain bears responsibility for the defeat of the Palestinian Arab people in 1948. It received the mandate for Palestine from the League of Nations in 1917, and from the beginning of its occupation of Palestine until it relinquished the territory on May 15, 1948, Britain did all it could to suppress the Palestinian people and to arrest and deport their leaders. The British did not allow Palestinians to exercise their right to defend themselves and their land against the Zionist movement. It suppressed the popular uprisings (*intifadas*) which followed one after another beginning in 1920 (including those of 1921, 1929, 1930, 1935 and 1936). The rulers considered all forms of Palestinian resistance to be illegal acts of terrorism, extremism and fanaticism, and issued unjust laws against every Palestinian who carried arms or ammunition. Punishments included: "Six years in prison for possessing a revolver, twelve years for a grenade, five years of hard labor for possessing twelve bullets and eighteen months for giving false information to a group of soldiers asking for directions."¹

However, Britain did allow Zionist immigration to Palestine, which led to an economic crisis because of the increasing number of Jews in the land. Britain permitted the Zionist movement to form military forces, such as the *Haganah* and *Etzel* and others. Members carried out bombings in Jerusalem, fired on British soldiers and smuggled arms, immigrants, and more.

But that wasn't the end of the story. The British allowed the Zionist movement to have its own armed brigade attached to the British Army. It took part in battles of World War II, thereby acquiring training and experience in the techniques of war. In 1939 ten detachments of Zionist settlement police were formed, each led by a British officer – altogether 14,411 men. There were 700 policemen in Tel Aviv and 100 in Haifa, all of whom were members of the Haganah. By 1948 most Jews over the age of 14 had already un-

for two independent states to be established alongside each other in the land of Israel (Resolution 181). Members of the Jewish community danced in the streets to celebrate but shortly afterward Palestinian Arabs and volunteers from Arab countries that rejected the partition plan attacked, and the war began.

The Civil War: December 1947-May 1948

The war that began on November 29, 1947 is known as the War of Independence because it resulted in independence for the Jewish community in the land of Israel, in spite of the fact that at the beginning local Arabs, and then armies from Arab countries tried to prevent it.

Local Arab troops and volunteers attacked isolated Jewish communities, Jews in cities with mixed populations and the roads. They also employed terror tactics – all Jewish people, settlements and property were considered to be legitimate targets. The most serious terror attacks were against the Haifa oil refineries, where 39 Jews were murdered in December 1947.

At the time *Hagana* tactics were primarily defensive or focused on specific objectives. Because of Arab attacks, various areas of the yishuv were cut off from the center and became isolated. The Hagana tried to supply besieged areas by means of clandestine convoys. These convoys became the foci of armed confrontations between Jews and Arabs, but in spite of everything, no Jewish settlement was abandoned.

Dozens of fighters were killed in attempts to relieve isolated communities. The main efforts were dedicated to bringing supplies to the besieged city of Jerusalem, and this resulted in many victims. In memory of these martyrs, Haim Gouri wrote the poem *Bab El-Wad* which is the Arabic name for *Sha'ar Ha-Gai* [gate to the valley] – a strategic point where convoys began the climb from the coastal plains to the hills of Jerusalem.

dergone military training.² For these reasons they were militarily superior to the Palestinians during the '48 war.

In 1946 one British commander in Palestine told an American journalist that: "If we withdraw British forces, the Haganah will control all of Palestine tomorrow." The journalist asked him if the Haganah could maintain its control of Palestine under such circumstances. He replied: "Certainly, they could do so even if they had to confront the entire Arab world."³

Before the war broke out and just before they withdrew, the British either turned a blind eye, or actually conspired with the Zionists who seized British arms and equipment. This strengthened the Zionist movement's superiority over the Palestinians.

It is worth mentioning that when Britain relinquished its Palestinian Mandate to the UN, it was a very influential member of the international organization. The partition resolution 181 was a revival of the partition plan proposed by Britain in the aftermath of the 1936 Revolution.

After Britain, the Arabs and their leaders had the lion's share of responsibility for the defeat. Their war was like a heroic drama, whose hero was a British military officer – Glubb Pasha – who commanded the Transjordanian Arab troops in the war. The Arab armies did not take up their roles in the theater of war until the strength of the Palestinian people was virtually exhausted.

Bab El-Wad by Haim Gouri

I return to this place and stand near the cliffs,
The black asphalt road, the stones, the hills;
Evening falls slowly, a wind blows from the sea;
The light of the first star glows above Beit Machsir.

Bab El-Wad,
Remember our names forever;
And the convoys that broke through to the city;
Our dead lie along the road,
The steel skeletons as silent as my comrade.

Bab El-Wad.
Remember our names forever;
Bab El-Wad, on the way to the city.

Here the sun seared lead and tar;
Here knives and fire tore the night.
Here, together, our sorrow and glory lie –
Scorched armor and a unknown name.

Bab El-Wad remember our names forever...

I walk on, passing by so softly
And I remember them – each and every one;
Here, among boulders and hills, we fought
together;
Here, like a devoted family, we were together.

Bab El-Wad forever remember ...

Springtime will come, cyclamen will grow,
Crimson anemones will spill over hills and slopes.
To those who follow along our path
Do not forget us, because we are Bab El-Wad.

In an interview Haggai Horowitz, a historian and fighter in the Palmach, described how he and members of his generation viewed the Arab objectives in those days:

In 1947 Arab national movements introduced a radical change in their goals: Instead of blocking the expansion of the 'Zionist entity,' Palestinians and other Arabs launched a united effort to conquer Jewish areas in order to

**From the Drawings of Naji Al-'Ali
A Palestinian (Pal) questions Arab Leaders (AL)**



Pal: Israel took the land...

AL: Never mind.

Pal: It humiliated the people...

AL: Never mind.

Pal: Does this mean you don't intend to do anything about it?

AL: It's God's will.

Pal: Then, I wish God would take you! [i.e. Then, go to hell!]

AL: What's the matter with you, you dope, can't you see I'm having fun? I'm celebrating the anniversary of the Hittin victory. [in which Saladin defeated the Crusaders]

**UN Resolution 181
on the partition of Palestine, 1947**

The situation in Palestine before partition

Palestinian population	1,364,330	69%
Jewish population	608,230	31%
Palestinian Arab land	25,100 km ²	94.5%
Jewish land	1,470 km ²	5.5%

Resolution 181 called for division of the land as follows:

Palestinian land	42.88%
Jewish land	57.12%

eradicate their presence from the land. Ominous intentions were already evidenced by the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem – Haj Amin Al-Husseini when he allied himself with Hitler. But that year (1947) for the first time, it became clear to all of us that we faced immediate and existential danger. The confirmation did not stem from imaginary fears, the records of history or manipulation of facts, but from simply looking at Arab objectives as explicitly expressed in official declarations and inflammatory propaganda, and above all by deeds: The absolute rejection of the UN partition plan; Palestinian attacks and massacres of Jews that by 1947 had spread to all parts of the country; and ultimately the invasion by regular military troops of Arab countries with armored and artillery divisions, naval and air forces – all for the purpose of annihilating the newborn state of Israel. Through all the years of relations between us, this completely changed the nature of the conflict and our battle tactics. Thus was born the widespread acceptance of the fact that ‘there is no choice’; it allowed us just one possibility: Fight to win.

(from Eyal Naveh and Esther Yogev,
Histories, pp. 163-164)

Plan Daled

Before the British withdrew from the country, the yishuv leadership decided it had to change its tactics from defensive to offensive and thus prepared *Plan Daled*. The reasons for implementing the plan were: The growing distress of besieged and isolated Jewish settlements, especially Jerusalem; the need to plan for the invasion of regular troops from Arab countries; the suspicion that the US was about to propose a diplomatic move to abandon the partition plan; and information that the British would not, at least at that particular point, reverse Jewish military gains.



The UN partition plan as approved on November 29, 1947

Fighting and clashes between the Jews and the Palestinians began after UN Resolution 181 was passed by the General Assembly, on November 29, 1947. The situation deteriorated into an unequal confrontation. Zionist forces were organized, armed and trained. Not only were they superior to the Palestinians, who for over 30 years had been exhausted by unjust British policy and Zionist terrorism, but these gangs were also superior to the

The purpose of Plan Daled was to shore up control of the areas designated in the partition plan as part of the Jewish state, plus Jerusalem and the road leading to it. In the course of 'Operation *Nachshon*,' the name for part of the plan, the Hagana (especially members of the *Palmach* – the offensive arm of the Hagana) captured three villages on the road to Jerusalem, so the road was opened for a time allowing supply convoys to reach the besieged city. In the course of Plan Daled several mixed cities were also captured: Haifa, Jaffa, Tiberias and Safed. The actions of Plan Daled broke the military initiative of the Palestinian Arabs and hastened their flight from their towns and villages.

Arab refugees

During the very first stages of the war Arab residents began leaving their communities in the land of Israel. The first were those who were well-off economically (Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem*, 1947-1949, pp. 51, 67). The result was a significant weakening of the entire Arab community. The Arab leader Haj Amin Al-Husseini, was in Egypt at that time. He did not oppose this development as he thought that the temporary departure of civilians would ease the way for the Arab fighting forces to win.

