



## Daniel Jeremy Silver Collection Digitization Project

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Cease-Fire or Make Peace: Some Thoughts on the Middle East,  
1970.

Cease Fire Or Make Peace-Some Thoughts on the Middle East

Daniel Jeremy Silver

November 15, 1970

At this moment the guns along the Suez are silent and the planes that fly towards the canal turn back before they cross that air space. There is a natural route front which separates Israel from its Arab neighbors and, indeed, it's only really an occasional terrorist bomb in a Tel Aviv bus station or in a crowded Ghaza market which shatters the quiet. But it's an Alice in Wonderland quiet, counterfeit. There is no cease-fire. There is no armistice agreement. There are no peace arrangements. There is only an hour by hour day by day stench of silence of the guns, quiet which Israel, as Mrs. Meir has said again and again, is prepared to continue indefinitely, a quiet which Mr. Sadat has said it lasts but a brief period. Only that period of time which is required to put the Egyptian house in order and prepare the Egyptian and Arab armies for the inevitable, to use his words, military solution, to what he calls the Palestine problem. Throughout the world the chancelleries of the governments of the world, particularly in the west, there is an obvious urgent undertaking to try and widen the crack, to try and broaden the arrangement, the non-arrangement, which exists to prevent a new escalation of violence in the Middle East, to prevent the outbreak of new shooting, to try and use this lull so that it can be developed into some significant peace. And the point I'd like to make with you this morning may seem paradoxical, yet I think it is basic, that we will understand the needs of the Middle East, equity and justice and right only if we accept the proposition, strange as it may seem, that the very urgency for peace which is so much among us and so much a part of the undertakings of the western governments particularly, that this very urgency for peace is the major obstacle to a stable peace in that part of the world; that



the urgency for peace in the west is counted on by the Soviet and by the Arab governments, that it's part of their tactic, part of their ongoing strategy. They are desirous of painting Israel as obstinate and obdurate and mulish and belligerent and unwilling to compromise, that they are desirous of forcing the west to lean upon Israel, to force compromise after compromise without their signing any kind of binding arrangement until Israel has been so weakened, till her borders had been so foreshortened, until her economy has been so stretched and so weakened, that the Arabs can launch a successful attack and eliminate Israel. That is, unfortunately, still the basic aim of Arab policy. The Arabs say this to the west: You want peace? Let Israel make the compromises for peace. And they are very hazy about what promises they are willing to make in return. Get Israel to roll back to the borders of 1967 and then perhaps we'll sit down with them, but, of course, we want you to know that even after the rollback there are still the questions of Israel accepting all the million and a half now presumed refugees. There is still the question of East Jerusalem, of the status of the capital. There is still the question of the borders of 1956, of the borders of 1948 and on and on and on. Behind each demand given to the west as a precondition for negotiation there are the if's and the but's which say but, even so, we will not bargain away this right, we will not sit down until - the until is the crux of the situation. The Arab world, it seems to me, is still determined. The until which it will accept is the elimination of Israel from the world.

I give you two documents. The first was written just a year and a half ago by the Palestine Liberation Organization and it's its national covenant. You've heard much of the so-called Palestinian peoples, of their growing importance

to it (to maintain) its right to a natural life in it, and to exercise its right of self-determination in it and sovereignty over it.



in this part of the world. What is it that they demand? Not the Arab governments themselves but ~~the~~ beyond the Arab governments, these peoples. In 1968 in July in Cairo they undertook to set down a covenant and I think it's important for us to understand the terms in which it's written.

1. Palestine is the homeland of the Palestinian-Arab people, the integral part of the great Arab homeland, the people of Palestine as a part of the Arab nation.

2. Palestine with its boundaries that existed at the time of the British Mandate is an integral regional unit.

3. The Palestinian Arab people possesses the legal right to its homeland, and when the liberation of its homeland is completed, it will exercise self-determination solely according to its own will and choice.

4. The Palestinian personality is an innate, persistent characteristic that does not disappear, and it is transferred from fathers to sons. The Zionist occupation, and the dispersal of the Palestinian Arab people as a result of the disasters which came over it, do not deprive it of its Palestinian personality and affiliation and do not nullify them.

5. The Palestinians are the Arab citizens who were living permanently in Palestine until 1947, whether they were expelled from there or remained. Whoever is born to a Palestinian Arab father after this date, within Palestine or outside, is a Palestinian.

9. Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine and is therefore a strategy and not tactics. The Palestinian Arab people affirms its absolute resolution and abiding determination to pursue the armed struggle and to march forward toward the armed popular revolution, to liberate its homeland and return to it (to maintain) its right to a natural life in it, and to exercise its right of self-determination in it and sovereignty over it.



19. The partitioning of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of Israel are fundamentally null and void, whatever time has elapsed, because they were contrary to the wish of the people of Palestine and its natural right to its homeland, and contradict the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, the first of which is the right of self-determination.

20. The Balfour Declaration, the Mandate Document, and what has been based upon them are considered null and void. The claim of an historical or spiritual tie between Jews and Palestine does not tally with historical realities nor with the constituents or statehood in their true sense.

21. The Palestinian Arab people, in expressing itself through the armed Palestinian revolution, rejects every solution that is a substitute for a complete liberation of Palestine, and rejects all plans that aim at the settlement of the Palestine issue or its internationalization.

Where is the give? Where is the compromise? Short of the ultimate annihilation, erasement of Israel?

I give you in comparison part of the speech which Mrs. Meir gave at the United Nations just three weeks ago. Note the difference in spirit, the difference in hope:

Mr. President, she said, the whole Middle East is a dramatic demonstration of the emergence of peoples into national independence. Once the domain of colonial powers, it is today an area inhabited entirely by independent and sovereign countries. The Middle East, however, is an area in which national independence has unfortunately not been accompanied by peace, stability and resultant prosperity. Rather it is an area of strife and struggle, within the shadows of which lurks an even greater danger to the peoples of the area - the danger of the loss of their long-fought-for right to determine their own fate and their own future course of action.

