LEARNING EACH OTHER’S HISTORICAL NARRATIVE:

Palestinians and Israelis
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Part Two
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Palestinians and Israelis

Sami Adwan  
Dan Bar-On  
Adnan Musallam  
Eyal Naveh  
Shoshana Steinberg  
Samar Jaber  
Co-director of PRIME; Project coordinator  
Co-director of PRIME; Project coordinator  
Consultant, Palestinian History  
Consultant, Israeli History  
Observer and evaluator  
Observer and evaluator

Teachers
Sonia Nour  
Khalil Bader  
Niv Keidar  
Eshel Klinhouse  
Sara Maor  
Shai Miselman  
Rula Musleh  
Sonia Al-Rajabi  
Abdel Halim Tumaizi  
Elyan Elyan  
Sahar Tamimi  
Naomi Vered  
Rachel Zamir  
Eyal Keren

Translators
Nathan Ginburg  
Imad Abu Dyya  
Language editor; Hebrew  
Arabic → Hebrew translation
Introduction

Since the publication of our first booklet "Learning Each Other’s Historical Narrative" in 2002, our project received wide international attention, for its original idea and implementation. Since then, the Peace Research Institute in the Middle East (PRIME) continued its commitment and devotion to bring understanding in a realistic way between Israelis and Palestinians through its projects. We feel that the idea to involve Israelis and Palestinians history school teachers working together on the issue of historical narratives of both sides is one of Prime’s major current achievements.

PRIME continued to organize joint meetings between Palestinian and Israeli history teachers throughout the last three years. The meetings took place under extremely difficult political and military conditions. Still, most of the meetings were held in the region and only the three summer meetings took place in Turkey and in Germany. Most of the teachers continued throughout the whole period. The commitment of the teachers increased and deepened throughout the project. One Israeli teacher said: “This project is the only thing that makes me hopeful in the last years”. A Palestinian teacher said: “This project makes me understand more myself and the other.” Only a few teachers decided not to continue in the project due to political, logistical or personal reasons. One Palestinian teacher said “I do not know whom am I. On one hand I am meeting with Israeli teachers trying to understand each other but only two hours ago I was humiliated at an Israeli Military check point”. An Israeli teacher said: “I cannot come to Talitha Kumi. My family is afraid something will happen to me.”

But for the three longer summer seminars the meetings lasted two days. We started usually with a long session of ventilation, in which teachers shared their personal and social stories since the last meeting. This was necessary because of the chaos and violence that characterized this period. Then, teachers worked in uni-national and bi-national groups and later presented the outcomes of their discussions in plenary sessions. The meetings always ended with a planning session of the next meeting and what has to be done until then.

The first booklet (that discussed the Balfour Declaration, the 1948 War and the First Palestinian Intifada, 1987) was published in Arabic, Hebrew and was later translated into English, Italian, French, German, Spanish and Catalan. Palestinians and Israeli teachers tested the booklet in their ninth and tenth grades. The reaction of the pupils varied. Some pupils said: “It is nice to know the narrative of the other side,” “our narrative differs from theirs,” “I wonder how they react to our narrative?” “There are differences but there are also some similarities in the narratives,” “do their teachers teach our narrative? Can we trust they teach exactly the same two narratives?” Other examples of the pupils reactions were: “Our narratives are facts but theirs are propaganda.” “It is good to know their narrative but still ours is the true one.” “They try to twist the reality and history.” “Now, I know, why the conflict is difficult to resolve.”

The teachers’ experience was unique since they introduced the others’ narrative while the conflict was going on. Most of them had to make special arrangements to be able to introduce the booklet. Some of them divided the class into small groups; others taught in the afternoon, or at their homes. Some of the teachers photocopied parts of the booklet as they were not sure if they can expose the booklet. Some of the teachers said: “It was a very enriching experience but it was difficult.” One of the teachers was asked by his pupils: “Do you believe in their narratives? If you do not, why are you teaching them to us?” Palestinian pupils confronted their teachers: “Why do you teach us their narrative in this time? Is it part of the normalization processes?” Parents’ reactions reflected also the tense political situation. Some of them welcomed the idea while other said it was not the time yet and still others rejected it. We do not claim that neither the Israeli nor the Palestinian narratives represent all Israelis or all Palestinians. We think they present about 60%-70% of their societies.

Teachers in Italy and France use this booklet in their classes, especially those who have mixed Jewish and Muslim populations. It was on the best-seller list in France for several weeks in the summer of 2004. Teachers at different universities started
using the booklet in their classes. The booklet interested local and international researchers. The experience and the themes of the booklet were presented in many conferences, workshops and seminars all over the world. One UNESCO staff commented on the booklet saying: "This is an excellent example of learning the other's history that was never done before in this style.” The booklet was also covered by international media.

During the work on the second booklet, teachers of both sides became more sensitive to the other side's concerns and needs without giving up the essence of their own narratives. They were more willing to listen to the other side point of view, and developed the ability to avoid harmful language, help each other in allocating materials to add to their narratives and resources for quotation and documentation purposes. During their 12th meeting in Germany one of the teachers asked the teachers of the other group: "What would you like us to emphasize from your text?” Perhaps it takes twelve encounters to reach that question. The teachers agreed that both the language and the level of information included in the booklet will take into account the pupils' capacities (9 and 10 grades). At the same time, they continued to have disagreement on the length of the narratives and to include or not to include detailed description of violent events.

The second booklet, presented hereby, includes both the Israeli and the Palestinian historical narratives of the periods of 1920s, 1930s and the war of 1967. It was written and composed by the same team of the Israeli and the Palestinian history school teachers under the supervision of the two historians - Professor Adnan Massalem and Professor Eyal Naveh. It is published in the same style and layout as the first booklet (with the empty space in between the two narratives, for the pupils to write in their own reactions).

The teachers started now working on the third booklet that will be published by the end of this school year. It will focus on the periods of 1950s, 1970s and the 1990s. In this way we will cover the major historical events of the 20th century. After that, PRIME intends to put the three booklets into one book after certain adjustments and modifications will be made.

Some researchers criticized us on why are we writing two separate narratives and why not write one bridging narrative. We feel at this point of historical and political development of our societies that both sides need first to establish a two State solution and the Palestinian State, and therefore present their own narrative separately to feel secure and to give the other side the opportunity to know it. For many adults and children, this is the first time that they are exposed to the other's narrative in this comprehensive way and need time to digest it and even to reexamine their own. We leave the choice of building bridging narrative to the future generations. We believe these booklets and the experience we gained so far will be very valuable after a comprehensive peace agreement will be reached that will end our painful conflict.

Finally, PRIME would like to extend its appreciation and thanks to Georg Eckert Institute in Braunschweig and especially Dr. Falk Pingel and Mr. Jonathan Kriener for supporting the project and the translation of this booklet from Arabic and Hebrew to English.

With peaceful greetings
Profs. Sami Adwan & Dan Bar On
Co-Directors of PRIME and Project Coordinators
THE JEWISH COMMUNITY AND THE LAND OF ISRAEL IN THE TWENTIES

The rule of the British Mandate in the Land of Israel (Palestine) began in 1920 following hundreds of years of Muslim Ottoman rule. For the Jewish community in the country, the Twenties were years of growth, despite having begun and ended with violent incidents on the part of the Arabs.

The Riots of 1920–1921

First Violent Clashes

The first violent clashes between Jews and Arabs in the Land of Israel broke out in 1920 and were termed the "Incidents of 5680". They can be divided into two: the events of Tel Chai and the riots in Jerusalem.

Tel Chai was a young, isolated Jewish settlement in the Upper Galilee and the story of the event, which happened there became the first Zionist myth. In 1920, the borders of the British Mandate had yet to be determined. Tel Chai was located in an area disputed by Britain and France and, under these circumstances, suffered attacks by local Arabs. The leaders of the Jewish community were divided on the question of whether to evacuate the isolated settlement or defend it at any price. Some of them argued that the place should be defended even at the price of human lives, on the grounds that the future border of the Jewish state would be determined according to the map of Jewish settlement. Labor leader Aronowicz argued: "If we’re afraid of a stronger force, then we have to leave Metula today, Tiberias tomorrow, and then other places." (From Zionism, by Moshe Lifschitz, Or-Am Publications, 1993).

PALESTINIAN NARRATIVE

PALESTINE IN THE TWENTIES: FROM THE BALFOUR DECLARATION IMPLEMENTATION TO THE EVENTS OF THE 1929 REVOLT

Introduction:

The Jewish question came to the surface forcefully in the Nineteenth Century following a wave of persecutions against the Jews in Europe, alongside the awakening of international problems, primarily the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. This caused many countries, particularly Britain and France, to rub their hungry eyes at the legacy of the ailing sultan and gave rise, specifically with the British, to think not only of ruling that legacy but of extending control over it in every possible way.

After publication of the Balfour Declaration in 1917, Britain imposed the mandatory government on Palestine from 1918 to 1948 and, during this period, gave all the necessary concessions for the establishment of a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine.

Arabs and Jews are fighting over the land of Palestine. According to the Jews, they take it for granted that they have historic rights in Palestine although it has not been Jewish for over two thousand years, as a Jewish journalist commented at the height of the victory intoxication in 1948. According to the Arabs, they view these claims or rights as groundless because the Jews did not have full sovereignty over the country at any previous stage in history. The Palestinians insist that they are its true owners.

Turning the Balfour Declaration from a British interest into an international concern (1917–1923):

The publication of the Balfour Declaration forced Britain to ensure its actual implementation, something
In January 1920, Joseph Trumpeldor, already a living legend among the Jewish settlers, arrived with a group of guards to defend the isolated settlement. His fighting and courage in the Russian-Japanese War, as a soldier in the Russian army, had earned him the right to officer's rank and he became the first Jewish commissioned officer in the Czar's army. The fact that he had lost his left arm in that war accorded him a further heroic touch. He was one of the founders of the important Zionist organization in Russia - HeHalutz, while in Palestine he was known as an ideologist and Zionist-Socialist leader.

On March 1, the Arabs from the surrounding area wanted to go into the Tel Chai yard to see if there were any armed French there. The Tel Chai defenders allowed them in and, for a reason that is not clear, a shot was fired and an exchange of fire ensued in the yard. Some of the Tel Chai defenders were wounded and killed, among them Trumpeldor himself.


Dedication of the Memorial to the defenders of Tel Chai, 1934.

The "Roaring Lion" Memorial overlooks the Huleh Valley. On Tel Chai Day, Adar 11, members of youth movements make a pilgrimage to the grave site.

The Roaring Lion Statue was made by the sculptor Avraham Melnikov in 1932 and is in the Tel Chai area.

In fact, British colonialism applied its full weight for realization of the "National Home for the Jews". The British welcomed the Zionist leader Weizmann and the delegation he headed when they arrived in Palestine on April 4, 1918. The delegation was accompanied by a British liaison officer, Captain Ormsby-Gore. Weizmann set up the first Zionist office in Jerusalem in August 1918. The Zionist commission toured Palestine and demanded that it be involved in the government and management of Palestine prior to establishment of the national home. The commission worked at the same time to mollify the fears of the Arabs as to the true intentions of Zionism. Weizmann held that "the lands of the Palestinians could be redeemed for money and they could be subdued with a little discipline as they did not constitute a national movement of purport". From his point of view, the Palestinians were not a factor worthy of consideration and did not constitute an obstacle to Zionist or British plans. In a letter to his son, Weizmann compares the Arabs of Palestine to "rocks in the area of Judea which are an obstacle that have to be removed from a difficult path". His theory became a cornerstone of the Zionist strategy. He denied the existence of an independent Palestinian nationality. The perception according to which the Palestinians had to leave the Jewish state and find themselves another homeland in the Arab world became the basis of the Zionist expulsion (transfer) plans in the Thirties and Forties."
who died of his wounds during the evacuation. A physician who treated Trumpeldor testified later that his last words were: "Never mind, it is worth dying for one's country." The words "It is good to die for one's country" were deemed to have been his last became an educational motif and unifying ethos for words. This sentence, whether actually said or not, the Jewish community in the country on the first fifty years of its existence. The ethos that "one does not concede what has been built" became a cornerstone of the Zionist Movement and was tied to the earlier heroism of the Massada warriors.

The Roaring Lion Statue put up at Tel Chai became a pilgrimage site for youth. Tel Chai Day (Adar 11) was observed in schools with ceremonies and assemblies.

About a month after the Tel Chai incident, further clashes broke out in Jerusalem. An Arab crowd participating in the Nebi Mussa celebrations was influenced by false propaganda and led to believe that the Jews were about to take over Moslem holy places in Jerusalem. The mobs attacked Jews in the Jewish Quarter and went on to attack the Jewish neighborhoods outside the city walls. The disturbances also spread to the north of the country.

A personal impression of the disturbances in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem was recorded at the time by Zvi Nadav who had come to the defense of the Jews:

"With Nechemia Rubin, I went down David Street which leads to the Jewish Quarter. A horrendous sight appeared in front of us – feathers flying in the air, shops broken into, plundered – a scene with which I was well familiar from the disturbances in Russia. I had had a sense of awe for the place, but its sanctity was now desecrated. There was the air of a pogrom. The [British] army and police had not prevented the rioters from rampaging." (From The Haganah in Jerusalem, edited by Rachel Yanait [Ben-Zvi] et al.).

The disturbances led to establishment of a defense organization for the Jewish community, called “The

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**Herbert Samuel’s Policies, 1920-1925**

As a supplementary step to British colonialist policy in support of the Jews and Zionist plans in Palestine, Britain revoked British military rule in Palestine in favor of a Civil Administration. In 1920, it appointed Sir Herbert Samuel, the former British minister of Jewish extraction, as the first High Commissioner in Palestine. This was the same Herbert Samuel who had published the well-known memorandum “The Future of Palestine” (the plan for a state containing 3 – 4 million Jews). This appointment of Herbert Samuel made no-one happier than Weizmann, who declared that "we have appointed him to this position because Samuel is one of ours, a product of his Jewishness."

For starters, Samuel enacted the first immigration law on August 26, 1920, which permitted 16,500 Jews to enter the country in the first year. Contributions were collected from Jews to pay for the migration and acts of settlement through Hayesod Fund of Palestine (Hayesod Fund). In the first official population census, conducted in 1922, there were 752,048 inhabitants in Palestine, of whom 87.9% were Arabs and 11.1% were Jews. In order to execute Weizmann’s plans to make Palestine Jewish as England was English and France was French, concessions were made for immigration to Palestine. Jewish immigration to Palestine between the years 1919 and 1923 totaled 36,761 Jews. Between 1924 and 1928, the number came to 64,629 and, in 1929, 5,249 Jews arrived.

The following table lists the number of Jewish immigrants between the years 1919 and 1930:

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Haganah. A number of factors combined for its establishment: the number of dead, the sense of helplessness in the Jewish community, the powerlessness of the British police and its forgiving attitude to the rioters.

Following the 1920 riots, Winston Churchill, then the British Secretary for the Colonies, came to the country to find out the factors behind the disturbances. But Churchill’s visit did not stop the disturbances, which were renewed in May 1921. A group of Jewish immigrants organized a procession on May 1, to mark Labor Day. The march was attacked by an Arab mob, which also attacked the immigrants’ homes in the Ajami Quarter of Jaffa that, for the Arabs, symbolized Jewish immigration to the country. From there, the rioters continued to nearby Jewish neighborhoods: Neveh Shalom, Menassia and Abu Kabir. After the attacks in Jaffa, the rioters turned to the moshavot of Petach Tikva, Hadera and Rehovot but there they were stopped by a local organization of the settlers. During the disturbances, much property was plundered and 47 Jews were killed, among them the author Yosef Chaim Brenner.

After the events of 1921, Churchill published a British official reaction on the situation in Palestine, called “Churchill’s White Paper” or “The First White Paper” (1922). In this paper, the British Government reiterates its commitment to the realization of the Balfour Declaration and even recognizes the right of the Jewish People to the Land of Israel. At the same time, the document also imposes restrictions with respect to two promises that had been given to the Jews. First, the area promised for a national homeland was reduced as it was determined that the East Bank of the Jordan River would be a separate political unit. Second, the precedent was determined that the number of Jewish immigrants who would be permitted to enter the country would be limited to the capacity of the country to absorb new population.

Some in the Zionist Movement viewed the document as annulling the Balfour Declaration. The British mandate was not in its infancy. For a number of years, several steps had been taken to prepare the appropriate atmosphere and to pave the road for publication of the British declaration in an international framework thus making it into an official document which the League of Nations published. Thereafter, opposition to it would be seen as opposition not only to Britain but to the consensus, to international law and to all the countries of the world. Thus:

* On June 28, 1919, at the peace conference, Britain introduced an amendment into the Sykes-Picot Agreement, in cooperation with France, which conceded Mosul in Iraq to Britain and agreed that Palestine should come under British rule in return for French control over Syria and Lebanon.
* On April 25, 1920, the representatives of the Allies convened in San Remo. Important and dangerous resolutions were passed at the conference, while totally ignoring the rights of the Arabs, such as: subjugating Iraq and Palestine to British mandatory rule and implementing the Balfour Declaration in Palestine, whereas Syria and Lebanon were subject to the French Mandate.
* On July 24, 1922, Britain prepared to assume the Mandate over Palestine, which was approved on September 29, 1923, when it received official validation.

Most of the mandatory writ was intended for practical implementation of the Balfour Declaration and establishment of the Jewish state on the land of Palestine. The document contained 28 articles and a preamble which mentions the Balfour Declaration and the consent of the Allies to establishment of the Jewish national home in Palestine and the responsibility of the mandate countries for its implementation. We mention here some of the more important articles in the Mandate.

Article 1: The Mandatory (Britain) shall have full powers of legislation and of administration.
ment as the beginnings of a process of British re­
treat from its promises to the Zionists. This proc­
cess was to continue, peaking with publication of
the Third White Paper (1939) on the eve of the
Second World War.

Section from the First
White Paper (1922)

"During the last two or three generations the Jews
have recreated in Palestine a community, now num­
bering 80,000, of whom about one fourth are farm­
ers or workers upon the land. This community has its
own political organs; an elected assembly for the di­
rection 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 ... [in] town
and country ... has in fact "national" characteristics.

"It is the wish (of the British Government) to draw
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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 ... pride. .... It is essential that it should know
that it is in Palestine as of right and not on the suf­
erance. 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."
1922-1929 - “The Seven Good Years”

The period between the disturbances of 1922 and those of 1929 is called in some history books “the seven good years” because relative quiet reigned in the country between Jews and Arabs and the Jewish community enjoyed the support of the British. Indeed, a person leaving Palestine at the beginning of the Twenties and returning at the end of the decade would have found great changes. At the beginning of the decade, the country was still struggling with the shortages and suffering that had accompanied the First World War but, in the ensuing years, it recovered and enjoyed impressive growth. The new immigrants and the capital which came in from Europe infused new blood in all spheres of life.

British policy in the country attempts to maintain a balance

In July 1920, Herbert Samuel took up his position as the first High Commissioner for Palestine. Samuel, an Englishman of Jewish origin who sympathized with Zionist aspirations, announced, immediately upon his arrival in the country, a “balance of commitments” policy vis-à-vis all its inhabitants, Jews and Arabs. He recognized and supported the institutions of Jewish self rule, granted a generous immigration quota and awarded employment to the new Jewish immigrants. At the same time, he gave state land to Arabs, built schools for them and contributed to an increase in the percentage among them who knew how to read and write. The percentage of analfabetics dropped from 90% to 70% (see “Palestinians”, Kimerling and Migdal, p. 36).

At the beginning of the British Mandatory Government, 20,000 pupils attended State Arab schools while by 1947, just prior to the British leaving the country, their number had risen to 80,000 in 504 State schools. To these should be added the pupils in Moslem institutions (18,000) and in Christian institutions (22,000).
The conquest of the land by the British was a turning point in the modernization of the country. The mandatory authorities invested in the development of services and the creation of an economic infrastructure, most prominently that of transportation: roads, railways, seaports and airports. The British established legal systems, a tax collection authority and a postal authority. They usually left education, health and the municipal system to the local people but not without advice and budgetary help from the Government. The Jewish community better utilized this matter because it had a developed organizational and political awareness. The Jewish community was able to manage the health, education and employment systems independently and even receive important economic concessions. There were no similar developments on the Palestinian side. (From: Moti Golani, Wars Don’t Happen By Themselves).

The historian Ilan Pappe claims that the British government in the country was not pro-Jewish or pro-Arab but pro-British. The real interest of Britain was to turn the mandatory countries into quasi colonies. The Arab Economy

Samuel seized extensive areas of state-owned lands, closed the Agricultural Bank which used to give loans to Arab farmers during the Ottoman Period, confis-
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within their empire, providing economic profits for the motherland and serving imperialist interests. In the case of Palestine – control over the route to India and the Suez Canal. Until 1929, the British viewed a pro-Zionist policy as being in the British interest. The Jews were perceived as a society that could be trusted and through which British interests could be consolidated. In this framework, the British allowed a small Jewish community to build a “state in the making” and did not encourage any real development on the Palestinian side. (After 1929, the British tended to appease the Arab side in order to continue safeguarding their interest in the Middle East.) (From: Ilan Pappe, The British interest in the Middle East and the Zionist Movement, in Neima Barzel (ed.), Founding a State).