Most of the Jewish military and civilian leaders in the land welcomed the flight of the Arabs for political reasons (that the future Jewish state would include as small an Arab minority as possible); and for military reasons (to distance a hostile population from the field of battle). During the course of Plan Daled, Hagana forces began to deport Arabs. However, not all Arabs were deported and there were no high-level political orders to do so, although military commanders were given freedom to act as they saw fit. Thus the flight was due to deporting and frightening the Arabs, and because of their own fears without regard to Israeli actions. During the course of the war about 370 Arab villages were destroyed.

Arab armies which entered the war on May 15, 1948. The armed forces of five Arab countries totaled some 21,000 soldiers, plus 10,000 volunteers of the Rescue Army and the Holy Jihad, against 65,000 Jewish soldiers.

Events of the 1948 Catastrophe, including eyewitness reports

The results of the catastrophe, from which Palestinians still suffer, are not simple at all. The word "catastrophe" (*nakba*) actually expresses what happened to this nation, which was subjected to massacres about which only a little is known. There are still facts which are so dreadful that pens cannot write them. What happened to the Palestinian people is the assassination of rights, murder of the land and uprooting of human beings. This did not occur by chance.

The catastrophe was the result of continual subjugation, killing, executions, arrests, exile, and conspiracy – international and Arab – against Palestinians; it was the accumulation of ignorance, weakness and anarchy within Palestinian society which had to contend with Zionist bands supported by the British. On April 19, 1948, while attacking the Palestinian village Zir'in, north of Jenin, *Palmach* forces [part of the Haganah], issued a command: "With the occupation of Zir'in most of the houses should be destroyed; however several houses should be left standing as bivouac areas"⁴

David Ben-Gurion said: "We should destroy Arab pockets (in Jewish areas), such as Lod, Ramleh, Beisan and Zir'in, which will constitute a danger when we invade and thus may keep our forces engaged."⁵

The destruction of 418 Palestinian villages inside the green line [pre-67 Israeli border], concealing the landmarks of Palestinian life and the massacres against the Palestinian people are the best evidence for the brutality to which Palestinians were exposed. They were dispersed throughout the world.

During the war there were a number of massacres, robbery and rape by Jewish fighters. The most famous of these was at Deir Yassin, a village near Jerusalem, where more than 250 Arabs were killed by members of the Etzel and Lehi [the Irgun and the Stern Gang]. Natan Yellin-Mor responded to the massacre:

When I remember what led to the massacre of my mother, sister and other members of my family, I can't accept this massacre. I know that in the heat of battle such things happen, and I know that the people who do these things don't start out with such things in mind. They kill because their own comrades have been killed and wounded, and they want their revenge at that very moment. But who tells them to be proud of such deeds?

(From Eyal Naveh and Eli Bar-Navi, *Modern Times*, part 2, page 228)

The second stage: The war against armies of the Arab countries.

On May 14, 1948 at 4:30 in the afternoon, the leaders of the yishuv met in Tel-Aviv. David Ben-Gurion announced the establishment of the state of Israel, read the Declaration of Independence and formed temporary government and national institutions. It was a triumphal hour for the state, although it was clear to the leaders of the yishuv that it was in truth but a short moment, as an invasion by Arab countries would directly follow the birth of the state of Israel.

Passages from the Declaration of Independence

The land of Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here their spiritual, religious and national identity was formed. Here they achieved independence and created a culture of

One of the most notorious massacres was the one that occurred in Deir Yassin on April 9, 1948; more than 100 martyrs were killed and dozens were wounded. The remaining inhabitants were forced to leave the villages after they had been exposed to the most barbaric kinds of torture and immoral and inhuman practices. One of the young men of Deir Yassin village reported what he had been told by his mother:

*My mother escaped with my two small brothers, one-year old and two-years old. My aunts and their small children were also with her. When the Jews met them on the road, they wanted to kill my small brothers and my aunts' children. My mother and my aunts started to beg them and said: 'We will give you all the gold and the money we have, but do not kill our children.' The Jews did not respond to them and they killed my brothers and my cousins. They said: 'Now, go away and tell everyone what you have seen.'*⁶

The behavior of the Zionist gangs was meant to spread terror and fear among Arabs and to force them to leave their villages – especially after the Deir Yassin massacre. When Zionist gangs attacked the village of Zir'in on the night of April 20, 1948, as they charged they screamed: "*Kadima, kadima* (go ahead, go ahead) Deir Yassin, Deir Yassin."⁷

Such expressions provoked frightening nightmares for every citizen who heard them; they caused many people to fear for their honor and their children and thus to depart.

Concerning the exodus, the Palestinians did not have the least doubt that it would be for few days, after which they would return to their houses: "We thought that we would return after one or two weeks. We locked the house and we kept the key, waiting to return."

national and universal significance. Here they wrote and gave the Bible to the world.

Exiled from Palestine, the Jewish people remained faithful to it in all the countries of their dispersion, never ceasing to pray and hope for their return and the restoration of their national freedom...

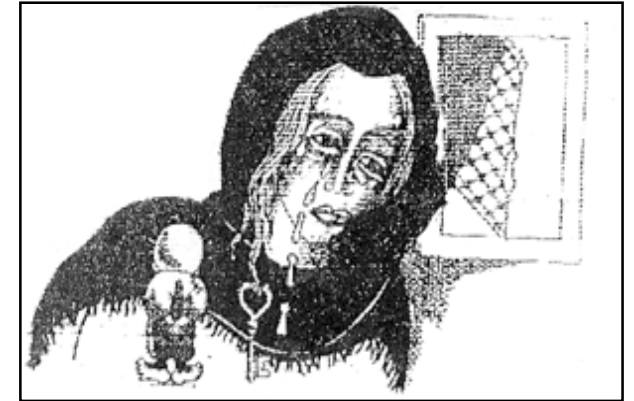
On November 29, 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a Resolution for the establishment of an independent Jewish State in Palestine, and called upon the inhabitants of the country to take such steps as may be necessary on their part to put the plan into effect.

This recognition by the United Nations of the right of the Jewish people to establish their independent State may not be revoked. It is, moreover, the self-evident right of the Jewish people to be a nation, as all other nations, in its own sovereign State. ...

We offer peace and unity to all the neighboring states and their peoples, and invite them to cooperate with the independent Jewish nation for the common good of all. The State of Israel is prepared to share in a common effort for the advancement of the entire Middle East.

At midnight that night the Mandate ended and the British left the country. From the south the Egyptian army crossed the borders of the mandatory land of Israel and reached Ramat Rachel [on the outskirts of Jerusalem]. From the north the Syrian army invaded, reaching the Jordan valley which, according to the partition plan, was to be part of the Jewish state.

The various defensive forces that later united into the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) tried to block the invading Arab armies. After a month of fighting all sides were exhausted and accepted the UN call for a one-month cease-fire. During that month the regular armies of Arab countries were unable to penetrate deeply into Israel.



From the drawings of Naji Al-'Ali

Some 1,400,000 people inhabited Palestine in 1948. After the catastrophe about 750,000 Palestinians wandered with nowhere to go. Families were separated. The elderly died; children carried younger children; nursing children died of thirst. Suddenly they found themselves exiled from their homes, in a alien world that regarded them as a different kind of frightening human being – Refugees!! The international community did not focus on learning the reasons for the refugee problem and finding a remedy. Rather than investigating the reasons for the forced migration and displacement, all they did was to provide them with humanitarian assistance.

Ghassan Kanafani describes the departure in his story: Land of the Sad Orange Trees

When we left Jaffa for Acre there was no sense of tragedy. We were like those who go away every year to spend the holidays in another city.

Our days in Acre passed – there was nothing unusual about them; quite the contrary, perhaps because I was young at the time, I enjoyed them because I didn't go to school. In any case, on the night of the big attack on Acre, the picture became clearer... That harsh night was marked by the gloom of men and the

Haggai Horowitz wrote about how the members of the *yishuv* felt at that time:

What we were up against was as clear as daylight for us. Until this very day I can't understand how people don't realize that we faced a continuation of the European Holocaust, that we, the Jews in the land of Israel, were facing extermination. That was the plan and we heard and saw it. There were gangsters and murderers throughout the land – on roads and in settlements – and then came the invasion. They crossed the Jordan bridges and they came from the south; they invaded the hills of Ephraim right in front of our eyes. It was perfectly clear that we were fighting for our very existence, for the lives of our children who were born here. The bitter understanding that if we don't win we will be wiped out was one of the formative experiences of the generation; thus we fought.

From: Eyal Naveh and Esther Yogev
Histories, pp. 161-162

Ten-day battle

After the first cease-fire the thrust of battle changed. For ten days the fighting renewed, during which time the IDF took the initiative. During these battles IDF troops captured Lod and Ramle (Operation Danny) and Nazareth (Operation Dekel). However, the IDF was unable to capture the Latrun stronghold, which stands in a strategic location on the road to Jerusalem, nor did it manage to open a corridor to the Negev, which was cut off from the rest of Israel. After ten days of fighting the second cease-fire took effect and held until October 1948.

