

## Foreword

Lebanon has produced some of the greatest of the Arab world's visionaries and thinkers, but none more so than Michel Chiha. A drafter of its constitution, a politician and a journalist, he was his country's intellectual conscience, and it was he who first saw Lebanon as a refuge for minorities. Chiha belongs to those Arabs whose thoughts, ideas and visions should have been top-table reading for the policy makers of the West who largely see the Arab world as an intellectual vacuum, full of backward and defeated peoples. Yet in the English-speaking world he remains relatively unknown, with too few of his writing translated for broader examination. This valuable collection of his writings is an important step to address that.

If he were with us today, Chiha's thoughts would have been fascinating, but would they have found a hearing outside his Levantine world or would they still be cast aside, as they were half a century ago? Arab thought is still more derided than espoused. As Chiha warned so prophetically about the dangers of partitioning Palestine, so too his successors railed against the Anglo-American invasion of Iraq in 2003. Similar lessons can be drawn from both.

It is always a tough decision to opt for a reprint. Surely a work must be out of date, irrelevant, surpassed by more recent tomes? But the works of great visionary thinkers do stand the test of time – the lessons and ideas are still relevant decades later.

This work is a collection of Chiha's thoughts on Palestine penned in the latter years of his life between 1945 and 1954. It chronicles the frustration at what he witnessed, not least from the nascent post-war international community and an Arab League that appears as impotent then as it remains today. More importantly, this stands as a record of his vision of what was to follow.

From the start, Chiha was clear that partition of Palestine would not only engulf the region but affect the West as well. It would, he believed, be a disaster not only for his beloved Lebanon but for the Jewish people too, for whom he shows no malice. Indeed, he yearns for a single state where Arab and Jew can build a shared future and "develop their country together". But if there were to be mass Jewish immigration he wonders how these peoples could all be squashed into Palestine "like sardines in a in". Anyone who still falls for the widely propagated Israeli myth that Jerusalem only started to

become an issue for the Arabs in the post 1967 era should read Chiha's *cri de coeur* about the fate of the holy city. He even urges Jordan to move its capital to Jerusalem to echo the Israeli move. He envisages Israel becoming a "fortress" in what would become a "Hundred Years' War". Sixty years on such sombre predictions do not look so bizarre. His solutions still seem prescient, not least his call for an international buffer force to separate Arabs and Jews, something that many people consider necessary now.

For Chiha, a conflict that many, largely the apologists for Israeli actions, seek to overcomplicate retains its original simplicity. The Arabs has been forced to create space for Israel owing to their ineptitude. The US and others had given the Zionists the freedom not only to colonise Arab land but to expand and exert their power over the region. There are also clear messages to the Arab side that they would be best served by 'pointing to the possibility rather than the impossibility of peace'.

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**MICHEL CHIHA AND PALESTINE**  
**Editorial Reflections: 1944-54**

**INTRODUCTION**

Just as there are many countries on this earth for each faith, countries with Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant or Muslim majorities, so more than one location should be envisaged where Jews could grow and multiply without poisoning the lives of innocent Arabs with their threat (May 30, 1953).

*Israel, which provided Marxism with its founders and communism with so many of its leaders, is at odds with itself in its thinking and attitudes. Israel is on the left and on the right at the same time. It is able to move to the extreme left and the extreme right simultaneously (July 22, 1953).*

*Israel's guilt will not screen from our view the guilt of others who permit Israel to commit such grave offences (October 17, 1953).*

As one of Lebanon's most renowned political analysts and strategists, Michel Chiha was an ardent Lebanese patriot and staunch believer in an open, plural and cosmopolitan political culture. Though he articulated views in support of Lebanon's liberal economy, he was fully aware that such a foundation rested on shaky grounds.

As a young man Chiha had carried out some study in Britain where he must have developed his admiration for the resilience of the unwritten British constitution. This doubtlessly had an impact on the defining role he played in drafting the Lebanese constitutions and in emerging as an astute political actor and a liberal intellectual with profound humanistic predispositions. Though he cultivated a passion for the refined arts, literature and poetry, he was not a disengaged man of letters or an intellectual recluse. In 1947 Chiha

sponsored the establishment of the “Cenacle Libanais” as a free forum for rational and spirited public debate.

Chiha’s outstanding legacy and credibility are, however, intimately linked with his career as journalist. He was not only an astute and engaging editorialist; keen on elucidating the prosaic and quotidian features of everyday life. He had a gift, as an intuitive and stylistic essayist, for depicting the distinctive elements of Lebanon’s enigmatic political culture, its enchanting geography and landscape, its cosmopolitan and Mediterranean republican virtues but also its endemic blemishes and pitfalls. These are, after all, the uncontested attributes which endear Chiha to many of his admiring circle of colleagues and account for his enduring legacy. One can readily glean from his weekly editorials and journalistic forays more than just spotty and random features of Chiha as the probing and dispassionate scholar. Quite often he dons the garb of an academic social scientist bent upon making categorical propositions and meaningful generalizations of an abstract and conceptual nature. At other times, and often more critical and outspoken, he becomes the ardent and impassioned public intellectual.

Between January 14, 1944 and December 15, 1954 (shortly before his death) Chiha wrote one hundred and sixteen editorials on the crisis and predicament of Palestine. My intention in this brief introduction is first to highlight the themes and issues which aroused his concerns and then move on, in the second part, to identify the unusual modes he employed to frame and elucidate his messages.

*I**The Jewish State as the Monumental Error in Contemporary History*

In most of his editorials, before and after the partition of Palestine, Chiha continued to deplore, often in the most disparaging prose, the ominous implications of what he had perceived as the most misfortunate and tragic situations of our time. Indeed to Chiha the creation of a Zionist Jewish State stands out as the gravest of errors of contemporary politics; “a foolhardy and hazardous venture destined to shake the world to its foundations.”

As early as 1945, he was already alarmed about the incessant influx of Jews, especially East Europeans, into Palestine. The consequences of such influx, in his view, were grievous. Other than Tel Aviv, Palestine is such a mixed confessional entity, that it was problematic to attempt a division along faith lines. In April 1947, he asked perhaps one of the most compelling questions, and in unequivocal terms. The predicament that Israel started to face at the time was already awakening the conscience of all fifty states of the UN to confront some poignant and soul-searching queries.

Fifty countries will be obliged to ask themselves why the Jews, who everywhere avail themselves of citizenship, freedom, wealth and all forms of hidden power, who control finance, the press, the cinema and much else, want a State of their own and a replacement nationality on faith grounds: why the most widely dispersed people on earth, some sixteen million people, for centuries scattered to the four winds and putting down roots in every part of the world, persist in behaving as if they were Stateless, even when they hold the most impressive of passports (April 16, 1947).

Two weeks later, in his typical evocative and trenchant style, he warns that “never before have dark forces been so much in evidence... We are dealing in fact with an unparallel combination of all that is quintessentially international and all that is quintessentially racist in the world; the people of Israel (April 30, 1947). This arbitrary and pitiless dismemberment of the

most sacred piece of the earth's crust constitutes in his view a "mental capitulation, an insult to intelligence, a detestable deal" (July 21, 1947).

In anticipation of the fateful decision of the UN Committee of Inquiry in favor of the creation of Israel (and ironically Chiha bemoaned that the fresh and crisp air of the Swiss mountain where they had convened at the time could not have inspired them), he unleashed a series of vitriolic outcries against this detestable anomaly. His editorial of September 5, 1947 is suffused with such rancor. It merits a substantial excerpt:

The United Nations Assembly will decide. But the outcry from the Arabs and the clamour of the Jews can already be heard. Protests are being raised on all sides. Indeed the hateful possibility of the partition of Palestine appears to have been foreshadowed by the judgment of Solomon we mentioned before the news came out: the case of the living child whose real mother preferred to abandon it to the adventuress rather than see it cut in two. But this judge is not Solomon to be moved by the appeals of a mother's love.

Two states territorially joined in a Jigsaw puzzle and a separate Jerusalem under the authority of the United Nations, Galilee disfigured, Christianity and Islam slapped in the face, what new transgression, what sin has Palestine committed to deserve such misery? All this to satisfy Israel's whims, its passion to return to a land it abandoned at the time of Titus and which cannot accommodate a sixth of the Jews spread throughout the world.

But are the raging Zionists, who under various guises and throughout their long history have so often set Jehovah against them and who were scattered by a curse, aware of what awaits them in Palestine if partition takes place? *They will immediately be divided against themselves.* Zionism in the Promised Land is merely a dust trail of parties and clans. There are thirty varieties of them at least and we hear tell of true Jews in Palestine, the heirs to ancient wisdom, who already tremble for their future and are contemplating leaving the Jewish State in the making. *They already foresee strife and misery, linguistic confusion, the impossibility of assimilation, the predominance of extremist elements, the harbingers of hate and persecution.* For them Israel's inordinate ambitions are just one more catastrophe (September 5, 1947).

Early in the inception of the Jewish state Chiha was fully cognizant of the goliath-like manifestations of its disproportionate global power. He also foresaw that the only strategy which could ultimately thwart its dominance

was Arab resistance. On July 5, 1948, he was characteristically resolute and unwavering in disparaging its calamitous consequences.

It would be suicidal for the Arab countries to give way; like a deliberate journey into night. Because, and it can never be repeated enough, Zionism is not the product of miserable Jews seeking refuge, *but of a truly global power with networks encompassing the whole globe, whose avowed or secret aspirations transcend all else* (July 5, 1948).

So adamant about the pernicious implications of the state of Israel bearing down on Lebanon's borders, Chiha never felt the need to apologize for returning time and again to remind his readers about its proximate presence behind the "shaky walls which separate us". Israel's desire for conquest is ferocious and boundless.

The Passover greeting openly or secretly exchanged by Jews all over the world is still: "Next year in Jerusalem". This universal dream conceals a limitless desire for conquest. Whilst purporting to be establishing the State of Israel, America is above all preparing the ground for the Jewish struggle for Jerusalem. An underhanded struggle with no holds barred, including money, cunning, intrigue, allurements and worse if need be (July 14, 1948).

This insatiable desire for conquest, given the indifference of the world, can only beget further aggression. This is the one dreaded and foreboding reality Chiha, had no illusions about. It will never be quelled. "Israel's boundless ambitions is leavened with hate and discord. It has a sinister plan which can endanger and destroy peace for a long time...As far as Israel is concerned, the whole world can perish provided the Kingdom of David emerges triumphant" (July 29, 1950). Though Israel's venture, in Chiha's view, "is the greatest absurdity on earth", this state of madness is not likely to be wished away. Its pernicious tentacles will continue to haunt us.

This is the situation as things are now; and, to be explicit, we do not see how the State of Israel, *by becoming, on our border, the home port for all the world's Jews*, could leave the Arab States, and in the first place Lebanon, to live and prosper in peace (July 18, 1948).

In the face of such flagrant miscarriage of justice, Chiha had no choice but to keep repeating its pernicious consequences. Jewish pressure on governments might momentarily ease. Sooner or later, however, it always finds the alibis to reinvent itself. He saves his most strident remarks when witnessing the Holy City being forsaken. In an unusually sharp and terse editorial (December 6, 1949) he cried out: “One single atheistic or heathen voice amongst the nations of the world can determine its destiny”. By heathen voices, Chiha was, of course, pointing aspersions at the USSR, which, in his view, has tenaciously sided with Israel.

Within such an ambivalent diplomatic setting, Chiha was pardonable if he continued to view future prospects with measured skepticism. The failure of the UN to tame Zionist ambitions only compounded his fears. Indeed to Chiha the world was witnessing the sad spectacle of an unprecedented buckling of moral forces (September 6, 1949). In the process, Christianity and Islam are allowing themselves to be treated as fugitives in the Holy Land.

### *America's Double Standards*

Chiha was equally unsparing in lambasting America's historic uncertainty towards Israel. As early as 1945, he was already noting a profound shift in US foreign policy. Its proverbial even-handedness and the image it once enjoyed as a “righter of wrongs” was beginning to give way to a patronizing stance which explicitly and avowedly favored Israel's colonialist designs and ambitions. Perceptively Chiha was fully aware of America's patronizing role in safeguarding Israel's interests. He rarely



minced his words when he was dramatizing the evils inherent in such flagrant partiality and intellectual and political derangement.

To put it plainly, America continues to bring its considerable weight to bear in influencing countries for the benefit of Israel and all the decisions coming out of Lake Success show the effects of this. A United States representative in the Security Council has just been heard to state that, should one of the parties accept a prolongation of the truce and the other refuse, *the latter would be liable to sanctions*. In that case it would constitute truce by force. It is difficult to understand this interpretation, which does not reflect credit on American legal thinking (July 10, 1948).

This form of patronage is jarring on two counts. The State of Israel is not only its unlawful child, as it were. It was also born in the pain suffered by others. Writing his editorial of July 18, 1948 on a Sunday, the Lord 's Day which, as Chiha put it, we are called upon to be calm and reserved, he could not restrain his outrage regarding the explicit patronage the US bestows on Israel:

A disproportionate risk is being incurred for our neighbors and ourselves, an arrogant and brazen plan of economic, financial, industrial and commercial seizure which can only result in territorial and political encroachment, in a burden of debt incomparably heavier than the weightiest yoke; and finally in servitude. Hence an intolerable exercise in the overt or covert colonization and domination of the Asian Near East by Israel is being carried out under the patronage of the United States and with the fervent support of all Jews who have reached the age of reason (or unreason) (July 18, 1948).

The power of Israel did not only penetrate the White House and took it as hostage but the US, willfully or otherwise, was transformed into an agency for Israel.

As it is, Western Europe, having been materially ruined and morally weakened by the war and doctrinal conflicts, is now dependent on the United States assistance for its survival. *And in return the United States compels Europe to adopt its viewpoint on crucial issues, as has happened with Palestine*. The same applies to Latin America, albeit for different reasons. Thus Western Europe is manifestly subject to moral coercion; of course to a greater or lesser extent; (the Belgians for instance, were it not for the United States,

would feel less compunction in their attitude to Israel than the French; because in France the Jewish presence in politics is much more influential, all things being equal, than in Belgium) (August 30, 1948).

Despite America's global lobbying on behalf of Israel, the converts were not always willing parties to such avowed pressures. Indeed, more than just a few countries in Western Europe, we are told by Chiha, were quite reluctant in voting for the creation of Israel. As for Eastern Europe, following the lead of the USSR, it had no choice but to support Israel *en bloc*. Chiha could not in this regard restrain his moral outrage: "It is a fine way of behaving; to ferociously condemn racism and fascism verbally and then, at the first opportunity and with a singular lack of concern, act to the contrary" (August 30, 1948).

The disastrous byproducts of such moral confusion on a global scale were immense and Chiha had no illusions whatsoever about their pernicious implications, particularly those inherent in its essential anomaly as a "faith-based" state. Throughout he remained obdurate in his skepticism of America's occasional measures and predispositions, in the face of Israel's mounting belligerency and defiant violations, to impose any restraints on it. "The Past", he bemoaned, "is full of examples of how far American blindness and indulgence towards rampant Zionism can stretch" (October 17, 1953).

Yet, he never abandoned hope. One such watershed was the visit of John Foster Dulles to the Middle East, marking a probable shift in America's foreign policy in the region. Understandably desperately keen to see a turn about in America's foreign policy in the region, Chiha had invested too much hope on Dulles' visit.

*We very much hope that Arab-American relations will improve, as well as those of Europe and the Arabs. In the face of new imperialism, past imperialism, as it disappears, turns into a system of natural alliances (like the British Commonwealth) and becomes*

*a safeguard for the future. That is how the world evolves.*  
Nowadays political isolation in the world is madness (May 6, 1953).

Chiha's uncharacteristic optimism was not illusory, or an artifact of his wishful thinking. With the advent of the Republican Administration, he saw tangible manifestations for a decisive paradigm shift in American perceptions of the Arab World. Until the arrival of Eisenhower and Foster Dulles, as he repeatedly decried in his editorials, America embodied the most grievous forms of intellectual and political ambiguity.

*Until the arrival of the Republican Administration, the Americans have wronged the Arabs in favour of Israel. They have wronged Christianity and Islam together. They have accepted and to all intents and purposes encouraged the impossible conquest of Jerusalem. They considered the Arab world in Asia to be living space for an Israel in expansion. It is this intellectual and political derangement which must come to an end* (May 6, 1953).

So buoyed by such hopeful prospects, he could not contain his enthusiasm on the occasion of the presentation of Mr. Charles Malik's credentials as Lebanon's Ambassador in Washington. His encounter with President Eisenhower was heralded as the dawn of a new age. Typically, he placed the moment in its proper historical context.

*It is our hope that it resonate far and wide and that the truth can finally emerge from the pit into which it was cast, in the same way as the sons of Jacob cast their brother into a pit, and where it languishes in despair* (May 6, 1953).

### ***The Habitual Weakness of Arabs***

Chiha, certainly, did not absolve the Arabs, particularly with regard to their perpetual ineptitude and failure to resist Israel's military violations or mobilize effective diplomatic initiative on their behalf. In fact to him the lethargy and weakness of the Arabs always stood in stark contrast to Israel's bold initiatives on virtually all dimensions of the crisis. As Israel mastered

the diplomatic art of forcing the hand of all the great powers, the Arabs were “losing their way in futile lamentation and palaver... with one failure to act after another, one miscalculation after another” (August 6, 1953).

Foremost he lays blame on the divisiveness and blunders of the Arab League. They simply do what they have been doing for so long: Indulge with futile palavers and illusory concerns.

Meanwhile the Arab League is engaged in palavers with illusory economic concerns as the main topic. They are firing up public opinion on internal quarrels. They are firing up public opinion on matters of pride, when even haughty Europe itself no longer cares about such things (May 30, 1953).

He found it necessary to repeat “that the Arab League countries do not devote a fraction of the attention they should to Palestine in their policies and concerns”.

Chiha, incidentally, became aware of such lamentable shortcomings much earlier. Indeed, as early as 1948, he was already telling us that there are no shortages of reproaches and regrets. Otherwise, “Arab refugees would not have replaced the wondering Jews on the highways”. He was always keen on adding:

That the Arab countries, despite prior warning, have proved deaf to the strongest arguments and urgings. For months and years it was like crying in the wilderness (August 30, 1948).

As usual Chiha was keen on drawing parallels to other historic crises.

*The current situation requires that, faced with Israel, the Arabs be in a constant state of alert and military preparedness. It is the exact equivalent of the West's position in the face of communism.*

*Indeed it is a parallel which can be drawn, bearing in mind that, despite the risk of world war, the danger posed by Israel for the Arabs is no less than the West's fear of Moscow's initiatives. This is precisely what the Americans fail to see. (May 30, 1953).*

He was also adamant as to where ultimate salvation is going to come from:

*This is no longer the time for childish games. Let us obtain the international contractual guarantee of our frontiers and the internationalization of Jerusalem.*

*At the same time, let us organize a collective defence with those powers which defend the freedom of the soul and the freedom of the seas (May 30, 1953).*

Fully aware of the patience of the US, the failings of the UN and the habitual weakness of the Arabs, Israel became adept often with temerity and insolence to exploit such misgivings. Within such a setting, no armistice is going to enhance the chances of peace. Indeed Chiha was persistent in warning us that the reverse was bound to happen. “With each day the problem engendered by Israel became more difficult to resolve and every day a peaceful solution seems more and more untenable” (October 1, 1953).

## *II*

### *Probing and Dispassionate Scholar*

Chiha has long been admired as an engaging and spirited essayist and as an astute analyst of his country's convoluted political culture. But one can easily extract from his editorials perhaps a more compelling role: that of an academic or empirical social scientist keen on making meaningful and abstract generalizations about human conduct and societal transformations.

Many of these assertions are extracted from lived historical realities. They are also perceptively and analytically stated and bear a prophetic tinge. For example, he ends his editorial of "strange Behavior" of April 20, 1948, by the following inference: "the more the Zionist position appears faith-based and racist, the less likely it will be tolerated." In the same editorial, and equally insightful, he advances the proposition that as "Jewish solidarity in the world goes too far. It is clearly impinging on countries' right to legitimate self-defense".

A few weeks later, on May 11, 1948, he elucidates the probable association between Jewish Diaspora and the growing hegemony of the Jewish State as a powerful colony and center of global capital and banking magnates. In other words, more than half a century before contemporary observers were becoming aware of some of the unsettling manifestations of such global incursions, Chiha was already anticipating and decrying their foreboding consequences.

All the Jews of the diaspora, naturalized everywhere, will overtly or covertly identify themselves with a homeland. In many countries the new State will be represented by powerful colonies and often by members of parliament and government figures. Using international finance a tight web of intrigue will cover the world's capitals, large and small; and Israel's diplomacy (doubtless more

affluent than any other) will be conducted by illustrious high financiers and banking magnates of all nationalities (May 11, 1948).

His remarks regarding the association between Zionism and Marxism are also revealing. He reminds us that the Jews were the main contributors to the revolution which consigned Russia to Marxism in 1917. More important, Marxists continue to exert considerable influence on the USSR. Revolutionary fervor, he maintains, suits their purposes everywhere and doubtless, the collapse of Christian civilization as well.

As a deliberate but measured scholar, Chiha was always keen on distinguishing between Judaism and Zionism. We could live in peace easily with the former but Zionism, he tells us, was an altogether different specie. "Like an incurable disease, heralding unbridled fanaticism", it is an invasive and aggressive human venture

While he often employs the stern and biting rhetoric in depicting Zionism, particularly its fanaticism and belligerency, as the greatest aberration in today's world, in no way could he condone any moral and political justifications for resurgent anti-semitism. In this, as well as in depicting the anguish and human suffering of refugees, with his disarming erudition and refined use of prose, Chiha remains at heart a humanist.

A religion is a religion, he tells us. In other words it is a personal matter and a profession of faith. "To prosecute someone for their faith runs counter to natural and human law" (February 12, 1953). Chiha goes further to advance the following historic insight.

For at least a century, in all liberal regimes the proportion of Jews in the political life of the West has far and away exceeded their numerical strength. If the Jews, now that they have created the State of Israel, have no concern for reactions outside Israel, they are exposing themselves to the worst that can happen. They are exposing themselves to tragedy in many Western countries. This is something we have been observing and writing about for some

considerable time and we are not alone in this. *And it transpires that it is the Near East, where religious tolerance thrives at its best, which has to endure the dramatic effects of the West's ostracizing of the Jews* (February 12, 1953).

In much the same tone he reassures his reader that he takes the existence of Israel as an established fact. “It is not a question of throwing the Israelis into the sea. We have been saying for so long time that the issue of Israel is less one of *presence* than *power* (December 10, 1952). It is this historic reality of Israel as a militant and warring culture which Chiha decried time and again. “*The unfortunate thing is that the Jewish State was designed for indefinite expansion.* In the minds of its creators it is the homeland of all the world’s Jews and its intended purpose is a global one. This is a world power, to varying degrees both undisguised and secret” (December 10, 1952).

Chiha’s editorials, it must be recalled, were all written in the post WWII interlude, a time of unanticipated diplomatic turn-around and sudden shifts in regional and global settings. As an astute historians he was always perceptive and prophetic in assessing their nature and consequences. Much like a dispassionate academic, he gave the events the scholarly readings they deserved. For example, when the USSR, in February of 1953, broke diplomatic relations with Israel in the wake of the attack on their consulate in Tel Aviv, Chiha was characteristically perceptive in framing the episode within its historic perspective. Unlike others, he was not taken by surprise. Given Russia’s intrinsic anti-Jewish sentiments, the USSR to him was, all along, waiting for the right opportunity.

Here again, he does not spare the moment to cast aspersions at the “ruthlessness of Marx’s disciples” who are now turning their belligerency on those belonging to his race (February 13, 1953). Even more prophetic, he



predicted that given the United States visceral suspicion and hatred of the USSR, they will now become more benevolent towards Israel.

### ***Public Intellectual and Advocacy***

Chiha was not only a profound and intuitive humanist, a dispassionate social scientist and an erudite essayist. He was also a formidable advocate and public intellectual. In this regard he was ahead of his times and served as a precursor to the roles renowned public intellectuals like Naoum Chomsky, Edward Said, Ibrahim Abu Lughod and the like, assumed forty years hence.

The mild-mannered and peace-loving man lost his cool at times, especially when confronting the arrogance and outright fanaticism inherent in Israel's belligerency and expansionist designs. He alerted us repeatedly that Israel wishes to regain the land of the "Twelve Tribes". To Chiha that portends nothing but aggression and war in the immediate or near future. Nothing is to be gained, he warned, by talk of reconciliation and appeasement. Indeed, any appeasement considerations mean, in effect, falling prey to deception and delusion.

Long before Israel started to amass its arsenals and enhance its military powers to become one of the world's formidable engines of war, Chiha was denouncing such foreboding dreads.

*This leads us to reiterate that Israel's particular policy has wider reach than that of both the East and the West, it extends further than the policies of both the West and the East, so that the "chosen people" has a policy of its own, a policy which is virtually on a global scale, a policy based on "sacred egoism" and whose ultimate aim, regardless of the trials and tribulations of the East and the West, can only be the greatness of the "chosen people".*

*The racist and tentacled State, which the United States by its acts and Britain by its omissions have created on our southern border, is increasingly looking like one of the world's most formidable engines of war. It will be said that it has become a vicious circle, but how can the Arab world not be expected to arm itself in turn*

*and the insane venture not end in a dark night of bombs and carnage?*

The Arab world cannot possibly remain impassive faced with all the daunting threats of such a “racist and tentacled State”. It is here that Chiha abandons his cool-headed and sober analysis to assume the more strident tone of a confrontational advocate. He implores Arab activists to become more aggressive in dramatizing the evils they are beset with. He goads them to emulate other such comparable instances of collective mobilization. He cites what the Jewish members of the British Parliament had done on April 30, 1946. As one collective body, they officially lobbied his Majesty’s government on behalf of Zionism in Palestine. He wondered why the significantly more numerous Christian and Muslim parliamentarians everywhere do not, for their part, speak up and out for Arab Palestine or the Palestine of Christianity and Islam.

As an advocate on behalf of human justice and sovereignty, he was often sparked by the impulse to dramatize the evil. So keen not to entertain anti-Semitic sentiments or leanings, he turns at times his sharp and acrimonious pen to decry the wickedness inherent in Zionism. Depending on the circumstances, and depending on what Israel deems expedient, it can willfully make dissonant diplomatic stances without any moral reserves.

Its policies are *sui generis*, peculiar to the chosen people; fundamentally monarchic and royal in memory of King David, theocratic and by divine right in memory of the Judges, in other words policies which can turn anarchic when required to unsettle the world. Depending on the circumstances, depending on what is expedient at the time, Israel draws closer to the USSR or moves away from it, courts the West or defies it (July 22, 1953).

Perhaps the most obnoxious episode which Chiha cites without hesitation is when the hands of a renowned violinist were burned to prevent him from playing Richard Strauss.

This extraordinary people which, on the one hand, claims to serve freedom to the point of the worst revolutionary extremism is the same people that three months ago wanted to prevent a famous violinist from playing Richard Strauss by burning his hands (July 22, 1953).

It is Israel's horrendous diplomatic schemes and shenanigans which, however, continued to outrage Chiha. Within this entangled morass, there is to him but one way out, not two: the effective internationalization of Jerusalem and the contractual guarantees of frontiers. Even when Chiha started to entertain the prospects of negotiation with Israel, the starting point can be nothing other than an international presence in Jerusalem.

Palestine, a land sacred to three faiths, Christian, Muslim and Jewish, is for this reason and others, indivisible; the international trusteeship formula must be retained for it so that none of the protagonists can dominate the other or others; one hundred thousand European Jews must now be allowed to enter Palestine; and, as for future immigration, nothing definite can be considered; the future will show the way...

A wait-and-see solution, a solution which bides time. On the one hand, the weight of one hundred thousand newcomers and on the other hand, nothing; because no Arab settlement from outside is foreseen for Palestine.

The reason given by the Committee in favour of the partial immigration they recommend is first and foremost an emotional one. We, for our part, respect the impulses of the soul which underlie it; impulses steeped in humanity, a reaction and response to the terrible fate of the Jews in Central and Eastern Europe. But behind the emotion let us not forget to look for the unspoken motive. One hundred thousand reinforcements would be significant even in a large country; *pity and politics make strange bedfellows...*(May 3, 1946).

### *Concluding Inferences*

One cannot help but ask, given Chiha's penetrating and prophetic analysis, as to what he could have said and done had he been with us today. He wrote unceasingly, often with bitter irony but always with the erudition of a formidable essayist. His texts were replete with intuitive and profound humanistic sensibilities but, on occasion, also peppered with terse, pithy and refined prose and inflections.

Calamitous as the disaster has been, he would have been the least surprised. After all, he had alerted us long before the State of Israel was established – and often as a lonely voice in the wilderness – that Israel's boundless ambitions as a Zionist entity is leavened with hate and discord and that its sinister plans are destined to engender and destroy peace for a long time.

With the same trenchant but humane voice, he also decried the discordant and inconsistent perspectives and policies of the United States and Russia, the failure of the UN and the lethargy and timidity of the Arabs. He certainly did not spare the foibles of his own beleaguered country. As an outspoken public intellectual he never shied away from disclosing these blemishes. They were most lamentable perhaps in the indifference which characterized Lebanon's reactions to Israel's strategic designs over the Litani River. We have the tendency, he bemoaned, to “treat the serious lightly. We have often sold or risked selling our birthrights for less than a mess of pottage” (March 17, 1951).

Chiha can be easily enlisted posthumously to disclose and decry all the cruelties engendered by the creation of Zionist State. By changing a few names and episodes, we can make his denunciations our denunciations; his despair and alarming forecasts a motif for our own lamentations and apathy;

his insights a beacon for our darkness. Just like Chiha was uncompromising in decrying the evils of Zionism, the moral incongruity of America and the inaptitude of Arabs, we can heed his sense of outrage to transform such inspiring epiphanies into programs of action and reform. Above all, he understood the insidious aspects of political and moral detrimentation and the debasement of a cosmopolitan cultural heritage.

Dr. Samir Khalaf

1945 -1947

**MORAL BANKRUPTCY**

***THE PROMISED LAND***

**Palestine demands our full attention, regardless of any other political concerns! Developments on our own doorstep are amongst the most distressing in the whole world.**

**We may ask ourselves whether the Israeli rulers are not themselves compromising the future of their people, by whipping up their frenzied desire for this little patch of land.**

**The Jews today number 15 or 16 million; one day there will be more than 20 or 30 million in the world. What can the narrow strip of land that is Palestine offer such a large number of people? And supposing Palestine's only purpose were to provide a place of refuge for the persecuted of the Jewish faith, just imagine the temptation, in some overpopulated countries, to persecute the people of Israel ...**

**One of the most questionable policies pursued by the Jews is to seek a second nationality, given that all the countries where they are living already offer them one. Is it not enough, is it not sufficiently respectable to be British, French, American, Dutch, Swiss or Danish?**

**However, if it is only the Jews of Eastern Europe who are to populate Palestine, it needs to be said. That would be even more disturbing than a broader approach to this contentious issue.**

**How can the passage of thousands and hundreds of thousands of East European Jews to Palestine fail to stir up the feelings of the Palestinian Arabs and all their neighbours? ... And how can peace be expected to emerge from such a foolhardy and hazardous venture? ...**

**The Jews wield many aspects of power. Why risk losing that power in an undertaking of historic proportions with the whole of history against it? ...**

**All this is written with a keen sense of the human solidarity and sympathy aroused by the plight of Israel. *But when a city like New York by itself accounts for three million Jews and the three million in that huge metropolis are likely to become six million within two or three generations, then, we wonder, what is the point of a Jewish Palestine and the whole accompanying Palestinian drama?***

**With the ending of the war, thoughts naturally turn to peace. The Jews are as entitled to think along those lines as everyone else. What is meant by future peace for Israel? We can say that this particular peace will largely be determined by the political attitude of the Jewish community throughout the world.**

**We are amongst those who genuinely wish the Jews well, as long as the Jews, whether directly or indirectly, do not wish others ill. Yet for some time now, an increasing number of unwise initiatives would appear to militate against harmony and peace.**

*19 April 1945*

### ***THE JEWS IN HISTORY***

The Jews are currently generating a great deal of discussion. This is certainly nothing new. But there is no denying that sixteen million Jews in the world make more noise than twenty times that number of Christians, Muslims or Buddhists. It is by this means and others that Jews hold our attention. As a people they are extraordinarily enterprising. For centuries they have been most concerned with the movement of wealth and the material world, making money, (its mobility resembling that of the wandering Jew), pivotal to their power. But they also make use of science (some very illustrious names in modern-day science are Israeli), the press and the arts and, paradoxically, avail themselves of a mystique to build what is primarily a *temporal kingdom*, despite the fact that the postulates of religion lie beyond this world.

