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AMERICANS FOR JUSTICE IN THE MIDDLE EAST — P. O. B. 4841 — BEIRUT, LEBANON

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# APPROACHES TO PEACE IN PALESTINE

# PALESTINIAN PEACE:

## A Joint Venture Into A New Society — by Yusuf A. Sayigh

What is the peace we are looking for in the context of the Palestine problem? Obviously there can be different types of peace, with different ingredients going into the making of each type. It is necessary, therefore, to examine the conceptions of peace as held by the Israelis and Palestine Arabs and to ultimately identify the only kind of peace worth thinking about and working for. To do this, however, we must have a clear and correct conception of the nature of the Palestine problem.

The Palestine problem is *not* for us a religious or racial conflict. Nor is it a quarrel between states equal in sovereignty and legitimacy. Based on usurpation and colonialist occupation, Israel in our eyes is not a legitimate political entity. Likewise, it is *not* merely a refugee problem—the refugees are only one aspect deriving from the basic conflict. Finally, the problem is *not* a normal case of colonialism. Zionist colonialism is in a special category.

Inacceptable solutions to the Palestine problem are offered, not through intellectual misunderstanding as much as the unspoken expectation that the weak must eventually accept solutions imposed by the powerful. Also, misunderstanding is usually the product of insufficient knowledge, of concern with results rather than causes or with marginal rather than central issues. The search for a realistic and fruitful solution to the problem must begin with a brief return to certain of its fundamental aspects.

### Zionist Colonialism

Zionist colonialism represents a well-planned, long-term and tenacious process. It involves:

1. Colonialism of a special nature consisting of settlement in, and claim of ownership of Palestine by the Zionists.
2. Uprooting of the Palestinian Arabs in order to make room for Zionist settlers.
3. Transformation of the settler minority into a Jewish squatter state.
4. Denial of the political rights of nationhood, self-determination, and sovereignty to the Arab population of the land.
5. Continuous, dynamic, and relentless expansionism.

Zionist immigration and settlement in Palestine was systematic and inconsiderate of the original residents. It proceeded in complete disregard of the wishes and rights of the population of the country. From the start, settlement involved racial exclusivity and discrimination against Arabs. As an example, the Jewish National Fund and the Palestine Foundation Fund, established in 1907 and 1920 respectively for the purpose of acquiring land and for financing Jewish settlement, made clear in their statutes and lease and loan contracts that no non-Jews were to be employed on the land or permitted to acquire the land in any fashion. The usurpation process was sufficiently striking as to cause one well-known Zionist, Arthur Koestler writing in his *Promise and Fulfilment: Palestine 1917-1948*, to describe the Balfour Declaration of 1917 as being an

example in history in which "one nation solemnly promised to a second nation the country of a third."

### One Zionist Failure

Systematic and ruthless as was the acquisition of Palestine, the Zionists-Israelis could not bring about the disappearance of the Palestinian people. Half of this people were exiled from their homeland; the other half exists under the rule of oppressive Israeli military occupation. But this people exists. Since 1967 it has given birth to a strong resistance movement which has reawakened them as a community and this community is now undergoing a revolutionary transformation in attitudes and determination from a refugee mass to a fighting force. Some Israeli leaders, like Golda Meir, attempt to avoid facing up to this re-emergence of the Palestinians as a people by insisting to the world that we do not exist. Some three million united and determined people cannot be so dismissed.

The denial of our existence is an intensification of an established Israeli policy. The Israelis go beyond creating new facts. They attempt to avoid and conceal established facts. Why? Simply because the admission of the existence of the Palestinians entails admission of their rights—which in turn casts doubts on the legitimacy of Israel's claim to Palestine. This Zionist-Israeli policy brought painful tragedies, both personal and collective, to the Palestinians.

We waited patiently for a generation after 1948 for the justice we were promised, but it never came. Now, we have turned to arms for our national rights. We want the homes in Palestine which were taken from us by the Zionists and to which we have not been permitted to return. These homes should shelter our children, not those of immigrants from other lands. We want *our* schools and *our* fields. We want *our* homeland back. We are determined to fight for that homeland and to die, if we must, rather than abandon it forever. We have lost over one thousand men in the field since June 1967. The Israelis claim they hold over 2,700 of our *fedayeen* in prisons; another thousand are in administrative detention; hundreds of our civilians have fallen victim to Israeli artillery and napalm in the East Ghor in Jordan. This is part of the price we are paying to liberate *our* land.

Conquest and colonization call for liberation. One cannot move straight from occupation to peace. Otherwise, the peace would be based on conquest, designed to perpetuate and legitimize conquest. The peace the Israelis want would be one they alone would write. What would that peace be?

### The Content of Israeli Peace

First, with whom do the Israelis wish to talk peace? The Arab states, but not the Palestinians, whom the Israelis say "do not exist."

Second, what is being offered? No single, concrete plan for peace has been suggested by Israeli leaders. Some of these advance the idea of a Greater Israel that would include all of Palestine, areas east of the Jordan

River, more territory in Syria than is already occupied, South Lebanon to the Litani River and Sinai. At the other end of the scale are the "moderates," but even these are generally for an exclusivist Jewish state. Zionist leaders from Herzl to Ben Gurion, Golda Meir, Dayan, Allon, Begin and Ezer Weizmann have repeatedly divulged what awaits us in the strangling embrace of Israel's peace. Read of the dreams and designs of Zionist thinkers who have participated in the shaping of Israel; read of the repressive laws, policies and acts in connection with the 315,000 Arabs who are Israeli citizens. The evidence is formidable that Israel's peace is the kiss of death.

The apathy of the Western world toward Israeli occupation of Arab lands and insistence on domination of the peoples of those lands amounts, in our view, to complicity. The application of two standards by the West, one for the Israelis and one for the Arabs, and its blindness to Israeli oppression in the occupied lands is hypocritical. Western fairness and humanism have almost lost their credibility.

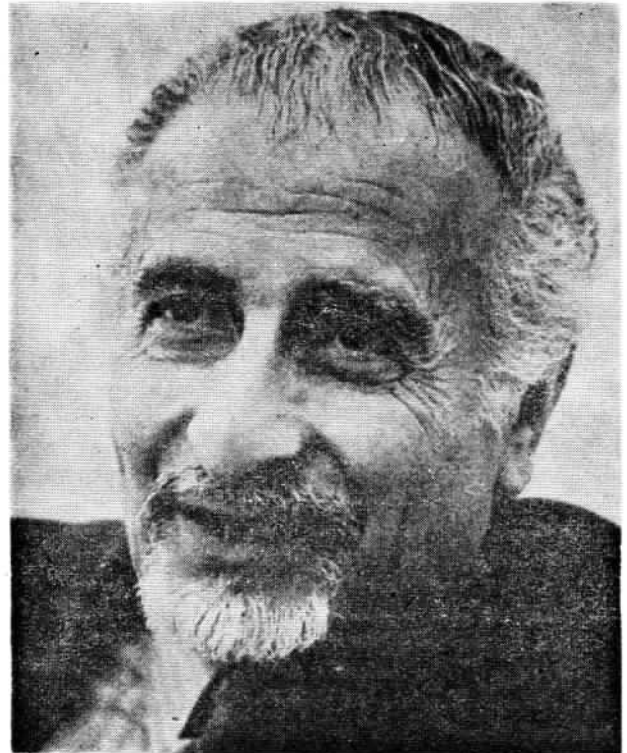
### United Nations Peace: Short-Term Approach, Long-Term Trouble.

The United Nations too have lost credibility. They have offered many recommendations and plans as a contribution towards the solution of the Palestine problem. Invariably these have ignored the heart of the matter, the right of the Palestinians to sovereignty in their homeland. And, in any case, Israel has consistently flaunted all such UN resolutions.