The question we all face - Israelis and Arabs alike - is whether we forfeit our right to decide our own destiny. That question will only be resolved in the measure that the people of the Middle East succeed or fail in making peace among themselves and by themselves without hindrance or intervention of any outside power. Recent events in the Middle East have proven yet again that resort to substitutes and alternatives for direct peaceful solution of the conflict



creates fertile ground for breaches of promises and mutual suspicion.

This, Mr. President, brings me to another basic question which vitally affects the prospects for peace in the Middle East. Unfortunately, the Middle East has for 22 years been the scene of cynical flouting of solemn agreements. International order, the integrity of the U.N. itself, depend upon the scrupulous observance of international obligations. Unless the members of this august body respect the sanctity of agreements, no treaties can be binding and no pacts can be maintained.

She then goes on to list the agreements of 1948 and 1956 and the hopes of an agreement in the summer of this year on the cease-fire and talk of Israel's willingness to abide by agreements and to compromise and negotiate all outstanding issues and she then ends by saying:

I therefore call from this rostrum once again in the presence of the representatives of the entire community of nations, upon the leaders of the Arab nations of the Middle East and especially now upon the new leadership of Egypt, to recognize once and for all that the future of the Middle East lies in peace and this must be achieved by Israelis and Arabs themselves. It will only be achieved by the building of faith and not the breach of faith, by honouring commitments solemnly undertaken and not by undermining them, by negotiation and not by evasion, by talking to each other and not at each other, in short, by the confrontation of peace and not of war.

It has been the fate of my country that peace has been denied us by our neighbours since the very emergence of Israel. But has Israel alone been the sufferer? No. All those around us, as well as Israel, have paid the terrible price of endless warfare.

Billions of dollars have been spent on armaments instead of on war against poverty, disease and ignorance. There are now deserts of death where there could be blooming fields. Mr. President, I say this today not in rancour but in sorrow. I am convinced that all of us in the Middle East will continue to exist as sovereign states. None of us will leave. But we may choose whether we will continue in the sterile course of mutual destruction, whether we will go on hurting each other to no one's benefit, or whether we will venture on a constructive course, and build our lands separately and together. For each of us to attain the best for his people, cooperation with his neighbours in the solution of regional problems is essential. Our borders not only separate us but they are bridges between us. No people is an island. We are bound to each other by the problems of our region, our world. We can make of these ties a curse or a blessing. Each nation, each land must decide.

Death. Life. War. Peace. War still unfortunately lies at the base of almost all Arab policies for the immediate future in the Middle East. They believe that they can win, if not now a year from now, if not a year from now five



years from now, if not five years from now ten years from now. And why do they believe that they can win? In part because they are more numerous, in part because they have oil, area, peoples from the west and the east desire to bring in to their camp, and in part because they count upon the peace loving in the west, to be inconstant friends of Israel, ultimately to force Israel to compromise its position in order to gain a breathing space, a temporary cease-fire, a lull in the fighting and in return the Arab states promise nothing at all. They talk vaguely of conversation but not even face to face negotiation. The United Nations talks of recognizing the sovereignty of an existing nation and that is precisely the basic fact which the Arab world has refused to undertake.

Need we have other proof? I give you the actions of the Arab states just this past month at the United Nations. The United Nations had a debate on the Middle East forced upon it by Egypt and Egypt with the backing of the numerous Third World states and of the Arab world and the Soviet satellites and the Soviet Union itself brought in a resolution which it almost managed to push through, a resolution which would have undone the decision of November of 1967 which spoke of an Israeli withdrawal from the territories it had taken in that war, coupled at the same time as negotiations leading to the recognition of the sovereignty of Israel, stable boundaries between Israel and its Arab neighbors. It brought in a resolution which said simply Israel must roll back and failing to do so will bring on international sanctions and said nothing of the violations of the cease-fire, said nothing of the recognition of Israel. It was simply part of the tactic, the first step in forcing Israel to less defensible boundaries, in compacting Israel's defense lines, in moving towards step two or step three in the war of liberation as the Arabs tend to call it.



I give you as a classic case what the Arabs have in mind in the whole Suez cease-fire crisis. The Arab world the Soviet knows the west wants peace and so they offer the carrot at the end of the stick. A year and a half ago the Arab world felt that it was sufficiently rebuilt militarily to undertake what General Nasser then called the war of attrition. The canons began to fire across the Suez. They began to dig into the defenses there of the so-called Bar-Lev line. The war of attrition in its second phase was the infiltration of many of the fadayim, many of the terrorists into Israel to blow up schools, to blow up markets, to blow up busses, to blow up hospitals, to blow up buildings and little by little Israel was to be weakened. Her economy was to be stretched tight, the feelings of her people were to become taut. There was to be a war of attrition. Israel's response was to unleash its fighter bomb force and these were able to move across quickly across the canal and to attack deep in Egypt, to attack military installations and to inflict heavy losses. The Russians sat down with the Egyptians and began to develop a counter move. The counter move was to introduce and to move steadily forward lines of anti-aircraft missiles, the SAM II's and the more recent SAM III's. But the Israelis were able to discover a way of shooting out, destroying most of the more primitive SAM II's and the SAM III's could not be deployed fast enough. So the solution? Let's find a time in which under the cover of cease-fire we can move battery after battery of these anti-aircraft missiles into place. So word came out of Cairo that the Egyptians might have some kind of cease-fire willingness. And the United States government, Secretary Rogers and President Nixon seized on this news eagerly and they came to the Israelis and they said you must. And the Israelis said but this will happen. And the American government said we will see to it that it does not happen. They went to the Egyptians and they