The number of Jews in the country grew

At the end of the First World War, only 56,000 Jews remained in Palestine (as against 85,000 before the War). Two waves of Jewish immigration reached the country during the Twenties. Those of the Third Aliyah came with the end of the First World War, mainly from Eastern Europe. Most were young, imbued with a socialist ideology, and they came to establish an egalitarian, just society, differing from the European Jewish society they had left. These pioneers set up frameworks for cooperative life, for example, the kibbutz, and worked mainly on the soil and on the paving of roads. The Fourth Aliyah arrived in the mid-Twenties, also from Eastern Europe, and following the anti-Semitic policies of the Polish Government. The Fourth Aliyah brought, in addition to the pioneers, many low-middle class families who came with a small amount of private capital to invest in the country, mainly in the cities. This immigration strengthened the urban sector of the Jewish community. In 1929, following these waves of immigrations, the Jewish yishuv had 157,000 people (as against some 900,000 Arabs).

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cated the lands of the farmers and their livestock in return for settlement of loans and exhausted the inhabitants by raising the tax burden to the point at which they were forced to sell their lands to pay off the debts.

Samuel published a law for establishment of a land registry and appointed the Zionist Norman Bentwich to head it; his goal was to remove from Arab hands as large a quantity as possible of land areas and to transfer them to Jews. The government adopted a variety of methods to impoverish the Palestinian farmer. For example, it imported wheat and oil weeks before the harvest season, thus flooding the markets with these goods. By the time the local product reached the market place, prices were very low. This often led to the migration of Palestinian farmers to the cities and to the abandonment of their lands causing increased unemployment amongst the laborers and erosion of their wages.13

A peasant from the village of Sarsa in the District of Safed said: “After the Palestinian farmer has harvested his wheat, the British bring in cheaper wheat from Australia by sea and sell it in Haifa at half-a-girsh per kilo. They know that the Palestinian farmer cannot sell at this price.”14
The Jewish economy and Hebrew culture develop

During the period of the first High Commissioners (Herbert Samuel, 1920 – 1925, and Lord Plumer, 1925 – 1928), there was a reasonable level of security and public order in the land and the Jewish community was wise enough to utilize this time to improve development of the economy. Many of the pioneers of the Third Aliyah were employed in public works which the first Commissioners initiated, mainly the paving of roads.

Among those of the Fourth Aliyah, prominent in their relative weight were immigrants with capital who invested their money in industry, infrastructure and services. Examples of this are two large plants erected by Jews with a concession from the Mandatory Government: Pinchas Rutenberg’s power station at Naharayim and the potash works at the Dead Sea.

The city that benefited the most from the import of capital was Tel Aviv. It absorbed over half of the immigrants of the Fourth Aliyah and its population grew to 40,000 within a year. The prominent and characteristic feature of the urban economic high

Members of the Work Brigade (pioneers) engaged in the paving of a road

The British Judaization policy knew no limits. “It facilitated the Jews’ purchase of over two hundred thousand dunams in the Jezreel Valley (Marj Ben Amer) and this lead to the departure of nine hundred families who had been tenant farmers.”

Following the granting of the concessions, Herbert Samuel published the Transfer of Ownership, Registration and Land Arrangement Law in 1920, with the purpose of speeding up the pace of the Jewish take over of Arab lands. One of the laws was for the protection of peasants against expulsion by landlords. The overwhelming majority of the large privately-owned estates belonged to absentee landlords who lived in Syria and Lebanon. Until then, there had been an excellent set of relationships between landlord and peasant but, with the publication of the new law, the tenant was under the impression that he did not have to pay any more lease fees because the law granted him certain "leasing rights" which protect him from being expelled. On the other hand, the landlord was now subject to a difficult and unenviable situation – he was simultaneously unable to receive hardly any income at all from his land while the burden of taxes seriously pressed upon him.

The government of Britain sued anyone who was in arrears with the payment of the tax and imposed fines and prison sentences. Amongst the many taxes which the inhabitants paid was the tithe – i.e.: one tenth of the produce. The American Jews grape growers were exempt from this tax for ten years. The discount was made in favor of the Jews who had brought in this type of grape in which the Palestinians had no interest.

Here came the role of the Jewish land broker who offered to buy the land and relieve the owner of his troubles. In one instance alone, 40,000 acres were sold, on which there were 18 villages, with the result that 688 peasant families were expelled from their lands. 309 families joined the ranks of the landless and the remainder escaped to the towns or became
A Palestinian farmer from Tul Karem describes the situation as follows: "I sell my land and my property after the government forces me to pay taxes and tithes when I do not have the means to provide a livelihood for myself and my family. In these conditions, I am forced to turn to a rich man with a request for a loan... when the time comes for its repayment I do not have in my pocket one coin that will suffice me to buy dinner. In effect, I am obliged to double the amount of the original debt in the hope that I will be able to repay it a month or two later... and so lasted for years... this forced me to sell my land to pay my debt, from which I received only a minuscule portion."\(^{18}\)

With respect to the abandoned lands, the "Abandoned/Dead Hand Lands Law" was published on February 16, 1921. According to this law, the state confiscated abandoned lands from anyone who did not have a deed of ownership. The purpose of this law was to take the lands out of the hands of the peasants, to take control of them and to facilitate their transfer to Jews. Matters reached the point of confiscation of Waqf lands of the Jerusalem Al-Khatib...
Jewish immigration and British policy thus gave rise to distaste and concern on the part of the Arabs in the economic sphere. Mr. Churchill published a report which he had received from Symes, the governor of the Haifa District, regarding the distaste of the Arab residents in which it was stated, inter alia: “economic conditions have a strong influence on political issues. These conditions are particularly difficult and, therefore, the village inhabitants have responded to agitation against the Government, there is no employment in Acre, Shef Amer and Haifa, the various fields of employment are in a state of deterioration. Similarly the customs barriers with Syria are destroying direct commerce; the condition of the simple porters and laborers has also worsened because the Jewish institutions and employers are giving priority to laborers who are new immigrants. Similarly, the urban population strata are suffering from a rise in the cost of living and they have to chose between bankruptcy or immigration. The situation of the landlord is not better. He is chained by heavy debts and has no possibility for receiving additional loans. The price of wheat is also low as there is no possibility of exporting it. As for the Bedouin, they have to change over to farming or leave the country.21

The Political Situation in Palestine

In order to make it easier for settlement to control all spheres of life in Palestine, the mandatory recog-
Haifa a start was made on construction of a modern seaport. A new city was even founded in the Jezreel Valley, the city of Afula, which was from the outset built to be a city.

Development of the citrus industry was the most important feature in the realm of Jewish agriculture. The following diagram shows the citrus crop in dunams, with the colored part being by Jews (From The Zionist Idea and the Establishment of the State of Israel, Tal Publications).

**New settlements arise, some of a new type**

A tour around the country at the end of the Twenties would have discovered some 30 new settlements which had been established during the decade, among them agricultural settlements. They were established on lands which the Zionist national institutions as well as private individuals had bought in the Jezreel Valley, the Zevulun Valley and the Sharon.

Particularly prominent were the settlements of a new and unique category: the kibbutzim. The kibbutz offers a unique life style combining socialist ideas, which the pioneers brought with them from Eastern Europe, with the reality in Palestine. It is a community of tens, even hundreds, of families who live a full cooperative and egalitarian life. Members of the kibbutz own no private property. All property belongs to the kibbutz and it ensures the welfare of all its inhabitants. In exchange, each person works to the extent he is able and receives according to his needs. Decisions are made by all the kibbutz members democratically. Daily life, meals, leisure time and looking after the children are cooperative ventures. The kibbutzim, established on lands bought with national funds, engage in tilling the soil and in industry; in remote areas where it is difficult to live, they made the land blossom.

This poem well expresses the characteristics of the

nized the Jewish Agency which was set up in 1922. The constitution determined its functions in August 1929, as follows:

* encouragement and strengthening of Jewish immigration.
* providing a response to the Jews’ religious needs.
* development of the Hebrew language and nurturing of Jewish culture.
* obtaining ownership over land in order to expand the scope of Jewish settlement.
* increasing agricultural settlement.

establishment of armed terrorist bands, viz: the Irgun Hahagana Hatzvai on the pretext of protecting the settlers and their property. The Hagana Organization undertook to train Jews to fight and to defend themselves. Vladimir Jabotinsky headed the organization. 22

Samuel tried to set up an Arab agency, similar and equivalent to the Jewish Agency, in 1923, but the Arabs refused to cooperate with the Mandatory Government because, first of all, this plan did not answer all the Arab demands.

During the period of Samuel’s rule in Palestine, Jabotinsky, of the iron wall doctrine, tried to establish an Arab-Jewish Brotherhood Society, but the name of this society belied its true intentions. Its whole purpose was first to harm the Moslem Christian Society and to add the weak-charactered to Jabotinsky. This plan failed, however, thanks to the alertness of the Arabs. 23

In addition, the British and the Zionists also applied a policy of “divide and rule”. They set up Arab political parties to divide the Arabs. For example, the Agricultural Party’s, the sole purpose was to sew suspicion and negative feelings among villagers vis-à-vis city dwellers and vice versa. The latter started to treat the former with derision and distaste and clear hostility developed between the two parties. This party did not, however, survive for long as the villagers brought
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spirit of the era, dealing with the redemption and flourishing of the land.

Morning Song by Nathan Alterman
In the mountains the sun shines forth above you,
In the vale the grass is filled with dew;
Oh, our homeland, yes, we truly love you
In our joy, our song, our labor, yes we do!

From the Lebanon down to the Sea of Sorrow,
We will walk your fields and till them with the plough;
We will plant and we will build, so that tomorrow
We will make you even lovelier than now.

We will deck you out in buildings and construction,
And our gardens will be carpets for your feet;
We will celebrate the feast of your redemption
With the music of the breezes through the wheat.

We will carve out roads through desert rock and granite;
We will dry your swamps to fields that we can plant;
We will make this land the fairest on the planet;
We will give you everything that we can grant.

[Translation by Sharon Neeman]

The Jewish community organizes into political parties and leadership institutions

From the beginning of the Twenties, quasi-state institutions began to take shape, based on general elections. This governmental system is often termed “The State in the making”. The Jewish Agency filled the role of the “Government of the Jewish community” and also represented the yishuv vis-à-vis the mandatory government.

The democratic nature of the political institutions characterized the Zionist Movement from the moment of its inception and continued to accompany it in the Land of Israel. From the first elections, a right to vote was granted equally to everyone, including women, even before this was accepted in many progressive countries.

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it to an end but the sediments of distaste between urban dweller and villager remained for a long time after its disappearance.

The British filled a role in the divide-and-rule policy among Palestinian families. After the death of the mufti, Kamal al-Husseini in 1921, the Nashashibi family tried to obtain the position of the mufti of Jerusalem in order to get its hands on both this position and on that of the mayoralty of Jerusalem, then controlled by Ragheb Nashashibi. Public opinion in Palestine, however, wanted and supported the appointment of Haj Amin Al-Husseini to the position of mufti, in the place of his brother. In order to extricate the government from this complex situation, High Commissioner Herbert Samuel, rather than using his authority and appointing Haj Amin Al-Husseini according to the wish of the inhabitants, advised that elections would be held for the post of mufti.

Because the election results were forged, Al-Husseini came in fourth, contrary to expectations. The citizens and the Al-Husseini family protested the result and, thanks to pressure applied by some of the British who supported Al-Husseini, Samuel was in the end forced to appoint Al-Husseini to the position of mufti. The aim had been to hurt the Al-Husseini family by using the Nashashibi family in order to engage the citizens in familial and party political disputes so as to weaken the national unity.

Haj Amin Al-Husseini filled an important political and religious role for the whole of the period of the British Mandate in Palestine by virtue of his appointment as mufti of the Holy Lands in 1921. He contributed to the establishment of the Supreme Islamic Council, a body which became active in the defense of Arab rights and demands to the point at which the British viewed it as a third government in Palestine. The other two were, firstly, the British government and, secondly, the Jewish Agency. Haj Amin Al-Husseini began to give economic and moral support to the nationalist schools, particularly the Al-Najach School.
The familiar joke about the deserted island on which were two Jews but three political parties, found its expression in those years – a plethora of political parties and bodies began to take shape and each stream had a settling organization of its own, an economic organization of its own, sports clubs, cultural and paramilitary organizations of its own. In the spring of 1920, the Jewish residents of the Land of Israel went to the ballot for the first time and these were the first elections of the yishuv for its leadership institutions. The number of eligible voters then was 28,765, of whom 77% voted. Twenty parties managed to place representatives in the General Assembly. These figures show a clear picture of a vibrant and variegated political life already in the early days of the yishuv.

The leading and largest political camp was that of the workers, which had socialist positions. It held that the Jewish state to be established had to be egalitarian and all the means of production and the capital in it had to be jointly owned. The most prominent party in this camp during the Twenties was “Achdut Ha-Avodah” which subsequently became Milieget Poalei Eretz Yisrael or Mapai. This party, headed by David Ben Gurion, led the yishuv and the State for decades.

The dominance of the socialist attitude also found expression in economic life. The largest social-economic organization was the workers’ organization, called the “General Federation of Hebrew Laborers in the Land of Israel” or the Histadruth. As an organized union, the Histadrut saw to the conditions of labor and the wages of its members but went beyond pure and simple unionism. It owned the largest economic companies in the fields of construction, industry and banking. The ownership of these companies was shared by all the workers and they all enjoyed the profits through receipt of housing, medical, educational and cultural services. The Histadrut worked for an egalitarian society under the leadership of a strong and large working class.
The second camp was called the civilian camp. It consisted of members of the middle class who supported the establishment of a state based on private capital and free competition in the economy. Prominent in this camp were two parties: The General Zionists, which was the centrist party, and the Revisionist Zionists, the party of the right, headed by Ze'ev Jabotinsky.

In the political composition of the first Elected Assembly (1920), the largest bloc was the labor camp (35.4%), followed by the civilian camp (19.9%). Other blocs were the religious, with religious Zionists and ultra-orthodox (haredi) non-Zionists (19.7%) and the ethnic-Sephardi bloc (25%). (From The Zionist Idea and the Establishment of the State of Israel, Tal Publications).

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The Palestinian teacher was subject to an atmosphere of fear and oppression. The Palestine newspaper wrote about this: “Suffice it what happened to the history teacher who had wanted to compare his situation to the political situation in the country. He was accused of engaging in politics and, therefore, received the appropriate punishment. The Education Administration adopts the charge and takes the appropriate steps to delete this crime without conducting an investigation or study... We have heard of many cases in which the Education Administration dismissed students who joined the strike on the day of the General Strike. This shows that the Education Administration wanted the students to be Greeks or from the Land of Siberia.”

The Palestinian educator, Amin Hafez el-Djani, notes that the purpose of the curriculum is “to delete the national and Arab identity, to educate the new generation in English literature and to cause them to remain ignoramuses about Arab history, the geography of Arab countries and Arab culture. The Palestinian student would know more about Britain and its history and literature than the English themselves.”

From a review of the Palestinian press, one may learn that:
1. The British Education Administration totally controlled the Palestinian schools while, at the same time,
The Labor camp and the Revisionists were at odds not only over socio-economic issues but also on the question of the attitude to Arabs. The labor camp believed that it was possible to settle the conflict with the Arabs through dialogue and cooperation. In the spirit of the socialist ideology, this camp tried to reach cooperation and even international brotherhood of the Jewish and Arab working class. At the fourth convention (1924) of Achdut Ha-Avoda, a resolution was passed regarding "establishment of a class agreement to protect the interests of the workers of both peoples, expressing international solidarity and serving as a means for drawing closer and for dialogue between the Zionist Labor Movement and the true popular national movement of the Arab people."

(From: Naor and Giladi, Palestine in the Twentieth Century – from community to state).

On the other side, the Revisionists did not believe that dialogue at this stage would mollify the opposition of the Arabs to Zionism. Jabotinsky developed the "iron wall" theory, according to which only force and strength pursued against the Arabs would constitute a barrier against their attempt to destroy Zionism, and would lead in the final resort to dialogue and even reconciliation. He wrote as follows:

That the Arabs of the Land of Israel should willingly come to an agreement with us is beyond all hopes and dreams at present, and in the foreseeable future.... there is not even the slightest hope of ever obtaining the agreement of the Arabs of the Land of Israel to "Palestine" becoming a country with a Jewish majority. ... They look upon Palestine with the same instinctive love and true fervor that any Aztec looked upon his Mexico ... This colonization can, therefore, continue and develop only under the protection of a force independent of the local population – an iron wall which the native population cannot break through. ... As long as there is a spark of hope that they can get rid of us, they will not sell these hopes, not for any kind of sweet words or tasty morsels, because...

2. The occupation authorities did not develop new schools. On the contrary, their policy resulted in a spread of ignorance and illiteracy.

3. Restriction of academic freedom and the arrests of the nationalist students. Eight students were expelled from the Arab College in Jerusalem after their participation in the 1930 General Strike.

4. The efforts of the Arabs in 1922 to found an Arab university in Jerusalem failed. At the same time, in 1925, the Jews celebrated the founding of the Hebrew University.

5. The Education Administration did not have one single Palestinian official, according to the survey of the newspaper "Al Mir'ah". The staffing of the Education Administration was as follows:

- Director of the Education Administration: Sir Humphrey Boman (British)
- Chief inspector: Mr. George Antonius (Syrian)
- Inspector: Mr. Hassin Ruchi (Persian)
- Inspector: Kathol (Syrian)
- Chief writer: Mr. Mansey Hanoush (Aramian)
- Clerk: Mr. Blum (Jewish)
- Accountant: Sir Beale (British).

Despite all the pressure exerted on the Palestinian people in all spheres of life, and despite all the British and Zionist intrigues and attacks with the goal of causing the Palestinians to remain an ignorant and illiterate people, the Palestinians were aware of what was going on around them and, in response to these intrigues, they held meetings and conferences, published articles on political and cultural matters, leading to the outbreak of the popular uprisings and demonstrations.
they are not a rabble but a nation, perhaps somewhat tattered, but still living. A living people makes such enormous concessions on such fateful questions only when there is no hope left. Only when not a single breach is visible in the iron wall, only then do extreme groups lose their sway, ... and influence transfers to moderate groups ... And only then will moderates offer suggestions for compromise on practical questions.

The only path to such an agreement is the iron wall, that is to say the strengthening in Palestine of a government without any kind of Arab influence ... In other words, for us the only path to an agreement in the future is an absolute refusal of any attempts at an agreement now.

Vladimir Jabotinsky, The Iron Wall (We and the Arabs) (From A. Domka, ibid)

The Palestinian-Arab society in the Land of Israel forms a national identity

The Arabs of the Land of Israel in the Twenties began to form their national identity. At first, they saw themselves as belonging to the large Arab Moslem nation that constituted a replacement for the Ottoman Empire. During the days of martial law (1918 – 1920), they declared their belonging to “Greater Syria” and called the country Southern Syria – Palestine. With the collapse of the Greater Syria dream and confirmation of the mandate by the League of Nations, the distinct national identity of the Palestinians, calling for a distinct self-determination, began to take shape.

Throughout the Twenties, the Arabs of Palestine suffered from weakness, rivalries and internal splits along a number of central axes:

1. A struggle for the leadership of Palestinian society between the two dominant Jerusalem families: the Husseinis and the Nashashibis.
2. A rift between the rich, mainly urban, families who

Popular Uprisings, 1920 and 1921:
a. 1920 Uprising (April Uprising)

The Palestinian historian, Aref el-Aref, wrote in the newspaper “Southern Syria” articles of open protest against British policy in Palestine, and, on February 27, 1920, a large demonstration was held in Jerusalem with the approval of the authorities. This was the first political demonstration in Palestine against the English. Forty thousand Arabs took part.

Every year, the Moslems used to go on a pilgrimage from all parts of Palestine to the [grave of] Nebi Musa, may he rest in peace, near Jericho. The pilgrimage week was considered the most important religious folkloristic event of the whole year. On April 4, 1920, the people of Jerusalem gathered to welcome those from Hebron and Nablus who, as their custom every year, flooded into Jerusalem on their way to the grave of Nebi Musa. Musa Qassem al-Husseini, the mayor of Jerusalem, spoke and fired up the demonstrators. A number of Jews happened to pass by and some of them spat at the enthused crowd at the Islamic religious ceremony. Emotions burst out, hatred erupted and the battle between the two sides continued until the evening. This outbreak resulted in nine Jewish dead and 250 wounded and four Arab martyrs and 20 wounded.

A British court martial issued a judgment against Aref al-Aref and Haj Amin al-Husseini and sentenced them to imprisonment for fifteen years, but Jabotinsky who had headed the Jewish demonstration and was also sentenced to fifteen years in prison was released from jail by Samuel after a few days.31

With the end of the demonstrations, the British sent to the country a commission of enquiry headed by General Palin. Among the reasons the Report noted for the disturbances between the Arabs and the Jews was the Arab concern about the Balfour Declaration and that they would not merit independence, fearing that they would become a minority subject to the
held most of the land in the country and the rural masses. This rift stemmed from the quasi-feudal system of land ownership and from the gaps in education and culture.

3. A dispute over the organizing foundation of the national identity - whether it was to be the religious-Islamic interest as happened under the leadership of the Mufti, Haj Amin Al-Husseini, or a national identity based on a modern political national consciousness, as represented by the Istaqlal (Independence) Party which was established in the Thirties.

4. The British did not recognize the Arab community in the country as a distinct national community and did not allow it to have, in those years, ruling institutions of its own as happened in the neighboring Arab countries.

(From Bar Navi and Nave, Modern Times B)

The Palestinian national movement concentrated its efforts on the struggle against Jewish immigration and the purchase of lands by Jews and devoted less effort to the foundation of an autonomous political community per se. As part of its struggle against Zionism, it presented extreme demands without any willingness for compromise.

