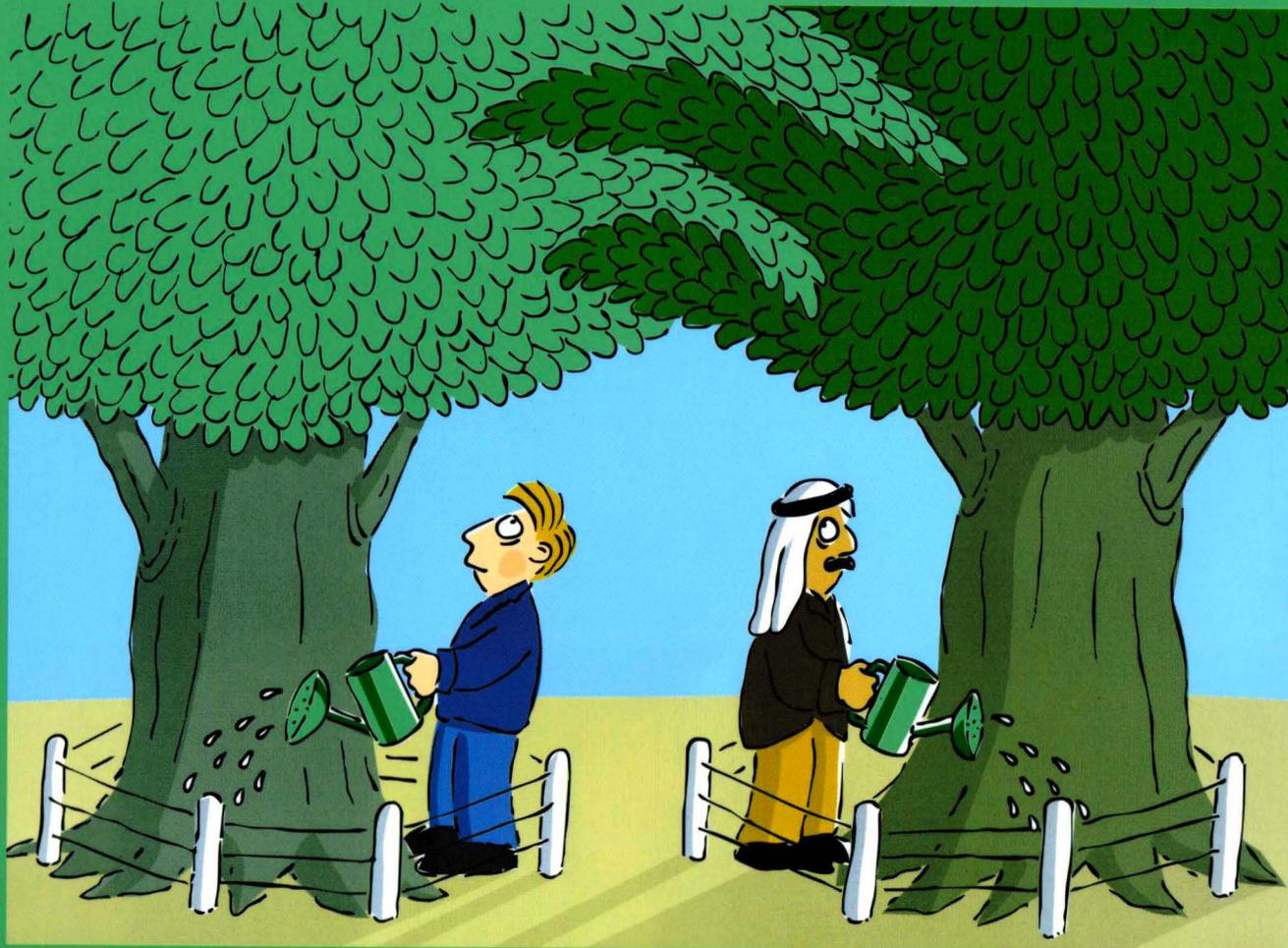


# LEARNING EACH OTHER'S HISTORICAL NARRATIVE:



Part Two

**Palestinians and Israelis**

*Primo*

Peace Research Institute in the Middle East

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

**Part Two**

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

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## Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

Teachers in Italy and France use this booklet in their classes, especially those who have mixed Jewish and Muslim populations. It was on the best-seller list in France for several weeks in the summer of 2004. Teachers at different universities started

using the booklet in their classes. The booklet interested local and international researchers. The experience and the themes of the booklet were presented in many conferences, workshops and seminars all over the world. One UNESCO staff commented on the booklet saying: "This is an excellent example of learning the other's history that was never done before in this style." The booklet was also covered by international media.

