Chapter III

LAND WITHOUT FRONTIER

The Basle Congress of 1897 was the first Zionist meeting which outlined a definite programme for world Zionist movement. Theodor Herzl was the founding father of the idea of the Congress which had the aim to unite the Jewish community and "create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law". The Basle Congress also outlined the strategy to achieve the Zionists' aim and it was to be done through "the promotion on suitable lines of the colonization of Palestine of Jewish agricultural and industrial workers". (1) Herzl's slogan was "Let the people without a land return to a land without a people". (2)

The Zionist Congress had a definite and ruthless plan to implement. The boundaries of the Jewish Home were not confined to Palestine only, but stretched, according to Herzl, to far beyond Palestine so as to include areas and territories constituting the Arab land. In 1896, Theodor Herzl published a paper wherein he advocated flexibility in the drawing of the frontiers of the Jewish State. In his description of frontiers Herzl said: "The northern frontier is to be the mountains facing Cappadocia (Turkey); the southern, the Suez Canal. Our slogan shall be: "The Palestine of David and Solomon". (3)

The Zionists were definitely thinking in terms of ruthless

expansion in what constituted the Arab world. Palestine was a small chunk of territory and it would not have been sufficient to accommodate ten million Jews. David Tristach sounded a warning and asked the Zionist leadership to accept the "Greater Palestine" programme. He wrote to Herzl in 1899: "The Basle programme must contain the words 'Great Palestine' or Palestine and its neighbouring lands - otherwise it is nonsense. You do not get the ten million Jews into a land of 25,000 km". (4) The only alternative to accommodate ten million Jews was the policy of aggrandizement and expansion. The Zionists decided in its favour and sanctioned all possible means to achieve the goal of a Jewish State. The Zionist organization was set up in 1907 and its purpose was to plan and conduct the struggle for achieving a Jewish State. The Zionist organization was a symbol of Zionist aspirations and gave an organizational shape to the idea propounded at Basle in 1897. To accelerate the process of colonization of Palestine by the Zionists many subsidiary organizations were established. The "Jewish Colonial Trust" in 1898, the "Colonization Commission" in 1898, the "Jewish National Fund" in 1901, the "Palestine Office" in 1908, and the "Palestine Land Development Company" in 1908 were created for this specific purpose, namely, to plan, finance and supervise the process of colonization of Palestine.

In its initial phase, the Zionist movement failed to cut much ice and its progress was extremely slow. At the outbreak of World War I after thirty years of Jewish immigration to Palestine, their strength was 8% of the total population of the country. It encouraged new alignments to emerge. In 1917, Zionist colonialism

concluded an alliance with British imperialism. The support of a big European power was the most important requirement for the Zionist movement to succeed in its mission.

After the war was over and the Ottoman Empire was dismembered, Britain had emerged as the most powerful country in the Middle East. British Imperialism required Zionist support for its own selfish ends. Great Britain had already reached an understanding with political Zionism and issued a policy statement on November 2, 1917. The Balfour Declaration of 1917 was the "declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations". (5)

The Balfour Declaration and promises made in it were the result of the policy of expediency. Its purpose was to enlist and ensure the support of the Jewish community for the Allied Powers. According to Churchill, the Declaration "was a practical measure taken in the interests of a common cause at a movement when that cause could afford to neglect no factor of material or moral assistance". (6)

World War I came to an end in 1918 and the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference decided not to restore Palestine to Turkey and instead place it under the control of a Big Power. On September 29, 1923 Britain became officially responsible for Palestine administration. Britain's assumption of the mandatory role was contrary to the wishes of the local Arab peoples.

The Zionists had supported Britain to become mandatory power in Palestine. Britain was a supporter of the Zionists who at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919 had circulated an extensive plan des-

5. See the Introduction, pp. 15-16.

Fig. 1  The Israel of Theodore Herzl (1904) from the "Brook of Egypt to the Euphrates" in Iraq is to be found in his "Complete Diaries" Vol. II, P. 711.

Fig. 2  World Zionist Organization Plan to the Paris Peace Conference, 1919.

Fig. 3  Palestine under British Mandate.

Fig. 4  United Nations 1947 Partition Plan ('Jewish State' is the dark portion and 'Arab State' is the white).

Fig. 5  Israel in 1949. (Darker portions are the areas conquered by Israel in addition to the UN Partition Plan).

Fig. 6  Israel in 1956. (Darker portions are the areas occupied by Israeli troops in 1956).

