



## Daniel Jeremy Silver Collection Digitization Project

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### **MS-4850: Daniel Jeremy Silver Papers, 1972-1993.**

Series III: The Temple Tifereth-Israel, 1946-1993, undated.

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Israel at 23, 1971.

Israel At 23  
Daniel Jeremy Silver  
May 2, 1971

As you know I have long believed that our original military involvement in Vietnam was rash and ill-considered, a product of what Senator Fulbright has since described as the arrogance of peril. I continue to believe that the escalation of our military involvement and its continuance is a result of the classic sin of pride. The greatest, most powerful nation on earth can simply not admit that it has miscalculated and that in fact it has been forced to retreat its commitments a group of rag tied Asian irregulars by a second rate southeast Asian power. I continue to believe that our involvement was and remains ill-considered because I have never understood nor has it ever been made clear by anyone that vital interests depend upon Generals Thieu and <sup>national</sup> remaining in power in Saigon. Saigon government is in the first instance a group of North Vietnamese ex-patriots who fled the south in the early 1950's because they had been those who had collaborated with the French, who had worked against their own countrymen and could not stay with them. South Vietnam was not and is not a democracy. The generals have never been popularly elected in a truly free plebiscite. South Vietnam has yet to undertake that vote on unification which was a provision of the 1954 Geneva accord and will be the candidate who is rash enough seriously to challenge Saigon Hunta, one of the periodic show elections which have taken place. It usually ended in jail and those newspapers which were brash enough to support them had their printing presses broken up and their editors joined their candidates in jail. I cannot see how the defense of South Vietnam represents an important element in the defense of the free world nor in the defense of the United States. South Vietnam is not a free nation. It never

has been. The argument that we went into South Vietnam to prevent the encouragement of the Chinese throughout Southeast Asia was when it was first spoken <sup>as it</sup> remains today, an argument which is <sup>is</sup> istic, an argument which simply leads us in circles because the North Vietnamese quite as much as the South Vietnamese do not want Chinese. To this very day the North Vietnamese on the northern, on the Chinese border, maintain outposts to prevent the infiltration of the Chinese volunteers. and for Vietnam difficult days of the war they never once requested military aid, that is armed forces personnel, from the Chinese. The Tai, the Burmese, the Vietnamese, the Laotian, the Cambodians know from centuries of experience just how tender and gentle the mercies of the Chinese are. And in terms of preventing Chinese of the southeast Asian peninsula I would submit that our involvement in South Vietnam has been counterproductive. Indeed, it has made North Vietnam and other nations there depend more and more on China, far more than they would have normally wished. Why are we in South Vietnam? We are in South Vietnam because of bad chance and bad advice. Early in the 1950's there were some men in the State Department and the academic community who argued that one way or another we ought to pick up the broken French commitment to the defense of southeast Asia. And these men saw in if you will recall the very very model of a benevolent Asian mandarin who would somehow direct and lead his people into the twentieth century and towards the west. So we gave some money to support General Diem's benevolent dictatorship and we gave some arms to support his police force, presumably to protect the integrity of the nation, actually to protect Diem from his own nation. A few dollars became a few tanks, a few tanks became a few cannon, a few cannon required the presence of American instructors, a few instructors required the presence of a Marine brigade, the

Marine brigade required the presence of 500,000 American troops. The first few dollars ended up costing us treasure in the excess of two hundreds of billion dollars. At every step of the way, at every stage, there were those who advised pull out, you've made a bad commitment of men and of material, withdraw, you miscalculated. At every step of the way were those who promised a quick and easy solution and there were those who said that the American honor was at stake, we would lose face. Remember during the second World War how we laughed up our sleeve because Orientals were so concerned about losing face? But our argument has argued that we would have lost face if we would have pulled out of Vietnam and so we poured good money after bad and broken whole young men after those who had already died. The results have been clear for all to see.

About two years ago the American people became fed up with the war, its magnitude, the casualty lists became clear to all. The stock of President Johnson plummeted. He was forced to announce, you recall, that he would not seek re-election, he could not have been re-elected on the war issue. President Nixon was elected because he promised to lead the American people to peace and largely because the American people remembered that his Republican predecessor, General Eisenhower, promised new initiatives for peace and had in fact won peace in Korea. Yet, here we are, ten months after a new administration and his power, promising to use all of its vigor in the pursuit of peace. Here we are with the issue of the war having surfaced again in the midst of a second weekend of a national moratorium against the war, that strange anomolous position where the people want peace, and the administration claims it wants peace and there is bitter division between them, in that strange anomolous position where the administration has now openly admitted all



of the of the war said for all those long years is in fact true; that there are no vital national interests at stake in Vietnam. What have we said? We've said we don't need bases and anchorage in this little southeast Asian country; we have pledged that we are prepared to withdraw every one of our troops and every one of our planes and every one of our ships; and we have said that the free nations of the world do not require the maintenance in Saigon of the present government; that we would accept a popular form of government including the Communist if in fact they were democratically elected. We have said in short that the defense of this particular government in this particular small nation is not part of the grand overall necessary scheme of American policy; yet we have not gotten out, the war continues, the crescendo of the war these last several weeks seems to be mounting. Why so? On the one hand there are those who say, get out now. How does America get out? They answer very simply: by sea. And the question then: what will be the fate of the Saigon Junta if we withdraw? They shrug their shoulders. They really couldn't care less, even as the Saigon Junta has had very little concern for the lives and the persons of those who imposed their view. And there is the Administration to seek peace very much concern, not so much with the achieving of peace as with it calls the "winning" of the peace. The phrase is President Nixon's. One seems to mean by the "winning" of the peace is this: that he believes that there are certain necessary prerequisites to our withdrawal; there are certain necessary pre-conditions to peace; and he has said in effect and said it again in his November 3 speech that until these pre-conditions are achieved Americans must be prepared to fight on and to make whatever national sacrifice is in fact necessary.

And what are these pre-conditions? Mutual cease fire under international supervision; a free election under an American umbrella or under international supervision; and a bi-lateral withdrawal both of the North Vietnamese forces and of American forces. President Nixon's position seems to be that unless what he calls "peace with honor," a peace based on these pre-conditions, we will in the first instance expose our Vietnamese allies and in the second instance, and certainly more importantly, <sup>in</sup> his view we will have said that our pledged word throughout the world is not worthy of the paper on which it is set down, that none of our allies can depend upon the staunchness and the steadiness of United States. The critical paragraph in his November 3 speech read as follows: President Eisenhower and President Johnson expressed the same conclusion during their terms of office, that a future of peace precipitated withdrawal would be a disaster of immense magnitude. A nation cannot remain great if it betrays its allies and lets down its friends. Our defeat and humiliation in South Vietnam without question would promote recklessness in the Council of those great powers who have not yet abandoned the goal of world conquest. This would spread violence wherever our commitments helped maintain the peace, in the Middle East, Berlin, eventually even in the Western hemisphere. Ultimately this would cost more lives. It would not bring peace, it would bring more war.

I must respectfully disagree. It's a law of business, it's a law of politics, that you only weaken yourself when you continue indefinitely in unprofitable venture. A nation is often much stronger for removing itself from age-old relationships which it can no longer sustain and maintain and concentrate on the new and critical undertakings of a new and different age. I give you as an example the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, you will remember backed down from its commitments in Cuba. Faced with the American threat of a nuclear war the Russians backed down. They went

back on their commitment; they went back on their pledged word and are they weaker for it? No, they're the stronger for it. No one was prepared to challenge their takeover in Czechoslovakia; no one has been able to challenge their armament, re-armament of the Middle Eastern powers of the Arab nations; no one has been able to say to them: you're playing a fool's game in that part of the world. Russia has felt strong enough in the post-Cuba age to face China, to face her down over the Siberian borders. Russia far from being weaker for her having backed down from certain commitments is in fact stronger for it and so would we be. Mr. Nixon, I submit, reads history incorrectly if he says: this would sprout violence wherever our commitments helped maintain peace. In point of fact, it is our involvement in Vietnam which sparked violence wherever our commitments now seek to maintain the peace. Concentrated as we are with this foolish and stupid war, we have not the troops nor the manpower nor the wealth nor the confidence in ourselves to respond to the threat of peace in the Middle East, to respond to the brush fires in Latin America and elsewhere in Southeast Asia. We are not the stronger having been steady in foolish pursuit of our ambitions in Southeast Asia, rather I submit in all humility we have been the weaker for it. I'm afraid that in his pursuit of what he has now called a policy of "winning" the peace Mr. Nixon has continued along the line of his predecessors and leads us down a road which can only involve us more and more in the morass, the mud, the jungles, in the depth of defeat in Vietnam. He has said that if negotiations cannot win the pre-conditions which he has set he has another policy, one which guaranteed to win out. He will Vietnamize the war by which he means that he will encourage and succeed in having the Saigon government army take over the war and do the fighting for us. The problem seems to be that America is only to spend its goal and we can hire the soldiers, the mercenaries, the Asians who are fighting for us. We had other