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

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

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

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

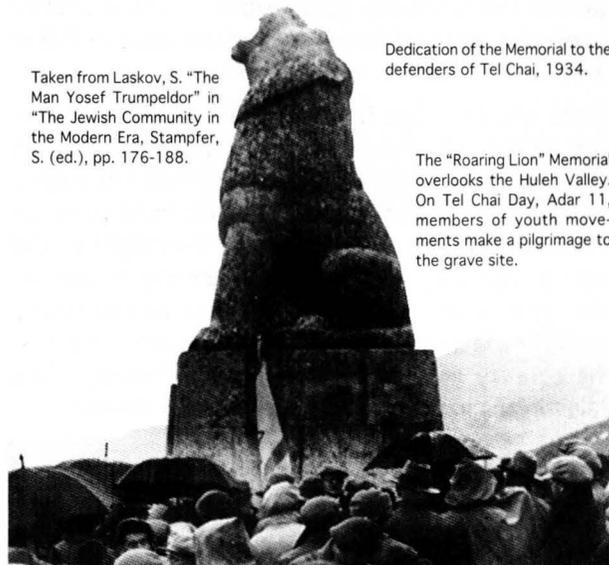
Finally, PRIME would like to extend its appreciation and thanks to Georg Eckert Institute in Braunschweig and especially Dr. Falk Pingel and Mr. Jonathan Kriener for supporting the project and the translation of this booklet from Arabic and Hebrew to English.

**With peaceful greetings**  
**Profs. Sami Adwan & Dan Bar On**  
**Co-Directors of PRIME and Project Coordinators**



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

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



Taken from Laskov, S. "The Man Yosef Trumpeldor" in "The Jewish Community in the Modern Era. Stampfer, S. (ed.), pp. 176-188.

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

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

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

which could only be possible with the imposition of British rule in Palestine. This was perhaps the specific reason for publication of the Declaration, i.e., to prepare Palestine for British mandatory rule and to remove it from the arena of international rivalry. With the entry of the English into Jerusalem on December 9, 1917, Palestine was severed from the Ottoman Empire, as well as from Greater Syria and Iraq, following four centuries of Ottoman rule since 1516.<sup>2</sup>

In fact, British colonialism applied its full weight for realization of the "National Home for the Jews". The British welcomed the Zionist leader Weizmann and the delegation he headed when they arrived in Palestine on April 4, 1918. The delegation was accompanied by a British liaison officer, Captain Ormsby-Gore. Weizmann set up the first Zionist office in Jerusalem in August 1918. The Zionist commission toured Palestine and demanded that it be involved in the government and management of Palestine prior to establishment of the national home. The commission worked at the same time to mollify the fears of the Arabs as to the true intentions of Zionism.<sup>3</sup> Weizmann held that "the lands of the Palestinians could be redeemed for money and they could be subdued with a little discipline as they did not constitute a national movement of purport". From his point of view, the Palestinians were not a factor worthy of consideration and did not constitute an obstacle to Zionist or British plans. In a letter to his son, Weizmann compares the Arabs of Palestine to "rocks in the area of Judea which are an obstacle that have to be removed from a difficult path". His theory became a cornerstone of the Zionist strategy. He denied the existence of an independent Palestinian nationality. The perception according to which the Palestinians had to leave the Jewish state and find themselves another homeland in the Arab world became the basis of the Zionist expulsion (transfer) plans in the Thirties and Forties."<sup>4</sup>

who died of his wounds during the evacuation. A physician who treated Trumpeldor testified later that his last words were: "Never mind, it is worth dying for one's country." The words "It is good to die for one's country" were deemed to have been his last became an educational motif and unifying ethos for words. This sentence, whether actually said or not, the Jewish community in the country on the first fifty years of its existence. The ethos that "one does not concede what has been built" became a cornerstone of the Zionist Movement and was tied to the earlier heroism of the Massada warriors.

