

بالصور.. تاريخ التضامن بين السود والفلسطينيين

كتبه سلام عواد | 4 يناير، 2022



ترجمة وتحرير: نون بوست



Geographies of LIBERATION

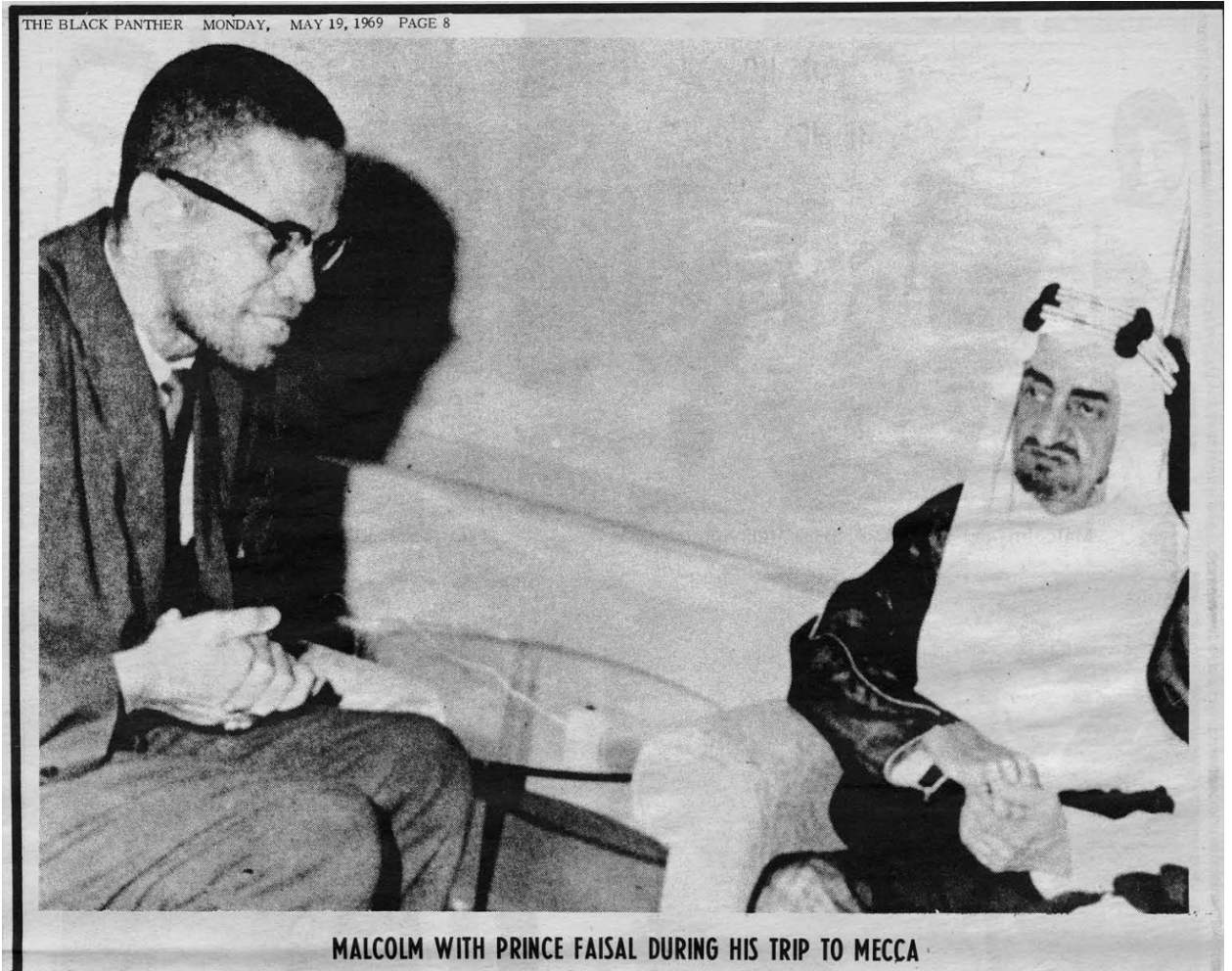
The Making of an Afro-Arab Political Imaginary

ALEX LUBIN

كان التضامن بين السود والفلسطينيين من الملامح البارزة في احتجاجات حركة "حياة السود مهمة"، التي ظهرت سنة 2014. هذا التقاطع بين السود والقضية الفلسطينية ليس ظاهرة جديدة، بل هو انعكاس لترايط متجذر في تاريخ النضال العالمي ضد العنصرية والإمبريالية.