such promises <sup>during</sup> ~~in~~ the eight years of the war in Vietnam to the end of the stick and none of them have worked. You remember when our troops were coming home for Christmas in 1966, the Vietnamization of the war. It's an incredible policy. The desertion rate of the South Vietnamese army today is 30 per cent of its effective forces every six months. Correction is . It still remains to be seen whether they can fight even in a limited engagement under their own officers with their own men and fight it successfully. that if we give credence to this promise of Vietnamizing the war we may for a time reduce our own losses, our own casualty lists, but we would be pouring gold into a fight which would be frustrating and futile, but ultimately there will be those who said, but they can't do it, we've got so much invested now we can't possibly pull back, we can't possibly withdraw, we will reverse the present policy little by little, removing our combat troops in Vietnam. As the rate of frustration grows in the nation the appeal of the Councils of the extreme right and extreme left gain in appeal. Just a few weeks ago Senator Goldwater was again throwing the bombers and nuclear bombs across the demilitarized zones, speaking of bombing the dikes of the Red River and flooding the grain land in North Vietnam. These voices are again being heard in the land because they are the ultimate result of months and months which certainly lie ahead if this remains our policy of frustration, of ongoing conflict, of ongoing loss of life and loss of money.

In pursuit of national unity behind this program of winning the peace President Nixon and the Administration last week set in motion a giant propaganda and public relations effort which in the short term has certainly been successful. Shortly following the speech of November 3 which was ballyhooed you remember for weeks there appeared the very next morning as a matter of fact in the major newspapers across the land a full page advertisement, "We back you, Mr. President"

signed by the Citizens Concerned With Peace With Honor. And the Armistice Day last week was used by all kinds of "patriotic" organizations as though all American organizations are not patriotic in order to preach sermons at Arlington Cemetery and elsewhere that these were the men who were unabashedly patriotic on the assumption that others were not, who backed the President because America would not be defeated, that America would not be humiliated, that we would find peace in fact with honor. Secretary of Transport, John Bo , Vice President Mr. Agnew had been the men whom the Administration has let loose to speak what others are thinking, the unspoken thoughts. The Vice President has spoken of the of the striped minority, of dissent as a carnival in the streets, negative in content, disruptive in effect, clamor, sinful cacaphony, nothing more. We've been told to look upon the demonstration in this last weekend in Washington as that of kooks and kids, of the dissident fringe who need not be listened to, a minority who express a point of view which is fundamentally unpatriotic, unacceptable. Mr. Nixon gave the key in his address of November 3. He spoke a sentence that really no American president ought ever to speak. He said then that North Vietnamese cannot humiliate or defeat the United States, only Americans can. And the assumption was, and Mr. Agnew has made it clear, that those who would humiliate and defeat the United States are those who protest, those who do not believe that the enunciated ~~United States~~ policy is an acceptable one, a feasible one, who believe rather that it is disastrous and that they speak as they do not because they love America more, but because they love some other power or some other ideology the more.

I looked to the President I must confess for leadership in these last months. I've been disappointed. Leadership implies reconciling a nation, not dividing it. How wonderful it would have been in October during that first moratorium the presi-



dent, as a president of a nation dedicated to peace, had left his White House and gone to one of the many services in Washington dedicated to peace. What would he have lost? Honor? Self respect? He would have said, I'm one with you. Our disagreement is one of technique, one of strategy, not one of basic philosophy. But he has himself in the White House as if he were besieged in some armed camp. For blocks yesterday no one could approach the White House. He sat there not as the President of the ~~United States~~ American people, but as the leader of only those of the American people who would say, yes, we follow you. An unmistakable message went out from the White House this past week through the Vice President again. This Administration expects that on major issues the mass media, particularly in this case the television, will use its power to promote the presidential policy, whatever their opinion may be about that policy. I'm afraid that not only is the President's policy in "winning" the peace in Vietnam one difficult to change, but in the United States drawing to himself the mantle of patriotism, pointing the finger at those who disagree, his intemperance and impatience with those who allow other voices to be raised and heard in the land, this kind of policy is ultimately one which will sap the very vitals of the American system and may launch on this country of ours another period such as we had in the early 1950's with Senator McCarthy.

What lies ahead? The President has won to himself the silent majority he spoke about the other night. For the moment many people seem prepared to go along with the President, to give him another chance. He spoke in terms of peace. They believe within his terms peace can be achieved. I do not believe it, but many do. Standing in the Gallup poll's rolls after his speech on November 3, well and good. How long will the great silent majority agree to give the President his time? Will they agree when the tax rate rises again in order to pay for the cost of the war? How

long will they agree when the casualty lists mount back to the level of two, three, four hundred a week? How long will they agree if we are forced to reverse our present policy of a time table withdrawal from Vietnam? And instead of withdrawing manpower add manpower to that which has already been committed. Yet, the President does not in fact in short order succeed in bringing off his policy of "winning" the peace. The great silent majority has slipped away from him as it slipped away from President Johnson two years ago. Of this I am fundamentally and firmly convinced - that whether we agree with the President's policy or disagree with him most Americans want peace, not the escalation of the war, but the end of the war. Peace with honor if we can gain it, but peace nonetheless. The President it seems to me and the Administration in the days ahead has a terrible burden resting on it - authority always does. The President has the responsibility of maintaining the integrity of our national policy, the integrity of our body polity. We are a nation and certainly in the great middle of the nation, the vast majority of the people except those committed to extreme ideology at the two ends of the cycle of our population, certainly he must bind the wound; he must make all of us sense that we are walking down a path we share and in which we believe. He has instead, I'm afraid, become divisive, taken to himself those who will agree, pushed away those who disagree. But having said this I must add that among those who dissent and in the dissent itself there have been those who have equally, who must equally share the responsibility for the growing rifts within our nation. What kind of business is it to wave a Viet Cong flag at a demonstration for peace? Are the Viet Cong peaceful people? Are the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong great proponents of peace in our world? Is it not true that if they would simply negotiate a tariff that they would win all that they want and more and in short order? A few concessions, another year or two of dealing with a paper board government in

Saigon would quickly be overthrown? The Viet Cong and the Vietnamese have only to say now - we will negotiate. Take America at its word and I'm convinced that America would withdraw its troops and that the Southeast Asian labyrinthine policies would quickly make it possible for the Vietnamese to the north to achieve whatever their goals are in the south. And <sup>if</sup> they do not, they will not, negotiate how then can they be called proponents of peace.

What kind of business is it really to see as some of the speakers on the platform of peace have said to see all the evil in the world, all the violence in the world, is resting upon the malignancy of the military industrial complex in our nation or the ambitions of our military to have another row of ribbons on their chest, to have a few thousand young men under their command? We did not maintain an armed force simply because there are those in the nation who would like to flaunt America's power. There are, of course, but ultimately we maintained our armed force because there are many nations in the world which want their power. What is Russia doing in the Middle East? What did China do in Tibet? The nations of the world, all the nations of the world, truly wanted peace. Then the kinds of negotiations which we are beginning in Helsinki this week, armed control might have in fact some chance of success. But in point of fact our enemies are implacable and military and ultimately to defend the freedoms which we cherish we must be to a certain degree implacable and military. Disarmament, total unilateral disarmament, pacifism, philosophy of total surrender of all that we have, this is not the way. We'll only whet the appetite of those who seek sense of their praise blooded, wounded, and weakened. The American people face an uncertain future. None of us likes to



look squarely at the possibility of war, especially the nuclear war, but the President is certainly right that there are commitments which we must meet; there are allies whom we must support and sustain; there are chances which we must take; and there are times when we must call upon our young men and upon ourselves to risk our bodies in defense of freedom. Freedom has always required defense, no less in history than now; no less now than in the past. But having said all of that the burden of proof I submit rests upon the administration. There is a power, it is there that policy is made. Ultimately, however an administration works out its search to "win" the peace; how one handles the dissent, dissent, how it deals with the American people, openly in terms of reconciliation and in terms of shared commitment or arbitrarily, angrily, littering men, demanding the obedience, that is the

for better or for worse, our future.