The major factor to blame for the ineffectiveness of UN efforts and the defiance of the world body by Israel, is the overwhelming influence of the United States Government at the UN and the abnormal support of that Government for Zionism and Israel. The US Government's claim of "even-handedness" in its dealings with Israel and the Arabs is a mini fig-leaf that is as convincing as it is protective.

It is necessary here to examine the most comprehensive attempt by the UN to provide a settlement for the Palestine problem. This is the Security Council Resolution of 22 November 1967. The Palestinians reject it for the following reasons:

1. The resolution deals only with occupation of 1967, and ignores the occupation of 1948. Such a slicing of history is arbitrary and indefensible. The UN concedes respectability to the 22 year old Zionist occupation of a part of Palestine, while deploring the three year old occupation of the remainder. The passage of time makes an occupation respectable and acceptable in the eyes of the world if no one fights for liberation. We are fighting for the liberation of the whole of Palestine and will continue to do so. We refuse the position that occupation, like wine, improves with age.
2. The resolution deals with only half the Palestinian community, namely those who lived in 1967 in the Gaza Strip and the "West Bank." The other half will not be enabled to exercise the right of self-determination in any true sense—in the sense of being able to exercise sovereignty.



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3. The resolution not only fails to recognize the right of sovereignty of the Palestinian people, but it legitimizes Israel's existence and seeks to obtain our signature and seal as confirmation, and;
4. It does not provide a realistic solution to the Palestine problem because it does not provide a formula acceptable to the Palestinians—the party first and foremost involved. It leaves our needs unfulfilled. It takes a short-term view of the whole issue and can only breed long-term trouble.

### The Content of Palestinian Peace

If Israel's peace means the consolidation of the Zionist conquest of Palestine, and if United Nations peace legitimizes Israel's occupation and provides only marginal and short-term palliatives, the peace which the Palestinian Arabs offer is one of liberation, justice and inter-community cooperation.

Specifically, our vision is the setting-up of Palestine in its entirety as one sovereign state in which Palestinians whether practising Moslems, Christians, Jews, or atheists, can live together as equal citizens regardless of religion, colour, or race. For the Jews opting for the proposal, this would mean identifying with Pales-

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# AMERICA'S OPTIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

by John H. Davis

Today, almost everything that is happening in the Middle East is the opposite of what America wants. America's influence there is plummeting while Soviet influence is rising—the arms race is becoming ominous. Israel's existence is threatened and the refugee problem grows ever bigger. Why is everything turning out to be the opposite of what America wants?

I submit that America's problem is that she is backing a policy towards the Middle East that doesn't coincide with the realities of the area: the Arabs believe, deeply, that the basic rights of the Palestine Arabs were grossly violated when the state of Israel was created and they were made a people without a land.

We in the United States, have seen the problem very differently. In general, we see the Jewish people as having been persecuted brutally, wantonly and even savagely. Thus in 1948 we took the position that they deserved a homeland, so we helped them to create the State of Israel and have since acted to ensure its continued existence. Throughout, we have demanded that the Arabs recognize Israel and then make peace with her. Whenever the Arabs refused this we then sought to use time as an agent to force their acceptance of Israel. This we have attempted by arming Israel and providing her with economic assistance so that she could survive the interval required for Arab conciliation.

Which side is right? To be sure, America is correct with regard to Jewish persecution—a point the Arabs concede. However, it was not the Arabs who persecuted the Jews—it was the Western world. But the Arabs are right, too. The Palestinian Arabs were callously uprooted and made refugees when the State of Israel was created. This tragic fact is indisputable; this uprooting of a native people came about because Palestine was not a "land without people waiting for a people without land," as once proclaimed by a Zionist leader. On the contrary, Palestine was already settled by families whose ancestors had been there for centuries—many even back to Biblical times. In 1917, the year of the Balfour Declaration, the Jews made up only about 10 per cent of the total population.

## Israel's Population Dilemma

The absurdity of trying to impose a Jewish State in Palestine in the twentieth century is dramatically illustrated by the population dilemma that confronted Israel when her leaders proclaimed the existence of their new state. Within the land area that comprised the State of Israel from mid-summer 1949 to June 1967, the Arab people, before the exodus of many of them as refugees, constituted sixty-four per cent of the total population. Israel's dilemma was that she could not establish a *Jewish State* in an area in which the Arabs constituted a two-thirds majority. Hence, if the new state were to function as a Jewish State, the Arab population had to be reduced; and it was. Thus, by the end of 1949, the Jews actually constituted a majority within the area that Israel then governed, and in consequence, Israel has made refugees of almost three quarters of a

million Palestinian Arabs. It was at this point that the seeds of the present conflict were planted.

Most Americans will find these statements startling, even to the point of being shocking and unbelievable, and I am not surprised that this is so. The fact is that the whole truth has not been, and is not now being objectively reported to the American people.

## Three Million Palestinians

Today there are about three million Palestinian Arabs in the world—a total that exceeds the number of Jews now residing in Israel. The tragedy is that every single one of these three million Palestinian Arabs is today living as an exile in someone else's country; or living under occupation, which he finds increasingly obnoxious; or living as a second class citizen of Israel. In short, the creators of the state of Israel have placed the Palestinian Arabs in a position similar to that which the Jews of history have experienced and which they have lamented with respect to themselves since Biblical time.

One would think that the Jewish people, who themselves have suffered such brutal persecution, would have been the first to champion the cause of justice for the Palestinian Arabs. Under different circumstances this might have been true, but Israel's dilemma has been and is that she can not champion the rights of the Palestinian Arabs and at the same time fulfill her Zionist mission of uniting the Jewish people of the world into a "Jewish peoplehood" based on nationality. The principle of Jewish exclusiveness is inherent in the concept of a Jewish State—it has to be. To put it bluntly, in order for Israel to be a Jewish state she has had to give preference to Jews and discriminate against Arabs—even those born native to the land that Israel now governs.

This statement is most upsetting to many Americans and raises the hackles of Zionist proponents more than almost any other statement that could be made. Yet it is the truth and as such it must yet be faced by America and the world if peace is to be attained in the Middle East. In saying this I am not contending that the founders of Israel deliberately set out to create a state that would discriminate against Arabs. Rather, I suspect that prior to 1949 the Zionist leaders, themselves, found it impossible, realistically, to contemplate Arab rights and reactions. However, once the new state was proclaimed, its Zionist founders, perforce, had placed themselves beyond the point of return. Hence, when it became clear that Arab rights were being violated and Arab opposition generated, they chose to go forward anyway, even to the point of dealing brutally with the Arabs in their midst. And this, of course, is what they are doing on an increasing scale.

I have deliberately dealt at length with the subject of the basic grievances that the Arab people hold against the founders of Israel and, for that matter, against the nations that since then have sustained her existence. I have done this because I believe that an understanding of this subject is the key to peace. The founders of Israel were morally wrong to have created

the new state in a manner that made the Palestinian Arabs a people without a country. The United States has also been morally wrong in supporting Israel's existence in a manner that perpetuates this injustice. In thus supporting Israel, America is adding to the seeds of conflict and is directing Arab bitterness towards America as well as Israel. In turn, it is the bitterness thus generated that is now undermining America's influence in the Middle East and enhancing that of the Soviet Union.

Israel's problem is that she has created a situation of unending hostility by attempting to make a Jewish state out of Arab land—land that was taken by force, held through military action and then settled by blocking the return of the native population. Already it is apparent that Israel's present policy is a failure: she has antagonized too many Arabs who oppose her and who will fight on and on to regain their basic rights. This is made obvious by events since June.