went to the Russians and they heard what they wanted to hear. Whether it was said to them or not, no one is certain, but it is certain that the American government went back to the Israelis and assured them there would be no forward movement of aggressive missiles into the Suez Canal zone. So the 90-day cease-fire went into effect at midnight one August Monday and at one A. M. on that August Tuesday the missiles began to move forward into the Suez Canal zone. And during this entire 90-day period which ended early this month the Russians and the Egyptians were able to move battery after battery of these SAM III missiles into place so now they controlled the air space on their side of the canal zone and more. Because of the range of these newer missiles they controlled much of the air space immediately over the Israeli defense perimeter. Under the guise of peacemaking the Arab states and the Soviet increased their war potential and they have no compunction about doing so. Mr. Viyad, the Foreign Minister of Egypt, lied brazenly when he was faced with the evidence which finally the United States government itself had to admit of this forward movement, he simply denied it and so did the Soviet. They gained their advantage. Peace is simply a ploy in order to gain further advantage. It's a ploy which is appealing and I'm afraid that it's a ploy that can and has worked.

How did France in 1967 accomplish her flip flop allegiances? From the middle 1940's when France was liberated from the Nazis the French government understood and sympathized with the legitimate undertaking of Jews, particularly the refugees, whom they had seen throughout Europe to build up a state in Israel. And the French government voted for the creation of Israel. The French government helped to supply Israeli <sup>the</sup> industry and the Israeli army. They were twenty years of the most cordial happy relationships between France and



Israel. And then the much overlamented Gen. De Gaulle saw that the Arab world was closing some markets to the French franc. Then Mr. De Gaulle saw there was a chance to sell French jets to Libya, a chance to buy much needed sulphur from Iraq, that the French interests <sup>banking</sup> were eager to penetrate again into the Arab world. So what did he do in 1967? He cloaked himself in the role of a peace-loving man, of a prophet of peace and he said Israel acted aggressively in defense of what it assumed to be its rights. Israel acted against my peace loving principles. Therefore, France can no longer be allied with interested in such a nation. Therefore we will sell tanks to Syria because Syria is such a peace loving country and we will sell jets to Libya because the Libyans neet a jet for every ten Libyan citizens. And we will sell aggressive arms to the Lebanese because the Lebanon currency is a very valuable one, it's based on silver and gold. Loving peace, pursuing peace, he found a magnificent way of pursuing the franc, pursuing the commercial advantage for France. Yes, it's very appealing to cast Israel as obstinate and obdurate when Israel must take active retaliation, when she must stand up to defend her own rights. The peace loving people who rationalize their commercial advantage, who rationalize their other geopolitical ambitions under this umbrella of concern suddenly find that peace justifies all of the selfishness as a government they had long been desirous of undertaking. Does this ploy work? It worked last summer with the United States government, the United States government which had been supplying Israel little by little, day by day, with some needed defense arms all of a sudden cut off those arms and said: Either accept the cease-fire or. There is a real chance for peace, let's take it. It worked and it worked again two weeks ago. It worked again with the British government when Sir Alex Douglas Holm, the British Foreign Minister, at a conference of the Conser-



vative Party suddenly got up in the middle of this United Nations debate and began to lecture on the compromises Israel must be willing to make in order to bring peace into the Middle East. She must return to the borders of 1967; she must be willing to negotiate Jerusalem; she must be willing to negotiate the refugee issue. There was no talk in this whole speech of the cease-fire violations. There was no talk of how Great Britain could assure Israel that once all this had taken place the Arab states would recognize her borders, but Sir Alex Douglas Holm saw a chance to cast England in a peace loving role. All they had, he said, of interest, all that was of England's concern was to prevent an escalation of violence, a renewal of violence in the Middle East. Let Israel make the compromise.

Again and again these last months, these last years, all of us have heard the echoes of Munich and of Czechoslovakia and the foreign ministries of the west. Burdened by the desire of all people of good will for peace, burdened by the understandable desire of banks and of industries and of oil companies to protect their investment and to be able to make further profit in the Middle East. These governments have jumped for the ploy which the Arab states have begun to undertake so skillfully and have begun to lean upon Israel as if Israel was the obstacle to peace, as if somehow Israel's obstinacy, its desire to live, stood in the way of the peace and the wellbeing and the prosperity of our world. We see this also among many of our neighbors and many of our fellow citizens. The peace movement is at full tide in the United States. It began as a movement to withdraw us from a useless misbegotten war in the Far East and has become now a tide of new isolationism. It's become now a desire to disembarrass ourselves from all foreign political entanglements as if America could withdraw behind our oceans and live at home nursing our own internal problems and allowing the world



somehow to solve its own, as if we were not the major power in the world. And I hear it again and again in this city and elsewhere. Why must Israel be so obstinate? Why can't Israel make the first offer? Why can't Israel roll back to the borders of 1967? And when you talk of the nondefensibility of these borders, they've lived within them for a number of years, yes, but the Arabs were building up but you must trust the Arabs. Nasser wanted peace. Nasser wanted peace? Hundreds upon thousands of people believe that Nasser wanted peace. He wanted peace in 1956; he wanted peace in 1967. He said so, I heard him. The gullibility of the American people to believe that what a man says for American political consumption is the policy of a nation is beyond belief. Nasser in his death suddenly became an apostle of peace. This man who led his country in three disastrous wars, two against Israel, one in , who lost three wars, whose policy of revolution, social revolution, was aborted because of his megalomania for conquest and domination in the Arab world, this man has suddenly been transformed into an apostle for peace. Where did he speak of peace? Where is a single act taken in behalf of peace, a single willingness to compromise? The Israeli government has again and again and again and again and again: sit down, any place, any table that you want, any shape to the table, any level of political embassy, sit down face to face. There's no issue we won't put on the table. Sit down with us. Rhodes, New York, have it where you will. " The chair is empty. The Nassers never come and they will not come as long as they believe that ultimately the west will abandon Israel, as long as they believe that the peace ploy will allow them to piecemeal, cut Israel down to manageable size. That's the danger.