Denouement

In October 1948 the IDF launched another attack. Operation Yoav was launched for the purpose of linking the rest of Israel to isolated settlements in the Negev, where the situation was rapidly deteriorating.

supplications of women... You and I, that is all those of our generation, were too young to understand what the story meant from beginning to end... However that night the threads began to be clear, and in the morning when the Jews withdrew, threatening and foaming with anger, a large truck was parked at the gate of our house.... Hurried, frantically – a simple collection of sleeping things was thrown into it from here and there... I was leaning against the old wall of the house when I saw your mother climb into the truck, then your aunt and then the young ones. Your father started to throw you and your brothers into the car, on top of our belongings. Then he pulled me up, out of the corner, raised me above his head to the iron cage on the roof of the driver's cabin, where I saw my mother and Riad were sitting quietly. Before I could steady myself properly, the truck moved. The beloved city of Acre was disappearing little by little in the curves of the road leading up to Ras Al-Naquora.

Results of the Catastrophe and eyewitness reports

Jewish villages were built on the remains of Arab villages. You don't even know the names of these Arab villages and I don't blame you because the geography books no longer exist. It is not only geography books that no longer exist, but also the Arab villages themselves disappeared. For Nahalal was established on the site of Ma'loul, Kibbutz G'vat on the site of Jebbata, Kibbutz Sarid in the place of Khneifes, and Kfar Yehoshua on the site of Tel Shoman. There is not one place built in this country that did not have a former Arab population.

Moshe Dayan
From a speech he delivered at Technion (Israel Institute of Technology) in Haifa, as reported by Ha'aretz newspaper, April 4, 1969

Right after the conquest of the Negev the IDF launched Operation Hiram to drive the Arab Rescue Forces out of the north of the country and establish a defensive line on the borders of the mandatory land of Israel. These two operations achieved their goals. During Operation Hiram the IDF invaded and captured some Lebanese territory, later returned as part of the truce agreement.

Operations Horev and Uvdah

The purpose of Operation Horev (December '48–January '49) was to defeat the Egyptian army. In the course of this operation the IDF managed to break Egyptian lines on the eastern front and followed through into the Sinai peninsula, although it failed to expel the Egyptians from the Gaza Strip. During Operation Uvdah, in March 1949, the conquest of the Negev was completed, including the village of Um-Rashrash – today's Eilat.

The following excerpt describes the atmosphere just before Operation Horev.

*From the Orders of the Day of Operation Horev:
Soldiers!*

*Enemy lines have been irreparably broken;
the Negev has been liberated and will be part
of the country forever.*

*Hundreds of invaders died on the battlefield.
The Egyptian lines – from the Hebron hills in
the east all the way to the [Mediterranean]
sea and from Ashdod in the north to the
outskirts of Gaza in the south – have disinte-
grated.*

*Yad Mordechai and Nitzanim have been liber-
ated.*

*The enemy is gathering the vestiges of its
forces to deal us a blow in an attempt to save
its tarnished honor. We will smash this
endeavor with a direct attack; we will drive the
enemy back over the borders of the state of
Israel and will liberate those areas of the*

Because of the expulsion and forced migration of the Palestinians their suffering increased and the patterns of Palestinian family life were shattered. A man from the Naher Al-Bared refugee camp in Lebanon recalls what happened to his small daughter:

I had a daughter – she was three and half years old, and was separated from her mother during the fighting. Some people told me they had seen her going towards the Druze village of Yarka, so I went to look for her. I searched until morning but I couldn't find her. In the morning I went up to Yarka. Some children played in the courtyard. I saw my daughter standing in front of a boy who was eating a piece of bread. She was hungry and asked the boy: 'Give me a piece.' The boy did not pay any attention to her. I came up behind her, hugged and cradled her in my arms. I couldn't utter a word because of my tears. In just twelve hours our condition changed from honor to humiliation.⁸

Another man from the Naher Al-Bared camp recalled the suffering in the first years of the Diaspora:

I had a small brother, seven years old who died at Al-Qar'oun at the beginning of winter. Many other children died as well. They put us in metal barracks with 20 or 30 families in each section. I remember one child went to the toilet at night and the next morning was found frozen to death.⁹

Palestinians describe their first days in the camps using expressions such as “death,” “paralysis,” “We don't exist,” “We lost the way,” “We lost all that we had,” “We lost the dearest things in life.”

The poem of an Iraqi poet, written in colloquial Arabic, describes Palestinian deprivation:

*He who lost gold
Will find it in the market
The one who said farewell to a loved one
May forget him after a year.
But he who lost a homeland
Where will he find it?*

Negev that remain in its grasp.
Onward to defeat the Egyptian invaders, to a
swift victory and peace. Let us storm the
enemy forces.

Yigal Allon
Commander of the southern front
December 1948

The end of the war

The first elections for the Israeli Knesset [parliament] in January 1949 set the state of Israel well on its way to being an independent, democratic, sovereign country.

The UN mediated the armistice agreements that were signed by Israel and the Arab countries. The agreements meant the end of belligerency, but did not bring reconciliation to Israel, the Arab countries and the Palestinian people. Israel achieved its independence thanks to its organizational ability and the remarkable mobilization of the entire yishuv: tens-of-thousands of citizens and soldiers participated in the fighting, and the entire yishuv lent its strong support to the war effort.

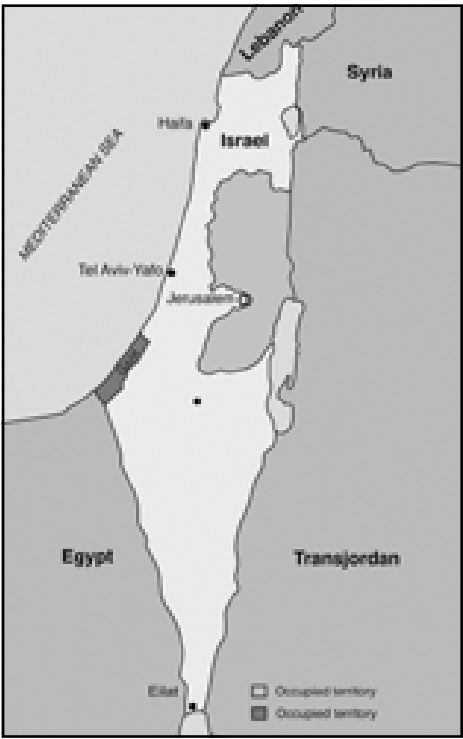
The yishuv paid an enormous price – some 6,000 were dead, nearly one percent off the entire Jewish population at that time.

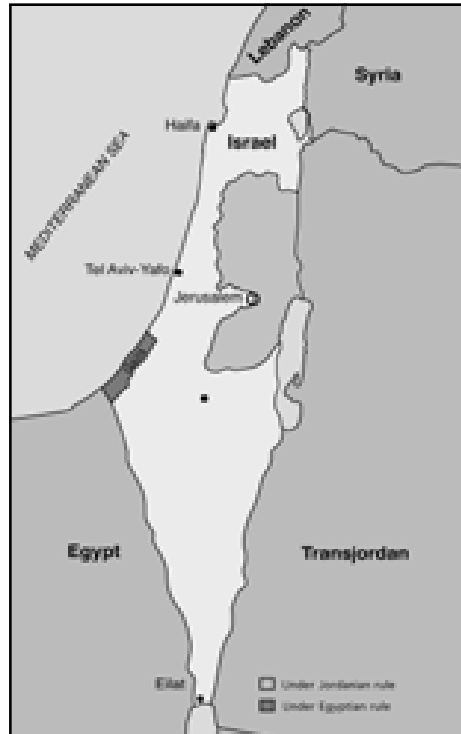
The Palestinian state was not established and the Palestinian people were compelled to live under the rule of Israel, Egypt and the kingdom of Jordan.

However, the borders of Israel were not quiet: There were Palestinians who tried to return to their homes, and there were attempts to infiltrate Israel in order to kill its citizens. The Israeli government responded to the murder of its citizens with retaliatory actions, and so the dynamics of hostility continued.

Article 11 of UN Resolution 194 (December 1948) stipulated that refugees wishing to return to their homes and live peacefully should be allowed to do so as soon as possible and that compensation should be paid for the property of those who decide not to return. According to international law and justice, the responsible government and/or authorities must pay compensation for loss and damage.

Despite these recommendations, Palestinians continued to suffer in their camps in Lebanon, Jordan, Syria and everywhere in the Diaspora. In occupied Palestine of 1948, which had been inhabited by 900,000 Palestinians, all were expelled or killed except for 160,000 who remained, languishing under the yoke of Israeli military rule until 1966. The West Bank was taken over by the Jordanians, while the Gaza Strip came under Egyptian authority





War of Independence cease-fire lines. These were the borders of Israel until 1967.

Glossary

War of Independence

On November 29, 1947, the morning after the UN passed the partition plan to divide the land of Israel into two states – Jewish and Arab – war broke out between the Arabs in the land of Israel and the Jewish community. The struggle focused mainly on control of the roads, the settlements along them and isolated Jewish settlements. On May 15, 1948, with the end of the British mandate and the birth of the state, regular Arab armies invaded in order to prevent the establishment of an independent Jewish state

The period after the catastrophe was characterized by a political vacuum; there was no Palestinian leadership to take charge of affairs, organize the struggle, achieve demands for return, self-determination and defense of peoples' rights. This led to the blossoming of nationalism, which led to the rise of the PLO as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people in 1964. However, it seemed that Arab leaders were not able to cope with the challenge and responsibility. Perhaps some of them were part of a conspiracy aimed at shredding the remnants of Palestine. The Arab countries stood up to the Zionist occupation army for no more than six days during the June 1967 war. What remained of Palestine was lost, in addition to Sinai and the Golan. However, the refugee problem will remain the alarm bell that peals in Arab and international arenas, especially since now the numbers of refugees and displaced people have increased to about four million.