### Future Alternatives

Against the general background which I have sketched, let us turn our attention to the future. What are America's alternatives? Let us consider two propositions: (1) What will likely happen if the United States holds to its present policy regardless of the consequences? and (2) what policy would best serve American interests in the Middle East in the years ahead?

For the answer to the first proposition, one does not have to indulge in guess work—the record of past years tells the story. We can expect the refugee problem to continue, the arms race to get bigger and more ominous, commando activities to increase, Arab bitterness and hostility toward America to increase and spread to other countries and Soviet presence and influence to increase. Also, we can expect war; for American policy, as now constituted, is a major factor pushing the Middle East towards another war.

The danger to be feared most for the future is that another war will involve the two great powers, fighting on opposite sides. In the past this danger has seemed remote. But who can say today that it is remote? Already we can begin to see just how the two great powers might well become involved. Each is committed to a different side and its principle means for helping their side is to provide more arms and assistance.

Soviet pilots now active in protecting the interior of Egypt illustrates how escalation can come about. From Egypt's standpoint the protection of its interior is clearly a defensive measure. But, Israel argues that Soviet assistance which enhances Egypt's defense has the effect of enabling her to prepare for greater offensive measures—hence defensive measures in Egypt are being interpreted as aggression against Israel. Having so concluded Israel promptly renewed her appeal to America for more Phantoms. But for what? To assure Israel of the continued capacity to bomb the interior of Egypt at will? Should more Phantoms be delivered for this purpose? If they are, will this promote peace? I think not. Will not the Soviet Union then move to challenge the Phantoms with even more modern equipment when Israel's planes overfly Egypt for the purpose of bombing? Thus we see that there is now in motion a see-saw type of arms race that can bring about a nuclear confrontation.

In brief, a continuation of present American policy can only lead to one end, war; either a war of limited



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scope that ends in Israel's defeat or a big one that ends in a holocaust. If so, why does America persist in following such a policy? Because America's policy-makers are unwilling to face the basic cause of the conflict, that the Palestinian Arabs became a people without a country when the state of Israel was created. Also, American policy-makers still discount Arab determination to restore the basic rights of the Palestinians, a point on which the Arabs are uncompromising.

### What Is In America's Interest?

This brings us to our second proposition. What policy toward the Middle East is now in America's interest? Any effective American policy must center on the plight of the dispossessed Palestinian Arabs. But is redress of past wrongs practical now that twenty-three years have transpired since Israel became a state? The answer is that we must find a way to make it practical unless we want the conflict to end in a holocaust or a war that Israel loses. Any possibility of pushing the Palestine issue to the background ended with the emergence of the Palestinian commando movement.

A good starting point for dealing with the Palestine issue is the enforcement of United Nations resolutions that call for giving the Palestinian Arabs a choice of repatriation or compensation. Admittedly, any attempt to enforce these resolutions now will bring the United States into head-on collision with the basic concept of a Jewish state. Even so, the road to peace without war has to start with the heretofore usurped rights of the Arab refugees. There is no other starting point.

*(Continued on page 12)*

## LATEST STATUS OF U.S. PEACE PLAN

The U.S. "major political initiative" announced on June 25 to "encourage the parties to stop shooting and start talking" received a lukewarm and shortlived welcome in the Middle East. The most audible and immediate response was the sigh of relief emitted by Americans who were bracing for the worst if the Nixon administration gave in to Zionist and Israeli pressure to supply additional jets. One prominent American visitor here remarked a few days before the Rogers statement, "Only five more Phantoms to Israel and America is finished in the Middle East and North Africa."

### Nixon Gives Plan Setback

Whatever the chances of the U.S. proposals turning the area toward peace, they were sharply reduced by President Nixon's extemporaneous remarks in his TV interview on July 1. If what the President said was accurately reported in the world press, he almost certainly nullified with a few words all of the patient work of Secretary Rogers and his Department in trying to recreate an atmosphere of trust among the Arabs. The Arabs have tried hard for three years to overcome the blow to their image struck by the chance remark, in an emotionally charged moment, about "driving the Israelis into the sea." To have the President of the United States revive the alleged remark and give it the status of literality and intent is a grave mistake and may have doomed entirely the Rogers' peace plan.

### Some Details Revealed

Details of the Rogers proposals were shrouded in a generally welcomed return to secret diplomacy, but they apparently called for a 12 mile withdrawal from the Suez Canal of both Egyptian and Israeli troops and a cease-fire by all antagonists for ninety days. The first might permit work to start on clearing and reopening the Canal, said to be urged by NATO allies of the U.S. The second might cool tempers to the point where worthwhile negotiations could begin.

Americans, in particular, were pleased with the U.S. initiative since, by reiterating the policy announced by Rogers on December 9 last year, it proved a continuity of purpose within the Administration. Apprehensions were aroused earlier this year by indications that the Rogers policy was being sidetracked by Zionist pressures.

### No Unequivocal Rejection

Prior to President Nixon's slip of the tongue, none of principals had unequivocally rejected the U.S. plan. Mrs. Golda Meir and the Palestinian commandos raised the loudest voices against at least some parts of the plan. The Arab governments as a whole awaited a lead from President Nasser who is in Moscow discussing the U.S. proposals with Soviet leadership. While awaiting what U.S. spokesmen call "considered responses," the Arab world in general views the American initiative as being "too little and too late."

## Quakers Do It Again!

### Two Year Study On Peace

Despite their extremely small numbers, the Friends or Quakers are known in all parts of the world for their works as well as their beliefs. Their schools have operated in Lebanon and Palestine for almost a century, and in 1948 Friends responded to a U.N. request to supervise relief work in the Gaza Strip. They have also done much for Jewish refugees from Hitler's madness. Many readers will remember superb reports such as *A New China Policy* and *Peace in Vietnam*, published by the American Friends Service Committee.

Now, the AFSC and other Friends groups in Canada and Britain have, after two years of intensive study of the Arab-Israeli conflict, issued a 72-page report entitled *Search for Peace in the Middle East*. This is the most comprehensive and intelligent assessment of the difficulties involved to come to public view since June 1967. The authors are nine persons, not all Quakers and not all experts. But each has the impeccable qualifications of intelligent devotion to truth and a deep concern for all human values in the area. Here are a few of their words:

"We believe . . . that the spirit of reconciliation is an ultimate power in human relations and that it can overcome the hatreds aroused by exaggerated nationalism and war . . . We acknowledge an inner imperative, linked to the ancient Quaker testimony against war, to affirm our deep conviction that violence almost never brings a permanent solution . . . We believe that to ignore or deny the essential rights of one group will lead to the ultimate destruction of the rights of the other . . . It is impossible to reach an even-handed judgment on the basis of some neat compromise . . . We have tried simply to follow the best light we could find toward the most complete truth we could understand."

### Four "Guidelines" To Peace

After presenting a brief history of the problem, the authors study viewpoints of all involved parties, including the Big Powers. They then advance four "guidelines" which, in their view, offer the most promising approaches to a settlement. Briefly, these are: (1) psychological and emotional disengagement; (2) military disengagement and the establishment of a UN peace-keeping force which would be removed only by explicit vote of the UN Security Council; (3) the structuring of a political settlement which would, among other things, assure acceptance by all states in the Middle East of the right of all other states to exist, the right of self-determination to the Palestinian Arabs and that Jerusalem should belong to humanity rather than to one religion or state, and (4) the development of true peace over a long period and through provision of international economic aid, a Middle East Bank for Development and a Human Resources Institute to foster interstate and intercreed cooperation among the peoples of the area.