Yes, Israel wants peace. All men must, but peace cannot be had simply for the wanting. Peace isn't simply something that you can say, I need



it and therefore it is. " Men must be peaceful. A region must be peaceful, it cannot be chaotic and turbulent. There must be a desire on both sides for arrangements, then there can be peace and not till then. And I'm afraid that any of us who want peace today, peace tomorrow, in the Middle East are going to be disappointed. The Middle East, the Arab Middle East, is in turmoil. Nation after nation is undergoing putsch and revolution. We saw the destruction in Jordan. We have seen the emergence of new kinds of power combinations between Libya and the Sudan and Egypt. We've seen a bloodless revolution in Iraq, bloodless at least in its first stage. We have seen the unrest of Syria, a bloodless revolution there and there will be other bloody revolutions in the near future. The Middle East is going through a social turmoil. Feudalism is at an end. There are all kinds of radical groups preaching social revolution. They are the traditional wars of class societies. Ultimately there will be some resolution, some kind of an emergence of a responsible Arab leadership with a responsible Arab followship. Perhaps then there will be men who will talk and who will listen, but until then I'm afraid that the Middle East will be a land of demagoguery and demagogues, a land of violent words and violent actions.

Yes, we want peace in the Middle East but sometimes peace can be had only at the price of a confrontation of power until peace can be made. What's different, really, between the confrontation of Israeli power and Arab power, the balancing off of these powers and the confrontation of the east and the west, of Russia and the United States which has taken place in over the last thirty years. It's dangerous. It wastes money on military equipment, but it somehow manages to hold peace. It holds off war. Perhaps we ought to be able to devise better



instrumentalities to arrange peace, but we have no other instrumentalities. And when the blood is up a man, a nation, must ultimately defend itself. I pray that there will be some kind of arrangement in the Middle East which will allow the present cease-fire to continue. I pray that the Arab world will recognize the value to it, peace, the value to it in terms of social progress, in terms of schools and hospitals and standards of living. But I'm not sure. I'm not sure that the Arab world is prepared to look realistically and reasonably at these problems. And I am sure of this, that they are counting on the impatience of the west; they are counting on the peace-loving urgency which is manifest in the west; in order, over a period of time, to gain their way, this way, the elimination of the State, the elimination of Israel.

There's an old principle in our tradition, one always ends a book on a word of hope. The Arabs say if not now a year from now, if not a year from now ten years from now. If we lose the third round there will be a fourth, if there will be a fourth round there will be a fifth. There is no certainty that this Arab mathematics must, in fact, take place. There is no certainty in history. The only certainty that I know is that the guardian of Israel is not slumber and it does not sleep; that our history is four times as long as the history of the Arab peoples; that we have somehow survived; we have found the courage and determination, the will. This people, our people, has been beleaguered before and it has not broken. We have been besieged before and we have not surrendered. And none of us know what lies in this confused world beyond tomorrow. Allegiances and alliances of our world are quixotic things. We fight the Soviet between every war. We fight with the Soviet in every war. The Soviet voted to create the State of Israel and is now the enemy of the State of Israel. Who knows what tomorrow will bring.



What we do know is that time must be bought. We must take the long look. There are no quick easy solutions and that those who love peace and would pursue it must pursue it with care rather than with passion. They must understand that in the pursuit of peace nations have been lost and peoples have had to give over their freedoms. Mr. Chamberlain gave to Mr. Hitler Czechoslovakia in order to gain peace in our time and what did he gain? War in his time. But when the demagogues, those who are aggressive, those who have no compunction, who are amoral politically gain their objective, be it Czechoslovakia, be it Israel, they go for more. There is no satiety, there is no limit to their appetite. Unless the nations of the world show that they are willing to be steady; unless our government is willing now to undertake a continuing policy of friendship and military support for Israel and to say, yes, we want peace, we in the west, but we will not compromise the sovereignty, the existence of Israel in order to gain it. Unless we are willing to make that kind of statement now and pay the price now, the price in lives and the price in money will be much larger a year from now or ten. Israel has said that her price to return to the bargaining table given the failure of America to be able to force what America has called the rectification of the missile movements during the cease-fire, is a guarantee from the United States government that at least for two years she will continue to supply Israel with needed counterbalancing arms so that one day America will not suddenly turn to Israel and say, Cease fire, cease your activity, compromise what we tell you to compromise for we want peace and you are expendable. I believe the American government will make such a guarantee. When it does there will be some time. I pray God that during that time the wisdom of the world will find a way, a formula perhaps, to bring about



some arrangement in the Middle East. But let us not be impatient and let us remember the evil that good men have been known to do.





The guns along the highway are silent. The planes pull back before they  
use the ground's air space. At the moment it is clear in Wounded  
area. There is no smoke fire and no shooting. In fact, there is quiet  
along the entire border - in fact except when a bullet strikes in T.A.  
or in unmanned large market, but the world's known test was in  
the unmanned group and not the substance, now, more has remained  
but the peace in last or long - the kind world will it; but ANWAR  
SADAT has reiterated Egypt's determination to be the M.C. of Israel and  
has accepted the extension of a non-free also a temporary measure  
which Egypt regrets after the death of the leader and previous for  
2 months for the next month. But has rejected negotiation and has insisted  
on immediately for the release of the UNRWA prisoners. - - the world  
must depend on the non-violence with some stable peace  
My next to A.M. is a bullet in the middle of the road - but one could see  
so many parade trucks in the middle of the road. - and the road is the  
person for peace - the major to avoid more shooting - the world  
create any further escalation of the violence - may be [possible]  
a major step which to pay substantial salaries and peace.







planning type would be the manner of the 1970's - a  
consideration within the community, the community of Jewish would  
be the public power concerned are prepared to go to  
avoid a public confrontation.