Alongside a reminder of the glaring fact that 16 million Jews could not have more rights to Palestine than the Christian and Muslim worlds combined, we might add that the first Christians themselves had their beginnings in Judaism *and this being so*, the Christian claim to Palestine and Jerusalem is as valid as that of the Jews.

However, the historical argument carries noticeably less and less weight with world rulers. President Truman has recently intervened in the debate in such a manner and with such clear humanitarian intent that it is surprising that the United States does not wish to grant happiness and peace on its own territory to the 100,000 Jews currently at their disposal in Germany; and that American might should take sides in this way in a matter which would be unlikely to enthuse it, if not for the 3-4 million Jews living in and around New York.

As it is impossible for us, the Lebanese, to ignore this issue, by virtue of our immediate proximity to Palestine and our relations with the other Arab states, we persist in returning to it with dogged logic and plain common sense. What pleasure can the Jews derive from setting so many peoples against them, including within the homeland to which they lay claim, people who have greater title to the land than they and, what is more, outweigh them in numbers? *Why should this tiny, cramped, wretched, arid, unfortunate land of Palestine, on the verge of being overpopulated, be so ardently coveted and evoke such passion when so many places where there is a good life to be had, in the New World and elsewhere, remain empty?*

Whence this wrath of ages, which recurs throughout history like an incurable disease, heralding unbridled fanaticism?

As everyone truthfully asserts, we could live in peace with Judaism. What is the meaning of this Zionist venture, so wilfully invasive, aggressive and inhuman?

How does fair-minded America understand or justify it? This systematic dispossession, this forced displacement and, to put it bluntly, this legacy-hunting?

*Because, by the same token, without drawing any disrespectful racist comparisons, would that not make the Red Indians, as first owners of the land, the legitimate*



rulers of America? Could they not triumphantly lay claim to the Capitol in Washington?

On top of all that, the most decisive argument which still needs to be put (*pace* the historians and the lawyers) is that this venture looks set to become bloody and terrifying and it is precisely the role of the United Nations, with its most recently published “Immortal Principles”, to prevent that happening.

Never before has an ideology of this kind led to such carefree courting of tragedy on this scale. In the immediate aftermath of a terrible war, in this so-called enlightened century, are justice and wisdom going to be completely cast aside?

26 September 1945

### *INTRODUCTION TO AN INQUIRY*

And so the inquiry on Palestine is to be conducted by an Anglo-American committee.

It can be said of the British that they have acted judiciously and of the Americans that they have not shirked their duty. When proposing solutions to a problem, it must first be established that the facts have been adequately researched.

The Americans will officially come to realise the difficulties of what they are unofficially advocating. They will come to understand that the views of the Jewish Zionists in the United States on Palestine are not necessarily in keeping with political realities, international justice and the interests of the United States itself.

Throughout the world and notably in the Middle East, the United States has always enjoyed the image of a righter of wrongs. The Palestine issue has somewhat changed that view of the world’s greatest power. People have begun to think that, even in Washington, prejudice could eclipse the law and emotion overcome reason.

American agreement to the British offer assuages the world’s conscience. America is going to see and decide for itself on the spot; appreciate at first hand that Palestine is really too small to accommodate the diaspora, without flouting the laws of nature.

America will make that discovery and no doubt also find that both *de jure* and *de facto* the Zionist venture sits badly with the Christian and Muslim stance on the Holy Land.

Mr. Bevin recalled that until now it had proved impossible to find a common ground for Palestine; he spoke forcefully in the Commons of differences in “religion, and in language, in cultural and social life, ways of thought and conduct”; he discussed the historical argument objectively and concluded by saying that it was now necessary to reconcile this host of divergencies.

We hope that this proves possible and that the Committee of Inquiry for Palestine will be capable of squaring the circle. Meanwhile, time has been gained and that is invaluable.

Mr. Bevin added that any attempt by any party to reach a solution by force would be met with force by Great Britain. This is all to the good because the Committee must be given the time to carry out its inquiry without disruption and nations must be given the opportunity to apprehend and appraise.

The United States will one day be faced with the facts. When that day comes, the hope is that it will wield its power in favour of, not against, traditional Palestine. Five million Jews aside, the United States is a Christian country. President Truman was at pains to reaffirm this in his recent letter to the Japanese. Perhaps one day he will say the same in a letter to the Hebrews.

*15 November 1947*

#### ***IN THE WORDS OF THE PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND***

We readily understand that the trials of war criminals in Germany and elsewhere bring some consolation to the Jews. They are a balm applied to aching wounds. But to claim that the children of Israel can be compensated and satisfied by the handing over of Palestine is another story altogether. *Such debts cannot be settled with land belonging to others.* Let those who unjustly persecuted the Jews and many others be punished in full by retributive justice. We accept that unreservedly; but it should also be remembered that Palestine has no Jewish blood on its hands. Beleaguered and threatened, the most it did was defend itself.

Only the other week His Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, it is reported, *“has shown his sympathy for the Jews on many occasions”*, came out against the Zionist movement.

The Primate of All England declared that the Jewish question could not be *“fully or partially”* resolved in Palestine. This weighty and solemn pronouncement is worth remembering. It reflects fresh insights. An issue which many British believed already adjudged by the Lords Spiritual is again under discussion. The Church of England is reminding the world that it too bears responsibility for Christianity and at the same time has a duty to secure justice for Islam. It renders unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, whilst reserving the rights of the Lord God.

We must respectfully commend His Grace, the Primate for bringing great comfort to those defending a just cause. He spoke with the voice of history, reason and faith.

This gives us another opportunity to observe that, despite some rumblings and disputes, the Anglo-American decision to hold an inquiry in Palestine has, relatively

speaking, eased tension everywhere. There is an impatience to see the Americans conduct a survey of Palestine, take the measure of this piece of land, minute compared to their own, and establish with their own eyes that, unless people are to be packed in together like sardines in a tin, it is inconceivable to contemplate offloading the European and American Israeli surplus on it. America takes the long view. It is the country of statistics. Its vision is broad and expansive and the vertical solution is not the only one to be fêted. The Holy Land is not yet envisaged covered in skyscrapers when there is so much free space in both the New and the Old Worlds.

After a few weeks, between Tel Aviv and Haïfa, the American members of the Committee of Inquiry will, we fear, be gasping for air.

That will help to convince them that the Primate of All England is right to think and to say *“that the Jewish question cannot be fully or partially resolved in Palestine”*.

27 November 1945

### ***NOTHING NEW IN PALESTINE***

The American and British Committee of Inquiry has had its say on Palestine and the Jewish question. Faced with the Gordian knot, they did not advise the use of the sword, *except to keep the knot tied*, at least for a while.

While the inquiry was underway and after its completion, in the thick of the debate and on subsequent reflection, they found justification for the following principles (our version of them):

Palestine, a land sacred to three faiths, Christian, Muslim and Jewish, is for this reason and others, indivisible; the international trusteeship formula must be retained for it so that none of the protagonists can dominate the other or others; one hundred thousand European Jews must now be allowed to enter Palestine; and, as for future immigration, nothing definite can be considered; the future will show the way .....

A wait-and-see solution, a solution which bides time. On the one hand, the weight of one hundred thousand newcomers and on the other hand, nothing; because no Arab settlement from outside is foreseen for Palestine.

The reason given by the Committee in favour of the partial immigration they recommend is first and foremost an emotional one. We, for our part, respect the impulses of the soul which underlie it; impulses steeped in humanity, a reaction and response to the terrible fate of the Jews in Central and Eastern Europe. But behind the emotion let us not forget to look for the unspoken motive. One hundred thousand reinforcements would be significant even in a large country; *pity and politics make strange bedfellows ...*

What is not possible this summer may become so at some time in the future; and this political future can be made ready discreetly in a climate of compassion and human brotherhood.

The Anglo-American investigators, we are told, expected to satisfy no-one. Their expectation is borne out in fable, as well as by that definition of equity which stipulates that the proof of its achievement is the dissatisfaction of all parties. We too have no trouble believing that no-one is happy. We ourselves are not and as such are very wary of affirming that equity has triumphed.

We will merely acknowledge that the situation might seem inextricable; that from the practical standpoint it ranks among the most insoluble problems of all time and that it is rightly symbolised as the Gordian knot. The paradox, referred to previously, is that instead of being cut by the sword it will be defended by the sword.

Basically, following the inquiry, the Palestinian question remains for the most part unanswered and there are one hundred thousand immigrants in sight.

3 May 1946

#### ***THE ODDS ON REASON IN PALESTINE***

The Arab plan to resolve the Palestinian question is very promising. If the Jews agree to a common political life, the outcome is assured. It would be a serious mistake if they reject it. Salvation appears before them like the Promised Land after forty years in the wilderness.

The formula we have been strongly advocating for such a long time is the very same as that proposed in London. It stands to reason: *a single government, a single Assembly, very broadly understood personal status laws.*

When all is said and done, with the distrust peculiar to Palestine, this is the Lebanese solution. In a country of associated minorities, it is a common Assembly which creates the will to co-exist.

Instead of raising the height of the wall dividing them, instead of digging a deeper ditch on both sides, Arabs and Jews now have an opportunity to live together politically, to develop their country together. That is undoubtedly better than slicing it in two and foolishly plunging it into civil war.

If Israel's leaders wish the Jewish people happiness in conditions of peace, if their vision of the future is based not on pride but on work and harmony, then the drama in Palestine has ended and it is time to gather in the harvest. And the Arabs must be lauded for their breadth of vision which has made possible this truly humane solution, this providential outcome.

**Will the Zionist leaders see things in the same way? Or will their mindset once again be found wanting, despite all that courage and intelligence? We hope not, we hope that their minds will get the better of their illusions and emotions.**

**There is new hope that Palestine can become another house of the Lord. And the great and beautiful things that can be achieved by time defy measure. Political and religious peace can flourish side by side for Israel.**

**God grant that the thinking of those who now decide war and peace not be dimmed by blindness.**

*7 October 1946*

### ***FLAWED LOGIC***

**The American enthusiasm for Jewish immigration in Palestine is as easily explained as it is understood.**

**The inflated promises of the President of the United States and the Governor of the State of New York as they vie for position demonstrate just how important it is to play to the crowd in the run-up to elections. In terms of numbers, the city and the State of New York are in fact the Jewish capital of the world.**

**But when three or four million Jews live in peace in New York, why, one might ask, is it necessary to settle a hundred thousand or more of them in Palestine with the help of gunfire?**

*President Truman and Governor Dewey, by coyly suggesting that the United States' stringent laws on immigration be relaxed, are, after all, revealing their discomfort about the logic and reasoning behind this.*

*Why not open all the major United States entry points to all Jews from all countries? If they are in earnest, then that is their duty. It is our belief that European Jews wishing to leave Europe would be better off anywhere in the United States than in the cramped, poor, arid land of Palestine, already overpopulated.*

**This cogent argument, which everyone finds overwhelming, fails to sway either Mr. Truman or Mr. Dewey. It leaves them unmoved. We are the first to believe in the good qualities of these gentleman and duly defer to them; great, however, is our surprise at finding them so stubborn.**

**Such a degree of interference in the affairs of others requires some convincing; right must be so patently on your side that no-one can doubt or contest it.**

**American intervention in Palestine is looking increasingly like a purely American affair. It is a pity that the people of the United States, now the most powerful on**

earth, are lending their flag to such a venture; they are surely flouting their most sacred moral and political principles.

9 October 1946

### ***THE PROSPECTS FOR PALESTINE***

All the suggestions for Palestine coming from the Anglo-American side, all the schemes, all the solutions entail, as a starting point, the settlement of 100,000 more Jews on Palestinian territory.

*It is worth stripping this preliminary strengthening of the Jewish position in Palestine of all its trappings. It is perfectly clear what its aim is.*

The second aspect of the latest version of the British plan is its provisional character. That is easy to understand because such risky, complex formulae as those being announced seem provisional by their very nature. In the thinking of those behind the new plan, the creation of two regions might possibly facilitate or pave the way for the division of the Holy Land into two States. The converse of this is that the establishment of a "tripartite" central government could perhaps over time foster acceptance of the "will to co-exist" in a unitary rather than a federal State.

Apart from some places, including the entirely Jewish city of Tel Aviv, there is such an intermingling of people of different religious confessions in Palestine that it seems problematic to attempt a division of the country along faith lines.

For a man of reason looking down from the summit of Mount Hermon, *Christians, Muslims, and Jews should all be able to live together as citizens of the same State, enjoying absolutely equal rights and benefiting from far-reaching personal status laws.*

That would be the solution in the ordinary course of things, the humane solution; the one which would bring Palestine to the point of organisation and miraculous prosperity. But as is so often the case, it is precisely the most rational option that is spurned and the most logical that is rejected.

The Jewish minority in Palestine (with its leaders scattered all over the world) is, however, substantial enough to steer the destiny of Hebrews within an undivided Palestine. This Jewish minority clearly possesses all the ingredients of power.

Instead of allowing time to do its slow work and letting things develop naturally and peacefully, this same highly armed minority opts for dissension and war and the consequent legally shaky position of Jews everywhere. *(Because Zionist claims will everywhere result in Israeli dual nationality being less and less comprehensible and acceptable).*

If the British plan were to be enforced, it is possible that it would work for a time. But to split Palestine in two, Jerusalem in three and split hairs in the process, with 100,000 more Jews in the Holy Land remains difficult to achieve and highly dangerous.

The London plan is a medieval formula, a ghetto formula. And it is the fault of the Jews themselves if they drive governments and the most moderate minds on earth to such absurd complexities.

8 February 1947

### **TESTIMONY**

A few days ago in Cairo, during a very timely interview with the correspondent of the Lebanese Arab language newspaper, the *Telegraph*, the Grand Mufti of Palestine had hard-hitting comments to make about relations between Arab countries and the Vatican: “*I would like*”, said Haj Amin El-Husseini, “*all Arab countries to follow the example of Lebanon and lose no time in establishing diplomatic relations with the Vatican, because I am conscious of the major advantages of representation at the Vatican for the favourable development of the Palestine question.*”

*His Holiness’s support for Palestine’s case means the support of 400 million Catholics in the world.”* Here you have a sharp intellect speaking the language of a statesman.

Haj Amin El-Husseini, who is extremely well liked and respected by the whole of Lebanon, (whose hospitality he has enjoyed), has thus once again demonstrated his exceptional knowledge of the realities of our time. We share his wishes for his native Palestine and join him in a ceaseless quest for the means to secure victory for a just cause in Palestine.

To make things even plainer, it should be added *that the issue of Palestine comes before the UN in June* and that an impressive number of UN members – virtually all the Latin American votes, for example – set great store by the Holy See’s policy and take pride in heeding its wishes. In fact the Vatican’s policy reverberates well beyond the Catholic world. It is one of the most wide-ranging and probably the best informed on earth. And the Arabs know, as Haj Amin El-Husseini explicitly confirmed, that Palestinian delegations that have travelled to Rome (there was another last summer) have always received an attentive hearing from the Vatican.

Haj Amin El-Husseini recalled the extremely clear stance of the late Pope Pius XI on Palestine and asserted his conviction that His Holiness Pius XII was thinking and acting in the same way today.

We are happy to see the politics of Arab countries reaching out to every part of the world and acquiring strength through relations which may prove a vital source of support for us all in difficult times. The wisdom and perspicacity of Haj Amin El-

Husseini does credit to this man of experience, this open-minded and noble-hearted leader and with him the whole of Islam.

*29 March 1947*

### ***ISRAEL FACES THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD***

The consideration of the Palestinian question at the UN is Israel's trial by the nations of the world. It is indeed a major trial which should grip the whole world.

Fifty countries will be obliged to ask themselves why the Jews, who everywhere avail themselves of citizenship, freedom, wealth and all forms of hidden power, who control finance, the press, the cinema and much else, want a State of their own and a replacement nationality on faith grounds: why the most widely dispersed people on earth, some sixteen million people, for centuries scattered to the four winds and putting down roots in every part of the world, persist in behaving as if they were Stateless, even when they hold the most impressive of passports.

The representatives of fifty countries will be invited to reflect on these things and decide whether overpopulated Palestine and its inhabitants, freed from Jewish domination since at least the time of Titus, have to bear the burden of Zionist invasion under the various pretexts invoked by this extreme form of racism.

Whilst the Jewish case is universally known and the Jews' collective experience one of the most famous, the United Nations representatives will realise that their knowledge of this historically unique affair was hitherto only superficial.

The Jews' wild claim to a little patch of land lost to them nineteen centuries ago (when so many empires are in a position to offer them sanctuary on vast areas of territory), remains disconcerting. What arguments, other than those which are irrational and emotive, could persuade the UN judges to arbitrarily subject the whole of Palestine to the law of Israel or to tragically carve up its wretched territory?

It is a worrying business for Zionism, if it is relying on wisdom and justice. What Zionism is demanding represents a clear challenge to civilisation and to the moral justification for the last war.

The Grand Mufti of Palestine, Haj Amin El-Husseini, has recently reconfirmed the Arab offer for all Palestine's inhabitants to live together in brotherhood under the same law and with far-reaching legislation on personal status.

In all logic, in all humanity, how can the UN gainsay that?

*16 April 1947*



### ***THE JUDGES OF ISRAEL***

Clearly the issue of Palestine is being approached guardedly by all sides. An increasing number of speakers are calling for caution, and the statements made show every sign of being circumspect and wary.

Never before have dark forces been so much in evidence behind the scenes of a major international affair. We are dealing here in fact with an unparalleled combination of all that is quintessentially international and all that is quintessentially racist in the world: the people of Israel.

On close inspection, this case appears to be unique of its kind:

*The Jews of the world, boldly engaged, on dubious grounds, in a political venture, the aim of which is to create a Jewish state at the expense of another people, are referred by Great Britain, whose authority they are resisting, to the United Nations for judgement. They are treating Great Britain, which could be considered their greatest benefactor, as their worst enemy.*

The Jews' attitude to Great Britain invites comparison (obviously not a strict analogy) with that of Israel facing up to Jehovah.

Again and again in the Bible stories, the chosen people sink into a state of such rank ingratitude that they bring the worst punishments upon themselves.

The UN now has to lay down the law in a situation which inevitably calls to mind the majesty of God. The dispersal of the people of Israel is so extraordinary it can be considered a phenomenon which transcends the realms of the human. However, even on the human level, it is obvious that Palestine can no longer accommodate *even one tenth of the world's Jews*. Indeed the Jews number some fifteen or sixteen million. What purpose would be served by sending more of them to Palestine, when it is already so cramped and when there is so much space elsewhere?

It would be very surprising if, after all their reasoning and deliberations, the UN representatives did not arrive at the same conclusion for themselves.

This is the situation, in broad terms:

1. It is highly improbable that the majority of Jews throughout the world wish to gather together again on Jewish territory, each thereby abandoning their nationality and native country.
2. Even if that were possible, Palestine which is so pitifully small, could not be that territory
3. Hence, what is the purpose of making the Arab world and the world at large so agitated over the Jewish claim to Palestine and knowingly courting disaster?

*If the Jews are not happy to be British, American or French why not find them territory commensurate with their numbers, their ambitions and their unruliness?*

Without prejudging the UN's ruling, it is, we believe, a tribute to the wisdom of the UN representatives, when we express our conviction that they know and understand all this.

30 April 1947

### **ONE AND INDIVISIBLE**

Will the UN Committee of Inquiry for Palestine see what previous Committees of Inquiry have failed to see? Will it make progress in penetrating the mystery and decipher what others found indecipherable?

Whatever is done, there only three ways out:

*Leave Palestine intact in one form or another for its current inhabitants, to be regarded as a single people.*

*Split it in two, giving one part to the Jews and the other to the Arabs.*

*Finally give it to the Jews, which would mean dispossession and slavery for the rest.*

The latter possibility is so far-fetched that only a madman would contemplate it. And the second option is so arbitrary that statesmen of our time or even just ordinary civilised people would not in all reason freely opt for it.

How can such a small and already overpopulated piece of land, where everything is so intertwined and complex be split in two?

The Jews themselves, who are known to nurture a vastly ambitious dream, have until now opposed partition. (Because the people of Israel harbour hopes of one day seeing a son of David reign over an empire stretching to Ur in Chaldea.)

*Splitting Palestine in two would in one sense be a reenactment of the Sudeten issue in Czechoslovakia and could sooner or later wreak tragedy on a global scale.*

The UN Committee of Inquiry in Palestine, graciously received by His British Majesty's High Commissioner amidst the noise of the Irgun's activities, must already appear puzzled and nonplussed. *The mission entrusted to it is to work a miracle, (a miracle which finds no precedent in any of the Scriptures).*

The High Commissioner, in harking back to Ulysses, must at the back of his mind be thinking that is highly unlikely that the illustrious members of the Committee of Inquiry sent by the United Nations can prove themselves shrewder than the British on their own.

What is the United Nations doing caught up in this dreadful business? That is what the Committee members will soon be repeatedly asking themselves.

Nevertheless we trust that the world's wisdom will not be found wanting; nor its sense of justice; and that these eminent persons will not have made the journey to Palestine from all corners of the earth in order to propose or give their blessing to an iniquity.

*The United Nations will understand and undoubtedly learn once and for all that Palestine is one and indivisible.*

20 June 1947

### **FOR THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY**

It will be remembered that Abbé Vertot said to the man who brought him an important document for his history of the siege of Malta : “ A thousand pardons, sir, but my siege is already written”

Let us hope that the Committee of Inquiry arriving here from Palestine does not have the same attitude as Abbé Vertot and that “its siege is not yet written”.

Will the arguments advanced by the Arab countries come up against established opinion, a decision already taken?

Heaven forbid that we should doubt the good faith and objectivity of our illustrious visitors! All due respect should be paid to the UN Committee of Inquiry. It is the very symbol, the earthly manifestation of universal Justice; yet disquieting news about the Palestine issue is coming in from all sides. *In several capitals there is open talk of a fait accompli.* Partition is taken for granted and the Jewish State is considered created. Thus it is not without scepticism and mental reservations that we contemplate the speeches and debates in the forthcoming encounter, which a mountain beauty spot in Lebanon will have the honour of hosting.

The Palestine question has been pondered over hundreds of times. The ground has been explored from every angle. All kinds of arguments have been expounded in the public arena. *It is clear to all that might is thwarting right in this affair. It is also obvious, whichever way you look at it, that the aim is to numerically strengthen the Jewish position in the Holy Land in order to gradually bring about full-fledged Jewish sovereignty.*

*But is the Holy Land in the end only holy for the Jews, and now revered by them alone? And will the arbitrary and pitiless dismemberment of the most sacred piece of the earth's crust constitute anything other than a mental capitulation, an insult to the intelligence, a detestable deal?*

Whilst a divided and wounded world is everywhere moving towards reunification, cooperation, a broader concept of space, it is the opposite, the inhumane dissection of

a living organism, which awaits Palestine. It is a brutal and pointless exercise in vivisection.

Just to imagine (on the basis of the work of a previous Committee) partition accomplished, with overlapping zones and everywhere a confused and complicated tangle, just to think of Jerusalem, Galilee, the plains, the hillsides, the coastal towns become a chessboard, a jigsaw puzzle, a labyrinth, a challenge to all that reason has taught us in this century, induces sadness and revulsion. Moreover, we can picture the sporadic waves of immigration, the result of aggravated racism, which will cause it to burst its banks in a historically negligible lapse of time.

Will the problem be resolved when the Jewish state in Palestine has absorbed another one or maybe two million Jews? Most certainly not. So what is being done, what is going to be done, what sort of madness is this? Israel will bewail injustice and persecution more than ever it does now. And there will be apocalyptic times ahead for both East and West.

That is not to say that we shall necessarily be led to such extremes by the UN itself, that the international edifice, whose ultimate goal is to confer peace on the world, will become the vector of heightened discord, of unquantifiable future misery.

The Lebanese landscape with its wide open vistas will help our guests from the United Nations to survey the future, and to anchor it in logic and equity.

If only the Jews assented, how natural it would seem to make one single people of all the present inhabitants of Palestine! How great then the hope born of the threefold peaceful and fraternal worship of the one and only God !

*21 July 1947*

#### *MEMORANDUM TO THE UN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY*

This is the moment to recall that the Palestine question, the subject of the UN's special Committee of Inquiry currently on Lebanese territory, is one of the world's most important issues.

Whilst other international problems appear to loom larger, that of Zionism has the deepest penetration; it has the greatest implications for the future and is a blend of one of destiny's most enigmatic constants and the incidents and shifting substance of everyday politics.

The UN representatives are obviously aware of this. They appreciate the seriousness of their task. It would be disrespectful to ask them to address it even more seriously. But no urging will seem excessive when it is remembered that world peace may one day depend on the conclusions reached in the report being compiled by the UN Committee of Inquiry.

For, according to how it is settled, the Zionist affair will inevitably reverberate on the future of Judaism worldwide. *If it causes strife in the East, it will do the same in the West.*

And the outcome may be more distressing than anything that has gone before.

For the purposes of the UN representatives (and militating against an artificial and arbitrary *Jewish State*), the common-sense arguments remain decisive: *in order to remedy one injustice, should another, one with incalculable consequences, be perpetrated?* And what would be the point of settling one side of the Jewish problem in what is perforce a piecemeal way in Palestine, when the overall problem will persist and come into sharper focus in the rest of the world?

Are there any Jews in the world, to whom nationals of all countries will not be tempted sooner or later to say: What are you doing here? Go back to your own country, back to your political ghetto ? Instead of aspiring to govern Great Britain, the United States or France just go and control Palestine!

Thus, why inflict a wrong on Christianity and Islam combined, why go so far in offending the Arab countries, justice and reason for the sake of such a disappointing and precarious outcome?

Not for one minute do we imagine that the eminent personages who are here to deal with the Palestine question on behalf of the UN will not devote all their intellectual resources to coming up with a well considered and logical solution which looks beyond the present to accommodate the enormous uncertainties of the future.

Truly, no official inquiry has ever been faced with such an important matter of conscience..

23 July 1947

### ***AN HISTORIC LETTER***

Even after a second or third reading, the letter sent to His Holiness Pius XII by the Grand Mufti of Palestine leaves one moved. Three weeks ago Haj Amin El-Husseini , in recommending to His Holiness the delegation of Palestine Arabs headed by the Archbishop of Acre, Monsignor Georges Hakim, wrote in particular:

*“We firmly believe that the strengthening of the links of friendship between Your eminent See and the Arab and Islamic worlds – a strengthening that is our heartfelt desire and our highest aspiration – will have the most favourable consequences, so that together we might avert the dangers of such serious destructive principles as those which threaten all religions, all faiths, all moral values and bode so ill for the future.”*

Who amongst us, believing in the life of the soul and the power of the mind beyond this world, will not share in this language of faith and hope? Amid the ruins of the foundations underpinning the lives of entire peoples, amid the distress engulfing whole swathes of humanity, the warm dialogue being established between “the Arab and Islamic worlds” and the Papal See is reassuring. In the first place it is a recognition of the existence of God and then a defence of what is right. Two causes which transcend all else. Confronted with aggressive atheism, all those who worship God gather together and join hands. As for the right in question, its defence is organised around the Holy Land, around the Palestine that brutal policies are trying to tear apart and which is under threat from racism.

At such a time nothing is more significant than the prospect of closer links which, in actual fact, have been in the making for centuries. Of all the major developments taking place, this is the most meaningful. Mercifully, over and above the world’s conflicts, charity and love are at work.

*23 August 1947*

#### *THE TRAGEDY OF PALESTINE*

It is hard to envisage Palestine hacked up and sliced apart. Hard to envisage this holy land subjected to such a violent and arbitrary operation. The majority of members of the UN Committee of Inquiry have come out in favour of partition and two independent states. The clear air of the Swiss mountains has not given them inspiration. They failed to bear in mind the deep-seated wish for reunification gripping the world. The minority, in its greater wisdom, suggested a federative solution.

The United Nations Assembly will decide. But the outcry from the Arabs and the clamour of the Jews can already be heard. Protests are being raised on all sides. Indeed the hateful possibility of the partition of Palestine appears to have been foreshadowed by the judgement of Solomon we mentioned before the news came out: the case of the living child whose real mother preferred to abandon it to the adventuress rather than see it cut in two. But this judge is not Solomon to be moved by the appeals of a mother’s love.

Two states territorially joined in a jigsaw puzzle and a separate Jerusalem under the authority of the United Nations, Galilee disfigured, Christianity and Islam slapped in the face, what new transgression, what sin has Palestine committed to deserve such misery? All this to satisfy Israel’s whims, its passion to return to a land it abandoned at the time of Titus and which cannot accommodate a sixth of the Jews spread throughout the world.

The attitude of the Committee of Inquiry means that no argument, no appeal to reason has prevailed; no geography or history lesson, no admonishment based on the century’s progress and life’s needs. Instead of peace, war is in the offing. Everywhere

Jews have become so powerful that they must at all costs have their own homeland and a primary nationality, all others being a spare. It is a phenomenal venture.

But are the raging Zionists, who under various guises and throughout their long history have so often set Jehovah against them and who were scattered by a curse, aware of what awaits them in Palestine if partition takes place? *They will immediately be divided against themselves.* Zionism in the Promised Land is merely a dust trail of parties and clans. There are thirty varieties of them at least and we hear tell of true Jews in Palestine, the heirs to ancient wisdom, who already tremble for their future and are contemplating leaving the Jewish State in the making. *They already foresee strife and misery, linguistic confusion, the impossibility of assimilation, the predominance of extremist elements, the harbingers of hate and persecution.* For them Israel's inordinate ambitions are just one more catastrophe.

For the real Jews, the pious, the wise, the only goal should be Jerusalem and the temple; and we know what remains of the temple; *the least we can ask is that, whatever happens, Jerusalem be controlled by the United Nations.* What then is the meaning of Israel's venture and how much more anguish will it cause the chosen people?!

The mistake now being made is enormous. If despite the evidence, reason proves impotent, we have to see in this once again the hand of the Almighty and an unexpected manifestation of anger and punishment.

5 September 1947

#### *AMERICA WEIGHED IN THE BALANCE*

At the United Nations, the United States, speaking through General Marshall, has officially come out in favour of the partition of Palestine. At the very beginning of his speech the General unhesitatingly spoke of two states, one Arab the other Jewish. It so happens that within the United Nations there is no nation with more (and sufficient) power than the United States to ask for the partition of the New York State for the benefit of the Jews.

Right with might on its side always prevails and it will be so until God's justice shines more brightly amongst men; it will then finally be the mightiest of rights which prevails; but at least a rational one.

In the valley of Josaphat the Americans will one day realise the iniquity of their policy for Palestine, and likewise its fragility; they will be cursed for the short-sightedness of their attitude and for their lack of impartiality even by the Judges of Israel. *In so eagerly aligning themselves with the opinion of the majority of the members of the UN Committee of Inquiry, they reveal the extent of their desire for that very opinion. Their siege was already written long ago.* But sooner or later their current rigidity will be matched by the bitterness of their regrets; for they are not securing happiness for the Jews; their policy is dictated by expediency; it is a business like any other and very much resembles a mortal sin.

