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Peace Talks in the Middle East, But is Anyone Listening?, 1971.

PEACE TALKS IN THE MIDDLE EAST - BUT IS ANYBODY LISTENING?

Daniel Jeremy Silver

February 7, 1971

Mankind has never found peace ^{solemnly} on a scrap of paper however ~~ceremonially~~ signed and ceremonially promulgated. No peace treaty has ever truly ended conflicts between nations. Treaties are made to be broken and as soon as one power or another sees an advantage or as soon as another government seizes power in one of these nations and renounces the treaty it is as if it had never been. The treaty of Versailles which ended the first global war gave Europe enough peace in order to grow another generation of cannon fodder. The Middle East will not find peace in a scrap of paper. Unless we recognize that the tensions between nations are ongoing; unless we recognize that when the political tensions between nations are aggravated by passion, by deliberately flamed hate; unless we recognize that what is being sought in the Middle East is an accommodation, a modis vivendi, some arrangements which will keep the big guns from shooting and the fast planes from flying; unless we keep our feet on the ground and do not ask for too much; unless we recognize that what we are talking about is some temporary arrangement which will buy time, save lives; There is no hope for any kind of serious confrontation of the issues. ^{Because} If anyone is under the illusion that a peace settlement ^{will} stabilize the area, will bring around some kind of permanent solution to the problems between Israel and the Arab States and within the Arab states themselves ^{he} is buying disappointment, he is asking to be disillusioned. One can almost write even now the scenario of the events after a peace settlement. Let's assume what is not even problematic, ^{what will probably not be} but let's assume ^{but} that it's the best that could be, that the Arab states will accept some accommodation of boundaries with Israel, that they will agree to open the

Straits of Tiran and the Suez Canal to all flag terrific,' that there will be an arrangement for the sacred places of Jerusalem,' that there will be some provision for the treatment of all the displaced persons of the Middle East, both Arab and Jew. Let's assume that all of the seemingly outstanding issues are adjusted, that the paragraphs are carefully written. Furthermore, let's assume that a Big Four peacekeeping task force is sent to the area, its companies to be astride both sides of these borders to keep the peace. What then? How long would it be before one of the revolutionary cells of guerillas in Iraq or in Jordan begins to agitate against this treaty of infamy? How long would it be before some of the political opponents of Mr. Sadat or whoever was the Egyptian President who signed these protocols, how long would it be before this opponent or that opponent emerge as the demagogue at the head of a Hitlerian kind of operation, because it is exactly what Hitler did with the Treaty of Versailles, ^{de} ~~announcing~~ announcing this treaty, saying we must drive all of the aliens, all of the foreigners from *Saran* Islam, from Islam's land, from the Arab world, you were sold out, you were abandoned, come back to your principles, I will lead you on the holy crusade. How long would it be before guerilla bands began to sift into Israel to plant the bombs or some kind of terrorist activity would shoot ^{up} ~~off~~ a cargo ship bound for Israel and the Suez Canal? And what if Israel tried to retaliate? How many of the peace-keeping companies of Russians and French and English would be sibs through which the terrorist could pass ~~through~~ going westward but through which the Israeli army could not pass going eastward? This has happened before. It happened with the United Nations peacekeeping forces in the early sixties. How long would it be before tensions built up and finally the demagogue now astride in

the Israeli, Why then these speeches? Obviously he cannot at the very least to

identify himself with the basic passion of his people, the flames of hate, the flames

before ^{he} Egypt or in the throne in Jordan ~~would~~ suddenly and the demands of the Russians and the French who are the allies of the Arab world, that they pull out from the peacekeeping force, that they are no longer wanted, thank you for your guns, thank you for your planes, thank you for your missiles, but no thank you for the corps don solitaire, the barrier which was erected between us and the final attack.

Mr. Sadat, the new President of Egypt since the death of Nasser, has proven to be a remarkably locquacious fellow. He has in the last months traveled the length and breadth of his land, encouraging the people who throng out in the public squares of Alexandria and Cairo; "we will win the war, no part of Arab territory will remain under foreign domination, we must be prepared to take the kinds of aggressive actions which will insure ^{us} our rights" and to give visible content to his oratory he has now brought into being a national militia. All civilian men in Egypt up to the age of 35 who are not in the army have been given arms and they were told that they will be led forward, but they must be prepared in the meantime for some kind of Israeli attack. It's only a matter of time till we launch out to take back that which is legitimately ours. And when he was interviewed by James Reston of the New York Times he said very simply: "never, never, never will I negotiate with the Israelis."