The President has awesome power. The President in my humble opinion is abusing that power. I pray that we find the peace even if we do not win it, but most of all I pray that in finding the peace we will not destroy what little peace remains in this great nation of ours; we will not set the youth against the Establishment; we will not set the Administration against the people; we will not let loose the kinds of

for any who will not salute instantly an order be given. We're entering a very difficult period. We need leadership in that period. We need moderation and understanding. We need it; the Administration needs it and God knows the world needs it.

Israel At 23  
Daniel Jeremy Silver  
May 2, 1971

A birthday is an occasion to <sup>just</sup> rejoice in the fact of being alive. I think as we consider Israel's twenty-third birthday it's well to remember that she is alive and doing very well. We tend to get overwhelmed by the shadow of the headlines. We forget that life goes on, children are born and go to school, get married. Families go to the beaches on picnics, that they go to lectures, symphonies, operetta, theater and it's very much a thriving and successful country. It's also a country which can afford the leisure of being good-humored about itself. Ephraim Kishon has been one of the leading humorists, satirists of Israel the last quarter of a century. Recently he put down this series of statements about his country which begins this way:

Israel is a country so tiny that there is no room to write its name  
on the world map.

It is a country where mothers learn the mother-tongue from their sons

It is a country where the fathers ate sour grapes and the children's  
teeth are excellent.

It is a country where one writes Hebrew, reads English and speaks  
Yiddish.

It is a country where everybody has the right to speak his mind, but  
there is no law forcing anybody to listen.

It is the most enlightened country in the region, thanks to the Arabs.

It is a country where all the capital is concentrated in Jewish hands  
- and there is much grumbling because of this.

It is a country of elections, but no choice.

It is a country which is an organic part of its trade unions.

It is a country where nobody wants to work, so they build a new  
town in three days and go idle the rest of the week.

It is a country which produces less than it eats, and yet of all places,  
it is here that nobody has ever died of hunger.

It is a country where nobody expects miracles, but everybody takes  
them for granted.

It is a country where one calls ministers simply "Moishe" - and  
then almost dies with the excitement of it.

It is the only country in the region whose political regime is the bus  
cooperative.

It is a country whose survival is permanently endangered, and yet its  
inhabitants' ulcers are caused by the neighbors from upstairs.

It is a country where every human being is a soldier, and every soldier  
is a human being.

~~It is the only country in the region whose political regime is the bus~~



Now Israel has its share of domestic problems and they are not unlike the problems of any emerging nation of any country which is undergoing urbanization, where technology is coming to the fore. There's a drop in the value, in the price of agricultural products, a rise in the cost of living which endangers much that is valuable in the kibbutz movement. It's a country where the press of children against the educational system, the demands for the expansion of that system, the demands for its refinement exceed the capacity, the human resource of the society to provide grade A education for all. It's a country which has its share of poverty associated primarily with the most recent immigrant group, immigration from the Arab countries themselves and, where, therefore, there is a certain tension between these poor more recent immigrant Oriental Jews and those who have been there longer. It's a country where people drive too fast and have too many accidents. It's a country much like ours where there are all kinds of schemes for guaranteed automobile accident insurance, but none has yet come out which protects the innocent and the careful driver. It's a country, in other words, much like every country on the globe except, of course, for one thing. Israel is the only country on our globe whose neighbors have said: We will not tolerate ~~her~~ continued existence. Therefore, even at 23 the fullness of her pioneer strength, of her young manliness, we have to deal with questions of foreign affairs, international politics and the best way I know to deal with it is to deal with it in terms of the great super powers of the world - the Soviet Union and the United States because in the Middle East the great powers of the world, particularly the Soviet, have pre-empted control of affairs. If the

Soviet had not poured in, three times now, tens of billions of dollars of most sophisticated weapons there would be no threat of war. Some accommodation would have been worked out. Therefore, the response of the super powers determines in larger sense the survival of balance of power in that part of the world. The point that I want to make this morning is that Israel's policies at the age of 23, policies necessarily dictated by her primary responsibility to her own citizenry for survival, for defense, for protection of what he has. These are running to a certain degree afoul of a certain urgency, a certain feeling in the air here in the United States and that we must take this mood and these concerns into account.

An old friend of mine, Julie Eban Teban, was the translator into Hebrew of Maimonides' Guide To The Perplexed once observed that no man can be spared forgetting. Every day we forget something. As we grow older we forget more, but forgetting is simply not a natural mechanism. Dr. Freud has taught us that our unconscious to a certain degree governs what we forget. We forget those moments in our lives when we were less than manly, less than at our best and we forget those people who saw us at those moments. And as it is with men so it is with nations. We tend to construct a myth about reality from which we have deliberately excluded, forgotten, those parts of reality which we would like most to overlook. Our country is mesmerized and traumatized by Vietnam, by the tragedy, by the death, by the defeat, by the frustration, by the ugliness of our actions and most of all by an overwhelming sense of guilt. We have a feeling that somehow if we had not had overarch and overweening imperial ambitions that tragedy would not have taken place and we tend to extrapolate from Vietnam to the rest of the world. We see international

affairs simplistically, to believe that somehow if we would only withdraw our commitments, cease to be an imperial nation, a great power, turn our concerns to those things which are of concern to us here at home, somehow all the world would turn to right, somehow everything that troubles us now would cease to trouble us. We would have changed the economic and social priorities of our nation for the better. And so we overlook Chinese paramilitary troops in Thailand and in Burma; we overlook Soviet soldiers and pilots in Egypt and Syria. We see only our own commitments, our own technicians, our own involvement and there is much in the mood of America which is neo-isolationist, which asks us to withdraw, to pull back, give us a moment to bathe in our own sense of guilt and to solve on the more positive notion, to solve the very real domestic problems of our cities, of poverty and of race.

The problem, of course, is that the world is not simply as it is, tortured and convulsed, because we are <sup>an</sup> imperial nation. Every nation is ambitious; every nation is greedy; every nation is imperial; every nation is trying always to enlarge its markets, to enlarge its economic , to take territory that can be taken at very little cost. That's the way that it has always been and for the moment that's the way it is. It is not only America that is imperial, it is Russia. It is not only Russia that is imperial, it is China. It is not only China that has international ambitions, it is France. It is not only France that has international ambitions, it is the Arab world. It is not only the Arab world that has international ambitions, it is Germany and on and on and on. Our world is a world of greedy men grasping for greater glory and unless we accept this fact, unless we accept the reality that greed knows only one check, the check of somebody else's power, someone else's willingness to say no, I will not bend before you, I will not surrender, I will not give in.

Unless we accept that as the reality of our world I'm afraid that we will find that we will withdraw, find a temporary breathing space, but soon find the problems of the world breathing down our neck as other countries move in to take more and more of what we have had. I can understand the mood in America. Vietnam has been a tragedy, a decade long mistake of cosmic proportion, but I cannot understand the lack of understanding that not all of our involvements are involvements of the nature of Vietnam; that our Nato involvements are very much different from Vietnam; that our Middle Eastern involvements are very much different than Vietnam and that we must understand what is involved in each case and react not out of selective forgetfulness, but out of wisdom and out of discrimination.

Some weeks ago at Yale University one of the Doves on Vietnam, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Fulbright, spoke out in a mood which I have been describing. Senator Fulbright, unfortunately, has been one of the very few senior statesmen in America who has never had sympathy with and has never understood the rightness and fitness of the existence of the State of Israel. There is a long and sad history of blindness on this score, but he used this platform at Yale University to say this: He gave the Israelis full marks for honesty, but he said they have an overlonging memory and they use this overlong memory to engage in anti-communist baiting humbuggery - those are his words - in which they try as a client state to twist the policies of the United States in a direction which was not according to our national interest.