Amongst the Zionists, while the extremists protest against partition, the others await the establishment of a sovereign State with feverish impatience; they already see themselves in the United Nations and poised to restore the glory of the house of David. *What then, we wonder, will be the attitude of the Jew with American, British or French nationality towards the Jew with Palestinian nationality?* Will they be able to look at each other without laughing and will there not be widespread suspicion of the former and all the rest?

*19 September 1947*

### ***THE MARCH OF DESTINY***

There is at this moment nothing more preoccupying than the concern reasonably felt by every Lebanese about the present and future of Palestine. Yesterday there was once again a joint protest from the Christian and Muslim Holy Land and surrounding countries. And as it was learned that the Jewish Agency was accepting partition, the Arab world started closing towns again.

The majority of the UN Committee of Inquiry, which concluded in favour of the operation appears not to have gauged the consequences of its decision, especially the more indirect ones. But the Jewish Agency provided explanations for its acceptance. Whilst claiming it to be a heavy sacrifice, it highlighted the importance of ensuring independence for Jews on Palestinian territory and having a seat as a sovereign State alongside other countries. It emphasised the need for Israel to remove all limitations on Jewish immigration into Palestine.

So if partition takes place, the Jewish State, in becoming a fortress, will rapidly experience the most impressive population growth and density on the globe. When 4700 Jews held out for six weeks adrift on the Exodus, a thousand times that number could hold out for long enough to fill the world with their cries and clamour and invade neighbouring territory, once more attributing to the Balfour Declaration that which was never said.

A decision as significant as that taken by a majority in the UN Committee *should be evaluated for its repercussions over at least twenty or thirty years.* If created in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee, the Jewish State in Palestine will have between two and three million inhabitants within twenty years (*assuming no catastrophe during those twenty years*), because the Jews of Palestine will multiply at a staggering rate through immigration and an exceptionally high birth rate (mainly young people are arriving in Palestine). From the outset all the frontiers of the Jewish State, including our own of course, will experience increasing pressure, whose growth and ultimate effects no-one will be capable of assessing. And no neighbouring State will be able to close the floodgates on the financial power of the Jews and their ceaseless international political intriguing, in addition to their numbers and strength in Palestine.



Israel has dreamed the extraordinary dream of a kingdom stretching to the Euphrates and linking Ur in Chaldea to Jerusalem. It has plans to build an empire. It is true that it runs immense risks and it may pay a most tragic price for its audacity. But that is its dream.

Lebanese and Syrian alike must remember that we are the immediate neighbours of this ambition and power and that Jewish intentions can only take their hoped-for course by trampling over us .

It is perhaps time to re-read the Scriptures and soberly contemplate the end of the world.

4 October 1947

### ***PALESTINE AND GEOGRAPHY***

Mr. Cyril Falls, a noted military critic who teaches the history of war at Oxford, in one of his recent weekly articles for the "Illustrated London News" wrote that *charts and maps of the world, especially the latter, should be the worktools of the politician.* That much is obvious. No longer can we focus on a small part of the world without precise knowledge of its *physical characteristics* and how it stands in relation to the rest of the world. Naturally, to geography per se should be added human geography.

If the brilliant statesmen and diplomats at the UN, working for the happiness of the human race, were more open to this discipline, if they spent more time studying the maps and projections instead of engaging in abstract philosophising and confining themselves to intellectual standpoints, they would have a better idea of realities on the ground.

Those who are slicing Palestine in two and in three, should, before taking it upon themselves to make history, take a more immediate interest in discovering that it is after all madness to divide up this tiny country; they would be convinced that the recommendations made in good faith by the majority of the Committee of Inquiry defy logic and the moral order. But since the Zionists, who are a power and who obstruct the whole world with their intrigues, their behaviour and their indignation have to be satisfied at all costs, a hybrid solution has been suggested without regard for the consequences.

If the Committee of Inquiry's recommendations are followed, Palestine will be broken up, as happened to Czechoslovakia not long ago, but under even more dramatic, inhumane conditions; because, in principle at least, the Czech problem was, dare it be said, small beer alongside the problem the political scientists are so ruthlessly ( or so unthinkingly) dealing with now.

*The most sensible thing heard said at the UN in recent days is that Arabs and Jews would do well to talk with each other with a view to deciding on the establishment of a common régime. They should enter into conversation as a majority and a minority to calm the situation and then establish peace. It stands to reason, given the way they*

are intermingled and the nature of the territory, that the existing inhabitants of Palestine should live together. Politically, side by side, they would find solutions to the problems which arise by means of an extension of personal status laws. *The Arabs have gone a long way down that road. They have made the most generous offers.* They have taken care not to erect a barrier between them and “the other branch of the Semitic family”, as Mr Masaryk put it yesterday at the UN. But the Jews want to hear nothing of it. Having acquired every nationality and insinuated themselves into all governments, they are now determined to add to all that power that of an independent State, at the cost of the arbitrary fragmentation of Palestine.

Geography alone would suffice as an objection to this fragmentation. The wars, the misfortunes of most nations have arisen out of mistakes of this kind.

The representatives of the Arab countries currently meeting in Lebanon will categorically oppose partition. They will doubtless resist it to the utmost. *Never before has anyone in the world been in a better position than they to claim legitimate defence.*

10 October 1947

#### *STILL ON THE UN AND PALESTINE*

What is most lacking at the UN is impartiality.

It would be disrespectful to also call into question its good faith; but where there is a want of objectivity, where interests sustain strong emotion, it is difficult to find complete good faith in what one sees.

The nations of the world have the same weaknesses as individuals. They are motivated by the dictates of conscience to an even lesser extent than individuals. Unrelenting national interests have their servants in every State. But if the United Nations is not able to present itself as impartial, if it is incapable of delivering justice, it is doomed. Its primary *raison d'être, which is to right wrongs*, falls away. If the UN does not want to lay down the law, what purpose does it serve and what will its vocation be? When a flagrant injustice leads to a denial of justice, what will be its future?

Speaking before the United Nations Assembly the representative of the USSR recently stated that the United States *controlled one third of UN votes*. Is this perchance the result of some shady business, is it like a company where voting takes place on the basis of shareholding and through an intermediary? In fact the practice followed by Yugoslavia, Poland and Ukraine, all voting “as one man” with the USSR, is also systematic and a matter for concern. The reaction is justifiably one of surprise.

*A strange kind of justice when the same votes are always on the same side! A strange kind of justice when the standing of the judges is so severely diminished and*

compromised! But, with all the optimism in the world, could anything other be expected from an international morality which is so relative, from such an imbalance of material resources? And where would the appropriate sanction come from for all these attitudes which flout mankind's fundamental expectations ?

Again, more than anything else it is the sin of hypocrisy that wreaks havoc in the world.

We cannot believe that the countries which came out in favour of the partition of Palestine did so out of deepseated conviction. And after so much work it would be even worse to attribute their obstinacy to ignorance.

There are countries which need the Jews or which are in debt to them; there are others which want to rid themselves of them. Thus it seems so easy to do what is intended with Palestine: a body quartered, creating a very hotbed of strife, a poor narrow strip of wretched, deprived land into which the powers controlling the area and its resources remorselessly fling a fanaticized people, contrary to the unacknowledged interests of that same people.

This time it is the Irgun which, from its own standpoint, is correct: the ludicrous partition of Palestine would be more than cruel *for a race which wants an empire*; and which dreams of taking the place of Christianity and Islam there and casting them out in their turn onto the major highways of the world.

*As for the United States, the most convincing demonstration, the proof ad absurdum of their error is that, for once, the USSR endorses their decision.*

Moscow is showing greater far-sightedness than Washington. If we were the Americans we would give a little more thought to the matter.

17 October 1947

### ***PALESTINE IS NOT A VACANT PLOT***

The future of Palestine is being discussed between the United States and the USSR exactly as if Palestine were an *uninhabited country*. *Nobody pays any heed to the wishes of the majority of its legitimate owners*. And the two most land-rich countries in the world, the two countries with the broadest expanses of empty territory, are solemnly engaged in carving up the tiniest of countries, a country which is thrice holy, a tiny overpopulated country.

The two most powerful nations in the world (who both preach democracy and yet sometimes have such a strange way of putting it into practice) are determinedly setting their intransigent will against Palestine's claim to its rights, Palestine's call for peace.

If the sixteen million Jews in the world are such a burden to the governments of Washington and Moscow, what can be expected from Israel's methods and actions?

And again, what sort of (perverse) democracy is practised in Moscow and Washington, if it results in such wrongs being inflicted?

It is important to remember that Palestine has not yet been carved up and that even America and the USSR would be wrong to risk selling the skin of a bear which has not yet been killed, as they are generously proposing to do.

These great powers do not appear to have grasped the scope of the venture in which they are involved. They are too remote from it. A Jewish state in Palestine constitutes, (unfortunately for everyone, in our opinion), one of the most serious developments in history. The future of peace will depend on whether Jews and Arabs in Palestine live and grow peacefully together or separately in anger.

Inevitably, with partition, Palestine will see the genesis of a permanent spider's web of intrigue spreading its filaments over all the world's key locations.

*The Palestine issue is not a matter of political economy, as the Americans tend to believe; it is not a matter of expediency, as those in Moscow ironically seem to think. It is one of the greatest pitfalls in the whole world.*

And heaven forbid that the future provide us with clear proof of that.

The Jewish state, as Washington and Moscow want it to be, would unavoidably be the subject of perpetual strife both within and beyond all the frontiers of the Middle East. Who does that really suit, either in Washington or in Moscow?

*13 November 1947*

### ***DISASTER ON ITS WAY***

All the arguments which could be advanced against the partition of Palestine have been set forth in every possible way. Proof positive, it would seem, by any standards. And yet in the UN Special Committee we have just witnessed twenty-five States vote for partition and seventeen abstain. Of the twenty-five States, twelve are from the American continent. As for the countries which abstained, there are among them some major players, who might have been expected to say yes or no. When they represent the world's last legal right of appeal, they are not entitled to abstain. It is far too easy to wash one's hands of a problem such as this.

The UN must now take a decision; by a two-thirds majority if it is for partition, presupposing a change of attitude on the part of some of those who abstained. We must be ready for everything and will soon know how this memorable page of history is going to be written.

Thus if human wisdom is bankrupted (as it very much seems to be), a Jewish State will be born containing, in highly improbable geographic conditions, four hundred thousand Arabs against six hundred thousand Jews; if that happens and if the

nations of the world are to be consistent, the Arabs in the Jewish State in turn will be justified, and for equally valid reasons, in demanding a fairer deal, and a new partition.

There has never been anything more contrived, anything that goes more against the grain than what is currently in the making for Palestine. Never has indiscriminate power and prejudice so decisively defied reason.

What is really needed in this affair is the intervention of fate, a design superior to the will of man, as when Jerusalem was destroyed some nineteen centuries ago.

Under the pretext of solving a problem, it is going to be rendered more dangerous, more intractable.

Faced with such thinking, is it possible to hope for peace in the world ?

27 November 1947

*DISASTER ON ITS WAY (continued)*

Severe blindness caused the majority of the United Nations to vote for the Jewish State in Palestine and the majority of Jews to celebrate it to the sound of the sistrum and cymbals.

God is our witness that throughout the long controversy, being perhaps better informed about the problem than others, our goal has been nothing other than the happiness of all, order, justice and peace. Lebanon, Palestine's immediate neighbour had to the very end the right and duty to make itself heard in this matter.

But now intellectual error has become historical error. The last gesture by the Arabs, offering a Federal State, received no response. And just listen to the outcry from all sides.

On the radio London has acknowledged that, for some, the voting process was *inexplicable*. Haiti and the Philippines, for instance, having openly stated that they would vote against, at the last minute voted in favour. *All sensed an atmosphere of unease and constraint in the Assembly*. Paradoxically, whilst the British abstained, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, that is all the former Dominions, voted *for* partition; and finally France and Belgium and Luxembourg voted in favour. The shades of Godefroy and Baudouin, of Philippe-Auguste and Richard must have turned in their graves.

The future, the impassive future will show the dire consequences of the error committed; show the consequences for everyone; and, in the first place, as we have often said, the consequences for the Jews. The Jews, for whom Jerusalem must be the supreme goal, will still have reason to cry over Jerusalem. They will cry in misery and in turmoil because they have violated the natural order of things.

Seeking consolation for the temporal in the spiritual and opening the Scriptures at random we find Isaiah Chapter 29: “Stupefy yourselves and be in a stupor, blind yourselves and be blind!” (9)

“You turn things upside down! Shall the potter be regarded as the clay; that the thing made should say of its maker, *“He did not make me”*; or the thing formed say of him who formed it, *“He has no understanding”* (16). That is what we will see, this is the way the thing formed will speak to the potter.

Alas and alack! America thought it could manage this business as if building an industry. Harsh reality will open its eyes. And sooner or later the USSR, for reasons of global politics, will doubtless rue the dreadful venture.

The nations of the world have as it were once more tasted the forbidden fruit; in fact the West has prevented the Jew, *whom it has itself so often maltreated* from making peace with the Arab, his brother, who has never done him any harm. And strangely it is the West which now supports Israel; it is for Israel’s sake that it wishes to pointlessly turn back the clock and relive the age of Saladin.

*The Jews, even as a minority, were in a position to ensure that everything about their cause was respected in a united Palestine; in the assemblies and within a Palestinian Arab-Jewish government it lay with them to collaborate peacefully and to such strong effect that in a very brief lapse of time their collaboration would have appeared decisive. They did not want this. Alea jacta est.*

But what of tomorrow?

2 December 1947

### ***A MISTAKEN POLICY***

The collective protest against the UN’s “diktat” is becoming more and more impressive. Since it was learned that countries did not vote freely at the UN, everyone views the decision creating the Jewish State as being flawed. The tears shed by the representative of Haiti will go down in history. Jewish propaganda in the most unexpected guises is, and will continue to be, engaged in a passionate defence of its cause but to no avail.

It really is too much to hear it now being said that, owing to racism, the Arab countries have been lacking in flexibility and a spirit of conciliation. Yesterday a leader writer with Agence France Presse took it upon himself to have his agency send out the following: *“It is difficult to avoid the impression, even in the opinion of those most well disposed towards the Arabs internationally, that, owing to excessive racial intransigence, their delegates missed the opportunities afforded them by the debate to secure the adoption of a solution more favourable to the interests they were defending.”*

Had the most artful of the children of Israel been the A.F.P. leader writer in question, he would not have put it differently; he would not have written anything more brazen; *for it literally imputes to their adversaries the attributes of the Jews, that is to say, the unbridled representatives of the most rampant and exclusive racism on earth.*

To have the audacity to write that is certainly overstepping the mark. The position of France in the debate, of a France which, as the A.F.P. leader writer reminds us, “*is also a Muslim power*”, does not benefit from being defended in this way.

*The decision to partition Palestine through the creation of a Jewish State is one of the gravest errors of contemporary politics. Something which seems minor will produce the most surprising of consequences. It can reasonably be said that this minor matter will shake the world to its foundations.*

From now on the voice of the Arab countries will grow stronger and they will have wider influence.

The complaints directed towards man’s feeble system of justice will become more insistent. Under the pretext of giving a home to a wandering people, which no Palestine can hold, the homes of other peoples are undermined, endangered, destroyed; and Jewish sovereignty is presented to the world as a legitimate fact *at the cost of geographic break-up and unprecedented brute force.*

Only the future can tell what effect the pressure exerted by Israel and by the million and a half immigrants predicted by the Jews in the coming years will have on Palestine’s land borders.

We are not given to prophesying doom in the style of Jeremiah, but it is merely an act of clear-sightedness, given the madness we are witnessing, to envisage tragic days ahead and a new diaspora.

The Jews did not have need of all this to assert their collective identity in peace and harmony.

5 December 1947

### ***A FATAL “HUMANITARIAN ACT”***

Has ever a State been born in the way the Jewish State in Palestine has been born? Of all extraordinary births, none has been more surprising.

After much acrobatic contortion, four hundred thousand Arabs are being left in random confusion with six hundred thousand Jews in the Jewish State, henceforth all brothers and yet at the same time foes. This state has been given borders which defy common sense. Such follies are being unashamedly endorsed as a humanitarian act. And the support for this monstrosity is driving some of the oldest communities in the

world to preach holy war. This then is the outrageous deed that the majority of the United Nations decided on or brought about, whether freely or under constraint.

Yet Arabs and Jews could live in peace in Palestine. All that it required is Jewish prosperity in the Holy Land. However, Israel's desire for domination has carried everything in its path.

As a reaction, to save the honour of Europe and the New World there is now talk of a legion of Western volunteers to fight for the Arabs. So the world faces the prospect of something worse than a Transvaal war.

A fine result for an undertaking for which there was no compulsion and which went against all reason!

With the greatest respect for American majesty, we really ask ourselves what the United States was doing embroiled in all this; and how they allowed themselves to be pushed into a hornets' nest, much to the delight of the USSR.

*It was astounding to find the USSR and the United States in agreement for once. Now everyone realises that the USSR had nothing to lose. The United States was going to displease the Jews at home and risk reprisals from them or do their pleasing in Palestine and turn the East upside down. It is because they proceeded as they did that we are faced with our present difficulties. If they so wish they can still change the course of events. They are strong enough to do so and we may be in time to entreat them to help change a policy which is doomed.*

*12 December 1947*

### ***HORIZON WITHOUT A SUN***

The Arab countries' attitude to Palestine leaves no room for ambiguity. Directly or indirectly Palestine will be defended against Zionism. Whatever happens the Jewish State will be fought. The Arabs consider themselves to be in a state of legitimate defence and no informed, fair-minded person will say that they are wrong. No-one will agree to accept that, Jews having settled in such great numbers on Palestinian territory over thirty years, Palestine's hospitable welcome could paradoxically result in the exercise of Jewish sovereignty over the land. Moreover, events are set to demonstrate the difficulties of the undertaking. For two weeks now the scene in Palestine has not been reassuring for the UN. Countries which favoured intellectual stances over realities and friendship with the United States over justice are beginning to rue their deeds.

They will have increasing cause for regret because nothing is harder and more demoralising in the long term than stubborn resistance to what is right. The United States itself, misled by Jewish propaganda and impressed by Jewish electoral and financial strength, will undoubtedly return to the path of truth.



**In order that the Jews may have a republic, Palestine is put to fire and sword. What we are seeing today tragically presages what is to come. Everywhere hate and murder. Ambushes and battles between neighbourhoods in the towns; and in the countryside the first signs of devastation are emerging.**

**What sort of constructive policy, what vision of equity, what pragmatic thinking could have wished for this to happen?**

**The most likely scenario for Palestine, if the great powers persist in their decision, is a Hundred Years War (with frequent and possibly very widespread repercussions in the West). A worse scenario would be a World War sparked off in this tinderbox (now more dangerous than the Balkans).**

***This is not an overly gloomy view of the situation. Israel's potential for disruption is unlimited; and ever since the Russians and the Americans found themselves in agreement on the partition of Palestine, we know how far Jewish scheming combined with the power of money can go.***

***There is still time to act. In a few months a shared existence will have become impossible in Palestine and for evermore.***

*18 December 1947*

1948-1950

**THE HOLY LAND ABANDONED**

## *AN ENORMOUS RISK*

The Jewish Agency should take care not to further endow its insane venture in Palestine with the features of a religious war! Mr. Moshé Shertock, appointed to represent it on the UN Committee for Palestine, (at the same time as Sir Alexander Cadogan was appointed for Great Britain), began by requesting authorisation for the Haganah to have command of a *militia of fifteen to twenty thousand men, all Jews of course*. A fine start in an attempt to establish a State in which at least three-eighths of the population, Muslims and Christians, will be resolutely hostile to Jewish policy.

The significance of the situation has not yet been sufficiently apprehended: *in a country of nine hundred thousand inhabitants, where the Jews will number a little over five hundred thousand and the Arabs approximately four hundred thousand, the so-called national army will be exclusively Jewish*. Religious wars have never taken on any other shape. They have never begun in any other way.

Hence, unless the four hundred thousand Arabs, potential (second-class) citizens in the Jewish State consent to become the Jews' slaves, which is out of the question, they will fight them in every way, shape and form; at the same time, moreover, as the external forces resolved to assist them. And on the one side we will see (and already see) only Jews, on the other side Muslims and Christians. A sad outcome for the politics of ambition and pride in an age when money makes everything possible, when scheming and propaganda make everything easier.

America and Europe alike have not yet grasped where this war will lead, a war, whose repercussions will very soon be felt in many parts of the world. And there is no consideration being given to the probability that the great powers, having been forced into action over the Jewish affair, will weary of it and that at some point the Jews will be left alone everywhere to pay the price of their recklessness.

The pity of it is that such a serious matter should be treated so lightly and that the blindness of the world's nations should serve as justification for the blindness of the Jews.

All the philosophy in the world will be to no avail: the attempt to establish the Jewish State in Palestine will result in a religious war. To countless tragedies will be added still more both for Israel and those it confronts.

And the effects of the age-old curse which is again being heard will be on a catastrophic scale.

The Jews, normally so intelligent and shrewd, are currently behaving like the most backward and least politically adept people in the world. We deeply regret this for the Jews themselves and for others; because whilst Europe, which paradoxically supports them today, has oftentimes persecuted them, their neighbours in the East have never done them any harm. The revenge they are trying to take here is not simply a crime, it is an error. Will it be too late when they understand that?

*15 January 1948*

*IN FAVOUR OF A NEW INITIATIVE IN PALESTINE*

It would be impossible to overstate the case for the UN to reconsider the future of Palestine. And, of course, as a matter of extreme urgency.

The sooner the review takes place, the better. However daunting the challenge today, it still seems straightforward in comparison to what it will be tomorrow.

The proof is there that partition, as envisaged by the UN, is impossible; that the parcelling out of territory, agreed at a time of intense emotion and day-dreaming runs counter to the natural order of things. And the facts show that Palestine's misfortune makes for one of the most tragic situations of our time.

At a moment when all the world's vigilance is required to prevent the sparking of a global conflagration by the clash of ideologies shaking the world's foundations, it has obligingly created and fanned a new flashpoint, under the pretext that the happiness of the Jews demanded such folly.

The time for fanciful dreaming lies in the past. We find ourselves in the midst of a merciless reality, horror, blood. And religious war, towards which this war between races was moving, is becoming more and more of a threat. Why was there no realisation prior to the crisis that an armed Zionist organisation in Palestine made up exclusively of Jews could only lead to this? Why were the Jews not afraid to go to such provocative lengths in order to create a State which in the end will only be half Jewish? But Israel is insatiable. It has always been. And its actions, great or small, are based on gross speculation. In order to succeed it combines daring with intrigue; and it is in this way that it builds up its temporal wealth. However, this time speculation outstripped resources, in the same way as misjudgement got the better of intelligence.

The issue of Palestine now has to be settled. *We recently suggested a Jewish initiative, as a sign of good will, a Jewish initiative to instigate a dialogue with the Arabs.* Let us calmly return to that suggestion. Contacts could and should be established in Washington. And the United States government should have the benevolent wisdom to facilitate such contacts.

*The Arabs have only ever imposed two conditions, which bear the hallmark of the most dignified moderation, and the most obvious of legal rights; the first is that the Jews accept their position in Palestine, namely that of a solid minority; the second is the cessation of Jewish immigration (that hypocritical means of turning a minority into a majority, on the grounds of human compassion and through foreign invasion).*

On these terms a noble deed can be accomplished, a deed in the realms of high-level politics. We would then see a wonder to behold! Arabs and Jews, Muslims, Christians and Jews, collaborating in Palestine within one and the same government.

**This is what rabbis throughout the world should be preaching, instead of spoiling for a hateful war. Is it not at last time for dawn to break over the darkness of this land?**

*3 March 1948*

***FINDING A WAY OUT***

**The “great” powers, the USSR aside, are no longer in favour of the partition of Palestine. What a relief for the “small” ones!**

**M. Parodi, French delegate to the Security Council, has stated that the United States, Great Britain and France now reject the partition plan, at least implicitly. And China, also one of the “greats” was never in favour.**

**So even before Great Britain relinquishes to others the privilege of fighting for Zionism and being killed in Palestine, the whole cardboard and plaster stage-set is visibly collapsing.**

**We have come full circle and ended up more or less where we should have started. However, Jewish propaganda misled the United States and poisoned the world.**

**The Jewish Agency was able to create an impression of certainty and strength. It implied that Arab resistance would crumble in the face of Israel’s power. It believed that money and control of the American press was sufficient to impose its rule.**

**This is now the end of the illusion. What Zionism thought it could obtain, regardless of geographic and historical realities, the ambitious dream it believed it could stop at nothing to realise, has proved impossible, unachievable. And suddenly comes the realisation of how much wiser it would have been to support the federative solution, which the Arabs generously envisaged as a means to harmony and peace.**

**Now things must move quickly. The more protracted the delays, the more difficult it will be to reach agreement over a solution. There is already a mountain of dead bodies standing between Arabs and Jews. The build-up of hate is overwhelming. To avert an explosion of fury, political discernment, and wisdom are needed more than ever before. Strong emotions will certainly not wipe out the memories and heal the wounds.**

***International arbitration could now save the day for federalism in Palestine. One single State. Internally divided into districts, in a way still to be defined. The end of immigration. A federal government and political institutions with proportional representation of Arabs and Jews based on numbers. A shared effort in the cause of a shared national life. Finally order and reason combining to bring about reconciliation in a spirit of good will.***

**When that is a possibility, those who prefer strife and war must have lost all feeling for reality, must have taken leave of their senses.**

*13 March 1948*

### ***STRANGE BEHAVIOUR***

When the Jewish members of the British Parliament, as one body, are seen to officially lobby His Majesty's government on behalf of Zionism in Palestine (and specifically on behalf of the Haganah), the question is why the significantly more numerous Christian and Muslim parliamentarians everywhere do not for their part speak up for Arab Palestine, for the Palestine of Christianity and Islam.

Are the Jewish members of the House of Commons first and foremost Jewish or British? *Because what they are asking for, directly or indirectly, is a Jewish State and Jewish nationhood.* If they are British before they are Jews, their attitude is inconceivable, given the current Jewish attitude to Britain; if they are first and foremost Jews, what are they doing in the House of Commons and how can they exercise a vote there without making the UK feel uneasy?

It is perhaps time to raise questions of this kind on a subject where common sense is routinely flouted. If the Arabs were to present the Palestine issue purely in terms of faith, everyone would decry their fanaticism and call it a disgrace; yet when the Jews in Parliament in London do so, there is no reaction to their behaviour.

Is it not obvious that it is becoming difficult to remain a good Jew and a good Englishman at the same time? And that when confronted with a conflict such as that tearing Palestine apart, for the naturalised Jew in Great Britain the Jew has to take precedence over the Englishman or the Englishman precedence over the Jew?

Furthermore, what we are saying about Britain is true of all countries. We wonder whether the conclusion to be drawn is that the Jew is incapable of complete assimilation. Otherwise the British Jews would be voicing indignation at what the Zionists have done and continue to do since the murder of Lord Moyne for example. In fact, on the contrary, they are arguing the cause of unbridled Zionism.

The more the Zionist position appears *faith based* and *racist* the less it will be tolerated. There are a certain number of truths which have long been only half perceived. But as events unfold and the problem is analysed, so it begins to appear increasingly strange; and the dangers it gives rise to become ever greater.

Jewish solidarity in the world goes too far. It is clearly impinging on countries' right to legitimate self-defence.

*20 April 1948*

### ***FACED WITH THE FACTS***

Mr Cyril Falls, whose outstanding articles in *The Illustrated London News* entitled: "*Aftermath of war*" always hold the reader's attention, in the edition of the London weekly published on 10 April addresses the subject of "President Truman and a Truce in Palestine". Already concerned about the approaching "fateful" date of 15

May, set by Great Britain for the handover of the Mandate and the relinquishment of power in Palestine, Mr. Cyril Falls writes in essence: “*It would unpleasant if the verdict of all these expressions of opinion were to be that a possible settlement fell through because the British government, after being in Palestine for thirty years, refused to stay another fortnight.*”

That truly, *whatever the circumstances*, is what everyone thinks. But what would Mr. Cyril Falls have written if he had foreseen the abandonment of Haïfa *before the end of April*, with hostilities immediately turning into all-out war between Jaffa and St John of Acre?

We have every understanding for the profound disenchantment which accounts for the British attitude. Be that as it may, nothing necessitated and no forewarning justified the withdrawal of British mandatory authority *three months before 15 May*.

In the House of Commons Mr. Bevin has just announced “*His Majesty’s Government cannot reverse the process at this late hour*”. That much was not asked of it. All that was expected was that the people of Palestine not be left to their fate *before 15 May*.

This is where Mr. Cyril Falls observation is most incisive. Another two weeks, after holding on for thirty years, could have prevented a massacre following an unequal fight.

We are amongst those in the Near East who have most frequently and most forthrightly accented the vital role of Great Britain in the collective endeavours to unite the West and save the world. On this occasion we shall not conceal our disappointment.

And we shall admit that the contradictions inherent in the British policy in our area of the world are very surprising. These swings of mood, these sudden departures and the repercussions for Transjordan, mean that we no longer understand (or fear that we understand only too well).

Mr Bevin himself saw fit to remind the House of Commons the day before yesterday, 28 April that “*His Majesty’s Government are obliged by the (Anglo-Jordanian) treaty to pay a subsidy to Transjordan in respect of the Arab Legion and to provide certain British service personnel for service with that force*”.

With the best will in the world, it is no longer possible to distinguish between Transjordan and Great Britain in all this, whilst they appear to be pulling in different directions.

It is enough to make one give up in despair. But whether we do so or not, we may rightly share in the regret explicitly voiced by Mr. Cyril Falls towards the end of his significant article; and moreover express regret that as legitimate a presence as Great Britain (and, through it, the cause of the Western world) in the Near East should encumber itself with such strange and pointlessly compromising arrangements.

30 April 1948

### ***IT IS NOT A DREAM***

The Jewish State, as it is being created today, will, if it happens, rapidly come to seem like the strangest political undertaking the world has seen.

All the Jews of the diaspora, naturalised everywhere, will overtly or covertly identify themselves with a homeland. In many countries the new State will be represented by powerful colonies and often by members of parliament and government figures. Using international finance a tight web of intrigue will cover the world's capitals, large and small; and Israel's diplomacy (doubtless more affluent than any other) will be conducted by illustrious high financiers and banking magnates of all nationalities.

If the undertaking is successful it will soon take the form of a superstate based in the narrow strip of Palestine; and the primary objective of the conspiracy will be to multiply the number of Jews in the Holy Land so that they press heavily on its borders and break through them, until a dream (on a worldwide scale) of power and domination is slowly realised. It could be said that Jewish territorial ambitions stretch as far as the Euphrates and Jewish patience well beyond that.

These are not fanciful imaginings. We are not saying that all this will happen. *But that attempts will be made to achieve this.* And that if the Jewish plan were to make progress as intended by people who know what they want and where they are going, life would rapidly become intolerable for the Jewish State's immediate and near neighbours, who would be undermined from within *and threatened by various economic, social and political means.*

The undertaking is not without its dangers for the Jews either. There are potential reactions throughout the world which could become frightening. There is the historical phenomenon, of which Hitler's deeds for example were one of the supreme and cruellest manifestations. There is also internal strife, originating in Jewish factors of a social, religious and political nature. Jewish ideology covers a multitude of orientations. Karl Marx was a Jew, just as Georges Mandel was a Jew. The Jew can be a conservative just as he can be a communist. Israel's shrewdness and its intellectual and material resources are certainly known to all and *we do not underestimate them.*

It is our belief that the Jewish problem has not been adequately analysed and evaluated by the West and by America; and that in diverse ways it may wreak havoc and damage on a wide scale.