في الصورة أدناه، يظهر مالكولم إكس جنباً إلى جنب مع قادة منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية سنة 1964. هذه الصورة موجودة على غلاف كتاب أليكس لوبين "جغرافيا التحرير: صناعة مخيال

سياسي أفريقي عربي"، والذي يستكشف تقاطع العلاقات والتأثير المتبادل بين نضالات السود والفلسطينيين. ووفقا للمؤلف، فإن العلاقة بين هذه النضالات لا تحدها الهويات القومية والعرقية.



كان مالكولم إكس أحد أبرز الأصوات في كفاح الأمريكيين من أصل أفريقي ضد العنصرية، وأحد أكثر الشخصيات الثورية شهرة في العالم. حظيت رحلته إلى المملكة العربية السعودية لأداء الحج بمتابعة واسعة، كما زار فلسطين في عدة مناسبات.

في زيارته الأخيرة إلى فلسطين سنة 1964، التقى مالكولم إكس في قطاع غزة بالشاعر الفلسطيني هارون هاشم رشيد. خلال زيارته إلى مخيمات اللاجئين والمستشفيات، كان مالكولم إكس شاهداً على محنة الفلسطينيين الذين شردتهم "إسرائيل". وعقب اللقاء نشر مقالا في صحيفة "الإجيبشيان جازيت" بعنوان "عن المنطق الصهيوني"، أكد فيها دعمه الثابت للنضال الفلسطيني وساوى بين الصهيونية والاستعمار، وحث القادة الأفارقة على دعم النضال الفلسطيني من أجل الحرية.

من خلال مواقفه، ربط مالكولم إكس بين الأممية السوداء والقضية الفلسطينية، وخلق حالة من التضامن توارثتها الأجيال اللاحقة من الثوار السود والفلسطينيين.

THIRD WORLD ROUND UP

THE PALESTINE PROBLEM: TEST YOUR KNOWLEDGE

DO YOU KNOW?

1. THAT Zionism, which is a **supra-nationalistic** Jewish movement, organized, created and created the State of Israel by sending European immigrants from Europe into Palestine (the heart of the Arab world) to take over land and homes belonging to the Arabs?

2. THAT in this operation, they received maximum help, from Great Britain, the United States, and other white western colonial governments?

3. THAT organized Jewish Zionist forces back to 1897, when the first Zionist Congress was held in Basel? The program stipulated of the Jewish People to come to Palestine, secured by political force. This began the Palestine Problem, which led to the present Arab-Israeli conflict.

4. THAT Britain took control of Palestine at the end of World War I, and, working hand-in-hand with European Zionist Jews, such as Lord Balfour, set forth the Balfour Declaration? Thus, in 1917, Palestine became a world problem.

5. THAT the Balfour Declaration stated that the British Government was in favor of establishing a national home for the Jewish People in Palestine, but, at the same time, contradicted itself and said that nothing should be done to damage the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine (Arabs)?

6. THAT the British Mandate Government of Palestine, along with the Zionists, immediately began to encourage European Jews to immigrate to Palestine - in spite of the fact that, in 1917, more than 90 percent of the population of Palestine were Arabs - and there were no more than 50,000 Jews in Palestine?

7. THAT more than half of the 50,000 Jews living in Palestine at that time were recent immigrants, who had come to Palestine only a few years before to escape persecution in Europe and had been welcomed by the native Palestinian Arab people with open arms, living in peace side-by-side with the Arabs? That, in 1917, less than 5 percent of the population of Palestine were native Palestinian Jews?

8. THAT the Arabs of Palestine at that time owned 97 percent of the land, while Jews owned only 2 percent of the land?

9. THAT during 30 years of British occupation and rule, the Zionists were able to purchase only 20 percent of the land of Palestine, in spite of encouragement by the British government? And that much of this land was transferred to Zionist bodies by the British government directly, and was not sold

10. THAT, therefore, when Britain passed the Palestine Problem to the United Nations in 1947, Zionists owned no more than 5 percent of the total land area of Palestine? At that time there were 1.2 million Arabs and 150,000 recent Jewish immigrants living in Palestine.

11. THAT in spite of the fact that, the General Assembly of the United Nations, in 1947, recommended that a "Jewish State" be established in Palestine? And that, furthermore, the U.N. granted the proposed "State" about 54 percent of the total area of Palestine, which included the coastal fertile and irrigable lands, leaving the Arabs with mountainous areas, with little or no irrigation possibilities.