Now in the west the fog has developed, the assumption has developed in recent years, that the Arabs never mean what they say, that they are children of bombast, that they love oratory, they talk to hear themselves talk, ^{but you} ~~we~~ must not listen to what they say because it's not really meant. They talk in a kind of symbolic hyperbolic language - leave it at that. Let's leave it at that. Let's accept that Mr. Sadat does not mean what he has said and he will never never never seriously negotiate with the Israelis. Why then these speeches? Obviously he ^{needs} ~~means~~ at the very least to identify himself with the basic passion of his people, the flames of hate, the flames

of raven, the revenge, the flames of vengeance which have burned so brightly, which have been kept burning so brightly by Arab propaganda for these last twenty five years. He obviously doesn't want any^{one}body coming behind him and doing that which southern politicians in the United States ten, twenty years ago most feared. ^{When} they ran for office the thing they feared most was that some other politician would come along and say worse things about the negroes than they were prepared to say. Now why does a Sadat have to engage in this kind of vulgarity, this kind of deliberate inflammation of passion? Obviously because the passions are real, obviously because they are there, because they ^{have been}are cultivated. Can they be done away with overnight? Will he not be there if a scrap of paper is signed? Have not these people, many of them semi-literate, most of them poor, been encouraged to believe that this is a holy war, a holy crusade? What would happen to the man who signs the paper? How long would it be before ^athe prophet of vengeance, a demagogue, arises and elbows him out of power and takes over the nation and burns the scrap of paper?

If anyone wants to understand why Israel is so careful of its security arrangements, they so determine that whatever happens in these negotiations nothing will happen which will undermine her viability. Let him understand the nature of political life in the Middle East. The idealists of the world are bedazzled by peace. Everyone wants peace. Everyone wears peace jewelry. Peace has become a marketable commodity. Everybody wants peace, but sometimes the desperate urge for peace is the best way to bring about a second round or a third or a fourth, a new war. And if ^{hey}peace we mean simply that peace which is imposed upon the smallest of the parties involved, Israel, a peace which cuts into her ability to survive, which removes, let's say, the buffer of land which she now has between her enemies and her economic heart, her cities, if we take from Israel but do not give

Israel hard, valid, reasonable, realistic assurances in return all that we have done is to increase the tensions in the area, increase Israel's need to attack quickly if she is threatened, increase the Arab world's appetite to gulp more than she has yet digested. The problem is this - the idealists, the peaceniks of our world, think that the issue in the Middle East is simply to return the situation to the status quo *ante* to what existed before May-June of 1967. Talk to the average, well-intentioned but only semi-~~rose~~ *aware* individual about the Middle East and they say yes, the issue is for Israel to withdraw to the 1967 borders, the issue is to assure Israel the freedom of passage through the major waterways of the area, the issue is to guarantee some kind of international control over the shrines in Jerusalem, the issue is to begin a solution to the rehabilitation of the problem of those who have been displaced, both Arab and Jew, in the Middle East in the last twenty or twenty-five years, the so-called refugee problem, and that's the issue. But that's not the issue and no Arab leader in the last twenty-five years has ever said that it is the issue. In the Arab mind the issue is the existence of the State of Israel and behind the question of roll back to 1967, behind that issue which occupies so much of the space which fills our newspapers, beyond that issue there are a number of others, cards that they are ready to play.

One of the things ~~that~~ *which* we must assure ourselves of is this - that there have been no signals from the Arab world, that there is a point at which she will say, this is what is acceptable to us, ~~what~~ *once* we have gotten this far, we make no more demands upon Israel. Rather what you have is this - yes, let's achieve a withdrawal, a roll-back. Israel has everything to lose, we have everything to gain. We'll be able to cross the Suez Canal without the expense and manpower of a cross canal amphibious operation. We'll be able to gain back the mineral and oil resources of the Sinai. We'll be able to move our troops up to within minutes of the major cities of Israel and

now that we have the very sophisticated Luna ground to ground missile which the Russians have given us, the most devastating weapon of war yet introduced into the Middle East, we will be able to cover Israel from Tel Aviv to Haifa to Jerusalem with the rain of our cannon.