Fig. 7  Israel in 1967. (Darker portions are the areas occupied by Israel in 1967).
cribing the frontiers of a Zionist state: "The boundaries of Palestine were starting on the north at a point on the Mediterranean Sea in the vicinity of Sidon and following the watersheds of the foothills of the Lebanon as far as Jisr-El-Karaon, thence to El-Bire, following the dividing line between the two basins of the Wadi El-Korn and the Wadi El-Teim, thence in a southerly direction following the dividing line between the eastern and western slopes of the Hermon, to the vicinity west of Beit Jenn, thence eastward following the northern watersheds of the Nahr Mughaniye close to and west of the Hedjaz Railway". In the east the line was to terminate "in the Gulf of Aqaba". In the south the boundary "would extend from El-Arish in northern Sinai to Aqaba in the south". "In the west the Mediterranean Sea" was the boundary line. In an appeal to the Peace Conference, the Zionists said "that the geographical area of Palestine should be as large as possible so that it may eventually contain a large and thriving population". (7)

Great Britain helped the Zionists in their scheme of carving out a Jewish State in Palestine. The Jewish immigration was encouraged by Britain and it gave all possible facilities to Zionist organizations operating inside Palestine. In 1918, the total strength of the Jewish community in Palestine was 8 per cent (83,794 Jews). In 1922 the number went up to 83,794 making Jewish percentage twelve. In 1931, it further increased to 17 per cent making Jewish population 174,610. Between 1944 and 1948 the trend was further accelerated. During this period the Jewish population was 650,000 and their per-

The flood of Jewish immigration had swept off Palestinian political stability and plunged the area of holy places into the dark sea of bloodshed and terrorism. The British Government got alarmed, as the monster of its own creation was uprooting its control over Palestine. The Zionists were striving for a Jewish State and were, with terror and massacre of Arab population as their weapons, creating a situation favourable for the realization of their ultimate goal. The British Administration was crippled and the situation became intolerable. In March 1920, General Bols had sent to London an official communique wherein he wrote that the authority of each department of British administration is "claimed or impinged upon by the Zionist Commission". The Zionists were "bent on committing the temporary Military Administration to a partialist policy before the issue of the Mandate". The Report also pointed out that the Zionists aim was not merely to establish a "National Home" but "in reality they will be satisfied with nothing less than a Jewish State and all that it politically implies". (9)

The terrorist groups, and para-military cells affiliated with the Zionist Organization, were indulging in riots against the Palestinian Arabs. The Zionists combined diplomacy and action in order to achieve their goal of the Jewish State through a long protracted struggle. In its first decade from 1897 to 1907 the Zionist Organization set up financial, administration and propaganda depart-


ments. At the same time important Zionist leaders established and maintained diplomatic contact with their countries to secure wide support for the cause of the Jews. During these initial ten years much ground work was done and in 1907 the Zionist movement undertook a plan of action. The plan was formulated by Dr Weizmann and adopted at the 8th Zionist Congress. The synthetic zionism called for a slow but steady infiltration into Palestine to carve out Jewish enclaves. Such Jewish enclaves were intended to exert pressure on the authorities of Palestine to allow and guarantee to protect Zionist colonization.

The year 1917 marked a new but the most significant era of the Zionist Movement. The Zionists succeeded in obtaining the approval of the British Government for its plan of Jewish immigration. In 1927 the Zionist organizations were granted substantial amount of control over local administration of Palestine. In 1937 the British Government was pressurized to concede the basic demand of the Zionists and a British Royal Commission recommended to set up a Jewish State. The Anglo-Zionist conspiracy temporarily failed because the Palestinian Arabs rose against it and frustrated all attempts to impose such a state on them.

The Zionists intensified their struggle and subsequently their acts of violence increased; Haganah, Palmach and Irgun demonstrated their strength and ferocity. In May 1942, the Zionists reconsidered their plan of strategy to implement it. The "Baltimore Conference" was convened in New York. The leaders of the Zionist Movement met and declared that the gates of Palestine be opened,... and that Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth integrated
in the structure of the new democratic world". (10) The British Government was presented in 1945 with the demand that an "immediate decision be announced to establish Palestine "undivided and undiminished" as a Jewish state". Another demand made by the Jewish Agency was that it should be "invested with the control of Jewish immigration into Palestine". (11)

The Zionists did not always use the word "statehood", they camouflaged it with the more polite term of "home". The Zionist demand for a "home" for persecuted Jews was nothing more than a shrewd tactical slogan valid for such time as they could get sufficient manpower to dislodge the population, namely, the Arabs, who constituted the overwhelming majority and owned most of the land. From 1897 to 1942 the leaders of the Zionist Movement tried to show the world that they wanted a Jewish national home not a Jewish State. After 1942 they abandoned their strategy and openly started using the expression Jewish State. It was a mere strategic stunt and the objective of Zionism was to attain "statehood". Theodor Herzl confessed in his diaries that the sum total of the Basle Congress" in a word which I shall guard against pronouncing publicly - it would be this: At Basle I founded the Jewish State. If I were to say this today, I would be met by universal laughter. In five years, perhaps, and certainly in fifty, every one will see it". (12)


The policy of the Zionist Movement in its early programme and action was to systematically change the Arab character and population of Palestine into a Jewish one, through dependent Mandated Palestine then to an independent Jewish State. Jewish immigrants could be settled by forcible eviction of the Arab population of Palestine. The Zionists adopted four important means to achieve their goal of attaining statehood for the Jewish community: diplomatic action, colonization, expulsion and expansion.

Diplomatic action and settlement on Palestine soil was shrewdly combined. The official pronouncements made by Great Britain were not sufficient to attain the target of the Jewish State. Such a state was possible if the Jews in large numbers were brought to be settled in Palestine.