12. THAT the Zionists (Israeli) armies immediately occupied land still occupied more than 80 percent of the total land area of Palestine?

13. THAT this conquest of Arab land took place, for the most part, before May 15, 1948, before the formal end of British rule, before the Arab armies entered to protect Palestinian Arabs, and before the Arab-Israeli War?

14. THAT the Arab States had to send in their poorly trained and ill equipped armies against the superior western trained and supported Israeli forces, in a vain effort to protect Arab lives, property and Arab rights to the land of Palestine? That this was the formal beginning of the Arab-Israeli War?

15. THAT the Zionists conquered the Arab homes and land through "murder, rape, and massacre"? That they wiped out over 20 Arab villages before and after they took control of the area they now call "Israel"?

16. THAT the Zionist terror gangs (Haganah, Irgun, and Stern gangs) deliberately slaughtered and mutilated women, children and men, thereby causing the unarmed Arabs to panic, flee and leave their homes in the hands of the Zionist-Israeli forces.

17. THAT there are still over one million Palestinian Arab refugees living in the Arab countries that surround Israel, but they are still homeless, penniless, and live off of United Nations charity?

18. THAT under the Charter of the United Nations, the 1947 Partition Plan which created the "Jewish State"?

19. THAT all attempts by the Arab States and other Arab countries to have the U.N. General Assembly had no right to pass the International Court of Justice were rejected or ignored by the Assembly?

20. THAT the original 1947 Partition Plan was approved, at the first vote, only by white European, American and Australian states, that every African and Asian state voted against it? And that, in the second vote, upon United States pressure, which a member of the United Nations called "bordering on scandal" had caused in forcing only one Asian country (the Philippines) and one African country (Liberia) both controlled by "white men," to abstain from a vote? IN OTHER WORDS, ISRAEL WAS PLANTED AT THE CROSSROADS OF ASIA AND AFRICA WITHOUT THE FREE APPROVAL OF ANY MIDDLE-EASTERN, ASIAN, OR AFRICAN PEOPLE.

21. THAT Israel has remained a land stronger in the Afro-Asian world, that Israel has never been allowed to attend any conference of the Afro-Asian or Afro-Asian states?

22. THAT, ever since the Armistice Agreements were signed in 1949, Israel has continued to cross the Demarcation Lines, invade the neighboring Arab states, and make "demands" against the Arab People? And that the U.N. has condemned Israel for these attacks on at least eleven occasions.

23. THAT no Arab State has ever been condemned by the U.N. for military attacks against Israel.

24. THAT in the U.N. Resolution December 11, 1948, Israel was granted admission to the U.N. only if she agreed to repatriate the Arab refugees compensation for property losses, but Israel has refused to do this, in spite of the fact that every year, the U.N. has called on Israel to honor the original resolution.

25. THAT the famous European Jews, the Rothschilds, who have long controlled the wealth of many European nations, were involved in the original conspiracy with the British to create the "State of Israel" and use "strong Jewish supporters" THAT THE ROTHSCHILDS ALSO CONTROL MUCH OF AFRICA'S MINERAL WEALTH?

26. THAT under the direction of Haganah (Labor Organization) to go into African countries, to exploit and control their economies, and subjugate African liberation movements, along with any other African movements or projects opposed by the

United Nations, which helped create the problem, been unable to solve it? Why have hostilities continued? What is the root of the problem?

Since we know that the white American press seldom, if ever, gives the true story about world events in which America is involved, then we are taking this opportunity to present the following documented facts on this problem. These facts not only affect the lives of our brothers in the Middle East, Africa and Asia, but also persons to our struggle here. We hope they will shed some light on the problem. Future issues of SNCC Newsletter will contain more background information and articles on the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The Editor

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في عام 1967، نشرت لجنة التنسيق الطلابية اللاعنفية رسالة بعنوان "لم الشمل في العالم الثالث.. القضية الفلسطينية: اختبار معارفك"، ساطت فيها الضوء على احتلال الأراضي الفلسطينية وأثر العدوان الإسرائيلي على الفلسطينيين خلال النكسة (1967).