But what else? What happens if Israel rolls back? What's the next item on the agenda of demands? Was it the item of the borders of 1948? The Arabs have never accepted the legitimacy of the borders of the 1950's and 1960's. They are cease-fire borders brought about, of course, because the Arabs ~~have~~ ^{has} ~~stayed~~ in 1947 would not accept the UN partition decision and attacked the issue and were determined to drive the issue into the sea and when the Israelis fought back the borders which were there as of June or July in 1948 became the semi-permanent borders of the area, but the partitioned borders, the borders described at the United Nations at Lake Success in '47 are now older ^{than those} which ~~there~~ Israel has enjoyed in the last twenty years so there is always the legalistic claim we want Israel to pull back to the borders of 1948. And if that were ~~not~~ ^{achieved} what's the next item on this agenda? The internationalization of Jerusalem. In the partition decision the United Nations voted to internationalize Jerusalem, but when the Arab legion and the Jordan ^{ian} legion marched across the Jordan and gobbled up the ~~West~~ Bank which was intended to be originally an Arab state, an independent Arab state, and marched into Jerusalem seeking to capture Jerusalem for itself, the Jewish citizens of Jerusalem appealed to the United Nations for troops for their defense. You have demanded this city as your city, now defend it, no troops were sent, the Israelis had to defend themselves, the divided city came into being. But the issue, the legalistic issue, remains active on the Arab agenda, the borders of 1948, the issue of the internationalization of Jerusalem, the destruction of Israel's very capitol. And beyond that there is

the issue of the rehabilitation and the return of the Arab refugees, 1,200,000 or the original 600,000, that is arguable - what is demanded is that these people be returned to the lands, ^{to} the homes from which they fled at the provocation of their own leaders 23 years ago. Rehabilitation we do not accept. Restitution ^{for} ~~of~~ the lands ^{the} of almost two million Jews who have been dispossessed from the Arab world in the intervening years, this is not an issue. What is issue is simply the absolute right of these people to return, presumably the absolute right to return, to their national home. The results in terms of Israeli security, in terms of the destruction of their economy, that's of no concern to us. This is an absolute right. And beyond the issue of the 1948 boundaries and beyond the issue of the internationalization of Jerusalem and beyond the refugee issue there is the issue of what is now being called the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination. A new *entity* has come into being through Arab propaganda called the Palestinian people. It never existed before in history. Most of the Arabs who were in Palestine in the 1940's came into Palestine in the 1920's and the 1930's from Iraq and from Syria because the Jews had brought prosperity to the land and they were drawn there as magnet, there was work there.

But now there is something called the Palestinian people and they presumably have inalienable rights. The Arabs are not talking simply about an independent Arab state on the West Bank, that's already assumed. They're talking about the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to determine what's right for the State of Israel. First, their return and they talk in grand terms of a bi-national state, of an open

in these countries for a thousand years and more, two thousand years and more.

The question in the Middle East is whether the Arab world is prepared to put aside

society, of Israeli nationalism, but once they have returned they speak also, interestingly, of the forced exit of all the Jews who have come illegally into Israel, that is, all the European Jews who are now in Israel. Yes, we will accept the Oriental Jews who have lived in this land for a thousand years, 150,000, but all the rest must go.

About ten years ago Mr. Nassar finally learned that the bombast, the oratory to which he was accustomed didn't set well with the west. Remember how he used to speak of coming into Tel Aviv not on a red carpet but on a carpet of blood? And how he would drive the Israelis into the sea, that oratory was counter-productive, was put aside. Now he began to speak in terms which he thought would be attractive to the west, to the idealists in the west. He talked of the rights of the Palestinian people, never of the rights of the Jews of Egypt to survive in ⁱⁿ the security of Egypt, but the rights of something called the Palestinian people, inalienable rights. He talked of never compromising these rights, of the necessity of all states to be free and to be open and to be democratic. Suddenly it appeared as if Israel was a ~~cause~~ ^{call} to radical chauvinist society. There are fourteen Arab states. There are fourteen million square miles of Arab land. Twenty-five years ago there were some three million Jews in Dar ar Islam, in the Arab world. Today there are less than a hundred thousand. Where have all the Jews gone? Why have they gone, almost everyone? They have ^{gone} on because of chauvinism, because of ^{it -} ~~chauvinism~~, because of racism. The lands, their rights, have been expropriated. Many of these people have lived in these lands far longer than the Arabs. The Jews of Iran, the Jews of Iraq, the Jews of Lebanon, the Jews of Egypt, have been in those countries for a thousand years and more, two thousand years and more. The question in the Middle East is whether the Arab world is prepared to put aside