The situation is complex - it seems to require a  
step by step understanding of Council's role & public stand  
in humanitarian particular would be more cost more money  
will be falling out more steps.

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as well as some WRHS kind of more specified  
studies about Council's role - only the  
reality - of course - in the middle  
of the "Public relation" to be handled.

From Council to give my presentation - and  
From Council to use well the 16 million help

style refugees and

on the subject and on the subject

and understand rule - on if any one of these with - on  
all of them would bring real peace - all of them



long, hard fight, - ~~the~~ close day for the final victory -  
the final decisiveness of the great struggle.

The great day had passed at 11 A.M. and suddenly  
there was a new 272 calling for immediate action and  
quick response. Expected to see the next number of  
mail - that was - a small scale - valuable -

M. Reed a copy of Eight direct printed leaflets -  
republican several unpublished samples sent  
usually as number of reprints - has the best

performance was very good - was the best  
The first reprinted leaflet - was the best

bulletin in republican of the new for

a complete disregard of the new republic  
republican papers for republican

There are many ways to reach the public  
united front - for all these will be of

the new republican papers the new and papers

the new republican papers the new republican -

the new republican papers the new republican -



We are in the position of -

and I am.

That is why we are -

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but line was off of left side - found fly -  
jump - near Cornell P.M. Sun early Daguer lens

at Herrington — instead of all round and to be —

11. unusually in ref to Samuel - and received  
recognized reality - to Paul John

recovered nearly 6000  
cured young samples - a very small

be fed some small pieces

The above for record WRHS

for enrollment

for small ...  
has already paid for some ...

and coal found in the

Power in the universe is constant - 1000

Peter Wright

~~was - published with~~  
~~and used as reference for my own~~

also needed some

Wages - Santa Cruz

good friend

me plus

Yeh Pehlah Lee Ngai



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 advice or to be helped - increasingly seen that there is an  
 out of sight well understood things - feel - but will  
 on some level - perhaps

Egypt - W. -  
 side Ladya - Secula - 1st possible

3, from Bond pulso 1 ultrason

51. This second paper

Jew (only) could have (a new) [Museum] of Jewish US?

Confidential Legal  
 I would need not be legal Legal

What would be the result of this? - no big city there

age - same as before -



in the house

in a good house - 1/2

friends (action) / report / information  
suffer

some more in the house - 1/2  
more (good) - 1/2

for the house - 1/2



## Kaddish

Friday Nov 13

Sunday 15

Those who passed away this week

HENRY E INSTEIN  
FREIDA SEIDMAN

GEORGE C. KENDIS

## Vahrzeits

BETSY JO REICH  
VICKI LYNN GUREN  
RITA WEIDENTHAL  
JENNIE G. BERGER  
SOPHIA KABER  
HARRIET L. WIEDDER  
RUTH S. LEVIN  
ISADORE SABLOVITZ  
ROSE KRICHMAN  
JULIAN L. WOLF  
LAURA NEUMAN  
JULIUS B. COHN  
ETTA S. GOLDSMITH  
HATTIE KOPERLIK  
DR. SAMUEL L. ROBBINS  
DAVID WIESENBERGER  
ISAAC NEWMAN  
BEATRICE FUHRER GOODMAN  
EDNA GOLDSMITH



heard at   
the United Nations

## Washington Tries For Peace

The United States launched a commendable diplomatic offensive at the UN General Assembly in an attempt to prevent adoption of an Egyptian resolution which would undo the little progress gained by the Security Council resolution of Nov. 22, 1967 and the U.S. standstill cease-fire initiative of last May. Question: Can the United States defeat the persistent attempts of the Arab-Soviet bloc to indict Israel at this General Assembly session?

The U.S. draft is based on past agreements and is intended to strengthen those agreements, without adding any new element.

It calls for an endorsement of the Nov. 22 resolution in all of its parts; it asks for a restoration of confidence by removing obstacles created since the standstill cease-fire went into effect; finally, it urges extension of the cease-fire for at least three months.

The United States hopes that by Friday there will be a formal agreement for such an extension, State Department Spokesman John King declared on Monday.

American diplomats are convinced that neither side will do anything as rash as shattering the quiet on the Suez. One diplomatic observer of the Cairo scene recently expressed "complete confidence" that Egypt wants to maintain the cease-fire, despite ominous warnings to the contrary.

### Facing the Russians

For the first time, the United States has formally accused the Soviet Union of stationing technicians in the Suez zone in "actual combat roles." Ambassador Charles W. Yost declared at the UN that despite Moscow's protestation that it was not a party to the agreement, the Soviet Union did in fact concur in the standstill agreement and bore responsibility for the deliberate and unmistakable violations of that agreement.

Repeatedly in the past fortnight—in Washington, in New York and in the UN General Assembly—the United States was contemptuously rebuffed when it attempted to obtain at least a partial removal of the missiles illegally emplaced after Aug. 7. Disappointed by the breach of agreement and angered by the Russian refusal to be helpful in any way, the United States stood firm and refused to give up its insistence on some measure of political "rectification."

But, Washington concedes, it cannot maintain indefinitely its demand for removal of missiles. In his speech at the UN, Yost did not mention the demand.