I want to examine this question of Israel's overlong memory because the whole



contention that is being placed before us is this - that Israel is being adamant, mulish; Israel will not accept various guarantees made to it; that Israel will only withdraw to the borders of 1967; peace will descend upon the Middle East; and we cannot as a peace loving people understand Israel's adamancy, its stiff-neckedness in refusing to make these simple, swift and complete concessions. Why does Israel not make these concessions? The reason lies precisely in Israel's realistic memory. Nations that want to forget, forget. Nations that are young and realistic do not blink at reality for what it is, they accept it for what it is and base their policy upon it; not upon some romantic notion, but upon reality itself. Now if Israel were throwing up to the United States and to the world the pogroms of the 1880's, the Russian Minister who said the solution to the Jewish problem was to exile one third of the Jews, to starve to death one third of the Jews and to baptize one third of the Jews of Russia. Yes, that would be an overlong memory. But when Israel speaks of the last twenty years, of the last twenty years of consistent Soviet anti-Israel propaganda, the last twenty years during which the Soviet has poured into the armies of Egypt and Syria and Iraq over forty billion dollars worth of the most sophisticated weapons in the world. If Israel is speaking of the last twenty years where the Soviet embassies throughout the world have been centers of anti-Israel propaganda wherever they exist; if they speak of the last twenty years when the Soviet Union through its veto has guaranteed at the United Nations that no resolution would be brought in condemning even terrorist attacks against Israel, is that an overlong memory? Perhaps it is. Let's talk of fifteen years ago. If Israel talks of fifteen years ago when the Soviet encouraged Mr. Nasser to send his armies into the demilitarized



zone at Gaza, precipitating the events of 1956 and '57, when Egypt provided Mr. Nasser with the fastest planes and missiles the world then had, when Soviet Union began to engage in an anti-semitic as well as anti-zionist attack, when the Jews of silence became the Jews of silence, is that too long ago for a memory? But let's not talk of fifteen years ago - let's talk of five years, six years ago, when the Soviet ambassador in Israel went around in May of 1967 circulating rumors that he knew to be false as truth, that the Israeli army was massing on the Syrian border, therefore precipitating, about to attack, precipitating the events of May of '67; when the Soviet Union was encouraging its Egyptian and Syrian satellites to make the proper preparations for the third round against Israel - is that too long a memory?

Or shall we talk of four years ago when Egypt and Syria lay defeated, prostrate, when there was some chance for some arrangement for negotiation and the Soviet urged the Arab world to get together at Khartoum and to enunciate the Khartoum Declaration, no negotiations, no recognition, no peace, we will send to you the arms that you need to rebuild your armies for the fourth round against Israel; when the Soviet Union began a campaign now not for villification only but of vituperation against Israel; when it began to add a series of show trials of Jews in the Soviet Union - is that a long memory? Or a year ago when Israeli pilots shot down Russian pilots in open combat over the Sinai? Is that too long a memory? Or a month ago when it was announced to the world that the Soviet was sending to Egypt the MIG 23 introducing into the Middle East another generation of weapons, planes that could fly faster, further and at higher altitudes than any that was in the

region? Are these overlong memories? Where can one find in the last twenty years a single example of Soviet policy which assumes the rightness, the fitness, the propriety of the existence of the State of Israel? And where can one find in the last twenty years any reason for Israel to trust in the guarantees which she is now being told to trust in as against geography, the guarantees of the great powers of the West?

I give you 1957 - you know the story well. In 1957 Israel came to the banks of the Suez as she did again in '67 and the Russians pressured the United States and Secretary Dulles pressured Israel and Secretary Dulles made specific verbal commitments to Israel that if she withdrew from Sinai the Gaza would remain unmilitarized, the Suez Canal would be open to Israeli bound ships and the Straits of Tyran-Sherman. They would remain open to Israeli ships and Israeli bound ships. What happened? When Mr. Nasser moved his troops into the Gaza, when the Israeli ambassador made profession in Washington he was told we have other commitments, there's very little we can do now. We'll send you some food. We'll send you some new guns and when the first ship was stopped from going through the Suez which was bound with a cargo for Israel and Israel's ambassador went to the State Department what was he told? Well, there's very little we can do, we don't want a third World War over this. We'll give you a few tons of food and we'll give you some more guns. Perhaps that's overlong a memory, that's fourteen years ago.

Let's talk of last August when again there were guarantees. Israel was told that if she stopped responding to the Egyptian war of attrition there was a cease fire the cease fire would be a stand-still cease fire, the Russian missiles would not

for waiting all those territories  
instead of waiting peace.

be able to move into the zone from which her planes had blasted these missiles. There were specific guarantees to this effect and Israel accepted the cease fire and one minute after midnight in August on the day when the cease fire began the Russian crews and the Russian missiles with their Egyptian guards moved into the standstill zone. And when Israel protested to the United States and asked for pressures to remove the guns what was said? "We don't have evidence of the violation." There were not even tests, overflights, to photograph whether or not the missile sites were being rebuilt and when there was actual photographic proof that these missile sites had come to the banks of the Suez the United States shook its head and said to Israel: What can we do? Yes, it was bad of the Russians, it was bad of the Egyptians; we'll send you some more planes, we'll send you some more guns, but what can we do? You don't want a third World War over this violation. So the guns are in place and they now control the air space over the Suez Canal which makes it possible for the Egyptians to contemplate an amphibious attack into the Sinai should they wish to launch one. A strategic defeat was suffered by Israel because she trusted in Western guarantees and the Western guarantees proved to be worth very little.

Does Israel have an overlong memory? I wonder. A week ago in the Diet-da-ah-haranut, two weeks ago, one of the columnists wrote this poem which I think puts it all in fairly good context:

Not long ago our friends abroad  
 were angrily inclined  
 - and so, I must admit, was yours  
 truly undersigned -  
 to rage against the Government  
 and Premier without cease  
 for wanting all those territories  
 instead of wanting peace.

consider it so right  
 that Israel be defended by the  
 powers concerted might?  
 Odd that with all the protest and

And now it happens that we read  
with definite relief  
the briefing in The Times in which  
the Premier turned a leaf.  
And - we must confess - her  
words, if by intent or in effect,  
reflect those very principles we  
think must be correct.

While all those warriors for peace  
who had their glorious hour  
have suddenly received a sort of  
glorious cold shower.  
For now it's clear - those ter-  
ritories over which we fought  
are not in fact as "conquered" or  
as "annexed" as we thought. . .

But when you hear Egypt so  
solemnly announce  
she will not give up her homeland  
by a grain or by an ounce  
it must occur to you to ask, if but  
for logic's sake  
how many Egyptian fellahin have  
land in Sharm el Sheik,

And why should Egypt contest so  
limited a lease  
or not relinquish Sharm el Sheik  
if this could lead to peace?

Unless they're really interested in  
having a replay  
of the exercise of '67 in the month  
of May?

And so, slowly there are questions  
that will raise their ugly heads,  
and disturb us with their weighti-  
ness and haunt us in our beds  
like the question which is strange  
and yet so simple in the end  
such as "Why not have such fron-  
tiers as we can best defend? ". . .

And anyway why should the left  
consider it so right  
that Israel be defended by the  
powers concerted might?  
Odd that with all the protest and





petitions they've arrayed  
 when left-wing splinters always  
 join the antipowers debate  
 they want the Gaullist, C. I. A. and  
 Russian secret police  
 to be our keepers, and our broth-  
 ers' keepers, in the Middle East.  
 No, Sirs, I think we can predict  
 with every certainty  
 that the "instant peace" our  
 friends propose is of our eternity.