**The Riots of 1929 undermine the Co-existence**

On August 23, 1929, masses of Moslem worshippers came for Friday prayers on the Temple Mount, many of them armed with sticks and knives, after a long period of confrontations around the prayer arrangements at the Western Wall. At about eleven o'clock, shots were heard on the Temple Mount, intended to inflame passions, and hundreds of worshippers broke through into the alleyways of the market to attack Jewish passers-by. This was the start of a violent insurrection from Yesud Hamaaleh in the north to Beer
Tuvia in the south. In the course of these disturbances, 133 Jews and 87 Arabs were killed and some 500 people were injured on both sides. Tens of Jewish settlements were attacked and many of them were vacated of their inhabitants. It was during these riots that the Jewish community of Hebron ceased to exist.

Underlying the hostile relations between Jews and Arabs was the development of the economy and the Jewish yishuv which threatened the Arab street and leadership and awakened their opposition. The immediate factor behind the violent outbreak was a dispute around the prayer arrangements at the Western Wall. The reason for the outbreak of the dispute at this highly-charged location was a portable cloth divider that the Jews positioned in the Wall plaza on the Day of Atonement (1928) to separate men and women during the prayer service. The British governor of Jerusalem treated it as though it were a breach of the status quo in an area under the control of the Moslem Waqf and broke into the plaza with his soldiers during the Day of Atonement prayers to remove the divider by force. The Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin Al-Husseini, took advantage of the incident to incite the mob against the Jews and termed what they had done as “the avaricious and uncurbed aspirations of the Jews whose goal is to get their hands on the El-Aqsa Mosque.” (From: A. Domka, The World and the Jews in Recent Generations). Another factor behind the riots was a march held by members of Beitar to the Western Wall plaza a week before the outbreak of the disturbances and an anti-Arab demonstration that was held the following day. A week later, on August 23, an Arab mob was inflamed by the Supreme Arab Committee into attacking the Jewish neighborhoods in Jerusalem and, from there, to Jewish neighborhoods and settlements throughout the country.

In Safed, despite the good neighborly relations that had existed between the Jewish and Arab communi-
ties, 18 Jews were murdered and 80 injured. Small Jewish neighborhoods in Beit Shean, Gaza, Jenin and Tul Karem were abandoned and small, isolated settlements, such as Ramat Rachel, Atarot and Beer Tuvia were also abandoned.

In Motza, the inhabitants of the Arab village of Colonia attacked the home of the Makleff Family and murdered the father of the family, his wife, their son and their two daughters as well as two guests who were in the house, altogether seven people. After the murder, they looted the house and burnt it. A lone baby of the Makleff Family survived the attack and went on to become the third Chief-of-Staff of the Israel Defense Forces, namely: Mordechai Makleff.

The worst attack of all was against the ancient Jewish community of Hebron, with its seven hundred Jews. In view of the good neighborly relations with the Arabs, the members of the community refused to accept military assistance, as was offered by members of the Haganah. On Shabbat, August 24, a large mob collected from the surrounding villages and indulged in a cruel massacre of the Jewish residents. Those murdered numbered 68, with 58 injured.

Colonel Kish, a member of the Zionist Executive, testified about the disturbances:

"On Friday, August 23, the riots started spreading. The murder of Jews began in Jerusalem at around 12:30 in the afternoon, as mobs of Arabs armed with daggers and sticks began leaving the Old City. Two hours elapsed before permission was given for the Police to fire at the murderers. The first victim fell in Hebron that same day, a yeshivah student, and the following day, on the Sabbath, there was an onslaught which we cannot term other than with the word "massacre", for on that day the murderers attacked and, for two hours, conducted an extermination of the Jews of Hebron who had peaceably lived in this city since early times." (From the Dairy of Colonel Kish, in Domka, p. 107).

The First White Paper (Churchill Memorandum):

Following the bloody events in Jaffa, and after British Secretary of State for the Colonies Winston Churchill had heard the decisions of the Haycraft Commission regarding Arab rights and the reasons for the events, and following the activity of the Palestinian Mission in London and the meetings it held with British personalities, and after the Arabs had boycotted the legislative council that was proposed, after all these, Churchill was persuaded that there was no choice but to publish a promise that would please the Arabs. Accordingly, the Secretary of State for the Colonies was forced to publish the White Paper, as it was called in English, on June 22, 1922.

The White Paper determines that the English will not accept the transformation of Palestine into a Jewish entity and that they will try to help the inhabitants establish self-rule. The purpose of publication of the White Paper was to mollify the fears of the Arabs in view of the goals of the Zionists. Among other things, the White Paper:
Most of the Jews of Hebron were saved thanks to Arabs who concealed them in their homes. The heads of the community wrote to the High Commissioner “Had it not been for several Arab families who protected the Jews not a soul would have remained alive in the city”. 435 were saved in Arab homes, finding a haven in 287 houses. Some of the homes took in scores of Jews. “There were Arabs who were injured defending their neighbors,” a Jew testified. An Egyptian physician, Dr. Abed el-Aal, treated the injured and even saved a whole family himself. (From Tom Segev, Days of the Anemones).

The Passfield White Paper (1930) expresses a British retreat from its commitments

The events of 1929 caused the British to re-examine their policy in Palestine. Once again a parliamentary commission of inquiry came to the country, this time chaired by the judge, Sir Walter Shaw. The commission heard testimony from all the parties. The Arabs claimed that the Jews were ousting them from the land and from the places holy to Islam. The Jews argued that there was sufficient room in the country for both peoples. The commission determined that the Arabs were responsible for the outbreak of the disturbances but it disclosed understanding for their motives - the fear of a Jewish take-over of their lands and economy. The commission recommended that Jewish immigration and the purchase of lands by Jews be halted.

The Secretary of the Colonies, Lord Passfield, adopted the recommendations of the commission. In the White Paper which was published in 1930, it was determined that immigration would be restricted in accordance with the “economic absorptive capacity of the country”, that is to say, that so long as there was unemployment amongst the Arabs no Jewish immigration would be permitted. The significance of this decision was a total halt to immigration. In addition, the sale

1. stresses that the Balfour Declaration does not mean turning the whole of Palestine into a national home for Jews but the establishment of such a homeland in Palestine.
2. stresses that the Jewish national home does not mean a Jewish state and the significance of this is that it will not be established in one step but gradually and with the passage of time.
3. stresses the need to continue with Jewish immigration but restricts it to the economic absorptive capacity of the country.
4. determines that a legislative council is to be established as a step on the path to autonomy.
5. stresses that Palestine is not included in the commitment for independence which Britain gave in the exchange of letters between Hussein and McMahon.

Churchill’s White Paper thus ignored the demands of the Arabs of Palestine that the Jewish national home policy be revoked, that immigration be stopped and that national autonomy be established. It was also clarified that the purpose of the link between Jewish immigration and the economic absorptive capacity of the country, while ignoring national political considerations – was to facilitate the continued flow of Jews to Palestine.

Between August 20 and 25, 1922, the Fifth Palestinian Conference took place in Nablus, and following are its important resolutions:

1. To reject the constitution which the British had prepared for Palestine and to boycott the elections to the legislative council in Palestine. It was a British plan to set up a legislative council.
2. To reject the Mandate over Palestine.
3. To boycott business affairs with Jews.
4. To dispatch a Palestinian mission to the countries of the Arab East and to America.
5. To protest the financial loan which the British had
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of lands to Jews was restricted. These decisions effectively emptied the Balfour Declaration of its content.

The Jewish public in Palestine and overseas as well as British public figures expressed great anger. Chaim Weizmann, the President of the World Zionist Organization, resigned his position. Following this, Ramsey MacDonald, the British Prime Minister, decided to revoke the decisions of the White Paper and, for the time being, damage to the Zionist effort was avoided.

Summary
The British era in Palestine started with great hopes of the Zionist Movement thanks to the Balfour Declaration and the mandate document. The Twenties were indeed years of growth in which the Jewish yishuv succeeded in molding the “state in the making”. But the violent response of the Arabs vis-à-vis immigration and Jewish settlement caused the British to slowly renege on their undertakings in the mandate document. The process of pulling back grew deeper, peaking in the Third White Paper. The Jewish community, for its part, continued with immigration and settlement while at the same time creating an independent defensive capability.

References and suggestions for further reading:
Eliezer Domka, The World and the Jews in Recent Generations, Part B Vol. 1, Zalman Shazar Center
Naor & Giladi, Eretz Israel in the Twentieth Century, From Settlement to State

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signed in the name of Palestine and not to participate in the Rutenberg Program.

6. To establish an Arab office in London.44

The Conference adopted a Palestinian national charter which the delegates swore to uphold. In it, it is said: “We, the representatives of Palestine, the members of the Fifth Arab Palestinian Conference, vow before Allah and before our Nation and history that we continue our legitimate struggle to achieve independence and set up the Arab Union as well as to reject the Jewish homeland and immigration.” 45

Quiet and Stability (1923–1928):
The period between 1923 and 1929 was considered to be one of relative quiet in comparison with previous years. The reason for that lies in the British maneuver, misleading the Palestinian leadership, including declarations and demands not to prejudice the political and religious rights of the Arabs and not to turn the whole of Palestine into a national home for the Jews. The Zionist program achieved significant results in that it succeeded in increasing the number of immigrants to Palestine. In that period more than 77,299 immigrants came from Poland, Russia, Germany, Rumania, Britain, America, Africa and Asia.

Similarly, the Palestinian leadership did not manage to organize the people into a true rebellion against the British-Zionist project because of the dispute between the ruling families and parties in the Palestinian street. This was derived from the British divide-and-rule policy. At the same time, it should not be said that absolute peace reigned. The struggle and opposition were expressed in preventing the sale of lands.

In June 1928, the Seventh Palestinian Conference was held. It was resolved at this conference to set up a national parliamentary government. This had been preceded by a general strike throughout Palestine in
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Glossary of Terms

Land of Israel
the name by which Jews call the territory to which the Arabs relate as Palestine. The name refers to an area of land (not necessarily a state) in which the Jews lived under religious, and sometimes political, independence in the periods of the First Temple (1000 to 586 BCE) and of the Second Temple (586 BCE to 70 CE) and in which they even maintained continuous Jewish settlement throughout the years of the Exile. This area of land was promised to the Jewish People by God, as stated in the Bible and so is also called the Promised Land. This is why the Zionist Movement chose the Land of Israel as the location for establishment of a Jewish state.

The geographical borders of the Land of Israel are not defined and vary with history in accordance with the political reality and currently in accordance with the political trend.

PALESTINIAN NARRATIVE

1925 to protest the visit of Balfour to Palestine to participate in the inauguration of the Hebrew University. The Palestinian press conducted a broad-based attack against this visit.
Khalil Al-Sakakini gave a nationalist speech from the podium in the Al-Aksa Mosque, in which he asked Balfour to leave the country which he had entered contrary to the desire of its inhabitants.46

4. The Events of the Holy al-Buraq Wall:

* The 1928 Events

The Jews tried in a variety of ways to take over the plaza of the al-Buraq Wall. They attempted to purchase the plaza, which has been considered a Moslem holy trust since the period of Mohammed Ali Pasha (1831 – 1840). They also tried to change the status quo and began to bring chairs and tables and to sit there and later they put up a divide to separate between men and women as is customary in their synagogues. Haj Amin Al-Husseini, the mufti of Jerusalem and chairman of the Supreme Moslem Council, filed a complaint with Keith-Roach, District Commissioner of the Jerusalem District who instructed that these things be removed. This aroused the anger of the Jews and they started demonstrating by the Wall.

On November 1, 1929, the Moslems held a conference in Jerusalem to discuss the issue of the al-Buraq Wall and it was decided to set up a society with the name: "The Association for Preserving the EI-Aqsa Mosque and the Islamic Holy Places", based in Jerusalem. In reaction, the Jews established "The Association of Kotel [Western Wall] Loyalists". The Jews began to irritate the Arabs and so, in November 1928, Britain published the Second White Paper about the Holy al-Buraq which referred to the Islamic ownership of the Wall and noted that the Jews were only allowed to visit there. 47 The British decided to preserve the existing situation as in the days of the Ottoman Empire, this being a term which is known as status quo.48
The official name of the Land of Israel in the period of the Mandate was: the Land of Israel – Palestine, as featuring on postage stamps and coins of the period. The name Palestine was coined by the Roman emperor, Andrianus, at the end of the Bar Kochva rebellion (135 BCE) in order to destroy all vestiges of Jewish existence in the country. The area around Jerusalem was a Roman province by the name of Judea.

**Haj Amin El-Husseini (1895-1974)**
The outstanding leader of the Palestinians throughout the whole of the period of the British Mandate and the main organizer of action against the Zionist Movement. In 1920, he was appointed to the position of Mufti of Jerusalem and subsequently as president of the Supreme Moslem Council. He led the riots in 1920 and 1921 for which he was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment but was pardoned by the British High Commissioner. He was among the organizers of the riots in 1929 and in 1936 aligned himself against the British in the Arab Revolt. With the outbreak of the Second World War, he went to Germany and devoted himself to the propaganda war effort of the fascist states. After the war, he fled to Egypt and started working for the Palestinian cause from there. He presented a tough, uncompromising position vis-à-vis any idea of conciliation with the Zionist Movement and, after the war, was one of those who acclaimed the idea of the return of the refugees from the War of Independence.

**Vladimir Ze'ev Jabotinsky (1880-1940)**
Son of a well-to-do family of merchants from Odessa (currently Russia or the Ukraine) who received a traditional and general education in his youth. He studied law in Switzerland and Italy and published articles signed with his literary pseudonym "Altalena". He began his Zionist activity following the 1903 Kishinev pogrom after which he was one of the leaders of the Jewish community supporting establishment of a self-defense force. He was one of the initiators of the

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**The 1929 Revolt (al-Buraq Revolt)**
On August 15, 1929, the Jews decided to come out with demonstrations from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. In these demonstrations, the Zionist flag was flown, fiery speeches were given calling for control over the al-Buraq Wall. Cries were heard such as: "The Wall is ours" and, when they reached the Wall, they sang Hatikva.

The following day, the Moslems went on a large demonstration protesting against the demonstration of the Jews which had taken place on the day marking the birth of the Prophet Mohammed. When the demonstrators reached the Wall, they overturned the table of the Jewish beadle and burned supplicatory notes in the chinks in the Wall. This increased the tension between Arabs and Jews and so began the A1-Buraq events which rapidly spread to all parts of Palestine. In the Arab assault on Jews in Hebron, more than 60 Jews were killed and others wounded. There were also injured in Nablus and the disturbances to the peace spread to Beit Shean, Haifa, Jaffa and Acre.

The Jews broke into the home of the Sheikh Abd el-Ghani Awn in Jaffa and killed him and all his family. They cut open his stomach and crushed the skulls of his wife, his young son and his sister's son. They assaulted the tomb of Sayyidna Ukasha in Jerusalem. They desecrated the place and destroyed the graves of the Companions of the Prophet Mohammed. In Safed, Arabs attacked Jews, killing and wounding more than fifty. According to official estimates, the figures for the dead and injured were: 133 dead and 339 injured of the Jews and 116 martyrs and 232 injured of the Arabs. Most of the injuries among the Arabs were caused by the rifles of the British policemen. Because of the involvement of the British and their stand alongside the Jews, demonstrations of support for the Palestinian people were held in all Arab countries.

The Jews complained to the English that the people of Hebron had abused the Jewish dead and the Government of Britain sent a commission of three Arab
idea for establishment of the Jewish Legion as part of the British army during the First World War. He founded the Revisionist Zionist Alliance and represented the radical wing on the political map which did not see at that time any possibility for compromise with the Arab side.

The Yishuv (the Jewish community)
This is the term Zionist Jews in the Land of Israel used for themselves. The Jewish yishuv gradually grew with each wave of migrants reaching the country. Paralleling the demographic growth, a political and economic growth also occurred. In 1917, the yishuv consisted of 55,000 people and constituted some 10% of the total population of the country. In 1947, it had 650,000 people or some 33% of the total population of the country.

The Western Wall
This is the support wall which King Herod built to create a wide area on the top of the Temple Mount. The Wall or the "Wailing Wall" is the only remnant of the Temple and is close to it (although it was not an actual part of it) and is considered the holiest place for the Jewish People. Since the destruction of the Second Temple, Jews have prayed near the Wall and waited for the coming of the Messiah who, when he comes, will rebuild the Temple. According to Moslem belief, Mohammed ascended to heaven from the rock at the top of the mount and the hoof-print of his horse can be seen on that rock. There are currently two mosques at the mountain top, distinguished by the color of their domes (silver and gold), the El-Aqsa Mosque and the Mosque of Omar.

Disturbances
A term used by the Jews of the Land of Israel for violent attacks on the part of the Arab population against a Jewish population. Of note are the disturbances of 5680 - 5681 (1920 - 1921), of 5689 (1929) and those of 5696 - 5699 (1936 - 1939).

physicians, three Jewish physicians and three British who, on September 12, 1929, exhumed the bodies of Jews and examined them. The commission did not find any signs of abuse of the bodies and the Jewish doctors even asked not to continue the examinations because of the appearance of the bodies. On the other hand, it was the Jews who abused the bodies of the Arabs, as in the case of the Abu Awn family in Jaffa and elsewhere. 49

In fact, not all the residents of Hebron related to the Jews as to a part of the Zionist Movement. Proof of this is that some Arab families protected and gave shelter to a large number of Jews (particularly of the Sephardi community). Similarly, the rebels attacked only the houses and places in which were Jews who had moved to Hebron recently (the Ashkenazi community). Had the national movement in Hebron considered all the Jews to be a part of the Zionist Movement, it would have killed them all. 50 The city of Hebron was placed under curfew for 140 days (from August 24, 1929, to January 13, 1930). The situation in the city was pitiful because of the deterioration in the economic conditions and the acts of horror which the British police perpetrated. In many instances, police units would go into villages near Hebron on the pretext of searching for articles stolen from Jews. The police would ask the village notables to slaughter sheep in their honor and prepare meals for them, bring them tobacco to smoke, prepare fodder for the horses and then they would beat the notables with batons until their bodies bled. 51

After the 1929 events, the British set up a military court. The court sentenced Fuad Hijazi, Muhammed Jamjum and Atta Elzir to death and this sentence was carried out on June 17, 1930. The Palestinian poet Ibrahim Touqan wrote a poetic eulogy to the dead entitled Red Tuesday, in which it is said:

Their body in the soil of the homeland;
Their soul in Paradise
There they complain not about tyranny
There is a plethora of forgiveness and absolution
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Aliyah (Immigration)
A term referring to the migration of Jews to the Land of Israel. The origin of the term is from the days when the Temple still stood and the Jews were commanded in the Torah to go up to Jerusalem, to the Temple. The word expresses a value judgment – immigration to the Land of Israel is an ascent from a lower place to a higher one. Usual accounts are of five waves of immigration prior to establishment of the State of Israel, starting in 1882. Each wave was characterized by the country of origin, ideology and economic class of the immigrants and they are referred to as “First Aliyah”, “Second Aliyah” and so on. Immigration has continued since the establishment of the State to today.

Zionism
The national movement of the Jewish People. It flourished in Eastern and Central Europe as a result of disappointment with the Enlightenment, continued anti-Semitism, the influence of other national movements and the ongoing tie between the Jewish People and the Land of Israel. It aspired to returning the Jewish People to its land and to establishing in the Land of Israel a sovereign Hebrew and Jewish political society; this aspiration was realized through the building of a “state in the making” during the Twenties, Thirties and Forties, culminating in establishment of the State of Israel in 1948.

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Do not ask for absolution alone
He is the Lord of the world
He who grants to the needy
Generously all that they seek
His hand is on high
His power on land and sea.52

The court also sentenced to death the Jew who had murdered the Abu Awn family but the British commuted his sentence and converted it into ten years’ imprisonment, part of which he served before being released.53

In the Shaw Commission report
(October 24, 1929)

The Commission recommended the following:
1. That a clear statement be published about the future policy of Britain.
2. That the immigration of Jews be restricted and supervised because of the fears of the Arabs.
3. That the matter of the lands be arranged and that they not be transferred or sold.
4. That Palestinian peasants be assisted.
5. That autonomy be granted to the Arabs in Palestine.

The Commission proved the Moslem ownership of the al-Buraq Wall.54

Britain sent the English expert, Hope-Simpson, on May 30, 1930, to investigate the land situation in Palestine and, in his report, it is stated:
1. About 29% of Palestinian families have become landless.
2. Simpson pointed out that the Palestinian farmer is being deterred and not assisted at all to improve his crops or the standard of his living while the Jewish farmer receives money and instruction in order to improve his produce.
3. He recommends that Jewish immigration be halted and that control over the borders be increased so as to prevent secret immigration.55
The 1930 White Paper (Passfield Memorandum):
On October 24, 1930, the British published the White Paper in the period of Lord Passfield as Colonial Secretary. It is stated there that, while Britain is committed to the Mandate document, there is a need to grant the Palestinians some sort of autonomy. They decided to halt immigration to Palestine, but MacDonald sent a letter to Weizmann in which he rescinded what had been said in the White Paper. The Arabs termed this letter the "Black Paper", and it is stated in the document: "The statement of His Majesty's Government does not prevent Jews from setting on additional lands because it does not contain such a prohibition. His Majesty's Government does not contemplate any stoppage or prohibition of Jewish immigration."

The Palestinians protested the Black Paper which rescinded the White Paper but their letters and their protests did not find an attentive ear with the British. As a consequence of the British turning a deaf ear to Palestinian demands, the following took place in Palestine:

1. Underground groups were set up for a holy war against the British and the Zionists.
2. The General Islamic Conference was held in Jerusalem in 1931.
3. The al-Istiqlal (Independence) Party was founded.