In their turn, they describe their suffering in a poem by the Palestinian poet Mahmoud Mufleh: *Palestine: Thyme and Bullets*¹⁰

*We once were young and tender shoots
Then our green stems turned dry;*

*How can Karbala' compare with our agony?
Our age is the age of catastrophe; it took us
by surprise;*

*An age of aspirations, then stumbling,
then awesome adversity;
An age of aching thirst and stubborn patience.*

*An age of standing by the banks
with an eye staring at the horizon –
Oh, if only Acre knew –*

*And old men stunned by disaster
And women unlike any others*

*Worry blossomed from worry
And misery followed misery.*

according to the UN resolution. The IDF, established in June 1948, fought to repel the Arab armies and strengthen the foundations of the independent state of Israel.

The war ended with armistice agreements between the Israel and the Arab countries, but without peace treaties.

The United Nations

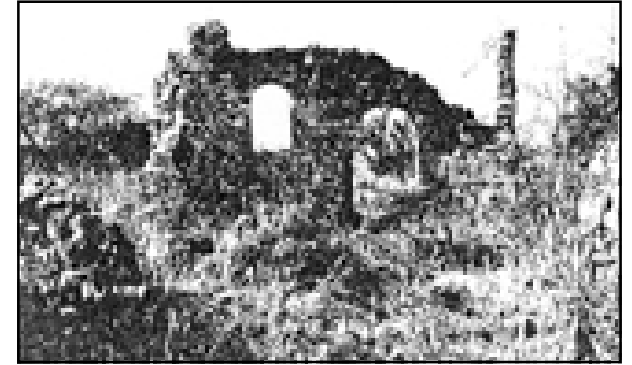
The United Nations was established at the end of WWII with 50 member countries, of which five were permanent members of the Security Council with the right to veto resolutions. Like its older sibling, the League of Nations, it worked and still works to achieve worldwide peace and security, and to settle issues of education, health, refugees and human rights throughout the world. Today there are 190 members of the UN.

Etzel [Irgun Tzvai' Leumi – National Military Organization]

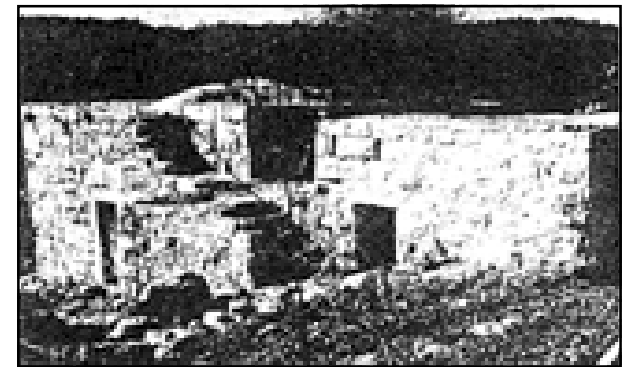
Established in response to the 1936 riots, it did not abide to the elected institutions of the Jewish community. The reason for establishing Etzel was its disagreement with the Hagana's moderate policies which included restraint. Etzel was under the authority of Ze'ev Jabotinsky, leader of the Revisionist party. There were a few hundred members of the organization, which was active against British officials and the Arab citizenry.

Lehi/the Stern Gang [Warriors for the Freedom of Israel]

Established in 1940, Lehi members split away from Etzel after the latter decided to cooperate with the British during the WWII. It was not linked to any political body, and held that the struggle of the Jewish yishuv should be concentrated against the British. It numbered only a few dozen members and its activity focused on attacking British officials, including attempts at assassinating senior administrators.



A deserted house in Byar Al-Adas (Jaffa)



Houses in the ruins at Al-Mansoura (Acre)



A deserted house in the ruins of Al-Tannour (Jerusalem)

Armistice agreements

A series of agreements signed between Arab countries and Israel at the end of the '48 war. The first was signed with Egypt in February 1949, then Lebanon (March), Jordan (April), and Syria (July 1949). These were not peace treaties but non-belligerency agreements whereby the Arab countries acknowledged that they were unable to defeat Israel by force of arms.

The Peel Commission partition plan

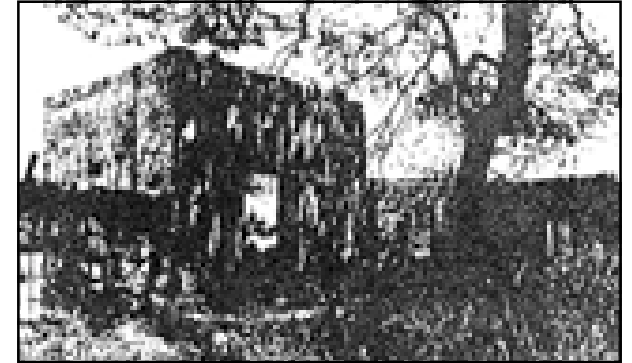
Published in 1937 by a British investigatory commission sent to the land of Israel at the end 1936, it called for two independent countries to be established side-by-side in the land. About 17% of the land of Israel was allocated to the Jewish state. The report caused a big uproar both in the Jewish and Arab communities. The official position of the Jewish community was acceptance of the principle of partition, but opposition to the borders drawn up in the commission's report. The official Arab position was complete rejection of the principle of partition.

The Arab Revolt

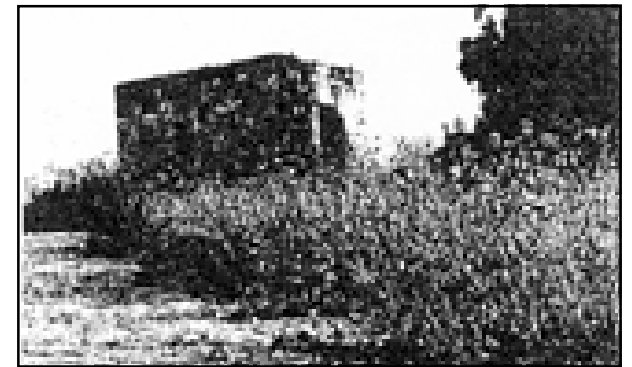
Uprisings of Palestinian Arabs against the British and the Jewish community, the purpose of which was to establish an Arab state on all of the land of Israel. The revolt continued until 1939 and ended with the British Government's publication of the White Paper, which froze Jewish immigration to the land of Israel.

Palmach [Striking Force]

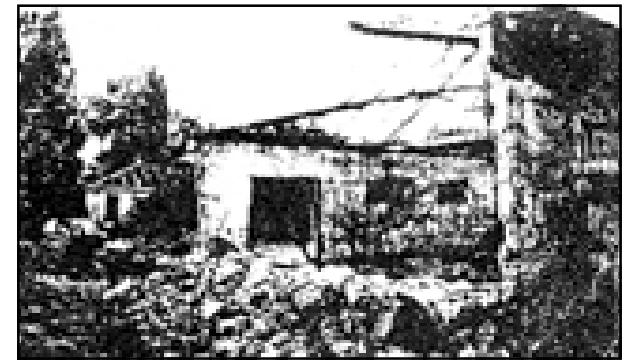
A military unit belonging to the Hagana. Established in 1942, its main objective was helping the British defend the land of Israel against the threat of Nazi Germany and the Axis powers during WWII. Its first military actions were in Lebanon, and it soon became the principle fighting unit of the Hagana. During the war of independence the Palmach carried the main burden of warfare. In the years 1947-8 the Palmach numbered about 6,000 combatants, of whom 1,000 were killed during the war.



A ruined house in Jamzo (Ramlah)



Deserted houses in Kufr Lam (Haifa)



In Khaleda (Ramlah), one house is deserted and the second destroyed.

Retaliatory actions

Offensive acts taken by Israel as a response to border infiltration by Arab-Palestinians whose purpose was to carry out terrorist actions, or to attempt returning to their villages. A special volunteer unit (101) was established to deal with this problem; their tactics were severe and direct. One of its most well-known actions was in the village Kibiya in Samaria, from which terrorist activities originated. Forty-five houses in the village were destroyed and 69 men women and children were killed. Legends of heroism were embroidered around the 101's retaliatory actions, although a dispute continues until today concerning their effectiveness, necessity and morality.

Amin Al-Husseini

The most prominent leader of the Arabs of the land of Israel during the mandatory period. Appointed by the British to hold the position of Mufti of Jerusalem, he took part in every uprising organized by local Arabs during the '20s and '30s. He left the country during the Arab revolt as the British wanted to arrest him. During World War II Husseini took the side of the Axis powers (Germany, Japan and Italy) against the Allies (Britain, France, the U.S. and the Soviet Union). He opposed all suggestions of partition made by the British.

David Ben-Gurion

The most important Zionist leader in the years before the establishment of the state and during its first decade of existence. Born David Green in Poland in 1886, he had been a young activist for *Aliya* [immigration to Israel] organizations and later filled positions in the Zionist leadership. He envisioned the establishment of an independent Jewish state as a primary objective and he required all Zionist organizations to accept the authority of the institutions of the Jewish yishuv in the land of Israel. He directed the course of events that led the birth of Israel and the struggle that followed. He served as first Prime Minister and Minister of Defense and later served again in those positions, he died in 1973.