Ben Gurion wrote that such pronouncements "would remain pieces of paper if we did not manage to bring Jews into Palestine and prepare the land for large scale settlement". (13)

The Zionists conducted their war against both the Palestinian Arabs and the British government. Their aim was to establish the "Jewish State". To achieve their goal the Zionists employed the third means i.e. expulsion of the Arabs as an indispensable part of their strategy to get rid of those 497,000 Arabs who were living within the Jewish state. O'Ballance wrote: (14) "It was the Jewish policy to encourage the Arabs to quit their homes and they ejected those who clung to their villages."

The Zionists had stepped up their terrorism because they sus-

pected that the Security Council might undo the partition of Palestine. After the acceptance of the Partition Resolution of November 29, 1947 the Zionists adopted an offensive policy. Ben Gurion wrote: (15)

"As April (1948) began, our war of independence swung decisively from defence to attack. Field troops and Palmach in particular were deployed..., and almost all of New Jerusalem occupied, and the guerillas were expelled from Haifa, Jaffa, Tiberiah, Safad while still the Mandatory was present. Arabs started fleeing from the cities almost as soon as disturbances began in the early days of December 1947".

On May 15, 1948, Mandatory rule over Palestine was officially terminated. Between November 29, 1947 and May 15, 1948, the Zionist attacks intensified on Arab towns and villages. During this six months' period about 400,000 Palestinian Arabs living within the "Jewish State" were expelled and forced to take shelter in neighbouring Arab States. Many cities and villages which were assigned to the 'Arab State' under the Partition Plan, were all attacked and occupied by Israeli forces. (16) The Zionists were executing their plan with utmost ruthlessness and trying to expand the frontiers of the Jewish State beyond the area assigned by the Partition Resolution. The Partition Resolution of November 29, 1947 had clearly demarcated areas of the Arab state and the Jewish state.

The Zionists were not content with the boundaries of their proposed state, they annexed Arab areas and launched an all-out attack on Arab villages. To them the Partition Plan was a temporary expedient device which should serve their long term purpose of establishing Great

Israel. To quote Dr Elmer Berger: (17) "In principle all of them (the Zionists) agreed to accept (partition). But in practice, the more militant segments of the movement, tacitly supported by the official Zionist structure, began in 1948 to develop and implement plans with two designs in mind. "The first was to increase the territory of the proposed so-called "Jewish State" and the second was to reduce the size of the Arab population in those territories assigned to the so-called "Jewish State" by the General Assembly recommendation". According to Ben Gurion, (18) the Jewish State "has been established in only a portion of the Land of Israel".

The ceasefire orders of the Security Council were flagrantly violated by Israel. She used it as an interlude to replenish and strengthen her military potentials and it continued attacking Arab villages in defiance of May 22 resolution. The Arab population was expelled to make rooms for the Jewish immigrants.

Large scale looting and massacres of Arab population were confirmed by Count Bernadotte, UN Mediator. In his report in 1948 he said that the Zionists were committing "large scale looting, pillaging and plundering", and there were "instances of destruction of villages without apparent military necessity". (19)

The Security Council directive ordering ceasefire was violated when fighting again broke out on July 9, 1948. Israel was steadily expanding and gaining new areas belonging to the Arab States by the

17. SERVER, E. N., "The Crisis in the Middle East in Depth and Perspective", The Arab World (September, 1969).
use of sheer force. The Security Council adopted a resolution on
November 16, 1948 calling upon the parties to conclude an armistice.

The Armistice Agreements were concluded between Israel and
four Arab States, i.e., Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria. Israel
acquired, after the Armistice Agreements were signed, control over
nearly 8,000 sq. miles of territory out of a total of 10,435 sq. miles.
Under the Partition Resolution the total area allotted to the Jewish
State was 56.47% while after the Armistice Agreements it became 77.40%.
Israel's expansion beyond the territory given to it under the Parti-
tion Resolution thus was illegal and in violation of the United Nations
directives.

On December 11, 1948, a Conciliation Commission was set up by
the General Assembly. Its chief purpose was to take steps to assist
the Governments and authorities concerned to achieve a final settle-
ment of all questions outstanding between them". (21) The Commission
met at different places like Lebanon and Lausanne. At Lausanne it
presented a "protocol" as the basis of its work which was signed by
Israel and the Arab States on May 12, 1949. The working document on
the basis of which the commission was supposed to have conducted its
deliberations was the map of partition and Israel had agreed to it.
Later on Israel went back on its words and told the Commission that
she "could not accept a certain proportionate distribution of terri-
tory agreed upon in 1947 as a criterion for a territorial settlement
in the present circumstances." (22)

21. GAOR, 194 (111) of 11th December 1948.
Israel's acceptance of the Lausanne protocol was just a shrewd ruse, Machiavillian in its duplicity. Israel had applied for the membership of the United Nations and she accepted the protocol in order to show the world body her faith in the Charter and readiness to carry out its international obligations. The Government of Israel confessed it, when it stated: (23) "In a way, Israel's attitude at the Lausanne talks aided its delegation at Lake Success to obtain the majority required for admission".

Israel showed utter disregard not only for the Lausanne Protocol of 1949 but also for the Armistice Agreements concluded with the Arab states. The Armistice Agreements had provided demilitarized zones in each sector and Israel violated each zone's exclusive status granted under the Agreement.