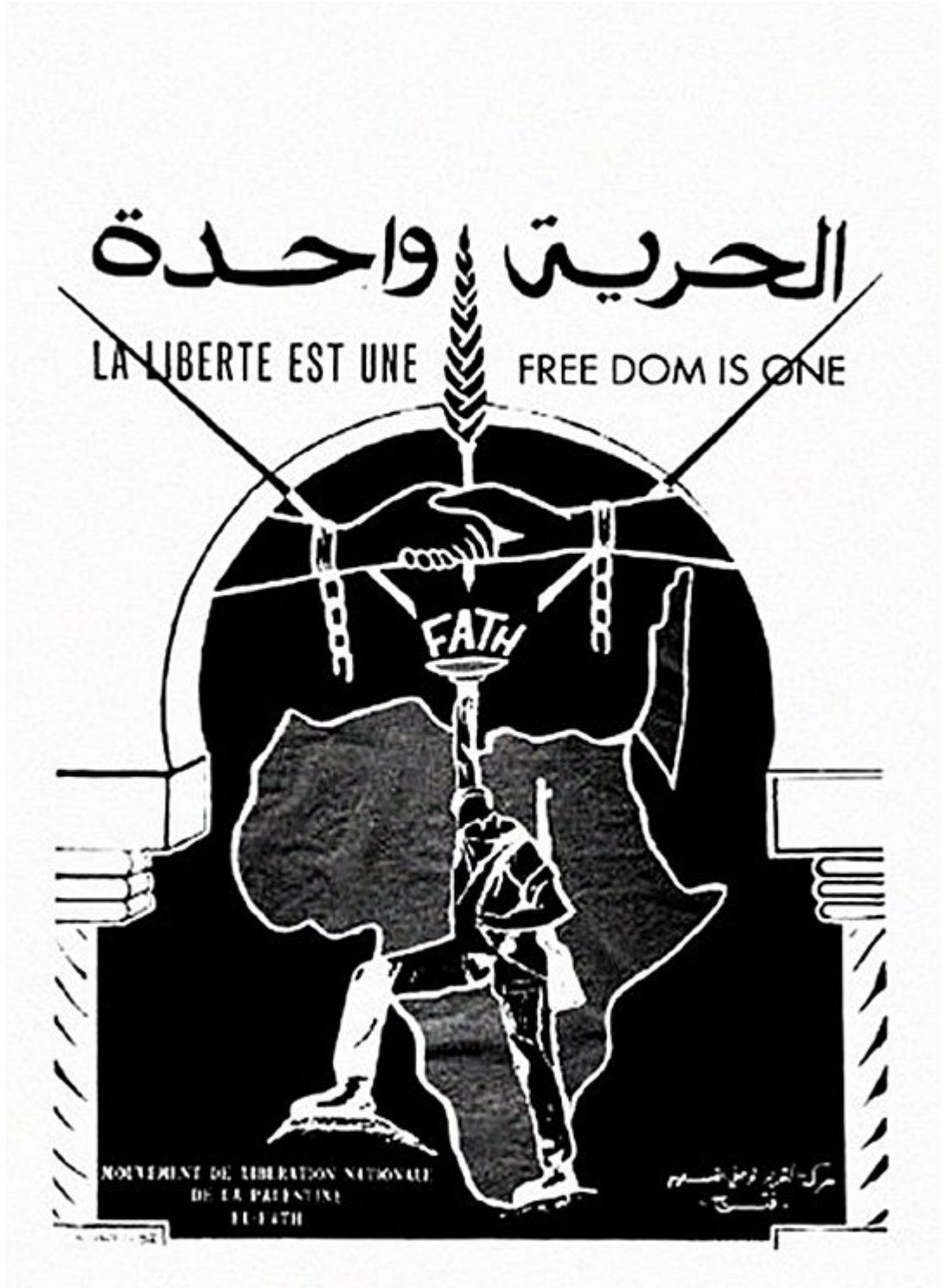
كتبت الناشطة إثيل مينور، التي عملت مع مالكوم إكس قبل اغتياله سنة 1965، هذا المقال الذي نشرته لجنة التنسيق الطلابية اللاعنفية؛ وأصبح نصا مؤثرا. بالإضافة إلى تقديمه طرعا مناقضا للرواية الإعلامية السائدة حول القضية الفلسطينية، فقد كان أساسا لنضال مشترك يربط الأمريكيين من أصل أفريقي بالقضية الفلسطينية.



استضافت الجزائر سنة 1969 أول مهرجان ثقافي أفريقي، وقد مثلت في تلك الفترة حاضنة للنضال الثوري، وأُطلق عليها “عاصمة العالم الثالث”.