*"Metropolis of Phoenicia" — Tyre, an island city joined to the mainland by reclamation almost 3,000 years ago by Hiram, who also granted aid to Solomon in the building of the temple at Jerusalem. Tyre lies fifteen miles north of Lebanon's troubled border with Israel in an area long coveted by Zionist advocates of a "Greater Israel" extending north to the Litani River.*

### Appeals to Eight Groups

The researchers conclude by making appeals to eight groups of humanity in the following order: the United Nations, the Israelis, the Arab States, the Palestinian Arabs, a curious grouping of Israel and the Arab states sharing common borders with her, the American Jewish community, the US Congress, the White House and State Department and, finally, the world community. The order will be found reasonable to all fair-minded readers. Unfortunately, it appears to some Jews, at least, as putting an unacceptable onus on Israel for the situation in the Middle East today. The view is augmented by the Quaker suggestion that the first moves toward peace should be made by Israel as the military victor to date. As a result, the release of the study brought an inordinately critical response in the Jewish press, particularly in the USA. One headline read, "US Quakers far from friendly."

Points of argument can certainly be found, but no one interested in a just settlement can ignore this painstaking and compassionate Quaker report. It should receive maximum distribution and consideration throughout the world, but particularly in the USA.

### AJME Hopes to Assist in Distribution of Quaker Study

AJME hopes to make arrangements to supply copies of *Search for Peace in the Middle East* to its members free or at minimum cost. These probably would be sent by seemail during the summer. In the meantime, copies are available at 75c in the USA and 6/- in the United Kingdom from the following:

American Friends Service Committee

160 N. 15th St., Philadelphia 19102

Friends Service Council

Friends House, Euston Rd., London N.W. 1.

Canadian Friends Service Committee

60 Lowther Ave., Toronto 5, Ontario, Canada  
Friends World Committee for Consultation

Woodbrooke, 1046 Bristol Rd., Bir. 29, Eng.  
Friends Peace and International Relations Com.

Friends House, Euston Rd., London N.W. 1,

# WHEN DOVES TURN HAWK

The American Jewish Congress placed an advertisement in the *New York Times* June 2 containing an open letter to the President signed by seven Senators. The seven have been leaders of the fight to end the Indochinese war. In the ad the seven doves turned hawk on the Middle East. The seven were McGovern, Hughes, Goodell, Cranston, Hart, Eagleton and Young of Ohio. We found their reversal appalling. We believe these Senators and the American Jewish Congress did a disservice to the cause of peace and to the American Jewish community by a blatant turnabout which offered Nixon a blank check for a new war.

## Another Nuclear Confrontation?

The letter was part of the campaign to pressure the U.S. to sell Israel 125 more Phantom and Skyhawk planes. But it went beyond the sale of planes. It went so far as to hint support for another nuclear confrontation like that in the Cuban missile crisis. "The night you announced that American troops were crossing the border into Cambodia," the letter said, "you spoke of the firmness displayed by President John F. Kennedy, a firmness backed by the entire nation, when the Soviet Union attempted to place missiles in Cuba. It may well be that we now face in the Middle East a Soviet threat that is equally ominous and provocative." That sounds more like Strom Thurmond than George McGovern.

The situation in the Middle East is indeed a dangerous one, far more dangerous than in Indochina. Huge U.S. and Soviet fleets, armed with nuclear weapons, all but jostle each other in the Mediterranean. The Middle East contains a major part of the world's oil resources, much of it in American hands. A shift of the Arab states from the Western to the Soviet sphere of influence would change the strategic balance of power, outflanking Western Europe and Africa. The danger is real enough without the kind of reckless exaggeration which equates long range Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba, missiles which could attack the United States, with conventional SAM-3 anti-aircraft missiles in Egypt. Their purpose is to prevent a repetition of last winter's Israeli attacks upon Cairo. The SAM-3s have not prevented the Israeli air force from relentlessly pounding the Egyptian side of the Canal zone itself in the savage war of attrition being waged there, from Egypt's side by artillery in which the Israelis are vastly outnumbered, and from Israel's side by air, where she has supremacy.

## The Brink At Suez

A tacit but precarious agreement between the Soviets and Israel has so far avoided an armed clash between them by keeping the Soviet forces away from the Canal zone. A clash of the utmost gravity could come at any time if Israeli pilots again raided deep into Egypt or Soviet pilots intervened in the battle over the Suez. Otherwise Israel controls the skies over all her borders. "Even sympathetic Western observers here," Oswald Johnston wrote from Tel Aviv in the *Baltimore Sun* June 7, "recognize that the recent urgent cry for

125 more Skyhawks and Phantoms reflect not so much a real military need as a desire to have the United States underwrite unconditionally the hard-line policies of the present [Israeli] government for the foreseeable future."

Here we come to the nub of the problem. The doves-turned-hawk said in their letter that they did not want their opposition to the Indochinese war to be misinterpreted in the Soviet Union "as a sign that our nation will not take effective steps to protect our vital national interests in the Middle East." But this is hawk talk and the hawk mentality. We have a right to a more thoughtful view from McGovern and his six colleagues. America's vital national interest in the Middle East is not fundamentally different from that in the Far East. Our national interest lies in the resolution of basic conflicts by negotiation. So does Israel's.

## Force Has Failed In Both Areas

The doves-turned-hawk said there were "fundamental differences" between the situations in the Far and Middle East. "The government of Israel is a democracy," they said. "This is not true of the regimes our armed forces are supporting in Southeast Asia." This may be true but it is irrelevant. The essential similarities between the two situations is that, in each, an effort is being made to solve a political problem by military means. That has not worked in the Far East and it will not work in the Middle East. Neither our military superiority in the Far East nor Israel's in the Middle East has been successful in bringing about a settlement. In both areas military force has only intensified counteraction. While the innocent on both sides in the Middle East suffer, the Arab guerillas have gained political leverage as hate and despair grow.

## A Goliath Beyond David's Power

Escalation neared a more perilous stage when the Soviet Sam-3 missiles and pilots appeared in Egypt. Israel's Chief of Staff admitted in a speech May 7 that "the Russians might not have come on the scene" but for Israel's air attacks on Cairo. These, it was foolishly hoped in Israel, would create such panic as to topple Nasser. The Russians, if they had not come to his defense, would have looked like a paper tiger. The next step up in escalation would be a clash between Israeli and Soviet pilots. In a speech on May 26 Mrs. Meir said Israel would not be deterred from risking such a clash if necessary to prevent installation of missile bases on the Egyptian side of the Canal zone. Her words were bold but this is not a David and Goliath contest Israel could hope to win.

The seven Senators wrote Nixon that in providing Israel with more planes to meet this situation "we would be fulfilling the doctrine which you announced at Guam." This is sycophantic nonsense. Nixon's so-called Guam Doctrine was a warmed-over version of John Foster Dulles' "let Asians fight Asians," a doctrine of which SEATO is a melancholy monument. A conflict between Israel and the Soviet Union would not be "Asians fighting Asians." It would not be war by proxy.



The Senators say that our Asian allies "ask that we spill American blood" while "Israel makes no such demand upon us." Maybe. They themselves indicate how dubious this may prove to be when they go on to suggest that we may be approaching another nuclear confrontation like Kennedy's over Cuba. Certainly ten times 125 new planes will not be enough to save Israel if her valiant but tiny air force clashes with Russia's. The U.S. would have to lay it on the line in Israel's defense. And that could spell World War III.