As for us, the Lebanese, we must bear in mind that the birth of this new power is taking place on our borders, that we are but a small country and that for the Jews besetting us from the south *and with its countless immigrants,* we could henceforth be a *promised land.*



Let those Arab governments which have not yet sufficiently considered all this, consider whether it is not time to do so. In speaking of such things we are personally devoid of prejudice and hatred, wishing only to have stable peace for all on our frontiers and a fraternal relationship without menace and oppression.

11 May 1948

### **THE DECISIVE TURNING POINT**

The situation in Palestine must now be considered soberly. Great Britain has officially left but responsibility still lies with the UN and through it, Great Britain and the United States. Try as they may to wash their hands of a problem like this, people will not be persuaded that the interests of the British Empire and the United States have suddenly ceased to be paramount in this corner of the world.

In a joint document, by way of a leave-taking, the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office stated: *“the British Government had for 27 years unsuccessfully sought to reconcile Jews and Arabs and to prepare the people of Palestine for autonomy”*. This statement, which has every appearance of being liberal and benevolent, would merit lengthier comment. We shall reduce this comment to its simplest expression. As we see it, the British, outwitted, beguiled and misled as they were, did all they could for 27 years to ensure that the Jews in Palestine increase in number to the maximum extent possible, *thus not preparing the people of Palestine for autonomy but the Jewish people for sovereignty*. British statesmen viewed the emerging Jewish State as a permanent base of operations. The figures, the facts, the history of Palestine over 27 years all testify to this. As ye sow, so shall ye reap. The Balfour declaration, interpreted irrationally and at will, has borne poisoned fruit. The whole world has now eaten of it.

However, Anglo-Saxon interests in and around Palestine are even more substantial today than in the past. Hence, either through the UN or independently of the UN, political action should lead to the establishment of order. Such action can now only usefully take the form of decisive pressure on the Jews. The United States and Great Britain would be well advised to follow this line. If they fail to do so, they will in any event be obliged to intervene in even less propitious circumstances and take direct action to obviate much more serious developments.

Adversity makes us sententious : once the wine is drawn it must be drunk and it is too late to draw back. The so-called world powers, which are recognised as such and which have ruined everything, now have to disentangle the knot in Palestine. As it is, they themselves are split into two camps and have their worst quarrels within their own ranks ....

In Lebanon especially there is a need for a cool head and logic. Clearly the government cannot reveal everything it is doing but we hope that it will make no mistakes. We must however observe that the game is an extremely tricky one.

Despite everything, in the interest of all Arab countries and without ruling out recourse to force, this is still a time for clear-sighted politics and diplomacy.

15 May 1948

### **KEY REASONS FOR RESISTANCE**

The Arab countries must remember that they are up against a *global* organisation of Jews.

This global organisation comprises Jews *of all nationalities*. It casts its net over *the whole world* and does what it can to bring its influence to bear on governments. Its propaganda and its capacity for intrigue are amongst the most formidable.

With a Jewish State, as proclaimed by Zionism, with the State of Israel, having a presence and networks in every country, it is easy to imagine the political, economic, social and, (in numerical terms), human pressure to which the Arab countries would be subjected. *The whole global might of Israel, represented by the government of a sovereign state in Tel Aviv, would be focused on the Arab countries and on their economic subservience with an eye to future political domination.* Those who do not wish to reflect on such things are unconsciously dismissing what is most likely, it could be said what is a certainty, what is obvious. True, Zionism may be thwarted by events; *but this is its plan.* If the plan came to fruition, it would mean the barely disguised beginning of an exodus or of real slavery for Arab countries. It would be our tragedy to replace the Jews on the world's highways. For to have the sovereign Jewish State on our borders is tantamount to having three million Jews from New York and six million others, from London, from Paris, from *all over* moving there.

*Arab resistance is not only necessary; it is vital. In the long term, it is truly, it is genuinely a matter of life and death for the Near East, from Asia to Egypt.*

The great powers may stubbornly persist in their double and triple dealing or in their blindness. They may indefinitely disregard the crux of the problem and give in to opportunism or sentimentality sustained by Jewish money.

In defending ourselves in this way we are conscious of defending the great powers themselves (pressured and undermined from within); and defending above all the enduring cause of justice and even world peace, now under threat.

18 May 1948

### **DISAPPOINTMENT AT THE ROLE OF THE GREAT POWERS**

Everyone is aware that the conflict in Palestine is evolving very largely under pressure from the great powers. Whether those countries involved do or do not attain their ends is another matter.

*As was the case for the decision on partition for Palestine, recognition of Israel finds the USSR and the United States on the same side. One of them has to have been fooled into it. As for the rest, that is a different story.*

The explanation for the phenomenon lies in the fact the the Jews (whose kingdom is well and truly of this world) are notorious for having everywhere capital and power at their disposal, without, however, being strangers to the communism to which they gave birth. They have a foot in both camps.

*When it comes to assisting the revolution, there is nowhere better than Israel. Moscow is fully cognisant of that. And when it comes to the dispensation of electoral favours and political backing by financial means and through the allurements of money and what it brings, there are none better than the Jews. Washington is fully cognisant of that.*

We have never been grudging in our praise of the Jews for their intellectual resources. We know what their race stands for and God forbid that we should fight against intelligence, wherever it may be found, unless it be in the devil. What we deplore, what we are fighting against is intellectual anarchy, when judgement is warped by pride, when the mind is not the equal of the spirit of enterprise and daring. *Historical catastrophes have always occurred in this way.*

We maintain that at the present time, whilst the United States and Great Britain believe they are resolving the problem of the Jewish State by the indirect means of guile and cunning, it is in reality the Jews who are settling matters to the detriment of the great powers and world peace.

We are not overstating our case. We view the situation with as much objectivity as possible at a time when the fighting serves to increase hatred and the grief. But we are here the immediate neighbours of the Jewish State. We know its political and social climate better than westerners from Europe and America. And it is easier for us than for the powers that be to envisage the future.

There are two causes for regret. We believe that, by their own hands, the Jews are forging misfortune for themselves as well as the Arabs, the UN being at the origin of all this; and that in place of fruitful collaboration, what lies ahead is constant danger and hatred in perpetuity.

*19 May 1948*

#### ***IN A MANNER OF SPEAKING AND WRITING***

The manner in which news reports appear to be preparing for the *de facto* recognition of the State of Israel by Great Britain and France merits careful monitoring. The London correspondent of the Agence France Presse “writes” for instance on 19<sup>th</sup> May: *“Diplomatic commentators find it difficult to see how the British Government can remain entrenched in its indefinite policy of opposition to the Ben Gurion government, now that the new State of Israel has been recognised by the United*

*States, the USSR and various States in their orbit and at a time when it appears legitimate to expect its de facto recognition by France.”* Admire his way of putting things and foreshadowing what happens next.

There is a whole art in subtly controlling the presentation of news favourable to Zionism and in furtherance of its propaganda, at a time when Arab countries have their troops in Palestine and are fighting on Palestinian soil. This is once again proof positive (if it were needed) of hideously disproportionate Jewish influence in the world. The obliging attitude of the West in facilitating a venture which runs counter to tradition, history, geography, political economy, common sense and in the end the very nature of things, is astounding. The presence of Jews is palpable *everywhere*, their role felt in the press, news agencies, broadcasting stations, as well as in world finance and manipulation of stock-exchanges and markets.

It is a spider’s web covering the whole world. Meanwhile the Arab countries, new to the task, ill-informed and inexperienced, fall into all kinds of traps.

We are struck by the contradiction between the military and political situation in Palestine and the attitude of European governments to the State of Israel.

On the one hand there is a general *de jure* or *de facto* “recognition” of the Jewish State; on the other a battle is being waged in conditions which should in all reason encourage further reflection and waiting. Europe’s wiles may be far reaching, but they are not beyond our understanding.

It grieves us to write this: while such tragi-comedies are allowed to take place the politics and diplomacy of the greatest nations must be held in suspicion, assuming we wish this world to be governed by international ethics.

21 May 1948.

### ***ISRAEL’S STAGING POSTS***

No-one, we think, will be surprised to find us so often returning to the question of Palestine. At least we hope not. Of all the problems which concern the people of Lebanon, which adjoins Jewish Palestine, there is none greater. With Israel at our gates, we are forced to consider every aspect and every consequence of this proximity. It is no light matter for a small country to feel the weight of such danger bearing down on its borders. Already tremendous desires are building up behind the shaky wall which separates us. Tremendous expectations. The Hebrew people’s Song of David strikes a chord throughout the East. And the weight of Israel measured in money and power seems heavy and fraught with danger for nations which have only limited resources in every respect.

Furthermore, the West can be accused of failing in its duties towards the Arab world and towards itself by bringing unhappiness to a land which it considers sacred and holy. The civilisation to which it lays claim and which it defends is thereby

surrendered (gladly or not); because America's unconsidered pressure has made a mute crony of the once illustrious Europe.

In days gone by, the twelve tribes of Israel with Naphtali, Menashe, Gad and Reuben made considerable inroads into present day Syria and Transjordan.

At the time of Solomon the kingdom of Israel's reach extended from the coast at Mount Carmel as far as Rakka on the Euphrates. And Abraham came from Ur in Chaldea, to the south of Baghdad. This all represents a dream sequence of conquest for the people of Israel. But if we do not take care, and well before being conquered, people will have been weakened and discouraged by scheming and manoeuvring. Everywhere the ground will have been undermined by work beneath a surface seam of gold.

Were Jewish ambitions other than what they are, our predictions would not be as gloomy, nor our fears as extensive; but Lebanon is the first to want to be defended; and the new kingdom of Israel intends achieving more than the old.

In the memoirs of James F. Byrnes there is that trenchant comment on territorial expansion and so called national security: *"In considering this matter, I am inevitably reminded of those people, familiar to everyone, who purchase the neighbouring farm or house in order to protect their own. The problem is that there will always be a neighbouring house or farm..."* Directly or indirectly, we are, and more and more going to be, that neighbouring house and farm. Make no mistake about it. And let us hope that our partners, who may be unaware of a part of history, the Syrians and others, appreciate the extent of their vulnerability!

28 May 1948

### **ON THE TRUCE**

We would willingly share in Mt. Trygve Lie's unfettered joy over the truce if wisdom had prevailed in UN decisions until now. But with all due respect for Mr. Trygve Lie, it is the UN which created or exacerbated the difficulties in Palestine prior to attempting to resolve them. This is an established historical fact.

When it comes to Palestine, the liability attaching to the government of the United States for the Palestine issue far and away exceeds that of all others. A veritable American diktat presided at the birth of the State of Israel. Hence the *former* liability of Great Britain melds with the *present* liability of the United States. The future will tell what this twofold misjudgement will mean for peace in the world; and show that nowadays politics are conducted by the great powers with an alarming absence of serious thought. Under the pretext of restoring peace, and without realising it, *long term* peace is being destroyed. That will become blindingly clear over the years.

Count Bernadotte has performed brilliantly in his task as mediator. He is undoubtedly endowed with a natural ability to express his thoughts and has many strings to his bow. However, we have not forgotten that it was Great Britain which took the initiative in proposing this four week truce. Which also means that Great

Britain gave strong backing to the proposal and that it therefore had every chance of success.

It was Mr. Bevin himself who announced *“that the British government has decided to suspend deliveries of weapons to Transjordan until the end of the truce”*. Those who supply the weapons used in the fighting are obviously the ones in control of the situation.

Everyone wonders how far this game can go. And what will be the result of the truce? If it is the strengthening of the State of Israel, then it might be said that the truce is the most ingenious ploy imaginable. We continue to believe that, after protracted sorrows, the State of Israel will prove disastrous for the Jews themselves. Dissenting Jews in the United States are right to fear it, as Mr. Bayard Dodge recently remarked. But before the world has proof of this, Jewish racism will have caused upheaval in the Near East and well beyond.

In short, whilst the truce in Palestine is welcome at the human level, it does not in any way bode well at the political level.

*11 June 1948*

#### *MEMORANDUM AFTER THE TRUCE*

Despite everything, the ceasefire order in Palestine cannot mean the arrival of Israel's domination. It should be remembered that Israel is already a world power, not that handful of the banished and persecuted portrayed as seeking somewhere on this earth to lay their heads.

It was that same Israel, the world's foremost monetary power, that complained interminably simply to gain superiority, in order to find territory and establish a capital, whence it might control all the Jewish fifth columns in the world.

That is what is in the offing, that is what President Truman intended and has accepted, under pressure from five million American Jews, themselves at one with all the Jews in the world. But it is that too which will provoke heightened opposition in different parts of the world and once again set men against each other.

Every Jew on the planet now aspires, at least in secret, to become a citizen of the Jewish State, whilst still being a citizen of another country. Every Jew will, or will be able to, carry two passports and benefit from marked advantages unavailable to the rest of humanity. Does anyone doubt that everywhere, with extremely rare exceptions, unless for appearance sake or forced to do otherwise, the Jew will prefer his co-religionist to his fellow citizen? For historical and psychological reasons this case is different from others.

Since any Jewish venture is racism based on a religion, the effect of the American government's feat, as enshrined in the truce, will be unqualified and unreasoning support for an unparalleled ambition and force for disintegration.

Once again we are in no way disputing the qualities of the Jews and their natural or acquired attributes; we accept that fact for what it is and our efforts are directed towards trying to demonstrate the rise of the world's most frightening secret society.

If President Truman is not aware of these things, he has no excuse; and, equally, he has no excuse if he is aware of them. Modern day America through its utilitarianism is jeopardising the very foundations of future society; it is cold-bloodedly sacrificing the future to the present.

A hundred years ago the Jewish presence in the State of New York was insignificant; everyone can see what it has become; everyone can gauge what it will be in Palestine and in the Near East when Tel Aviv has become the company headquarters, the sovereign capital of Israel.

That is why, if the Arab countries wish to avoid becoming tragically entrapped in this spider's web, the fight remains a legitimate and necessary one. They must all bear in mind that there will be an Israeli colony on their territory, one with considerable power in some capitals.

If Zionism retained any trace of wisdom, it would also bear in mind the tragedies to which it lays itself open by waging war on all the countries around it. Already before the truce, the Arab countries were proposing a federative régime, which at the time of the Balfour Declaration would have seemed like the most generous act in the world. We dread to think what the situation will be in ten and twenty years time if Israel is not reined in.

*12 June 1948*

### **TEMPORARY BUT LASTING**

The Palestine issue will drag on and it is already virtually being taken for granted that there will be a prolongation of the truce. Arabs and Jews have rejected Count Bernadotte's proposals: *the Jews because they want everything; the Arabs because the Jews do not want to settle for what is reasonable.* We have been informed that this twofold rejection will be made public tomorrow or Tuesday.

But a truce cannot last indefinitely. It presupposes that everything is halted, immobilised; the tight control only allowing for further extensions and their like.

Clearly for the Arabs the prolongation of the truce is worth even less than for the Jews who are not moving out of their own zones and homes and are seeing further immigration of their coreligionists into Palestine under exceptionally favourable and accommodating conditions. And the continuation of the truce at the height of the summer heat is not easy for the armies; nor for the governments. However, anything is better than accepting with resignation the official establishment of this independent Jewish State which, by dint of procedural ploys, makes a little more headway each day.

After months of reflection and despite having recognised the extent to which the Jewish State constitutes an outrageous political aberration, together with all the risks it engenders, the Arab countries have not yet understood *that of all the dangers which may threaten them, the Jewish State is the greatest*. Indeed it represents their slow or rapid dispossession, that being the aim of Israel, from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, *and whatever happens, it is a process of domination to which all the world's Jews will increasingly subscribe*.

It would be suicidal for the Arab countries to give way; like a deliberate journey into night. Because, and it can never be repeated enough, Zionism is not the product of miserable Jews seeking refuge, *but of a truly global power with networks encompassing the whole globe, whose avowed or secret aspirations transcend all else*.

However mediation progresses under Count Bernadotte, the Arabs must awake from the half-sleep into which they are drifting, they must be better at keeping their wits about them and fight with all their might by every legitimate means. *What is happening at the moment is one of the most frightening ventures in the whole of their history*. They must at least know and be convinced of this. Their adversary, *backed by the world's major governments*, has almost unlimited strength.

5 July 1948

### ***THE MEDIATOR THWARTED***

No doubt Count Bernadotte was expecting his suggestions to be rejected by all sides. It was clear to him that the sovereign State of Israel was out of the question for the Arabs. It was equally clear that the Jews were not about to forgo the State of Israel. In that respect the blame attaching to the United States and the USSR appears overwhelming. By their hasty recognition of the Jewish State they gave early and decisive encouragement to Israel's struggle. These great countries were thus seeking war not peace. Doubtless their reasons were not the same; nevertheless that is the unvarnished truth. And it will go down in history against the United States that for domestic political reasons, for the purposes of electoral expediency, from a distance of six or seven thousand kilometers, as a country with a Christian civilisation, they deliberately sacrificed the Holy Places. That is what an unbiased history will record. It will also perhaps agree that the USSR was not in this instance bound by the same international code of ethics.

Now Count Bernadotte is envisaging a separate settlement for the future of Jerusalem. At the same time he is proposing an interim solution for Haifa. It is doubtless a felicitous idea to place Jerusalem under protection. But it is right to point out that the position of the Arabs in Jerusalem is stronger than that of the Jews and that it counterbalances the Jews' position on the coast. It is therefore only fair for the Arabs to possibly find the equivalent of this advantage in another place and for control of the zone of Haifa and its port to be removed from the Jews for the duration of the struggle.



In any event, it is accepted that no definitive solution has come to fruition, that none is possible and that only weapons will cut the Gordian knot; and time. Because for the Arabs it is not just the stratagem of defensive war which is being imposed on them; but also that of indefinite resistance which will become more and more compelling and resolute as time goes on.

*It is indeed madness on the part of Israel to ask for a peace in Palestine which can withstand violence . The Jews should know that if they persist they are clearly engaging in a Hundred Years War, assuming they can hold out for that long.*

All this has been foreseen for some time. But logic no longer prevails on this earth.

7 July 1948

### ***MOVING ON TO THE NEXT STAGE***

A month passes quickly and after four weeks of truce in Palestine the situation is as unclear as it was at the beginning. The Arab countries have once again been very moderate in their language but the solution to the problem does not lie in the choice of words: it lies in the facts. With or without a truce, no way out is visible to the naked eye as things stand. Would a magnifying glass help?

To put it plainly, America continues to bring its considerable weight to bear in influencing countries for the benefit of Israel and all the decisions coming out of Lake Success show the effects of this. A United States representative in the Security Council has just been heard to state that, should one of the parties accept a prolongation of the truce and the other refuse, *the latter would be liable to sanctions*. In that case it would constitute truce by force. It is difficult to understand this interpretation, which does not reflect credit on American legal thinking.

For their part, the Jews accept the outright prolongation of a truce which suits their purposes; indeed immigration is continuing during the truce; and, discreetly or covertly, they are constantly being supplied with reinforcements of all kinds.

Meanwhile for the Arabs it is a different story; with the truce prolonged under the same conditions, they are obliged to resign themselves to seeing the position of their opponent improve, whilst their own undoubtedly deteriorates.

*How can one fail to mention in passing the USSR's systematic and continuing alignment, (observed in the stance adopted by the representative of Ukraine, Chair of the Security Council), with the United States in supporting the State of Israel?*

*The greater the distance between the Americans and the Russians in every other area where they are in conflict, the closer their position on Israel. It is one of the most curious political phenomena of all time.*

To return to the subject of the truce, the Arabs have clearly stated that they have not closed the door on talks. Hence it might be assumed that Count Bernadotte will find something to say following that and that some suggestion or clever ploy will moderate feelings on all sides.

*However, it must be said in all seriousness that it is not a state of lethargy which will bring about a settlement of the Palestine problem. Somnolence will not help as long as the fire continues to smoulder under the ashes; and the reawakening will be all the ruder for it.*

The issue of Palestine is, alas, becoming an obstacle for the nations of the world and they wish to rid themselves of it at all costs. It is no longer the glaring injustice which cries out to heaven and calls for wrongs be righted.

10 July 1948

### **THE SUNDAY COLUMN**

Count Bernadotte continues to wave the olive branch. As a reward for his efforts, he will probably see the renewal of the truce in Palestine; but does that in itself mean that we will be on the road to peace? This peace on which the Mediator has set his sights and yet which is pregnant with war is a topic well suited to our thoughts on a Sunday.

*The United States wants both the State of Israel and peace. The USSR wants the State of Israel but as a means of war.*

*Paradoxically the two great powers agree on this point; but in every other respect their feud is becoming more intense; clearly the State of Israel does not have the same meaning for both of them.*

For the United States, the State of Israel denotes an electoral policy and an indirect American presence in the eastern Mediterranean. For the USSR, the State of Israel will be a permanent source of confusion and strife. America envisages a capitalist and conservative Jewish State. The USSR imagines it as being Marxist and revolutionary. *The Jews themselves plan for the State of Israel to face both ways. Depending on the circumstances, they will seesaw between the political doctrines of eastern and western Europe.* Their true goal is naturally to ensure the triumph of their own political ends and to re-establish Israel as the land of the "chosen people" in the world, making use of the USSR and the United States in turn or simultaneously.

*As for Great Britain, the very shadowiness of its position makes it only too clear. It is settling old accounts in west Asia whilst contriving not only not to leave but to consolidate its presence. The capital for this policy is at the present time the capital of Transjordan, a country with which it is well known to have close commitments.*

For our part we can say that we perfectly well understand Great Britain everywhere defending to the last the civilisation it represents and the Commonwealth that it is; but we also say that the policy it is pursuing in our part of the world is dangerous

and deeply regrettable and that it will backfire. Great Britain, (despite appearances to the contrary), is paving the way in the Near East for events which may resemble those which made life so difficult for it in east Asia.

That, broadly, is the situation encountered by Count Bernadotte as he runs past waving his olive branch. With all due respect for the UN, the Security Council, Mr. Trygve Lie and finally the Mediator himself, we believe that all the olive trees in Lebanon would not suffice in the circumstances.

The establishment of peace in Palestine presupposes the disarming of hearts and minds. There is no fiction in such an assertion.

11 July 1948

### NEXT YEAR IN JERUSALEM

Whilst Zionist extremists claim Jerusalem as their capital, in the depths of their hearts and minds all Jews hold Jerusalem to be the chief city of Israel.

Not just the capital of the Israel without borders, which is one of the traditional descriptions of the Hebrew people; but of the State of Israel itself, *a child of the United States born in the pain suffered by others.*

One of the Jews' first aims is to make the Holy City *their political capital*; as though Christianity and Islam no longer existed!

It would appear that only the United States government remains unaware of this egregious claim. Nevertheless, we do not believe it to be Mr. Truman's intention to transport the Mount of Olives and the Holy Sepulchre to Washington.

The Passover greeting openly or secretly exchanged by Jews all over the world is still: "Next year in Jerusalem". This universal dream conceals a limitless desire for conquest. Whilst purporting to be establishing the State of Israel, America is above all preparing the ground for the Jewish struggle for Jerusalem. An underhand struggle with no holds barred, including money, cunning, intrigue, allurements and worse if need be.

This is where the world's blindness will lead us; or, more accurately, the blindness of some and the perfidiousness of others. There is good reason to wonder whether the inexorable onward march of events will not lead us to the ultimate cataclysm which will be called the end of the world.

Through normal means, the Jews would be incapable of doing what they are doing. But such is the reach of their network of power that the United States and the USSR are both putting a shoulder to their wheel. It would be hard to believe, were it not true and sheer madness, were it not a page of history.

Whether in the short or the long term, Jerusalem is under threat from Israel; and at this stage it would not take much to prescribe a special régime for the Holy City whilst giving way to the Jews on everything else.

An endless conflict is being fuelled as a result of only introducing tenuous international measures in Palestine. Such an attitude is not worthy of the West and the East in their entirety.

14 July 1948

### *THE SUNDAY COLUMN*

A choice must now be made between present and future danger. The Arab world of the Near East cannot remain impassive faced with the monumental error being committed by the United States in Palestine.

Should we now yield to force and lay ourselves open to the worst by allowing Jewish power to establish and consolidate itself? Should we on the contrary react, in the knowledge that there is no threat more ominous for Arab countries than the State of Israel? For our part we favour the latter position.

In our opinion, anything would be better than explicit or tacit acquiescence with the *fait accompli*. If an acceptable result could be expected of the prolongation of the truce, we would support prolongation of the truce. But the United Nations siege is already written; (and it has been written by the United States).

Jewish power in the world, beginning with Washington, has carried a great deal of weight in all capitals. Countless representations have been made everywhere and there are also countless Americans and Europeans who have been taken in by Israel.

In choosing to isolate themselves from the rest of the world and live in their ivory tower, the Arabs have opened the way for hostile propaganda. Contrary to any idea of justice, it is the Jews and not the Arabs who have succeeded in creating a climate of opinion prejudiced in their favour in countries which are shaping the future. They have flooded the world with their entreaties and pleas, availed themselves of all manner and means of pressure, have used every tactic and endeavoured, for instance, to interfere with the economic and monetary policy of Great Britain. (The attacks on the pound sterling from all quarters for some time now, orchestrated in such a way that none of the specialist press fails to pick up on them, doubtless come from a Jewish organisation whose shady network encompasses the whole globe, from the Pacific to the Atlantic, taking in all official and black, parallel and divergent markets).

This is the situation as things are now; and, to be explicit, we do not see how the State of Israel, *by becoming, on our border, the home port for all the world's Jews*, could leave the Arab States, and in the first place Lebanon, to live and prosper in peace.

**A disproportionate risk is being incurred for our neighbours and ourselves, an arrogant and brazen plan of economic, financial, industrial and commercial seizure which can only result in territorial and political encroachment, in a burden of debt incomparably heavier than the weightiest yoke; and finally in servitude. Hence an intolerable exercise in the overt or covert colonisation and domination of the Asian Near East by Israel is being carried out under the patronage of the United States and with the fervent support of all Jews who have reached the age of reason (or unreason).**

**The outcome of all this, as we see it, can only be an awakening, a terrifying upsurge in fanaticism; and, in many countries, widespread destruction, blood and tears.**

**For the UN to be in favour of this aberration because America, under pressure from American Jews, has decided to favour it, means the end of everything; *it really is the collapse of civilisation*. On a Sunday we normally express ourselves in a calmer tone; but these are serious and pressing times.**

**We have no knowledge of what armed forces are jointly available to the Arab countries but if these forces only permit resistance, then they must resist until an offensive is possible, whether the UN philosophers like it or not.**

**The birthplace of Christianity and to a certain extent Islam, and the symbol of faith for a thousand million people, including nearly the whole of the white race and its way of life and thinking, should not be allowed to become Israel's laboratory and at the heart of its machinations, intrigues and plots.**

**Countries with a Christian civilisation, in behaving as they are, are failing in their supreme calling; and the Islamic countries, if they give way, are lost and risk a return to the realms of darkness.**

**It is time to leave illusions and dreams behind; all the more so because within the Arab countries themselves there are individual ambitions, conscious or unconscious, which must be exposed and are to be feared. This labyrinth is not full of only good intentions.**

*18 July 1948*

### ***PALESTINE AND THE WEST***

**The West's general attitude to Palestine would no doubt have been different without the United States of America. That much is very clear.**

**The same can be said of the Latin American countries. But the pressure from the United States has carried everything in its path; and within the United States, the weight of New York State has been decisive.**

The Jews have tremendous leverage vitually everywhere in the world and their power is no longer under wraps anywhere. They are established in every international organisation, in every capital, in every government, every administration, every company, in news agencies, the press and elsewhere with secret networks and a tendency to spread their tentacles. But it is around the White House that their power is at its peak. *In fact this people is involved in the government of the greatest countries in the world and in such a way that those countries' policies are used for its own purposes.*

As it is, western Europe, having been materially ruined and morally weakened by the war and doctrinal conflicts, is now dependent on the United States assistance for its survival. *And in return the United States compels Europe to adopt its viewpoint on crucial issues, as has happened with Palestine.* The same applies to Latin America, albeit for different reasons. Thus western Europe is manifestly subject to moral coercion; of course to a greater or lesser extent; (the Belgians for instance, were it not for the United States, would feel less compunction in their attitude to Israel than the French; because in France the Jewish presence in politics is much more influential, all things being equal, than in Belgium).

More than one country in western Europe voted for the partition of Palestine with avowed reluctance. As for eastern Europe, following the lead of the USSR, (which pursues a policy of deliberately making things worse for its own ends and which in this case has paradoxically taken the most racist line of all), it has supported Israel en bloc. *It's a fine way of behaving; to ferociously condemn racism and fascism verbally and then, at the first opportunity and with a singular lack of concern, act to the contrary.* In fact the Jews were the main contributors to the revolution which consigned Russia to Marxism in 1917 and they continue to exert considerable influence on the fate of the USSR, close to or at a distance; revolution suits their purposes everywhere; and doubtless the collapse of Christian civilisation as well, wherever it happens.

The lack of stronger resistance to rampant Zionism on the part of the Christian nations, countries with a Christian civilisation (and likewise the position of the main Islamic countries) can only be explained by the United States senseless policy, the extreme weakness of countries stricken by war and strife, and finally a striking failure to appreciate reality and Israel's goals and ambitions.

We might add that the Arab countries, despite so much prior warning, have proved deaf to the strongest arguments and urgings. For months and years it was like crying in the wilderness.

*Now that Arab refugees have replaced wandering Jews on the highways, now that the Jews are revealing the same sort of instinct for conquest as that shown by the Germans and are backed by military strength made ready long ago through the strangest of collaborations, now that Jewish power behaves as a world power in every domain, there is naturally no shortage of reproaches and regrets.*

But if the will is there, it is perhaps not too late to act. Greater moderation in their venture is, once again, in the interest of the Jews themselves. Because however

abhorrent the present situation, the anger and threats in store for the future appear infinitely more ominous.

*And will the United States (together with Great Britain which, like God in Athalie, wants to be invisible yet present in all this) be willing to demonstrate clearer vision and at last recollect that it has a duty to defend its own civilisation in the Holy Land?*

30 August 1948

### **JERUSALEM IN DANGER**

The whole of Christianity and the whole of Islam must be told: *the Jewish State will forever be a threat to Jerusalem.*

*There is no Zionism without Zion and no State of Israel will indefinitely live without Jerusalem.*

The Israelites identify themselves as the descendants of Jacob or "Israel", and it is these same people who are called Jews or Hebrews and whose whole past revolves around the Holy City.

The History of Israel is the history of the Jewish people and if Jerusalem is taken away from them, very little remains. This is why Jerusalem is under constant threat from the Jews and why the truce is so poorly observed by the Jews in Jerusalem.

The Jewish dream persists, Jewish pride has grown, it is clearly the Jewish ambition to take possession of Jerusalem in order to gradually turn it into the capital of the Jews. Yet it is not possible for Christians worldwide, nor Islam to agree to that. And there is no longer any excuse for anyone, even the least well informed, to remain unaware of the full scale of Jewish plans.

The Jewish State, as conceived under the UN partition plan, and we have stated this repeatedly, is a bridgehead, a starting point, a beginning. *It is a way of eventually gaining hold of the whole of Palestine, huge stretches of territory beyond the Jordan, other territory in Syria, land that belonged to the twelve Tribes and at a later stage, if circumstances permit, what was once the kingdom of Israel and, going even further, the land of Abraham.*

The Jews dream of domination as we know starts with the Near and Middle East and they purport to base it on their natural attributes, their wealth, their power and finally the Scriptures.

*The universal racism of the Jews aspires to control the world in hidden ways. Part of the ground has already been covered. The material power of the Jews aims to dominate a world which is morally weakened; and music, philosophy, science are the brightly coloured flag covering the cargo. Let us cite once again, with all the*

admiration due to them, the symbolic names of Einstein and Yehudi Menuhin, not to mention Spinoza.