Instant peace, the urgency for quick solutions is the correlative of instant for-  
 getfulness, of those who would like to forget the complexity, the involvement, the  
 depth of the conflict in the Middle East, who believe only that were Israel to now  
 withdraw to the borders of '67 all will some time, somehow come well. What non-  
 sense. Somehow this mood of forgetfulness in United States has turned the new  
 Premier of Egypt, Mr. Sadat, to a man who was willing to make peace. Never has  
 a reputation been built on such fragile foundations. When he came into office within  
 a week he had told the army, he had told the public of Egypt that he would never never  
 never negotiate with Israel and he has never never never deviated from that purpose.  
 Yes, yes, he did send a letter to Mr. Yark, the United Nations intermediary, in  
 which he said that under certain conditions he would enter into certain arrangements  
 with Israel provided all Arab land were returned to their rightful owners and pro-  
 vided that no loss was made in the rights of the Palestinean peoples to their various  
 legitimate claims. And this has been seized upon as a great compromise, a great  
 statement for peace. This statement which has been broadcast throughout the West  
 and which is the foundation of Mr. Sadat's role as one who <sup>deserves</sup> ~~has~~ the Nobel Peace  
 Prize for 1971 was never translated into Arabic, has yet to be released to the press  
 of the Egyptian peoples or to the press of the Syrian peoples. It exists only in the



West and to his own people he continues to say what they know that he is in fact saying, that when I speak of the return of Arab land I am not speaking simply to the return of the borders of 1967. That's only the first step. We will accomplish in that first step diplomatically what we need not accomplish by force of arms. We will force Israel back to very much longer borders, our guns will be that much closer to her air fields and to her cities, why do we need to lose soldiers for what we can achieve by international pressure? Arab lands means all of Israel and after we've got Israel to move back to the borders of '67 we'll begin to press the international claim that she took more land in 1948 than she was given by the partition decision of 1947 and will demand the return of those lands and we will demand the return of Jerusalem or at very most its internalization and then we'll press the Palestinian claim which is that Israel must be a multi-national state with only those Jews allowed in Israel who were there before 1917. That's what Mr. Sadat's great compromise amounts to, that the 100,000 Jews who lived in the land of Palestine before 1917 may somehow be alive to remain there after the whole apparatus of the State of Israel has been dismantled. It's a multi-strategic approach, political through international pressure; guerilla through the Fedaim; militarily in the ultimate analysis with a concerted attack at some point by the various Arab states. And as if to give proof to what his real intentions were Mr. Sadat three weeks ago went to Benghazi and he signed a document of federation, Libya, Syria and Egypt. Never has an international federation come into being for such belligerent purpose. These three countries represent some of the poorest, most benighted people on the face of the earth and God knows

they need to pool what oil wealth they have and what human resource they have for the natural development of their countries to raise their own standard of living.

But what do these Articles of Incorporation say? We, the undersigned, agree that we will pool our military resources for war against Israel for the holy cause and we will not rest confident until that is achieved. And in the preamble to these Articles of Federation what was said? No negotiation, no recognition, no peace.

Khartoum 1967.

Now this is Israel's reality. These are the facts that Israel refuses to forget, to blink away, but, of course, you can have a memory and also have movement towards peace. Israel's position is not one of sheer adamancy, of sheer mulishness. Israel does not say we trust in our guns and our guns alone. She has said again and again, let us negotiate face to face, let us meet, let us work out our agreements, there is nothing that cannot be negotiated, but the negotiation must be hard and realistic and not those simply of words, simply which play into the Arab strategy. Israel accepts the reality of the Middle East for what it is, complex, belligerent, convulsed and she knows that there is no simple solution, no one act which will suddenly apocalyptically bring peace. She knows that there is possibility, small possibility, but dim possibility, but possibility nevertheless. Aba Eban gave an interview to the press about ten days ago which is worth quoting to you: I think it wrong to say that the Arabs have advanced sufficiently to make the possibility of peace operative, but nor would I go to the other extreme of saying that nothing has happened to them at all. I think it is significant for them to feel that they have to use concepts, words and ideas that they refused to use before. Our impression is that Egypt is in a mood of liquidity. I would not give ourselves all the credit. I think our tenacity

has had a good effect. I would give credit to other things. First of all to the United States because they reduced the military option when they said that whatever the Soviets do to disturb this military balance we will find ways of repairing it. That creates a skepticism about the military option. And secondly, the change of the regime in Egypt itself. After all, we shouldn't be ashamed of being right some time. When Nasser died everybody in the world went around with long faces and said that the hope of peace has perished. We said that without reference to the human aspect of it a change of regime is objectively a new opportunity. Regimes don't like to be slavish followers of their predecessors. They like to criticize their predecessors by striking out in new directions. Another is this - that the Egyptians seem to be making a distinction between Egypt and the Arab world. They seem to say that their most sacred duty is to look after Egypt and there may be a heightened consciousness of the fact that Nasser failed in the internal development of Egypt. Therefore, a successor has more of a chance of having something to show. I also think that the Jordan Civil War was a major event. It showed that the extremists were not as powerful, as irresistible as people thought; they are resistible and nothing terrible happens if one resists them. So that there is movement. But it is hesitant, partial, and has not reached a point of readiness for genuinely free negotiation. I would say that this is the essence of the discussion between ourselves and the United States. Some in the United States say here is a movement - hurry up, pluck this fruit or else it will go away - we say, if there is fruit on the tree, we ought to rejoice, in sober measure - but don't eat it until it's ripe, unless you want to get poisoned.

And there very graphically is the division between the mood of forgetfulness, forgetful urgency, selective forgetfulness in the United States and Israel's cold realistic appraisal. There is some possibility. There is a dim light at the end of a

long tunnel, but it's not today and it will not come tomorrow and it will not come the day after tomorrow. There needs to be vigilance and care and trust and hope. Israel at 23 has a lifetime already, many lifetimes of pioneering accomplishment. Israel at 23 represents the one underdeveloped nation of the world which has won its way into the light, which is now a developed nation. Israel at 23 represents two and a half million people who have for that part of the world the highest standard of living, the highest standard of medicine, the highest standard of education of any people, a people who have a true democracy, a people who have maintained the freedoms of their own minority, Arab, Christian, Jew in a time of great tension, people who have a proud record, people who look to the freedom loving peoples of the world for strength and encouragement during what will obviously be a difficult passage of time.

On the one hand we have the Soviet Union, imperial, ambitious, eager for the markets of the Middle East, eager to force open the Suez so that her ships can get into the Persian gulf and Indian Ocean, already successful establishing submarine and destroyer bases in both Libya and in Egypt, already able to have established air bases in these countries for use in refueling flights, a great super power whose troops have been actively committed to war against a small nation.

On the other hand you have the determination of the Israelis who have no other alternative, their hope that well-intentioned people of the world will understand, their skepticism of instant solutions, their willingness to negotiate, but their insistence that these negotiations be meaningful and sober and careful and realistic, and you have this urgency in the United States, sending Secretary Rogers here and there



in the Arab world, seeking some kind of instant solution to complex problems. We have a confusion of purposes it would seem in the United States, a willingness to provide certain kinds of economic aid and military hardware and at the same time an unwillingness to say unequivocally what is most urgently needed to be said if there is to be peace - we understand, we will not lean upon you until there is some kind of meaningful solution. That's the statement that would help to lighten the burden in the Middle East. Time is now on Israel's ~~hand~~ side. There were years in which many of us were afraid that time was running against Israel, that it was only a matter of time until the weight of Arab arms and the weight of Arab numbers told, but it is patently clear that long before that moment would come the weight of Arab frustration, of Arab poverty, of Arab lack of development, will force these nations from their imperial design against Egypt to deal with their domestic problems which are their first urgency. Time is on Israel's side. That's why Sadat, Kosygin are playing the game that they do. Time is not necessarily bad for Israel, but Israel needs encouragement and she needs understanding, our willingness to understand and not to give in to our own sense of frustration, our own desire to be quits of the problems of the world, our own desire to have the opportunity to think only of our own domestic situation. A great power does not have that luxury and America is still the greatest super power in the world.

I close with a Biblical illustration. It's night in the Judean village and a single sentry on the wall is one who is laid abroad because up to the sentry watchmen what of the night, watchman, what of the night. The watchman turns and he looks across the plain to the Judean hills as he sees the first light of the dawn, the first dim ray of light and he calls back, The morning comes, but also another night. And that's been our understanding of history. It has opportunity and it has

responsibility. It has fulfillment and it has frustration. They are intertwined.

So it has been and so it has ever been. Morning comes, but also the night.



# It been catastrophic

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and central aim was to would break through to

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and say, look, the not crumble, so you had

in an intermediate stage of inci- pient rationality. I agree with what Haim Herzog said on that matter, at our conference. He was arguing with those who defined Arab policy as though it was still the same as a year ago. I think it's wrong to say that they have advanced sufficiently to make the possibility of peace operative; but I do not go to the other extreme of saying that nothing has happened to them at all.

I think it is significant for them to feel they have to use concepts, words and ideas that they refused to use before. Our impression is that Egypt is in a mood of liquidity. I would not give ourselves all the credit. I give our tenacity has had a good effect. I would give credit to other things. First of all, to the United States because they refused the military option when they said whatever the Soviets do to dis- turb this balance, we will find some way of repairing it. That creates a scepticism about the military option.