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

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

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

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

### ***Herbert Samuel's Policies, 1920–1925***

As a supplementary step to British colonialist policy in support of the Jews and Zionist plans in Palestine, Britain revoked British military rule in Palestine in favor of a Civil Administration. In 1920, it appointed Sir Herbert Samuel, the former British minister of Jewish extraction, as the first High Commissioner in Palestine. This was the same Herbert Samuel who had published the well-known memorandum "The Future of Palestine" (the plan for a state containing 3 – 4 million Jews). This appointment of Herbert Samuel made no-one happier than Weizmann, who declared that "we have appointed him to this position because Samuel is one of ours, a product of his Jewishness."<sup>5</sup>

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

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

Year	Immigrants	Year	Immigrants
1919	1,643	1925	33,801
1920	15,079	1926	13,081
1921	4,784	1927	2,713
1922	7,834	1928	2,178
1923	7,421	1929	5,249
1924	12,856	1930	4,944



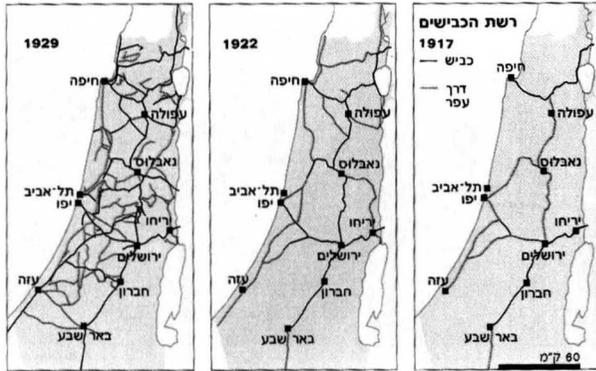




From: The History of the Land of Israel, ed. Yehoshua Porath and Yaacov Shavit, pp. 310 – 311.

The conquest of the land by the British was a turning point in the modernization of the country. The mandatory authorities invested in the development of services and the creation of an economic infrastructure, most prominently that of transportation: roads, railways, seaports and airports. The British established legal systems, a tax collection authority and a postal authority. They usually left education, health and the municipal system to the local people but not without advice and budgetary help from the Government. The Jewish community better utilized this matter because it had a developed organizational and political awareness. The Jewish community was able to manage the health, education and employment systems independently and even receive important economic concessions. There were no similar developments on the Palestinian side. (From: Moti Golani, Wars Don't Happen By Themselves).

vbnvvhfgvbn



Development of the Road Network (From: Atlas of the History of the Jewish People)

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

the poor Arabs are only allowed to look through the keyhole as a non-Jewish community.<sup>11</sup>

Furthermore, the Palestine Mandate differed from that of the Mandate in Syria, Lebanon and Iraq where the language was to act to facilitate the development of these countries toward attaining their independence. On the other hand, the first Article in the Mandate over Palestine granted the mandatory “full powers of legislation and of administration and turned Palestine into a British colony”.<sup>12</sup>

**The Economic Situation in Palestine:**

British policy spared no effort to facilitate construction of the “Jewish National Home”. This was clear and overt through the concessions which were granted to Jewish economic and other projects and institutions. For every Zionist project constructed, there was a process of destroying the Palestinian entity and dispossessing the Palestinian people from its land and its natural resources. This meant that the redemption of the Jews from the Holocaust was at the expense of creating a new holocaust for the Palestinian people.



The Arab Economy

Samuel seized extensive areas of state-owned lands, closed the Agricultural Bank which used to give loans to Arab farmers during the Ottoman Period, confis-



### ***The Jewish economy and Hebrew culture develop***

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

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



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

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

The British Judaization policy knew no limits. "It facilitated the Jews' purchase of over two hundred thousand dunams in the Jezreel Valley (Marj Ben Amer) and this led to the departure of nine hundred families who had been tenant farmers."<sup>15</sup>

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

The government of Britain sued anyone who was in arrears with the payment of the tax and imposed fines and prison sentences. Amongst the many taxes which the inhabitants paid was the tithes –i.e.: one tenth of the produce. The American Jews grape growers were exempt from this tax for ten years. The discount was made in favor of the Jews who had brought in this type of grape in which the Palestinians had no interest.<sup>16</sup>

Here came the role of the Jewish land broker who offered to buy the land and relieve the owner of his troubles. In one instance alone, 40,000 acres were sold, on which there were 18 villages, with the result that 688 peasant families were expelled from their lands. 309 families joined the ranks of the landless and the remainder escaped to the towns or became