جمع المهرجان الثقافي الأفريقي مئات المندوبين من 31 دولة أفريقية مستقلة، بالإضافة إلى ممثلين عن مختلف حركات التحرر الأفريقية. وكان من بين الحضور نخبة من الفلسطينيين الذين تمت دعوتهم لحضور الحدث بدافع تعزيز روح التضامن ضد الإمبريالية. لعب المهرجان دورا محوريا في تحويل نضالات أفريقيا وفلسطين إلى حركة موحدة ضد الإمبريالية على نطاق عالمي.

يعتبر اجتماع إلدريدج كليفر وأعضاء حزب “الفهد الأسود” مع أعضاء منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية في مكتبهم بالجزائر من أبرز الأحداث خلال هذا المهرجان. ونقلت صحيفة نيويورك تايمز عن كليفر قوله: “نحن ندرك أن الشعب اليهودي قد عانى، لكن هذه المعاناة يجب ألا تستخدم لتبرير المعاناة الحالية التي يعيشها العرب”. وقد نُشر هذا التصريح في كتاب “الجزائر عاصمة العالم الثالث” للكاتبة والمترجمة الأمريكية إيلين مختفي.



صمم هذا

الملصق الذي يحتفي بحركة فتح والوحدة الأفريقية الفلسطينية باللغات العربية والفرنسية والإنجليزية، المصور الفرنسي جاي لو كويريك، وكان من بين الملصقات الترويجية للمهرجان الثقافي الأفريقي.



INTERNATIONAL NEWS

FAT' H SPEAKS TO AFRICA

In a message to Africa at the Pan African Cultural Festival in Algiers, FATAH said:

Some may inquire why are we here—what has FATAH to do with Africa that it participates in this Pan-African Cultural Festival.

On the map, there are two kinds of classifications; a geographical one and a political one in which the world is divided into only two major continents. All the forces of Revolution, Liberation and Justice stand against the forces of Colonialism, Racism and Imperialism. Africa on this map is a cause more than it is a continent. We, therefore, came here as being a part of Africa the cause, although we are not from Africa the continent.

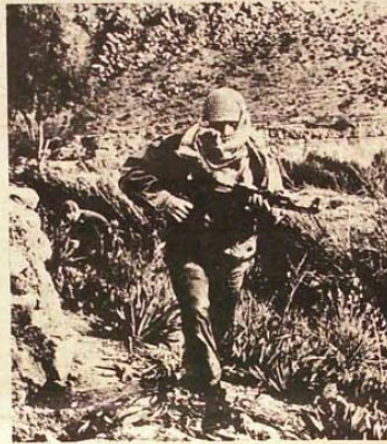
We hoped our people could participate in this festival and demonstrate to our brothers in Africa some aspects of our culture and arts in Palestine. But our people, as all our African brothers know, are at the moment very busy fighting—fighting for life and liberty.

What happened in Palestine can easily be understood by the people of Africa. It is the same story in Africa and Palestine. It started by the immigration of white Europeans to Africa, where they settled, enslaved the people, established their own regime, evacuated the national owners of the land. Exercised all kinds of deprivation and exploitation.

Rhodes, Verwoerd and Ian Smith in Africa are the same as Herzl, Ben Gurion and Dayan in Palestine.

The same circumstances which created the white regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa created the State of Zionism in Palestine.

As Britain supports and protects the State of Smith in Rhodesia, the United States supports and protects the State of Herzl in Palestine. The same



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IN THE ATTACK

tion. But really they create a problem for our people without solving theirs.

Since the first minute we were willing to accept them to live with us in a democratic state where everybody can enjoy the same rights and live in peace and justice. But from the beginning they insisted on the pure state. The result was three extensive wars. In spite of these wars they still

insist on the pure state without us, the owners of the land. Consequently, we have no choice other than to take up arms and fight to protect our rights of existence, freedom and justice. We intend to continue fighting until we achieve justice and peace in Palestine through the democratic state where the whole people of Palestine can live in peace.

This is not a political manoeuvre we perform but a cause we figure for. It is a call to all who want to live in peace on the land of Palestine to fight with us hand in hand for the purpose of this cause.

We therefore look to all the revolutionaries in Africa to stand with us, with the cause of freedom in Africa. As the cause of freedom is one and indivisible.