Apparently the Nixon Administration is more dovish than the doves when it comes to the Middle East. Vietnamese experience and oil company pressure have fortified more sober policies. We are glad to see from Secretary Rogers' appearance June 7 on CBS *Face The Nation* that the Administration policy is to offer Israel some planes but tied to conditions which would facilitate a new attempt at peace negotiations. Nasser's latest statements indicate that with Soviet air defenses he feels strong enough to recognize Israel's existence and rights

in a settlement. In Tel Aviv Mrs. Meir by accepting the November 1967 UN resolution and the Rhodes formula for talks indicates that she is ready to risk a break with the right wingers in her Cabinet if negotiations can be initiated.

### A Last Chance for Peace

This may be a last chance for peace. We do not want America locked into the hard-line policy so natural in Israeli internal politics. America can best help Israel by bringing Arab and Israeli together in a settlement. A basic element of that settlement must be satisfaction for the Arab refugees and the recognition of the Palestinian Arabs as a people. Only on such a basis can a permanent peace be made and Israel accepted by the Arab world. Israel's future depends upon it. The ideal of justice which is at the core of Judaism demands it. No amount of airpower can be a substitute.

(Vol. XVIII, No. 12, June 15, 1970)

## EDITORIAL

### -The Last "Summer" of Our Discontent?

Although this *Newsletter* did not start out as a Special Issue, the relentless deterioration of America's stature in the Arab world, the resultant flood of analyses of why it is happening and the many reasoned suggestions as to how the tide may be stemmed compels us to present as much of the incisive material as our format permits. The end product, therefore, is entitled Special Issue II.

The comprehensive excerpts from recent speeches by Dr. Yusuf A. Sayigh, a Palestinian intellectual of international repute; the inclusion of excerpts from a speech by Dr. John H. Davis, former Commissioner General of UNRWA; the review of the land-mark report, "Search for Peace in the Middle East," just published by the Quakers; and the insert of Mr. Lawrence Mosher's study in the *National Observer* were all deliberate decisions by AJME to provide its

readers with the broadest possible spectrum of information on the Arab-Israeli confrontation, a problem that is increasingly haunting the world as this issue goes to press.

Recent tragic events in Jordan, where more lives were lost than in the June 1967 war, the continuing instability in Lebanon stemming from the same Palestinian roots, the decision on the part of the United States in regard to Israel's request for additional military aircraft; these and the somewhat dovish sounds emanating from Israel's wall-to-wall coalition cabinet and lay intelligentsia, may all point to the summer of 1970 as the time when fate, influenced by partisan pressures in the United States, moves "Towards Peace in Palestine" or inevitably towards war on a world-wide, nuclear scale.

Mid-year 1970 could be the last "Summer" of Our Discontent, for either good or evil.

### Senators Who Did NOT Sign Letter To Nixon

**George D. Aiken** (R-Ver), **Gordon Allott** (R-Col), **Clinton Anderson** (D-NM), **Henry L. Bellmon** (R-Oka), **Robert C. Byrd** (D-W. Va), **John Sherman** (R-Ky), **Norris Cotton** (R-NH), **Peter H. Dominick** (R-Col), **James O. Eastland** (D-Miss), **Allen J. Ellender** (D-La), **Sam J. Erwin** (D-NC), **J.W. Fulbright** (D-Ark), **Albert Gore** (D-Tenn), **Robert P. Griffin** (R-Mi), **Clifford P. Hansen** (R-Wyo), **Mark O. Hatfield** (R-Ore), **B. Everett Jordan** (D-NC), **Russell B. Long** (D-La), **Eugene J. McCarthy** (D-Minn), **John L. McClellan** (D-Ark), **Mike Mansfield** (D-Mont), **Karl E. Mundt** (R-S. Da), **James B. Pearson** (R-Ka), **Richard B. Russell** (D-Ga), **Margaret Chase Smith** (R-Me), **John J. Williams** (R-Del), **Milton R. Young** (R-N. Da).

*These American leaders should be applauded. They had the courage to defy the pressures of political Zionism. Do they represent the "Silent Majority"? Whether they do or not there can be no doubt that they represent twenty-seven "Profiles in Courage." AJME members and others should endorse their stand by letters of appreciation.*

## Palestine Peace (Cont. from Page 3)

tine and with its Arab environment and therefore shedding Zionism. For the Arabs, it would mean accepting the Jewish community and cooperating with it in a democratic pluralist society.

This vision of a new society in Palestine, where members would build and live together, interact and adjust to each other's idiosyncracies, and give the opportunity to create a multi-religious though non-sectarian society, is a fitting destiny for Palestine.

It might be argued at this point that the Arabs and Jewish communities, used to violence and mutual mistrust for so long, would be unable to live together. True, it would be very difficult to live together at the start. But we would like all reasonable people to ask themselves which would be better: for the two communities to continue fighting in the battlefield for the next two or three decades, or for them to learn how to live together for the next two or three decades?

How is government to be shared? What is the social system to be adopted? How and where are the Palestinian exiles to be accommodated? What is to happen to Jews living on Arab land and in Arab homes? These and other questions have to be answered; but not yet. One thing we can establish immediately: If our basic idea is accepted, the derivative questions can be answered. None of them is beyond man's ingenuity.

Consider the alternative to this peace. It would be protracted struggle for decades to come, involving the diversion of precious human and material resources to the military establishment on both sides of the conflict. It would mean destruction, social and psychological distortion, deepening bitterness and callousness.

Israel is a tough Sparta among neighbours who have not recently proved warlike. But Israel can not have an insurance policy against the hardening of Arab fighting will and skills. If only in self-defence, we too will have to turn ourselves into so many Spartas if we are to free ourselves of the dehumanizing bondage to fear and serfdom.

### Some Contrasts

This is the bleak picture of the future if Palestinian peace is rejected. I invite you now to contrast the peace we offer with the peace of the Israelis. Ours finds room both for Arabs and Jews; theirs squeezes the Arabs out. Our peace is non-discriminatory; theirs is racist. Ours is based on mutual accommodation and compromise; theirs in essence is a peace dictated by the victor. Ours confers rights and imposes obligations on Arabs and Jews alike; theirs denies not only our rights but our existence as well. Ours frees Arabs and Jews alike from self-centeredness; theirs is totally exclusivist. Ours is a revolutionary joint venture in the building of a new society in the whole of Palestine; theirs is an anachronistic, sole ownership which by forcing us out, can only establish a settler society on usurped property. Because of being colonialist, by definition their peace cannot be truly democratic and progressive.

### Major Concession To Jews

One point in particular needs emphasis. This is that the solution and peace we offer contain an important concession on our part. In inviting the Jews to

jointly build the new state and society with us, we are inviting a large community most of whose members came to our country against our will. The new, revolutionary Palestinians *do not subscribe to any theory or notion of uprooting or expulsion*. We are not Zionist. Our revolution is positive.

Because we make the maximum concession and because the content of our solution embodies minimal national demands, we cannot be asked to give up more. Furthermore, it must by now have become clear that we cannot negotiate with Israel. Such negotiation would pre-empt the search for a true and lasting peace, and would perpetuate our relative roles: Israelis in colonialist possession; we dispossessed and in exile. This is why it must be clear that Israel's conciliatory statements of its declared willingness to negotiate are empty. For, when Israel starts from and maintains the position of colonialist occupation, there remains nothing we as Palestinians can negotiate.

### Four Tests of Palestinian Peace

I will now test the Palestinian solution for peace against four touchstones.

*First, advantage to Arab and Jew alike.* For the Jews, it would at last provide both a sense of belonging and of being accepted. The purpose of Jewish immigration into and settlement in Palestine has always been the search for refuge and a haven.

Supporters of the statehood of Israel argue that only if the Jews have a state of their own, and a strong one at that, can they feel secure and free of the fear born of centuries of persecution and discrimination. The fallacy in this notion is obvious. Neither the strong allies of the Zionists in Mandate days, nor their strong army and allies since statehood, assure them the peaceful haven. Nor can these be assured in the future except through acceptance of the Jews by the Palestinians.