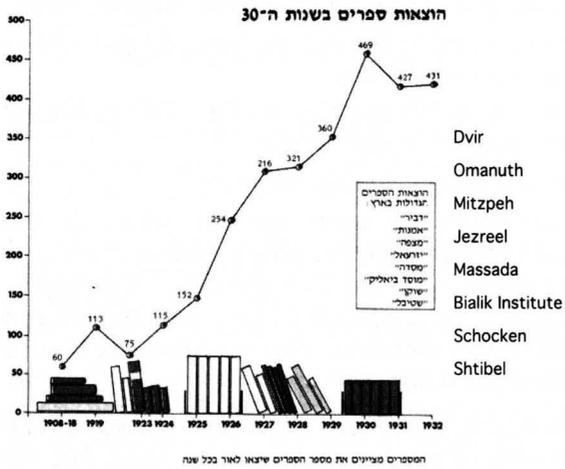


**Books published in Hebrew**

(From The Zionist Idea and the Establishment of the State of Israel, Tal Publications).

**Books published in the Thirties**

The large publishing house in the country:



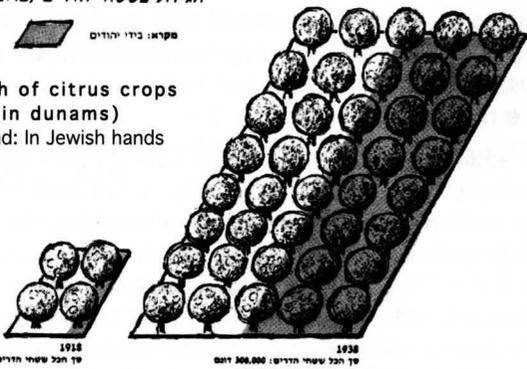
The figures denote the number of books published each year.

The mixed cities of Haifa and Jerusalem also benefited from the economic and cultural growth. New Jewish neighborhoods were constructed; the first Hebrew university was founded in Jerusalem while in

**הגידול בשטחי הדרים (בדונמים)**

מקרא: כדורי יתרונים

Growth of citrus crops (in dunams)  
Legend: In Jewish hands



1918: Total citrus area: 30,000  
1938: Total citrus: 200,000 dunams

family in order to build the Hebrew University and the taking over of 22,000 dunams from the Orthodox Church and 40,000 dunams to the south of Jaffa which were transferred to the Jewish colony of Rishon Lezion (Oyoun Qara).<sup>19</sup> Additionally, the Mandatory Government granted extensive land concessions and natural resources to the electricity project of Rutenberg, which was exempted from taxes for seven years, and also to the Dead Sea project for extraction of salts, the Huleh (Ein Elmalacha) irrigation plan and Hamma (sulfur springs).<sup>20</sup>

Jewish immigration and British policy thus gave rise to distaste and concern on the part of the Arabs in the economic sphere. Mr. Churchill published a report which he had received from Symes, the governor of the Haifa District, regarding the distaste of the Arab residents in which it was stated, inter alia: "economic conditions have a strong influence on political issues. These conditions are particularly difficult and, therefore, the village inhabitants have responded to agitation against the Government, there is no employment in Acre, Shef Amer and Haifa, the various fields of employment are in a state of deterioration. Similarly the customs barriers with Syria are destroying direct commerce; the condition of the simple porters and laborers has also worsened because the Jewish institutions and employers are giving priority to laborers who are new immigrants. Similarly, the urban population strata are suffering from a rise in the cost of living and they have to chose between bankruptcy or immigration. The situation of the landlord is not better. He is chained by heavy debts and has no possibility for receiving additional loans. The price of wheat is also low as there is no possibility of exporting it. As for the Bedouin, they have to change over to farming or leave the country."<sup>21</sup>

**The Political Situation in Palestine**

In order to make it easier for settlement to control all spheres of life in Palestine, the mandatory recog-



spirit of the era, dealing with the redemption and flourishing of the land.

***Morning Song by Nathan Alterman***

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

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

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

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

[Translation by Sharon Neeman]

***The Jewish community organizes into political parties and leadership institutions***

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

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

it to an end but the sediments of distaste between urban dweller and villager remained for a long time after its disappearance.<sup>24</sup>

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

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

Haj Amin Al-Husseini filled an important political and religious role for the whole of the period of the British Mandate in Palestine by virtue of his appointment as mufti of the Holy Lands in 1921. He contributed to the establishment of the Supreme Islamic Council, a body which became active in the defense of Arab rights and demands to the point at which the British viewed it as a third government in Palestine. The other two were, firstly, the British government and, secondly, the Jewish Agency. Haj Amin Al-Husseini began to give economic and moral support to the nationalist schools, particularly the Al-Najach School







they are not a rabble but a nation, perhaps somewhat tattered, but still living. A living people makes such enormous concessions on such fateful questions only when there is no hope left. Only when not a single breach is visible in the iron wall, only then do extreme groups lose their sway, ... and influence transfers to moderate groups ... And only then will moderates offer suggestions for compromise on practical questions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