Ever since 1948, Israel has always tried to push its territorial frontiers beyond areas assigned to it under the Partition Plan. Jerusalem was declared international zone but its sanctity was flagrantly violated. Chaim Weizmann was asking the Jews to prepare for an eventual occupation of the holy city when he said: (24)

"Do not worry because part of Jerusalem is not now within the state. Fear not, my friend, the old synagogues will be rebuilt anew and the way to the Wailing Wall will be opened again. Within your blood and sacrifices you have renewed the Covenant of old. Jerusalem is yours by virtue of the blood which your sons shed defending it".

Ben Gurion, the chief architect of Israel, while accepting the invitation to form a cabinet told his party: (25) "I accept to form the Cabinet on one condition and that is, to utilize all possible means

25. Israel Government Year Book 1951-52. p. 64.
to expand towards the South. It was in keeping with the promise of Ben Gurion to expand to the south that Israel attacked Sinai Peninsula in 1956.

Israel has planned its expansionist designs with meticulous details and executed it stage by stage. Israel kept expanding gradually in the demilitarized zone during the Armistice. The El-Auja demilitarized zone was illegally occupied by Israel in 1950. Before the occupation of El-Auja, Israel had violated the territorial integrity of Bir Qattar and occupied it on March 20, 1950. The Mixed Armistice Commission asked Israel to withdraw its armed forces from Bir Qattar but Israel refused to abide by the directive. The Security Council resolution of November 17, 1950 asking Israel to withdraw from the occupied area remained a mere piece of paper because Israel refused to obey the Security Council.

The naked aggression against Bir Qattar and El-Auja was an exercise in brutal aggrandizement and the expulsion of Arab Bedouins from their homes confirmed Israel's plan of ruthless expansion. "It was," to quote Egyptian Representative, "a continuation and intensification of premeditated, systematic and ruthless aggression by world political Zionism against the rights of the lawful Arab inhabitants of Palestine". (26)

The Israelis, instead of withdrawing from El-Auja, established a settlement called "Ketsiob". It was actually a military establishment from where Israel wanted to penetrate deeper into Arab lands. In 1955 further advance was made when the Israeli armed forces attacked and occupied Gaza.

It was another step forward towards the goal of "Greater Israel".

The Israeli armed forces were the main actor in bringing Israel nearer its goal. In 1952 Moshe Dayan said: (27) "It lies upon the peoples' shoulder to prepare for the war, but it lies upon the Israeli army to carry out the fight with the ultimate object of erecting the Israeli Empire".

The occupation of Gaza was till then the most important and serious development in the Middle East since the Armistice. Israel tried to justify its actions and occupation in terms of self-defence. Her contention was that the occupation of some Arab areas was indispensable because they were being used as headquarters of anti-Israeli guerrilla activities. The theory of reprisal and retaliation was vague and it was not accepted by the United Nations nor did it receive support from Israel's staunchest allies like France, the USA, the United Kingdom.

The US representative commenting on the Gaza raid, said (28) that it was "indefensible from any standpoint". "We oppose any policy of reprisal and retaliation".

Israel was not prepared to accept any resolution of the United Nations and vacate the areas occupied by it. It went ahead with its plan and efforts to establish Greater Israel. After Gaza it overran Sinai Peninsula.

During 1955 General Election campaign in Israel, leaders of various political parties were making big promises about extending Israeli frontiers towards south of Israel. Ben Gurion was pitched against Sharett for leadership. The Mapai Party led by Ben Gurion assumed more hawkish postures in order to capture power.

Ben Gurion on July 9, 1955, spoke in Beersheeba where he promised to "bring water and youth from the north to the Negev". The water, he meant, was primarily the water from the Jordan River.

Israel in its expansionist drive now wanted access to Eilat to establish its contacts with Africa and Asia. Sharett, a contestant for power in Israel was reported as warning that "Israel would assure by force the freedom of sea approach to Eilat should our enemies fail to respond to our efforts through international channels and peaceful negotiations to lift their blockade". Israel was bent upon reaching Eilat and developing it as an oil port. Ben Gurion also agreed with his chief rival to use force to open Eilat. He told a correspondent that opening Eilat for Israeli shipping was not difficult because "we can do it by air, by land or by sea." (31)

Nasser had in mind Israeli expansionism and the promises given to the Israeli people to push Israel's frontier further south when he nationalized Suez Canal on July 26, 1956. Israel mobilized its entire military strength and on October 29, 1956 it invaded the Sinai Peninsula. The invasion of the Sinai was invasion of Egypt. Aided by England and France, Israel used its superior military strength to expand deeper in the Arab Land and render many Arabs homeless. The invasion of Egypt had one motive - to expand in the south. A prominent member of the Herut Party observed: (32) "Peace with the Arab countries is impossible with the present boundaries of Israel which leave Israel open to attack. Israel should take the offensive immediately."

30. Ibid., p. 82.
and capture strategic points along its border including the Gaza strip and then should take over the British backed kingdom of Jordan."