and Amman and Jerusalem and New York, moving here and there. The Israelis were

this whole unstated agenda of demands. If in fact Mr. Sadat's *Hussein* are willing to negotiate on the basis of the issues raised by 1967, the issues raised by the United Nations resolution of November of '67, that is, withdrawal to defensible borders, free passage to the Suez and the Gulf of Akaba, some final resolution of the problem of the displaced, to the refugee, some assurance about the internationalization of the religious *shrines* of Jerusalem - if this is the agenda and the whole agenda then obviously there can be serious and meaningful talk, serious and meaningful compromise. But, if as many suspect, what we're dealing ~~with~~ here is with part of a political tactic, not with a final system of negotiation, then I'm afraid ^{that} the world is in for disappointment ^{because} I am convinced that if I, reading our papers, can analyze the hopes and the desires, the ploys of the Arab world, the Israeli foreign office analyzed these long long ago.

What is ^{at} issue? At issue is, as the Israelis have suggested from the very beginning, ~~is~~ the integrity and the survival of the State of Israel. It's non-negotiable for the Israeli, but it is obviously something which is desired by the Arab world.

I think it's important for us ^{because} ~~if~~ we ~~tend~~ to read these stories as they appear day by day in the paper to review, to refresh ourselves, as to how these negotiations came about, perhaps we can see this all more clearly. ^{There} There was a war in 1967 and after the 1967 war was over the United Nations came into meeting of Security Council and passed in November of that year a resolution which is ^{as I have said} stated the basic issues which had to be negotiated between the parties. Mr. *Yahring* was appointed as the representative of the United Nations to be the intermediary, to promote the resolution of November of 1967. If you recall the papers ^{of} those days you read how *Yahring* seemed to be permanently shuttling between Cairo and Aman and Jerusalem and New York, moving here and there. The Israelis were

eager for some kind of final solution, some peace. They talked of meeting face to face with the leaders of all the nations. The Arabs were always eager to keep these negotiations to the lowest common demonimator, not in the Middle East, but far from the Middle East, at New York; not with the leaders of the State or even the foreign ministers of the State but with the representatives, ambassador or representatives at the United Nations. And they insisted from the very beginning that the issue was not a package deal ⁱⁿ which all of the items would be brought together for some kind of final resolution, but it had to be first the automatic withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories, the territories that were occupied in '67 and then, perhaps, the rest could be laid on the table and discussed, not laid on the table, discussed informally with the Arab ambassador to the United Nations speaking in this direction, Mr. Yahring within circles around and who speaks ~~and who~~ in this direction to the Israeli. We were not to admit that Israel exists. Mr. Yahring was unsuccessful ⁱⁿ ~~at~~ bringing about the simplest of negotiations, getting an agenda to begin with and during those months Russia was as you recall busily rebuilding the destroyed arsenal of the Egyptians. Russia began to send in her pilots, her missile experts into Egypt and finally in August of 1968 Mr. Nassar announced as the basic policy of the Arab world a position which no one has yet cancelled. I quote it to you:

The following principles of Egyptian policy are immutable: One - no negotiation with Israel. Two - no peace with Israel. Three - no recognition of Israel. Four - no transactions will be made at the expense of Palestinian territories or the Palestinian people.

And with that great declaration he unleashed what was to be a war of attrition.

The cannon began to bombard the east side of the Suez, ^{his} planes began to foray deep into Sinai, ^{little} his guerillas began to take the ~~new~~ rubber barges during the night to come across to plant explosives, the terrorists were unleashed. Israel's response