### ***Popular Uprisings, 1920 and 1921:***

#### **a. 1920 Uprising (April Uprising)**

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

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

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

With the end of the demonstrations, the British sent to the country a commission of enquiry headed by General Palin. Among the reasons the Report noted for the disturbances between the Arabs and the Jews was the Arab concern about the Balfour Declaration and that they would not merit independence, fearing that they would become a minority subject to the





ties, 18 Jews were murdered and 80 injured. Small Jewish neighborhoods in Beit Shean, Gaza, Jenin and Tul Karem were abandoned and small, isolated settlements, such as Ramat Rachel, Atarot and Beer Tuvia were also abandoned.

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

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

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

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

did not make do with a restricted immigration out of religious - charitable - motives but encouraged mass migration of Jews in order to settle Palestine and take control of it.

- The Report clarifies that the Zionist leaders intended to control the whole of Palestine and brings testimony of a senior Jewish official in Palestine who said: “In the whole of Palestine only one national homeland can be established and that is the Jewish homeland.” The Commission recommended protecting the rights of the Arabs and mollifying their fears.<sup>39</sup>

The British ignored the report of the Commission because it was not consistent with their policy of establishing a national home for the Jews. This was the second British commission of inquiry whose report the British themselves ignored.<sup>40</sup>

#### ***The First White Paper (Churchill Memorandum):***

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

The White Paper determines that the English will not accept the transformation of Palestine into a Jewish entity and that they will try to help the inhabitants establish self-rule. The purpose of publication of the White Paper was to mollify the fears of the Arabs in view of the goals of the Zionists. Among other things, the White Paper:<sup>41</sup>





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## Glossary of Terms

### Land of Israel

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

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

1925 to protest the visit of Balfour to Palestine to participate in the inauguration of the Hebrew University. The Palestinian press conducted a broad-based attack against this visit.

Khalil Al-Sakakini gave a nationalist speech from the podium in the Al-Aksa Mosque, in which he asked Balfour to leave the country which he had entered contrary to the desire of its inhabitants.<sup>46</sup>

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

### \* The 1928 Events

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

On November 1, 1929, the Moslems held a conference in Jerusalem to discuss the issue of the al-Buraq Wall and it was decided to set up a society with the name: "The Association for Preserving the El-Aqsa Mosque and the Islamic Holy Places", based in Jerusalem. In reaction, the Jews established "The Association of Kotel [Western Wall] Loyalists". The Jews began to irritate the Arabs and so, in November 1928, Britain published the Second White Paper about the Holy al-Buraq which referred to the Islamic ownership of the Wall and noted that the Jews were only allowed to visit there. <sup>47</sup> The British decided to preserve the existing situation as in the days of the Ottoman Empire, this being a term which is known as *status quo*.<sup>48</sup>



idea for establishment of the Jewish Legion as part of the British army during the First World War. He founded the Revisionist Zionist Alliance and represented the radical wing on the political map which did not see at that time any possibility for compromise with the Arab side.

### The Yishuv (the Jewish community)

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

### The Western Wall

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

### Disturbances

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

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

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

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

*Their body in the soil of the homeland;*

*Their soul in Paradise*

*There they complain not about tyranny*

*There is a plethora of forgiveness and absolution*















## RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN JEWS AND ARABS IN THE LAND OF ISRAEL BETWEEN THE YEARS 1930 AND 1947

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

1. *The first half of the Thirties* – the increase of tension between Jews and Arabs in the Land of Israel.
2. *The Disturbances of 1936–1939* the Great Arab Revolt. These years were characterized by increased military cooperation between the British and the Jews in the Land of Israel, by changes in the policy of Britain vis-à-vis the Jewish community in the country and by the first proposal for partitioning the country into two states.
3. *1939–1945 The period of the Second World War and the Holocaust*. In this period, the Jewish community cooperated with Britain militarily and economically while, at the same time, non-violently opposing the policy of the 1939 White Paper.
4. *1945 – 1947 The period after the Second World War – the period of the struggle*. The Jewish community fought against the British with the goal of establishing a Jewish state in the Land of Israel and permitting the immigration of Jews. For the first time in this period, the Jewish community also fought against the British militarily.