And secondly the change of regime in Egypt itself. After all, we shouldn't be ashamed of being right sometimes. When Nasser died, everybody in the world went around with long faces and said that the hope of peace had per- ished. We said that without re- ference to the human aspect of it a change of regime is objectively a new opportunity. Regimes don't like to be the slavish followers of their predecessors. They like to criticize their predecessors by striking out in new directions.

Another is this, that the Egyp- tians seem to be making a dis-

inction between Egypt and the Arab world; they seem to say that their most sacred duty is to look after Egypt.

And there may be a heighten- ed consciousness of the fact that Nasser failed in the internal de- velopment of Egypt. Therefore a successor has more chance of having something to show. I also think that the Jordan civil war was a major event. It showed that the extremists were not as powerful, as irresistible as people thought; they are resistible and nothing terrible happens if one resists them.

So that there is movement. But it is hesitant, partial, and has not reached a point of readi- ness for genuinely free negotia- tions. I would say that this is the essence of the discussion between ourselves and the United States. Some in the United States say there is a movement — hurry up, pluck this fruit or else it will go away — we say, if there is fruit on the tree, we ought to pluck it. But don't cut it with a knife, unless you want to get poisoned. For the things to get plucked are the things that are ripe, and the time that are ripe, and I think that's the argument, and I believe we're right. The ar- gument we have with our Amer- ican friends all the time, is about what time does. Our friends al- ways have always said that the effect of time is catastrophic; it makes things worse. I don't see that things have worked that way.

There's one thing we haven't discussed, and the fact that we don't discuss it is instructive. In 1967 George Brown said to me



"If you don't get a settlement in three months, the situation in the West Bank and Gaza might be like Algeria and blood will flow and you'll start bombing every- body to get you out of there."

Well I don't want to idealize the present position, I don't think that the Arabs of the West Bank want us there. I don't agree with what my colleague Shmuel Peres said about their not having political consciousness. It's not enough if we give them schools and health and food. I think they are very politically conscious. In fact I could meet one of the most politically con- scious West Bank Arabs. I could introduce you to him. But what I've spent to say your speech was good and such are all very well, but what about our political de- privation?

But to say that it's an Algeria, or that it cannot be supported for another long period, I think is quite wrong. Time has not been catastrophic.

breakthrough

and central aim was to would break through to

w some people think you do this by concession.

ple think that one of the dea generates change of

tenacity. You put up a il in defence of vital

and say, look, the not crumble, so you had

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itudes are necessary: flexibility.

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TAX EXEMPT PERSONS  
TEMPORARY RESIDENTS  
AND DIPLOMATS!

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ish attitudes, wrote in his weekly column in ~~the~~ Abnagot, a Tel Aviv evening paper:

Not long ago, our friends abroad were angrily inclined — and so, I must admit, was yours truly undersigned — to rage against the Government and Premier without cease for wanting all those territories instead of wanting peace.

And now it happens that we read with definite relief the briefing in The Times in which the Premier turned a leaf.

And — we must confess — her words, if by intent or in effect, reflect those very principles we think must be correct

While all those warriors for peace who had their glorious hour have suddenly received a sort of glorious cold shower.

For now it's clear — those territories over which we fought are not in fact as "conquered" or as "annexed" as we thought. . . .

But when you hear Egypt so solemnly announce she will not give up her homeland by a grain or by an ounce it must occur to you to ask, if but for logic's sake

how many Egyptian fellahin have land in Sharm el Sheik,

And why should Egypt contest so limited a lease or not relinquish Sharm el Sheik if this could lead to peace?

Unless they're really interested in having a replay of the exercise of '67 in the month of May?

And so, slowly there are questions that will raise their ugly heads, and disturb us with their weightiness and haunt us in our beds like the question which is strange and yet so simple in the end such as 'Why not have such frontiers as we can best defend?' . . .

And anyway why should the left consider it so right that Israel be defended by the powers' concerted might?

Odd that with all the protest and petitions they've arrayed

~~40~~ ~~111~~

(Continued from Page 33)

when left-wing splinters always join the antipowers debate they want the Gaullist, C.I.A. and Russian secret police to be our keepers, and our brothers' keepers, in the Middle East. No, Sirs, I think we can predict with every certainty, that the "instant peace" our friends propose is of our eternity.

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a multi-variate set of gically desirable, it is vitable. How can one police handle the v and order, when the iselves admit the /ond them, even with cars, jails, and ining. Also, how can the victimized for iselves in a far less er than labor, power ess, and governments , when threatened? m over the cry for flery by some poor ll-to-do obtain them nearest "Y", athletic e school.

L is not new — nor is. What is new and gerous is when real lawlessness and gnored because of a icion of those who scles, talk tough, and tary paces. urban badlands know feel them, and live blacks know, feel and

live them. It is they who should be listened and responded to — and it is here where the opponents of community defense are at their most irrelevant, for their public

condemnations are barren of hope, promise, and remedy, and thereby certain to intensify the helplessness and desperation and militancy of the poor.

## THIS IS MY COUNTRY

*by Ephraim Kishon, Israel's Leading Satirist*

- ✓ Israel is a country so tiny that there is no room to write its name on the world map.
- ✓ It is the only country in the world which is financed by its taxpayers abroad.
- ~~It is a country of boundless boundaries.~~
- ✓ It is a country where mothers learn the mother-tongue from their sons. It is a country where the fathers ate sour grapes and the children's teeth are excellent.
- It is a country where one writes Hebrew, reads English and speaks Yiddish.
- It is a country where everybody has the right to speak his mind, but there is no law forcing anybody to listen.
- It is the most enlightened country in the region, thanks to the Arabs.
- It is a country where all the capital is concentrated in Jewish hands — and there is much grumbling because of this.
- It is a country of elections, but no choice.
- It is a country which is an organic part of its trade unions.
- It is a country where nobody wants to work, so they build a new town in three days and go idle the rest of the week.
- ~~It is a country where a dip of paper can move mountains, but all the mountains forget its speeches.~~
- It is a country which produces less than it eats, and yet of all places, it is here that nobody has ever died of hunger.
- It is a country where nobody expects miracles, but everybody takes them for granted.
- It is a country where one calls ministers simply "Moishe" — and then almost dies with the excitement of it.
- It is the only country in the region whose political regime is the bus cooperative.
- It is a country whose survival is permanently endangered, and yet its inhabitants' ulcers are caused by the neighbors from upstairs.
- It is a country where every human being is a soldier, and every soldier is a human being.
- It is the only country in which I could live. It is my country.

man can not be saved from forgetfulness.

Every day we forget ourselves

As we grow older we forget more & more

Now forget AND NATION FORGET

~~Forgetting is inevitable~~ - but I think we ought to

forgetful is that a psychological mechanism of which we are

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We consciously forget in a sense we need to be aware of it.

I would suggest to you that only that Dr. Fustel would help

in structural method a hundred years ago to remember

what we are to forget

WRHS



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Introduction

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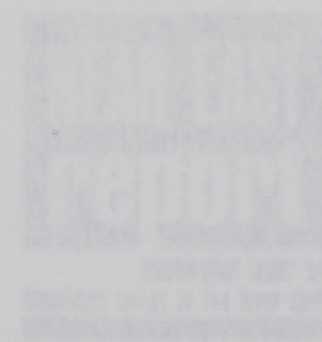
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At least 36 Jews have been killed according to an April 15 report by American International - the London

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It is an ironic possibility that the Soviet presence may finally enable the world to the suffering of the Jewish people. The Soviet Union, which has been the world's largest supplier of arms to the Arab states of the Middle East, may finally be able to provide the Jewish people with the arms they need to defend themselves.

David Gordon

Editorial - The Jewish Voice

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Anderson said European diplomats in Cairo are saying that Washington

there is not enough to eat, there are no schools left since the missionaries were driven out."

Recent reports indicate that the Anya'nya rebels may finally be receiving some outside support. Ethiopia is retaliating for Sudanese support of the guerrilla war in Eritrea by allowing southerners refuge. *Time* claims that in September 1969, three months after the Numeiry coup which aligned the Sudan more closely with Egypt, Israel began supplying arms to the insurgents by means of a solitary unmarked DC-3 operating either from Uganda or Ethiopia; Israel gives aid to both these countries.

Robison reports that a group of rebel second lieutenants had returned from brief training in Israel. He added: "Four Israelis speaking English and Arabic are said to have stayed in the camps to supervise their training." These reports are unconfirmed.