was swift and it was sudden and it was devastating. The Israeli Air Force was let loose and the Israeli Air Force gained control of the sky^{ies} and was able to carry out raids deep within Egyptian territory. And the Russians were shocked at the success of the Israeli counter attack and they began to move in greater and greater supplies and the Russians began to take over the actual fighting of the war, not only manning the missile ~~sites~~ sites, but actually their pilots scrambling into planes and flying missions. Finally, in January of this year, by the way, Mr. Sadat in one of his more locquacious moves admitted that at one point in one day of January of last year six of the Russians were killed by Israelis in one particular attack. But they were not able to regain mastery of the sky. The war was escalating, there was obvious danger, the Israelis were on the ascendant and the United States was obviously eager for a lowering of the decibal ~~destruction~~, for some kind of arrangement. Mr. Rogers and Mr. Sisko with great elan, you recall in August of this year, arranged a standstill cease fire. Israel was the only one who had anything to lose by this cease fire because she could lose the control of the skies which she had won with her lives, but she was willing to test what Mr. Rogers said was a new mood among the Egyptians and among the Russians. The guns fell silent and the typical Arab response to negotiations began to unfold. Standstill, cease fire took place at midnight at 12:01, the more sophisticated SAM III Missiles began to move forward closer and closer to the Canal, and proved that in the event the United States had never ^{even} arranged for careful surveillance of this canal area for the standstill, the freeze. In any case the cease fire was in effect and in effect also was the Russian-Arab Russian-Egyptian ploy of creating a dense missile screen all the way up to the Suez Canal.

The six months of the accepted cease fire gave to the Egyptians three things - the first, it regained for them control of the skies over Egypt; secondly, because of the range of the SAM III missiles it gained for them some control of the sky over the Israeli line, the *Bar Leb* line on the other side of the Suez; and third it gave to some 8,000 Russian technicians and soldiers who were now in Egypt, amphibious experts, a chance to train three Egyptian divisions in amphibious attack procedures.

The months passed. The world had a breathing spell. Mr. Yahring⁸ was supposed to have gone into his work again in August but, of course, because of the contemptible way in which the Arabs ^dhave flaunted the purpose of the cease fire the Israelis never allowed the negotiations to proceed. As the negotiations were for six months they were to end on the 5th of February. As January began to pass America began to become more and more concerned again about a new fighting in the Middle East. Our concerns are many, primarily due to the fact that it is Russia who is on the front line, we have a large great power east west confrontation. We were eager to find peace, we're always I suppose eager to find peace. We began to look for ways in which to bring the ^{ing}~~Yaron~~ mission into focus again and begin negotiations. And there other signals by the Egyptians or by the Jordanians that they were willing to negotiate seriously, but there were some signals that they were not prepared necessarily to begin fighting again on the 5th of February, and by hard *Talk* the United States, giving certain assurances to the Egyptians, primarily that some boundary division described by Mr. Rogers in October of 1968 which returned Israel almost exactly to the boundaries of '67 would be those which would be acceptable to the United States and now we discover also that United States

would reconvene the Big Four power talks. She was able to encourage Egypt to under-
go one 30 day extension to this cease fire. Israel was being pushed, if you will,
towards re-entering the Yahring talks for many reasons. Mrs. Meir said we want
peace. There were also reasons to believe that there might be a new mood on the
other side. Hussein had faced civil war in the fall and had come out victorious. The
degree of defeat of the Arab guerillas ^{the} ~~was~~ ^{is} only now becoming apparent. You remember
last spring the great romantic buildup of this unstoppable force of freedom fighting,
guerillas who were the wave of the future in the Middle East or so our American press
told us. These freedom fighting guerillas proved not even equal to Hussein's army,
they were very badly mauled. Perhaps Hussein would be in a different mood, *Nasser*

had died Sadat would have come into power. Perhaps he, too, might be will-
ing to be more accommodating. He might not have the meglomania that Nassar had.
And obviously ~~But~~ the desire of the United States for peace had to be taken into con-
sideration by the Israeli government.. Dayan said there are times when we must
swim in cold water, ^{so} ~~and~~ knowing all of the risks and all of the dangers the issues
are far more complex than even we understand. The Israelis agreed to the resumption
of Mr. Yahring's mission and they summoned him to Jerusalem and the world thought
they were summoning him to Jerusalem for some kind of procedural wrangle. But
instead they presented to him then on the 17th of January a list of fourteen points
which they felt are the basis for any meaningful solution to the problems of the Middle
East. Let me read them to you:

1. The declared and explicit decision to regard the conflict as finally terminated.

2. Respect and acknowledgment by the parties in explicit terms of each others' sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence.
3. Establishment of secure, recognized and agreed boundaries.
4. Other additional arrangements for insuring security.
5. Withdrawal of military forces from territories lying beyond positions agreed in the peace treaty.
6. Termination of all states of war and acts of hostility or belligerency.
7. The responsibility for insuring that no warlike act, or violence, by any organization, group or individual originates from or is committed in its territory against the population, citizens or property of the other party.
8. Termination of all discriminations or interferences, economic warfare in all its manifestations, including boycott. This obligation is not dependent on anything except the conclusion of the state of war.
9. Provisions laying down the obligations accepted by the parties towards the settlement of the refugee problem, after which neither party shall be under claims from the other inconsistent with its sovereignty.
10. Arrangements concerning places of religious and historic significance.
11. Arrangement for free port and transit facilities.
12. Nonparticipation in hostile alliances and the prohibition of stationing of troops of other parties which maintain a state of belligerency against the other.
13. Noninterference in domestic affairs and noninterference in the normal foreign relations of the other party.
14. Peace must be expressed in a binding treaty in accordance with normal law and precedent.

All the issues were laid on the table. There was nothing that Israel was not prepared to discuss or to negotiate. And the Egyptian response was first to be stunned, I think by the willingness of the Israelis to raise all these issues as issues of substance to move immediately beyond procedure. And then their offer was the

magnanimous offer of allowing the Israelis to withdraw some miles beyond the Suez Canal so the Suez Canal could be opened. Now what would that do? It would insure that the Egyptians could have troops on the east bank of the canal without ~~being~~ the expense of ^a cross canal attack. It would *Show* up the Egyptian economy by hundreds of millions of dollars a year from the canal transportation. What would it do for Israel? Not a thing, obviously. Now that negotiation, United Arab Republic style, we have yet to understand, to have any signal from either the Soviet or the United Arab Republic that they are willing to engage in serious negotiation. The Israeli cartoonist, Dosh, in a ^{brilliant} ~~brave~~ little cartoon the other day where ^{you} ~~he~~ saw a swimming pool and a diving board and there was a little Israeli on the diving board crouched over. There was Dayan ^{line} ~~lying~~ you know, sometimes you have to swim in cold water and he was saying to himself, ^{but} ~~so~~ what if there's no water in there? There may not be. And the Israelis are going into this round of negotiation, rather cynically, realistically, cold-eyed, but nonetheless you must risk for peace and ^{they} are prepared to make certain risks for it.

Now I think during these next months the ^{challenge} will be whether or not those in the west who ^{we} always sympathized with Israel as a democracy, who understood her basic love of peace, whether they are willing to understand the large complexity of issues involved or whether they are so bemused by peace, the word rather than the substance, the hope rather than the reality, ^{may be} ~~they are~~ heavily on Israel to try and force her to break, to give up her few bargaining ploys without anything of substance in return. It's going to be a long period. It's going to be a frustrating period. In many ways it's going to be a bitter period because Israel ^{well} ~~would~~ seem to be standing

adamant, as if she's unwilling to bend for she has bent and she has bent again. She bent in August of this year. The Egyptians gave up nothing. She gave up an advantage. She bent in January of this year, she wanted face-to-face negotiations at the highest possible level, serious talk. The Egyptians wanted this masquerade. Why? Because they still look on their greatest advantage as the advantage of the fact that the world is so avid for peace that even Israel's friends will ultimately lean upon Israel and force her to break that which they know they themselves cannot do. And so they ~~were~~ ^{will} always ^{be moving towards} involving the big four, involving the Security Council rather than coming together and adjusting the issues which are outstanding.

Peace can come in the Middle East. The Arab world really has much to gain ~~from~~ ^{from} the presence of Israel, ^{from} Israel's trained manpower, her proven ability to make a barren land fertile, her scientific skill, all these could bring prosperity and they could bring fertility and they could bring much that was pleasing. ^{necessary} War helps no one. War is costly. These little states are using up their gross national product, their wealth, the weapons which they can ill afford. Everyone needs peace, but yet, man being man peace can come ^{only} when there is a willingness to sacrifice these pipe dreams, these hates, these old fanaticisms and that's the question. The water is cold, we're not even sure there's water there, but we pray there may be.