### ***The First Half of the Thirties***

Following the clashes of 1929, it seemed that the British Labor Government would change its policy and stop supporting the establishment of a national homeland for the Jewish people in the Land of Israel. The

## THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI DISPUTE IN THE THIRTIES AND FORTIES: FROM THE 1930 WHITE PAPER TO THE PARTITION OF 1947

### ***Preface – the Events in Palestine***

There was a sharp change of direction in the events and developments in Palestine following the al-Buraq revolt of 1929. This change was characterized by a transition from reaction to what the Jews did prior to that date and during the revolt to the events of the Thirties and stemmed from a clear awareness on the part of the Palestinians, or most of them, that the oppressive policy of Britain in Palestine and its unilateral support for the Jews would not change.<sup>1</sup>

At the end of 1930, the High Commissioner, Chancellor, sent a letter to the British Colonial Secretary in which he advised that the situation in Palestine would not be restored to its former state, as it had been before 1929. Palestinian policy was changing and there was a general feeling that it was no longer confined to resistance to Jewish immigration and settlement but aspired to national independence, without British rule.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time, official Palestinian policy towards the British government was characterized by moderation until the end of 1933. This was because the Palestinian notables felt that Palestine was subject to a special situation and that attention should first be given to the danger inherent in the immigration of Jews and their settlement on the land of Palestine. A special effort was required to ward off that danger and only then would the colonialism issue be dealt with. But the events of 1929 weakened the weight of the moderates. Streams and national movements had risen and come to the fore demanding a different way of coping with the dangers hovering over Palestine. In their opinion, the British government was



































intelligence (in Syria, Lebanon and Iraq, where the Etzel commander-in-chief, David Raziel, was killed) and by establishment of regular fighting units. Because of this instruction, a number of fighters from the Organization broke away and set up the *Lochamei Herut Israel* (Lehi) Organization. They were led by Avraham Stern, nicknamed Yair. The Lehi tried to harm the British even during the period of the war and they, in response, managed to capture Yair and murder him with the pretext that he had tried to escape.

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



Hebrew Army

Jews want to fight as Jews]

One of the prominent expressions of the cooperation was the paratrooper corps (32 warriors from the *yishuv*) who were sent to Europe, to areas occupied

The moderate policy which characterized Amin el-Husseini, as even British sources testified, was immediately torpedoed with publication of the recommendations of His Majesty's Commission, according to which Palestine was to be divided into two states, one Jewish and one Arab, leaving defined areas of strategic importance under the rule of the Mandate.<sup>40</sup>

The Arabs rejected the partition decision because it signaled the creation of a Jewish state on pure Arab land and only its owners had the right to establish a modern state thereon in which the Jews would be represented and their rights preserved. For that reason, there was a rapid and determined Arab reaction – the Revolt entered the second stage, revolutionary actions were renewed in a combination of varied ways and means. There were no more isolated clashes with the British and the Jews but groups which specialized in attacking settlements and imposing a siege on the Jews by cutting down trees and crops. Several groups damaged bridges, railway tracks and the oil pipe line.<sup>41</sup>

At this stage, the Revolt chalked up great success and covered many areas despite the fact that many of its leaders were exiled and others had fled to neighboring countries. Among them was Haj Amin el-Husseini who began to run the Revolt from Lebanon.<sup>42</sup>

Britain had made up its mind to extinguish the fire of the Revolt which then entered its last stage. Britain adopted a variety of methods of violence, destruction, killing and expulsion against the Palestinian people and leadership and brought further large forces to the country in order to crush the Revolt and disarm it. At the same time, it supported the Jewish organizations, equipped them with weapons and helped them with training and organization.<sup>43</sup>

Britain managed to regain control in all areas that had been controlled by the revolutionaries and thus began an additional military conquest of Palestine after more than five thousand warriors had given their lives,







The actions of the two breakaway organizations, the Etzel and the Lehi, and primarily the assassination of Lord Moyne (the British Minister Resident in the Middle East) in November 1944 in Cairo by Lehi members, were perpetrated contrary to the position of the *yishuv* leadership. The opposition of the latter stemmed from a fear of entering into a direct military confrontation with the British and of losing sympathy for the Zionist enterprise in world public opinion. Thus began the “*saison*” period, when members of the Haganah caught members of the breakaway organizations and handed them over to the British. The purpose of the *yishuv* leadership was not to break the cooperation with Britain, primarily out of the desire to retain Britain as an ally after the war. The “*saison*” led to bitter reactions among the breakaway organizations and there was even concern about a possible civil war.