The tendency is to accept the missile belt as a *fait accompli*. Washington's view is that its military aspect is serious. Much more grim is the Russian-Egyptian eagerness to win tactical military advantage at the expense of the very slim chance of political accommodation. Thus, American diplomats are now asking Egypt and the Soviet Union what they can do to prove that they are indeed interested in a settlement with Israel.

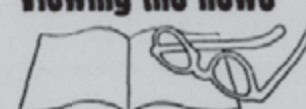
Washington continues to regard the standstill violations as a grave breach of trust. It believes that Cairo and Moscow must make political amends.

To acquiesce in the illegal missile buildup along the Suez Canal would be an egregious blunder, and to press Israel to return to the Jarring talks under such conditions would be a message to Moscow and Cairo that they can get away with anything and that they can break their word with impunity. Only a major concession on Egypt's part could restore those "conditions of confidence" President Nixon referred to in his UN address. But the present weak Cairo regime seems to lack the will or the courage to effect a breakthrough.

# NEAR EAST report

## Washington letter on American policy in the Near East

### Viewing the news



### Arabs Against Terrorists

Lebanese farmers at Qaliah on the Israel-Lebanon border became alarmed after Arab terrorists fired Katyusha rockets into Israel on Oct. 25, wounding five Israel policemen. Fearing reprisals, they set up roadblocks and appealed to the Lebanese government to stop the terrorist activities.

Prime Minister Sa'ib Salam told guerrilla leaders that they would receive sanctuary as long as they remained "in consonance with Lebanon's sovereignty, independence and security."

The government increased border patrols, ostensibly for protection against the Israelis, but the *fedayeen* feel the patrols are intended to hamper them. They stepped up activities to prove that they were not weakened by the civil war in Jordan.

PLO Leader Yasser Arafat went to Beirut on Oct. 31 to meet local *fedayeen* leaders and work out a detente between them and the Lebanese government. This calls for tighter discipline and a centralization of power within Arafat's PLO.

Villagers in Northern Jordan are also opposed to terrorist activities. A delegation of 150 appealed to a pan-Arab arbitration committee in Amman on Oct. 24 for the elimination of guerrilla sanctuaries in their settlements, claiming that the terrorists were plundering and conspiring against the lives of civilians.

The Higher Arab Followup Committee is permitting the PLO to open 10 offices in Amman and branch offices elsewhere in Jordan. These will house the Central Committee, the Palestine Armed Struggle Command, the office for handling martyrs' family care, the occupied homeland affairs department, the Palestinian Red Crescent, the martyrs' sons schools, the militia command and Fatah Radio and newspaper.



# The Goal Is Israel's Destruction

There has been a great deal of talk about proposals to create an Arab Palestinian state—either on the West Bank of the Jordan River, as envisioned in the 1947 partition resolution, or on both banks, encompassing old Jordan.

The discussants include many influential Americans — some pro-Arab, some pro-Israel, some "neutral." They also include some Israelis. They do not, however, include the party of the first part—the Palestinians.

What do the Palestinians themselves say? Any evaluation of proposals for a Palestinian Arab state should take Palestinian views into account. We reprint here in full the English translation of the Palestinian National Covenant, as amended and adopted by the Palestinian National Council meeting in Cairo in July 1968. The Council was comprised of representatives from Palestinian organizations throughout the

Arab world and from all of the terrorist organizations. *El Fatah* accounted for 37 of the 100 members of the Council; the Popular Front, 10.

In Articles 2, 19, 20 and 21, the Palestinians make it clear that they will settle for nothing less than complete control of the area which existed at the time of the Mandate—the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, along with what is now Jordan and what is now Israel. They wipe out history by simply declaring all major documents and international decisions relating to partition as "null and void."

They glorify Arab nationalism, but Jewish nationalism—Zionism—is "illegitimate" (Article 23). The Jews do not merit an "independent existence" because, unlike the Palestinians, the Jews are not a people (Article 20). Nor, apparently, are the Israelis, for they are not mentioned at all.

"Palestinians" are defined as Arabs who inhabited Palestine at any time and children born after 1947 to a "Palestinian Arab father" anywhere (Article 5). The only Jews to be regarded as Palestinians—and thus, by implication, the only Jews to be permitted to remain in "liberated" Palestine—are those who inhabited the area prior to "the beginning of the Zionist invasion" (Article 6). A resolution adopted in 1964 by the First Palestinian Congress, which created the Palestinian National Council, sets the date of the "Zionist invasion" at 1917.

Article 16 heralds the democratic, secular, bi-national Palestinian state. Recent terrorist words and deeds have forced all but the most hard core pro-Arabs to abandon this much-touted Palestinian line. However, one need look no further than Article 1 of the Covenant for the contradictions which expose insincerity. (Boldface ours)

## The Text of The Covenant

Article 1: Palestine is the homeland of the Palestinian Arab people and an integral part of the great Arab homeland, and the people of Palestine is a part of the Arab nation.

Article 2: Palestine with its boundaries that existed at the time of the British Mandate is an integral regional unit.

Article 3: The Palestinian Arab people possesses the legal right to its homeland, and when the liberation of its homeland is completed, it will exercise self-determination solely according to its own will and choice.

Article 4: The Palestinian personality is an innate, persistent characteristic that does not disappear, and it is transferred from fathers to sons. The Zionist occupation, and the dispersal of the Palestinian Arab people as a result of the disasters which came over it, do not deprive it of its Palestinian personality and affiliation and do not nullify them.

Article 5: The Palestinians are the Arab citizens who were living permanently in Palestine until 1947, whether they were expelled from there or remained. Whoever is born to a Palestinian Arab father after this date, within Palestine or outside it, is a Palestinian.