Thus the Mandatory Government worked consistently in cooperation with Zionism, represented by the Jewish Agency and the Zionist institutions, for the Judaization of Palestine and laid the foundation stone of the Jewish-Zionist national home by increasing the number of the Jews, expanding control over Palestinian lands, taking control of the holy sites for Moslems and Christians and Judaizing them and increasing the number of settlements ... etc.
Glossary of terms

1. **The South Syrian Newspaper:**
The first Arab newspaper. It was published on September 8, 1919, in Jerusalem. It was owned by Aref el-Aref and Amin al-Husseini. A resolute and sharp nationalist paper for whom the principles of Syrian unity, independence and rejection of Zionist immigration were the guiding light. The paper particularly praised the jihad against the Zionists.

2. **The Sephardi Community**
A community of Jews whose origin is not western. They are called "oriental" and are Jews of Spanish, Portuguese and African origin as well as Jews from Arab countries. It constitutes 10% of world Jewry. They speak and, as a rule, Arabic.

3. **The Ashkenazi Community (Western Jews)**
A Jewish community from eastern and central Europe, among them Jews from Poland, Russia and Germany, as well as Jews who migrated to the two American continents. All these constitute 90% of world Jewry. They are also called Ashkenazis.

4. **The Bolsheviks:**
A socialist communist party. One of its principles was that creating the struggle between the classes is more important than adherence to nationality and citizenship.

5. **The Hulutzim Pioneers:**
Enthused youngsters.

6. **The Mandate:**
This means the appointment of powers by the League of Nations to assist a people and prepare it to rule over itself on its own and to stand on its own feet.

7. **Status Quo:**
A term which means to leave everything as it was prior to 1917. This is British policy which the Mandatory Government applied with respect to the holy places and also retention of the current situation as it was at the time of the Ottoman Empire.

8. **The Holy al-Buraq Wall:**
The name of the western wall of the holy El-Aksa Mosque in Jerusalem, sacred to Moslems, since the
Prophet Mohammed (peace and prayers be upon him) tethered his horse, al-Buraq, to a part of the western wall of the holy site before he ascended to heaven. The Jews hold the opinion that the place stands on the ruins of Solomon’s Temple and they call it the “Western Wall” or the “Wailing Wall”. The plaza opposite the al-Buraq Wall is a Moslem sacred trust belonging to the Abu Madin trust. The Jews attempted to purchase the plaza a number of times but did not succeed. These attempts began with the British occupation and lasted until 1928.

9. **The Jewish Agency:**
The operational and settlement arm of the Zionist organization since 1922 following publication of the Balfour Declaration and the imposition of the British Mandate over Palestine. Article number four in the Mandate determines that a Jewish agency shall be set up as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine. The Mandate recognized the Jewish Agency as the Zionist organization whose central functions during the period of the Mandate were to represent the Zionist Movement and world Jewry before the mandatory authorities, the League of Nations and the Government of Britain.

10. **The Immigration Law:**
This law came into effect in 1920 and under its auspices the Jewish Agency was permitted to bring into Palestine each year 16,500 immigrants provided that it be responsible for their keep for a year. But this program was not successful and, in May 1921, an order was published halting immigration pending amendment of the nature of the application of the immigration conditions in the law. The Immigration Law was amended a number of times, in 1921, 1924 and 1925, and was later replaced by a law published in 1928.

11. **Weizmann Chaim (1874 – 1952):**
The first president of the Israeli entity from 1949 until his death. He headed the world Zionist
organization from 1920 to 1931 and from 1935 to 1948. This is the organization which worked for establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine. He headed the Jewish negotiating team to the 1919 Paris Peace Conference where he worked to persuade the League of Nations to grant Britain a mandate for the administration of Palestine. Weizmann was born in Motol in Russia and studied in Germany and Switzerland. He taught chemistry at Manchester University from 1904 to 1914. In his studies, Weizmann discovered an advanced base of botulium acids and acetone for creation of cordite. The discovery made a contribution to the British war effort.

12. Samuel, Viscount Herbert (1870 – 1963): A liberal British statesman, Herbert Louis Samuel was born in Liverpool and acquired his education at Oxford. He was elected to parliament for the constituency of Cleveland in 1909 and became an advisor in the Duchy of Lancaster with a seat in a government ministry. He twice served as postmaster general and was the home secretary in 1916. He served in the position of High Commissioner of Palestine in the years 1920 to 1925 and was again appointed home secretary in 1931.

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3 Al-Kayyali, p. 108.
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46 Ibid, p. 223.
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48 Al-Rajabi, p. 104.
49 Jabara, p. 164.
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52 Tukan, p. 281.
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RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN JEWS AND ARABS IN THE LAND OF ISRAEL BETWEEN THE YEARS 1930 AND 1947

The chapter deals with the main events and processes in the Israel-Arab dispute in the Land of Israel during the Thirties and Forties until the declaration of the partition of the Land of Israel at the United Nations. The internal division of the chapter will be:

1. The first half of the Thirties – the increase of tension between Jews and Arabs in the Land of Israel.

2. The Disturbances of 1936-1939 the Great Arab Revolt. These years were characterized by increased military cooperation between the British and the Jews in the Land of Israel, by changes in the policy of Britain vis-à-vis the Jewish community in the country and by the first proposal for partitioning the country into two states.

3. 1939-1945 The period of the Second World War and the Holocaust. In this period, the Jewish community cooperated with Britain militarily and economically while, at the same time, non-violently opposing the policy of the 1939 White Paper.

4. 1945 - 1947 The period after the Second World War – the period of the struggle. The Jewish community fought against the British with the goal of establishing a Jewish state in the Land of Israel and permitting the immigration of Jews. For the first time in this period, the Jewish community also fought against the British militarily.

The First Half of the Thirties

Following the clashes of 1929, it seemed that the British Labor Government would change its policy and stop supporting the establishment of a national homeland for the Jewish people in the Land of Israel. The
Passfield White Paper of 1930 pointed toward this trend.

The pressure of the World Zionist Organization and of members of the British parliament resulted in the publication of the McDonald (Ramsay MacDonald – Prime Minister of Britain) letter, which revoked the White Paper and expressed renewed support for the policy of the national homeland of the British Government. The direct result was a large wave of immigration of Jews between the years 1932 and 1936, called the Fifth Aliyah. The accelerated immigration (some 150,000 immigrants) was evidence that Britain had not substantially withdrawn from the policy formulated in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate document. Hitler’s rise to power in Germany, the laws against Jews and the increased anti-Semitism in Germany and adjoining countries (such as Poland) alongside energetic Zionist activity in these areas were what brought many Jews to emigrate to the Land of Israel, amongst other places.

The first years of the Thirties were characterized by increased tension between Arabs and the British and the Jews, who were considered by the Arabs as allies of Great Britain, in the Land of Israel. A number of factors lay behind the increased tension that led to the outbreak of the clashes.

1. **Britain’s international weakness.** The Thirties were characterized in the world by the success of the three aggressive powers: Japan, Italy and Germany, as against the weakness of the democratic countries: Britain and France. In 1931, Japan invaded Manchuria and, in 1936, Italy invaded Ethiopia without any significant response by the League of Nations. Nazi Germany grossly breached the Versailles Treaty when it declared the establishment of a German army contrary to the grave restrictions in that treaty. Britain was seen then as a country the peak of whose power was in the past. For some of the Palestinian leadership, it seemed that this was the right time for a fight against the British.
2. The British parliament rejected a bill for establishment of a legislative council in Palestine. This was despite the fact that, under British inspiration, parliaments had been established in the neighboring Arab countries. From the point of view of the Palestinians, rejection of the proposal, which was supposed to have expressed their being a majority in the country and to have permitted them control over their lives, was unjust. This rejection reinforced within them the sense of discrimination in relation to the Jews in the country and in relation to the other Arab territories which were en route to obtaining independence. The sense of discrimination increased the desire to fight for their rights.

3. Trends of radicalization within the Arab nationalist movement. The new generation of the Palestinian leadership was more extreme than its predecessors. The new leaders were more educated and more involved in world affairs than their predecessors. The factors for the change were: a regular inter-generational struggle between youngsters and adults, the failure of the older generation in coping with the continued development of the yishuv in the Land of Israel and inspiration which these leaders obtained from Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. The youngsters called for a more energetic fight both against the British and against the Jews. The outstanding leader of the Palestinians was Amin Al-Husseini who based his leadership on the extremist elements in society. Nevertheless, and at the same time, more extreme elements than him were active on the ground.

4. The Fifth Aliyah. The first half of the Thirties was characterized by an unprecedented economic growth of the yishuv in the Land of Israel. More than 150,000 Jews arrived in the country in this period. About 100,000 dunams of land were purchased and the immigrants brought with them to the country more than 30 million pounds sterling. This momentum was also characterized with the

The delegation arrived in London on March 30, 1930, and was received by the British Prime Minister, MacDonald, and Lord Passfeld, the Colonial Secretary. The Palestinian delegation presented a number of demands, the most important of which were:

1. A prohibition on the sale of lands.
2. Cessation of immigration to Palestine.
3. The re-establishment of the Ottoman Agricultural Bank.

The British Government replied that it was bound to manage Palestine according to the Mandate and its undertakings vis-à-vis the Jewish people and non-Jewish groups. It was stated that His Majesty's Government would not be influenced by pressure or threats. At the same time, MacDonald and Passfeld promised to formulate their decision regarding the sale of lands and Jewish immigration after the land expert, John Hope-Simpson, looked into the situation and delivered his opinion.

The 1930 White Paper
Subjugation of the people and land in Palestine stood at the basis of British policy which was gradually implemented as part of a thought-out plan. This was contrary to the style adopted by the Jewish Agency which demanded that the Mandatory Government strictly and forcefully pursue the Zionist project. For this reason, there was frequent tension in the relationships between the two forces, when there was some quiet in the ranks of the Arab opposition. But the latter escalated again whenever the two allies, Zionism and the British, adopted new steps to Judaize Palestinian land. On each such escalation, the Government withdrew as a tactical measure and so on ad infinitum. The British Government strode ahead with giant steps for the good of Zionism and at a minute pace to mollify the Arabs.

In the shadow of this policy, Britain published the
doubling of the number of factories owned by Jews in the Land of Israel and a growth of 200% in the gross product of the yishuv. The vast growth in the economic and demographic strength of the yishuv constituted the breakthrough for establishment of a Hebrew state. The economic and military strengthening of the yishuv and the massive immigration reinforced the fear of the Arabs at being dispossessed from the Land of Israel – Palestine.

The Great Arab Revolt 1936-1939

The disturbances of 1936 and the Partition Proposal of the Peel Commission

In April 1936, disturbances by Palestinians broke out in the Land of Israel and were termed by them “The Arab Revolt”. One can relate to this revolt as to the first war of independence of the Arabs of the Land of Israel. The revolt lasted for three years, contrary to the previous clashes which had continued for a few days. The opposition of the Palestinians was extensive and the British had trouble crushing it. The Palestinians combined the revolt against the British with a frontal assault on the Jewish yishuv in the Land of Israel. The declared goals of the Palestinians in this struggle were: revocation of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, which, in practical terms, meant revocation of the cooperation between Britain and the Zionist Movement and the yishuv in the Land of Israel; cessation of immigration; halting the sale of lands to Jews and stopping the settlement of Jews in the Land of Israel. The Arabs demanded establishment of one state in the areas of the Land of Israel – Palestine: an Arab state.

The modi operandi of the Arabs were difficult and varied. They included: attacks on vehicles of Jews traveling on the roads, attacks on isolated village settlements, mainly kibbutzim, in an attempt to occupy and destroy them. An example of such an as-

Second White Paper at the end of 1930, in which it explained its temporary policy in Palestine in light of the current situation.

Publication of the White Paper stemmed from a variety of factors and circumstances:

1) Various Palestinian protests and demands and the al-Buraq revolt which gave rise to many echoes at the local, Arab and Moslem levels.

2) The periodic reports which the High Commissioner sent about the instability in the country.

3) The recommendations of the Shaw Commission and the report of the land expert John Hope-Simpson which underscored the spreading unemployment among the Arab citizens. The conclusion was that it was unfair to allow immigrants to seize the jobs which unemployed inhabitants could have filled.

Despite the delicate data or information in the White Paper and despite the fact that it did not answer the expectations of the Arabs, the Zionist Movement mobilized its forces to fight it by all means and ways and, under its influence, the British and American press came out against it in warmongering attire. The Zionist Movement also organized demonstrations in the streets of Europe and Britain while Weizmann resigned from his position as Chairman of the Jewish Agency in protest against the White Paper and declared an end to the cooperation between him and the British Government.

In these circumstances, the British Government withdrew from the White Paper with the speed of lightning, as though it had just waited for the opportunity, and published a further paper, which torpedoed the declarations featured in the previous paper. For this reason, the Palestinians term it the Black Paper or MacDonald’s Black Paper. The paper was actually a letter from MacDonald to Dr. Weizmann in which he stresses the commitment of Britain to the Mandate document, for facilitating the immigration of Jews to
sault was the attempt to occupy Kibbutz Tirat Zvi in February 1938. The Arabs perpetrated terror acts against the Jewish public in the cities, for example, a shooting attack on Jews in Jaffa in April 1936, in which 9 Jews were murdered and more than 50 wounded. They also burned fields, plantations and orchards of Jews.

Headlines in the Hebrew daily press during the Revolt

DAVAR:
A second day of blood-shed

HA-ARETZ:
The whole of Tel Aviv accompanies the holy nurses, Martha Fink and Nechama Ze'ek, of blessed memory

HABOQER:
Three Jews murdered in Jerusalem

Another aspect of the Arab struggle was economic. The Supreme Arab Committee declared a general strike which was supposed to put pressure on Britain to change its policy. The strike continued for 175 days but did not achieve its goal. Britain did not change its policy and the Jewish yishuv was not weakened because of the strike, but, if anything, was strengthened. One of the results of the strike of Jaffa Port was the authorization given by the British for the opening of Tel Aviv Port, a decision which harmed the Arabs who had made their living from Jaffa Port.

The country (Palestine), the encouragement of the Government of Britain for the occupation of additional lands by the Jews and their right to till them with Jewish hands. MacDonald again emphasized that Britain did not wish to see the cessation or prevention of immigration.8

The Black Paper and the biased British policy increased the anger against British rule specifically among the Arab youth who were active in the national struggle. They applied pressure to the British leadership. At the same time, the press came out against this policy and the result was strikes in Nablus and in other some towns.

The 1933 Disturbances

The situation in Palestine did not stabilize and internal Palestinian meetings and conferences were held, followed by a series of Palestinian-Arab meetings and conferences. The most important of them was the Islamic Conference at which the status and influence of the mufti, Haj Amin el-Husseini, on the local and Arab-Islamic levels, were strengthened. Many political parties also came into existence, such as the Young People's Conference Party and the Arab Independence Party which was founded in 1932. The latter called for fighting colonialism and Jewish immigration and for establishing an Arab parliamentary regime. The founders of the party, such as Izzat Darwaza, called on Haj Amin el-Husseini to oppose the British policy and mandate.9

These parties stood by their platform to oppose British policy, particularly when faced with increasing Jewish immigration to Palestine, from 4,075 immigrants in 1931 to 9,553 in 1932 and over thirty thousand in 1933 apart from illegal immigration. These parties also gave thought to the unjust and harsh taxes that were imposed and led to land being sold and taken over.10 A Palestinian peasant from Tul Karm wrote to the newspaper “Palestine” on August 24, 1930: “I am selling my land and my property because
During the first part of the clashes (April – October 1936), 2,000 attacks were made on Jews and about 900 on Jewish property. Approximately 80 Jews were killed and some 400 wounded. About 200,000 trees and 17,000 dunams of crops were burned. During the Arab Revolt, there was a wave of internal terror amongst the Palestinians, with scores being murdered because they were suspected of cooperation with the British and the Jews. They sometimes used the cooperation pretext in order to settle accounts and rivalries within Palestinian society.

One can learn about the atmosphere in the Hebrew yishuv following the attacks of the Palestinians from the words of E. Hillel, as a child on Kibbutz Mishmar Ha-Emeq (a kibbutz of Hashomer Hatzair movement, which engraved on its flag the principle of the brotherhood of peoples).

Avraham Goldshlager Murdered
For some time, since the outbreak of the “events”, shots were heard each night. The members were not used to believing that the Arabs, our neighbors from Abu-Shusha and Rubiye, were such wicked people, or perhaps they simply refused to believe it. Suddenly the rumor went: Goldshlager has been murdered. Arabs had shot and killed him on the road from Juara. Work stopped and the members huddled in groups. They whispered for a moment and were then again silent. And we, the children, were like them.

A British aircraft flew over the hills and the members said that it was searching for the murderers.

At the funeral, when Avraham Goldshlager was buried, there was a great silence and only the cyclamens and the anemones bloomed as though no-one had been killed.

When the ox gored and killed Tchelnov, we knew that this was one of those things which could happen, as in nature, but Goldshlager was murdered by people who surely have a wife, like Rosa, who is now a widow, the government is forcing me to pay taxes and tithes while I have no means to support myself and my family. In these conditions, I am forced to turn to a rich person with a request for a loan which I am undertaking to repay at 50% interest within one-two months. It follows that I have to take a further loan time after time and so the amount of the original debt is actually doubled. In the final resort, I am obliged to sell my land to pay off the debts which have accrued and whatever I do, I lose."

In these circumstances, the Executive Council called for a meeting to be convened on February 24, 1933, which the leaders of the various parties attended after the Council had applied some pressure. The parties presented various ideas including civil disobedience and a boycott of British products. But the head of the Executive Committee, Musa Qazem Al-Husseini, persuaded those present, contrary to the majority opinion, to elect a delegation to meet with the High Commissioner and put before him worrisome subjects such as the heavy taxation, the accelerated immigration and the loss of lands, in the hope that he might act for legislation that would protect the Arab inhabitants. The response of the High Commissioner was a source of disappointment for the delegation.

At the same time as the power of the Youngsters and Independence parties was growing, the influence of the traditional leadership was undermined and it notified the High Commissioner thusly: “So far, we have desisted from adopting even the path of non-violent demonstrations, but we find ourselves forced to turn to this path under pressure from the people. We had hoped that we might have found, at this troublesome hour, some support from the Government, rather than you forcing us to lead the people to more grievous events.”

Members of the Executive Committee and the other parties gathered on October 8 and decided to hold mass demonstrations on October 13, departing from the El-Aqsa Mosque and headed by members of the
and children, like Uzi and Tzviko, who are now orphans.

It was very difficult for us to understand this and even more difficult to believe. But the Arabs wanted us to understand and, therefore, they used to torch our fields and our forest with the flames reaching to the heart of heaven.

But Goldshlager saw no more, neither the burning fields nor the forest going up in flames. Because he was already dead. (From Techelet veKotzim, Sifriyat Hapoalim, p. 94.)

The British Reaction to the Revolt

The Mandate authorities reacted to the clashes by rushing reinforcements to the country and strengthening ties and cooperation with the forces of the Haganah. Among other measures, the “Special Night Squads” (SNS) were set up, under the command of Charles Orde Wingate, and engaged in small scale warfare, as well as Heyl Hanotrim (Guards’ Corps) and the Hebrew Settlements’ Police which protected the Jewish settlements and property. About 20,000 members of the Haganah participated in these British units. The cooperation of the Haganah with the British resulted in a significant strengthening of the organization because thousands of its members were able to train and acquire battle experience in the service of the British Police.

When order was restored, temporarily, Britain sent a commission of inquiry to the region, headed by Lord Peel. The commission heard witnesses from both sides. Chaim Weizmann, the leader of the Zionist Movement, said the following to the commission: “Adherence to the Land of Israel is perhaps to our detriment but we are here. This is our destiny. The commission does not have to determine who has justice on his side but must decide between two types of justice.”. When he described to the commission the distress of the Jews in the world and the need to

Council. It was also decided to hold follow-up demonstrations in all the towns of Palestine.¹⁴

Musa Qazem Al-Husseini is beaten by the British Police

Despite the oppression which was their lot in the Jerusalem demonstration, the Palestinians did not halt their continued demonstrations and protests. A demonstration, larger than its predecessor, was held as planned in Jaffa. The British police did not spare violence to stop it, killing 12 demonstrators and wounding 78 others. Scores of demonstrators were arrested, among them Palestinian leaders. Among the injured was the head of the Executive Committee, whose colleagues were unable to defend him from the batons and sticks of the British police. ¹⁵

The 1933 intifada stirred up the emotions of the poets and one Palestinian poet, Abd Al-Rahim Mahmud (1913 – 1948), said in qasida (a type of poem), called “Esh-shaheed” (The Martyr):

I shall carry my soul on the palms of my hands,  
And throw it into the cavern of the enemies!  
Either life which must bring joy to the hearts of friends,  
Or death which brings sorrow to the hearts of foes!
and children, like Uzi and Tzviko, who are now orphans.

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establish a national home for the Jews, Weizmann said: "Six million Jews are pent up in places where they are not wanted. Six million people for whom the world is divided into places where they cannot live and places which they may not enter."

The commission of inquiry proposed, for the first time, that two states be established in the Land of Israel, alongside each other: a Jewish state and an Arab state. According to the plan, some areas were to remain under British control. The Jewish state was allocated 17% of the total area of the country. The logic behind the idea of partition was explained in the report: "The problem cannot be solved by giving either the Arabs or the Jews all they want." About the partition solution, it is stated: "Partition offers a chance of ultimate peace. No other plan does."

The demonstrations and strikes spread to most Palestinian cities. Because of the increasing number of injured and dead and the continued arrest of Palestinian leaders, the author Khalil Alsakakini (1887-1953) depicted the demonstrations thus: "Palestine became a battle field today and yesterday, demonstrations everywhere, attacks on police and railway stations, hundreds of injured and dead. There is no doubt that the political results of this revolution will not be for naught."