FATAH believes that the cause of freedom is one and the cause of Revolution is one all over the world. As we feel responsibility towards all revolutionaries, we decided to extend our absolute unlimited and unreserved support to all those who carry arms fighting for the cause of liberty everywhere, specially in Africa which suffers in its struggle for human existence on the homeland.

FATAH does not confine itself to political support in the form of sympathy but intends to take a leading role in the revolutionary movement where Fatah as a militant pioneer in Palestine would intercede with all militant pioneers in Africa who intend to fight for liberty anywhere in the world that suffers from oppression, privation, racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

This is not political propaganda. It is a pledge that FATAH clings to with full understanding to its responsibility towards the map of world Revolution.

FROM "FREE PALESTINE"

نشرت صحيفة "بلاك بانتر" (الفهد الأسود) الخطاب الذي ألقاه وفد منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية في مهرجان الثقافي الأفريقي سنة 1969. لم تتردد منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية في التأكيد بأن أفريقيا ليست مجرد قارة، ولكنها أيضا قضية، مؤكدة بحماس أن أفريقيا كانت نقطة التقاء جميع قوى العالم المناهضة للاستعمار والعنصرية والإمبريالية. وقال عضو في منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية، مخاطبا الحشد، إنه على الرغم من أن الفلسطينيين ليسوا من أفريقيا، إلا أن نضالهم وسعيهم من أجل الحرية يربطهم بالقضايا الأفريقية.



حزب "الفهد الأسود" يكرم عددا من النساء الفلسطينيات لمساهمتهن في النضال الثوري (صحيفة بلاك بانتر سنة 1977).

استمر التضامن بين السود والفلسطينيين في النمو خلال السبعينيات والثمانينيات من القرن الماضي، وتم توثيقه جيدا من قبل صحيفة بلاك بانتر (الفهد الأسود). اعتُبرت الصحيفة منصة للفلسطينيين من 1969 إلى 1980، وكتبت بانتظام عن القضية الفلسطينية.

IN THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, APRIL 2, 1977



View of Israeli prison camp where Palestinian political prisoners face brutal treatment.

MILITARY RULES BY FORCE

PALESTINIANS IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES FACE SEVERE ISRAELI REPRESSION

The following is the conclusion of an informative article on the severe conditions of Israeli military repression in occupied Palestinian territories written by Y.D. Allman and distributed by Pacific News Service.

CONCLUSION

Palestinian suspicions are inflated not only by Israeli policy but what they consider an unending pattern of Israeli provocations.

In the Gaza Strip, where the population density exceeds 4,000 persons per square mile, Israelis have been permitted not only to establish businesses employing

cheap Palestinian labor, but to live there if they wish.

But Palestinian laborers working in Israeli territory are not permitted to live where they work. Instead, they must spend many hours daily traveling to and from Jewish areas.

The Palestinians of Gaza are obliged to pay Israeli taxes, but they do not receive Israeli social benefits. And while Israeli products are allowed free entry into the occupied territories, Palestinian products are not permitted to compete with Israeli goods inside Israel.

Such Israeli policies — not just

in Gaza but throughout the occupied territories — have produced an ironic result. Designed to make the Palestinian population more pliable, they instead have helped to radicalize local politics and win for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) a degree of support it did not enjoy before 1967.

"If there is any complaint against (PLO head) Yasser Arafat, it is that he is too moderate," a Palestinian journalist recently observed.

When Israel permitted West Bank elections a year ago, as

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

Rise In Rebellious Spirit Seen Throughout Occupied West Bank

(Ramallah, Occupied West Bank) — Long the scene of protests and demonstrations, the towns of the West Bank of the Jordan River are becoming increasingly restive as young Palestinians take to the streets in opposition to the continued presence of Israeli occupation forces on lands lost in the 1967 war.

According to Palestinian guerrillas and officials interviewed during a trip to Beirut, Lebanon, last week, the Palestine Liberation Organization is encouraging West Bank dissent and hopes to

"It's not like last year," said a Palestinian activist from Ramallah. "They want it to be stopped before it gets under way. It's not like April and March of last year."



The Israelis have striven during the years of their military occupation of the Arab territories to depict themselves as "benevolent occupiers" who want to keep to a minimum restrictions on human rights.

Since last year, that effort has begun to crumble for a number of reasons, not the least being the fact that the words "benevolence" and "occupation" are incompatible.