*The second touchstone is the fairness of the proposal to the Jews,* apart from its fairness to the Palestinian Arabs. It is enough in this connection to say that the proposal would provide a home for all the Jews in Palestine who choose to live in peace with the Arabs.

*The third touchstone is the long time-horizon of the solution.* This solution has the great advantage of durability. None other will be accepted by us, because no other solution provides us with our national demands and guarantees our national interests. Therefore, no other proposal can have more than short-term durability. But is anything but a lasting solution worth working, even fighting for?

This brings us to *the fourth touchstone, realism.* At first glance it would seem that if the Palestinian Arabs were realistic they would accept whatever Israel was willing to offer, since the June 1967 war has revealed the extent of the military gap between Israel and ourselves, Palestinians and other Arabs alike. But a closer look would indicate that, on the contrary, it is the Israelis who are not being realistic and whose shortsightedness will be self-defeating in the long run. For, what ought to be considered is not the relative power of the two parties *today*, but what it will be in ten or fifteen or even thirty years from now. Therefore it is with a long-term future that intelligent Israelis and

Zionists, Jews and Gentiles alike, should be concerned.

The contention that penetrating long-run realism would support the position we take is based on three premises. The *first* is the emergence of the Palestinian revolution and the effect it is having not only on the Palestinian themselves, but also on the Arabs at large.

The *second* premise is the shock effect Israel's aggressiveness and expansionism are having on the Arabs generally. The awareness is growing that the menace of Israel's superior military power is not merely one of territorial occupation and oppression within the limits and on the scale we witness today. There will also be pressure to spread Israeli control even further with the aim of squeezing the outlying parts of the Arab world inside the sphere of influence of the Israeli empire which would include those Arab territories actually under occupation.

*This* would be the fate of the Arab world if Israel's might is not checked and counterbalanced, and the Arabs see this terrifying picture develop before their very eyes. They see it in the fate of the dispossessed Palestinians; in the hundreds of East Jordanians napalmed in the Ghor and Irbed areas; in the hundreds of thousands of East Jordanians, Syrians, and Egyptians displaced and turned refugee in their own countries; in the Suez Canal towns destroyed and depopulated; in the 100 corpses of Abu-Zaabal factory workers in Egypt and the 46 corpses of little elementary school children at Bahr al Baqar killed on the eve of the anniversary of Deir Yassin, for whom the United States Phantom became a reality of mass slaughter.

The *third* premise underlying my conception of realism is the social, economic, and technological advances which the Arab world is making and in which the Palestinian Arabs share. Only the most uninformed would deny this, and only those with a racist attitude maintain that the Arabs lack the inherent capabilities enabling them to advance as others have advanced.

I have presented my model of realism in opposition to the model which is based on a shortsighted assessment of the pattern of power distribution between the parties in confrontation. But I do not mean to suggest that we cherish the prospect of a violent, destructive use of our potential. We would much rather turn this potential to the development of our society and the welfare of its individual members. Only because Israel continues to disregard our rights and to block our normal existence do we want to translate our potential into violence in order to protect our interests and our right to life and security.

### **Jews Welcomed**

Who are the beneficiaries of the Palestinian Peace? In general terms, the world at large and the region as a whole would benefit, with its Arab, Jewish and other communities. Insofar as the Israelis are concerned, we include in our vision all the Jews who are willing to identify with Palestine. We set no time limit for this. The Palestine Liberation Organization and all the leading commando groups have made themselves clear beyond doubt on this point. While we insist on the undoing of the *political structures* of the state of Israel, inasmuch as they are colonialist structures, we welcome all the Jews of Palestine who identify with our vision of the new society.

This is a point of great significance. It was the liberation fighters, not the dreamers or the political scien-

tists or the venerable, mellow old men among us, who had this vision of the new society. The fighters have indeed proved to be the most liberal among the Palestinians and the most visionary.

### **The Morality of Making War for Making Peace**

The Palestinian armed struggle raises two questions: *first*, the credibility of our force; and *secondly*, the morality of making war.

With regard to credibility, we are aware of Israel's present superiority in terms of military power, technology, organization, and leadership. What then gives our expressed determination to fight more meaning than desperate, suicidal bravado?

*First*, the determination of the Palestinians to fight on and to bear sacrifices for asserting and recapturing their national rights.

*Second*, the social and psychological transformation of the Palestinians. Not only have the camp and non-camp refugees acquired a new dignity and a new sense of direction and purpose, but many of their deeply ingrained values and attitudes are changing. The best single illustration is the dramatic transformation in the position of women. The sheltered daughters and sisters of yesterday now spend their time side by side with young men, training and fighting.

*Third*, the will of the Palestinians to fight is crystallizing. Their involvement and participation are concrete and growing. They have talent and capabilities. 60,000 Palestinians now hold university degrees. In the United States, Canada, and Western Europe alone there are over 1,500 Palestinian professors and practising physicians, engineers, and scientists. The fighters themselves are a true cross-section of the Palestinian community. Professionals and university students stand side by side with peasants, labourers, craftsmen, and clerks.

### **Palestinian Resources**

We do not claim that our resistance movement and guerilla activities have yet developed into a popular war of liberation, but we are moving in that direction. The guerillas are the vanguard of a broad liberation movement. Material resources are not lacking. The Palestinians and other Arabs will not fail to provide and expand those resources.

There are more Arabs eager to join the commando organizations than there is room to accommodate them at the present stage of the struggle. The Palestinian liberation movement and revolution will be embraced by all Arabs. At that point, the Arab governments will have to hammer out their policies and their actions in harmony with the requirements of the war of liberation.

In the meantime, the Palestinians buy time for the armies; we are their first defence. And the technological gap between the Israeli and the Arab war machines, is not relevant as far as the war of liberation is concerned. Vietnam has provided the best illustration of the theory that an irregular war is the appropriate war for the underdeveloped society. Within the framework of the war of liberation, and given our intensified motivation and determination, our numerical superiority can become a critical contributive factor in our struggle.

Then there is the warm support we are getting from beyond the Arab world. Liberation movements, revolutionary students, workers, and churchmen are beginning



## Palestine Peace (Cont.)

to understand our cause and to express their solidarity with us. It would be a mistake to underestimate this support because it has no Phantom planes or Centurion tanks to back it. It stiffens our determination to fight, which is the greatest weapon of all on our side.

Why do we speak so much of war if we are honest about our vision of peace in Palestine? Because persuasion has seldom brought liberation. I know of no people who have succeeded in liberating their occupied lands by presenting good and convincing arguments. This is not how our world functions; nor are world issues determined as they are in debating clubs.

If the Israelis were to declare their willingness to dismantle their settler state and to accept our proposal for the establishment of Palestine as a democratic state for both our communities, there would be no more need for armed struggle. But the Israelis have not indicated any such willingness. Hence the Palestinian revolution, and the fight for liberation. Only through fighting can we make it increasingly and prohibitively costly for the Israelis to close their ears to our just demands to reason and to their own long-term interests. Unhappily, it is the gun that gives credibility to the olive branch.

Our fight for liberation, therefore, is not only necessary and justified, *it is moral*. Its aim is to build a new society for both Jews and Arabs. We fight for true and lasting peace. Hence, the morality of our war.

### Conclusion

To truly understand the Palestine problem, one must see it in context, in historical perspective, inside a system of values based on justice as its foundation stone. The Zionist-Israeli position is based on another system of values and uses another system of logic in explaining itself. It is the logic of the sword, of the accomplished fact of conquest.