t of 14 Purported Israeli Suggestions for Settlement in Mideast

to The New York Times
 Tuesday, Jan. 19
 ing, as published
 ch and English by
 s magazine Jeune
 is a peace proopsal
 magazine says Israel
 d to the United Na-
 mediator, Dr. Gunnar
 g, after his visit to
 Jan. 8:
 ntral purpose of the
 ns between Jordan
 el is the establish-
 peace between them.
 rovisions of Security
 Resolution 242 are
 he context of the
 ment of the just and
 peace which is the
 nt aim of this resolu-
 regards peace with
 is a concept embrac-
 l neighborly relations
 operation in accord-
 th the Charter of the
 Nations. But whether
 peace receives its

full expression in the immedi-
 ate future, there are certain
 indispensable essentials with-
 out which a situation cannot
 be regarded as a situation
 of peace. Peace involves
 amongst other things:

- [1] The declared and explicit decision to regard the conflict as finally terminated.
- [2] Respect and acknowledgment by the parties in explicit terms of each others' sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence.
- [3] Establishment of secure, recognized and agreed boundaries.
- [4] Other additional arrangements for insuring security.
- [5] Withdrawal of military forces from territories lying

beyond positions agreed in the peace treaty.


- [6] Termination of all states of war and acts of hostility or belligerency.
- [7] The responsibility for insuring that no warlike act, or violence, by any organization, group or individual originates from or is committed in its territory against the population, citizens or property of the other party.
- [8] Termination of all discriminations or interferences, economic warfare in all its manifestations, including boycott. This obligation is

not dependent on anything except the conclusion of the state of war.

- [9] Provisions laying down the obligations accepted by the parties towards the settlement of the refugee problem, after which neither party shall be under claims from the other inconsistent with its sovereignty.
- [10] Arrangements concerning places of religious and historic significance.
- [11] Arrangement for free port and transit facilities.
- [12] Nonparticipation in hostile

alliances and the prohibition of stationing of troops of other parties which maintain a state of belligerency against the other.

- [13] Noninterference in domestic affairs and noninterference in the normal foreign relations of the other party.
 - [14] Peace must be expressed in a binding treaty in accordance with normal law and precedent.
- All of the points except 10 and 11 also apply to Egypt, and 10 of the 14 apply to Lebanon, with which Israel has no territorial disputes.



**ARNOLD
CONSTABLE
5TH.AVENUE**

speech in Cairo on June 23, 1968. He said:

"The following principles of Egyptian policy are immutable:
 One - no negotiation with Israel. Two - no peace with Israel.
 Three - no recognition of Israel. Four - no transactions will
 be made at the expense of Palestinian territories or the
 Palestinian people."

Kaddish

Friday

Feb 5

Sunday

1

Those who passed away this week

BERNARD L. FRIEDMAN

SARAH SHAW

MURRAY FRIEDMAN

SAMUEL E. GREENWALD

FRED PIRAK

Nachrichts

SAMUEL BAER

TILLIE DEVAY

RACHEL RIVCHUN

NATHAN M. KAPLAN

STEF PROPPER

RACHEL BLOCH MOSS

BEN R. KERN

ALBERT A. LEVIN *L. Vinn*

EDWARD ALEXANDER WEISKOPF

ISADORE SANDS

MINNIE H. MARKOWITZ

ALFRED M. EMERLING

NANCY BRENNER DRUCKER

EDWIN M. GLAUBER

SARAH LYNN

EVA FALLER *pronounce Fah-ler*

DR. CARL D. FRIEDMAN

RALPH H. ROSENFELD

BESSIE BRAHAM DAUBY

DAVID HART

MORRIS G. SCHAFFNER

HARRY SILVERMAN

REBECCA ALSBACHER

MELVILLE LIEBENTHAL

NANNIE SCHEUER LEHMAN

CHARLES JOSEPH

GEORGE MARGULIS

MYRTLE WAINTRUP GIVELBER

FREDRICK SUSS

BERTHA FRIEDMAN

MAX GESCHWIND

NATHAN HENRY LEVICH

M.E. - The next engine can expect in a brief hazardous to life -
a process to control one's breath, The stomach can be very unstable &
it can not control the stomach after Uremia, cured

[illegible]

a Boy & a Girl have been
 2000 for some time
 to Ireland's (some) WRHS
 Germany (some) THEATY OF

been long...
 in one of the...
 from home - 4
 - Two can never
 " been long...

[illegible]

~~autumn~~ Co unpublished
[It happened after - 55-56-57] and then
~~autumn~~ & further? There has before several first hand
stungals are called peace [Co name now
now come from Co EAST - at unbound when
as well). There has several

new come for the EAST - at the
 same related from the west. However, we should
 be careful to check the quality of the raw materials
 as the way of production may change over time

He must fight,

He has armed a - tired militia

Builds to a real war - small - Can - Poland?