This fall, the South Sudan Liberation Front presented its case before the UN. General Assembly President Edvard Hambro referred the petition to the UN Commission on Human Rights, which met in Geneva this February.

It is an ironic possibility that the Soviet presence may finally awake the world to the suffering of the Blacks of the South Sudan. Such an awakening, however, will not be enough to offset the Soviet contribution to the final solution of this unfortunate people.

—DAVID GOTTLIEB

## viewing the news...

... Continued

### U.S. Misjudgment?

The latest Soviet arms deliveries to Egypt—and particularly the arrival of Foxbats which the United States did not believe existed—"startled the United States, which earlier this year had dismissed as 'propaganda' a clear signal by the Soviet Government that a new build-up was imminent," Raymond H. Anderson reported from Cairo in *The New York Times* last Sunday.

Anderson recalled that the build-up was preceded by the Feb. 28 Soviet statement which declared that military aid to the Arabs will continue. The next day Secretary of State William P. Rogers "chided" Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin for engaging in "public propaganda." A week later, Soviet transport planes were flying to Egypt, full of military cargo.

Anderson quotes European diplomats in Cairo as saying that Washington

tends "to misjudge the costs and risks the Russians have been willing to accept to promote their objectives in the Middle East."

### And Wheelus, Too

The projected federation heightens the threat to Israel's security. Egyptian and Soviet pilots are already using the former U.S. base at Wheelus in Libya for training pilots for MIGs and Mirages. Libya is due to receive some 110 Mirages from France, according to an agreement signed in the winter of 1969. The French say that the Mirages will not be used against Israel; the Libyans smile and say that they will use the Mirages against their enemies. And Israel is Enemy Number One, as defined by government declarations, posters and the news media.

The French Foreign Office said that France would block further deliveries if it was discovered that the Mirages were going to other countries.

Some twelve Mirages have been delivered to Libya; 18 more are scheduled to arrive by the end of this year. The schedule calls for completion of deliveries by 1974.

By next year Britain will have completed an "ultramodern" 1700-ton frigate for Libya armed with 12 missiles plus conventional naval weapons, according to the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*. Israel's navy has no match for this ship which will cruise the Mediterranean.

According to reports, Britain has refused Libya's demand to purchase only Chieftain tanks, but has agreed to sell her Centurions, light tanks and armored cars.

### Jews in Iraq

At least 36 Iraqi Jews have been jailed, according to an Apr. 15 report by Amnesty International—the London-

centered private organization concerned with the plight of political prisoners. This figure contradicts the Apr. 12 denial by the Iraq government that any Jews were being held.

Circumstances surrounding the arrests remain unclear. One woman, Mezelev Shohet, found herself in jail following a visit to her jailed husband.

Iraq's official news agency confirmed that 16 Jews and five Moslems will stand trial for attempting to smuggle money out of the country. Some 20 Jews will be tried for illegally seeking to emigrate. Amnesty's report noted that only 300 Jews in the last year crossed the border illegally to Iran.

Amnesty stated that Iraq's Jews suffer severe economic deprivation. They are unemployed and unable to obtain licenses to conduct businesses or professions.

### AIPAC Conference

About 200 members of the Senate and House have accepted invitations to luncheons on Capitol Hill celebrating Israel's 23rd birthday on Apr. 29-30—functions of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee's 12th annual policy conference.

Israel's Ambassador Yitzhak Rabin will be guest of honor.

The speakers will include Speaker Carl Albert (D-Okla.) and House Floor Leaders Hale Boggs (D-La.) and Gerald R. Ford (R-Mich.) on Apr. 29, and Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) and Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott (R-Pa.) on Apr. 30.

On Thursday evening, Apr. 29, at 7:45 p.m., Senators George McGovern (D-S.Dak.) and Robert Dole (R-Kans.) and Israel's Minister Shlomo Argov will speak at a public meeting in the Sheraton Park Hotel under the auspices of AIPAC and the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington.



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Newspaper — Timely Value



# Does Union Queer the Peace?

The militant anti-Israel declaration issued last Saturday by the three Arab soldier presidents, Anwar Sadat of Egypt, Muammar Qaddafi of Libya and Hafez Assad of Syria, may deal a fatal blow to the current Jarring peace negotiations.

The three radical Arab states, announcing their decision to enter into a Federation of Arab Republics, have reaffirmed the 1967 Khartoum formula of "no peace, no negotiations and no recognition of Israel" with full support for the "rights of the Palestinians."

They called for the liberation of all Israel-occupied territory and said they would never yield an inch of it.

Israelis may now ask UN Envoy Jarring whether this declaration compromises—if it does not nullify—Egypt's recent undertaking to make peace with Israel.

In the new federation arrangement, Egypt's hands will be tied by Syria, which has never accepted the UN 1967 resolution, and by Libya, which keeps demanding a fourth round against Israel.

Did Egypt really intend a peace treaty in the first place? Egypt's answer to Jarring contained conditions and escape clauses and built-in vetos, including the demand for Israel's total withdrawal. Was the Egyptian maneuver merely a propaganda ploy to gain public opinion? Did Egypt feel she could afford to enter the discussions, confident that she undertook no risks but that, with Russian and American support, she could force Israel to retreat on every front?

## Reversion to Nasserism

When President Nasser died last year many expressed the hope that his successor would abandon Nasser's pan-Arab politics and become concerned with Egypt's problems. There were optimistic reports that Egypt was becoming preoccupied with her economic difficulties and that her people were tired of war. The State Department seemed sold on this assessment. There was the parallel speculation that the Russians also wanted peace.

A revolution had taken place in the Arab psyche, and peace with Israel was discussed in Arab bazaars as a realistic possibility, according to State Department Arab specialists. Israel must not allow the opportunity to slip, it was argued; Israel must grasp this unprecedented offer of peace from Egypt.

American diplomats took pride in having persuaded the post-Nasser Egyptian leadership to write on paper the magic words "peace with Israel." They were disturbed and impatient that Israel did not rush to match that "concession" by giving up virtually all the lands she occupied in 1967.

In reality, the change in the Arab political mind was paper-deep. It was the formal acceptance of Israel, conditioned on withdrawal to the old armistice lines and restoration of "Palestinian rights"—not a deep change in popular sentiment. The document outlining "peace with Israel" was not translated into Arabic for the Egyptian people. The anti-Israel hate propaganda of the Arab news media showed no sign of abating.

Any setback in the Middle East swiftly activates the anti-Israel clique, whose reflex is to blame it all on Israel. We may now expect them to argue that if only Israel had accepted Jarring's proposal, Sadat would not have reverted to the intransigence of extremist allies.

The same kind of recriminatory note brought an implication in Washington last week that the Russians were sending their MIG-23s into Egypt because of the absence of agreement.

For our part, we might attribute Egypt's new militancy to her growing confidence that she can win back all she wants without any need to negotiate with Israel. Imaginations soar in the Arab world and Arab leaders have been encouraged by their new Soviet planes, as well as by the vocal support they have been getting from some articulate quarters in Washington and New York.

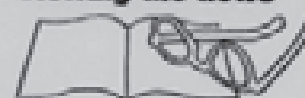
(Turn the Page)

# NEAR EAST report

## Washington letter on American policy in the Near East

Vol. XV, No. 16, Apr. 21, 1971

### Viewing the news



### MIGs Over Africa

The Soviet Union has sent 15 MIG-23s and a squadron of Sukhoi-7 aircraft to Algeria under a secret military pact which runs through 1988, according to *Aviation Week and Space Technology*. The authoritative Washington weekly reveals that Soviet pilots have access to Algerian airfields under the agreement which also covers Mers el-Kebir, the former French naval base where now two Soviet submarines are stationed. The aircraft are flown to Egypt first, where they are assembled by Soviet technicians and then to Algeria by Soviet crews.

*Aviation Week* suggests that the latest Soviet arms shipments are aimed at gaining air superiority "over the Arab-Israeli battle line from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea." They include a squadron of Foxbat fighters which have "a clear superiority over aircraft flown by Israelis," SA-4 Ganef surface-to-air missiles with a range of 80,000 feet and a new and secure communications system which cannot be monitored by Israel.

In an editorial, *Aviation Week* says that the Soviet Union is giving Egyptian air defense a priority second only to its own and that Israel's military position is deteriorating against the background of "incredible indifference" in the United States.