We the Lebanese are being asked to witness the growth of this power on our border, to withstand the crushing weight of its presence and its forays and join in chanting the Lamentations. As for Syria, Transjordan and Egypt, after a long period of torpor these countries are beginning to suspect what awaits them; manipulated from the outside, they will be kneaded like soft dough from within and will in turn run the risk of becoming partly "Israeli", as the currently accepted neologism would have it; Mr Moshe Shertock, Rabbi Silver and some others having knowingly made the distinction between the Israelite and the Israeli.

For now let us look towards Jerusalem, reminding ourselves that Jerusalem is undoubtedly already in serious peril; *but that it will be in even greater peril once there are one and a half or two million Jews in the "would-be" State of Israel.*

4 September 1948

### ***THE TRAGIC END OF THE MEDIATOR***

The death of Count Bernadotte, following so many acts of violence committed by the Jews, will help to enlighten a world which has harboured so many illusions. It is often the fate of mediators to become victims in their turn and to pay with their life for their service to justice and good works. At the beginning, whilst having confidence in the man himself, we had expressed natural reservations, attributable to the apparently pro-Jewish tendencies of the government in Stockholm.

Gradually, what was only a prejudice was dispelled and it became clear that Count Bernadotte was fulfilling his mission with a strong desire for stability and peace and boundless good will.

The United Nations Organisation in the person of its Secretary General, Mr Trygve Lie, has vaunted the preliminary results of Count Bernadotte's activities, the UN's first tangible success. And the truce was prolonged for an unlimited period, whilst the Mediator always claimed to be an optimist (albeit to varying degrees). No-one has ever made use of this word, heartening to hear even on the rarest of occasions, as often as Count Bernadotte in so short a space of time; but we have heard it said that those recently returned from the Holy Land and better informed on Palestine sensed the Jewish threat hanging over Count Bernadotte and feared an assassination attempt on him. Alas, this premonition, this ill-defined fear was proved accurate and the Mediator, together with the high-ranking French officer accompanying him, died in Friday afternoon's ambush.

Will the world now wake up and try to fathom the underlying reality of Jewish endeavours in Palestine? Will mendacious propaganda, spurious sentimentality, hollow phrases be abandoned in an effort to understand the extent of the danger?



Although it is easy to attribute a shameful assassination to “irregulars and outlaws, it should be borne in mind that the chain of plots and incidents reveals something more than rebelliousness and chance in the course of events in Israel. Remember the successive attacks and violence over a long period of time! It should certainly give the United Nations food for thought.

Let us pay our deepest respects to the mortal remains of Count Bernadotte and his companion, who died fulfilling their international duty, that which comes closest to the duty of mankind.

20 September 1948

**MR. RIAD SOLH AND LEBANESE DIPLOMACY IN PARIS**

Mr. Riad Solh's attendance and speech at the latest weekly lunch for the Anglo-American press in Paris fills us with satisfaction. The Prime Minister was accompanied by some of our most distinguished and treasured diplomats and Lebanon showed itself in its truest light and at its most vibrant. Mr. Riad Solh and those of our compatriots invited with him brought to the Anglo-American press lunch the tangible proof of what can be achieved in the political as well as in the sociological sphere by a broad understanding of the times we live in and the latest ideas in the world, when guided by a spirit of fraternal cooperation.

After having once again forcefully argued how the partition of Palestine and a solution to Palestine “which goes against the Arabs or does not involve them” would be artificial, arbitrary, illusory, contrary to common sense and the natural order of things, Mr Riad Solh took pleasure in describing and expounding on Lebanon as it is today, emphasising how it must and does set an example of interfaith and intercommunity political life. With Mr. Riad Solh as their mouthpiece, the “associated minorities”, by which Lebanon has for so long been defined, have demonstrated the depth and strength of their fraternal links and their cohesion. *The will to co-exist, the utmost tolerance, the unconditional respect for freedom of conscience, that exemplify our little country could and should in fact be proposed for the world's consideration at least as a way of arriving at a humane solution to the Jewish question in Palestine.*

Mr. Riad Solh's remarks in Paris were eminently reasonable, fair and convincing. It behoves us to lend our unstinting support when the fundamental principles championed by our country and by which its lives are defended.

It appears that Mr. Riad Solh's speech made a very strong impression on the Paris based correspondents of the Anglo-American press. Let us hope they turn it to good use for the benefit of the policies pursued by them, ourselves, all the Arab countries and the Middle East.

Indeed it is perhaps time here and in the West to apply ourselves to putting an end to all forms of racism, all fanaticism; to above all, using every available rostrum, proclaim the merits of a shared political life, one which would be enriching and a

victory for the intellect, compared to which the savage solution of partition in the Holy Land would be retrograde and a tragedy.

22 October 1948

### **CONTAGION BY EXAMPLE**

It is too often forgotten that the State "of Israel" is an issue of *racism and faith*. To say this is admittedly no revelation. But it is again necessary to further demonstrate that, by backing a State of this kind, *the so-called democratic countries in the UN supporting the Jewish State are contradicting themselves*.

On the one hand these countries claim to want and seek international status, cooperation, tolerance, protection for minorities, civil equality; *on the other hand what they do is exactly the reverse*.

Given that the last war was waged against political and social racism, it is unacceptable to now give it our blessing for the benefit of the Jews, and by such violent means. Moreover, it is our belief that support for Jewish racism is in the long term the worst service which could be rendered to the Jews themselves. If America and other countries persist, we will see the Jews increasingly persecuted and driven away into the racist homeland they are trying to create, which is incapable of absorbing them. This will be a natural reaction and at intervals we will see disaster visited on the chosen people and disturbances in the world due to Israel and its territorial encroachments.

But what should be emphasised here is the lack of logic shown by the professional democrats now championing Israel; when it comes to principles, we are assuredly as democratic as they; and Athenian democracy, for example, lives on in our thinking: *but we are unable to understand how such an uncompromising vision of democracy has led them down the path of Jewish racism and a Jewish faith-based State, as if it were a blessing*.

Not enough thought has gone into such things. *Or else it denotes a want of courage in facing up to the truth, in serving the truth, and in promoting the triumph of truth*.

*It is no longer acceptable to overlook the fact that by voting for the partition of Palestine, those in favour have disgracefully voted for the most racist and faith oriented State in the world. That is what the liberals feign not to see and what is being advocated by the "democrats"*.

*There has never been anything more illogical and so contrary to the UN's most official doctrine. What has not been sufficiently appreciated within the UN is that such weakness is contagious and that an equally extreme racism and an outburst of fanaticism are being stirred up in the very people being exhorted to show broad mindedness and tolerance for the sake of the Jews*.

*If, against all reason and despite the manifest presence of Jews in every country and every capital, Israel is permitted to establish a racist and faith-based Jewish State, why would others not be permitted to do likewise? Why such hypocrisy, we ask? Why the double standards?*

And what can be said against it?

25 October 1948

### ***THE CONSEQUENCES OF INTRIGUE AND ERROR***

The role of Transjordan throughout the Palestine affair will not be forgotten for some time to come. It is not the intention here to draw up a futile inventory. Whatever King Abdullah's attitude may be or may have been, we shall refrain from writing anything which could exacerbate its effects; however it is natural that we should draw a lesson from it for the Arabs.

Already seven or eight months ago, in any event before the 15 May (the date when the British left), it was glaringly obvious that Palestine could not be left without a government. For their part the Jews had a homogenous and solid government ready for some time. On the opposite side there was a vacuum until very recently, when the Gaza government was formed. And even now, thanks to Transjordan, the situation remains unclear and continues to be unsatisfactory.

Had there been a government in Palestine in mid-May, at the very least the sufferings of the refugees would not have been as great and other tragedies would have been avoided. *The refusal to allow Palestine a government at that juncture has tragically turned it into an occupied country instead of one defending itself.* Torn asunder by the Arab League countries, the Palestine administration has virtually ceased to exist. All this should certainly be remembered in Amman.

*It has all happened because the intentions were not honest.* Palestine was at least partly coveted by those same countries who are purporting to save it.

We are now face with the result. It is truly heart-rending. Would the "Greater Syria", mooted in the recent past, have been created at the same price? There is certainly scope for reflection here and all Arabs should be encouraged to have longer memories

It is not by methods such as these that the difficulties now being encountered will be resolved.

27 October 1948

### ***THIS NEW YEAR***

This New Year looks set to be the year of the illusory truce. The truce which lacks good faith, the truce which is not observed, the truce exploited to take barefaced or secret advantage of the opponent, this is how this darkest of times is defined; dark not only for the Near East, in an acute state of crisis, but indeed for the world as a whole.

The United Nations Organisation is attempting to disguise its bodily decay with ceremonial display. The most serious facts are camouflaged, minimised, ignored. The enormous tragedy of China for instance is only one "incident" amongst so many others for the soothsayers. And yet it is in our Near East that the year 1949 will mark the strangest, the least explicable event that western international life has produced for centuries: the ruthless implantation of the State of Israel, the open support of the greatest nations for Jewish racism and the anxious submissiveness of the smaller nations overwhelmed by it. The impact of what is happening in this area will be much more far-reaching and longer-lasting than China's vicissitudes. *An agent for disturbance on a global scale has been introduced into the Near East. Global Judaism will increasingly deposit its turmoil, its ambitions and its unwanted waste at the junction of Asia and Africa. It is the worst of what could reach us from a West itself undermined by Israel's permanent intellectual and innate insurgence. We deeply regret what is happening. In the first place for ourselves, the Lebanese, and for all Arabs; and then for the Jews themselves and the world as a whole. Fertile peace, which only a shared political life could guarantee, is becoming an impossibility for an indefinite period of time; endless misery is being given preference.*

But apart from the illusory truce, at the beginning of 1949 *ever increasing attacks on the spiritual must also be denounced.* Religious persecution in so much of the world puts humanity profoundly out of joint. *One wonders how far the violence perpetrated against defenders of the Almighty will go ...* Everything is now becoming so entangled, so complicated that, left to himself, man can no longer be credited with having the ability to draw humanity back from the brink. *War is not at the door and the illusory truce will last some time.* The ordeal may continue for another two or three years. Nevertheless, later, when freedom and justice can no longer be defended except by the use of force and are beyond human capacity, we will all be in the hands of God and God alone.

*4 January 1949*

### ***REFLECTING ON THE JEWISH STATE***

The simultaneous support, the unconditional support of the United States and the USSR for the State of Israel still appears to be an enigma. Since the end of the war there is no issue of any importance on which the USSR and the United States have been seen to be in agreement. Common sense tells us that someone is being deceived in all this. *But Jewish influence in the United States and the USSR must also be reckoned with.* Israel's leverage is to be reckoned with.

*Marxism and the class struggle originated with the Jews and in addition four million Jews are citizens of New York State. This is why, common sense notwithstanding, the Palestine affair is unfolding in the way that it is.*

For the last six months the Jews have received all the recruits and weapons they could wish for. It is American and European pilots who are dropping bombs on Gaza. This is one striking aspect of the absurd situation in which the West has placed itself.

The starting point for the support given to Israel is a benevolent and charitable impulse towards persecuted Jews. The outcome is this killing and hate; this madness in wishing at all costs to confer borders on a wandering race, wanderers by nature, the most racist people on earth, which has acquired the right to reside in all countries. *For the umpteenth time, we have to ask how the problem will be solved when two or even three million Jews are eventually settled in the State of Israel.* At that stage there will still be fifteen million Jews left in the rest in the world and the "Israeli" global fifth column will surpass anything of its kind ever experienced anywhere else. Meanwhile the pressure on the Arabs will become increasingly difficult to bear; and such pressure will take on the most varied shapes and forms; it will call for constant vigilance and legitimate defence. The inevitably tragic consequences can be calculated from known facts and observations. But it would seem that the great powers of the West have resolved to live from day to day; their policy has become one of expediency, and when expediency is allowed to become the order of the day, it is easier to accommodate injustice.

Hence an unstable Near East is in the process of becoming one of the sins of the world. In putting Palestine on its agenda, the UN as a whole, the universal institution supposedly in the service of peace, will have served only to cause the most serious disruption in the lives of peaceful peoples already leading an insecure existence.

For the moment let us wait for the convening and functioning of the Committee in which the United States, France and Turkey have the remit to seek an interim settlement for the misfortunes of the Holy Land. This will be not the least of the oddities of our time, having the struggle which sets Arabs against Jews now being mediated by the Americans, the French and the Turks. The international imagination knows no bounds.

Perhaps we will see a reawakening of the political conscience of those who have brought us to this pass. Even if wisdom were seen to once more prevail, what force would be effective against violence which has been so breathtakingly lawless?

In our misfortune let us however show a little more confidence in those who, amidst the world's indifference, are traditionally better attuned to the fate of the Holy Land. Through them the West can still tell that it is not dead.

*6 January 1949*

*A FOOTNOTE TO A COMMONS DEBATE*

All British parties want the Jews in Palestine, but not too many of them.

They want to be on good terms with them without damaging their relations with the Arabs.

They have been settling them in Israel for thirty years now by every possible means and they want the Arabs to be happy.

Taken together these are difficult, not to say impossible, positions to maintain. This all explains the many incomprehensible stances and false moves.

The British do not want the Jews in Gaza any more than they want them in Aqaba, but they do not balk at possibly granting them the whole of the Galilee. And for His Majesty's government all the connivance with Transjordan is nothing other than a way of keeping an effective presence in others' countries. *For Britain all that counts now is that the Jewish presence should not seriously prejudice the British presence in the Near East.*

We have repeatedly expressed our opinion on Great Britain's pivotal role in the world. Yet it bears repeating: *the British are the bulwark of a civilisation. Despite many setbacks, they remain the basis of a world order and an assurance of stability on earth. They speak a language which half the world has learned to understand and they practise disciplines which give them the rights to power and greatness. Theirs is certainly a great race. And they have strength of mind and character enough and to spare. Among the new giant Empires, they are a key element of the old Empire of the West which shaped European civilisation and all that flows from it.*

*There is no doubt that the British are (or have achieved) all that and the Arab world (as too Europe) must realise that it would risk subjugation or ruin if Great Britain were to weaken any further. This is speaking analytically, objectively, fairly; stating the obvious. However, if we wanted to appear egoistic (and even the most broad minded end up having to resort to a form of sacred egoism), we would have to acknowledge that the British care little about the means they use and are liable to trample on rights in furtherance of their ends.*

*Mr. Churchill bitterly rebuked Mr. Bevin for having "so managed our affairs as to find ourselves arrayed in this matter on the opposite side to the United States, to Soviet Russia, to the Palestine settlers and to Zionist supporters all over the world, and without ..... doing the slightest service to the Arab countries..."*

It is our belief, with all due admiration and respect for Mr. Churchill, that if the Conservatives were in power they would have gone even further than the Labour Party in siding with Israel.

Israel is a force which cause trouble for the bigger countries. The "friends of Palestine settlers ... all over the world", to use Mr. Churchill's euphemism, *are in the*

*first instance fifteen million Jews of all nationalities. What surprises us is that Mr. Churchill is not for one moment surprised to see the chosen people being so staunchly supported by Mr. Truman and Mr. Stalin at the same time.*

*When the State of Israel numbers two million firmly established Jews, no doubt there will be further talk of territory in southern Palestine and likewise in the east and north.*

Before too long Great Britain, through Israel, will be subjected to increased pressure from the USSR and the United States (in turn or simultaneously) in the Near East. And Mr. Weizmann, Mr. Ben Gurion, Mr. Shertok and a few others will have an easy time of it using these two unlikely friends to gain fresh advantages at Britain's expense.

In this weighty matter, Great Britain, believing it was defending its "Imperial" stability, has undermined and impaired the stability of several friendly countries. Let us hope that it extricates itself without causing our downfall.

*The fearsome neighbour which Britain has given the Arab countries and itself alongside them on the western threshold of Asia is in itself enough to provoke revolution and war.*

*"One of the specific goals of the British policy in the Levant, Mr. Bevin stated, is to maintain security and stability in this region of the world and we shall not be deflected from that goal"*

Events have just shown that having the "will" is insufficient, there has to also be a "way".

28 January 1949

### ***THE SUNDAY COLUMN***

Before the fate of Jerusalem and Nazareth is determined and before, for example, considering Italy and Spain, the Security Council is almost unanimously recommending Israel's admission into the United Nations. The country of Dante and the country of Charles the Fifth can languish in the wings; but Israel cannot wait; and we see countries gripped by a fervent zeal whenever Israel is mentioned.

Nor is there is there much concern for the Arab refugees. At best there is money for them; and money that the nations of the world would in turn lend to Israel. It truly is astounding that the greatest money-lenders in the world are intending to finally settle the tragic business of the Arab refugees with borrowed money!

The world's major governments appear more anxious to serve Israel than to serve justice. How could it be otherwise when Judaism is so widely represented at the heart of governments and parliaments! Is it possible to imagine the Jewish Ministers in the United States, Great Britain, France deciding against Israel of their own accord? *The position of the Jews in the world is beginning to strangely resemble that of the*

*communists. We will soon be asking ourselves whether the Jews are not to the State of Israel (and its ambitions) what the communists are to the USSR. Therein lies, as it happens, one of the most immediate dangers facing the new Judeo-racist State. As we have often said, it runs the risk of rapidly becoming an object of suspicion in the world. But we have to reckon with the abilities of a people whose capacity for cunning borders on genius; albeit that Jewish politics is found wanting on the psychological front.*

Nevertheless credit is due to the skills displayed by Mr. Shertok and his friends. They have been masterful in their manoeuvring within the Jewish community, which, however international, has proved itself exceptionally steadfast and disciplined. We, for our part, have always endeavoured to make a distinction between Israel's legitimate rights and its policies. (By Israel in this case we mean the Jews and not the many tentacled State that they have created). It has always seemed to us that their future in the East and everywhere else lay elsewhere than in the absurd manufacture of one of the most closed, the most exclusive, the most "ritualistic" religious and racist States on earth; and a State where civil and religious law are almost continually confounded.

The lesson of the Sermon on the Mount has its relevance here "Ye have heard it that it hath been said : Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy ... Ye have heard it that it hath been said: An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth ... But I say unto you: Love your enemies and pray for them which persecute you..." For our "Israeli" neighbours the law of Moses remains intrinsically the same; it is still as rigid and intractable as in the time of Moses. We are of course not disputing it from the religious standpoint *but as a factor in political and social life.*

Be that as it may, amidst universal blindness Israel's rise is ever upward. Let us hope that after this venture, in times to come, the fears and regrets we have for the whole of humanity, *including the Jews themselves,* will prove unfounded.

*6 March 1949*

### ***THE FUTURE OF ISRAEL***

*A new century began with the political birth of Israel.*

This event will be more important in history than the making of Western Europe and the signing of the Atlantic Treaty. A world power saw the light of day, wanting only for a head and national sovereignty.

Now Israel is sovereign, that is to say the sixteen million Jews scattered to varying degrees around the world have at last found their home port. Those in control of business and the Stock Exchange have their own passport and diplomatic bag. Sixteen million Jews have once again become the Biblical people who stubbornly persist in claiming to be the "chosen" people and whose ambitions extend to aspiring to govern the whole world.



In saying this of Israel, we are cognisant of paying tribute to it. Credit where credit is due. The reader is not being offered a grudging or ill-humoured discourse; rather a series of reflections on the truth and the facts. No-one disputes the Jews' intelligence, not their shrewdness. Their aptitude for the sciences is well-known and even nuclear weapons is not a subject alien to them. They are supremely gifted at making money. Every capital has seen evidence of the solidarity which exists between them. In fact they no longer know how to exist outside capital cities; and it is their contempt for inferior occupations that leads to them overrunning the liberal professions and politics and pushing their way to the front. If they make headway, through their own efforts, with the agricultural settlements in Palestine it will only be for a time, because, however well versed in agriculture and however good at it, it is not their line of work. It is not Israel's calling to grow cereal and beetroot crops. That is for the backward, the unsophisticated. Israel is made for power, for handling money and its manifestations and finally for revolution to secure its reign. We emphasise revolution because it is following revolution, and more than one, destroying a civilisation in the process, that Israel contemplates victory.

We find ourselves, as if it needed reminding, the immediate neighbours of the phenomenon that is Israel. It has grown on our border like a monster flower in an experimental field, and will bloom just a stone's throw from here in shade and in sun.

We have every reason in the world to be worried for the future and to try to have eyes for those who do not see.

We will have to monitor this historic undertaking with unswerving attention and do our utmost to avoid being overwhelmed.

25 March 1949

#### *ASPECTS OF ISRAEL'S FOREIGN POLICY*

Armed to the teeth itself, Israel does not want its neighbours to arm.

*Israel is protesting because the Mediator, Ralph Bunche, recommends that Arab countries should, like Israel, now have the common law right to purchase arms, which in their case was suspended by the United Nations a little more than a year ago.*

*On the one hand* it is the West's wish that the Arab countries gain in military strength to counteract the dangers of global war; *on the other hand* the Jews are scheming to ensure that these countries remain very weak, for fear that they wage war on Israel.

*On this particular point, one which is of manifest importance, the interests of the western world and those of Israel are clearly at variance.* More contradictions of the same origin will certainly emerge as Israel begins to feature as a militant player in international life. And America, having been credulous for so long, will reach the

stage where it begins to wonder what sort of political monster it has nurtured in its breast.

*For the moment it is in the interests of world security for the Arab countries to be sufficiently strong to defend themselves effectively; and in the interests of Israel's security (according to the government in Tel Aviv) that Arab countries remain unarmed. Untold difficulties will inevitably arise from this enduring clash of interests.*

*The long range political sights of Israel are certainly set well beyond those of the West and the USSR. To achieve its ends the Jewish world is making use of both global powers at the same time or is playing a game of shifting alliances with them.*

*When it comes to Jewish politics, Israel is going beyond the Atlantic Treaty and the Kominform, rather like Nietzsche going "beyond good and evil".*

That is what the West still refuses to see and what the more flexible USSR sees only too clearly. Only Israel's hybrid position can explain simultaneous support given to it from the outset by both America and the USSR; for Israel has been equally happy to place a foot in both camps.

Thus the Jews are manoeuvring to ensure that the Arab countries do not arm: how would they eventually be able to reach the Euphrates if the Arabs were to become stronger than they? This leads to the inescapable conclusion that, alongside military impotence, Israel has an interest in permanently sustaining the agents of internal weakness and political and social instability amongst the Arabs. For arming morally and politically is the same as arming militarily.

We are not sure that Arab governments understand that, although we would like to be mistaken. The first government we would wish to see on its guard is our own; and equally, no doubt, the government in Damascus which appears so alert on the military front.

We, who endeavour to live by logic and the facts, are well aware that the Arab countries cannot with impunity pursue the vainglorious politics of prestige and aspire to arm themselves like a great power. It would be the end of them. Nevertheless, we believe that a *minimum of strength* is necessary, if only to protect against sudden attack.

*But it is clear that a country's strength does not only rely on owning engines of war: it depends as much, if not more, on politics and alliances.*

*Let those who have ears to hear, hear this: in the same way as Israel does not want to see us armed, it would like to see us weakened in every respect; namely deprived of allies and poorly governed.*

If it were left to Israel, there would be nothing but a minefield ahead for all the Arab countries.

6 August 1949

*SPEECHES FROM JORDAN*

In the course of his travels in Jordan, King Abdullah declares that he is working for “Arab unity”! That is no doubt why, during the Palestine war such key locations as Lydda and Ramleh were so badly defended by his people; and that is why “*content with the plan for the partition of Palestine, he halted his troops nine kilometres from Tel Aviv, which meant Israel was saved and other Arabs doomed*”. (J. NANTET, in: *Vie Intellectuelle*, October 1949).

The Jordanian lexicon is so greatly at odds with everyone else’s that it arouses endless suspicion. Following his resounding feats, the King of Jordan credits his partners in the Arab League with shorter memories than is the case. Thus every opportunity must be taken to recall the marked discrepancy between words and reality in Jordanian politics.

Indeed, the *obvious cracks in the Arab community were the first consequence of Jordanian ambition*. It is only right that this be remembered from Damascus to Cairo and beyond.

And it is easy now to say that the Palestinian refugees are our brothers, as the King of Jordan has proclaimed. Jordan would have shown more brotherly love if, by putting up a normal fight, it had enabled many of them to stay in their homes.

If we were only to go by speeches of this kind, history would write itself in reverse. The Arabs outside his territory, to whom the King of Jordan directs his words have critical minds and an intelligence which his Majesty clearly underestimates. But the Arabs will no longer be taken in by what they are being told, when it is so obviously at variance with solidly grounded facts.

The kind of Arab unity King Abdullah aspires to, can only be a Hashemite unity in accordance with the precepts held dear by the dynasty. *It seems to us that such a unity, whatever its starting point, would be nothing other than unity in subservience and misery*.

*Neither Egypt nor Saudi Arabia will allow such a game to continue; any more than Syria, the country most directly affected and the main focus of the debate.*

When the time is ripe for “Arab unity” to be contemplated, progress will only be achieved along more logical and rational lines.

*10 November 1949*

## ***THE END OF THE HOLY LAND***

The chances of Jerusalem being given an international status now appear to be severely compromised.

For fear of not achieving the two thirds majority required in the United Nations, the Netherlands and Sweden are the first to resign themselves to internationalising the Holy Places per se, *in other words to reduce the international presence in the Holy Land to virtually nothing.*

*Not so long ago the talk was of the Holy Land; now mention is made only of the Holy Places. And the Holy Places themselves are shrinking by the day, abandoned by their natural defenders, gnawed away by Israel.*

**“There is no Zionism without Zion”:** there is growing evidence to confirm this. Jewish pressure on governments momentarily eases only to come back all the stronger.

*It is, moreover, a matter of some surprise that a two thirds majority in the United Nations is needed to save Jerusalem when its abandonment does not require such an impressive majority.* Such are the arcane workings of international law in an area where, ultimately, faith plays a greater role than anything else. That is the paradox of our time.

*And so the whole of “the West” and the majority of the Arab countries together cannot manage to rescue Jerusalem from its plight.* France and Britain and even the United States and most of Latin America are hamstrung by uninterested parties. Naturally the USSR and its adherents are on the other side. Were they to favour the total destruction of the most valuable religious symbol in the world, they would act no differently. From the outset the USSR has enthusiastically and tenaciously sided with Israel; apparently in memory of Karl Marx and others.

*Jerusalem should be saved by force.* When it is Israel that holds sway, there are immediate concessions. But where are all the countries who care about the fate of Jerusalem? Why has the Holy City been forsaken? *One single atheistic or heathen voice amongst the nations of the world can determine its destiny.*

And we are seeing the Netherlands and Sweden, Christian countries, hastily beating a retreat and proposing a lacklustre compromise instead of joining battle. For one of them there is, however, the blood-stained memory of Count Bernadotte and his spectre, still unavenged; for the other the memory of centuries of maritime enterprise and courage in search of colonial produce, *but also centuries of faith.*

The United Nations’ abject failure is as comprehensive as the scheming that won the day. *The world is witnessing the sad spectacle of an unprecedented buckling of moral forces.*

*We would add that it is peace itself at stake. If the United Nations were to govern Jerusalem, it would provide a bulwark, whereas governing a few buildings hardly provides a place of refuge.*

Christianity and Islam are allowing themselves to be treated like fugitives in the Holy Land. It is truly lamentable.

*6 December 1949*

### ***THE FATE OF JERUSALEM***

The USSR no longer wants Jerusalem internationalised. This is indeed a curious turnaround.

Games of politics and chance cover many things, but it is a sorry sight when politics plays games with an issue which is primarily a matter of believers' religious feeling and conscience.

How, under present circumstances, could thrice holy Jerusalem, split in two, be handed over to those who each aspire to conquer the entire city for themselves?

Moscow is saying that internationalisation is no more acceptable to the Arabs than to the Jews. But it is acceptable to Christianity and Islam; has Orthodoxy become so unfamiliar with this vocabulary? Yet it is from this standpoint that the question arises. And what is being discussed is the freedom and security of the primary destination of the world's pilgrims.

The Jews would like to have the city to themselves. Jordan, striving only to expand by every possible means, would like to have it exclusively for itself. For Israel and Jordan partition is merely an interim solution. But there are nations, a host of nations, the believers of this world, whose interests are inevitably bound up with the fate of Jerusalem.

Internationalisation of the city would mean giving satisfaction to forty powers rather than two of the smallest. This is what the USSR no longer wishes to recognise. Its policy has obviously changed direction. The USSR is amusing itself by vexing some and winning over others, depending on the course of events.

But it is, after all, Jerusalem at stake, one of the most sacred places on earth, the city which gave birth to the civilisation of an impressive proportion of humanity. Will the West recover its senses? Will it act? Will it yield?

The USSR may have changed its attitude to avoid finding itself on the losing side. If that were so, it would be a serious cause for alarm. It would imply that Israel, with the backing of its traditional protectors, is certain of the outcome. But let us not despair. Otherwise, were countries favourable to internationalisation to throw in the sponge, we would have to believe in the end of the western thought, in the impotence of the West and East alike.

*21 April 1950*

### ***A BAD NEIGHBOUR***

Israeli aggression is on the increase. It originates in a mindset with the potential for the most untoward consequences.

Israel wishes to intimidate its neighbours. Israel is building up its weaponry. *The whole of Israeli territory has become one huge entrenched camp. Without a doubt this does not bode well.*

It will not come as any surprise that Israel holds more fears for Lebanon than does Korea. And to make things worse we see the Israelis attacking the Syrians one day and the Egyptians the next. They have acquired a taste for war and covet what was once the territory of the Twelve Tribes, which acts as a lure for them. We are not trying to say that they will be firing their guns immediately. *But it is something which is in their sights.*

*For many years we have portrayed Israel as it is; for years we have been inveighing against the huge danger looming ever larger on our border. If we lower our guard, if our response is misjudged, we can expect some unpleasant surprises on account of Tel Aviv.*

Israel views the international situation from the standpoint of its interests alone, that is, from the standpoint of purely Jewish interests. As far as Israel is concerned, the whole world can perish provided the Kingdom of David emerges triumphant. For Israel this approach is an inherent part of all its policies and one to be feared.

Those good souls who harboured the illusion that Israel might represent a force for security and order in this part of the world have been disabused. Israel's boundless ambition is leavened with hate and discord. It has sinister plans which can endanger and destroy peace for a very long time.

In any event, everyone will agree that, however peaceloving and weak both territorially and numerically, *we the Lebanese are obliged to arm ourselves and remain on our guard.* The recent despicable attack on a civilian aircraft with loss of life could happen again and we may be obliged to resort to self-defence.

All the countries of the Arab League are now in the same situation. *Is this the result the United States was seeking in the Near East?*

29 July 1950

### ***KOREA AND PALESTINE***

It is now over six months since Korea's act of aggression.

The reasons which prompted the United Nations to send in troops remain valid.

Clearly without the United States no-one would have gone there. But as soon as the United States became involved, the United Nations had no other alternative than to fulfil its duty.

The vicissitudes and misery have not changed things substantially. If North Korea's aggression had not been followed by United Nations intervention, it would have been a moral catastrophe for the international Organisation and with it the United States. Moreover, the West as a whole would have lost face in Asia and the rest of the world.

So the United Nations went into Korea. After unhoped-for success it then experienced some bitter setbacks. And so it has now withdrawn to a position south of the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel, until things sort themselves out. *They have fought for what is right even if right has not entirely prevailed.* This is abundantly clear and bears repeating at every opportunity. Indeed, that most well founded and familiar of moral precepts "*Do that which is right, come what may*" applies to the United Nations and individuals alike.

*Whilst in the case of Korea the United Nations might be accused of being ill-equipped to face up to China, it cannot be accused of any moral failings. The exact opposite was true of the war in Palestine. At that time it had might on its side; it did nothing to defend what was right.*

On the eve of the New Year extremely serious issues pertaining to Palestine are languishing in Committees and the Holy Places are being treated as escheated property. One could talk of the bankruptcy of the United Nations in Palestine. Such language is not applicable to Korea. *However, to be fair, it has to said with some bitterness that in Korea vested interests and right were on the same side; whilst in Palestine vested interests worked against what was right.* Such things have to be said for the truth to come out.