As the Israelis approach their 10th anniversary in the West Bank lands — an anniversary

Africa In Focus



Congo Republic

Former Congo Republic President Alphonse Massamba-Debat was executed last week after being convicted by a special court-martial for plotting the March 17 assassination of President Marien Ngouabi. According to Radio Brazzaville, Massamba-Debat admitted that he had been "kept informed" of plans to kill the popular Ngouabi, who overthrew Massamba-Debat in a military coup in 1968 and established a Marxist government. The 11-member military committee presently ruling the country also sentenced Capt. Barthelemy Kikadidi and another man to death in absentia for their role in the assassination of Ngouabi.

Swaziland

Swaziland King Sobhuza II, the world's longest ruling monarch, abolished his country's parliamentary system last week and replaced it with a government based on tribal communities, the Rand Daily Mail reports. Swaziland, located between South Africa and Mozambique, became independent of Great Britain in 1968. Sobhuza — named to the throne in 1899 when he only five months old — had ruled the country by decree since suspending the constitution in 1973.

Mozambique

An international scheme to destabilize the Mozambican economy was recently temporarily halted when police in Oporto, Portugal, seized five million dollars in counterfeit Mozambican escudos, Pacific News Service reports. While Portuguese police have not released the names of those arrested, Mozambican sources believe the counterfeiters are members of the "Free Africa Organization," composed of former White European settlers who oppose "communism" in Africa.

Guinea-Bissau

نشرت صحيفة "الفهد الأسود" تقارير شاملة للغاية عن الوضع في فلسطين. نُشر المقال في الأعلى سنة 1977، ويتناول القمع الذي يتعرض له الفلسطينيون في الضفة الغربية. سلطت منشورات حزب الفهد الأسود الضوء على محنة الفلسطينيين وربطت بين النضال الفلسطيني والنضال من أجل حرية السود في الولايات المتحدة. (الفهد الأسود، 1977).



نسج الثوار الفلسطينيين والأفارقة روابط قوية ابتداءً من الستينيات، وتُظهر الأعمال الأدبية والشعرية في تلك الفترة مشاعر تضامن وترابط وثيقة.

يعتبر الشاعر والناشط الفلسطيني الشهير سميح القاسم (في الصورة أعلاه سنة 2007) شخصية مهمة ضمن تاريخ الترابط بين السود والفلسطينيين. سجنته السلطات الإسرائيلية في عدة مناسبات، وكتب العديد من أعماله في السجن.

كان شعره ثوريا وملئاً بالرسائل المعادية للإمبريالية وزاخراً بالتضامن مع الشعوب الثائرة. في قصيدته **باتريس لومومبا**، يستحضر سميح القاسم المأساة التي عاشها الزعيم الكونغولي المناهض للإمبريالية، الذي اغتيل بمساعدة وكالة المخابرات المركزية الأمريكية، ويصف سميح القاسم باتريس لومومبا بأنه “نسر أفريقيا”.