The Palestinian leaders were released and immediately called for licensed demonstrations at the beginning of 1934, when the head of the Executive Committee, Musa Qassem Al-Husseini, died of his injuries. His position remained unfilled until the end of the activity of the first Executive Committee on November 1, 1934.

Following the 1933 Intifada, High Commissioner Wawchope set up a commission of inquiry which was called the Murison and Trusted Commission, with the job of preparing a report about the number of dead and injured.

The 1935 Al-Qassam Revolt

Direct clashes with Jewish immigrants did not manage to undermine immigration nor did it manage to change the British policy in the Twenties. Protest actions, strikes and demonstrations against the British at the beginning of the Thirties did not bring about any change. On the contrary, this period was characterized by exaggerated efforts to pacify and please the Jews, particularly during the term of office of Wawchope as High Commissioner. Ben Gurion, in an
The partition proposal gave rise to a serious argument within the Jewish yishuv in the Land of Israel. The argument cut across political camps and caused a serious upheaval of emotions. The Zionist Movement agreed in the end to the principle of partitioning the country but objected to the proposed borders in the commission's recommendation. The response of the leadership of the Arabs of the Land of Israel was total rejection of the very idea of the partition.

The Response of the Yishuv—"Tower and Stockade"

Before the recommendations of the Peel Commission were published, the yishuv started a settlement effort termed "Tower and Stockade". One of the main goals of this effort was to expand the borders of the Jewish state in the event of a future partition of the country, under the assumption that the actual settlements would determine the future borders. The settlements were so named because they were set up and inhabited overnight and included a tower and stockade to protect the settlement. In the years 1936 - 1939, 50 settlements were established and were not abandoned even when attacked by the Arabs.

The Policy of Restraint and its Impact on the Development of the Armed Jewish Organizations

Back in the period of the 1929 clashes, an argument arose in the yishuv regarding policy vis-à-vis the Arab attacks. The official position of the yishuv was termed "the policy of restraint", the practical meaning of which was that the Haganah defended the Jewish settlements from within the settlements and did not engage in acts of vengeance against the Arab population. The reasons for this policy were: a wish to maintain a high moral standard and to avoid hurting innocent people, a desire to continue the cooperation with the British since this cooperation enabled
the Jewish public to be seen as peace-loving and defensive, and a desire not to worsen the dispute with the Arabs.

The argument over the policy of restraint led to the resignation of a number of Haganah commanders in Jerusalem who objected to it. With the outbreak of the 1936 clashes, some of them returned but others refused to do so and announced the establishment of a national military organization in the Land of Israel, the Etzel (known also as the Irgun). The Etzel Organization favored a response of counter-terror for the terrorist actions of the Arabs, claiming that this was the only way to deter the Arabs from harming Jews. The Etzel Organization subjected itself to the authority of the Revisionist Party, headed by Zeev Jabotinsky. Parallel to the establishment of the Etzel, the Haganah changed its policy to one of active defense: emerging from the settlements, conducting ambushes and patrols and attacking the perpetrators of acts of terrorism.

Continuation of the Struggle and its Results

The clashes continued after the rejection of the Peel Commission's recommendations although it was realized that the Arabs had not achieved most of their goals:

On the internal political level - their leaders were exiled from the country and they were left without a powerful leadership. Regarding settlements - no Jewish settlement was abandoned during the clashes despite their attacks. In military terms - Britain strengthened the cooperation with the Jewish *yishuv* and enabled thousands of men to join the ranks of the British Police and establish the Special Night Squads.

On the political level, however, Britain and the Jewish national movement grew apart and the British Government began to change its policy to pro-Arab. The reason for the policy change was the situation in Eu-

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It was during this period that the Arab warrior of Syrian descent, Izz Al-Din Al-Qassam, became famous. His job as a clerk in the Shari'a court and as a preacher in the Al-Istiqlal Mosque in Haifa enabled him to move around the villages of north Palestine and to arouse the feelings of their inhabitants for the release from servitude and colonialism. Al-Qassam founded armed bands and regiments who began striking against the British forces and disturbing their rest. He worked for widening the ranks quantitatively and qualitatively in order to bring about a revolution against the British Government.

In November 1935, Al-Qassam left Haifa, accompanied by 25 of his armed men, in the direction of Jenin to call upon the peasants in the area to take up arms and join the revolution against Britain and Zionism. On the way to Jenin, in the woods of Yaabed village, there was an accident and the British police alerted the British forces, which surrounded his group. 18

Al-Qassam preferred a martyr's death to surrender and encouraged his men to fight. They waged a cruel battle with the British forces and he fell as a martyr, together with some of his men. The others managed to hide in the woods and mountains. The death of Al-Qassam left a deep impact on the Palestinians. He became an example to be emulated and a symbol of self-sacrifice and redemption. Despite his death, Al-Qassam's men remained active and the shadow his revolution left accelerated and guided the leadership and the people towards the goal.

The Great Palestinian Revolt, 1936

The events and developments since the beginnings of the thirties were a sign that something vast was going to be happening in Palestine. The Great Palestinian Revolt with its three stages lasted for three years. The first stage was from April 15, 1936, until July 1937. The second was from July 1937 to the autumn of 1938, while the third and last stage lasted from the autumn of 1938 until the summer of 1939.
ISRAELI NARRATIVE

In the years 1938 – 1939, the British realized that it would not be possible to escape a military confrontation with Nazi Germany, and, in such a situation, they wished to avoid a confrontation with the Arabs in the Land of Israel and the Middle East as a whole. With respect to the Jews, Britain had no doubt that they would support it since the Nazis were persecuting Jews and had branded them as the enemy of humanity.

The Jews under the Nazi Regime

In January 1933, Hitler came to power at the head of the Nazi Party and Germany became a dictatorship based on racism. The Nazis viewed the Jews as an inferior, dangerous race which contaminated the superior Aryan race, and they adopted a policy that had as its goal the exclusion of Jews from German society and making Germany judenfrei (free of Jews). During the first years of their rule, restrictions were imposed on the Jews and it was forbidden to employ them in state positions and judicial professions, books belonging to Jews were burnt and they were not allowed to serve in the German army. Subsequently, racial laws, called the Nuremberg Laws, were applied to the Jews, their citizenship was revoked, their property confiscated and they were not allowed to marry non-Jews. Contrary to the anti-Semitism that had reigned in Europe for hundreds of years and had been based on religious discrimination, permitting the Jews to convert to Christianity and so save their souls, the anti-Semitism based on race did not allow the Jews any way out. In 1938–1939, the condition of the Jews in Germany worsened. About 300,000 Jews, over half of German Jews, emigrated and a large part of them came to the Land of Israel. In 1938, the Evian Conference was held with the purpose of coping with the problem of the Jewish refugees. The countries of the free world refused to open their gates to the Jews and so immigration to the Land of Israel became one of the only solutions for Jews fleeing from Central Europe. November 1938 saw Kristallnacht in Germany,

PALESTINIAN NARRATIVE

But how did the Revolt begin? What were the events and circumstances underlying it and which urged continuation of the struggle with such determination? In order to reply to this question, one should briefly look at particulars and clarifications and explain the factors and circumstances for the outbreak of the Revolt.

1. All the British commissions of inquiry had agreed that behind the events which had occurred in Palestine in the two previous decades was the Palestinians’ fear of losing their political aspirations for an independent homeland, of Zionist immigration, the purchase of lands and job discrimination. In addition, all the recommendations of the commissions, despite their delicate language, were dispersed in all directions in view of the British policy, the purpose of which was to put the Balfour Declaration into effect and to implement the Mandate document. The Palestinians were tired of this policy and any spark or glimmer was sufficient to stir the anger stored inside them.

2. The strengthening of Jewish immigration to Palestine: In a speech following the Balfour Declaration, Weizmann said to the Jews: “A declaration or a resolution are not the way to establish a state. The Jews have to immigrate to Palestine and create the reality of a state themselves.” And Ben Gurion said: “Britain will not make Palestine ours despite the declaration that granted us a foothold but only the Hebrew people themselves, in its spirit and the power of its capital, can build the homeland.

It is possible that the two Zionist leaders intentionally ignored the role of Britain in realizing what they seek and Britain wants. It is not irrelevant that the first High Commissioner of Palestine was a Zionist. He was the one who proposed, in 1915, a plan for setting up a Jewish state in Palestine as a British protectorate, according to which it would have 3-4 million Jews. Moreover, he was the one who said, in his first statement in office that the “policy of His Majesty’s Government which I have come here to imple-
in which the regime plundered Jewish property. Thousands of Jewish-owned businesses were destroyed and synagogues were burned. Many Jews were beaten up and imprisoned and many were sent to concentration camps. A bitter fate was destined for Jews under the rule of the Nazis.

The Policy of the White Paper of Britain

It was precisely when the Jews were being persecuted in Europe and the world refused to take in Jewish migrants, that Britain began to pull back from its promises and commitments as formulated in the Balfour Declaration and in the Mandate document. The new policy of Britain peaked with the MacDonald White Paper (1939) which was a blatantly pro-Arab document and shocked the leaders of the Zionist movement and the whole yishuv. The White Paper determined that, within 10 years, an Arab state would be established in Palestine with a Jewish minority and that Jewish immigration was to be restricted. Added to the White Paper was the Lands Law which was intended to realize the policy presented in the White Paper. According to the law, the ability of Jews to purchase lands was severely restricted. These regulations were a practical expression of the policy of the Government of Britain which attempted to freeze the development of the yishuv in order to placate the Arabs and ensure quiet. From the point of view of Britain, this policy was proven to have been correct since, during the period of the war, most of the Jews and most of the Arabs in the Land of Israel remained loyal to the mandatory government.

1939–1945 The Second World War and the Holocaust: Cooperation and Struggle

The Holocaust of the Jewish People (1939–1945)

With the outbreak of the Second World War, Nazi policy vis-à-vis the Jews took on the nature of a
systematic and planned persecution. From that moment, the Germans acted not only against the Jews of the Reich (the borders of Nazi Germany) but also against Jews in all the occupied territories, first and foremost against the Jews of Poland. Nazi policy, which before the war had encouraged Jewish emigration out of the Reich, was replaced with activity to concentrate the Jews in ghettos. In the course of the war, the persecution became systematic murder of some six million of the Jewish people, about one and a half million of whom were children. The history of the Jews in the Twentieth Century cannot be told without referring to the Holocaust, the impact of which on Jews living in the Land of Israel and elsewhere in the world was, and still is, of prime centrality.

Concentration of the Jews in Ghettos

About three weeks after the outbreak of the Second World War, the division of Poland between Germany and the USSR was completed. In the territories under German occupation, (part of which was annexed to the Third Reich), there were at that time some two million Jews (on the eve of the war, the Jews of Poland constituted about 10% of the total population). The Jews were forced to wear on their clothes a yellow patch in the shape of the Star of David and they were persecuted both by the Nazi soldiers and by collaborators from among the local population. The beating of Jews, cutting of their beards, using them for forced labor and humiliating them in different ways became a matter of routine in this period.

Upon completion of the occupation, the Nazis began isolating the Jews of this country by concentrating them in ghettos. As noted, Nazi ideology viewed Jews as a “culture-destroying racist group” and the Germans, therefore, wished to reduce contact with them to a minimum. The ghetto was an area inside the city, surrounded by a wall or fence to prevent

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A Jewish warehouse for smuggled weapons

In addition to the legal immigration which the Government of Britain allowed, many immigrants entered Palestine in illegal ways which resulted in an increase in their numbers and a worsening of the problems which the immigration caused. This was because, with their immigration, the friction with them increased. Because of the lack of trust and understanding with them and because of their way of life which caused anger among the Arab inhabitants, every event was destined to be explosive.27

3. The problem of Arab lands and property. Hardly a day passed without the Arab inhabitants losing land or property, particularly in view of the increase in the number of immigrants and the variety of ways and means adopted to obtain them. The inhabitants of Palestine of all groups did not cease appealing to the British Government to create tools that would permit the Arabs to hold on to their lands, whether by legislation to prevent the sale of lands or by reviving the
the inhabitants from coming in or going out. The ghettos were established in cities that were linked to the national rail network and Jews from the surroundings, and later from all the territories occupied by the Germans, were relocated to them. A council of Jews (Judenraat) was appointed for each ghetto and ran the daily life in accordance with the instructions of the Germans. The living conditions in the ghetto were very difficult, the intention being to encourage rapid mortality of the members of the Jewish 'race'. For example, a daily food portion allocated for a German soldier who served in Poland was valued at 2,800 calories, while a Jew living in the ghetto was allocated of a ration of 180 calories.

In addition to the harsh famine, the inhabitants of the ghetto suffered from overcrowding and cold (in the Polish winter), and many of them were sent to exhausting forced labor. The serious living conditions resulted in the outbreak of epidemics with which the Jewish doctors had to cope with declining means. After a number of months, the Judenraat activated teams with the function of daily removal of the bodies of the dead. Throughout the ghetto, despite the harsh living conditions, the Jews managed to maintain a routine, which included extensive educational and cultural activity, held mostly underground. For example, in the Warsaw Ghetto, where half a million Jews lived, an educational system was set up for members of all age groups. A number of theaters and orchestras presented performances on an almost daily basis. A number of daily newspapers were published in the Ghetto; articles were written depicting ghetto life and tens of artists, writers and poets were active. The youth movements granted the children a home instead of the parental home, guided them and gave them content in their lives. A Jewish police force maintained public order and courts and prisons were even established. During implementation of "The Final Solution", the residents of the Ghetto were taken to the death camps set up on the soil of Poland.

Ottoman Agricultural Bank and establishing institutions that would assist the peasant to maintain his ability to hold on to his land and to move to progressive means of agriculture. But, instead of that, the Government worked to facilitate the transfer of lands to the Jews and they also obtained many lands in various ways.  

4. The smuggling of weapons to the Jews and arming themselves. The Jews showed great creativity in ways of smuggling weapons and the event in which an Arab worker discovered smuggled weapons at the port of Jaffa constitutes clear proof of this. Various types of weapons were concealed in barrels of cement. The event gave rise to suspicions on part of the Arabs that the Jews were planning to attack them, particularly since this was not the first time that weapons had reached them.

Moreover, Britain acted publicly on arming the Jewish settlements, training them and strengthening the Haganah Organization in different ways.

**Outbreak of the 1936 Revolt**

Agreement between Arabs and Jews became impossible for many reasons, which have been noted above. In February 1936, the Government of Britain signed a contract with a Jewish contractor for the construction of three schools in Jaffa. The contractor refused to employ Arab workers and so they organized into a group which surrounded one of the schools and prevented the Jewish workers from reaching it. This was the first portent, warning of the explosion and of a coming revolt.

Al-Qassam bore arms for the defense of Palestine against the British and the Jews and fell in battle. But his death did not stop his comrades from continuing. A group of them, under the leadership of Farhan al-Saadi, killed a Jew on April 15, 1936, and seriously wounded two others. This event was the straw which broke the camel's back at the port and was an historic milestone in the Revolt.
The Final Solution

With the invasion of the German army into the Soviet Union in June 1941, the systematic destruction of European Jewry began. The annihilation of the Jews was given the code name "The Final Solution" of the Jewish problem. This task was undertaken in the main by special extermination units of the S.S. - the Einsatzgruppen, who joined the fighting units of the German army. At first, the Jews were led to vast pits, which had been dug in the heart of a forest or camouflaged location. Men, woman and children were forced to undress under the threat of weapons, and were then shot to death and fell into the pit. After the bodies were covered with earth, another group were brought and so on ad infinitum. About one and half million Jews were slaughtered with this method.

After a number of months, the Nazis began to operate another system of killing: gas trucks. Some tens of Jews were squeezed into the back of a truck and an iron door was closed behind them. The exhaust pipe was connected to the rear section so that the people had to breathe in the exhaust fumes and were choked to death.

In January 1942, a meeting was held in Berlin of the senior members of the regime and of the Nazi security forces. The meeting, subsequently termed the Wannsee Conference, was intended to make the pace of annihilation of the Jews more efficient. The Nazis now went over to a new method of slaughter - killing in gas chambers. This method had been applied in Germany before the war to those with mental retardation and the terminally ill (euthanasia) but was halted because of public criticism. For the implementation of this system against the enemies of Germany, six death camps were set up in Poland, the last of which was Auschwitz, located close to a rail junction.

With the establishment of the death camps, Jews were transferred to them from the whole of Europe through the German rail company. Some of them were referred to various jobs in the camp while all the others...
were sent to their destruction. The property of the Jews was taken and sorted out in giant warehouses, their hair was cut off, they were stripped of their clothes and put into a sealed room. The doors of the room were then closed and all those inside were killed using Zyklon B gas, otherwise used as a pesticide. Gold teeth were extracted from the mouths of the dead and their naked bodies were burned in large crematoria located nearby. At the death camps, which operated on the conveyor belt system, the industry of death reached its peak. For example, at the Treblinka death camp, in East Poland, the amount of time it took from the moment a passenger disembarked from the train until his body was incinerated to ashes was about 45 minutes.

Towards the end of 1942, the Russian Red Army began to push back the German invasion force from areas of the Soviet Union and, during 1943 - 1945, it continued to move westward toward Germany. With the retreat of the German army units, they took with them hundreds of thousands of Jews on foot in what came to be termed the “death marches”. The Jews were required to walk tens of kilometers each day, usually in cold and snow, without food. Weakened after a number of years in ghettos, many of the marchers collapsed and, the moment they fell, they were shot by the Nazis. In effect, until the final surrender of Germany in May 1945, the murder of the Jewish people continued.

From the second half of 1942, reliable information began to flow to the countries of the West about the genocide that was taking place in Europe. The leaders of the Free World, who received innumerable reports on the matter, did nothing to halt the killing. Nowadays it is difficult to understand why, for example, US and British aircraft did not bomb Auschwitz and the roads to it, although they flew over the death camp.

It is important to state that, even in this harsh reality, thousands of European Christians maintained their

Following clashes on the border between Jaffa and Tel Aviv, both sides sustained injuries. The number of injured Arabs was estimated in the tens. Many Arab houses in Jaffa were also razed by fire.34

The British Government quickly imposed a curfew on Jaffa and Tel Aviv and declared a state of emergency in the whole country. This was in view of the establishment of an Arab national committee in Nablus which called for a general strike - to be without time restriction throughout Palestine until the government complies with their previous demands, first and foremost cessation of immigration.35

Strikes and a variety of protest actions were seen in all the Palestinian towns. At the same time, the Arab political parties convened and set up a supreme committee, which was called the Arab Higher Committee. It was agreed that the mufti, Haj Amin el-Husseini, would be its chairman.36

The Committee continued to run the Revolt and the general strike which was unprecedented and encompassed all areas of life. The British Government attempted to halt the strike and the actions of the Revolt by all means, including the demolition of large parts of the old neighborhood of Jaffa. They blew up more than 220 houses in addition to acts of killing, torture and arrests with the aim of stopping the Revolt and the strike.37

At the same time, the British Government ignited the emotions of the Arab Palestinian public after it initiated, on May 18, 1936, the entry of 4,500 additional Jewish immigrants. This policy step inflamed the Arab Revolt which turned into a bloody armed rebellion.38

**Arab Mediation and the Peel Royal Commission**

Along with the various violent methods adopted to extinguish the flame of the Revolt, the British Government turned to diplomatic channels and applied pressure on Arab governments to mediate in order
humanity and saved Jews while jeopardizing their lives and the lives of their relatives; these people are termed “The Righteous of the Nations” and the State of Israel is careful to show them honor.

The Holocaust was the most difficult event in the annals of the Jewish people and many view it as history’s warning light.

The Jewish Yishuv during the War:

-Between Cooperation and Struggle

The Second World War and the knowledge about what was happening in Europe faced the Jewish *yishuv* with a serious dilemma. On the one hand was the desire to fight against the British pro-Arab policy and enable immigration of Jews as much as possible while, on the other hand, it was clear that Britain was the main barrier before Nazi Germany. The leader of the *Yishuv*, David Ben Gurion, defined the position of the *yishuv* as follows: “We shall fight the war against Hitler as if there were no White Paper, and the White Paper as if there were no war.” In other words, the *yishuv* will support Britain in its war against Germany and will fight the policy of the White Paper by non-violent means: in the field of immigration and settlement.

-Cooperation

Cooperation existed between the British and the *yishuv* in the economic and military fields. Economically, the *yishuv* served as the logistic rear guard of the British forces in North Africa and the Middle East. Many factories produced food, uniforms and equipment. Jewish entrepreneurs undertook construction work, maintenance and ordinance jobs for the British army. The cooperation created a vast economic growth for the Hebrew *yishuv*.

In the military field, there was extensive cooperation between the Jewish *yishuv* and the British. With the outbreak of the Second World War, Ze’ev Jabotinsky instructed the Etzel Organization to cooperate with the British. This was expressed by the collection of

In November 1936, the strike was terminated in response to the appeal of the Arab Higher Committee and its chairman Haj Amin el-Husseini whose policy throughout was characterized by moderation.
intelligence (in Syria, Lebanon and Iraq, where the Etzel commander-in-chief, David Raziel, was killed) and by establishment of regular fighting units. Because of this instruction, a number of fighters from the Organization broke away and set up the *Lochamei Herut Israel* (Lehi) Organization. They were led by Avraham Stern, nicknamed Yair. The Lehi tried to harm the British even during the period of the war and they, in response, managed to capture Yair and murder him with the pretext that he had tried to escape.

The Haganah cooperated with the British in the training and equipping of a defense force in the event of a German invasion of the Land of Israel. The fighters of the Palmach (assault companies of the Haganah) trained with the assistance of the British and even took part in joint operations with them. Apart from the Lehi, therefore, most of the *yishuv* cooperated with the British.