He is part of a three new units and the real drill -

At the front line is a strong force to resisting any new unit

He must be present as opposed from out staying here (2)

Keep moving a one step back to the front line is the only

defend "I'll never be conquered again" - Poland - in the end

how long will it take to refuse.

But what can be done now - 2 - and many more

under the umbrella (CBS), he must immediately fight - the war

if the fight will be successful, then

within five years - WRIS

He will be able to do it

like to do it in the past

He is a republican

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return to the states you into 1967 - with Israel really paid
of money & they & Agence & companies (and in particular)
for historic refugees - To Israel must be said: "you are
the victim of your own magnificent policy" - no and certainly

EVER
over and over - all we need is a rule to be what you into
Israel 1967 like the change in the particular case brought on
by the Arab attack on Israel in 1948

Israel 1967 has a claim for the restoration of its territory
former

Israel 1967 has to claim for the restoration of its territory
which is the plan which was drawn up in 1947
which was the basis for the creation of Israel

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Tuesday - little can be done

Slav people - Social unrest -

Unrest now reaching a point - and

we now can be ready for war

[including to conquer the world - now]

MAJ MR IN

WE DO NOT WANT TO FIGHT

But we must do

nothing

United Producers of GAI of the

United Producers

United Producers



United Producers

United Producers

United Producers

United Producers

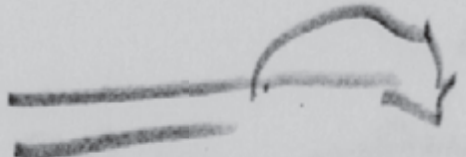
But you are not even near ready

But

Comedy in the East

We have plunged into some very

cold water



COLD WATER IS ONE THING

but what if there is no water at all

The issue: To create a temporary balance - which would not be
permanently - but not to cancel

Where do we stand: Minutes whether any real sense in Egypt (6 hours)
put for negotiations which are now in London

Where do we stand

3 young account (6000000)

Agreed - 1800 67 Shells - 'to provide

agreed to Nov 27 '67 contact - 5 parts - with document -

revised - under right - peace - refugees - the 1000 million

accepted

Not had response 6' 23 - 65

The following paraph 4 Excluded policy are

included:

1 - negotiable under document

2 - the peace

3 - " negotiable 7 hundred

4 - " document will be made at the

agreed 1 million refugees also 1000 million people

Agreed to

Excluded document are

Reg 4 - Account Part

"negotiable document" - which includes 1
document includes which negotiable

document includes

is included in document regarding principles

April '67 from [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]
 came from [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] - UAR - USSR
 and [unclear] to [unclear] [unclear] (CUI) to [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]
 [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]

Center [unclear] [unclear]

II June '70 - US proposed [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] - [unclear]
 for [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] - [unclear]

1) to [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]

2) except [unclear] to [unclear] -

6-73 [unclear] [unclear] - [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]
 [unclear]

Tell of [unclear] - [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]

1) [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]

[unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]

2) [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]

3) [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]

Amended [unclear] [unclear]

III [unclear]

Feb 5

to [unclear] [unclear]

no [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] - [unclear] [unclear]

Reason [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]

HAD ASKED FOR RECTIFICATION

New York [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]

[unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]

But would need help by 6 am - 14/10/1958
Lying in bed

Liberal - no answer

John - John's report

Report - blasted - nothing really new - but need

limited cover for

Claver - fear of men to find out (etc)

1) some referred of paper

Oct 29 1958 prepared

2) referred of Rev. Y. Teller

There are days ago - with USA will be for the first

to be in a small - to particular paper - which would

under which should

have major power (1958 and

from agony)

WRHS



US has not helped in particular area

need - as long as part of entire area has

but since in part to major power

1) Major power will be lost - and

you will lose your power - (at 2000)

be power lost

Despite and you 2 years ago

aircraft 4 500 hr

Important recognition - power will be lost -

you will lose your power -

beginning of last year expectations - most number of needs in
Israel (calls names) - can be quite positive about
great but variability - People make in last year -
Europe needs more - it is all needed
and the more more !

MEIN

THE TALKS will be of value only if
They are held in an atmosphere
of tolerance and a mutual desire
to reach agreement.