Glossary**The United Nations**

Established in San Francisco on June 26, 1945 by fifty countries, its charter became valid on October 24, 1945.

The United Nations General Assembly

Composed of the representatives of all countries belonging to the UN, each country has one vote. Decisions are taken by a majority of two-thirds of the members.

UN Resolution 194

Issued in December 1948 to resolve the problem of the refugees; article 11 stipulated that refugees wishing to return to their homes and live peacefully should be allowed to do so as soon as possible, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those who decide not to return; it also calls for compensation for missing people and for those who were injured. According to international law and justice, the responsible government and/or authorities must pay compensation for loss and damage.

UN Security Council

The 15-member executive body of the United Nations specializes in examining issues that threaten international peace. Its resolutions are considered binding upon all member countries. It is made up of five permanent members and ten who are elected for two-year terms by the General Assembly.

**Al-Buraq Wall/the Western Wall/
the Wailing Wall**

Part of the western wall of the Noble Sanctuary (*Al-Haram Al-Sharif*), Jews claim that it is one of the walls of Solomon's Temple. Muslims believe that it is the western wall for the Blessed *Al-Aqsa* Mosque, the place where the Messenger of God tethered his steed *Al-Buraq*, and from which he entered *Al-Aqsa* Mosque

on his nocturnal journey (*Al-Israa'*). In August 1929, the Al-Buraq uprising erupted in Palestine aiming to defend the Islamic identity of Al-Buraq Wall.

World War II

It began in 1939 and ended in 1945. The Axis countries: Germany, Japan, Italy and others fought the Allied countries: Britain, France, China, the Soviet Union and the United States. The Allies were victorious.

Imperialism/Colonialism

Terms for the policy of imperialist expansion or practices meant to increase the national power of one country by seizing another country's territories, or indirectly controlling its military, political or economic policy.

Nationalism/Patriotism

Predicated on the basis of the existence of psychological connections and common elements shared by a group of people; these include language, culture, heritage, origin, history, land, goals and destiny. Nationalism is the feeling of belonging to the group.

Harry S Truman

U.S. president from 1945-1953, he played a major role in the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948.

Arab nationalism

The belief that all Arabic speakers constitute a nation because they are tied together by united feelings, language, history, beliefs, traditions and norms.

The right of self-determination

The legitimate right of all nations to determine their destiny and to shape their countries according to the people's will and freely expressed desires. It is one of the most important principles advocated by American president Woodrow Wilson in the aftermath of the first world war.

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From the Six-Day War to the first Intifada

The Six-Day War broke out on June 5, 1967 and ended six days later on June 10.

During the month preceding the war Egypt stationed armored units and troops in the Sinai Desert (in violation of agreements), signed a mutual defense pact with Syria, Jordan and Iraq, while Egyptian President, Jamal Abdul Nasser delivered inciting speeches about going to war with Israel to destroy the Zionist state.

In Israel there was a considerable amount of consternation; the government and the public felt this was an existential threat to the country's existence, unmatched since the War of Independence.

With no other choice and in order to prevent being trapped, Israel delivered a preemptive blow which came as a surprise to the enemies. In some three hours the Israeli Air Force destroyed the air forces of Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Jordan, thus enabling its ground forces to move freely. Israel achieved a brilliant victory which changed the history of the land of Israel.

It lifted the spirits of the Israelis, and there was a feeling of euphoria; some saw the victory as a Messianic religious experience. The general feeling in Israel after the victory was in the political cartoon by Dosh, published in the newspaper Ma'ariv on June 13, 1967:



"Wonder-child"

Intifada 1987

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Historical background

Formative stages of the Intifada

*In 1967 there was a war
And the whole land of Palestine was occupied.
Tragedy drenched the land.
In every house there was a sad old man;
In every village, poverty;
And in every refugee camp, an orphaned child.
They thought the problem had ended, and they
were rid of us forever;
They thought that after the agony we would lose
our patience and perseverance,*

ISRAELI NARRATIVE

In the map below you can see the territory Israel gained in the war. The borders after the war brought a sense of security that the country had never known. Control of the Golan heights secured the Israel's primary water sources (the Jordan River and the Sea of Galilee). Control of the Sinai desert gave the country a wide expanse for military and air maneuvers, new opportunities for tourism, and natural resources (e.g. oil).



PALESTINIAN NARRATIVE

But we told them again and again: We reject Camp David; it is rejected. Camp David, and those who created it – rejected. We reject autonomy – it's a failure, it's resented. We reject elections – they invalidate our rights, replace our rulers and splinter us into factions. We have only one demand: An eternal state with independence forever!

Sameeha Khalil

Causes for the outbreak of the *Intifada*, which erupted on December 9, are rooted in 40 years of national deprivation, 20 years of Israeli occupation and policies whose aim was to erase the reality, national identity and the very existence of the Palestinian people on its land. The result was a national, popular uprising – the *Intifada* – which didn't grow out of a vacuum, but was simmering just under the surface until the historical moment sparked the explosion. Anyone who really looked could see it coming.

Palestine disappeared from the political map after 1948: Israel was established on about 78% of its land, the West Bank was annexed to Jordan and the Gaza Strip to Egypt. To justify their impotence, the Arab states bragged about obliterating Israel, but the Six-Day War in 1967 exposed the duplicity and lies of the Arab media, for in six days Israel occupied the remaining 22% of Palestine plus Egypt's Sinai Peninsula and Syria's Golan Heights.

At first, Israel opened labor markets for the Palestinians, which had a positive effect on people's economic situations. Connections were forged among Palestinian Arabs of the West Bank, those in the Gaza Strip and those who stayed in Israel. For the first five years of occupation, the Israeli government did not have a clear policy regarding the occupied territories.

Control of Judea and Samaria meant a security buffer zone between Israel and Jordan, access to places holy to Jews, such as the tomb of Rachel, The cave of Machpela [graves of the patriarchs and the matriarchs in Hebron], and control over water sources along the crest of the central mountains. The conquest of Jerusalem meant unifying the two parts of the city and access to the Western Wall, the holiest of all sites for Jews. The population of the occupied areas became the responsibility of the government of Israel.

Even though the military, economic and political gains were enormous, the question arose: What to do about this great victory?

Debate in Israeli society and government

In Israel a public debate took place about the future of the territories: Two conflicting camps were prominent: The supporters of the 'Greater Land of Israel' and those who sought a compromise on the basis of 'land for peace.'

In an open letter to his disciples, Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook wrote:

This land is ours; there are no Arab areas or Arab lands, only the land of Israel. The eternal land of our forefathers and all the land within its borders belongs to Israel.

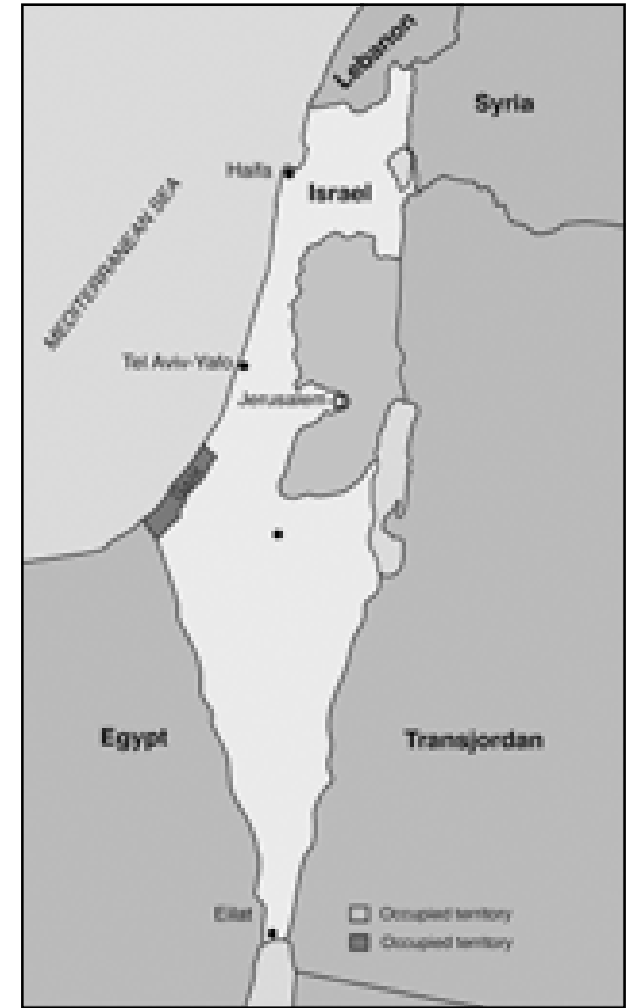
D. Rubenstein *Gush Emunim*, page 30

After the war ended, a front-line soldier said:

When talking of the previous border, you can defend it again and again and a third time, if necessary. But if we now have to defend Shechem [Nablus] or Ramallah ... you can't do that. I want education to be based upon the same values for which we went to war. We must not become an army of occupation with all that it implies.

Shai, from M. Tsur (ed.) *The Seventh Day* [*Siach Lochamim*], in Hebrew, pp. 271-272.

A series of 20 horizontal lines for writing, starting from the top of the page and ending just above the footer.