The Sinai campaign was not the result of a few days planning. It was a well planned and meticulously executed scheme to grab one of the most strategic areas to provide Israel an access to the sea. The reasons given for the invasion of Egypt varied; some said that it was a "preventive war", to some it was a "retaliatory raid". It was more than that. Burns, the Chief of UNTSO has quoted Colonel Mursells, Israel Army Liaison Office for Armistice Affairs with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as saying that "it was not just a retaliatory raid, but that the Israel forces were going to stay in Sinai". The Security Council followed the same ritual of meeting and pondering over the grave situation. The resolution was vetoed and an emergency session of the General Assembly was called, in which a resolution was adopted under which United Nations Force came into existence and was sent to the Middle East to keep peace but with small success. Israel believes in the policy of speaking softly but without foregoing the use of the big stick.

Israel talks of peace but prepares for war. Whenever an Israeli leader became too enthusiastic in talking about peace, it has generally resulted in an attack on Arab territory. Israel is that way a master of duplicity. El-Farra of Jordan was referring to Israeli duplicity when he challenged Eban's call for peace and doubted his motive. He said that Eban's call for peace "worries me". "I say this because experience has shown that when the Israelis speak of peace and make loud noises about it, we take it as a warning to prepare for Israeli aggression." (34) He cited few instances like Eban's speech of January 9, 1952.

emphasizing the need of peace and only nineteen days later two Jordanian villages Falama and Hantis were attacked.

On September 28, 1953, Leban again expressed his love for peace and his concern "to heal a wound of aggressive violence". Sixteen days later Qibya became a victim of the most brutal aggression by Israel on October 14, 1953.

Moshe Sharett also spoke in Lebanon's tone on December 11, 1953 declared that Israel was always ready for peace. Three months later the Jordanian village of Nahhalin was attacked on March 28, 1954.

El-Farra cited many other instances of Israel's vague, insincere profession of peace, which actually meant "blood, murder, terror and aggression". (35)

The same story of double talk was repeated in 1967. Levi Eshkol, Israel Premier told the Knesset: (36) "Israel has no aggressive designs" against Arab countries. Moshe Dayan also said: (37) "We have no invasion aims. Our only target is to foil the Arab armies aim of invading our country. Soldiers of Israel, we have no aims of territorial conquest".

It is not only Egypt but also Jordan and Syria who have been victims of frequent Israeli attacks. Israel has all along wanted to capture the entire Western Bank of the Jordan River to establish Greater Israel. The Israelis had an armistice agreement with Jordan but frequently and flagrantly violated it. In 1952 the Israeli armed forces attacked Beit Jalla and occupied the area. On September 17, 1952 the Israeli armed forces expelled ten families of Es-Sani tribes

35. Ibid.
and occupied their land near Jordan. The biggest attack launched by Israel against Jordan came on October 14, 1953. Qibya, a village on the Jordan side became a victim of Israeli aggression. Lake Tiberias also became target of Israeli aggression. The Israeli Government undertook its work along the western bank of the Jordan River on land belonging to Arab peasants in the Mansoura sector. The Israelis on March 13, 1951, crossed the bridge of Benat Yakub and began work on a large scale in the demilitarized zone of the Eastern bank of the Jordan River. The Palestine Land Development Company Limited was the "Zionists' chief organ of colonization. It was like East India Company which was the chief instrument of British expansionism in India in the 18th century. The Palestine Land Development Company Ltd., was a body invested with powers to deprive the Arabs of their land. The Zionists were deposing the Arabs by purchasing their land, or failing that, they were being frightened and molested. The Arabs who remained in Palestine were also subjected to torture. Their homes were looted and burnt, their lands were grabbed and they were reduced to the status of second class citizen. All inhuman devices were being used in order to grab more and more Arab territory in order to accommodate more and more Jews. The Palestine Land Development Company Limited was, therefore, instructed by the Security Council in its resolution of May 18, 1951, "to cease all operations in the demilitarized zone until such time as an agreement is arranged".

Israel, however, did not abide by the Security Council resolutions asking it to vacate aggression and abandon its policy of expansionism. The Palestine Land Development Company Limited did not

38. SCOH, 546th Meeting, May 16, 1951, pp. 2-5.
cease operating in the demilitarized zone as required by May 18, 1951, Security Council Resolution. Israel's policy of "encroachment on Arab lands" (39) was confirmed by General Vagan Bennike the Chief of the Staff of UNTSO.

The Israeli expansion in the Syrian sector reached new heights when in 1955, a Syrian post on Lake Tiberias was attacked and occupied. The Israeli attack on Syrian soil was deplored by Great Powers and the Security Council. Israel was severely condemned for its acts of violence against innocent Arabs. No amount of condemnation of Israeli actions has, however, made the Zionists desist from their plans or actions.

Resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly have been treated as mere scraps of paper by Israel. In 1962, Israel with all its military strength, attacked the Arab village of Nuqueib in Syria. Syrian positions at El-Fig and Zaki and El-Hemma were attacked and bombed. The United Nations Truce Supervision Organization was in charge of looking after and preserving the territorial integrity of Arab land.