One of the prominent expressions of the cooperation was the paratrooper corps (32 warriors from the *yishuv*) who were sent to Europe, to areas occupied by the British. The moderate policy which characterized Amin el-Husseini, as even British sources testified, was immediately torpedoed with publication of the recommendations of His Majesty's Commission, according to which Palestine was to be divided into two states, one Jewish and one Arab, leaving defined areas of strategic importance under the rule of the Mandate. The Arabs rejected the partition decision because it signaled the creation of a Jewish state on pure Arab land and only its owners had the right to establish a modern state thereon in which the Jews would be represented and their rights preserved. For that reason, there was a rapid and determined Arab reaction - the Revolt entered the second stage, revolutionary actions were renewed in a combination of varied ways and means. There were no more isolated clashes with the British and the Jews but groups which specialized in attacking settlements and imposing a siege on the Jews by cutting down trees and crops. Several groups damaged bridges, railway tracks and the oil pipe line. At this stage, the Revolt chalked up great success and covered many areas despite the fact that many of its leaders were exiled and others had fled to neighboring countries. Among them was Haj Amin el-Husseini who began to run the Revolt from Lebanon.

Britain had made up its mind to extinguish the fire of the Revolt which then entered its last stage. Britain adopted a variety of methods of violence, destruction, killing and expulsion against the Palestinian people and leadership and brought further large forces to the country in order to crush the Revolt and disarm it. At the same time, it supported the Jewish organizations, equipped them with weapons and helped them with training and organization. Britain managed to regain control in all areas that had been controlled by the revolutionaries and thus began an additional military conquest of Palestine after more than five thousand warriors had given their lives.
From the 1939 White Paper
to the Partition of Palestine,
November 29, 1947

The power and force of the Revolt, following the decision of the Peel Royal Commission to partition Palestine, resulted in Britain sending to Palestine a technical commission headed by Sir John Woodhead to study the partition decision. Upon its arrival, there was a general consensus among the Palestinians to boycott the commission. At the same time, the Revolt escalated in an unprecedented fashion and the revolutionaries scored many achievements on the ground.

(Peel Commission Partition Plan, 1937)

The commission studied the subject and submitted three partition plans but, in one and the same breath,
The Threat to the Yishuv during the War

In the years 1941 – 1942, the yishuv felt a real existential threat, with Syria and Lebanon being in the hands of pro-Nazi Vichy France, a revolt by supporters of Germany in Iraq and the German army at El Alamein in North Africa. The leadership of the yishuv put together an emergency plan, according to which all members of the yishuv would concentrate in the Carmel Hills and conduct a Massada-style fight against their enemies from there. In the final resort, the British routed the Germans at El Alamein, the revolt in Iraq was put down, Britain conquered Syria and Lebanon, and thus the danger, which had threatened the yishuv, passed.

The Fight against the British Illegal Immigration

-the Fight over Immigration

The attempt to rescue as many Jews as possible was the main motivation for the fight against the British in the field of immigration. Since the Evian Conference (1938), at which the countries of the world closed their doors before the Jews of Europe, their situation became graver. The longer the Second World War continued, the more urgent became the need to rescue Jews.

According to the White Paper, 15,000 Jews were allowed to immigrate to the Land of Israel each year. In practice, the British did not allow the quota to be filled. They used various excuses to slow down the pace of immigration to the country (lack of jobs and a wish to prevent the penetration of foreign agents into the country). But the real reason for the difficulties they piled up was a British desire to avoid a confrontation with the Arabs.

The struggle over immigration took place in a heroic-tragic context: the yishuv wanted to rescue immigrants, European Jews wanted to flee and Britain did not allow them to enter the country. 24 shiploads of illegal immigrants sailed in the direction of the Land of Israel, but the British did not allow them to enter. This led to the death of many of them in the Mediterranean Sea.
of Israel. They unloaded the illegal immigrants far from the shore and many, with the assistance of Haganah people, managed to evade discovery and reach land. While it was still dark, they were taken to the kibbutzim of the area. The instruction given to each illegal immigrant was that, if caught by the British army or police, they should say just one thing: "I am a Jew/ess from the Land of Israel." About 18,000 immigrants entered the country as a result of these efforts but more than 1,200 drowned in the effort to reach land.

**Settlement**

- The Struggle over the Purchase of Land

Although Britain restricted the purchase of lands by Jews, the *yishuv* found ways to buy lands and to establish settlements on them. 45 new settlements were established during the Second World War, among them Menara, Beit Ha-Arava and Nitzanim. A number of goals were behind the establishment of the settlements: testing the response of the British to settlement in these areas, conducting agricultural experiments as to the crops suitable for the Negev area, attempts to increase the density of existing settlement blocs, creation of a territorial continuum and to increase the territory of the Hebrew state in the event of some future partition plan.

**Direct Struggle against the British,**

- A Split in the Jewish *Yishuv*

The annihilation policy of Nazi Germany brought the leadership of the Jewish *yishuv* to stand alongside Britain during the war. The Etzel did likewise. The Lehi, which was the smaller organization (with a few score members), continued violent action against the British. In 1944, when the destruction of the Jews reached horrendous proportions, the Etzel Organization changed its policy. It announced a revolt against British rule in the Land of Israel and began actions against the mandatory government.

was to permit an honest exchange of ideas and, if possible, to reach some mutual understanding. However, if such exchange is not possible, regrettably, His Majesty's Government will be able, at least, to construct a future policy when it is aware of every aspect of the problem."48

During the conference, rumors were spread that Britain was planning to declare the independence of Palestine and the Jews started a terror campaign and threw grenades at Arab population centers. As a result, forty Arabs were killed and forty-five injured.49

The conference failed and the Government of Britain was given over totally to discussions on the international situation and preparations for the world war. The talks in London led to a proposal that consolidated an arrangement for the Palestinian issue. Britain published the 1939 White Paper in which it approved of the establishment of a Palestinian state within ten years "if the circumstances so permit" and increased Jewish immigration to seventy-five thousand a year for the coming five years and, thereafter, subject to Arab agreement or submission. In the White Paper, the issue of the transfer of land to Jews was arranged so that they were permitted to purchase lands in certain areas only.50

Uncertainty and haziness of the formulations in the White Paper and suspension of work toward the independence of Palestine, failure to define the interim period and the granting of supervision over the transfer of lands and organization of the sale and purchase by the High Commissioner led Palestinians to reject the White Paper even though they considered it a victory for the 1936 Revolt.51

The Zionists, for their part, were quick to denigrate the White Paper and turned to violence and terror to express their opposition. Their organizations indulged in many acts of terrorism, blew up the immigration and income tax offices and used automatic weapons to attack High Commissioner MacMichael and his wife in 1944. They assassinated Lord Moyne in 1945 and
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The actions of the two breakaway organizations, the Etzel and the Lehi, and primarily the assassination of Lord Moyne (the British Minister Resident in the Middle East) in November 1944 in Cairo by Lehi members, were perpetrated contrary to the position of the yishuv leadership. The opposition of the latter stemmed from a fear of entering into a direct military confrontation with the British and of losing sympathy for the Zionist enterprise in world public opinion. Thus began the "saison" period, when members of the Haganah caught members of the breakaway organizations and handed them over to the British. The purpose of the yishuv leadership was not to break the cooperation with Britain, primarily out of the desire to retain Britain as an ally after the war. The "saison" led to bitter reactions among the breakaway organizations and there was even concern about a possible civil war.

The destruction of the Jewish people, of which the yishuv became aware, made the fight of the yishuv for a Jewish state even more determined. In the Zionist Movement, there was a change during the war and it began openly to demand establishment of a Jewish state in the Land of Israel upon conclusion of the war.

1945–1947

The Struggle for Establishment of the State

The Second World War ended with a victory by the Allies (the USSR, USA and Britain) over the Axis countries (Germany, Japan, Italy). The results of the war were particularly harsh. The minimal estimates for the number of the losses are some 15 million soldiers killed in the war and some 20 million civilians who died. It is difficult to estimate the loss to property and the economic price of the war. Extensive areas in Europe and Asia were laid to waste. The USSR and the USA emerged as the big winners of the war but their economic situation after it was totally changed.

ALEXANDER'S SOURCES

blew up the King David Hotel in 1946. The results of these Zionist terrorist attacks in Palestine were 169 Britons killed by Jews as against 37 Zionist Jews whom the British killed. These death rates on both sides are very interesting because we know that, according to the official figures, the number of dead in the 1936 Revolt came to 211 Britons together with 500 wounded. Among the Arabs, there were 2,000 martyrs, with the reservation that most Palestinian sources of information note that the number of martyrs among the Palestinian Arabs exceeded 5,000. With the outbreak of the Second World War, the Palestinian Revolt began to die down and stopped because of the state of war, the shortage of weapons, the heavy losses and the siege and stranglehold which the British and their French allies imposed, with the latter persecuting the Palestinians in Syria and Lebanon. Britain prohibited the activities of the Arab Higher Committee and, for eight years, persecuted its leaders who hid, went into exile or were arrested. On the other hand, the British Government released the Jewish leaders in October 1946 after their arrest in June of that year. At the Biltmore Conference in the USA which the Zionist leaders held in 1942, they publicly declared their intentions to take control over all parts of Palestine and to establish there a Jewish state. They also approved a plan calling for unrestricted immigration to Palestine and the establishment of a recognized military force there. The American Congress supported the plan and Zionism looked to the United States in particular for support when it realized that it would emerge from the war as the leading power in the world.

After the Second World War, Britain pulled back from the White Paper, supported the Zionist plans and gave up on the subject of Palestine, transferring it to the United Nations, in spite of its prior knowledge that the scales were inclined in favor of Zionism in view of the sweeping support of the United States.

On May 7, 1947, the General Assembly of the United
The USA experienced economic prosperity during and after the war while the USSR suffered huge economic damages. Immediately after the war (some say even before it ended), a struggle began between the two new super-powers, which earned the title of the “cold war”. During the Second World War, six million Jews died in the most terrible genocide in the history of humanity – the Holocaust.

It will never be possible to assess the number of the Jewish dead. The figure would seem to be around 6 million. The main communities hurt were the Jews of Poland – about 3 million murdered (or some 90% of all Polish Jewry); the Jews of the Baltic countries – some 228,000 murdered (or some 90% of all the Jews of those countries); the Jews of the Ukraine – some 900,000 murdered (or some 60% of all the Jews of the Ukraine); and, the Jews of Germany and Austria - 245,000 murdered (or some 80% of all the Jews in these countries). These are just examples of the German murder machine. Tens of thousands of Jews continued to die in the camps even after the liberation. 70% of all the Jews of Europe were murdered. The living and prominent Jewish existence in Europe was ended. From the point of view of the Zionist Movement, the Holocaust extinguished the potential European manpower of Zionism. Within the Jewish people, the proportion of the Jews living in Moslem countries increased greatly.

From a political point of view, the horrors of the Holocaust, which were exposed to the eyes of the world, influenced public opinion positively over the issue of establishment of a Jewish state. The position of the USA was most sympathetic and decisive on this issue. It is possible that the pangs of conscience of the American public about the almost non-existent help given to the Jews of Europe influenced the formation of a pro-Zionist foreign policy in the years 1945 - 1947. The association between the illegal immigration and the Holocaust seriously prejudiced British policy in the Land of Israel. The illegal immigrants who reached the country and were exiled to...
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camps in Cyprus showed the British in a most negative light. The Holocaust made it very difficult for the British to oppose immigration and Zionist aspirations. Some 200,000 Jews who had survived the war were termed the surviving remnant. They lived in refugee camps on the soil of Europe and constituted a significant element in the struggle for establishment of the State of Israel. In the USA and even in Britain, voices were heard calling for these Jews to be allowed to immigrate to the Land of Israel.

Britain was indeed a central partner in the coalition which won the war, but its economic situation was bad and it was downgraded finally from its status as a super-power. Its ability to hold on to its empire was limited. Upon completion of the World War, a Labor government was elected in Britain, under Clement Attlee, with a pro-Zionist platform. In the first months after the war, however, it turned out that the Labor government continued to support the principles expressed in the 1939 White Paper.

The Joint Military Struggle against the British

The frustration within the yishuv at British policy was great and it constituted the background for establishment of the Hebrew Rebellion Movement which was active between October 1945 and July 1946. Because of the policy of Britain, Ben Gurion instructed Moshe Sneh, the head of the political Department of the Haganah, to call on the Etzel and the Lehi to cooperate with the Haganah in a military struggle against the British. The condition for acceptance of these organizations into the Movement was that they accept totally the authority of the political institutions of the yishuv. The targets which were attacked as part of this struggle were symbols of the British rule, while attempting not to harm lives. The actions of the Rebellion Movement were varied, for example, the release of illegal immigrants detained at Athlith, the bombing of the British radar on Mount Carmel,

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On November 29, 1947, following the vote on the committee’s plan, the United Nations recommended partition of Palestine into two states, an Arab state and a Jewish state, to comprise 56% of the area of Palestine, this being with the clear knowledge that, at that time, the Jews held only 7% of the area of the country and their proportion in the population did not exceed 35%.

The Palestinians saw no reason why they should have had to pay for the tribulations and abuse that Christians inflicted on Jews in Europe as part of the great crime against humanity. Furthermore, Zionism preceded the Third Reich and so its aspirations with respect to Palestine preceded the great crime done to them. The Palestinians did not understand why there was no justice in the Jews being a minority in a single Palestinian state while there was justice in converting half of the Palestinian people, constituting most of the original inhabitants of the country who were living on the lands of their fathers and their forefathers, into a minority under foreign rule in a Jewish country as the partition heralded.

Many demonstrations were held against the partition in the Arab world and, with its declaration, daily warfare broke out between the Arabs and the Jews. The war continued until May 15, 1948, the date on which Britain withdrew from Palestine.

GLOSSARY

Musa Qazem Al-Husseini
He was born in 1853 in Jerusalem. He attended the highest Turkish educational institutions and held many posts, the most important of which was district governor in many countries of the Ottoman Empire when the British conquered Palestine. He was appointed mayor of Jerusalem instead of his brother, Hussein Salim Al-Husseini, but stopped serving in the position because of his nationalist views in 1920. From then until his death in 1934, he was the unrivalled head of the Palestinian Nationalist Movement.
and above all, the “Night of the Bridges”, when eleven bridges connecting the Land of Israel to the neighboring countries were blown up.

“Black Sabbath”. British soldiers confiscate Haganah weapons at Kibbutz Yagur.

The British reacted resolutely and started with Operation Broadside, the most prominent expression of which was termed in the Jewish yishuv “Black Sabbath” (June 29, 1946). In this operation, the British attempted to liquidate the military power of the yishuv and the influence of the political leaders who headed the Haganah. They appointed the much-praised Field Marshall Bernard Montgomery, the hero of El Alamein and of the invasion of Normandy, as commander of the operation. On Black Sabbath, the British surrounded various settlements in the country, mainly the kibbutzim. At dawn they moved in and gathered all the men in pens at the center of the settlement. They then undertook intensive searches. Men who had been arrested and who were suspected of any connection at all with the Haganah were sent to detention camps in Rafiah and Latrun. Some 2,500 members of the yishuv were arrested in the opera-

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The Mufti, Haj Amin el-Husseini
He was born in 1897. He acquired his primary and secondary education in his homeland of Palestine. He studied religion and Islam, the French language and Arabic philology. In 1912, he moved to Cairo to acquire more education and knowledge. He traveled to Istanbul and joined the navy staff, which he completed with officer’s rank. In 1921, he was appointed as mufti of Jerusalem by the High Commissioner and subsequently headed the Supreme Islamic Council and his star shone over the nationalist movement. He was known for his political sense and diplomatic talent, by virtue of which he acquired a name and extensive publicity for himself.

Izz Al-Din Al-Qassam
He was born in 1871 in the township of Habla near the city of Latakia in Damascus. He studied at Al-azhar and worked in his country as a teacher in the mosque of the Sultan Ibrahim. Al-Qassam was known for a sense of honest nationalism and religious devotion. He took part in the revolt of Sheikh Salach El-Ali in 1920. He escaped to Haifa in 1922. He taught at the Islamic school in the city and was the chairman of the Moslem Youth Association, imam and preacher at the Al-Istiqlal Mosque in Haifa. Out of sorrow and pain at what was happening in Palestine, he called for and urged a holy war and opposition to the British and to the Jews. He died in battle in 1935.

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...many weapons were confiscated and a large weapons stash at Yagur was discovered.

Blowing up of the King David Hotel

Black Sabbath re-awoke the argument in the yishuv about the suitability of waging a military fight against Britain. Chaim Weizmann applied the full weight of his prestige against a military confrontation with the British and demanded a total cessation until the holding of a special meeting of the Jewish Agency Executive in Paris. The meeting was due to be held about a month later. In the meantime, the Etzel put a proposal to blow up the wing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, which served as the headquarters of the British government in the country. The political committee appointed over the actions of the Rebellion Movement instructed Etzel to delay implementation of the operation by a few days, pending a joint decision regarding continuation of the military struggle against the British. Etzel waited several days and then carried out the operation which caused the death of 91 people - Arabs, British and Jews. The results of the operation caused a deep shock within the yishuv. It was argued against Etzel that the operation had not been authorized and that such an operation should not have been carried out during the daytime when the hotel was full of people. It is important to note that there was here a breach of the policy determining a cessation to violent actions. The Etzel people claimed that the committee had not instructed that the operation be cancelled but only that it be delayed.

Dismantling of the Hebrew Rebellion Movement

The leadership of the organized yishuv chose, after the bombing of the King David Hotel, to dismantle the Rebellion Movement and to end the military struggle against Britain. The assessment was that Operation Broadside and the bombing of the King David...
Hotel had placed the yishuv in jeopardy of a lengthy confrontation with Britain. The chances for victory and the ramifications of such a struggle were unclear and the yishuv leadership chose to refocus the struggle against the British on the sphere of immigration, settlement and political pressure. This *modus operandi* was termed the “strict struggle”.

Dismantlement of the Rebellion Movement resulted in an exacerbation of the activities of the Etzel and Lehi Organizations which refused to follow the decision to end the military struggle. These organizations, who were termed the “separatists” by the leaders of the organized yishuv, believed that only continuation of the military struggle would result in any attrition of the British and their departure. This mode of struggle was termed “the continuous struggle”.

At its peak, the British hanged members of Etzel and Lehi and fighters in these organizations hanged British soldiers in response. Following an attempt by Lehi members to assassinate the High Commissioner, Harold MacMichael in 1944, the British began to exile members of the separatist organizations to detention camps in Africa. Some 250 Etzel and Lehi members were exiled to detention camps. A minority managed to escape while most of them were returned to the State of Israel upon termination of the mandatory rule.

**Illegal Immigration**

One of the most effective ways of the yishuv to fight against the mandatory regime was illegal immigration to the country. This took place in the following manner: ships were rented or bought in Europe. They were speedily and partially readied for passengers. If they managed to evade the British ships, the illegal immigrants would disembark on the beach and be transported to the settlements in the vicinity. If the ships were caught, the British would send the passengers to detention camps. The illegal immigration became an effective tool in the struggle against the
British, giving rise to sympathy, tiring the British forces and improving the position of the Zionist Movement during the discussions at the UN. Furthermore, these activities constituted a daring attempt to close down the displaced persons’ camps in Europe and bring the remaining refugees to a secure haven.

The British Response to the Illegal Immigration

Some historians view the illegal immigration as the most effective weapon against the British mandate in the Land of Israel. The British were faced with a dilemma. On the one hand, allowing Jews to enter the Land of Israel would cause a serious outbreak of violence in the country on the part of the Arabs. On the other hand, opposition to the entry of Jews harmed the moral force of the mandatory government. The fight by British policemen and soldiers against the illegal immigrants, survivors of the Holocaust, was portrayed very badly, particularly in public opinion in the United States. It was difficult to explain this fight against the victims of the Holocaust in America, in Britain and even to the British soldiers.

65 ships carrying some 70,000 illegal immigrants reached the country in that period. 50 of the ships were caught and only 4,000 illegal immigrants were not arrested or deported. The conditions on board the ships were difficult – great overcrowding and a shortage of food and water. From August 1946, the British began deporting the illegal immigrants to Cyprus. In many instances, the clashes between the British and the illegal immigrants resulted in injuries among the latter and sometimes even deaths among the immigrants. The institutions of the yishuv took advantage of the situation where the British caught all the ships and began to use large, slow ships which sailed toward the British forces with the intention of being caught. The leaders of the yishuv understood that the primary struggle was taking place over public opinion in the democratic countries of the world.
The fight of the armed forces of Britain against the illegal immigrants was filmed and broadcast worldwide. The camps in Cyprus where the illegal immigrants caught by the British were imprisoned could be seen as a continuation of the camps in which the Jews had been during the war. The best-known incident, which influenced public opinion, was the capture of the ship Exodus by the British and the return of the illegal immigrants to camps in Europe.