Later on the occupation authorities started confiscating land and building settlements. Israel, whose only interest was security for the Israeli army and the settlers, imposed direct martial law in the occupied territories without taking into consideration the needs of the Palestinians. The military controlled all services: there was an officer in charge of health, another in charge of education, a third for agriculture, a fourth

There was also disagreement about the future at the government level in Israel. Cabinet minister Yigal Allon proposed the Allon Plan (formulated in 1967–68) which called for a peace treaty with Jordan based upon defensible borders. In his plan (formulated at the same time) Minister of Defense Moshe Dayan advocated Israel perpetuate and formalize full occupation of Judea and Samaria with five military garrisons controlling the area, and establishing Jewish urban settlements throughout the territories.

Ultimately, the government did not approve either plan, although it acted in accordance with the Dayan plan.

International deliberations

There were also deliberations at the UN about the outcome of the Middle East war, and about the conditions for a peace agreement. Resolution 242, passed in November 1967 (and reaffirmed in Resolution 338), put forth a framework for a peace treaty based upon two principles:

Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;

Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force.

Israel supported the resolution, but Arab countries rejected it. An important point of dispute has been the interpretation of the phrase: “withdrawal *from occupied territories*” ... rather than “withdrawal from *the occupied territories*...”

The position of the Arab world

After the war, at the Khartoum Conference in September 1967, the Arab nations unanimously agreed to the “Three noes”:

for labor, etc. All this actually impeded the very same services. At the same time the military authorities neglected the infrastructure in the occupied territories, whose inhabitants were, nonetheless, obliged to pay all taxes.

Israel devised municipal elections in 1976, hoping to foster a leadership that would accept its occupation policies. In reality, the outcome was the emergence of an elected, national leadership which Israel suppressed. Subsequently Israel abandoned a repetition of the election experience, but it did continue its efforts to create local leaders loyal to the occupation authorities with their repression and settlement activity.

Israeli occupation authorities established a civilian authority and the pace of settlement activity increased along with repression and unemployment among Palestinian academics who had graduated from Palestinian universities that were built during the occupation.

As the occupation floundered, Israel attacked Lebanon in the summer of 1982 – an attack that was actually aimed at the Palestine Liberation Organization. Israeli forces managed to get all the way to Beirut, to disperse and weaken the PLO.

Internationally, and in the Arab world as well, neglect of the Palestinian issue peaked, while at the same time in the occupied territories repression by the occupation authorities reached its highest level. As a result, the frustration of the Palestinian Arab people erupted in an powerful, popular mass movement in 1987 – the Intifada. It was appropriate response to twenty years of occupation.

The last months of 1987

One should point out that resistance grew in the occupied territories during the last months of 1987, and included throwing Molotov cocktails, stabbings, burning tires and student strikes. Gaza turned into a heavy burden for Israel just because Israelis were killed

*No to negotiations with Israel
No to recognition of Israel
No to peace with Israel*

The PLO position

The following articles are from the Palestinian National Charter which was drawn up by the PLO National Committee in 1964, and amended in 1968:

Article 20:

The Balfour Declaration, the Mandate for Palestine, and everything that has been based upon them, are deemed null and void. Claims of historical or religious ties of Jews with Palestine are incompatible with the facts of history and the true conception of what constitutes statehood. Judaism, being a religion, is not an independent nationality. Nor do Jews constitute a single nation with an identity of its own; they are citizens of the states to which they belong.

Article 3:

The Palestinian Arab people possess the legal right to their homeland and have the right to determine their destiny after achieving the liberation of their country in accordance with their wishes and entirely of their own accord and will.

Article 21:

The Arab Palestinian people, expressing themselves by the armed Palestinian revolution, reject all solutions which are substitutes for the total liberation of Palestine...

Article 9:

Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine. This is the overall strategy, not merely a tactical phase.

In 1974 a political program –‘the program of stages’– was added, and there is a difference of opinion as to its objectives: Some understood it as a continuation

by members of the Palestinian resistance, and because of the success of the individual heroic acts such as hunting important Israeli figures and the assassination of the military police commander in August 1987.

in early October, for reasons that are unclear, Israeli forces opened fire on a car in which there were three people, killing them all. During that month there was a bloody clash between Israeli forces in the Gaza Strip and a group of Islamic Jihad members which led to the killing of the group members and of Victor Rejwan, an Israeli agent of the *Shabak* [Security Service]. Popular resentment increased and sparked demonstrations in Gaza. The glider operation at the end of November, in which a number of Israeli soldiers were killed, generated a feeling of pride and confidence among Palestinians everywhere.

Just one day before the Intifada erupted, on December 8, 1987, an Israeli truck driver in Gaza deliberately crashed into an Arab car. Those killed were the first Palestinian martyrs of the Intifada. After the news spread, huge demonstrations erupted all over the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

The spontaneous nature of the Intifada

The Intifada broke out spontaneously, with no central organization, and without interference by the PLO. In spite of the great determination of the people to put an end to the Israeli rule in the territories occupied in 1967, no goals were set in advance. But a short time after it broke out an Intifada leadership was created; its members represented popular and revolutionary committees in all cities, villages and camps, and the main four factions of the PLO (i.e. Fatah, the Popular Front, the Democratic Front and the Communist party). Popular and national committees were also created to coordinate activities in villages, cities, and camps. The committees reported to the Unified National Command whose members represented all four organizations.

Palestinians believed that ongoing struggle was the

of the non-negotiable PLO position; others saw it as opening a channel for political discussion that had to be carefully camouflaged to avoid arousing the opposition of extremists.

The PNC Program (June 8, 1974)

Article 3: *The Liberation Organization will struggle against any proposal for a Palestinian entity the price of which is recognition, peace, secure frontiers, renunciation of national rights, and the deprivation of our people of their right to return and their right to self-determination on the soil of their homeland.*

Article 4: *Any step taken towards liberation is a step towards the realization of the Liberation Organization's strategy of establishing the democratic Palestinian State specified in the resolutions of the previous Palestinian National Councils.*

This program states that to achieve its goal – a Palestinian state on all of the land of Israel – progress can be achieved in stages at any time, whether by conquest or diplomacy.

The feeling in Israel was that there was no partner for dialogue.

Israel's policy in the occupied territories

Israel instituted an occupation regime in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, at first with a military administration and later with a civil administration.

At first the Palestinian population welcomed the occupation as a blessing; for the first time universities were established, there was plenty of work, the economy grew, quality of life improved, and there were emotional encounters with Israel Arabs. At the same time the members of the Greater Land of Israel Movement proceeded with settlement activity in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, with the ultimate goal of remaining there forever. (Many others joined the settlements out of expediency as it gave them a chance

only way to end the Israeli occupation, establish an independent Palestinian state and give the Palestinian people the right to self-determination in its own independent state – including the right of return which means enabling Palestinians in Arab countries to return to their property in Palestine.

The ongoing struggle forged a strong political position for the Palestinian people and the PLO. The Intifada was a war of attrition against the occupation, causing loss of life, economic instability, and material losses while undermining its moral fiber. The struggle also had the effect of putting the Palestinian issue on the agenda of the United Nations as a problem to be solved as quickly as possible, and ultimately strengthened the position of the PLO as the symbol and the representative of the Palestinian people.

During the Intifada the Israeli army killed about 2,000 Palestinians and imprisoned about 110,000, while the Palestinians killed about 900 collaborators with Israel, 80 soldiers and 180 Israeli civilians. The Israeli army also demolished about 500 Palestinian houses.

The following figures bear witness to the harsh Israeli policy during the first years of the Intifada:

Palestinians who incurred damage from Israeli practices during the Intifada from Dec. 9, 1987 – Dec. 9, 1989

1. Martyrs

Male adults	890
Children	143
Females	116
Martyrs in prisons	16

2. Handicapped

Paralyzed fully or partially	131
Permanently handicapped	1,800
Total or partial loss of sight	150

to purchase homes cheaply just “five minutes from Kfar Saba” [a Tel-Aviv suburb].

For the Israelis, the process of settlement was punctuated by a considerable amount of contention.

Between the wars

Twenty years passed between the Six-Day War and the Intifada. During those years a number of important events occurred which influenced relations between Israelis and Palestinians.

The War of Attrition (Summer 1967–1970)

In this war IDF troops stationed along the Suez Canal were attacked by the Egyptian army. Civilian settlements in the Beit Shean valley and along the entire length of the Jordan Valley were attacked by PLO terror organizations. The Kingdom of Jordan tried not to get involved, though not always successfully. In the wake of the ‘Black September’ of 1970, when Jordan expelled terror organizations, the war on this front ended.

Terror from PLO organizations (1970s–80s)

In keeping with the PLO Charter, during these years PLO organizations waged a bitter war of terror and violence. Planes were hijacked, passengers murdered; Israeli citizens were murdered throughout the world, and Jewish institutions and their workers were attacked. The terrorists also murdered Israelis within the country’s borders. Some prominent examples are: the murder of 13 schoolchildren and teachers traveling from Moshav Avivim in the north in May 1970; the murder of 14 athletes at the Munich Olympics in September 1972; the murder of 21 schoolchildren and teachers in the Ma’alot school in May 1974; hijacking a plane to Antebbe (Uganda) in July 1976; and the murder of 35 bus passengers on the coastal road in March 1978.