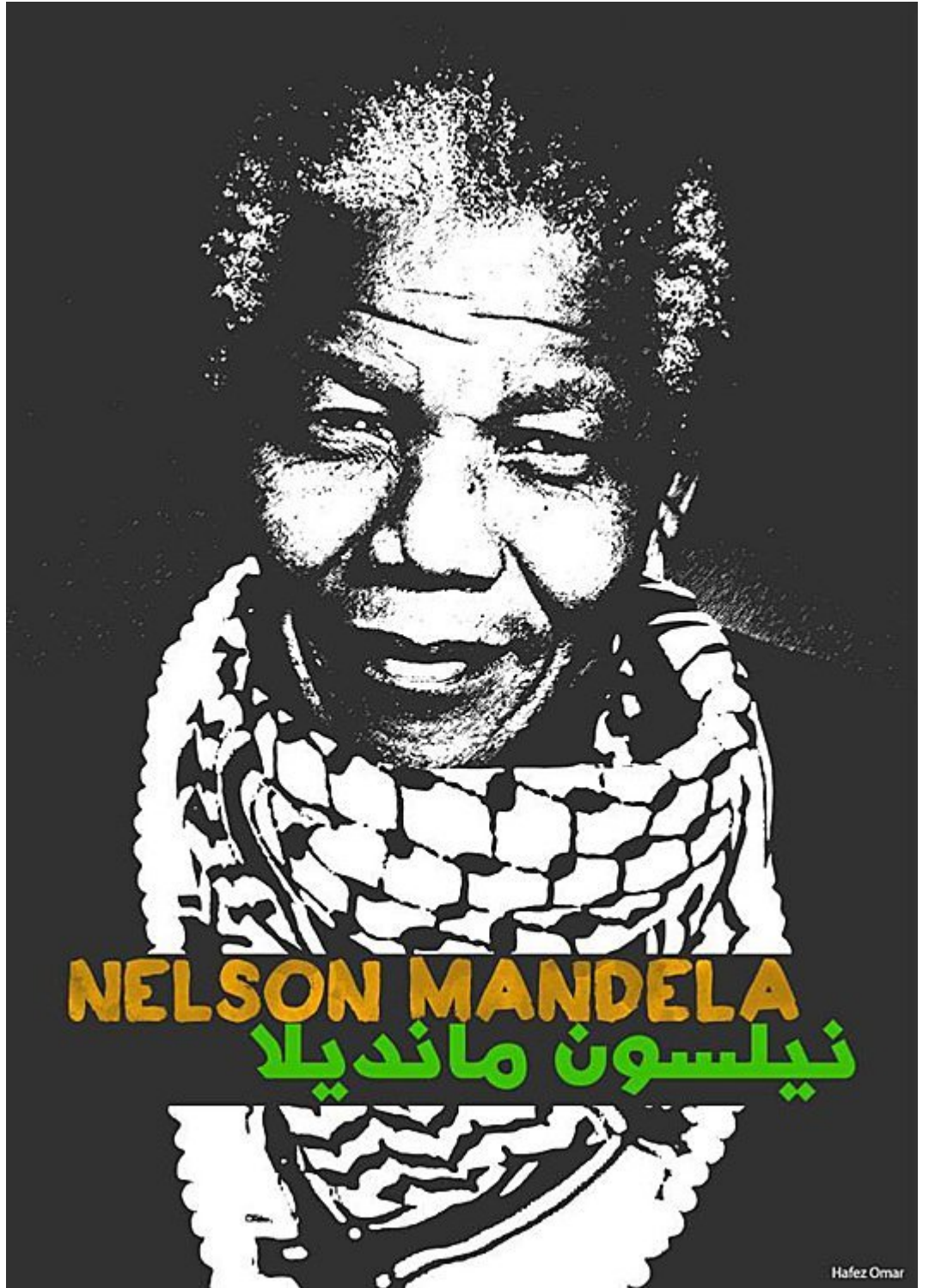
وفي قصيدته **القارة الجاهلة**، يُظهر سميح القاسم تضامنه مع الأمريكيين الأفارقة الذين يواجهون عنصرية ممنهجة في الولايات المتحدة. كان سميح القاسم يحظى بمكانة خاصة لدى الثوار السود، وغُثر على بعض قصائده في زنزانة جورج جاكسون، أحد أبرز رموز حركة الفهد الأسود.



محمد علي، أعظم ملاكم في كل العصور، والشخصية البارزة في حركة نضال السود في الولايات المتحدة، مدّ يده أيضاً للفلسطينيين. تم التقاط الصورة هذه الصورة سنة 1974، حين زار مخيماً للاجئين الفلسطينيين جنوب لبنان. انتقد الملاكم الشهير الذي اعتنق الإسلام سنة 1964، الإمبريالية الأمريكية وأعرب عن تضامنه مع الشعب الفلسطيني في نضاله لنيل حريته.



عرضت صحيفة الفهد الأسود هذه الصورة على غلاف عددها الصادر في تموز/ يوليو 1980، ويظهر فيها هيوبي بيرسي نيوتن، أحد مؤسسي الفهد الأسود، ورئيس منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية ياسر عرفات، خلال اجتماع في **لبنان** خلال تلك السنة. أنشأ حزب الفهد الأسود ومنظمة التحرير الفلسطينية شبكات تواصل وتضامن منذ 1969 (الفهد الأسود، 1980).



في عام 2016، تبرعت مدينة جوهانسبرغ الجنوب أفريقية بتمثال نيلسون مانديلا البالغ طوله ستة أمتار لمدينة رام الله الفلسطينية المحتلة. كان الرئيس الأول لجنوب أفريقيا في حقبة ما بعد الفصل العنصري، من أكثر المؤيدين للقضية الفلسطينية على الساحة السياسية الدولية. ويوضح هذا الملصق الذي صممه الفنان الفلسطيني حافظ عمر سنة 2016 مكانة نيلسون مانديلا بين الفلسطينيين، ويرمز تمثاله للتضامن بين الأفارقة والفلسطينيين.

المصدر: [ميدل إيست آي](#)