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

### 1945–1947

#### ***The Struggle for Establishment of the State***

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

blew up the King David Hotel in 1946. The results of these Zionist terrorist attacks in Palestine were 169 Britons killed by Jews as against 37 Zionist Jews whom the British killed. These death rates on both sides are very interesting because we know that, according to the official figures, the number of dead in the 1936 Revolt came to 211 Britons together with 500 wounded. Among the Arabs, there were 2,000 martyrs, with the reservation that most Palestinian sources of information note that the number of martyrs among the Palestinian Arabs exceeded 5,000.<sup>52</sup>

With the outbreak of the Second World War, the Palestinian Revolt began to die down and stopped because of the state of war, the shortage of weapons, the heavy losses and the siege and stranglehold which the British and their French allies imposed, with the latter persecuting the Palestinians in Syria and Lebanon. Britain prohibited the activities of the Arab Higher Committee and, for eight years, persecuted its leaders who hid, went into exile or were arrested. On the other hand, the British Government released the Jewish leaders in October 1946 after their arrest in June of that year.<sup>53</sup> At the Biltmore Conference in the USA which the Zionist leaders held in 1942, they publicly declared their intentions to take control over all parts of Palestine and to establish there a Jewish state. They also approved a plan calling for unrestricted immigration to Palestine and the establishment of a recognized military force there. The American Congress supported the plan and Zionism looked to the United States in particular for support when it realized that it would emerge from the war as the leading power in the world.<sup>54</sup>

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

On May 7, 1947, the General Assembly of the United





and above all, the “Night of the Bridges”, when eleven bridges connecting the Land of Israel to the neighboring countries were blown up.



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

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

### The Mufti, Haj Amin el-Husseini

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

### Izz Al-Din Al-Qassam

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

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Hotel had placed the *yishuv* in jeopardy of a lengthy confrontation with Britain. The chances for victory and the ramifications of such a struggle were unclear and the *yishuv* leadership chose to refocus the struggle against the British on the sphere of immigration, settlement and political pressure. This *modus operandi* was termed the “strict struggle”.

Dismantlement of the Rebellion Movement resulted in an exacerbation of the activities of the Etzel and Lehi Organizations which refused to follow the decision to end the military struggle. These organizations, who were termed the “separatists” by the leaders of the organized *yishuv*, believed that only continuation of the military struggle would result in any attrition of the British and their departure. This mode of struggle was termed “the continuous struggle”. At its peak, the British hanged members of Etzel and Lehi and fighters in these organizations hanged British soldiers in response. Following an attempt by Lehi members to assassinate the High Commissioner, Harold MacMichael in 1944, the British began to exile members of the separatist organizations to detention camps in Africa. Some 250 Etzel and Lehi members were exiled to detention camps. A minority managed to escape while most of them were returned to the State of Israel upon termination of the mandatory rule.

### ***Illegal Immigration***

One of the most effective ways of the *yishuv* to fight against the mandatory regime was illegal immigration to the country. This took place in the following manner: ships were rented or bought in Europe. They were speedily and partially readied for passengers. If they managed to evade the British ships, the illegal immigrants would disembark on the beach and be transported to the settlements in the vicinity. If the ships were caught, the British would send the passengers to detention camps. The illegal immigration became an effective tool in the struggle against the

- 16 Kayyali, pp. 251 – 252.
- 17 Palestine: Its History and Its Problem, p. 67.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Al-Hut, pp. 317 – 328.
- 20 Khalidi, Walid. Before the Diaspora, pp. 189 – 191.
- 21 The Palestinian Problem and the Zionist Danger, pp. 225 – 226.
- 22 Zeitar, Akram, The Palestinian Problem, p. 99.
- 23 Hussein Sharif, The Political Perception of Jews in History from the Biblical Period to the Process of Negotiations, the Middle East from 1900 BCE to 1995 CE, p. 353.
- 24 Ibid, p. 282.
- 25 Abd al-Min'im. We and Israel in a Crucial Battle, p. 121.
- 26 Ibid, p. 122
- 27 Ibid, p. 185.
- 28 Jabara, Taysir, The 1936 Strike in Palestine, p. 20.
- 29 Ibid, pp. 27 – 28.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Kayyali, p. 262.
- 32 Palestine: Its History and Its Problem, p. 68.
- 33 Al-Hut, p. 332.
- 34 Kayyali, p. 263.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Zeitar, p. 103.
- 37 Ibid, p. 105.
- 38 The Palestinian Problem and the Zionist Danger, p. 233.
- 39 Al-Hut, pp. 354 - 358.
- 40 Kayyali, pp. 234, 244 – 245.
- 41 Palestine: Its History and Its Problem, p. 73.
- 42 Kayyali, pp. 284 – 296.
- 43 Khalidi, p. 190.
- 44 The Palestinian Problem and the Zionist Danger, pp. 233 - 240.
- 45 Al-Hut, p. 383.
- 46 Ibid., p. 384, and see Palestine Its History and Its Problem, p. 75.
- 47 Al-Hut, p. 386.
- 48 Ibid, pp. 386 – 399.
- 49 Zeitar, p. 386.