Israel in making onslaughts on Arab States has shown no inhibitions or respect for world opinion. It disregarded and, at times, defied even the Mixed Armistice Commissions directives. Many Chiefs of Staff of UNTSO are on record in confirming that Israel remained, (40) throughout, indifferent and contemptuous towards the United Nations Supervision Organization. Israel started as a small state comprising small chunk of territory. From 1948 to 1956 till the time of Egypt


Invasion, Israel's frontiers expanded. It deliberately, with full and detailed plan, embarked on a policy of wiping out Arab population, and replacing them with the Jewish immigrants.

A look of Israel's map would be enough to convince anybody of Israel's ruthless and shameless expansionist policy.

Israeli leaders had always expressed their expansionist design and whenever they had any opportunity to push Israel's frontier forward they grabbed it discarding all considerations of morality and international obligations. One of Israel's military leaders was provoking his people to acquire more Arab territories. He wrote: (41)

"Let us retaliate not by aggression of personal violence but by giving an additional spurt to our development. For every one of our comrades who falls, let us build a new agricultural settlement. Far from evacuating our villages, let us reclaim more desert and swamps and build new villages".

The Truce and, then, the Armistice Agreements with the Arab States did not mean much as far as Israel and its acts of violence were concerned.

Sayed Nofal has, with much efforts, collected a statistical data about Israeli attacks on the Arab States during the Armistice and after. According to him from 1957 to 1962 at least 2500 attacks were made by Israel on Jordanian frontier. On the Egyptian frontier the number of attacks is not that staggering, nevertheless it helped Israel to expand in the most strategic areas like Gaza strip and Sinai Peninsula. From 1949 to 1961 Israel made 1635 attacks on the Egyptian frontier. On the Lebanese frontier the number 97 while on the Syrian side the number of attacks during 1955 and 1962 was 16,997.

The total number of attacks made by Israel on till the Arab States was 21,240. (42)

Israeli policy of expansion was not spontaneous, it was a well planned and deliberate policy. Its swift penetration in the Sinai campaign of 1956 was the result of many years planning and extremely careful execution. Two Russian authors have succeeded in digging deep into the secret military records of Israel and quoted from secret document showing that Israel had definite plans. In one of the documents it is reported: (43)

"Negev, Tiran and Sanafir, Sinai Peninsula Suez area ... The occupation of these areas will bring us unlimited possibilities for the use of the Gulf of Aqaba and the port of Elath. The occupation of these territories will put at one’s disposal oil wells from which we can extract to thousand tons of oil per year, and also trade profits resulting from the possession of the Suez Canal. The Suez Canal will bring us from 10 to 20 million dollars per year. The port of Elath also will bring us 10 million dollars per year".

Wherever Israel had penetrated into Arab territories, militarized agricultural settlements had come into existence. Israel’s military strategy was to establish border settlements with strong military guard. Most of these settlements were established on lands which were abandoned by the Arabs. Out of 370 such settlements about 350 were, according to Don Peretz, founded on Arab refugee property. (44) The fortified settlements on border areas were aimed at defending the State of Israel. Ben Gurion wrote: (45) "Upper Galilee and the

expanses of the South and the Negev are the country's weak points, and no military force can assure us of their continued possession unless we settle them as speedily and closely as possible".

The whole of the Sinai Peninsula was overrun in 1956 and Israel in return for its withdrawal from the Sinai insisted upon retaining an important strip with it. That strip ran from El-Arish to the Gulf of Aqaba and was of immense strategic importance for Israel's plan to reach the sea and operate shipping through the Strait of Tiran. "Eretz Israel" also included the western bank of the Jordan River and the Golan Heights in Syria. Israel wanted not only an outlet to the sea which she got when Elath was captured. Israel also wanted portions of Lebanese and Syrian territories to include the headwaters of the River Jordan and a portion of the River Litani to ensure Israel economic progress and development. To get ample water supply Israel chalked out a plan to divert the water of the River Jordan. It was the most important chain in the scheme of Israeli expansion. Israeli contention to justify its claim to divert the water of the River Jordan was that Syria and Jordan were utilizing the waters of the Yarmuk River. Such a contention was unpalatable. The Jordan River was of great significance for the Arab States bordering the River since they had to depend on water resources in the absence of oil resources. Lebanon, Jordan and Syria all the main beneficiaries of Jordan River water. Israel was planning to pump out the water from the River Jordan to be utilized by the Jewish immigrants living in Negeb. The "Johnston proposal" was the blueprint which Israel wanted to use in undertaking the project. Johnston came to the Middle East as an Emissary of Eisenhower. His assignment was to study the matter and make suggestions to both the parties. The Israeli policy of diverting the waters of the River
Jordan was aimed at making the return of the Palestinian Arabs impossible by occupying maximum Arab territory. It had another aim of allowing still greater influx of the Jewish immigrants which would help it in realizing the dream of Eretz Israel stretching from the "Nile to the Euphrates".

The Arab states opposed any scheme of diverting the waters of the River Jordan. They refused to cooperate with Israel in any irrigation development plan as proposed by the United States of America because their support would have meant a severe blow to the rights of the Palestinian Arabs. The question of the river Jordan and its division between Israel and the Arab States was not to be taken in isolation of the Palestine problem.