The Discussion at the United Nations

In February 1947, Ernest Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary, announced that the Palestine issue was being transferred for the attention of the UN. The explanations for this step are contradictory. Some view it as an expression of tiredness and revulsion on the part of the British; others see it as an attempt to strengthen their position in the Land of Israel with the support of the UN and of America. The UN set up UNSCOP – the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine. The member states of this committee were 11 countries, without the Arab states and the superpowers. The majority proposal of the committee was that two states be established in Palestine – the Land of Israel, a Jewish state comprising 55% of the area of the country and an Arab state to consist of 45% of its area. Jerusalem was to be under international rule, managed by Britain. The two new states were to be required, according to the proposal, to respect minority rights and to permit free access to the holy places. The timetable which the committee formulated for realization of this arrangement was: by February 1948, the British army would leave the country. By August 1948, the British would evacuate all their personnel from the country. In October 1948, two states would be established. The countdown to the end of the British mandate in the Land of Israel had begun. In the global context, the end of the mandate was part of a process of decolonization which was taking place in the world following the Second World War.
In the discussion on the proposal which took place in the UN plenum, the position of the USSR was decisive. Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet representative to the UN, gave a blatantly pro-Zionist speech in the plenum. The speech contained the connection of the Jews to the Land of Israel, their sufferings during the war, the problem of stateless persons and the fact that the countries of Europe had failed to defend the rights of the Jews. The solution to the problem was establishment of one country in the Land of Israel but, should this not be possible, the correct solution is establishment of two countries, alongside each other. What were the reasons for this position? Apparently, a mixture of political reasons connected with the cold war and humanitarian causes.

For approval of the committee's proposal, a majority of two-thirds of the members of the UN General Assembly was necessary. The result of the vote was: 33 ayes, 13 nays, 10 abstentions and 1 absence.
The aspired majority was obtained. The information about the decision of the UN plenum was welcomed joyously by the yishuv in the Land of Israel. Festivities of song and dance were held in the streets. The Palestinians declared a period of mourning. David Ben Gurion said about that historic evening of November 29, 1947: “That evening, the people danced in the streets, but I could not dance. I knew that we were facing a war and that we would lose the best of our young men.” The next day, two busses of Jews were attacked close to Wilhelma (Bnei Atarot) and 7 Jews were killed. Thus began the War of Independence.
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THE SIX-DAY WAR
JUNE 5–10, 1967

The Sixties – General Background
The Six-Day War began on June 5, 1967, and ended six days later, on June 10, 1967.

In the years preceding the war, Israel had coped with grave problems which had accompanied it since its inception. It suffered from problems of security, which included the incursion of terrorists from Arab countries and the murder of civilians, shelling from Syria and a military threat from Egypt. It responded with reprisals for strikes against its civilians. At that time, Israel was equipped mainly with French weapons and only began to purchase a few weapons from the United States in the second half of the Sixties.

The young age of the State and the mass immigration of the Fifties and Sixties (over one and a half million immigrants) placed serious challenges before Israel. The State had to see to the housing, education and health of hundreds of thousands of immigrants. Economic enterprises had to be set up to provide jobs with the aim of reaching economic independence and these tasks demanded a tremendous effort and a large amount of capital. No simple solutions were forthcoming and the situation worsened.

In the years 1966–1967, Israel suffered from a deep economic recession with unemployment, desperation and emigration from the country. A common joke at the time was: “Will the last one to leave the country please turn the lights out at Airport.” There was a sense that the government was not running the affairs of the State properly and trust in it was damaged.

International policy had a decisive impact on what took place in the Middle East and world-wide in that period. The USA and the USSR were in a “cold war”

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ISRAELI AGGRESSION ON ARAB AND PALESTINIAN LANDS
THE JUNE 1967 WAR:

Preface
The war which Israel started against the Arab countries in 1967 is known by the name “The Aggression of June the Fifth” because it was Israel which initiated the declaration of war and started the assault. Aggression is a first step initiated by a certain country which uses its power in order to attack and invade the lands of another country. This is how the Armistice Conference defined the aggressor, namely “the party which declares war on another country and invades its lands through its military power”.

Aggression is also defined as “an attack contrary to the law and an invasion of demilitarized zones as defined in an international convention while prejudicing the integrity, safety and independence of neighboring countries”.

Israel was always in preparation for an attack on the Palestinian areas. It was always “on the alert” and closely followed the conditions on the international and Arab fronts to find the proper opportunity to attack the Arab countries.

In December 1948, Ben Gurion declared that “our military victories are only introductions to the long-term goals of Israel”. In a Jewish officers’ graduation ceremony in 1949, he said that “we have not yet realized our goal, namely – absolute victory. So far, we have fully liberated only one part of our homeland. The fate of the other parts will be as the fate of this part, which our brave troops now control.”

Developments in the three years preceding the war
1. The first Arab Summit conference took place in Cairo in 1964. The reason for convening this con-

LEARNING EACH OTHER’S HISTORICAL NARRATIVE 68
situation. This was a struggle over global hegemony and control while avoiding any intention of a direct military confrontation between them.

Under the guise of cultural-economic-military aid, the powers gained control over as many countries as possible and turned them into “satellites” or “aligned” states. Thus, the “Eastern Bloc”, identified with the (communist) USSR, was set up facing the “Western Bloc”, identified with the (democratic) USA. In return for aid and support, the aligned countries were forced to serve the interests of the powers, often contrary to their own needs.

Egypt, Syria and Iraq belonged to the Eastern Bloc while Jordan and Israel belonged to the Western Bloc.

The cold war expanded into a nuclear arms race and balance of terror. The powers were frequently on the threshold of a nuclear war, endangering the survival of the world.

Background to the War

As noted, the Six-Day War started on June 5, 1967, and ended six days later, on June 10, 1967.

In this war, Israel fought against three Arab countries: Egypt, Syria and Jordan and achieved a victory which constitutes a turning point in Zionist history.

The background to the outbreak of the war is connected with the set of relationships between Israel and the Arab states in the Sixties.

Israel – Syria

Tension between Israel and Syria grew from 1964 because Syria began work to divert the sources of the Jordan and prevent the water from flowing into the Sea of Galilee. It is important to understand that the Sea of Galilee is the largest and only natural reservoir of the State of Israel. Water flows from there through the National Water Carrier and sustains the settlement enterprise in the Negev. Because of the existential importance of the Sea of Galilee for the

...
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4. Palestinian freedom fighters crossed the border with Jordan from various points and entered the Occupied Lands to raid Israeli military targets. Many times the Israeli forces managed to overcome these groups of freedom fighters, kill some of them and detain others. Under the pretext

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State, Israel resolved to disrupt the course of the Syrian diversion by bombing the tractors and bulldozers. The Syrians reacted to the IDF actions with fierce shelling of the fishermen in the Sea of Galilee and of civilian settlements such as Haon and Ein Gev, causing great damage. The “water war”, as this war was termed, reached its climax in April 1967 when, on one day, planes of the Israeli air force shot down six Syrian MIG fighters that came to meet them. Syria demanded that Egypt get involved in the tense situation, on the basis of the military alliance between them.

Israel – Jordan

In the years 1965 – 1967, with Syrian encouragement, incursions by the Palestinian organizations from Jordan to Israel increased in number. The Jordanian regime did not stop the terrorists who left from their territory and injured many Israeli soldiers and civilians. Israel responded with reprisal actions against places from which the attackers had come with the aim of stopping the aggression. After a series of attacks in the Har Hebron area, the IDF attacked the village of Samua in a particularly large retributive raid.

During the attack, 41 buildings were destroyed and 26 people were killed, half of them soldiers of the Jordanian Legion and the others civilians.

The status of King Hussein in the Arab world and in Jordan was seriously undermined by the Samua Operation. Although the soldiers of the Jordanian Legion fought heroically, Hussein was accused of not fighting Israel with adequate strength. The Egyptians and Syrians called for the downfall of Hussein’s regime and, in Jordan, stormy demonstrations were held against him. Hussein for his part attacked the Egyptian president, Gamal Abdul Nasser, and claimed that he was all talk but was doing nothing against Israel.

LEARNING EACH OTHER’S HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

PALESTINIAN NARRATIVE

4. Palestinian freedom fighters crossed the border with Jordan from various points and entered the Occupied Lands to raid Israeli military targets. Many times the Israeli forces managed to overcome these groups of freedom fighters, kill some of them and detain others. Under the pretext
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Israel – Egypt

In May 1967, following a Syrian demand to the ruler of Egypt that he act against Israel, Nasser took the following steps:

* He declared a full military alert and introduced military forces and weapons to the Sinai Desert.

* The president of Egypt went on to demand of the UN that it withdraw its forces from the Egyptian-Israeli border. The Secretary-General of the UN responded affirmatively and went further and pulled the UN forces out of the whole of the Sinai.

* On May 22, Nasser blockaded the Straits of Tiran at the opening of the Red Sea against Israeli ships sailing to the Port of Eilat.

* The same day, at a meeting with Egyptian pilots in Sinai which was publicized in the media, Nasser called for a war and declared: “The Jews threaten to make war. I reply: Welcome! We are ready for war.” (Wallach, in “The Struggle for Israel’s Security”, ed. Michaelson, Zohar and Meltzer, p. 130, 1999).

* On May 26, 1967, Nasser made an explicit threat against Israel in a public appearance and said: “The blocking of the Straits means to enter into a total war with Israel. This required preparations. When we felt ourselves ready, we did it ... if we are attacked, there will be war and our basic goal will be the annihilation of Israel.” (Gluska, A., “Eshkol, Give the Order!”, 2004, p. 313).


With these military and political measures, Nasser broke the agreement between Israel and Egypt which had been signed after the Sinai War (1956). In his speeches, he inflamed and radicalized the atmosphere that the freedom fighters had came from Jordanian territory, on November 13, 1966, Israeli forces launched an extensive attack on the village of Samu which lies at the southern end of the Hebron area, about four kilometers inside the cease fire line. The Israelis opted specifically for this village because it is located in the most southern area, close to the freedom fighters’ military positions, making it easier for them to undertake the mission and return quickly to their territory. At the same time, the village was a long way from the main army bases of the Jordanian forces so that help would take a long time to arrive and the operation could be completed before then. The Israeli attack forces were supported by tanks and aircraft and succeeded in destroying many houses in the village, killing and wounding many of its inhabitants. During the operation, the residents were expelled from their homes, which were later dynamited. An Arab force from the Hebron area was sent to assist the village which was under attack but was caught in an ambush which the Israelis had set to the north of the village, in addition to the explosion of mines which they had laid on the route of the vehicles which were bringing in the relief soldiers. As a result of this clash, the Arab army had twenty-one soldiers killed and thirty-seven others injured. 3

5. Israel had decided some time previously to start a war and to address the blow in the first instance at Egypt of all countries. The assumption was that, because inter-Arab relations had reached such a low level, the Arab forces would not be able to fight together as part of a single defensive plan because of the ongoing disputes between them. Israel started operational preparations for a war. It mobilized its reserve forces and began with an escalation on the front lines to bring about the situation it wanted in order to smite the Arab armies one after the other.
against Israel.

Nasser’s aggression appears to have derived from the pressure of Jordan and Syria, out of his desire to maintain his status as the leader of the Arab world and, to a great extent, also from the influence of the USSR.

On May 30, Jordan joined a defensive alliance with Egypt and Syria, following which Iraq also joined. The State of Israel thus found itself surrounded by hostile countries calling for war, inciting, spreading aggressive propaganda and denying its right to exist.

The public in Israel felt a deep concern at Nasser’s steps and the unification of the Arab world around him and many sensed an existential danger. It should be recalled that the trauma of the Holocaust was still present in the Israeli experience. A young officer who fought in the war said: “People believed that there would be an annihilation if we didn’t win ... they were afraid. The Holocaust accorded or bequeathed this concept (“annihilation”). This is a concrete concept for anyone who grew up in Israel, even if he didn’t go through the Holocaust but only heard and read about it ... this is the lesson of the Holocaust. (M. Tzur, “Siach Lochamim”).

The Government of Israel understood the danger and weighed possibilities for a reaction. The army commanders, headed by the Chief of Staff, Yitzhak Rabin, demanded that a preemptive strike be inflicted to prevent a catastrophe but the concern of the government ministers was very great. At the end of discussion in the Ministerial Committee for Security Matters, the Minister of the Interior, Moshe Haim Shapira, turned to Rabin and said to him:

“How can you dare to go to war when all the conditions are now against us?” No power will support us ... We will have to fight on at least two fronts, perhaps three. Even the USA does not support us.” (Rabin, Y. “Pinkas Sherut”, 1979, p. 157).

A very great danger did indeed threaten Israel. Arab
countries concentrated forces in Sinai, on the Golan Heights and along the Jordanian front. In response to the steps taken by Egypt and Syria, Israel mobilized its reserve army, to guarantee its borders. For three weeks – the waiting period – the Israeli economy was almost paralyzed; where possible, women and youth replaced the mobilized men but the situation was one that could not continue for long. The USSR encouraged the Arab countries to go to war and sent them large quantities of weapons while the western counties (France, Britain and the United States) expressed no commitment to support Israel. Even France, the main supplier of weapons to the Israel Defense Forces, announced an embargo – a total halt on the transfer of weapons to the Middle East.

Israel's citizens and government were left alone facing an existential threat the like of which they had hold on to Egyptian lands and the Gaza Strip which had been occupied.

**How Israel Planned the June 1967 Aggression**

Israel initiated the aggression after it had succeeded in creating suitable conditions for striking the Arab armies separately, one after the other. The Israeli army set up an integrated military unit under one command to fight as part of one overall scheme. The reins of the initiative were also in the hands of Israel, which started an overall attack on the Arab forces on all fronts in accordance with its overall scheme in order to achieve the following goals:

1. Conquest of Sinai and holding it as a buffer zone between it and the Egyptian forces, the opening of the Suez Canal to Israeli shipping and the opening of the Straits of Tiran after the removal of the Egyptian forces from Sharm Esh-Sheikh to ensure the freedom of shipping through the Red Sea to the port of Eilat.

2. Conquest of the Golan Heights to ensure adequate defense for its settlements in the area of the Tiberias.

3. Conquest of the West Bank and Jerusalem. This is one of the important goals to which Israel had aspired since its establishment. To acquire the whole of Jerusalem was a dream Israel had had from earliest times and it had to do this as rapidly as possible before being forced to halt the fighting upon the orders of the Security Council. Israel achieved its goals as it had planned from the outset.

**Israel's War Plan – Guide Lines**

a. Destruction of the Egyptian air force at its bases in a crushing lightning strike which from the outset granted Israel full control over the air space of Egypt and Arab countries.

b. A rapid land assault, breaking through Sinai and reaching the Suez Canal.
not previously known, for the following reasons: closure of the straits; removal of the UN forces; the deep involvement of the USSR; the coming together of Arab countries in a military alliance which declared its intention of liquidating the State of Israel; the failure of western countries to restrain Nasser's aggressive measures; the French arms embargo; mobilization of the reserves and the paralysis of the Israeli economy. All these created fear and worry on the Israeli street and citizens and youth were mobilized to defend their homes against a war.

The War

The State of Israel felt isolated and its existential situation worsened by the day. The fear of an overall Arab attack along its narrow borders was intolerable. In these conditions, the Government of Israel decided on a preemptive strike to reduce the risks.

On June 5, 1967, at dawn, the Israeli air force attacked the Egyptian air fields and destroyed most of Egypt's fighter aircraft on the ground. Control in the air made it easier for the ground forces to move and, despite difficult battles in the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip, Israel routed the Egyptian army and stopped on the bank of the Suez Canal on June 8.

After the outbreak of the battles in the south, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent a message to King Hussein, signed by Prime Minister Levi Eshkol. Hussein was asked not to enter the battle and, in return, was assured that Israel would not start any operations against Jordan. Hussein did not accept the proposal, and the Jordanian Legion opened up with a heavy bombardment on Hebrew Jerusalem and other areas.

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After the Jordanian planes took off in order to attack targets in Israel, the Jordanian air force was also destroyed. The battles on the Jordanian front were difficult and the campaign in Jerusalem was particularly harsh, claiming many lives. In the following days, the West Bank was also conquered and the IDF forces stopped on the banks of the Jordan River. On the

c. Destruction of the Jordanian army and the conquest of Jerusalem and the West Bank after control over the air space was totally in the hands of the Israeli air force.

d. Concentration of all land and air forces after their release from the Egyptian and Jordanian fronts for the sake of the conquest of the Golan Heights as rapidly as possible.

Outbreak of the War

The war started with a main air strike against the bases of the Egyptian air force. On the morning of Monday, the fifth of June 1967, at exactly seven forty-five, the whole Israeli air force opened a general and massive attack on all the Egyptian bases in the area of Sinai, the Delta of Egypt and Cairo. The first bombing raid covered nineteen bases of the air force. The bombers approached their targets at a low altitude so as not to be detected by the Egyptian radar. The Israelis chose the morning hour for the attack because they assessed that the Egyptian pilots would be returning from their bases to their homes exactly when the bombing would start. It seems that the Israelis established their assessments after tracing the daily movements of the Egyptian pilots. The information reached them via agents in Egypt. For their part, the Arab air forces attacked bases of the air force and vital targets in Israel. Jordanian planes bombed a military air field by the moshava of Kfar Syrkin and Iraqi planes, flying from H3 Base in Jordan, bombed the town of Naharia on the Mediterranean Coast.

On the Syrian front, the Syrian artillery shelled the oil refinery installations in the city of Haifa and a military air field near Megiddo.

Before that, the Israeli air force had totally destroyed the Egyptian air force and then turned its efforts against the other Arab air forces. The Israelis did lose a number of planes in various air clashes but, by the end of the day, they had managed to destroy all
northern front, the war also started on June 5. The Syrian air force attacked targets in the north of the country and Syrian artillery shelled the settlements of the Jordan Valley and around the Sea of Galilee. In response, the Israeli air force destroyed most of Syria's aircraft on the first day of the war. In the following days, an artillery battle was waged between the Syrians and the Israelis and it was only towards the end of the war, and under heavy pressure on the part of the residents of the Upper Galilee and the Jordan Valley who had suffered from Syrian shelling during the sixties, that the Israel Defense Forces initiated an operation for the conquest of the Golan Heights. This was achieved on June 10 and so ended the Six-Day War.

Israel achieved a brilliant victory which changed its history and that of the whole Middle East. The Old City of Jerusalem was conquered as were the cities of the West Bank with their Biblical sites, the Sinai Desert and the Golan Heights.

The Israeli public had a sense of spiritual uplift and a loss of the sense of reality. Some even perceived the victory as a religious – messianic experience.
The map, below, shows the areas added to Israel by the end of the war. The post-war borders accorded the country previously unknown security.

Control of the Golan Heights assured the most important water sources of the State of Israel (the Jordan and the Sea of Galilee). Control of the Sinai Desert created an air and military space, a plethora of tourist sites and land resources.

Control of Judea and Samaria made a wide security belt possible between Israel and the Kingdom of Jordan, access to Judaism’s holy places, such as the Tomb of the Matriarch Rachel and the Makhpelah Cave, and control over the water sources of the mountain ridge.

The conquest of Jerusalem made it possible to unify the various parts of the city and obtain access to the Western Wall, the most holy site for Jews. The con-
quest of Jerusalem and the Western Wall caused great excitement within the whole of the Jewish people. This was the realization of a generations’ long dream and of longings of thousands of years of exile during which the Jews swore each day “If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget its cunning.”

The population of the occupied areas became the responsibility of the State of Israel.

The song which symbolized the Six-Day War more than any other, “Jerusalem of Gold”, was written by Naomi Shemer about three weeks before the war and became an expression of the Jewish people’s longing for Jerusalem:

How the cisterns have dried
The market-place is empty
And no one frequents the Temple Mount
In the Old City.
And in the caves in the mountain
Winds are howling
And no one descends to the Dead Sea
By way of Jericho.

[Shemer’s added version after the war]

We have returned to the cisterns
To the market and to the market-place
A shofar calls out on the Temple Mount
In the Old City.
And in the caves in the mountain
Thousands of suns shine -
We will once again descend to the Dead Sea
By way of Jericho!

Jerusalem of gold, and of bronze and of light
Behold I am a violin for all your songs.

The Position of Israel after the War

The Six-Day War constitutes a turning point in many areas of Israeli experience. The achievement, in military, economic and political terms, was vast and it

were completely out of the dispute, it opened an attack on the Golan Heights because the underlying Israeli plan was based on smiting the three Arab armies separately, one after the other. The Israelis managed to implement their plan with total success. The Israeli air force intensively bombed all the Syrian positions. The main attack was directed against the northern section of the Golan Heights in the area of Tel Azizat. The goal was to open the Banias road and the slopes of Mount Hermon, connecting to the Massada – Kuneitra road to the north.

As fierce battles were taking place in Kuneitra, large numbers of infantry and armored forces of the Israeli army were mobilized on June 10 and attacked the southern part of the Golan Heights, bordering on the Sea of Galilee from the east in the area of Tawafiq. After a heavy artillery bombardment and bombing from the air, the Israeli forces managed to take the townships of Tawafiq and, following it, the townships of Fiq and Alalel to the east. They conquered the villages of Baticha and Rafida and the whole of the Golan Heights, overlooking the plains of Damascus from Massada in the north to Kuneitra and Rafida in the south in the direction of the estuary of the Yarmuk, and the Jordan River fell into the hands of the Israeli army.

c. The Jordanian Front

The war on the Jordanian front began at about eleven o’clock on Monday, June 5, 1967. It is here important to note the timing because the Israeli air force turned its attention to the Jordanian and Syrian fronts after it had destroyed the Egyptian air force (see Map Number 2). Furthermore, Israeli ground forces had already broken through the Egyptian front defensive lines in Sinai and had begun to widen their activity and penetrate into the depth of Sinai.

Regarding the Jordanian forces, General Abed El-Munam Riad, the commander-in-chief of the Arab forces, issued an order to the commander of the
War on the Jordanian Front (West Bank and Arab Jerusalem), June 1967.

Map number 2
also believed that the historic connection of the Jewish people with the Land of Israel justified retaining the areas that had been conquered.