*The lesson from all this is that right is far from having prevailed over might.* The President of the United States has just expressed the wish that the coming year will be one of justice and peace. Does it not rest with the United States to better serve the cause of justice in its most sacred abodes?

*The comparison between Palestine and Korea will necessarily be the subject of scrutiny for some time to come. It truly deserves to go down in history.* It is a sorry testimony to the dictum that might is right.

It is easy to laud the concept of right when speaking of Korea; but what can be said of Palestine? What is to be made of this absence, this abandonment, this duplicity and this silence? On the one hand it is agreed that man's salvation lies with spiritual forces; on the other these same spiritual forces take second place to the most obscure material considerations. *The Koreans are perishing in their thousands because right is once again pre-eminent and the Palestinian refugees are dying because their native land is closed to them.* What are we doing to principles and what are doing to justice?

To conclude, we borrow one of the most striking passages from His Holiness Pope Pius XII's Christmas message: "*We are saying this said the Pope in light of the*

*uncertainty and vacillation in the ranks of true friends of peace, and in the face of such grave threats. Because we have the welfare of all countries at heart, we believe that the only way of defending peace or the best guarantee of restoring it is through close unity between all peoples who are masters of their destiny, being joined together by reciprocated feelings of trust and mutual assistance”*

**That is no doubt the truth; provided that the bigger amongst those peoples who are “masters of their destiny” make less arbitrary and more benevolent use of their power.**

*27 December 1950*



*1951-1954*

*DISASTER ON ITS WAY*

*A WORD TO THE WISE*

In a recent article (in the February edition of the Société Belge d'Etudes et d'Expansion), Mr. G. Meron, head of the department for Economics at the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, speaks of the "economic imbalance" in the Middle East. In his article, entitled "Politics versus the Economy", he tries to convince Israel's neighbours of the need to accord priority to the economy. Our reply to Mr. Meron will be that, like Monsieur Josse, his advice is not disinterested.

We are certainly aware of the importance of the economy but we still rank the spiritual equal with it; and rank politics, which determines both the dependence and independence of countries, just after the spiritual.

Mr. Meron sets out to prove that the boycotting of Israel by neighbouring countries has only harmed the latter and that Israel has used it as an opportunity to acquire other suppliers of agricultural produce. That is possible; but we on our side are able to gauge the enormous difficulties encountered by Israel in obtaining supplies.

*It is by no means the aim of Israel's neighbours to starve Israel, where the ever increasing flood of immigrants, encouraged by the State, renders all economic measures risky. Their aim is to rescue Jerusalem and the Holy Places from their sorry plight and to secure justice for the non-Jewish Palestinians, effectively driven from their homes and reduced, in exile, to the harshest of lives.*

However, it was something else which prompted us to make brief comment this morning on Mr. Meron's article, in which the penultimate paragraph reads: "*Irrigation projects on the borders of the State of Israel, Syria and Transjordan, the implementation of electrification plans, all sponsored and supported by the great powers, and intended to benefit both Israel and its neighbours, have had to be suspended, despite repeated offers of active collaboration on the part of the State of Israel.*"

*Is that not the Litani we can see outlined on the horizon? This waterway, this "little river" heightens our concerns precisely because of Israel's projects and cupidity. "Active collaboration on the part of the State of Israel" is what appears to us to be the greatest threat. Whether the Litani is lost or shared, Israel's magnanimity will not result in our finding compensation or stability in the Jordan River.*

We need irrigation and power supplies as much as Israel and we have every right to distrust "*the implementation of electrification plans, all sponsored and supported by the great powers (we all know who they are) , and intended to benefit both Israel and its neighbours*".

We deemed it important to add this contribution from an eminent Israeli to the list of reasons we have for legitimate mistrust. *In Lebanon we have a tendency to treat the serious lightly.* We have often sold or risked selling our birthright for less than a mess of pottage. That must not happen with the miserable 66,000 dollars with which we have graciously been endowed for the preliminary studies on the Litani.

No Lebanese should forget that two years ago the World Bank in fact refused to grant us a paltry loan of five or six million dollars (in farm machinery) whilst it was only too happy to allocate twenty times as much to Israel.

*We are familiar with the laws of economics and, like Mr. Meron, believe that we recognise the advantages of good neighbourliness and trade; but the debate should be governed by loftier considerations. Economic issues, however crucial, should take second place to the higher realm of the intellect, to territorial integrity and freedom.*

17 March 1951

### **THE PEACE ISRAEL IS SEEKING**

How is it possible to conceive of peace with Israel given the Jewish nation's current plans: *to bring about a disproportionate increase in their population and seize the opportunity to expand its territory? For Israel these are indeed the obvious goals.*

It would be no use the Tel Aviv government denying that these are its wishes; the focus of all its plans is aggression, all its actions lead to it. *The terrifying growth in the Israeli population is the first sign of it; a growth so rapid and massive that it derails the economy, thereby adding social dangers to the international and political dangers.*

Since the birth of the State of Israel *two facts have stood out, both equally disquieting: the so-called national home is and can only be a bridgehead and an entrenched camp; moreover the world's Jews, by encouraging this violent undertaking with their customary muted zeal are tacitly giving notice of future war. If they use all their influence in the major capitals to impose peace, it is, paradoxically, in order to prepare for war. That contradiction underlies this tragedy. Only those who are blind would fail to see it.*

If the United Nations continues to be found wanting, the spectre of death will sooner or later hover over the Wailing Wall and Zion. Be assured, there is nothing fictional or imaginary about such assertions.

One day the West will bitterly regret standing aside with culpable negligence. The Israel being constructed is rising up in the shape of impending disaster at the doors of the East. It is a harbinger of terrible promise. Dark days are gathering for the immediate and distant future. And no-one can now dare to deny that the Jewish drama being played out in Israel, may have global reverberations.

Hence the idyllic publicity with which Israel sometimes surrounds itself can be construed as the most dangerous of illusions. *This is a great human community grappling with a fantasy; a great people certainly, inasmuch as it counts amongst it people of high intelligence and a domineering will; but whose mistake is to have foolishly gone against the flow of the century; to have politically revived the most*

*narrow-minded and fiercest racism and nationalism at the precise moment when nature is combating them.*

When speaking of Israel a prophetic tone is justified. We shall however beware of lapsing into conjecture after such farsightedness. Nevertheless, to attempt to demonstrate to the Jews that it is their excessive artfulness itself which is leading them astray and that what they defend with so much love and hate could be the cause of a catastrophe, shows no lack of farsightedness.

*Looking at the evolution of Israel, we are still left rubbing our eyes and wondering if it is all a dream. The restoration of the temporal power of the Synagogue makes the wisest amongst us think about the end of the world.*

14 August 1951

### QUESTIONS

Contemplating the future, what kind of reconciliation with Israel is possible? Can the difficulties of today make us for one moment forget the difficulties of tomorrow?

*Assuming the serious matter of the Arab refugees were resolved, how would that of the utmost seriousness, that of Jewish immigration into Israel, be tackled?*

*If the population of Israel is to grow at its present rate, by means of such an unconscionably high level of immigration that it is becoming a continual threat for neighbouring countries and putting intolerable pressure on their borders, then what is to be gained now by talk of reconciliation?*

Is it not important to remember that it was the armistice with Israel that gave it its victory and remind ourselves that reconciliation would now give it its triumph?

The evidence shows that Israel considers its present borders to be provisional and it is only waiting for the opportunity to expand them, by degrees, and as far as is necessary to fulfil the chosen people's dreams.

The more one thinks about it, the better one appreciates *that the problem of Israel is indivisible. Any further emphasis on the truce can only have the effect of facilitating preparations for a tragedy to come. Any appeasement formula at this time means falling prey to deception and delusion. "Give us time to draw breath so that we have a chance of overpowering you."* This is what Israel leads us to assume.

Only the naïve and childlike could interpret the situation in any other way.

It is being said that there are maps on sale or in circulation in Israel showing potential incursions into Lebanese, Syrian or Jordanian territory.

Israel wishes to regain the land occupied by the Twelve Tribes. That portends aggression and war in the immediate or near future.

It is not our intention to cause anyone to feel despondent; we are happy to echo Racine's: "Day isn't purer than the depths of my heart" but we would not want to see ourselves once more fall into a trap. Whilst making no secret of our wish to see the sad and painful issue of the refugees settled, *we believe that settling it should not further unsettle everything else.*

If the countries bordering Israel have been invited to Paris to discuss the payment of a bill, better that we be told immediately. It would be yet another of many bitter pills.

*What Israel's neighbours wish for and are seeking is a just and secure solution in one. In this enterprise the collective role of some nations, large and small, is beginning to stand out. Without their effective and even decisive intervention it would not be possible to hope for either reconciliation or peace.*

*It is now that people are beginning to understand how ridiculous and nonsensical it would be to condemn Egypt without first condemning Israel two or three times over.*

12 September 1951

#### **SOME REMARKS ON MR. ELY PALMER'S SPEECH**

The opening speech delivered by the Chairman of the Palestine Conciliation Commission at the Paris conference is highly commendable. It is a testimony to honest intentions and good will, which goes a long way. *It essentially reveals a very grave predicament.*

It is true to say that most of the issues are brought up and briefly addressed. *However, the most important of them appears to count for least. We are referring to future security. And nowhere is there mention of the aggressive immigration into Israel.*

The speech is moderate and carefully balanced. But close scrutiny leads to the realisation that it hints at Israel only having to pay monetary compensation (as little as possible in all probability); *whereas for the Arab countries it is advocating surrender on a huge scale.*

Mr. Ely Palmer's colleagues must have spent many hours mulling over this finely honed piece of prose in which Latin elegance is combined with Turkish flexibility. "Ah, how gallantly those things are put!" ... The American, left to his own devices, would not have expressed his thoughts so subtly.

If this bland rhetoric were to be distilled, little of substance would be extracted from it. *It could all be summed up in a couple of words: Arabs, for you to accept the fait accompli as it stands, how much does Israel owe you?* We do not find reflected in all this *the full magnitude of the human side to the problem.*

In short, the refugees are brutally thrown into the care of the Arabs, a state of affairs generously interpreted in the opening speech in the following sentence:

*"... refugees.... cannot be settled securely anywhere in an area badly lacking economic development".* Is that well noted?

It would seem that the Conciliation Commission, however sympathetic, has had its sensibilities blunted by daily contact with misery.

Thus for the refugees everything hangs on the development of an economic programme (Judeo-American perhaps) not on justice.

*The ultimate overall aim is: "to pave the way for a transition to a lasting peace in a land sacred to three of the world's great religions".* That's all very fine! *But then should it not begin with the internationalising of Jerusalem?*

Furthermore, on material matters, *should it not be a precondition that the economic should not threaten to be the ruin of the political* if the economic relations that Israel hankers after are to be established?

*"No constructive progress towards a solution of your problems is possible unless all the parties to the dispute, at the outset of our discussions here, express their determination to respect each other's right to security and freedom from attack, to refrain from warlike or hostile acts against one another, and to promote the return of permanent peace in Palestine".* That is what the speech has to say. Fine words and also very idealistic.

*How does the Conciliation Commission deal with Israel's explosive domestic politics? And how does it deal with the almost inevitable conflagration to which unrestricted immigration is leading?*

*Israel is more a political issue than an economic one. It is ten times more political than economic. The Conciliation Commission is more or less powerless in this respect. It is dominated by overt or covert influences of the first rank. However unstinting in its work, that is the weak spot in its armour.*

*The origins and the ending of the drama in Palestine are spiritual and political. There is no purely economic solution which could stave off disaster; only the involvement and collective will of powers, great and small, with the aim of achieving security and peace at the same time.*

*15 September 1951*

***THE MEMORY OF COUNT BERNADOTTE***

The Swedes are good people.

As a token of forgiveness for the assassination of Count Bernadotte, they joined Israel's representatives in planting the first cypress trees in the "Bernadotte Forest" which is to grow on the stony slopes of the hills of Judea.

A commemorative scroll to be given to Countess Bernadotte records the State of Israel's wish to pay tribute "*to the great Swede who during a dark period in the history of the world devoted himself to the service of mankind, was President of the Swedish Red Cross, helped save many Jewish prisoners of the Nazis from extermination, strove valiantly during the last year of his life to restore peace to the Holy Land and met his death in the line of duty*".

Those are indeed moving words; but how can we forget that it was a Jewish organisation which claimed responsibility, like a badge of fame, for the violent death of Count Bernadotte, *who had, however, saved so many Jews from extermination?* Faced with this tribute, how can we fail to express surprise that Israel's conception of a return to peace in the Holy Land is at variance with the views of this same Count Bernadotte, *who met his death in the line of duty?*

It is when we recollect that the Count Bernadotte's killers were in no way punished, that the cruel irony of this testimony to his life can be appreciated. It was in Sweden, rather than Israel, that a forest should have been planted to perpetuate the name of the innocent victim; in Israel the spirit of the departed must be protesting against a show of hypocrisy devoid of repentance.

*Three days after Count Bernadotte's death a conspiracy of silence surrounded his name. It did not take long to consign the heinous crime to oblivion. Now Israel has remembered that the Count gave it the four week truce which ended the first phase of the Palestine war and which was literally the saving of Israel.*

The news of events such as this commemoration is more galling than comforting. Everyone is convinced that if Count Bernadotte could rise from the grave with the same ideas and the same plan for Palestine, he would be assassinated for a second time. As the proverb has it: *Kill the man and then cry at his funeral.*

*Our homage to the memory of Count Bernadotte is assuredly more genuine than that of Israel.*

7 February 1952

## AMID THE NOISE OF WEAPONS

The government of Israel is planning to increase the length of obligatory military service by six months.

*Young people aged from 18 to 26 will serve 30 months instead of 24; service for the rest adjusted accordingly. Doctors aged from 30 to 34 can be mobilised for a period of two years; those aged from 35 to 38 for a period of one year. No doubt the General Staff of neighbouring Arab countries are informed of all this.*

By way of justification, the Israeli government is attributing the increase in the length of military service to a temporary slackening off in immigration and hence a reduction in the number of recruits; also to the fact that Israel's population is just below 2 million and that its opponents are strong in number.

*Thus there is a growing sense of anticipation and the arms build-up is reaching fever pitch. We should recall that women in Israel are also mobilised, in different ways. Whilst awaiting a new opportunity to perform the feat of Judith and the song of Deborah, they can be seen guarding bridges and other infrastructure.*

*Recent manoeuvres in Israel were on such a scale that they virtually took the form of a real war. Yet at the same time the economic situation in Israel is pitiful and getting worse. However, nearly all the dollars reaching Israel are spent on the future war.*

*The United States "sees that it is good", like Almighty God when he created heaven and earth. In so doing, the United States is preparing the ground for tragedy rather than peace. As well to say it publicly and, on behalf of the Near East, call for a drastic change in the United States policy in the Near East, as did Life's leader writer (Colonel William A. Eddy) in the major American weekly's edition of 14 July.*

It will not be forgotten that, since Karl Marx, communism is no stranger to Israel, that for some time collectivism has been practised in the country on a wide scale, *that the USSR is the loyal supporter of the Jewish State and that there are at least two million Jews in the USSR.* That should give even the most sceptical, the most hardened onlooker, pause for thought.

*This leads us to reiterate that Israel's particular policy has a wider reach than that of both the East and the West, it extends further than the policies of both the West and the East, so that the "chosen people" has a policy of its own, a policy which is virtually on a global scale, a policy based on "sacred egoism" and whose ultimate aim, regardless of the trials and tribulations of the East and the West, can only be the greatness of the "chosen people".*

A few days ago the Israeli Parliament (the Knesset) debated the status of "*The World Zionist Organisation*". The government clashed with the Opposition on the definition of this organisation; *it planned to consider it an "Authorised Agency" of the Jewish people, whilst the Opposition wanted to make it simply "the Organisation representative*



*of the whole Jewish people". Six of one and half a dozen of the other one might say. No. Yet more proof of Israel's international, supra-national, and finally global character.*

*The racist and tentacled State, which the United States by its acts and Britain by its omissions have created on our southern border, is increasingly looking like one of the world's most formidable engines of war. It will be said that it has become a vicious circle, but how can the Arab world not be expected to arm itself in turn and the insane venture not end in a dark night of bombs and carnage? It suffices to listen to Colonel Chichakli and General Naguib to appreciate the mood of the times.*

**How far will the West's blindness take us? AND WHEN WILL THERE BE A START TO MORE SERIOUS TALKING ON THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF JERUSALEM?**

*21 August 1952*

#### **A PREMATURE TETE-A-TETE**

At the United Nations, direct talks between the Arabs and Israel are being advocated. It is a perilous path. It may have apparent advantages but the risks are great; so great that it is better they were avoided.

*There is too much of a tendency to forget the fate of the Holy Places AND THAT IT IS AN INTERNATIONAL ISSUE.*

*Arabs and Israelis cannot seek to resolve the problem of the Holy Places on their own; they cannot seek to address the United Nations decision on internationalisation on their own. The whole of Christianity and Islam have an interest in it, so much so that there is no more serious international issue. The hope is to avoid difficulty; but *it all comes down to difficulty, just as everything comes down to truth.**

This will be the major obstacle to peace between the Arabs and Israel. *The internationalisation of Jerusalem would make everything easier and at least forty nations should make it their concern. Leaving the Arabs and Israelis to discuss such a matter tête-à-tête would be so unwise that it could cause the whole debate to collapse.*

**THEN THERE IS THE MATTER OF GUARANTEEING FRONTIERS WHICH PRESUPPOSES AN INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE.**

All assurances given by Israel alone, just like all its statements and solemn promises, will be empty words., *At the rate at which Israel is growing, it is INEVITABLE that the time will come for expansion or explosion. Assuming the Arabs settle for a signature today, there will be talk of more living space in five or six years time. It would be madness for us, by our own hands, to pave the way for tomorrow's violence through today's peace.*

*The overpopulation of Israel will be an issue for as long as Israel exists. There are sixteen million Jews in the world; there will be twenty or twenty-five million of them*

in ten or fifteen years time. *If the State of Israel is intended to accommodate just a quarter of them, it will burst. Yet immigration in perpetuity is its raison d'être.*

An agreement could, at a pinch, be arrived at for the Arab refugees; but the desire of these refugees to return is so strong that it would envenom the talks. On this point, apart from minimal concessions, more verbal than real, Israel refuses to listen. Even the reparations it is envisaging are so meagre that they are becoming illusory. Would that the reparations payable by Germany were part of the stakes; perhaps then there would be something to talk about.

*This is the most difficult dispute in the world to resolve without an intermediary. It is as well to face up to things. The United Nations created the State of Israel. It has a heavy duty to fulfil. It must not shirk it!*

28 November 1952

### ***THE ISRAELI TRAP***

It requires a particular cheek (or ingenuousness, which is hardly likely) to propose direct talks between Arabs and Israelis, *starting with a clean slate*. However, Mr Aubrey Eban, Israeli representative at the UN, considers the circumstances propitious for such talks; he has said so in the United Nations Political Committee.

We have been protesting against this procedure for several days and have noted that our comments have been echoed by the Lebanese. But it was not only Lebanon which saw a reaction. Everywhere we are now seeing evidence of the surprise and disapproval felt in Arab countries.

*The United Nations has adopted formal decisions on Israel. These decisions, which Israel chooses to ignore, imply an international presence in the proceedings. What would we and the Israelis have to say to each other as long as subjects as serious as the internationalisation of Jerusalem, international guarantees of frontiers, restrictions on Jewish immigration into Israel are going to have no place in the discussions?*

*Mr. Aubrey Eban and his government consider these issues to be of secondary importance or nonexistent or unnecessary; whereas peace between Arabs and Israel, Arab economic relations with Israel, arms limitation in Arab countries and Israel are in the forefront of their concerns. On the strength of what we have heard we understand Mr. Aubrey Eban to be a man of keen intelligence; we would like to credit him with being sincere; but who does he think he is talking to in the United Nations, what does he take them for?*

The consequence of peace with Israel under the conditions proposed by Mr. Eban would be to deliberately encourage Israel in future acts of violence. The peace sought by Eban is the kind needed to prepare for war. Such a peace would be even worse than the bizarre armistice currently in place.

*Economic relations with Israel* would have the immediate effect of affording relief to Israel; followed by diverse attempts on the part of our southern neighbours to seize control of our own economy and power supplies.

*Arms limitation, without an international presence and international guarantees, would in due course leave Israel free to bring in the most fearsome weapons from far and wide.*

*As we see it, the situation being what it is, direct talks with Israel are inconceivable. Surely the starting point should be a commitment to comply with previous United Nations decisions; and, just as surely, it is for the United Nations to establish the preliminaries of this peace which the Arabs would join in trying to achieve.*

**NEVER WAS THERE AN ISSUE MORE INTERNATIONAL THAN THIS.** *It is blatantly clear. Do Mr. Aubrey Eban and his government so underestimate the judgement of the Arabs, that they are inviting them to commit suicide in the way they suggest?*

*Whatever kind of negotiations take place with Israel, the starting point can be nothing other than an international presence in Jerusalem and an international and contractual guarantee of frontiers.*

*After that, progress could be made towards good neighbourliness and a possible existence could be envisaged, provided that the tragic problem of the refugees is resolved.*

*The Arab League countries will not countenance anything other than that; they will not commit an act of insanity.*

3 December 1952

#### **REGARDING NEGOTIATIONS WITH ISRAEL**

The bases for peace with Israel are *the internationalisation of Jerusalem and guaranteed frontiers*, together with a humane settlement of the refugee question. Without that there is no rational solution.

We take the existence of Israel to be an established fact and it is not a question of throwing the Israelis into the sea. We having been saying for a long time that the issue of Israel is less one of *presence* than of *power*.

*A Jewish State which would want to expand every ten or twenty years and oblige its neighbours to live with that hanging over them is intolerable.*

*The unfortunate thing is that the Jewish State was designed for indefinite expansion. In the minds of its creators it is the homeland of all the world's Jews and its intended*

purpose is a global one. This is a world power, to varying degrees both undisguised and secret.

The terrible trial in Prague serves as an illustration of the Jews' political influence. We are not saying that this trial was fair; we are saying that it demonstrates Israel's unflagging activity in each and every country in turn. By Israel we mean not the State but the nation. This year in Prague, as in Budapest at the time of Bela Kun, and as in so many other countries, Jews have attempted to take or have taken power, failing or succeeding.

It is not possible to be in control in Tel Aviv, in Prague, in Budapest, not to mention London and Washington, all at the same time.

The Jews' aptitude for politics ranks alongside their aptitude for finance. It is one of the several talents, together with several weaknesses, that they possess. All Jews aspire to be Disraeli (albeit Disraeli was baptised) or Léon Blum or Trotsky. But since the State of Israel came into being, it is no longer so easy to come to terms with that.

The crux of the matter for the Arab countries is that they should not be overwhelmed. Yet this will surely happen if they fall into the trap now being set for them. *No negotiations with Israel should be envisaged unless the abovementioned preconditions are accepted. The Arabs cannot rest easy without an international presence in the Holy Places and without an international contractual guarantee of frontiers.*

*It is self-evident that the internationalisation of Jerusalem is of concern to half of humanity as well.*

*Israel's representatives at the United Nations, who have just welcomed new suggestions for direct talks with the Arabs, should eschew all ambiguity. Their ulterior motives matter more to us than the thoughts they express. The demands of the future Israel worry us as much as those of the Israel of today.*

*It will require oceans of wisdom and perseverance to escape the dangers of the present situation.*

10 December 1952

#### **MR. MOSHE SHARETT'S COMPLAINTS**

Israel is concerned to see the Arab countries building up their arms, *whilst Israel itself is armed to the teeth.*

Mr. Moshe Sharrett is finding fault with the United States and Britain and can be heard remonstrating bitterly. It is surprising that a man of such intelligence and discernment *should consider that Israel by itself should forever remain as strong as all*

*the Arabs put together. IF THIS IS THE PRICE OF ISRAEL'S SURVIVAL, THERE CAN BE NO HOPE FOR ISRAEL'S FUTURE.*

*Two million people at most faced with thirty or forty million: that is the demographic configuration of Israel and the Arabs. And the area is a hundred times larger on one side than the other.*

*Is Israel counting on force alone to keep the Arabs in check until the end of time? If it seeks peace, it can achieve it by other means.*

*Mr. Ben Gurion, who has reformed a government as political parties crumble around him and who plans to govern until the end of the legislative term in 1955, should, together with his Minister of Foreign Affairs, accept the inevitable. The sooner they begin to think of officially limiting their ambitions once and for all, the sooner peace will be made.*

*But the Arab countries will not stop arming themselves, just as others will not stop arming them. People will become accustomed to thinking that the interests of the entire West's position take priority over those of Israel and that the Arabs cannot reasonably be cornered into solutions born of desperation.*

*Notwithstanding all the illusions and all the propaganda, Israel's venture remains the greatest absurdity on earth. An absurdity which has not come to an end through force of habit. Mr. Ben Gurion and Mr. Sharett are determined to make Jerusalem their capital at all costs and then, with their immigrant population, overspill onto neighbouring countries. AND THEY WANT THE ARABS TO REFRAIN FROM ARMING. They make no secret of their wish to extend their territory AS SOON AS THEY FEEL STRONG ENOUGH TO DO SO and they do not want a reaction from their neighbours.*

*This must truly be a case of complete blindness.*

*To end the arms race and to bring about peace in the Levant, TWO FUNDAMENTAL CONDITIONS MUST BE MET. The first is that Jerusalem be internationalised, with an effective international presence. The second is for an international contractual guarantee to cover the Arab-Israeli borders. Clearly the 1950 unilateral tripartite declaration is not sufficient.*

*Other than that, there is no foreseeable way out. What is more, it presupposes a humane solution to the tragic issue of the refugees. Otherwise the arms build-up will continue and this current state of madness will become completely incurable.*

*31 December 1952*

### *A CRY FROM THE HEART*

*Since Mr. Ben Gurion announced that Jerusalem was the capital of Israel "just as Washington is the capital of the United States" and that immigration would soon*

bring the population of Israel up to five or six million, *the sense of unease in the Near East has increased*. It has increased in every country which is concerned for unfortunate Palestine: virtually the whole world.

*How long will the United (or disunited) Nations tolerate this challenge to reality and reason? And when will eyes be opened to the most reckless, absurd, terrifying racist undertaking of the century?*

The growth of Israel is and can only be to the detriment of its neighbours. If Israel considers its existing borders to be final, (severing Egypt from Jordan and Africa from Asia), we know what that means. *For years we have been pointing out that step by step Israel is seeking to realise its dream of an empire, unfortunately for both Israel and its neighbours.*

What we have seen coming for so long is now happening and antisemitism is on the increase in the world. *In every country it is being asked why the Jews, instead of governing others, should not return home to prosper in the independent country they have granted themselves.* The Arabs view with dread this constant influx of people from all corners of the world, this never-ending threat.

*Who for one moment will believe that peace can be achieved in the present circumstances? Who will think the Arabs so gullible and stupid as to sanction an invasion, the unspoken future limits of which are Upper Mesopotamia and even ancient Chaldea?*

Abraham's origins in Ur are not sufficient justification for all this. *In the meantime, the Jews are preparing to make life impossible for themselves in the West as well as in the East. There are level-headed people amongst them who are well aware of this, wise men who recognise it.*

*There is no denying their intelligence or their application. We are the first to give them their due, whilst noting the folly of what they are doing. We are saying that their intelligence has lost its way and that their application is leading to disaster.* Now is not the time, in a century when monotheistic religions acknowledge each other as close relatives, for Israel to retreat with impunity into impenetrable and irreducible isolation. *It is because tragedy looms for Israel and its neighbours that we are trying to avert it.*

*It is not for want of optimism that we write as we do. It is sheer reason that motivates us. Reason, moreover, based on facts, on experience, on the blood in our veins, on the strictly empirical, the very substance of life.*

*In time, Israel's actions will inevitably lead to war; a war that will not allow the West to remain on the sidelines.*

*On a wider, global scale, we often remark that Israel will, of necessity, prefer a world war to its own collapse.*

*What must be done to ward off the tragedy? At the risk of wearying the reader, we say again “JERUSALEM MUST BE INTERNATIONALISED, not just in name but WITH AN EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE. And INTERNATIONAL CONTRACTUAL GUARANTEES must be given to Israel’s neighbours, such that no whim, no cunning trick, no act of violence can nullify them.*

*The unilateral tripartite declaration in force, however much protection it gives, does not suffice. As for the refugees, they must cease to be the “excuse” for philanthropy that they have tragically become; and this living, suffering mass must return home.*

*16 January 1953*

### **DAYS OF WRATH**

**Whilst Zionism remains a major threat in our eyes and one of the great aberrations of today’s world, we could in no way condone any moral or political justification for resurgent antisemitism.**

*A religion is a religion, that is to say a personal matter and a profession of faith. To persecute someone for their faith runs counter to natural and human law. If the USSR persecutes Jews because they are Jews, that is one more reason to detest the communist system, along with its violence and hate. But at the same time it is strange to find so many Jews in politics, in governments, in legislative assemblies on both sides of the Iron Curtain.*

*The Jews’ calling for politics far exceeds that of other men; it has often been overlooked as an explanation for the Jewish leaning towards the revolutionary as well as the international.*

**For at least a century, in all liberal régimes the proportion of Jews in the political life of the West has far and away exceeded their numerical strength. If the Jews, now that they have created the State of Israel, have no concern for reactions outside Israel, they are exposing themselves to the worst that can happen. They are exposing themselves to tragedy in many Western countries. This is something we have been observing and writing about for some considerable time and we are not alone in this. And it transpires that it is the Near East, where religious tolerance thrives at its best, which has to endure the dramatic effects of the West’s ostracising of the Jews.**

**IT IS NOT ACCEPTABLE FOR ISRAEL TO BE THE FAITH-BASED AND RACIST STATE IT IS AND FOR THE POSITION OF JEWS IN THE REST OF THE WORLD TO BE CONSIDERED AS ANTIRACIST AND NOT BASED ON FAITH. Therein lies an extraordinary paradox which is an affront to the intellect and which even the simplest mind finds disquieting.**

*Lebanese suspicions will be aroused that the Soviet countries, after having consistently supported Israel, are now persecuting the Jews in order to win over the Arabs. Opportunism could not be more flagrant.*

*However, the West would be wrong to use the Soviet attitude towards the Jews as a reason for strengthening Israel's position and claims.*

*All the injustices and cruelty perpetrated by the USSR will in no way detract FROM THE NEED TO INTERNATIONALISE JERUSALEM AND PROVIDE THE ARABS, UNDER THREAT IN THEIR OWN HOMES, WITH BINDING GUARANTEES.*

There should be no confusion about this.

*It is deeply regrettable that the USSR Consulate in Tel Aviv was attacked and that three people were wounded, including the wife of the USSR's diplomatic representative. The situation must on no account be allowed to deteriorate and Israeli anger lead to further excesses. The consequences of such incidents are incalculable.*

*However much we disapprove of Zionism and Israel's policies, we think it right to highlight the dangers of high emotions and terrorist leanings in the guise of reprisals.*

*Zionism must sober up and the Jews must bow to the inevitable if they want world Judaism to find the peace to which it is entitled.*

12 February 1953

#### ***DISCORD BETWEEN THE FOLLOWERS OF KARL MARX AND HIS RACE***

The USSR has broken off diplomatic relations with Israel. *This news is not to be taken lightly.* However, it must be correctly interpreted.