3. Wounded

Wounded by rubber, plastic or metal pellets	62,564
Wounded by live ammunition	12,000

4. Deportees

Actually deported	58
Denied family reunion:	
mothers	32
children	56

5. Detainees

Imprisoned	49,093
Administrative detainees in Ansar 3	4,908
Arrested	6,313

6. Destroyed and sealed houses

Destroyed houses	829
Sealed houses	149
Garages, farms, etc.	77
Terraces and walls	236

Palestinian *zajal* and the Intifada

Popular Palestinian folk songs distilled the demands of the Intifada:

The demand for self-determination
The right of return and the state.
The Intifada will carry us
To an international conference date

The Intifada did not follow military patterns. Popular opinion rejected the militarization of the Intifada, as can be seen in the following *zajal*.

With demonstrations, rallies and protest,
Graffiti and flags;
Everlasting, always strong,
The Intifada is moving on.

The Yom Kippur War (October 10-24, 1973)

In the Yom Kippur War Israeli suffered a surprise attack by the armies of Syria and Egypt (Iraq joined later on), and the IDF found itself unprepared for battle. At first the war went very badly, but then Israel returned to the previous [pre- Oct. 10] borders with Syria and overpowered the Egyptians. Israel suffered 2,365 dead and thousands of wounded soldiers. People lost the sense of security and their trust in government leaders and in the IDF. The Yom Kippur War was a turning point in the history of Israel; it exposed an existential weakness that had been camouflaged by its image of might and pried open a deep rift between the people of Israel and their leadership.

Settlements

In June 1967 [East] Jerusalem was annexed to Israel, thus beginning of a process of settlement activity throughout Judea, Samaria and Gaza. In the succeeding governments of Israel there was a consensus on settlement for the purpose of ensuring secure borders for the country. Therefore settlements were built in the southern part of the Jordan Valley and the Golan Heights, and also encircling Jerusalem. In 1974 the movement *Gush Emunim* [the Bloc of the Faithful] was established; it supported the Greater Land of Israel's approach of historical and religious connections to the land. The purpose of their settlement activity, which still continues, is to prevent returning the territories over to any other party.

Peace treaty with Egypt (Camp David, June 23, 1979)

A peace process between Egypt and Israel began in November 1977, thanks to the initiative of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, along with Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

Two documents comprise the peace treaty: One sets forth the conditions for peace between Egypt and

The Intifada clearly condemned the position of America and its bias towards Israel, as shown in the next *zajal*.

The Zionist said:

"The American veto is my friend."

So my comrade, sing with me

"No to imperialism" – so say we.

Israel responded to the Intifada with harsh suppression, beatings, deportations and imprisonment without trial. However Israeli leaders finally recognized that a military solution to the *Intifada* was impossible. The PLO adopted the Intifada's political program at the Algiers conference. This led both the Israelis and the Palestinians to Oslo, and to the establishment of the Palestinian National Authority which, in its turn, will be the nucleus of the future independent Palestinian state.

The Palestinian Declaration of Independence

On November 15, 1988 the Palestinian Declaration of Independence was signed; it emphasizes the right of the Palestinians to an independent state in Palestine, with Jerusalem, the noble city, as its capital. Following are excerpts from the Declaration of Independence.

The state of Palestine is for the Palestinians wherever they are; in it they develop their national and cultural identity and enjoy complete equality of rights. In it, their religious and political beliefs and their human dignity are preserved under a democratic and parliamentary system based on freedom of opinion, and freedom to form political parties. The rights of minorities will be respected by the majority, while minorities must abide by majority decision. Governance will be based on principles of social justice, equality, and non-discrimination in public rights on the basis of race, religion, color or between

Israel: Israeli withdrawal to the old border and Egyptian recognition of Israel.

The second relates to the Palestinian issue, and outlines a solution which includes administrative autonomy and independent elections at the beginning followed by negotiations for a permanent-status agreement.

The Palestinians and the PLO opposed the Camp David Agreements, and did all they could to revoke them.

The Lebanese war (June 6, 1982–April 1985)

After their expulsion from Jordan, terror organizations moved their headquarters to Lebanon, which became PLO's international center of terrorism and a base for attacks and shelling the north of Israel.

After a number of attempts to crush Palestinian terrorism, the IDF invaded Lebanon in June 1982 for the purpose of ejecting terror organizations from that country. In the course of the war the IDF reached Beirut and found itself witness and passive partner to the massacre of hundreds of Palestinians by extremist Christian forces in the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps.

The immediate result of the Lebanese war was the departure from Lebanon of the PLO, with Arafat and his fighters at their head, and their relocation to Tunis. Over the years the PLO was replaced by Hezbollah, which still employs terror tactics (shelling and laying mines); it identifies with the armed Palestinian struggle and supports that position with its actions.

The war in Lebanon continued for some time, until the withdrawal of forces in 1985. (The IDF continued to occupy a 'security zone' in south Lebanon and suffered severe losses until its withdrawal in 2000.) In the course of that war more than 600 soldiers were killed, and as a result a very powerful public debate ensued in Israel on its Palestinian policy, and the country's objectives in that regard. Left and right became polarized on the question of peace and the willingness to make concessions to achieve it.

woman and man under a constitution which guarantees the rule of law and an independent judiciary. Thus, these principles are based upon complete faithfulness to Palestine's ancient spiritual and civil heritage of tolerance and religious coexistence.

The state of Palestine is an Arab state which is an integral and indivisible part of the Arab nation, its heritage, civilization and its present aspiration to realize its goals of liberation, progress, democracy and unity. The State of Palestine affirms its obligation to abide by the Charter of the League of Arab States, whereby the coordination of the Arab states with each other shall be strengthened. It calls upon Arab compatriots to consolidate and enhance the reality of state, to mobilize potential, and to intensify efforts whose goal is to end Israeli occupation.

Poetry and the Intifada

Among the poems dedicated to the Intifada was that of Muhammad Al-Shahhat who wrote a poem entitled *Rise, for the stone has already risen*:

*Children are springing from the very earth itself,
Their hearts and their hands overflowing
With songs of blood and stones.
Oh, our blood, our blood:
Echo the sounds of our song
And inscribe in the pages of history
The story of the generation of stone-throwers.
This generation brings tidings of joy,
This generation brings tidings of joy.*

Abdo Muhammad Sultan wrote a poem entitled *The Return of Hope*:

*Oh Arabs, it is the dawn of hope
Let us end our age of apathy,
Abandon despair and lethargy;*

Intifada

The outbreak of the Intifada

On December 8, 1987 an Israeli truck hit a Palestinian car in the Gaza strip, killing four of its passengers. The Palestinians claimed that it was a deliberate attack, and described it as cold-blooded murder. During the funeral crowds of people stormed the IDF compound in Gaza and threw rocks. The disturbances continued the next day and in the days following. This event is considered to be the beginning of the Palestinian war, called the Intifada [literally, *shaking*].

At the beginning the Intifada was characterized by: throwing stones and Molotov cocktails at IDF soldiers and vehicles; large public gatherings opposite IDF forces in the Gaza strip; blocking roads; capturing weapons; and other daily aggressive actions. The uprising in Gaza quickly gathered support from Palestinians in Judea and Samaria who, in any case, were at the boiling point (for example, in the Balata refugee camp near Shechem [Nablus] rebellions took place even before the Intifada.)



Representative scenes of the beginning of the Intifada.

Israel, Jordan and even the PLO were surprised by the Intifada, and each in its own way developed its approach to this new phenomenon.

The IDF was forced to overhaul its policies and re-think the conduct of soldiers in the occupied territories. The army was not equipped to contend with enormous popular demonstrations, flying stones and

*We wearied ourselves with dissention.
Oh Arabs, leave your indifference behind.
This is a momentous time in Palestine.
A revolution of its free men has been sparked.
Who will help achieve our aim?
Oh martyrs, you did not die in vain,
For the people's struggle is in the air.
You thwarted injustice – make it retreat,
You did not tire, nor did you despair.
Your stones resound with hope
Returned once more to Palestine.
They record the glories of a brave nation;
And the tragedies it suffered and survived.*

Glossary

Intifada

A popular uprising or mass disobedience against the occupying regime; a popular Palestinian resistance movement, the aim of which is to liberate Palestinian land from the occupation. The first Intifada began on December 9, 1987 and the second began on September 29, 2000.

UN Resolution 242 (November 22, 1967)

Passed after the June 1967 War, it confirms the concept of 'land for peace' to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. The resolution demanded Israeli withdrawal from 'the Arab territories' (or 'Arab territories' in the English text) that Israel occupied in the June 1967 War. Its purpose is to put an end to enmity between Arab countries and Israel, and to bring about a fair solution to the refugee problem.

UN Resolution 338 (October 1973)

Issued after the October/Ramadan 1973 War, this resolution reaffirmed the necessity of implementing

Molotov cocktails. The Palestinians (including teenagers and children) demonstrated great courage attacking soldiers in the street, in armored vehicles and in military installations.

The surprise was so great that the IDF found no suitable response to this type of unconventional warfare. The soldiers found it difficult to use force against children, men and women who fought with stones as weapons, and they found themselves in difficult situations – attacked, surrounded, wounded, and sometimes helpless.

At first IDF tactics called for using a great deal of force to hit the demonstrators. The army distributed truncheons to the soldiers, who used them as weapons of defense and deterrence. This policy resulted in a number of terrible incidents of gratuitous violence which grew out of anger and frustration and resulted in many Palestinian wounded suffering from broken bones.