2. Those who favored a compromise on the basis of "territories for peace" held that the results of the war should be used in favor of negotiations for advancement of peace. A soldier who experienced difficult battles during the war said, after its conclusion:

"If it is a question of defending the previous border, you can repeat this once, twice and three times – if necessary. But if you now have to defend Shekhem [Nablus] or Ramallah... you will not do so. And this requires me to ensure that we teach about the things for which we went to defend and that we not turn into an army of occupation with all the ramifications that entails (Shai in: Tzur M. (ed.) "Siach Lochamim", 5728 –1968, pp. 271-272).

The fate of hundreds of thousands of refugees who fled during the War of Independence and who lived in refugee camps in the conquered areas preoccupied many Israelis who debated possible solutions associated with the Kingdom of Jordan.

The Government of Israel decided, some two weeks after the war (June 19, 1967), on the principle of withdrawal from Egypt and Syria, on the basis of borders that would accord greater security than in the past. Egypt and Syria responded negatively to this proposal.

"Egypt: Israel offers a peace treaty with Egypt on the basis of the international border (from the time of the British Mandate) and the security needs of Israel. According to the international border, the Gaza Strip is within the area of the State of Israel. Syria: Israel offers a peace treaty on the basis of the international border, as above, and the security needs of Israel." (Pedahtzur, R., "The Triumph of Embarrassment", 1996, pp. 55-56).

As to Judea and Samaria, no resolution was passed in...
the Government and a profound argument took place between the Greater Israel approach and that of “Terri-
ritories for peace”.

The Minister Yigal Alon argued in the “Alon Plan” (which was formulated between 1967 and 1968) that a peace agreement should be reached with Jordan on the basis of “defensible borders”. Alon determined that those parts of Judea and Samaria which were densely populated by Palestinians (the mountain ridge, including Shekhem (Nablus), Jenin, Ramallah, Bethlehem and Hebron) should be returned to Jordan. The Jordan Valley and the southern Hebron Hills, which were sparsely populated by Arabs but important to Israel from a security point of view, as a security border for Israel against the Jordanian army, should remain in Israeli hands.

Alon called for large-scale Jewish settlement in the Jordan Valley and many people responded to his call. About his plan, Alon said:

“Thus we come to the possibility of a solution which takes into account the basic interests of the parties to the dispute, on the basis of a territorial compromise.” (Alon, Y. “Kelim Sheluvim”, 1980, p. 165).

The uniqueness of the Alon Plan was that it was the only plan which proposed a peace treaty as a solution to the dispute with Jordan and with the Palestinians.

The Minister of Defense, Moshe Dayan, argued in the “Dayan Plan” (formulated between 1967 and 1968) that the complete occupation of Judea and Samaria should be perpetuated through establishment of five “fists” (army camps) to control the area and through establishment of Jewish urban settlement throughout the occupied territories.

In his proposal, Dayan wrote:

“We have to become organized and established in the area so that in the course of time we shall manage to “digest” the areas of Judea and Samaria and control of the Jerusalem - Ramallah road and the surrounding hills, cutting it off from Nablus. This is a key area for the conquest of Jerusalem and the roads leading to it from the north and east, throughout history, was always a target for armies advancing to take the city.”

Towards the end of June 1967, the Israeli authorities approved the law of annexation of Jerusalem to the State of Israel. According to this law, Israeli laws and legislation also apply in Arab Jerusalem and its residents become subject to the authority of Israeli regulations. This decision was met with opposition by all the countries of the world with no exceptions as it was an illegal step, inconsistent with international laws and statutes. The other occupied areas in the West Bank and Gaza Strip were not formally annexed to Israel but the Occupation Authorities continued to apply the Jordanian regulations and laws on the West Bank and the Egyptian law in the Gaza Strip, while introducing basic amendments in these laws so that they would serve the interests of Israel.

The Results of the June 1967 Aggression

* Arab losses – the Arab forces took heavy losses in lives and equipment. The greatest loss, however, which the Arab nation took is Israeli control over the Holy City of Jerusalem and its occupation of the entire West Bank. The only compensation for this loss will be for the Arabs to reclaim the occupied Arab lands, first and foremost Holy Jerusalem.

* Israel’s conquest of the Sinai Peninsula and building of front defense lines on the banks of the Suez Canal meant that Egypt could not control the movement of shipping in the Suez Canal and close it to the passage of Israeli ships in the future when it re-opened. This was because the Israeli forces controlled the Canal for its whole length on the eastern side. Furthermore, Egypt lost in Sinai not inconsiderable quantities of oil and other natural resources. On the military level, Egypt lost the stra-

Dayan argued that the Palestinians should be granted limited social and political autonomy under Israel rule.

It may be noted that, under Jordanian rule, the Palestinians did not enjoy a separate national status. Over time, the Palestinian demand for recognition of them as a separate national entity grew.

In the final resort, the Government did not approve either plan but, on the ground, acted according to the Dayan Plan.

The UN Position after the War

Following the Six-Day War, the UN held a debate about the ramifications of the war and the conditions for a peace arrangement in the Middle East.

Resolution 242, which was passed in November 1967 (and re-approved in Resolution 338 following the Yom Kippur War) laid down a framework for a peace agreement according to two principles:

“Evacuation of Israeli forces from territories occupied as part of the last dispute; “Cancellation of any claim or state of warfare and respect and recognition of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every country of the region.” (From: Braverman, N. G. (ed.) “Collection of Documents in the History of the State”, 1981).

The State of Israel supported the Resolution and the Arab countries, with the exception of Syria and the Palestinian Fatach Organization, did likewise. An as-yet unresolved argument developed around the interpretation of Resolution 242. According to the Israeli version, the wording there is “withdrawal from territories” but according to the Palestinian version, it is “withdrawal from the territories”.

tegic depth which had granted it a unique advantage in its war against Israel.

* The Syrian loss – the Golan Heights and the strategy which had granted Syria superiority and control over the access roads to the Galilee as well as control over the areas of the Sea of Galilee, Hula Lake and the Jewish settlements between them. With the loss of the Golan, Syria lost control over the sources of the Jordan River at the Banias and the possibility of influencing the diversion of water from the river to the Negev. This was one of the reasons that had increased the tension on the border and escalated the possibilities for the outbreak of the war.

* Israel conquered important positions on the summit of Mount Harmon and set up electronic surveillance posts which enabled it to exercise control over all the neighboring Arab countries. As a
The Position of the Arab World after the War

The Arab world after the war spoke with one voice and in one direction. At the Khartoum Conference, which was convened by Arab states (September 1967), they united around the “Three Noes”:

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

The Position of the Palestinians after the War

In 1964, the National Council of the PLO (the Palestine Liberation Organization) wrote the Palestinian Covenant. It was redrafted in 1968 and contained, amongst others, the following sections:

- "The Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine are deemed null and void. Judaism, being a religion, is not an independent nationality. Nor do Jews constitute a single nation." (Article 20)
- "The Palestinian Arab people possesses the legal right to its homeland and has the right to determine its destiny after achieving the liberation of its country. (Article 3)
- "The Arab Palestinian people, expressing themselves by the armed Palestinian revolution, reject all solutions which are substitutes for the total liberation of Palestine. (Article 21)
- "Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine. Thus it is the overall strategy, not merely a tactical phase." (Article 9) (Harkaby, Y. “The Palestinian Covenant and its Meaning”, 1974).

Articles 3 and 4 of the Covenant state the following:
- "The PLO will fight against any plan for a Palestinian entity the price of which is recognition, acceptance and (determination) of secure borders (for Israel)

rule, it can be said that the achievements of the Israeli aggression had exceeded all expectations, the most important of which are:

1. Destruction of the military force of Egypt, Jordan and Syria. This resulted in a significant upheaval in the balance of military power in favor of Israel. The defeat caused a deep crisis in the Arab world which rapidly turned into internecine warring such as happened in Jordan, Lebanon and Syria.

2. Following the '67 war, the Israelis took control over large areas of Arab lands, exceeding in size the area which Israel acquired following the 1948 war. This was expressed in the occupation of the West Bank, including Arab Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights.

3. Israel forcibly opened the Straits of Tiran to shipping and took control over Sharm Esh-Sheikh in such a way that accorded it protection for the movement of shipping to the port of Eilat.

4. Israel occupied the sources of oil in Sinai in such a way that it managed to meet the needs of the local market.

5. Israel reached impregnable, natural lines of defense - the Suez Canal, the Jordan River, the Golan Heights and the Mount Hermon. It created for itself a wide area for maneuver.

6. Israel took a large hostage (Arab land and inhabitants) for use in negotiations with the aim of forcing Arab countries to reach peace with it.12

7. The results of the war lead the independent Palestinian entity to occupy the front row seats. The Palestinians took hold anew of their cause. They managed to constitute a challenge at the political and moral levels and at that of the struggle. The Palestine Liberation Organization succeeded again in taking up the reins of the resistance.13

8. The results of the war helped Israel out of the prewar crisis of economic recession and unemployment and gave new motivation to immigration to
Israel. In this connection, a witty and cynical joke had been common in the press and cultural salons: “The last person to leave the airport is asked to turn off the lights and to leave the key under the doormat.”

9. More than quarter of a million Palestinians were expelled and forced to immigrate to Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon.

10. The war enabled Israel to confiscate Palestinian lands and to build settlements on them, while imprisoning and besieging all those who had remained in Palestine.

11. Since its inception, Israel has taken control over all the Palestinian property while at the same time gradually destroying more than 347 Palestinian villages and towns, wiping them off the face of the earth, and establishing in their place Israeli settlements. It took control of 20.5 million dunams of the area of Palestine, the size of which is 26,305,000 dunams.

12. After the war, thousands of Palestinians were forced to leave their lands in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and to move to Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. In addition, 150,000 Syrian citizens were expelled from Kuneitra and the Golan Heights to Damascus.

13. On the Arab level - the leaders of Arab countries held a summit conference in Khartoum two months after the war. The conference concluded
in the north (May 1970), the murder of eleven sportsmen at the Munich Olympics (September 1972), the murder of twenty-one pupils and teachers at a school in the township of Maalot (May 1974) and the skyjacking of an aircraft to Entebbe in Uganda (July 1976).

**Israeli Policy in the Occupied Territories**

Israel maintained an occupation regime in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, initially through a military government and later with a civilian administration. At first, the occupation was accepted by the Palestinian people as bringing a blessing; for the first time, universities were established, tens of thousands of Palestinians found work inside Israel, the economy developed, the standard of living rose and an emotional encounter took place with the Arabs of Israel.

In June 1967, East Jerusalem was annexed to the State of Israel. Settlement also started in the Jordan Valley, the Golan Heights and around Jerusalem. This was part of a security perception for the creation of "defensible borders" to which the general public in Israel was a party.

The national religious Gush Emunim Movement initiated a process of settlement throughout Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Region according to the Greater Israel concept, and many citizens joined it with the intention of purchasing a cheap home in the center of the country "five minutes from Kfar Sava". The settlement process became a central factor in the animated public debate that took place in Israel around the subject of establishment of a Palestinian state and this debate has grown and become more intense with the years.

**Conclusion**

The Six-Day War constitutes a sort of watershed in the history of the State of Israel and its neighbors and in the history of the Palestinian people.

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*PALESTINIAN NARRATIVE*

with a resolution that came to be known as "The No's of Khartoum": No peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, and no negotiations with Israel.\(^\text{16}\)

No Recognition
No Kidding with him

No Peace
No Negotiation with him

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14. On the international plain – On November 22, 1967, the Security Council published its famous resolution 242, in the following words:

a. Withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Territories occupied in the recent conflict.

b. The right of every state in the region to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

c. It is essential to find a just solution to the refugee problem.

We note that the text of the resolution is intentionally hazy. Interpretation of the resolution resulted in many differences of opinion. In the French version, it says "withdrawal from the territories". Arab governments (Egypt, Jordan and Syria) used that to justify their acceptance of it. On the other hand, in the English text, the word "the" is omitted and it says: "withdrawal from territories", viz: some of the occupied territories but not all of them. This version encouraged the Israelis to accept it.

The core issue in this resolution is not the "the" but recognition in effect of Israel's right to exist as all the other countries of the region. The Palestinian
Even if the causes of this war have not been fully clarified, its dramatic results are clear. Israel gained a great victory, which it had not intended, in this war and conquered territories that had not been included in its borders in 1948.

These territories had belonged to Arab countries but their population was mostly Palestinian.

At this time, Israel, Arab countries and the Palestinians have to engage in joint, creative thinking and mutual concessions, to reach a secure, shared existence in the Middle East.

Sources for Class Work:
Kelim Sheluvim - Alon, Y.
Hakol - Ben Ami, A. (ed.)
Collection of Documents in the History of the State - Braverman, N. (ed.)
The Palestinian Covenant and its Meaning - Harkaby, Y.
The Struggle for Israel's Security - Michaelson (ed.)
Six Days Thirty Years - Sesser A. (ed.)
The Triumph of Embarrassment - Pedahtzur, R.
Siach Lochemim - Tzur, M. (ed.)
Second Decade - Tzameret and Yablonka (eds.)
Pinkas Sherut - Rabin, Y.
Gush Emunim - Rubenstein, D.
The film Tekuma (on the Six Days) - It is strongly recommended that it be shown to pupils in instalments.

The Day War Breaks Out - Eitan Haber, 1987
Eshkol, Give the Order! - Gluska A., 2004

Additional Sources
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people, however, is not recognized in the resolution as a people with political rights. The resolution refers to the Palestinian matter as a problem of refugees only. Acceptance of the resolution meant withdrawing from the No's of Khartoum. 17


* For the first time since its establishment, Israel achieved defensive depth: the Sinai Desert in the south would be used as a barrier against any possible Egyptian attack.

* Israel occupied the whole of the West Bank and succeeded in positioning a defensive line along the Jordan River. In the new reality, Israel had distanced itself from the danger of a direct attack from the east on the center of the country and Jerusalem.

* With the conquest of the entire Golan Heights, the Israeli armor concentrated in the area became a threat against Damascus and the surrounding area.

* On the level of morale, the defeat of the Arab armies created a feeling of strength among the Israeli forces and command. They became arrogant and haughty, while bragging that they had defeated all the Arab armies in an unprecedented short period of time. They forgot that the defeat of the Arab armies did not stem from the invincibility of the Israeli army, as they wished to depict it, but was because of the disunity of the Arabs and their inability to unite and combine forces and resources correctly. 18

Israeli Policy in the Occupied Territories After the Aggression

The policy of Israel in the Occupied Territories was based on two underlying principles: Judaization of the land and disappearance of the people. This was part of the oppressive, racist policy that was applied to a million and a half Palestinians and a policy of land
confiscation and Judaization using various methods, the most prominent of which were:

1. Taking over state-owned lands and properties.
2. Taking over lands and properties of absentees.
3. Confiscation of lands and prohibiting the use thereof under the pretext of security.
4. Forcing farmers to exchange their lands for lands located elsewhere.
5. Purchase of lands from their owners by means of deceit and temptation.

By these methods, Israel succeeded in taking control over extensive areas of Arab lands in Jerusalem, Hebron and in the Jordan Valley, Rafiah and on the Golan. Thousands of dunams were confiscated and whole villages were destroyed, for example: Yalo, Emmaus and Beit Nuba. Whole neighborhoods were wiped out, such as the Mugrabim Quarter in Jerusalem, and Jewish neighborhoods were built in their place. In applying the policy of Judaization, particularly in East Jerusalem, Israel proclaimed its final annexation to West Jerusalem and declared the city to be the united and eternal capital of Israel.

At the same time, Israel planted many scattered settlements on the Palestinian lands it had conquered and controlled to create facts on the ground and to block any international attempt to enforce a withdrawal and establishment of a Palestinian state. A few weeks after the occupation and the aggression, Israel applied a settlement policy in accordance with the plan of the minister from the Labor Party, Yigal Allon. His plan reflected the position of the Government of Israel regarding a Jewish state, secure borders and the future of the Palestinian question. The Allon Plan negates any recognition of a national existence for the Palestinian people, is not prepared to recognize its rights and favors holding a very large area of Arab lands conquered in 1967. In accordance with the Plan, more than 28 Jewish settlements were constructed on these lands by 1970.
Impact of the Israeli Occupation Policy on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip

From the day Israel occupied the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, it worked to combine the economies in these areas with that of Israel, to attract the work force to the Israeli economy and not allow a development policy which would result in the absorption of the Palestinian work force in the West Bank and Gaza Strip or the construction of an independent economy, distinct from the Israeli economy. To achieve this goal, Israel adopted a number of steps, the most prominent of which were the closure of Arab banks which were operating in the Occupied Territories, the imposition of heavy taxes on products and real estate, the placing of obstacles in the way of the development of a local industry and the granting of concessions to businesses associated with the Israeli economy, so that the Occupied Territories would remain totally dependent on the Israeli economy and would constitute a consumer market for its products. In accordance with the above, the industrial sector did not develop in the West Bank but remained on the same scale as it had been in 1967. In the realm of agriculture, the land areas for farming were reduced and many farmers abandoned their lands and went to work for Israeli farms and factories. The temptations of a high salary worked here as the Palestinians attempted to cope with the difficult living conditions the occupation enforced upon land and people.

On the other hand, Israeli legislation prevented the marketing of Arab agricultural produce within Israel at a time when agricultural produce from the Occupied Lands faced strong and unbalanced competition with Israeli produce which profited from a government subsidy. This resulted in Palestinian agricultural produce being referred for export to the East Bank and it remained subject to the policies of Israel and the Government of Jordan. 19

"Israel's steps after the aggression were not only confined to this realm. They touched on the fields of
education, culture and society. Military censorship laws were applied to the syllabi in the schools, to the press, journals and books. In various ways, newspapers and journals were confiscated and their offices were closed. This was in addition to the take-over of the Palestinian heritage and the restriction of the activity of cultural, charitable and social societies.²⁰

The June 1967 Aggression in the Mirror of Palestinian Culture

The June War exposed the backwardness of the weak Arab regimes and caused the Arab man-in-the-street to re-examine his aspirations and his philosophy and to demand prioritization. Intellectuals, writers and poets began to produce poems and plays as symbolic literature depicting the depth of the trials and agony burning in the heart of every Palestinian who had been uprooted from his land. The sense of the pain and the loss feature in the poem of the Palestinian poet, Khalil Tuma, in Songs of the Last Nights, and this is what he writes:

Letters are born, grow, expand and climb
On your arms like an ivy plant
But your eyes are too dull to see
That faces which lengthen in the morning mist
When the dewdrops are absorbed
Into a sad orange
Are wandering like an ascending path
From the depths of slaughter to the banks of the sun
Jerusalem has become imprisoned
Like a body into which all prayers sink –
What else?
On a blazing day
The flock of swallows was on the other bank
Singing about a body lying on the sidewalks,
Holding out a trembling hand to people passing
But not receiving alms
He stared into the hearts of the young ones,
Stared at their arms, their legs,
And through the flowing tears
Into his vision rise the pillars of fire.
Conclusion

Following the 1967 aggression, the whole of Palestine fell under occupation. The Palestinian people is still suffering from occupation and aggression. Since 1967, the Palestinian people has not lived a decent life and has not been able to move around its homeland freely and safely. Since 1967, Israel has worked on enforcing a new reality on the ground and on the people through a policy of occupation based on oppression and deprivation of Palestinians of their homeland. The Palestinian refugees are still outside their homeland while Israel continues its settlement activities and confiscation of lands.

But the day will come when the Palestinian will live in freedom and will realize his honor on his land and his homeland. And the occupation – it will eventually come to an end, because there is no end to the aspirations of the Palestinians to a life of peace and security like those of the other nations of the world, and a glorious future will yet have to come to them and their children will live as the other children of the world enjoying freedom and security.

Glossary

1. 1967 Aggression: The Six-Day War is called “The Aggression” because Israel in six days attacked Arab countries and Palestine, defeated the armies of the Arabs and conquered the Arab lands (Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Palestine).

2. Jamal Abdel-Nasser: Born in Alexandria, where he studied and joined the military academy in 1937 and took part in the 1948 war. He began to plan for the implementation of the Egyptian Revolution and organized a group of free officers which undertook the revolution in 1952. He became President of the Republic following a referendum held in Egypt in 1956. He had an important role in the Arab liberation movements. He nationalized the
Suez Canal, organized the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries. He died in 1970.

3. Aggression: An initial effort on the part of a country to use military force in order to attack the lands of another country, to invade them and to take control of them by force of arms.

4. Jerusalem: an Arab city with an ancient history going back 5,000 years. Its oldest name was Urshalem. This is a Canaanite name, with the original meaning of the God Shalem, the God of Peace. The Arab Jebusites called it Jebus. It was conquered by Israel in the 1967 war.

5. Displaced persons: a term for the Palestinians who were forced to flee from the Palestinian land following the Israeli aggression on the West Bank and who crossed the Jordan River to the East Bank (Jordan).

6. Resolution 242: the resolution which the Security Council issued. It calls for a cease fire, a withdrawal of Israeli forces from the territories occupied in 1967 and the guarantee of the peace of the countries of the region, while ensuring freedom of shipping in international waterways and resolution of the refugee problem. The resolution was considered a cornerstone for the concept of “land for peace”.

SOURCES
3. Brief History of Palestine, the Nakba and the Steadfastness, the Palestinian National Council for Revival of the Nakba.
4. Al-Budairi Musa et al. (1990), Palestinian Society on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip, Al-Aswar Publications, Acre.


Footnotes:
3. Ibid., p. 449.
7. See Chaim Herzog, *The Arab-Israeli Wars*.
History and Its Problem, pp. 187-188.
16 The Palestine Problem in Diagram and Word, p. 82.
17 Ibid., p. 83.
18 Sadek El-Shara, Our Wars with Israel, p. 514.
19 Musa Al-Budairi et al., pp. 45-55.