According to the Arab States the question of repatriation of Palestinian Arabs to their homeland and the division of the waters of the River Jordan were two sides of the same coin and hence were to be tackled simultaneously. The United Nations Economic Survey Mission had accepted this relationship between the repatriation of Arab refugees and agreement on international water rights. The mission visited the Middle East in 1949 and after a long and thorough study of the problem its report said that peace and cooperation were essential pre-requisites for any development scheme. It said: (46)

"In the absence of a peace settlement between Israel and adjoining countries on outstanding issues involving repatriation and compensation of Arab refugees and territorial boundaries, it is unrealistic to suppose that agreement on the complex question of international water rights could be negotiated among the parties".

The position taken by the Arab States was vindicated by the report of the United Nations Economic Survey. The Arab states took a serious

view of the Israeli designs of expansion and decided to oppose every scheme to divert the waters of the river Jordan. The chief reason for their strong opposition was that Israel wanted to grab more land because the reservoir and pipelines were to be built on land which was Arab owned. The main waters of the river Jordan had its origin in Lebanon and Syria and it was a boundary line between Palestine and Jordan. Its diversion would have meant hardship and poverty for the Arab cultivators in the Jordan Valley.

Israel has always been, with single mindedness and meticulous details, following a policy of pushing its frontiers inside the Arab territory. It has been busy preparing for war which provided it the opportunity to appropriate Arab lands and expand its geographical limits. The leaders of Israel have always itched for the Land of the Bible and that opportunity came in 1967 when the Israeli air force was in action against the UAR, Jordan, Syria and Iraq. The plan was to achieve 'secure' and 'recognized' borders by occupying Sinai, the Golan Heights and the West Bank of Jordan including Jerusalem. The plan was executed with great speed and fantastic precision.

Israel's expansionism was in full cry in 1967 and was based on its occupation of Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian territories. Moshe Dayan was disclosing the Israeli plan of expansion and annexation when he said: (47)

"People abroad must realize that with all the strategic importance to Israel of Sinai, the Golan Heights, and the Tiran Straits - the mountain range west of the Jordan lies at the heart of Jewish history... If you have the book of the Bible, and the people of the book, then you also have the land of the Bible - of the Judges and of the Patriarchs in Jerusalem, Hebron, Jericho and thereabouts".

The military preparedness of Israel in 1967 was far better and superior than 1956. "The armoured corps in 1956" wrote Kimche, (48) "represented a small fraction of the total; by 1967 this had risen to a significant percentage. More than half of the defence expenditure went into the air force. Armour and airpower had become the two decisive factors." With such military might and planned scheme of expansion Israel embarked upon another adventure unparalleled in the annals of history and it endeavoured to preserve, uphold and defend the new status quo. This expansion was to materialise the dream of "Eretz Israel", it was the fulfilment of a people's ancestral dream. The Jerusalem Post wrote: (49) "The land was promised to us by the Almighty, and all the prophets foretold its return to us." Israel had always enjoyed the fruit of aggression and it refused to withdraw from the areas occupied during the June War of 1967. Israel refused to withdraw its armed forces from occupied areas not because it wanted 'secure' borders. The main reason was its expansionist policy and greed to acquire more and more land to absorb mass Jewish immigration. Eliezer Livenen said: (50) "Israel must make ready for absorbing mass immigration during the next decade, and all resources must be mobilized for that goal, including re-education of the people towards "genuine Zionism". Moshe Talenkin and Professor Harol Fish also spoke at the first post election convention of the Land of Israel Movement held on November 9, 1969. These two gentlemen

also dwelt upon the revolutionary role of the Six Day War of 1967 in
Jewish history and scoffed at those people who were arguing to go
back to the pre-war position. (51) The Palestinian Arabs, like other
human beings, were deeply involved with land of their birth and re-
 fused to yield despite the pressure and terror applied by Israel.
The Arabs who refused to leave their homes were subjected to inhuman
and cruel treatment. Their houses were burnt and their possessions
were looted which was in keeping with the Zionists' lust for domina-
tion and expansion. An Indian expert of International Law observed: (52)

"Repression of Arabs has become intensified since
the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. Under the pretext of main-
taining law and order Israeli Military started blowing
up the homes of suspected Arab patriots and extended
the practice to Jerusalem on March 6, 1968 which was de-
nounced by the Mayor Teddy Kolleck. The Arabs in Gaza
were subjected to particular humiliations, curfews,
searches, detentions and fines".

Israel's policy of expansionism was deliberate and conceived
at the time of Israel's birth. Count Bernadotte had perceived future
political development when he prophetically said: (53)

"It could not be ignored that unrestricted immigra-
tion to the Jewish area of Palestine might, over a
period of years, give rise to a population pressure
and to economic and political disturbances which
would justify present Arab fears of ultimate Jewish
expansion in the Near East.

Israel was encouraging mass immigration of the Jews and Ben Gurion
in 1961 declared: "Every religious Jew has daily violated the pre-
cepts of Judaism and the Torah of Israel by remaining in the Diaspora". (54)
Every Jew living outside Israel was, according to Ben Gurion, "godless".