Article 6: Jews who were living permanently in Palestine until the beginning of the Zionist invasion will be considered Palestinians.

Article 7: The Palestinian affiliation and the material, spiritual and historical

tie with Palestine are permanent realities. The upbringing of the Palestinian individual in an Arab and revolutionary fashion, the undertaking of all means of forging consciousness and training the Palestinian, in order to acquaint him profoundly with his homeland, spiritually and materially, and preparing him for the conflict and the armed struggle, as well as for the sacrifice of his property and his life to restore his homeland, until the liberation—all this is a national duty.

Article 8: The phase in which the people of Palestine is living is that of the national (*watani*) struggle for the liberation of Palestine. Therefore, the contradictions among the Palestinian national forces are of a secondary order which must be suspended in the interest of the fundamental contradictions between Zionism and colonialism on the one side and the Palestinian Arab people on the other. On this basis, the Palestinian masses, whether in the homeland or in places of exile (*Mahajir*), organizations and individuals, comprise one national front which acts to restore Palestine and liberate it through armed struggle.

Article 9: Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine and is therefore a strategy and not tactics. The Palestinian Arab people affirms its absolute resolution and abiding determination to pursue the armed struggle and to march forward toward the armed popular revolution, to liberate its homeland and return to it [to maintain] its right to a natural life in it, and to

exercise its right of self-determination in it and sovereignty over it.

Article 10: Fedayeen action forms the nucleus of the popular Palestinian war of liberation. This demands its promotion, extension and protection, and the mobilization of all the mass and scientific capacities of the Palestinians, their organization and involvement in the armed Palestinian revolution, and cohesion in the national (*watani*) struggle among the various groups of the people of Palestine, and between them and the Arab masses, to guarantee the continuation of the revolution, its advancement and victory.

Article 11: The Palestinians will have three mottoes: national (*watariyya*) unity, national (*qawmiyya*) mobilization and liberation.

Article 12: The Palestinian Arab people believes in Arab unity. In order to fulfill its role in realizing this, it must preserve, in this phase of its national (*watani*) struggle, its Palestinian personality and the constituents thereof, increase consciousness of its existence and resist any plan that tends to disintegrate or weaken it.

Article 13: Arab unity and the liberation of Palestine are two complementary aims. Each one paves the way for realization of the other. Arab unity leads to the liberation of Palestine, and the liberation of Palestine leads to Arab unity. Working for both goes hand in hand.

Article 14: The destiny of the Arab nation, indeed the very Arab existence,



depends upon the destiny of the Palestine issue. The endeavor and effort of the Arab nation to liberate Palestine follows from this connection. The people of Palestine assumes its vanguard role in realizing this sacred national (*qawmi*) aim.

Article 15: The liberation of Palestine, from an Arab viewpoint, is a national (*qawmi*) duty to repulse the Zionist, imperialist invasion from the great Arab homeland and to purge the Zionist presence from Palestine. Its full responsibilities fall upon the Arab nation, peoples and governments, with the Palestinian Arab people at their head.

For this purpose, the Arab nation must mobilize all its military, human, material and spiritual capacities to participate actively with the people of Palestine in the liberation of Palestine. They must, especially in the present stage of armed Palestinian revolution, grant and offer the people of Palestine all possible help and every material and human support, and afford it every sure means and opportunity enabling it to continue to assume its vanguard role in pursuing its armed revolution until the liberation of its homeland.

Article 16: The liberation of Palestine, from a spiritual viewpoint, will prepare an atmosphere of tranquility and peace for the Holy Land, in the shade of which all the holy places will be safeguarded, and freedom of worship and visitation to all will be guaranteed, without distinction or discrimination of race, color, language or religion. For this reason, the people of Palestine looks to the support of all the spiritual forces in the world.

Article 17: The liberation of Palestine, from a human viewpoint, will restore to the Palestinian man his dignity, glory and freedom. For this, the Palestinian Arab people looks to the support of those in the world who believe in the dignity and freedom of man.

Article 18: The liberation of Palestine, from an international viewpoint, is a defensive act necessitated by the requirements of self-defense. For this reason, the people of Palestine, desiring to befriend all peoples, looks to the support of the states which love freedom, justice and peace in its territory, and enabling its people to exercise national (*wataniyya*) sovereignty and national (*qawmiyya*) freedom.

Article 19: The partitioning of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of Israel are fundamentally null and void, whatever time has elapsed, because they were contrary to the wish of the people of Palestine and its natural right to its homeland, and contradict the

principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, the first of which is the right of self-determination.

Article 20: The Balfour Declaration, the Mandate Document, and what has been based upon them are considered null and void. The claim of an historical or spiritual tie between Jews and Palestine does not tally with historical realities nor with the constituents or statehood in their true sense. Judaism, in its character as a religion of revelation, is not a nationality with an independent existence. Likewise, the Jews are not one people with an independent personality. They are rather citizens of the states to which they belong.

Article 21: The Palestinian Arab people, in expressing itself through the armed Palestinian revolution, rejects every solution that is a substitute for a complete liberation of Palestine, and rejects all plans that aim at the settlement of the Palestine issue or its internationalization.

Article 22: Zionism is a political movement organically related to world imperialism and hostile to all movements of liberation and progress in the world. It is a racist and fanatical movement in its formation; aggressive, expansionist and colonialist in its aims, and fascist and nazi in its means. Israel is the tool of the Zionist movement and a human and geographical base for world imperialism. It is a concentration and jumping-off point for imperialism in the heart of the Arab homeland, to strike at the hopes of the Arab nation for liberation, unity and progress.