We must remember that the sword has two sides. Whereas Israel uses the sword to usurp and to commit aggression, and to consolidate its gains, we use it to defend ourselves and to liberate. Israel uses the sword to end the diaspora of the Jews, but also to create a new diaspora for the Palestinian Arabs. We use it to end our own diaspora but without wanting to inflict a new one on the Jews. Whereas they want to exist as a community in our land through destroying our community, we want to reinstate our community in its homeland but without destroying theirs. Their vision is of two communities mutually exclusive, mutually negatory; ours is of two mutually accommodating communities, complementing each other, cooperating in a new society.

Which is the vision worthy of your hopes and of your support?

□

## America's Options (Cont. from Page 5)

Paralleling America's effort to deal with the violated rights of the Palestinian Arabs must be a concern for the well-being of the Jews of Israel. The point is that redress for wrongs committed against Arabs by the founders of Israel must not take place in a way that again subjects the Jews of Israel to persecution. The history of Palestine gives reason for optimism that Jews and Arabs can again live in peace together, once the

apartheid practices that have emerged in Israel and now characterize her behavior are brought to an end.

In essence Israel must become a conventional state, a state that concerns itself first and foremost about the people within its borders. And in Israel's case this must also include the more than one million refugees who have every right to be there but are not there because their return home has been blocked by Israel. In the long run it seems certain that the area that Israel now governs will become part of a state in which the Arabs will constitute a majority. This, I believe, will be inevitable, considering the forces that will shape the future of the Middle East.

In any event, the transition of Israel to a conventional type state need not mean that the Jewish people cannot be united in culture and spirit. By using modern means of mass communication, the Jewish people of the world can live where they now are and be in touch with one another—even more satisfactorily than when trying to work from a state that seems destined to be at war for as long as it exists. Furthermore, by working for unity through modern communications media, world Jewry might regain the spiritual values contemplated by the early proponents of a Jewish homeland.

I know that any suggestion that Israel become a conventional state subjects one to the charge of being anti-Israel, anti-Jew and anti-Semitic. But this simply does not follow. It is in the long run interest of the Israelis that Israel become a conventional state. For it is only through such action that her people can be saved from the fate that would accompany a defeat of Israel in war.

### Palestinian Arabs Must Be Included In Peace Negotiations

There are, of course, other steps towards peace that America needs to take, but I shall mention only two. She must find a way to include the Palestinian Arabs in any peace negotiations that may emerge. This, I think, is imperative. Recently a senior American official to whom I made this suggestion responded with, "Do you propose that we talk with Mr. Arafat—the head of the commandos?" My reply was, "you may have to." The present leader of the Palestinian Arabs is a military man because the world has forced these people to become militant in their own behalf. He is their recognized leader—Israel has made it so.

The other great need in any effort toward peace will be assistance in education and development for Arab refugees. This needs to be done largely through local institutions and leadership, and with initiative taken by the people of Palestine.

In closing, may I say that I am presently pessimistic about the chances of peace in the Middle East. I fear that conflict may yet have to be ended by war. If so, this will be because present American policy is too deeply entrenched and pro-Israel pressures too great to permit change in advance of war. There is, I think, a possibility of a meaningful change in policy at the brink of war—a situation as frightening as the missiles in Cuba or even worse. But for this to be meaningful we must pray that at such a brink there will be a moment of pause during which a peaceful settlement can be worked out or even imposed, if necessary. Meanwhile, let us remember that while the forces that could be working for peace remain deadlocked, *those that press towards war will be active*.

## AND – JEWS FOR PEACE

Still another initiative for peace is to be launched in London on July 7 when a new organization, the Committee for Peace in the Middle East, holds its first meeting. The aim of the organizers is to mold the 600,000 Jews in Britain into "a moral pressure group" and its objective, in turn, will be to induce the Israeli government to renounce all its conquests of June 1967. There is uniqueness about the Committee for Peace in the Middle East. The organizers are 24 Jews, mostly in business and all men of some influence in Britain.

Geoffrey Moorhouse, writing in *The Guardian*, June 26, says, "On July 7, the course of British Jewry takes an original and agonized turn." He comments that the Committee believes that Tel Aviv acceptance of the Security Council Resolution of November 1967 is "the surest, possibly the only way of insuring Israel's ultimate survival. Which matters above many things to those 24 men."

A principal participant in the July 7 meeting will be Nathan Friedman-Yellin, an Israeli newspaper writer and publisher who was a member of the first Israeli Knesset in 1948. That did not make him immune to arrest, along with one Natityahu Shmulevitz, in connection with the murder of the United Nations Mediator in Palestine, Count Folke Bernadotte on September 16, 1948. Convicted, Yellin served only a few months of his eight year sentence.

As a leader of the terrorist Stern Gang no one fought more desperately for the establishment of the Jewish state than Yellin. But equally, no one has fought harder to convince his fellow countrymen that the Israelis must learn to live with their Arab neighbors. Yellin has long advocated total neutrality for Israel in international affairs on the grounds that any other course would lead to Israel being used by the big powers to promote imperialist interests.

Yellin recently assisted in arousing a similar Jewish group in the USA. Moorhouse comments: "If it really gets off the ground it could shift Mrs. Meir and General Dayan as perhaps no other power on earth will. A powerful lobby in Britain would be significant, too . . . The trouble is that many Jews in public life are known to be sympathetic, but fear to stand up and be counted in what could be mistaken for treachery to Israel."

Yellin's case rests in one sentence. "I fought against an oppressor (the British during the Mandate period)—but not in order that my people should in turn oppress another people: I fought to establish the roots of my people in its homeland, but not so as to uproot another nation from its land."

The AJME editors assess the article on Zionism USA in *The National Observer*, May 18 as outstanding and the editorial in the same newspaper on June 22 as extraordinary in U.S. journalism. Both are included in this Special Issue II as inserts.



### Hatfield's Plea for Reason

Senator Mark O. Hatfield (R-Oreg) pointed out in a Senate speech June 13 that military balance alone has not and will not bring peace in the Arab-Israeli conflict. "The depth of feelings that underlie the conflict," he continued, makes any permanent peace search through a balance of arms an impossibility . . . We would be naive to assume that the path to a permanent peace and to true security for all nations in the area lies in our unquestioning supply of military arms to those who ask." The Senator emphasized that Israeli and American recognition and admission of the basic injustice done to the Palestinians in 1948 would be "one of the greatest single steps that could be taken to defuse the present conflict." He added, "This in no way would threaten Israel's territorial integrity nor external security."

### AJME Chapters Endorse

Senator Hatfield's remarks brought immediate endorsements from the AJME chapter in Saudi Arabia and AJME headquarters in Beirut. Cables went to the Senator from both. The Beirut cable read: "AJME members everywhere applaud courageous opposition yourself and twenty-six other Senators to further escalation Middle East conflict by supplying additional offensive weaponry to Israel."

# What others are saying :

## The Russians in Egypt

A former State Department official says, in a letter published in the *International Herald Tribune* June 13-14, the supply of additional Phantoms to Israel supports the Russian plan to polarize the situation in the Middle East. Even Saudi Arabia and Kuwait will be driven into Russian orbit, he warns.

The writer, an off and on member of the Department of State from 1947 to 1957 and author of a recently published book, *The Game of Nations*, states that the aim of the Soviets is "to get us unequivocally on the side of Israel." The full text of the letter follows:

Sir; Your more sophisticated and better-informed readers may conclude from the headlines in the June 8 Herald Tribune ("Kremlin Derides U.S. Bid for Red Pullout in Egypt") that top State Department officials have become awfully naive or, like Joe Alsop, have become so uncritically pro-Israel that they are blinded to realities. May I reassure them? After spending a week in Washington, presuming on my alumnus status to query old official friends, I found that the principal fear of the executive branch, unlike those senators who are up for re-election, is not of what the Soviets are doing in Egypt but of what our own government may be forced, by domestic politics, to do for Israel. Privately, almost every State or Pentagon Middle East expert one buttonholes will admit that the Soviets from their own point of view, see no reason whatever why they should discontinue their military aid to Egypt. For one thing, should they pull out of Egypt it might encourage us to stall further on supplying Phantoms to Israel. And it is of utmost importance to the Soviets that we do supply those Phantoms.