52. Lakhanpal, L. P., Documents and Notes on Arab-Israeli Question.
New Delhi, 1968, p. 397.
53. UN Mediators' Report, UN Doc. S/888.
The Jewish immigration gathered new momentum even after June war of 1967. According to Jerusalem Post "the security situation has not affected immigration and prospects for 1970 fluctuate between 55,000 and 60,000." (55) The Israeli press advocate everyday the policy of unlimited immigration disregarding the absorptive capacity of pre-war areas or after war occupied areas with intention and knowledge of dangers which it poses to neighbouring Arab states. The Jerusalem Post wrote: (56)

"The Government coalition negotiations committee November 23, made headway on a number of issues and resolved unanimously to increase settlement both in Israel and the administered areas.

The term 'homeland' was used apparently in order to avoid having to name specific areas in the Golan Heights, the West Bank or Sinai where such new settlements are to be established within the next four years".

Israel is an expansionist state and the Arabs have suffered in terms of material and human loss. "That the Arabs fear and suspicion" wrote (57) Professor Haqqi, "are not groundless have been repeatedly substantiated by the attitude of the British and U.S. Government towards Israel, and the moral and material support extended to Israel by the Anglo-American Jewry and the elite in western countries".

The financial aid given to Israel by American Jews has been fantastic. "American Jews have poured into Israel for the last 15 years, $568 million bonds for Israel, $1,035,000,000 through the UJA and another $250 million in private investments that were often motivated by conscience". (58)

56. Ibid., November 24, 1969, pp. 1, 8.
According to another report the American aid to Israel in the last sixteen years totalled $698 million. (59)

During the years 1948-61, the Joint Distribution Committee (60) expended about $120,000,000 of its share of UJA funds for its programme in Israel.

Many Jewish intellectuals have openly denounced Israeli policy of expansion. Albert Einstein was offered to become the President of Israel. The great scientist declined the offer and observed that "he had never been a Zionist and had never supported the creation of the state of Israel". (61) Einstein was concerned with the rights of Palestine Arabs and wanted them to be repatriated to their homes.

Professor Morris Cohen was also opposed to the idea of a separate Jewish State. He did not have a blind love for Zionism which he regarded "not merely a philanthropic movement to help the homeless. It claims to be a solution of the Jewish problem; and its emphasis on Palestine rests on a nationalist philosophy which is a direct challenge to all those who believe in liberalism." (62)

Zionism was an antithesis of liberalism and even of human civilization. The expansion of Israel and expulsion of Arab population were the natural concomitants and logical outcome of Zionist doctrine. Ian Gilmour rightly observed: (63) "Stripped of its pseudo-

historical overtones, Zionism means the displacement of Arabs by Jews and the turning of Arab land into Jewish land."

Israel is not a state. It is a movement which preaches and practises hatred, discrimination against those people whose land it had forcibly acquired. Israel as a movement does not have a frontier - it cannot have a frontier. Its frontiers will be determined by its military strength and by the extent of Jewish immigration. The Law of Return was a clear manifestation of Israel's policy of expansion. On July 5, 1950 the Israeli Knesset unanimously passed the law which stated: (64) "Every Jew has the right to immigrate to the country". A Jew who comes to Israel and after his arrival expresses a desire to settle there may, while in Israel, obtain an immigrant certificate". Israel's vested interest is not in peace but in war because its motto is expansion in the Arab world to help Jews to return to the "Promised Land".

War is a convenient instrument of expansion and Israel has always used it and will always use it to expand in every direction. The best example of Israeli expansionist design was Moshe Dayan's statement in one of Israel's weeklies. (65)

"Our fathers had reached the frontiers which were reorganized in the Partition Plan. Our generation reached the frontiers of 1949. Now the Six-Day generation have managed to reach Suez, Jordan and the Golan Heights. This is not the end. After the present ceasefire lines there will be new ones. They will extend beyond the Jordan - perhaps to Lebanon and perhaps to central Syria as well."

Dayan's statement is an honest confession of Zionist expansionist proposals submitted to the Peace Conference of 1919. Israel has

forced, as Dayan confesses, its way out of the frontiers assigned by
the Partition Plan of the United Nations and will keep grabbing more
and more territories to materialize the religious myth of the
"Promised Land". Israeli expansion has denied the basic human rights
of the inhabitants of Palestine and rendered them homeless in their
own land. The refugee problem is an integral part of the Palestine
question and any effort to solve it later in isolation is bound to
fizzle out. As a matter of fact, the recent State of Israel, is not
the ultimate goal of the Zionists. It is only the first stage for
fulfledged 'ingathering of world Jewry.' Israel in its expansionist
drive passed through many stages and at every stage it was condemned
by the United Nations. The Security Council and the General Assembly
have adopted innumerable resolutions asking Israel to abandon its
policy of expansion. No positive result out of the United Nations
directives has so far come out.

Israel has always treated the United Nations resolutions with
great contempt and has paid them scant heed. Israel's adamant behaviour
constitutes a severe blow to the prestige of the United Nations.
Israel's refusal to refrain from proclaiming full territorial sover-
eignty over the areas under its de facto occupation after each aggression
is a negation of all principles of international law and civilized life.
The United Nations is on trial. The world body should not become and
remain a silent spectator to Israel flagrant violations of the United
Nations Charter.