northern front, the war also started on June 5. The Syrian air force attacked targets in the north of the country and Syrian artillery shelled the settlements of the Jordan Valley and around the Sea of Galilee. In response, the Israeli air force destroyed most of Syria's aircraft on the first day of the war. In the following days, an artillery battle was waged between the Syrians and the Israelis and it was only towards the end of the war, and under heavy pressure on the part of the residents of the Upper Galilee and the Jordan Valley who had suffered from Syrian shelling during the sixties, that the Israel Defense Forces initiated an operation for the conquest of the Golan Heights. This was achieved on June 10 and so ended the Six-Day War.

Israel achieved a brilliant victory which changed its history and that of the whole Middle East.

The Old City of Jerusalem was conquered as were the cities of the West Bank with their Biblical sites, the Sinai Desert and the Golan Heights.

The Israeli public had a sense of spiritual uplift and a loss of the sense of reality. Some even perceived the victory as a religious - messianic experience.



From: Tzameret and Yablonka (eds.)  
"The Second Decade, 1958 - 1968", 2000

the planes of the Jordanian air force, most of the planes of the Syrian air force and a large number of Iraqi planes at H3 Base in Jordan. On that day, 416 Arab planes were destroyed, of which 393 of which were on the ground while 23 were shot down in air battles. The Israeli air force lost a total of 26 planes only. As a result of the lightning air strike, Israel achieved total air control and the Arab air space was opened up before the Israeli air force.

In addition, fierce battles took place on the ground at a time when the Arab land forces constituted an easy and exposed target for hostile air planes. The Arab forces did not have effective means of defense against the attacking planes and so, from the first hours of the battle, the Arab land forces found themselves in difficult straits, particularly in view of the overwhelming air superiority of Israel. These forces had no reasonable hope of winning the battle.<sup>8</sup>

### ***The Land Battles:***

#### **a. The Egyptian Front**

The overall strategic plan of the Israeli army on this front relied on a three-dimensional break-through operation implemented in three stages, as follows (see Map Number 1):

Stage One: Opening of the northern axis along the coast from Khan Yunis in the direction of Al Arish and the opening of the central axis from Nitzana to Um Qutuf and Abu Agila.

Stage Two: Advance into the depth of the Sinai Desert.

Stage Three: Control of the two mountain passes in the Mileh area, overlooking the road to the Suez Canal.

On the Egyptian front, the severest battles were fought in the depth of the Sinai Desert and in the Gaza Strip. A paratroopers' brigade, backed by tanks, advanced parallel to the coast towards Gaza when the Israeli army broke through to the area of Khan



quest of Jerusalem and the Western Wall caused great excitement within the whole of the Jewish people. This was the realization of a generations' long dream and of longings of thousands of years of exile during which the Jews swore each day "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget its cunning."

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

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

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

[Shemer's added version after the war]

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

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

### The Position of Israel after the War

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

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

As fierce battles were taking place in Kuneitra, large numbers of infantry and armored forces of the Israeli army were mobilized on June 10 and attacked the southern part of the Golan Heights, bordering on the Sea of Galilee from the east in the area of Tawafiq. After a heavy artillery bombardment and bombing from the air, the Israeli forces managed to take the township of Tawafiq<sup>9</sup> and, following it, the townships of Fiq and Alalel to the east. They conquered the villages of Baticha and Rafida and the whole of the Golan Heights, overlooking the plains of Damascus from Massada in the north to Kuneitra and Rafida in the south in the direction of the estuary of the Yarmuk, and the Jordan River fell into the hands of the Israeli army.

### c. The Jordanian Front

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

Regarding the Jordanian forces, General Abed El-Munam Riad, the commander-in-chief of the Arab forces, issued an order to the commander of the