The break in relations came extremely quickly, following the attack in Tel Aviv. It might be said that the USSR was only waiting for the right opportunity; *but it provides further evidence that its new anti-Jewish policy is deliberate.*

*The spectacular way in which this policy is being shaped is proof that it is intended to have an influence worldwide; and particularly on the Arab countries surrounding Israel, who most appreciate any support against Israel, positive or negative, from whatever quarter.*

The USSR has for some time been consistently suspicious of the Jews. Whether or not it is by chance that so many Jews are involved in real or alleged plots in the USSR's satellite countries, *it does in any event reveal the extent of the Jewish presence in the politics of those countries, just as they are present in the opposing politics of the West.*

*It should be noted that the ruthlessness of Karl Marx's disciples is now being turned on those belonging to his race.* It also demonstrates the inherent state of turmoil, the structural contradictions in the overall Jewish attitude to contemporary philosophies



and politics. *There are no doubt more communists in the State of Israel than in any of the Arab countries.*

Moreover, the day before yesterday saw counter-demonstrations by Jewish communists in Tel Aviv, where violence played a part. According to reports, nineteen people were injured.

Will Arab reaction to the break in diplomatic relations between the Soviets and Israel mark a return to popularity for the USSR? If that were to happen, it would be only a semblance. *The Arabs will undoubtedly draw a parallel between the Russians and the Americans. They will undoubtedly compare the two policies on Israel. And they will undoubtedly weigh up their disappointments and misfortunes.*

*But they will not be led into thinking that what is happening is happening out of love for them. They will see it only as a clever manoeuvre which shows the increasing importance, the extreme importance of the Near East and South Asia.*

*The Russian stance possibly heralds an imminent violent initiative like the Korean war in some part or other of the Middle East rather than the Near East. What the Russian anti-Jewish policy may be leading up to, is perhaps a distraction somewhere where Islamic action is important.*

*With their hate of the USSR, will the United States be even more benevolent towards Israel under the pretence of compensation? It is difficult to believe. What is clear is that there are militant Jews on both sides. This has been demonstrated in particular by the Soviet spy cases which have come to light in the West, especially in the field of nuclear power.*

Quite objectively and what ever one thinks of the State of Israel (as we mentioned yesterday), *unless it aspires to a future which is apocalyptic, it must restrain itself, become more moderate and cease to provoke.* It should not require the Republican administration in the United States to compromise itself on its behalf, further incurring the wrath of the Arab world. *Israel must finally abandon its dream of annexing the whole of Jerusalem and of constant expansion.*

*Israel's last political chance is to accept the effective internationalisation of the Holy Places and consent to negotiations aimed at granting the Arabs territorial guarantees which would be international, and contractual, and binding. (None of these adjectives is superfluous, particularly not the last).*

*If Israel remains bent on following its current tortuous path, it will alienate itself from the United States and the West as a whole.*

*The United States itself will start to find Israel's friendship as illusory as it is burdensome.*

13 February 1953

*A BRIEFING FOR MR. JOHN FOSTER DULLES*

A new American policy is taking shape for the Near East (or just the “Middle East”, the terms Near and Middle East being always mistakenly confused). And Mr. Foster Dulles will himself be visiting the “Middle East” (that is, the Near East to begin with).

The State of Israel would cease to be the mainstay of United States policy in the eastern Mediterranean. It would no longer benefit from the place it has enjoyed in the hearts of the Americans since its birth. Washington’s policy would no longer be the permanent challenge to the Arab nations that it has been for so long.

*The impression gained from all this news is favourable and we are heartened by it. It is for us of utmost importance that the world’s leading great power is finally being more even-handed in its policy for the Near East. The tragedy of Israel was only able to evolve and worsen thanks to American goodwill. That is where the encouragement and weapons originated. Dollars rained down on the Jewish homeland whilst the United States quibbled grudgingly with the Arabs over the slightest material assistance.*

*Israel’s provocative acts grew with the active support of the United States.*

*We are assured that will change. We hope so, whilst making an effort to believe it. The injustice and the error in fact went hand in hand. It took the USSR’s break in relations with Israel to drag the United States out of its obduracy. However, on this point it must be recognised that President Eisenhower’s government is not that of Mr Truman.*

*America is awakening from the trance it had been put in by Israel and in particular by the electors of New York State. So much the better for the Arabs and so much the better for the Jews because we were together moving towards a catastrophe. Too many had forgotten that the existence of the State of Israel as it is now, is simply a huge artifice.*

*Israel cannot remain an entrenched camp and a bridgehead until the end of time. With America intent on being one-sided, a terrifying explosion awaited us. Yet now we are being assured that America’s attitude is changing and that Mr. Foster Dulles will be coming to discreetly tell us so. It is to be hoped that Mr. Foster Dulles’ vocabulary is not overly discreet. The time has come for plain speaking and out loud. Were the situation to remain ambiguous, the doubt and mistrust would be worse than before.*

*But there has to be a common understanding. THE PROBLEM OF ISRAEL IS A POLITICAL PROBLEM. Although there are a whole series of practical issues, it belongs first and foremost in the political domain. Whilst common humanity dictates that an urgent solution finally be found for the grievous plight of the refugees, it must be remembered that only MAJOR POLITICAL MOVES CAN DEFUSE THE CRISIS. Two truths emerge from this dispute in two sentences which encapsulate the whole debate.*

*There is a need for a international contractual guarantee of Israel's frontiers with its neighbours. And the internationalisation of Jerusalem is an absolute necessity. Only an effective international presence in Jerusalem can signal an international commitment to preventing any further encroachment by Israel, any expansion of its territory.*

*Arabs live their lives haunted by Israel's territorial ambitions and the certainty that Israel wishes to seize the remainder of the Holy City.*

*We have been saying for years that there is no Zionism without Zion. Christianity and Islam are up in arms precisely over that point. NO ASSURANCES, NO ALLOWANCES, NO COMPROMISES CAN SUFFICE. JERUSALEM MUST BE INTERNATIONALISED. Jerusalem cannot, at any price, become the capital of Israel. That much will be clear until the day of Judgement, if the Israeli venture is not to end in lasting hate and blood.*

*Mr. Foster Dulles is far too familiar with fundamental spiritual values to be unaware of that. Religious sentiment predominates in his thinking and in his milieu. THE BEST NEWS WOULD BE TO HEAR HIM ANNOUNCE THAT JERUSALEM WILL BE EFFECTIVELY (and not just in name) INTERNATIONALISED AND THAT THE MAJOR SIGNATORIES OF THE ATLANTIC TREATY, INCLUDING MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES, WILL GUARANTEE THE ARAB-ISRAELI FRONTIERS. After that mountains would be moved to grant the refugees their rights.*

*If these three things became the official expression of American commitment, the Arabs would begin to contemplate making peace with Israel. Without that, as at the gates of hell, all hope must be abandoned.*

5 March 1953

#### **INTRODUCTION TO MR. JOHN FOSTER DULLES' VISIT**

The forthcoming visit by the United States Secretary of State to the Near East will rightly be viewed as highly significant.

In the first place it is hoped that Mr. John Foster Dulles will not, at least mentally, confuse the Near East with the Middle East. The fashion for regionalism will not induce him to flout logic and history in this way. *He will surely be able to see the difference between the spiritual life of the Mediterranean and that of the Indian Ocean.*

Mr. John Foster Dulles will delve into problems of interest to the whole world.

*The West's relations, and particularly those of the United States, with the Arab world.*

*A common Mediterranean defence taken as one with the defence of the Near East, Asia, Africa and Europe.*

*The Arab world's relations with Israel.*

What Mr. Foster Dulles sees will perhaps make him appreciate with his own eyes what his country appears to have failed to perceive until now: **THE PRE-EMINENCE OF POLITICS OVER ECONOMICS IN ALL FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES.**

If, for example, Egypt were above all else seeking economic gain, it would not, in its relative isolation, venture to shoulder the overwhelming burden of protecting the Suez Canal zone. *Likewise, in their attitude to Israel the Arab countries place their honour and security above economic prosperity.*

*Mr. Foster Dulles' visit reflects the key role played by the Near and Middle East in today's world.* It demonstrates, alongside the newly-found concern of the United States, that the government in Washington intends to implement a policy in our regions which is not materialistic, sectarian and emotional but global *and benevolent, one which will reach hearts and minds and not stop at the belly.*

*For their part, what the Arabs have not yet sufficiently grasped is, (compared to the weakness of their resources),* **THE EXTRAORDINARY IMPORTANCE AND ALSO VULNERABILITY OF THEIR TERRITORY.** *Their geographical location is as perilous as it is inspiring* **AND PRESUPPOSES THAT RELATIONS WITH THE GREATEST POWERS ARE INEVITABLE.**

It is in order to obtain a clearer picture of all this, to shed light on it all, that Mr. Foster Dulles will be spending three days in Cairo and three weeks in the Near and Middle East.

*From now on one thing is out of the question:* **THE NEUTRALITY OF THE ARAB WORLD. THE EARTH'S MAIN MARITIME AND AVIATION HIGHWAY CANNOT BE NEUTRALISED. THE ANCIENT WORLD'S CENTRE OF GRAVITY CANNOT BE NEUTRALISED.** *The might and majesty of Alexander the Great and his Empire, if it were still in existence, would not be up to the task.*

*We very much hope that Arab-American relations will improve, as well as those of Europe and the Arabs. In the face of new imperialism, past imperialism, as it disappears, turns into a system of natural alliances (like the British Commonwealth) and becomes a safeguard for the future. That is how the world evolves. Nowadays political isolation in the world is madness.*

The key issue for Mr. Dulles' visit is not, in our opinion, common defence (which of necessity will come about in one way or another); *it is the Arab position on Israel.*

*Until the arrival of the Republican Administration, the Americans have wronged the Arabs in favour of Israel. They have wronged Christianity and Islam together. They have accepted and to all intents and purposes encouraged the impossible conquest of Jerusalem. They considered the Arab world in Asia to be living space for an Israel in expansion.* **IT IS THIS INTELLECTUAL AND POLITICAL DERANGEMENT WHICH MUST COME TO AN END.**

*We hope too that Mr. Foster Dulles will be convinced THAT THERE IS NO SOLUTION TO THE DRAMA OF ISRAEL OTHER THAN THE EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONALISATION OF JERUSALEM AND AN INTERNATIONAL CONTRACTUAL GUARANTEE OF ARAB-ISRAELI FRONTIERS.*

The exchange between President Eisenhower and our Ambassador in Washington, on the occasion of the presentation of Mr. Charles Malik's credentials, was reassuring. It actually implies the solutions which we have for so long been advocating. *It is our hope that it resonate far and wide and that the truth can finally emerge from the pit into which it was cast, in the same way as the sons of Jacob cast their brother into a pit, and where it languishes in despair.*

*Order and peace for the whole of the Near East and to a large extent for the United States hang on Mr. J. Foster Dulles' visit.*

6 May 1953

### **THE ONLY WAY OUT**

For the first time, to our knowledge, a major organ of the British press *is expressly recommending the internationalisation of Jerusalem.*

Listing the conditions for a solution to the Palestine conflict (in its edition of 9 May in an article entitled *Mr. Dulles and the Arabs*), *The Economist* suggests, along with other political and economic measures, "a dignified insistence" ... *that the UN resolution making Jerusalem .....a "corpus separatum" be carried out.*

*As for the need for international guarantees of Arab - Israeli frontiers, The Economist sees this taking the form of reinforcing the present Anglo-Franco-American guarantee "by dictating a permanent and economically less fantastic line".*

The process, according to *The Economist*, might need the backing of force.

Earlier on in the article *The Economist* recognised "the hopeless economic weakness of Israel and Jordan, both of which live only thanks to subsidies from the West".

In conclusion *The Economist* makes this incisive comment *which is precisely in line with what was said here two days ago (under the heading "Mr. Foster Dulles in the Near East")*: " .. if he is primarily interested in the security of the Middle East, then he will find that the danger of war lies for the Arabs not in Russia but in Israel. Our own wording was: "THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT IS AS DANGEROUS FOR THE ARABS AS A GLOBAL CONFLICT, something that is not yet understood in Washington".

It is some consolation for us that having advanced so many arguments and deployed so much effort we now find such a decisive echo in *The Economist*; *it is a consolation and reassurance; now finally truth has its victory, the facts are overwhelming. And it is of some significance for us that The Economist's conclusion is in fact our own.*

We find the following two lines from this great British publication to be particularly noteworthy, in a way conferring the highest seal of approval on our proposition: *“The circle can be broken only by giving up the illusion that political resistance can be overcome by economic means unsupported by a determined political purpose”*.

*The political purpose* MEANS AN INTERNATIONAL CONTRACTUAL GUARANTEE OF RATIONALLY REALIGNED FRONTIERS AND THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF JERUSALEM. That is the political purpose and it can be no other.

*We beg to be allowed to repeat two urgent appeals: the first is most respectfully addressed to the Holy See asking that the Holy Father once again voice his wish as a trustee to see Jerusalem internationalised so that the whole world is reminded of what he has said; the second appeal is to the Arab and Western countries to show a little more awareness of the scope of their duties and the sanctity of their cause.*

While Mr. Moshe Sharatt, the Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs travels from one Latin American country to the next, from one Latin American capital to the next (he has just visited Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile and Montevideo), in support of Israel's policies, the Arab governments, lost in their dreams and absorbed in internal squabbles, appear to know nothing of the world's workings.

*There are two major problems for the Arab world, overriding all others: ISRAEL AND COLLECTIVE DEFENCE. That is the crux of it all*

14 May 1953

### **FROM SUEZ TO JERUSALEM**

Anglo-Egyptian negotiations are at a standstill. For the time being at least, for they will sooner or later resume. *But the time lost on them and the bad feeling they engender have a supremely adverse and pernicious effect on the Arabs.*

*There must be agreement: is the key problem for the Arab world the Canal or Israel? There is no doubt that by getting bogged down in the Canal, we are losing our way; and however great our brotherly love for Egypt, we must tell it so.*

*Israel is a far more enduring and crucial issue. It threatens the Arab world to a different degree than a presence on the Canal, which, however galling it may seem, in absolute terms is nonetheless a safeguard for Egypt itself in the face of more serious dangers.*

There should be no illusions; Egypt, for which the two world wars were not always a bed of roses, would sleep more easily if the British presence at the junction of Africa and Asia, stemming from a treaty whose legitimacy is disputed, were transformed into an Arab-Western presence under a new treaty. *Yet the defence of Egypt*

*presupposes in the first place the defence of the Arab world in Asia and subsequently our own.*

*The danger comes now from the east and the north. During the last war, at the time of El-Alamein it came from the west; but twenty-five years earlier it was from the east that Germans and Turks threatened the world's main highway. Whether the threat comes from the east or the west, the Canal will remain a target. Since the advent of communism, we must clearly defend ourselves first of all from the east.*

*Does Cairo not sense the passing of time, not realise that Israel is putting down roots and its chances increasing? Does it not appreciate that the slow pace of Egypt's talks with the West, which called for them, fosters the spirit of revolution?*

When all is said and done, where would be the harm in seeking a solution to the Anglo-Egyptian conflict in the Sinai peninsula, in the same way as the Americans have a presence in Europe? Could it not be said that the peninsula is made for the purpose? It could lead to the development of a joint defence system for Africa and the Near East.

It is our duty to point out the given the state of the world, the issue of Suez can wait if necessary; **WHEREAS THE ARAB-WESTERN CONTRACTUAL GUARANTEE AGAINST ISRAEL'S EXPANSION AND THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF JERUSALEM CAN WAIT NO LONGER.**

*If Egypt so wished, if it so agreed, it could render itself and the Arab League countries a very great service over Israel even if defence in the vicinity of Suez has to be organised at a later stage.*

28 May 1953

#### **IN FAVOUR OF A MORE ROBUST POLICY**

Is it necessary to repeat that the Arab League countries do not devote *a fraction of the attention they should* to Palestine in their policies and concerns?

Were they to do so, other problems which have become a kind of obsession for them would begin to take a back seat.

*The current situation requires that, faced with Israel, the Arabs be in a constant state of alert and military preparedness. It is the exact equivalent of the West's position in the face of communism.*

*Indeed it is a parallel which can be drawn, bearing in mind that, despite the risk of world war, the danger posed by Israel for the Arabs is no less than the West's fear of Moscow's initiatives. This is precisely what the Americans fail to see.*

At the same time, the situation presupposes a permanent build-up of Israeli forces creating an inevitable imbalance: *military forces, economic forces, forces of aggression, and forces for disarray forever feeding the fear of explosion.*

*If Israel were to once and for all confine its ambitions to what it already has, it would no longer have a raison d'être: there would always be ten times the number of Jews in the rest of the world than in Israel.*

*Considered purely from the human standpoint, as it stands the State of Israel does nothing to solve the Jewish problem; it does nothing to solve this global problem unless it expands, be it at a rapid or slow rate.*

*The creators of the "Jewish national home" did not see the spectre of an Empire rising behind this home sweet home. They were not able to appreciate the Zionists' commitment to acquiring a homeland on a global scale.*

**The State of Israel does not require an area greater than it already has unless it plans to increase its population to the point where it bursts its borders. *Tel Aviv forgets that forty hectares suffice for the Vatican State. Four hundred million Catholics on the one hand, sixteen million Jews on the other: these are the facts.***

*However, the Jewish State is open to Jews from anywhere in the world, as is laid down in its constitution and as those who govern it have proclaimed over and over again. That is why the Arab League countries can no longer rest easy. They are condemned to insomnia and border incidents will go on increasing until the whole machinery breaks down.*

**Just as there are many countries on this earth for each faith, countries with Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant or Muslim majorities, so more than one location should be envisaged where Jews could grow and multiply without poisoning the lives of innocent Arabs with their threat.**

*That is what American policy feigns not to be aware of, when there are four million Jews in New York State alone. Shall we make the innocent suggestion to President Eisenhower that he set up New York State as a Jewish State, in the same way as his predecessor did with Palestine?*

*The Jewish problem is one of the most complex and contentious in the world. We believe that is even a matter for divine intervention. This is not a reason for the West to leave the Arabs to shoulder the whole burden of it in return for an unspecified bill to be paid in dollars. The Jewish problem and the way in which all-out attempts are being made to resolve it in Palestine is beginning to raise fears amongst the clear thinkers and less zealous amongst the Jews themselves.*

**Meanwhile the Arab League is engaged in palavers with illusory economic concerns as the main topic. They are firing up public opinion on internal quarrels. They are firing up public opinion on matters of pride, when even haughty Europe itself no longer cares about such things.**

*The primary problem for the Arab countries' foreign and domestic policies is Israel. The problem of joint defence, although it ranks equally, is for later: IT RANKS EQUALLY BECAUSE IT IS ONE OF THE CONDITIONS FOR SOLVING THE*



**PRIMARY PROBLEM. IN ACTUAL FACT IT AVERTS BOTH DANGERS AT THE SAME TIME.**

**This is no longer the time for childish games. LET US OBTAIN THE INTERNATIONAL CONTRACTUAL GUARANTEE OF OUR FRONTIERS AND THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF JERUSALEM.**

**AT THE SAME TIME, LET US ORGANISE A COLLECTIVE DEFENCE WITH THOSE POWERS WHICH DEFEND THE FREEDOM OF THE SOUL AND THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS.**

*Once these major political moves have been accomplished, we will be able to take up economic matters with a lighter heart.*

30 May 1953

### **ISRAELI DIPLOMACY**

**So Russo-Israeli diplomatic relations have now been re-established. The question is whether it is the Soviet or the Israeli game which is the most impenetrable and crafty.**

*Israel, which provided Marxism with its founders and communism with so many of its leaders, is at odds with itself in its thinking and attitudes. Israel is on the left and on the right at the same time. It is able to move to the extreme left and the extreme right simultaneously.*

*The truth is that the policies natural to Israel transcend communism and democracy alike. Its policies are sui generis, peculiar to the chosen people; fundamentally monarchic and royal in memory of King David, theocratic and by divine right in memory of the Judges, in other words policies which can turn anarchic when required to unsettle the world. Depending on the circumstances, depending on what is expedient at the time, Israel draws closer to the USSR or moves away from it, courts the West or defies it.*

**This extraordinary people which, on the one hand, claims to serve freedom to the point of the worst revolutionary extremism is the same people that three months ago wanted to prevent a famous violinist from playing Richard Strauss by burning his hands.**

**Indeed when it comes to Israel, both the West and the USSR should be in a permanent state of distrust. *They serve its purposes without gaining in it a faithful ally.* It is in this way that the religious party, the communist party and the right-wing terrorist party are able to live side by side in Israel and tacitly assist each other.**

**Diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel are being restored at a moment when Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs is being moved to Jerusalem. This is worthy of attention. For our part we shall view the legal interpretation of this move by some powers as being of purely theoretical value. We need to know if the**

Ministers of the United States, France, and the United Kingdom will be officially established in Jerusalem. And we very much fear that once again, despite short-lived reservations, the *fait accompli* will win the day.

*Through its diplomatic activity as through so many bold initiatives, Israel is showing its strength. Meanwhile, at the mercy of their habitual weakness, the Arabs deliberate.*

*If Jordan wanted to be consistent with itself, it too would transfer its Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its whole government to Jerusalem. Then (and only then) would the United Nations awake from its sleep.*

22 July 1953

### **SAVING JERUSALEM**

For once we are satisfied with the Arab League countries' reaction, when confronted with the transfer of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Jerusalem.

*This constitutes an awakening for which, without false modesty, we claim a share of the responsibility. This long fight, this resistance which we have made our duty and policy, has triumphed over the League's slumbers and barren proceedings.*

Since last year we have been asking the Jordanian government to move its Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Jerusalem, should Israel finally be so provocative as to move its own Ministry. This year, the provocation having occurred, as might have been expected, we have been calling upon the government in Amman to move to Jerusalem in its entirety. We saw it as the only way of holding Israel in check and and reviving in the United Nations a sense of its bounden duty.

*And so now we have the Council of the Arab League taking the decision to hold its next session in Jerusalem. We have Jordan's Council of Ministers now aware that it can meet, like Israel's, in the Holy City; and we have the diplomatic representatives of the Arab League collectively making a vehement protest to the government in Washington. That all needed to be done. With one failure to act after another, one miscalculation after another, the Arabs were losing their way in futile lamentation and palaver.*

*Verbal protest must be followed up with defensive measures and deeds met with deeds. When the Arab League and Jordan have made their presence sufficiently felt in Jerusalem, then the need to internationalise the Holy City and ensure compliance with the United Nations official decision will become more obvious.*

Now, more than ever, a potential peace with Israel appears remote and illusory; and there has never been less chance of our falling into the offensive trap of derisory offers of compensation in dollars and worthless Israeli pounds. The story of the thirty pieces of silver will not be repeated. That is something the unfortunate Palestinian refugees, however tragic their plight, are the first to reject.

*While Israel seeks to force the hand of all the great powers, for the Arab League countries the time has come to act. Jerusalem, the spiritual home for half of humanity*

*will not become Israel's political capital, the springboard for new territorial ambitions and endless scheming.*

*There is but one way out, not two: THE EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONALISATION OF JERUSALEM AND THE CONTRACTUAL GUARANTEE OF FRONTIERS.*

*Without that, all hope must be abandoned.*

6 August 1953

### **THE POLITICS OF THE BLIND**

Which solemn warnings, which arguments, which pleas will finally open the eyes of the United Nations and the world's leaders? *Israel is harbouring a deadly danger. Israel is endlessly arming itself and the Arabs are likewise arming.* Israel now has the necessary power to threaten and attack. Its acts of provocation, its acts of aggression are now beyond number. *Its government realises what it can gain from the patience shown by the United States and the failings of the United Nations. It exploits them.*

The tentacles of the scheme are reaching further in all directions. *To deny that Israel is planning territorial expansion in the near or distant future is to show a lack of good faith, to tell a lie. Be it Jerusalem, the Jordan river, the port near Aqaba, the border with Egypt or other borders, the danger is everywhere.*

*The United Nations behaves as though Israel were a contented State, a State devoid of ambitions, when in fact its cupidity is only too blatant. Instead of curbing this cupidity, instead of immediately salvaging a peace which becomes more fragile with each passing day, the United Nations confines itself to gestures of "dstraint" which no longer dstrain anything. After years of the Arab-Israeli armistice, the Near East is closer to war than to peace.*

*We have often recalled that Israel would always prefer war to its own collapse, A WORLD WAR IF NECESSARY. That is even more true today than it was in the past.*

*What causes the tragic blindness guiding the soporific procedures of The United Nations?*

There is no point in an armistice unless it increases the chances of peace. But the reverse is happening. With each day the problems engendered by Israel become more difficult to resolve and every day a peaceful solution seems more and more untenable.

*The United Nations does not want to resort to the only viable remedies, decisive measures. It is as if it were waiting for some sort of miracle to be worked for Israel. In the meantime the situation is deteriorating and the future looks more bleak; in the meantime the desire for conquest or revenge, anger and hate well up like a rising tide.*

*After all the explanations, arguments, entreaties there can be no-one with any sense who can envisage a solution other than THE INTERNATIONAL CONTRACTUAL GUARANTEE OF ARAB-ISRAELI FRONTIERS AND THE EFFECTIVE AND ADEQUATE INTERNATIONALISATION OF JERUSALEM. It is an offence against reason to postpone this. IT MEANS ASSUMING RESPONSIBILITY FOR FUTURE MISERY OVER AND BEYOND THE EXISTING MISERY.*

*What is the United States waiting for? What is the United Nations waiting for? What does the United States hope to gain from deliberately playing for time? What does the United Nations hope to gain from flying in the face of reason? Which of those many statesmen will have a clear conscience about the imminent catastrophe?*

*Will it later be said of all this that a voice cried in vain in the wilderness?*

*1 October 1953*

### **ONE AGGRESSIVE ACT AFTER ANOTHER**

The Israeli attack on a small Jordanian village in Arab Palestine is particularly despicable.

Forty-one were killed, including women and children, people were injured, houses destroyed and there was other damage as well.

According to reports, the Mixed Armistice Commission has formally established that the responsibility for carrying out the attack lies with an Israeli battalion. In Jordan, Glubb Pasha himself chaired the Military Council which discussed the attack. And countries concerned, both Arab and in the West have been informed.

Israel's fervour grows by the day. It manifests itself in increasingly violent and deadly ways. And Israel's challenge to the United Nations is ever more defiant.

Where are we heading at this rate and how will the drama unfold? However well armed Israel may be, perhaps it over-estimates its strength. In fact it does not only use weapons. *The worst is the stoking of anger and hate.* With or without an Armistice Commission, things can go on like this for a century, through truces or wars.

*Israel's guilt will not screen from our view the guilt of others who permit Israel to commit such grave offences.*

*The failings of the United Nations have tacitly encouraged the worst excesses. And the United States, which alone can prevent it all and yet turns a blind eye, should finally recognise the error of its ways. The tally of misery and cruelty which leaves them unmoved should at last stir them into action.*

Has the illusion that the United States can use dollars to settle everything in Palestine not been dispelled? Are these still economic issues for the government in

*Washington? And how long will this self-imposed ignorance of one of the most serious political problems of our time continue?*

*What further tragedies, what further disasters are needed before the President of the United States weighs in with the Stars and Stripes?*

Let those who have a different solution from the one we have long been suggesting put it forward, provided that it is not in the realms of fantasy.

*Things will only be put to rights again in Palestine if there is an international contractual guarantee of frontiers and an effective and adequate internationalisation of Jerusalem.*

*If more time is lost, there may be no way out of it all.*

17 October 1953

#### **THE AMERICAN WARNING AND MR. ERIC JOHNSTON'S MISSION**

The United States is finally bestirring itself. Is it merely going to provide us with a humorous aside? *It is threatening to cut off Israel's subsidies if the violence continues.*

The government in Washington is acting to halt the diversion of the Jordan River, *but could they not have acted in the same way over the past 5 years for equally serious and even more weighty reasons?*

We have no illusions. There is reason for us to remain sceptical when the talk is of possible sanctions against Israel by the United States. The past is full of examples of how far American blindness and indulgence towards rampant Zionism can stretch. Nevertheless, the Americans are finally understanding that by acting (*or by failing to act*) as they do, *they are serving the cause of war and not peace.*

The President of the United States special representative is about to arrive in Lebanon. Following in the footsteps of so many others, Mr. Eric Johnston has been asked to investigate the changing fortunes of the Near and Middle East. Of particular concern to him, he has said, is the question of the refugees (that eternal question! That unanswerable question!) as well as that of the Jordan River; and it is economic problems that have priority in his remit.

If Mr. Eric Johnston does not change his vantage point during his journey, we very much fear that he, like his predecessors, *is only heading for a fall.*

**THE ARAB-ISRAELI ISSUE IS IN THE FIRST PLACE A POLITICAL ISSUE.** *It is above all a political issue. If ever there were a political issue, this is it. To think that economics alone can resolve such a problem, is to be grossly mistaken.*

**ISRAELI AMBITION AND ARAB ANXIETY MUST BE BROUGHT TO AN END together:** *is that not the crux of the matter? The Arabs must be reassured about the*

*integrity of their frontiers and the world reassured about the future of Jerusalem: is that not the point? These are the initial problems, those which will not be solved in one generation.*

With such concerns and such deep wounds, the economy and dollars are only of passing worth. *It stands to reason.*

*Of course, force of habit has not innured us to the fate of the refugees. It does not make us forget their tragedy. Their very presence, miserably scattered as they are, serves as a condemnation of the United States, the United Nations and the whole of mankind. No, we certainly do not forget the refugees. If he is assiduous in addressing their problems, Mr. Eric Johnston will show himself to be a shrewd diplomat; what is more, an honest man. However, solving the refugee problem, however poignant it may be, is not what will bring about peace. If there is no longer any question of returning the largest possible number of these refugees to their homes, it is hypocritical to say that a solution to the difficulty outside Palestine can defuse tension. The hurt will only be the more deeply felt as a result.*

*The issue of the refugees will be resolved if the political issues are resolved; if the Arab-Israeli frontiers are contractually and internationally guaranteed; if the effective and adequate internationalisation of Jerusalem is imposed on Israel.*

*All that Mr. Eric Johnston does which does not relate to that will only rub salt into the wound, exacerbate the sense of despair and make for a more precarious and gloomy future.*

*Until the political problem is settled, nothing will have been accomplished.*

21 October 1953

#### **AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL**

On his arrival in New York, asked an ingenuous question about the current chances of an Arab-Israeli peace, the Head of the UN Armistice Commission gave the straightforward reply that he did not believe in it. He added that such a matter needed to be studied "*at a much higher level*".

To speak of Arab-Israeli peace at this time is doubtless a very futile exercise. It is not General van Benthien's negative response which caught our attention but his subsequent remark: "*that the matter should be studied at a much higher level*". Yes certainly higher; and indeed the highest in the world. *There is every reason for going that high.*

*The underlying thrust of the General's remark is that the debate is a POLITICAL one (and not just economic or administrative). This is what for so long now we have never wearied of repeating.*

And the reason we insist so often and so strongly on this is because time is pressing and peace in the Near East will not be brought about by irrigating Sinai or regulating the flow of the Jordan River. *Fears lie elsewhere, the wounds, the drama are of a different order.*

*Limiting the debate on Palestine to the refugees, is a serious assault on reason. IT IS NOT ONLY THE FATE OF ONE GENERATION which preoccupies the Arabs and the rest of the world about Israel's venture.*

*What kind of peace can be envisaged as long as Israel is premeditating expansion and stepping up immigration at the first opportunity?*

The Arabs may be criticised for their lack of foresight and chronic weakness *but they cannot be taken for idiots. What would be the result of building up Palestine's infrastructure if Israel's territorial expansion were to continue and Israel were to make use of it?*

*To make peace with Israel, things being as they are, would mean to make it easier for it to undertake fresh initiatives.*

*How many times does it need repeating and proclaiming? ISRAEL IS BUILDING AN EMPIRE. In actual fact the empire exists in the form of the diaspora. It is the Palestine homeland on which they wish to confer the magnitude of an empire.*

Given the certainty that it will seize every opportunity, stop at no act of violence in order to return to the land occupied by the Twelve Tribes, before they return to the land of the Kings, *how can peace be made with Israel?*

*At the highest level of Christianity, the whole of Islam, the Arab world, the Holy See, Eisenhower: if the future of the world's Jews were contemplated dispassionately at that level, there is no doubt about the inevitable decisions which would be taken: TO INTERNATIONALLY and CONTRACTUALLY GUARANTEE ARAB FRONTIERS AND TO INTERNATIONALISE JERUSALEM.*

24 October 1953

### **TESTIMONY**

A quite remarkable article entitled: *On Israel's Frontier* appeared in the *London Economist* of 24 October.