In many instances junior officers joined the soldiers in unnecessary beatings. It was not clear when, who and for what reasons it was permitted to beat people. ...Reports came in from the field that even people in their homes were being beaten, for no reason – even entire families.

Z. Schiff and E. Ya'ari, *Intifada* page 146

Later on the IDF modified the orders to beat people, and limited the use of force, although throughout the world, and even in Israel there was severe criticism of the policy of force and the brutality of IDF soldiers against the Palestinians.

From the outset the Intifada took on the reputation of being a civil revolt against an occupying power.

The uprisings grew from below: In the alleys of refugee camps, among Palestinian youth, in university classrooms and high schools, among those who worked in Israel, and those who were released from Israeli prisons, among the entire people...the uprising took on a decidedly

Resolution 242 to end occupation and establish peace in the Middle East.

Sabra and Shatilla Massacre (September 1982)

While the Israeli army occupied West Beirut, and in the aftermath of the assassination of Lebanese president Bashir Al-Jemayyil, the Lebanese Phalange militia broke into two Palestinian camps: Sabra and Shatilla. For 48 hours they murdered hundreds of unarmed Palestinians, including women, children and old and young people using machine guns, daggers and axes. The world learned of the massacre on September 18, 1982.

Battles of the refugee camps

The militia of the Lebanese-Shiite Amal Movement (Syria's chief ally in Lebanon) began besieging Palestinian refugee camps in May 1985; the Shatilla camp remained under siege for 1,135 days. The number of camp inhabitants before the Sabra and Shatilla massacre (September 1982) was estimated to be 8,000 Palestinians. After the war of the camps only 2,500 Palestinians were left in the camps.

Yasser Arafat (1929-)

A Palestinian political leader and politician who, together with others, established the Palestine National Liberation Movement (Fatah) in Kuwait in 1959. Elected president of the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1969, he still holds this position as well as that of President of the Palestinian National Authority, to which he was elected 1996.

Jamal Abdul-Nasser (1918-1970)

Leader of the Egyptian Revolution in 1952: As president of the Egyptian Republic (1956-1970), he nationalized the Suez Canal. He submitted his resignation after the defeat of June 1967, however, the people rejected his resignation, and obliged him to stay in office. He died in 1970. A prominent Arab

revolutionary character. The revolution was not planned, and it exploded suddenly like a volcano.

Z. Schiff and E. Ya'ari, *Intifada* page 43

Reasons for the Intifada

As noted previously, at first the occupation improved things for the Palestinians in many ways: work opportunities, improvement of the quality of life, and a sense of progress. But as time passed, feelings changed among the Palestinians of Judea, Samaria and Gaza in three areas.

At a personal level: Humiliation at every point of contact with Israelis – checkpoints, working conditions and treatment of the workers, getting permits, searches in vehicles and homes. The encounters emphasized the stagnation, the inability of the Palestinians to make any real economic, professional or personal advancement.

Regarding Palestinian leadership: The Palestinians of Judea, Samaria and Gaza came to realize that the leadership outside the territories was unaware of their situation and suffering, did not consider their needs nor provide any solutions to their immediate problems.

The Lebanese war (1982), which had very much weakened Arafat's position in the PLO, gave a chance to those who opposed his position to advocate other policies. New, local Palestinian leaders emerged who wished to see a new agenda, including negotiations and compromise with Israel.

At a national level: The Palestinians suspected that the very earth was disappearing under their feet; Israel controlled water sources in Judea and Samaria, directing most of the water to the settlements. Israel expropriated a considerable amount of land for new settlements. In order to ensure a united Jerusalem as its capital, Israel annexed most of East Jerusalem and the Old City, surrounding the city with new

national leader, he was a pillar of the non-aligned movement.

The Unified Command of the Intifada

It surfaced in the Palestinian arena after the eruption of the 1987 Intifada. Composed of representatives of the various factions of the Palestine Liberation Organization, it steered Intifada activities by issuing daily communiqués.

Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement)

The military arm of the Muslim Brotherhood movement in Palestine, it emerged in the Palestinian arena after the eruption of the 1987 Intifada.

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neighborhoods. The government in Judea, Samaria and Gaza was in the hands of a civil authority, which dominated formal appointments (i.e. teachers), the economy, taxes and bureaucracy.

The development of the Intifada

With the outbreak of the Intifada, which was mainly spontaneous, various interest groups tried to control it and its objectives. At first the local leadership directed the ‘civil rebellion,’ aiming to use it to reach a dialogue with Israel for a solution that included compromise between the two peoples.

By its very nature a civil rebellion does not use live ammunition; its principles are: civil disobedience (for example, not paying taxes), bypassing ruling institutions by means of establishing independent institutions (i.e. educational system), support for economic independence (i.e. boycotting foreign goods) and control of the street (i.e. closing stores, and holding demonstrations.)

In the course of the Intifada hundreds of “popular committees” sprang up, which included thousands of activists. They offered assistance to the needy, delivered basic necessities to closed refugee camps; established working committees to treat the wounded and learn first aid, formal and informal education, and arbitration. Committee members helped farmers rebuild their agriculture, and thousands of youngsters and students were sent to help them; merchants coordinated strikes, and managed to prevent the army from forcing them to open their stores; they boycotted Israeli goods, and stopped working in Israel and the settlements and tax collectors for the civil administration resigned.

To contend with the difficulties that ensued from the civil insurrection, the population learned to grow its own food (i.e. vegetables, pigeons, rabbits, etc.)

Over time organized representatives of various PLO organizations, particularly *Fatah*, took control of these popular committees. That resulted in a change in the

nature of the committees' activities and turned them into a violent tool of power against the Israeli occupation, collaborators and other members of Palestinian society.

The Intifada deteriorated with the use of live ammunition against soldiers and settlers, and iron-fisted suppression by the Israelis in a continuing, daily struggle. Both sides suffered many victims in this war of attrition in which there were no victors.

Results

The Intifada had different results for Palestinian and Israelis, but also brought something to both sides.

The Palestinians in Judea, Samaria and Gaza

- * The Intifada led to a consolidation of civil action and the practice of cooperation, thereby changing the traditional stratified class system. Villagers, women and children, workers, youth, academics, merchants and well-respected families dedicated themselves to the common struggle, which promoted national consolidation of Palestinian society.
- * The political drive to find a solution to the problem became a widespread public issue.
- * Jordan decided to dissociate itself from the Palestinians and the territories of Judea and Samaria. For the first time the Palestinians stood as a nation, on their own, responsible for their destiny.
- * Local leadership was strengthened as was its influence with the PLO leadership which, for the most part, lived outside the area. It demanded a realistic political agenda from Arafat for settling the dispute.
- * The Intifada obliged the Palestinian National Committee to come up with a Declaration of Independence for Palestine (November 1988 in Algiers) that included the recognition of UN Resolution 242, and the existence of two countries for two peoples.

The Israelis

- * The Intifada, which came as a complete surprise, harmed the Israeli feeling of superiority over the Palestinians
- * The Intifada sparked a storm of dissension in Israeli society about the methods and ethics of warfare.
- * The split widened between those who supported a territorial compromise and the supporters of the Greater Land of Israel whose slogan was “not one inch.”

Israel and the Palestinians

For the first time the two peoples were positioned opposite each other as two partners who must solve the conflict between them. The Intifada sparked dialogue between the two groups which resulted in signing the Oslo Agreement.

Glossary

Rachel's Tomb

Holy site for Jews at the entrance to Bethlehem. According to tradition, Jacob’s wife Rachel is buried there.

The Cave of Machpela

A holy site for Jews and Muslims in the heart of Hebron. According to Jewish tradition the patriarch Abraham bought the place from Ephron the Hittite as a burial place for his wife Sarah, the matriarch.

The Western Wall

The western retaining wall of the Temple Mount, the hill on which the Temple stood. It is the holiest site in Judaism that remained after the Temple was burned and Jerusalem destroyed.

Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Hacoheh Kook

The head of the ‘Mercaz HaRav’ yeshiva [religious school] where he established Gush Emunim – a religious,

right-wing, extra-parliamentary organization with a Messianic ideology. The Rabbi saw the Six-Day War and the conquest of Judea and Samaria as a step on the way to redemption, and preached settlement in all of the land of Israel.

Resolution 242

UN resolution of November 22, 1967 which called for a just and lasting peace in the region. The resolution called for withdrawal by the IDF from “occupied territories,” while affirming Israel’s right to secure and recognized borders. It also called for freedom of the seas along all international water routes, a just solution for Arab refugees, territorial integrity and political independence for all countries in the region.

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The Second Decade, (Eds.) Z. Tzameret and Yablonka

Siach Lochamim [The Seventh Day], (Ed) M. Tsur

Gush Emunim, D. Rubenstein

Connected Vessels, Y. Alon

Intifada, Z. Schiff and E. Ya’ari

An Inside Look at the Intifada, (Eds.) Sh. Swirsky and I. Pappe
 Film: *Tekuma* (On the Six-Day Way) – Highly recommended that students see this.

Arab sources: (Declarations and summaries of conventions and congresses of the PLO and Fatah)

(Ed.) M. Gabbai

Additional sources

Monthly Outlook, May–July 1967

Ma’ariv 50th Anniversary Album