Our State Department officials do indeed realize: (1) that the Soviets could hardly desire a hot war when they are doing so well in the cold one; (2) that the Soviets could hardly wish for the destruction of Israel when it is the continued existence of Israel which makes possible their headway with the Arabs; and (3) that the Soviet objective of the moment is to polarize the situation—i.e. to get us so unequivocally on the side of Israel that they have the Arabs, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait included, all to themselves. Our furnishing the Phantoms to Israel will greatly assist them to reach this objective.

And the Israelis know it. And our top State Department officials know it. But, you see, there is the matter of domestic politics in an election year.

Miles Copeland, London

## Israel is Wrong

Pamphlets in Arabic, handed out by the Israelis to Lebanese villagers when they invaded the Lebanon recently, began with a poem: "He who sows thorns will not harvest grapes and he who lights a fire may be burned." Israel repeatedly warned the Lebanese and the Palestinian guerrillas that if they continued to attack Israeli villages and farms with rockets and bombs, she would react as she has always reacted, with a massive reprisal raid whose object would be to destroy guerrilla bases and discourage guerrilla activity. The Israelis have no illusions that the raid will solve the problem for good. The best they can hope for is a few months respite. Unfortunately the policy of reprisal is so firmly established and extremism has so great an ascendancy in Israel that they have not learnt and cannot learn the obvious lesson of earlier raids. The final result of their policy is a situation much worse than the one it tries to remedy. As an older poet put it, "They have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind."

The Israeli dilemma is a very real one. Innocent people were being killed in peaceful agricultural settlements and there was no hope at all that diplomatic means could be found to restrain the guerrillas. The last time the Lebanese government tried to discipline them, it won the battle on the ground but lost it politically because other Arabs' support for them proved stronger than the fragile Lebanese state could bear. So, from Israel's point of view, there was no hope of appealing to the Lebanese and the warnings issued by Israeli leaders proved equally ineffective.

Israeli hawks have often spoken of the "Jordanisation" of the Lebanon. By this they mean a situation in which the Palestinians dominate the government and the whole country becomes a base for guerrilla activity, the Israeli air force has free range over its territory, and ceaseless bombardment drives the population of the border zone to escape to refugee camps in the hinterland. This is a dreadful prospect for the Lebanon, the only democracy among Arab states and the most peaceful and civilized of them all. It would be bad for Israel, militarily because it would add another front to the full-scale war of attrition she is now obliged to fight along the Suez Canal and the Jordan, and morally because there can be no justification for reducing a country to such a condition.

Whether it will happen depends on the Lebanese government's ability to control the Palestinians and those Lebanese who take their side and who will certainly be greatly reinforced by the Israeli raid. The Lebanon (like Jordan) has a surprising capacity for surviving catastrophes and we must hope that she will do so again. The omens are not good, however, and the combination of war in Lebanon and increased Russian involvement in Egypt make this the most dangerous spring the Middle East has known for three years.

*London Times*, May 13, 1970



# What others are saying :

## Persuasive Propaganda ?

Those 73 senators who now, unscrupulously, seek to escalate the war in the Middle East by coercing the United States to supply Israel with further destructive power in the form of Phantom jets, etc., are, to my mind, little better than gangsters. Many, if not most of them, have done their best to disrupt the President's policies in Southeast Asia on the pretext of being doves, and, with a volte face that would do discredit to the most blatant of hypocrites, they now want to switch their nefarious endeavors to embroiling the United States in their private war against the Arabs.

A lot of people, including newspaper editors, leftists, politicians, etc., have apparently only recently discovered that Russia is helping the Arabs to defend themselves from Israeli aggression. It may only be a coincidence that this coincides with the intense pressure that Israel is putting on the President to give them more offensive weapons in order to escalate the war. Can it be that all these alarms are a skillful and persuasive exercise in Israel propaganda?

Russia has undoubtedly come to the decision that Egypt had to be defended against Israel's boundless superiority in air power that was hitting the virtually defenseless Arab population at will, in an effort to terrorize them into subjection. The Russian defense has undoubtedly altered the situation, to the extent that the Israeli Air Force is no longer free to bomb Egypt at will.

If the ultimate object in presenting the massacre of the helpless is peace, and most countries and most leaders in the world say they want peace, then Russia's intervention on a purely defensive basis cannot be a bad thing. To this point, peace has most definitely not been promoted by a so-called arms "balance" entirely unbalanced in Israel's favor.

Lugano, Switzerland

G.G. Chaplin

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## Mr. Rogers Still in Business

Mr. William Roger's peace proposals have been greeted with an unusual silence in the Middle East. That is about the best thing that could have happened. Until someone says a decisive "no," negotiations may be possible. If this opportunity is lost the trend to war may be beyond stopping.

President Nasser's attitude is the most significant of all. (He) has always said that he would prefer peace to war, though Mrs. Meir persists in hearing less than half of what he says. The Rogers approach can provide him with a respectable road to peace.

June 29, 1970

*The Guardian*, London

## A Chance for Peace

America's new peace initiative in the Middle East is an encouraging development even if it fails in its immediate objective of bringing about talks between the Arab States and Israel. It shows that the elements of a settlement still exist in the Security Council resolution of November 1967. It is also an indication, which the Arabs would be foolish to ignore, that the United States Administration is ready to resist domestic political pressures in order to pursue a more vigorous and impartial peace-seeking diplomacy in the Middle East.

The initiative calls for concession over procedure and substance by both sides, and so is likely to meet with initial resistance from both President Nasser and the Israeli Government. But each side would also make gains—the Israelis a cease-fire and the opening of talks aimed at peace and the Arabs a more explicit Israeli commitment to eventual withdrawal. The Russians have at least so far not tried to torpedo the American plan. A more serious problem is likely to be the attitude of the Palestinian Arabs. King Hussein can no longer force a settlement on his Palestinian subjects in the face of the armed opposition of the guerrilla organisations. Nor is it desirable that he should try. But if a settlement is in sight which would be acceptable to the majority of Palestinians, the more extreme guerrilla attitudes would lose support and significance. If this is to happen, some way must be found of bringing politically representative Palestinians, including the El Fatah leadership, into peace talks.

June 27, 1970,

*The Observer*, London

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## U. S. Peace Plan

The Israelis have rejected an American peace plan ... and have already blamed Egypt for their attitude ... If anybody is not interested in peace today it is Israel, not the Arabs. President Nasser may appear warlike at times for domestic purposes, but he has never shut the door to peace. On the other hand, Israeli leaders have been talking—just talking—about peace but every statement ... has made clear that Israel will not ... relinquish the territory occupied in June 1967 ... Israel's "peace" statements have been a greater invitation to war than any of Nasser's "warlike" statements ... This may not be clear to laymen, but it is understood by officials in Washington, the Arab capitals and Jerusalem.

But will the Arab governments accept the plan? Some of them would love to, but the decision will be based on the reaction of their peoples. If the Palestinians ... win over those people to their side and Arab cities become the scene of wild anti-American demonstrations, the Arab governments will reject the American plan out of fear, if not out of conviction.

June 25, 1970

*The Daily Star*, Beirut

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