This is the conclusion of the article which naturally addresses the diversion of the waters of the Jordan River and the mass murder in Qibya:

*"These facts are enough to show how constant is the pattern of possible pacification in Palestine. Only force applied from outside can achieve it. Distasteful though it is to*

*those who apply it, this was the only recipe for quiet living throughout the years of the British mandate; and so it remains today.*

*Bitterness of feeling between Jew and Arab is greater now than it has ever been. The only prospect of abating it is for the western powers to strengthen their Anglo-French-American Declaration of May 1950 (which simply said that there shall be no forcible change of the frontier) and to dictate if necessary a permanent frontier line.*

*Unless they do so, grave consequences will follow. Arab and Israel forces will grow, as they are growing this week, on either side of the armistice frontier. The prospect of peace will be hopeless and so, also, will be the conversion of both Israel and Jordan into viable states. Without peace both must live on western charity. Arab refugees, nearly a million strong, will remain indefinitely on the West's ration list and payroll or else will die of starvation. What, too, will become of the next generation of Israelis if their leaders encourage at home a violence that they feel bound to condemn abroad?"*

**The Economist** has come a long way and we commend its concern for the truth. The conclusion of article quoted above at such length is one we could have written ourselves. Its thrust is in line with what we have not wearied of repeating for many years.

It is ultimately reassuring to discover such a resounding British echo in a publication with the standing of *The Economist*.

*Truth moves on its way and carries all before it. Philosophising is to no avail, peace in Palestine can only be achieved by the internationalisation of Jerusalem and a contractual guarantee of frontiers. And by the internationalisation of Jerusalem we mean the effective presence of the United Nations under the UN's light blue flag. That is the only valid interpretation to be put on The Economist's opinion, expressed in the following terms:*

*"Only force applied from outside can achieve it".*

It only remains to bid a hasty retreat from the realms of illusion and return to the real world. The time for trying to find a solution confined to economic and material considerations is past. *The political problem has to be confronted head-on. The outcome has to be a spiritual and political pacification at the same time, WHICH CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED THROUGH AN INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE IN JERUSALEM AND AN INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEE OF ARAB-ISRAELI FRONTIERS.*

30 October 1953



**ISRAELI PROBLEMS OR JEWISH PROBLEMS?**

*Le Monde* recently dedicated its editorial to Mr. Ben Gurion's retirement. The man and the subject are clearly not devoid of interest. What happens in Israel always has prominence in the great newspaper in the rue des Italiens.

On this occasion *Le Monde* made two noteworthy observations. Here is the first:

*“The whole of the (recent) electoral campaign in New York State was dominated by the discontent of American Jewry. The Administration had to make a rapid climbdown and concede another victory to Jewish solidarity”*

The issue was the short-lived sanction adopted following the works undertaken to divert the River Jordan.

And this is the other comment:

*“However, the problem of dual allegiance is remains. Baron Guy de Rothschild, who was one of the most ardent supporters of the Zionist experiment, in an interview which has aroused much interest, has just come out in favour of disbanding the World Zionist Organisation and replacing it in every country with Societies of the Friends of Israel, irrespective of religious adherence”.*

Thus, on the one hand “Jewish solidarity” continues to get the better of American power. And, on the other hand, the problem of “dual allegiance”, in other words dual nationality (at least potentially) and two passports, if necessary, for all the world's Jews, causes anxiety *on both sides*. Because Baron Guy de Rothschild is certainly not alone in wondering about the heightened suspicion with which his fellow-believers in the world will be treated thanks to their “dual allegiance”. Will a non-Israeli Jew, a British, French, American Jew be against Israel and for his country when the need arises? Will he be able to support that country and to what extent? In any event, “The World Zionist Organisation”, a political body, bears witness to the universal POLITICAL unity of the Israelites and not just the Israelis.

We have seen this coming for years; we have been predicting it for years. *Israel's leaders are now giving it their attention because it heralds a dark destiny.*

We shall confine ourselves through our readers to calling the attention of governments to these serious and delicate matters.

*Baron Guy de Rothschild's initiative is as far-reaching as the Israeli venture itself.*

*And a man who is forewarned is forearmed.*

14 November 1953

**THE VOICE OF THE VATICAN**

While Israel, following up one act of defiance with another (as if it were just another routine border incident), claims to be dealing with the bloody attack on Qibya by using the delaying tactics of holding direct talks with Jordan, *the Holy See has once more made its voice heard by again calling for the internationalisation of Jerusalem.* An editorial in *L'Osservatore Romano*, immediately picked up on in news reports, clearly conveys this message.

Our own editorials have now been given over to Palestine for two days in a row. It is a subject which encourages and merits perseverance. There will never be a more compelling reason than the attack on Qibya to convince the United Nations of the need to put an end to the Arab-Israeli tragedy.

*If America has despaired of peace, if it wishes to go no further than an endless armistice, this truce which causes misery on a daily basis, let it say so!*

**NOTHING IS MORE INHUMANE THAN THE FATE INFLICTED ON THE MOST REVERED LAND IN THE WORLD BY THE WORLD'S DEFENDERS.** *There is nothing more distressing, more painful than the absence of the United Nations in a debate affecting the major civilisations and future of the world to such a degree.* Despite everything said in the Security Council, despite false appearances, *we are speaking of an absence;* an international presence is not discernible in the ultimately negative attitude constantly adopted by the major international bodies.

*But the Holy See, which has been calling for the "corpus separatum" since 1948, has reaffirmed its justifiable and necessary demands. It is reasserting its will in the face of self-seeking and strictly temporal ambition. It is calling to order those led astray by short-sighted and spineless opportunism.*

Despite all the Israeli and Jewish resistance, fervent, furious resistance, the blind resistance of unbridled ambition and pride, *how can they fail to see the benefits and the safeguards for peace (and the salvation of Israel itself) in the internationalisation of Jerusalem? How can the effective, tutelary presence of the United Nations in Jerusalem not be seen as an end to unparalleled spiritual, moral and political chaos?*

The government of Israel must realise that without internationalisation it will find itself in the midst of neither calm nor a ceasefire, *that one generation after another will live in a state of unease, that in a climate of this kind there is no possible existence for a nation which is expecting immigration to overpopulate it, (any more than for its neighbours, living in a constant state of alert).* Reason dictates it.

*We welcome with appreciation the renewed expression of the Holy See's unswerving commitment. The Arab countries will undoubtedly be moved by it. Along with all Christian and Muslim countries, they will undoubtedly take great comfort in it.*

*It is now up to the United Nations to fulfil its duty. It is its responsibility to limit the damage and restore to the Near East the peace so seriously compromised by the arrival*

*in the Holy Land of the most racist, most secretive, most expansionist State in the universe.*

*There is only one way left of emerging from the darkness: through internationalising Jerusalem and providing an international contractual guarantee of frontiers. Not doing so amounts to tacitly consenting to an endless war.*

25 November 1953

**“NEXT YEAR IN JERUSALEM”**

**As we approach the end of the year, our thoughts are with the fate of Jerusalem and the future for peace.**

**The more thought we give to it and the more our thoughts are guided by strict logic, the more we are convinced that the internationalisation of the Holy Places is *an inescapable condition of peace.***

*An international presence between the Arabs and Israel is the only chance for order and harmony. This presence has to be effective, armed, permanent and such that it enhances the prestige of the United Nations. It is difficult to think of it being located on Israeli or Jordanian territory; it can only conceivably be usefully deployed in Jerusalem. It must cover an area which will accommodate a population two or three times the size of today’s population.*

**Given that the agreement of the other Arabs has been secured, Jordan’s resistance to this necessity appears futile and pointless. As for Israel’s resistance, we know it to be desperate; but we also know the salvation of Israel itself depends on it; *and even more so that of peace.***

**BECAUSE WITHOUT AN INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE THE ARABS WILL KNOW NO REST, *just as there will be no brake Israel’s on natural proclivity for scheming and on its ambitions. The wisdom shown today will spare us the tragedies of tomorrow.***

**For Israel, Mount Zion is the justification for Zionism (with its fixation on Jerusalem); *but for Christianity and Islam as a whole, Jerusalem is a sacred place which cannot be placed under Israel’s political authority, whatever solemn promises are given.***

*There are more than sufficient religious, human and emotional reasons for internationalising Jerusalem; but the political reason is equally compelling. THERE CAN BE NO LASTING PEACE BETWEEN THE ARABS AND ISRAEL WITHOUT AN INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE. This presence would represent a boundary which could not be crossed and the security which would allow the Arabs to sleep without the daily and nightly threat of bombs, massacres and fire.*

*Last month the voice of the Vatican was once again heard loudly and firmly in favour of the internationalisation of Jerusalem. There have been reports of official Arab representations made to the Holy See. In such a serious matter, with so many nations involved, Israel and Jordan should not be the stumbling block. There are ample means available of exerting pressure on them (financial and economic measures would suffice).*

*Ultimately, the fighting in Korea and the fighting now in Indochina was for less than this.*

30 December 1953

### **BETWEEN THE HAMMER AND THE ANVIL**

**Will the Arabs be counting on communism to defend them against Zionism? What a consummate irony. But they find themselves placed between the hammer and the anvil and that is the most uncomfortable position possible to be in.**

*The West asserts that communism is the greatest of all dangers. The Arab world, on the contrary believes that, as far as it is concerned, Zionism is the greater danger .*

**Until now the West has consistently supported Zionism. How could it do so without causing panic in the Arab world and turning it against the West? This is why all means of persuasion, particularly those of America, are to no avail.**

**For the Arabs the so-called “economic” remedies can only serve to strengthen Israel and feed its megalomania. For the Arabs, peace with Israel can only signify a respite for Zionism to allow it to prepare for more acts of aggression.**

**This is the deep-seated conflict for which only superficial solutions are being offered. It is a conflict which has its origins in the soul and not in the needs of the flesh.**

*There is clearly no question of the Arabs throwing the Israelis into the sea; they would recognise Israel’s political presence in the Near East if Israel’s power, nurtured by the West, were limited by an international presence and if there were a contractual guarantee of frontiers.*

**But Israel’s ambitions are well known. Their aim is to overpopulate the country and make further advances. The idea is to conquer the whole of Jerusalem and to re-establish something resembling the Kingdom of David and Solomon of thirty centuries ago. Finally the idea is to build a homeland in the Near East with tentacles reaching out over a Jewish world empire.**

**That is what the Arabs are not prepared to see happen (it would be over their dead bodies); and, dominated by the power of the Israelites (not the Israelis), that is what the West is helping to bring about, unconsciously or slavishly, depending on the context and circumstances.**

The discussions held in the last few days between Arab and Soviet diplomats are an illustration of what we are saying. Mr. Vischinsky in the Security Council, Mr Solod in Cairo and the USSR's Ambassador in Damascus have been responsive to various appeals. The truth is that the Arabs, at their wit's end, no longer know which way to turn for help.

Communism's support for the Arabs is like the support provided by the hangman's rope.

*But this is where, jointly or severally, a failure of reason, a lack of judgement, and a miscarriage of justice all lead.*

10 April 1954

**REGARDING A SPEECH BY HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL AGAGIANIAN**

The speech given by His Eminence Cardinal Agagianian at the reception following Easter mass for the Armenian Catholics came as balm to our souls. And we are pleased that the President of the Republic, who honoured the occasion with his presence, in turn paid tribute to the Cardinal by saying to him:

*“ It was your wish that this function not be confined to the mere exchange of good wishes required of a formal visit. It was your wish to speak the truth and the whole truth about Palestine, with all the authority that attaches to your high rank as a Prince of the Church and representative of the Holy See”*

This truth touches and moves us. His Eminence's words are a blessing and a solace for us. They reflect our unshakeable belief in the dignity of faith, the justification of hope, the love of justice and peace.

The Head of State added:

*“In order for the problem of Palestine to be resolved fairly and equitably, it is essential for us to have the support of the highest spiritual Authority, the spiritual Authority which acts only for the good of humanity and is motivated only by justice. This Authority is the Holy See.*

*Insofar as it wishes to intervene, and I am sure that it will intervene, a solution to problem of Palestine can be found”*

In fact the Holy See has intervened many times. It has been abundantly clear in expressing itself. Many times it has repeated the same official demand; and the Cardinal rightly alluded to its perseverance in successive interventions and actions.

*“We are all aware, said His Eminence, that the work accomplished in this regard by the Holy See's diplomatic representatives, especially in supporting the internationalisation of Jerusalem, has greatly enhanced, in breadth and in depth, everything that has been achieved....”*

Indeed the first few lines, the first words of Cardinal Agagianian's speech made reference to the Holy Land. He spoke of it with poignancy, unafraid to inject a note of sadness into his joy in the Resurrection.

*“The Holy Land where angels first announced peace to men of good will and where Jesus preached his message of charity, has, alas, become the focus of conflict, at the same time as hundreds of thousands of its peaceful inhabitants suffer the highly uncertain fate of refugees.*

*Jerusalem ‘the City of peace’ where Christ gave his own blood to secure peace between heaven and earth and appeared to his disciples after his glorious resurrection saying: ‘Peace be with you’, this Jerusalem is, alas, nowadays reduced to a battlefield of rivalries, making it ‘the city of desolation’.*

*Can it be any surprise that this sad state of affairs in Palestine, the heart and therefore the most susceptible part of the whole of the Near East, has had repercussions for our beloved Lebanon and all the Arab countries?*

*The fact is that all countries are convinced that, until such time as a just and equitable solution is found for the Palestine issue, peace will remain under threat, not only in the Near East but in the whole world”*

*Moreover, His Eminence recalled, “ on 8 December 1949 the Arab countries, after exerting extraordinary efforts, finally succeeded in having the UN General Assembly declare that the Jerusalem area would be internationalised under UN control.*

*In fact the Holy See had for fourteen months also been engaged in an exceptional amount of activity to this same end. In the abovementioned Encyclical, the Pope had already explicitly spoken of the desirability of an international régime for Jerusalem and its environs.*

*An impartial history will doubtless one day tell of how the UN's decision to internationalise Jerusalem was largely due to the prodigious diplomatic efforts silently, intelligently and persistently undertaken by the Holy See.”*

*The need to internationalise Jerusalem is the unmistakable conclusion to be drawn from the words of Cardinal Agagianian and the steadfast position of the Vatican.*

*Our readers have known for some time that for us the internationalisation of Jerusalem is the sine qua non of peace. Without a statutory international presence in the Holy Places, no peace is possible, it is not possible for the Arabs to sleep easy. If Israel is in good faith, it must agree to it. If it is not in good faith, not one thinking person in the world will advise the Arabs to surrender to tragedy. To make peace without this assurance means paving the way for aggression ....*

*All the precedents show that without the internationalisation of Jerusalem, no international guarantee can be adequate. Christianity and Islam know that a constant threat hangs over Jerusalem.*

In expressing our gratitude to Cardinal Agagianian for his magnificent speech, we do not think it presumptuous of us to assure His Eminence that we speak for all Lebanese and indeed all Arabs.

In the struggle for Jerusalem, in the common effort to prevent the “conquest of Jerusalem”, all will benefit from Christianity and Islam standing together in legitimate resistance.

*But it is not only for lofty religious and emotional reasons that Jerusalem must be internationalised, it is literally in order to avert war and the horrors of war and in order to wrest the Jews away from this permanent and dreadful fixation.*

*The Arabs will only sleep easy when Jerusalem is granted the international status decided for it by the UN in 1949 and when there is an international contractual guarantee of Arab-Israeli frontiers. Failing that, there is no peace.*

5 May 1954

#### **THE BASIS FOR A POLICY**

This morning we take up where we left off two days ago: *the internationalisation of Jerusalem; which means A STATUTORY PERMANENT ARMED PRESENCE IN PALESTINE.*

*This has become the precondition for a common defence with the West and for peace in the Near East. This presence is needed between the Arabs and Israel.*

News reports refer to an article in the *Osservatore Romano* recalling the need to internationalise Jerusalem and its environs. The Holy See’s position on this point is well known. It is once again making itself felt. There is reason to hope that the voice of the Vatican will become increasingly insistent on this matter.

The West will only obtain the Near East’s unconditional contribution to the defence of peace once it has made its own contribution.

*It is the right and duty of the Arabs in the Near East to henceforth make the internationalisation of Jerusalem the basis for their foreign policy. The powers which created the State and the threat of Israel cannot object to that; they cannot do so without bearing responsibility for a gross denial of justice.*

We wrote recently that Egypt should make some acceptable concession over Suez in order to save Jerusalem. That is our firm belief. At this stage, *the Israeli threat to the Arab world is much more far-reaching than the British threat to Egypt*; what is more, it so happens that America is also obliged to take an interest in the future of the Suez Canal zone.

*Egypt deludes itself by putting Suez before Jerusalem. If Anglo-Egyptian agreement is reached in the near future, as all Lebanese hope, everything will be for the better; if not, Egypt will have to be more mindful of Palestine and Israel.*

16 July 1954

### **THE IMPOTENCE OF THE ARMISTICE COMMISSION**

One of the most recent incidents on the Arab-Israeli frontier at Beit Liqya in Jordan cost the lives of two legionnaires, with four wounded and three taken prisoner. The Arab Legion has indeed been sorely tested.

*The Armistice Commission has found Israel to be the guilty party but what of the sanctions? Else what is this Armistice Commission, whose almost daily rulings as arbiter impose no sanctions?*

*They restrict themselves to declaring that one side is the aggressor, the other the victim. Whereupon, as with the assassination of Count Bernadotte, the file is closed.*

*It is a poor sort of justice which has no teeth! It is with a feeling of sadness that we see justice impotently meted out in this way. You are the aggressor, the judge states, and morally I condemn you; but I cannot go any further than that. And the same thing repeats itself two or three hundred times a year.*

The attitude of the United Nations and its Armistice Commission in Palestine is one of the least edifying and most disappointing ever encountered in international law. *The Armistice Commission itself can do nothing about it.* In the final analysis, the denial of justice comes from a higher authority.

*For how long will things go on like this? Is it not plain to see that Israel is using violence to try to make the Arabs capitulate, if only out of weariness?*

*But all this only leads to bottled up frustration.* There is a massive build-up of hate, clearly spelling disaster for the future. There will be a price to pay in the near future or in a quarter of a century but it will have to be paid. This is surely not the way to achieve the peace to which we all aspire.

*Only a robust decision taken by the United Nations and the United States can bring peace. Only a permanent armed United Nations presence in Palestine can bring peace, a presence best constituted through the internationalisation of Jerusalem. Only a contractual guarantee of frontiers can bring peace, not the 1950 tripartite declaration, which, despite the repeated assertions of the State Department in Washington, is universally recognised as being ineffectual.*



*Israel, in defying the United Nations, the United States and the United Kingdom together, is increasingly revealing its true character as a world power with tentacles reaching out in all directions.*

*How far we have come from the idyllic “Jewish National Home” once portrayed to us in a such an unobtrusive, peaceful and benevolent light!*

*7 September 1954*

***A CONGENITAL TIE: “NEW YORK AND TEL AVIV”***

Readers should be made aware of an item in the latest edition of the *London Economist* headed “*New York and Tel Aviv*”. It demonstrates the extent to which American politics depends on Israel, especially during an electoral campaign period.

*“Israel is taking a tougher line towards the Arabs and the West”, states the article, (which explains the frequency and violence of incidents on the border with Jordan); “and it is election year in New York State. New York’s 96 electoral votes can carry the nation and, although the President’s fate is not at stake this year, a Democratic victory in New York would be the writing on the wall (for the Republicans) for 1956. Moreover, it is a basic fact in American politics that New York CANNOT BE WON AGAINST THE JEWISH VOTE. (Our capitals.) In New York City alone there are some 2,150,000 Jewish people and they go to the polls with an intense awareness of international issues.*

*Israel has always known how to bring into play its great hinterland across the Atlantic.”*

It is alarming that the *Economist* considers the Jewish population in America to be Israel’s “hinterland”. It was no doubt known but until recently how many wanted to believe it? And believe that Israel is not a national, patriarchal and humanitarian “home” but a world power dreaming of a global empire?

The *Economist* goes on to say “*This year it would be political suicide for either Republicans or Democrats to disregard them*” and underestimate the importance of the party record on Israel and the commitments they will make to Zionism in their party platforms.

The British journal concludes “*The Arabs have to bear this in mind ...*”

We too hope that the British will bear this in mind. *But faced with the facts, how can Americans and British alike imagine for one moment that there can be peace between Arabs and Israel without an international, political and military, statutory and permanent United Nations presence in Palestine?*

Washington and London are regularly surprised by the Arabs’ refusal to enter into negotiations with Israel; on the other hand London and Washington display a great show of solidarity with Israel in their policies. Therein lies a contradiction, a disconcerting lack of logic.

We shall endlessly repeat what seems to us the most obvious thing in the world: *if the Americans and the British wish us to make peace with Israel, LET THEM COME AND ACT AS A PHYSICAL AND VISIBLE BUFFER BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE ARABS, other than in the form of an impotent Armistice Commission, AND LET THEM DECIDE ON A CONTRACTUAL GUARANTEE OF FRONTIERS.*

*The fundamental prerequisite for peace is precisely such a guarantee alongside the internationalisation of Jerusalem.*

17 september 1954

### **THE CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM**

Israel's conquest of Jerusalem continues, step by step, defying public law, the United Nations, Christianity and Islam.

The new United States Ambassador to Israel will present his credentials *in Jerusalem*. However much the Americans may try to say that it should not be construed as an act of hostility towards the Arabs, they commit themselves a little further every year. It is an idle gesture to *deliberately* flout people's rights and at the same time calmly maintain that it is not a hostile act.

*But with weakness giving way to capitulation, there is no knowing where all-powerful America will lead us. Clearly its foreign policy is contingent on its domestic policy.* What is happening makes it seem as though Washington is not free to take its own decisions about Israel.

This was again evident throughout the run-up to the American elections which took place on Tuesday.

Israel considers Jerusalem to be its capital, as if Jerusalem were a city of no import to the rest of the world. *But if there were ever a city which needed to be internationalised for the most weighty of spiritual and political reasons, it is Jerusalem.*

*A statutory and permanent United Nations presence in Jerusalem is proving more and more necessary and a fundamental precondition of peace. This does not deter the United States from hampering the process through a gratuitous act which further strengthens Israel's resolve.*

**AT THE SAME TIME, ISRAEL IS ARMING ITSELF TO THE TEETH; YET IF THE ARABS LIKEWISE WISH TO ARM THEMSELVES, ISRAEL PROTESTS AND RAISES AN OUTCRY WHICH IS HEARD AT THE ENDS OF THE EARTH.**

There is much scheming going on to ensure that Israel will eventually accomplish its conquest of Jerusalem. America is quick to lend a hand in this. *Tel Aviv is the official capital of Israel; but the United States Ambassador, setting the example for diplomacy worldwide, agrees to present his credentials in Jerusalem. What is this if not an act*

*which is offensive and hostile to the Arabs? The Americans are going ahead with it regardless; and if the Americans give way, can the others be expected to hold out for very long?*

*After some of the speeches made by Mr Byroade, we believed greater discernment would be shown, we hoped for better justice. But everything is swept away in the flow. The conquest of Jerusalem advances with the tacit collusion of those who should at all costs prevent it. Tragedy lies ahead.*

4 November 1954

### **PEACE WITH ISRAEL DEPENDS ON ISRAEL**

**We will not prevail over Israel by maintaining that we will not make peace with Israel *at any price*. We will prevail by pointing out the terrible danger of Israel's excessive ambitions.**

**The Americans and the British must be asked to provide guarantees against Israel and not asked to join in or tolerate a war against Israel.**

*Because the Americans and the British are Israel's natural protectors. For proof of that just calculate the number of Jews in New York city and New York State; and then read the *Manchester Guardian* for example.*

America and Britain are in a sense both Israel's prisoners. *The British and the Americans will only react in this area when faced with danger, excess and violence.* Because they want at the same time to be seen as friends of the Arabs. They have too much need of the Near East to alienate it completely. Their Arab-Israeli gameplay involves seesawing between the two and a balancing act; a balancing act which at times causes them to teeter alarmingly.

It is a fact that the Jews are very powerful in the world. The number of strings they have to their bow is a sign of their material and intellectual wealth. They hold key positions from which they will not be easily dislodged. *It must not be said that the Israelis will be thrown into the sea since they will not be thrown into the sea.* To do so would require apocalyptic happenings; and we for our part would not wish for anything of the kind.

Thanks be to God, we still have an acute sense of the brotherhood of man. We wish no evil even on those who practise *lex talionis*. *We simply wish to be free of threat both in our minds and in our homes; and, faced with Israel's religious racism, for the significance of Christianity and Islam to at last be remembered.*

*Israel dreams of gaining hold of the whole of Jerusalem and making it its capital. Israel dreams of reconstituting the territory of the Twelve Tribes and then pushing on to the Euphrates to restore the kingdom of David and Solomon. Israel may even be dreaming of taking Ur and Chaldea, Abraham's homeland ....These are the aberrations we*

*deplore. If they were realised, even only in their initial phase, they would spell disaster and enslavement for the Arabs.*

*The Israeli threat is such that the Arabs have not been able to sleep for it. This imagery, these words bear out the facts; which is why we so often return to them.*

How is it possible to sleep easy with the ever present threat of Israel, with the explicit or concealed ambitions of Israel?

*Everyone is aware that Israel is no longer a humanitarian "national home"; everyone knows that it harbours plans for an empire and domination. That is why peace with Israel is impossible; unless ...*

*Unless, we say, the United Nations, and in the first place America and Great Britain curb Israel's voracious appetite; unless the international, statutory and permanent political presence in the Holy Places becomes a reality; unless there are binding international contractual guarantees of Arab-Israeli frontiers, superseding the "Tripartite Declaration".*

In fact people are beginning to appreciate and perceive the close similarities between the Tripartite Declaration and the famous "Theory of Relativity" ....

*Thus the Arabs would be best served by pointing to the possibility rather than the impossibility of peace. Everlasting wars are waged only against everlasting enemies. It is up to the Americans and the British to open the eyes of the world's Jewry to the realities of Palestine, FOR THE SAKE OF PEACE.*

**PEACE WILL BE POSSIBLE WHEN ISRAEL IS PERSUADED OF THE NEED TO ABANDON ALL ITS FOOLISHNESS AND PIPE DREAMS.**

6 November 1954

#### ***THE FRANK TESTIMONY OF ALFRED LILIENTHAL, AN AMERICAN JEW***

What Mr. Alfred Lilienthal, on returning to the United States, has just told Secretary of State Foster Dulles according to news reports, is the plain truth. *The Arab countries make a clearcut distinction between Judaism and Zionism. For Judaism as a religion they feel all due respect; whilst denouncing Zionism as the violent expression of a policy of aggression and conquest. All Lebanese Jews would no doubt testify to that.*

The author of *What price Israel* considers that, as far as the Arabs are concerned, it is possible for a small Jewish State to exist peacefully in Palestine; *whereas an expansionist Zionist State, as Israel is currently conceived, is contrary to the natural order of things and the Arabs will never cease in their legitimate fight against it.* Mr. Lilienthal's analysis of the situation corresponds to our own. It is that of a man of good faith.

*Peace could prevail in Palestine through the internationalisation of Jerusalem and an international contractual guarantee of frontiers. We have been saying this repeatedly for some time. And the internationalisation of Jerusalem would naturally make it easier to resolve the tragic problem of the refugees.*

**Mr. Lilienthal's courage does him credit, as does his concern for the truth. If Mr. Lilienthal's opinion is accepted by the government in Washington, the United States pro-Israeli policy has to be amended and reshaped and the same goes for that of Great Britain (as voiced by the *Manchester Guardian*). When British diplomats in the Near and Middle East meet at their forthcoming conference in Beirut, and when their American colleagues do likewise in Damascus they will all no doubt be conversing about these urgent and serious matters.**

**We have many times remarked that if the forty-four hectares of land occupied by the Vatican City suffice for the government of more than 400 million Catholics, ten thousand square kilometers of land in Palestine should be far more than enough for the 16 million Jews scattered throughout the world. As there is no question of all the world's Jews coming to settle in Palestine, the political refuge, the "national home" of ten thousand square kilometers sought by rational Jews would meet every need. It would provide adequate protection from risk.**

**BUT ZIONISM WANTS TO SEIZE JERUSALEM; IT WANTS TO BUILD AN EMPIRE; IT CHERISHES A WILD DREAM WHICH EXPOSES JEWS IN PALESTINE AND EVERYWHERE ELSE TO THE WORST OF FATES.**

*Because Zionism's brazen pretensions prevent the Arabs from sleeping; just as they will eventually turn the most welcoming and liberal countries on earth against the Jews.*

*What his co-religionists think of Mr. Lilienthal is open to conjecture; but for us, this fearless gentleman is, at this juncture, rendering a very great service to both Israel and the United States; what he is saying and affirming represents the truth that liberates.*

*20 November 1954*

### ***THE CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM (continued)***

**If Jordan is against the internationalisation of Jerusalem, it must no longer stand in the way of Israel's ambitions.**

**Because Israel is master of three quarters of the Holy City; and what it covets above all is the fourth quarter, namely the Temple Mount, site of the mosque of Omar.**

***For the sake of owning a small scrap of Jerusalem, Jordan is imperilling the whole city and its surrounding area. From the outset, Jordan has had a great deal to answer for in the matter of Palestine. Now it is making things worse. Is the half-baked policy it pursues its own policy? In settling for what it already has, has it perchance been rewarded for being so obliging?***

*If the Arab world is to rein in Israel's ambitions, Jerusalem must be internationalised. Only an international presence will allow the Arabs to make up for lost sleep. That alone can make peace a possibility as time goes on.*

*A weak Jordan objects to what would give it security. IT IS OBJECTING TO ITS OWN SALVATION. Are its partners in the Arab League ready to accept that? Are they prepared to be mere bit players in the tragi-comedy being played out?*

*Whilst Arab capitals are officially announcing that there will be everlasting war against Israel, Jordan is being allowed to try to spoil the only chance, not of not ending the war but of not being destroyed; for Jordan is amongst the most vulnerable.*

*Little by little, Israel is conquering Jerusalem; its most recent success was to contrive to have the Ambassadors of the three great powers present their credentials in Jerusalem. In successive stages, global Israel is making Jerusalem its capital city, whilst Jordan, contrary to the wishes of all its partners, contrary to the wishes of the whole of Christianity and the whole of Islam, favours the satisfaction of interests as tenuous as they are egoistic over internationalisation and future peace.*

*Jordan's claim does no credit to the Hashemites; it does not enhance their standing in the Arab world; it shows them sacrificing the general, one could say universal interest, for the sake of a vainglorious delusion.*

*Let there be no more talk of unifying Arab foreign policy, especially not from a Hashemite prince! and let there be no more serious talk of an effective fight against Israel.*

*The Israeli government is keeping the score. Mr. Moshe Sharatt is doubtless winning; TO AVOID WHAT IS MOST TROUBLESOME FOR HIM, he has found an ally, if not to say an accomplice, in Jordan.*

*That being so, we assert Lebanon's right to have its own truly Lebanese foreign policy. It is our duty to do so. We too are the immediate neighbours of Israel, with our own concerns and fears. If Jordan can defy the League with impunity, we can do the same ..*

*We have had enough of being fooled in this way.*

*15 December 1954*