Israel is a constant threat to peace in the Middle East and the entire world. Since the liberation of Palestine will liquidate the Zionist and imperialist presence and bring about the stabilization of peace in the Middle East, the people of Palestine looks to the support of all liberal men of the world and all the forces of good, progress and peace; and implores all of them, regardless of their different leanings and orientations, to offer all help and support to the people of Palestine in its just and legal struggle to liberate its homeland.

Article 23: The demands of security and peace and the requirements of truth and justice oblige all states that preserve friendly relations among peoples and maintain the loyalty of citizens to their homelands to consider Zionism an illegitimate movement and to prohibit its existence and activity.

Article 24: The Palestinian Arab people believes in the principles of justice, freedom, sovereignty, self-determination, human dignity and the right of peoples to exercise them.

Article 25: To realize the aims of this covenant and its principles the Palestine Liberation Organization will undertake its full role in liberating Palestine.

Article 26: The Palestine Liberation Organization, which represents the forces of the Palestinian revolution, is responsible for the movement of the Palestinian Arab people in its struggle to restore its homeland, liberate it, return to it and exercise the right of self-determination in it. This responsibility extends to all military, political and financial matters, and all else that the Palestine issue requires in the Arab and international spheres.

Article 27: The Palestine Liberation Organization will cooperate with all Arab States, each according to its capacities, and will maintain neutrality in their mutual relations in the light of, and on the basis of, requirements of the battle of liberation, and will not interfere in the internal affairs of any Arab state.

Article 28: The Palestinian Arab people insists upon the originality and independence of its national (*wataniyya*) revolution and rejects every manner of interference, guardianship and subordination.

Article 29: The Palestinian Arab people possess the prior and original right in liberating and restoring its homeland and will define its position with reference to all states and powers on the basis of their positions with reference to the issue [of Palestine] and the extent of their support for [the Palestinian Arab people] in its revolution to realize its aims.

Article 30: The fighters and bearers of arms in the battle of liberation are the nucleus of the popular army, which will be the protecting arm of the gains of the Palestinian Arab people.

Article 31: This organization shall have a flag, oath and anthem, all of which will be determined in accordance with a special system.

Article 32: To this covenant is attached a law known as the fundamental law of the Palestine Liberation Organization, in which is determined the manner of the organization's formation, its committees, its institutions, the special functions of every one of them and all the requisite duties associated with them in accordance with this covenant.

Article 33: This covenant cannot be amended except by a two-thirds majority of all the members of the National Council of the Palestine Liberation Organization in a special session called for this purpose.



## propaganda pressures

### The Bedfellows, Again

The extremes of right and left continue to converge on Israel.

Two sources of radical right wing 'literature' are peddling their anti-Israel offerings on the Hill. From the National Youth Alliance, a blatantly racist group dealing in out-and-out hate propaganda, comes a publication appropriately entitled *Attack!*; from the more subtle Dan Smoot, a *Dan Smoot Report*.

Smoot, a former protégé of multi-billionaire H. L. Hunt, turns his wrath on "the little socialist nation of Israel" and on the "immeasurably powerful influence of Jews" who prevent U.S. disengagement "from the clutches of Zionists." Smoot's past credits include calls for the impeachment of President John F. Kennedy and the entire Supreme Court, exposés of communism as a Jewish-Catholic-NAACP conspiracy and a denunciation of integration as "an American tragedy."

#### Race Against Reason

*Attack!* rails against Jews in the media, Jews in the left, Jews in Israel. Along with a gallery of Jewish stereotype cartoons, there is a caricature of a black-faced Statue of Liberty holding a book inscribed "Democracy Decadence Death." The slogan of the "youth" organization—which is headed by a retired admiral, a retired general and several oldtime right-wingers—is "Free Men Are Not Equal; Equal Men Are Not Free."

Meanwhile, on the left, the Committee of Black Americans for Truth About the Middle East (C.O.B.A.T.A.-M.E.) took space in *The New York Times* last Sunday to "demand" an end to "United States support of the Zionist Government of Israel" on the extraordinary grounds that Israel supports the United States. The ad smeared Israel as an "outpost of American Imperialism" and blamed her for every "counter-revolutionary" movement under the sun, and underground.

C.O.B.A.T.A.M.E. concluded its attack with a "call for Afro-American solidarity with the Palestinian people's struggle for national liberation and to regain all of their stolen land." But in view of an earlier *New York Times* advertisement (June 28) signed by many prominent black Americans calling for U.S. support of Israel, it would appear that C.O.B.A.T.A.M.E. might find the white racist National Youth Alliance a more fertile recruiting field.

### Not-So-Secret Base in Morocco

The continuing operation of a U.S. military communications station in Morocco—despite an understanding to close it in 1963—was officially revealed last week with the long-delayed publication of closed hearings held before the Senate Subcommittee on U.S. Security Agreements July 20.

In a foreword addressed to Subcommittee Chairman Stuart Symington (D-Mo.), Chief Consultant Walter Pincus accused the Executive Branch of using classification powers to keep "potentially embarrassing information—not national security information—from the American people"; in the past, for example, the 1,700 U.S. servicemen in Morocco "were publicly described . . . as instructors."

Pincus noted that in its present form the transcript, liberally sprinkled with deletions, "will provide a basic understanding of U.S.-Morocco relations," but "offers less information than . . . it could." Among other censored items: Although the Administration finally agreed to allow references to Soviet military aid and to Czechoslovak troops in Morocco to remain in the record, it insisted that the actual amount of Russian aid be deleted.

During the hearings, Symington noted that the Soviet Union had been well aware of the existence of the base. "Apparently the only persons who didn't know of our activities in Morocco were the people here in the United States," he concluded.

The NEAR EAST REPORT bound volume, containing all 1969 issues and supplements, should be in the library of everyone who wants to be informed on the Near East. The price is \$3.50.

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