The same day the *Aviation Week* editorial appeared, Administration officials disclosed that the United States had agreed last fall to sell 12 more Phantoms to Israel, bringing to 80 the number the United States has agreed to sell Israel in the past three years.

The Administration is considering a request for more Phantoms in the light of the delivery to Egypt of close to 200 Soviet fighters and bombers since the beginning of this year and the introduction of the MIG-23 Foxbats, according to *The New York Times*.

(Continued on Page 64)

But singling out scapegoats is neither useful nor just. What is needed is to reject wishful thinking and to base decisions on accurate intelligence assessments. We doubt that there has been a real change in Soviet-Egyptian objectives. Russia and Egypt seem determined to force Israel's surrender to their terms and, conducive to that end, to create an atmosphere of fear and panic—the threats posed by new Soviet planes, as well as by embryonic federations which may turn out to be more menacing on paper than on the ground.

#### At the UN

Reacting to the federation, Sec. Gen. U Thant warned that "now is the last chance for peace" and that the present opportunity for progress must be seized. UN officials said this was a reference to the hardening of the Arab position which in effect sets a deadline for a political settlement—Sept. 1, the date for the plebiscite in the three Arab countries.

Israel Ambassador Yosef Tekoa took issue. "It never is and never will be too late for peace," he said. "Efforts toward peace, however, cannot proceed successfully if they are darkened by talks of last chances, deadlines and threats."

#### The Closed Canal

One always needs to be skeptical about any reports from the Middle East; Israelis, remembering the 1970 missile buildup, are taking a hard look at current proposals to open the Suez Canal.

It is reported that Israel is willing to thin out her forces along the Canal if the cease-fire is to become permanent and if Israel shipping is permitted to transit the waterway.

However, she will not agree to the Sadat proposal that Egyptian forces cross the Canal once the Israelis leave their bunkers.

Who will guarantee that they will not, and what will the United States do if they do? According to reports from Jerusalem, this is what Israel's Vice Premier Yigal Allon asked Secretary of State William P. Rogers during his visit here yesterday.

#### For Your Library

The bound volume containing all 1970 issues of the *Near East Report* including the two supplements—*Congress Speaks Out* and *Myths and Facts—1970*—is now available. The price is \$3.50. Order your copy today.

### The Quest for Unity

The new union, the fifth attempt at Arab unification, won acclaim from the Soviet Union and other Arab states.

Under the pink banner of "democratic socialism," thereby excluding Saudi Arabia and Jordan, the Union will have "one President, one flag, one anthem, one federal capital and a unified military command." (Libya's Qaddafi has called for the overthrow of King Hussein. Nevertheless, Jordan's Foreign Minister Abdullah Salah applauded the union "because Jordan believes in Arab unity" in any form.)

The federation will be headed by a council composed of the presidents of each country; the federal president will be chosen by a majority vote of the three presidents. A National Assembly will draft legislation affecting the federated countries, but a majority vote among the three presidents will decide essential issues.

Plebiscites to approve these basic plans are scheduled for Sept. 1, 1971.

Each nation will retain its seat in the UN and its sovereignty over foreign and domestic matters. However, some degree of over-all foreign policy planning involving "questions of war and peace" would be coordinated. This cooperation is typified by the provision that the unified command can send troops from one state to quell an internal uprising in another member state without an invitation.

The decision to unify military commands creates the possibility of a two-front war against Israel.

Earlier attempts by Arab states to federate have been failures.

There was the United Arab Republic, consisting of Egypt and Syria, which was founded in 1958. It died in 1961, when Syria seceded because she objected to Egyptian domination, but Egypt kept the name.

There was the short-lived United Arab Federation which collapsed in 1958, when a radical revolt severed Hashemite-Iraq from Hashemite-Jordan.

Egypt, Syria and Yemen established the United Arab States in 1963. This loose union lasted until Egypt was forced to abandon her Yemen adventure in 1967.

Recently, there was the attempt to set up a federation uniting Egypt, Libya and Sudan. This initiative has been replaced by the current one. Sudan, now busy with the internal struggle against Communists and the southern Blacks, has the option of joining.

## comment

### Commitments and Guarantees

#### Cranston

"Disillusionment over the way things have turned out in Southeast Asia must not blind us to the fact that Israel's survival and world peace depend on our standing by our commitments," Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) told a World Affairs Council audience in Los Angeles last week. The situations in the two areas are "totally different."

In Viet Nam, Cranston pointed out, we gave commitments "in the name of national interests which never existed" while in the Middle East U.S. interests are "integrally tied to peace." He stressed that the attainment of peace requires borders for Israel "as geographically defensible as borders can be."

#### Bayh

Sen. Birch Bayh (D-Ind.) told a New York audience that our Government must not pressure Israel "to rely on promises" that can be "forgotten or ignored." He declared: "We simply cannot ask another nation to live at the edge of catastrophe because we wish to break the equivalent of a diplomatic four-minute mile in a mad dash toward the appearance of a settlement."

#### In the Press

"How many Americans would subordinate the safety of this nation to international guarantees, through the United Nations or otherwise? Then why should Israel?" asked an *Arizona Daily Star* editorial on Apr. 13.

In an editorial on Apr. 15, the *Boston Herald Traveler* dismissed as "screwed statecraft" Sen. J. William Fulbright's dismissal of the Soviet threat.

According to the Boston paper: "If the honorable senator from Arkansas thinks that \$2 billion worth of Soviet arms in Egypt is just so much 'Communist-baiting humbuggery,' then his critics owe him an apology for underestimating his capacity for illusion and folly. Next we half expect him to proclaim that Soviet destroyers and submarines refueling at Alexandria are merely entries in a Mediterranean regatta."

A Beirut daily last week hailed the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations as an "astute politician," the "Doyen of American foreign policy." *Al-Hayat* went on to attack "Zionist media" which had enlisted "pro-Zionist Congressmen" to present the Israel viewpoint.



## A Genocidal War

*Last week we reported the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's belated approval of the UN Convention outlawing genocide. If any proof is needed to demonstrate the catastrophic consequences of international apathy toward genocide, it is provided by Sudan.*

For eight years, an Arab government in Khartoum has been waging a bloody civil war against black African separatists in the three southern provinces of the Sudan. Although hundreds of thousands have died, little international attention has been directed toward the fighting.

Khartoum has labored zealously to keep its war obscure. For years, Western reporters have been banned from the south. Most newsmen covering the war have been smuggled in through Uganda; a very few are given passes by the Sudan government. Foreigners in the south were expelled long ago.

Thus, Sudan's leaders have been able to prosecute the war in splendid isolation. Unlike Biafra, the Sudan (Africa's largest country), does not contain oil; unlike East Pakistan, it does not contain a huge population; and it has not been the focus of great power ambitions in this century.

Tensions between the Moslem north and non-Moslem south have existed since Arab slave traders from Khartoum and Cairo carried off some one million Blacks in the 19th century. The southerners continue to fear the Moslems, and the Arab word for slave, *abid*, is still used for southerners.

In 1898 the British conquered the Sudan and shut off the south.

When the Sudan became independent in 1956, both north and south were included in the new state, even though they were split by race, religion, geography and history. Complete northern domination followed. Of 800 government posts "Sudanized" at independence, 796 went to northerners.

### Imposing a Religion

Lawrence Wol Wol, European representative of the South Sudan Liberation Front, charges that Khartoum has pursued an "unrealistic policy . . . to impose Islam on the four million Africans of South Sudan. From 1957 to this very day, a State Department for Religious Affairs (Islam) has been spending public money to build mosques

and koranic institutions in the south and other parts of the Sudan where Islam had no influence. This went alongside with the destruction of Christian churches, institutions, hospitals, maternities, and above all, the killing of African clergymen."

Eight years ago southerners rebelled against these conditions. Khartoum's response has been a war, genocidal in its proportions, with the object of permanently crushing the south.

A new factor has now entered the civil war, and for new reasons.

### The Russians Are There

Russia is courting Khartoum—supplying men and equipment to fight the south and SA-2 missiles for Port Sudan—because Sudan is an important bridge in the Soviet Union's imperial ambitions. Just north of the Sudan is the massive Soviet presence in Egypt, and farther down the horn of Africa are 325 Soviet advisers in Somalia.

Never before have Russian personnel directly participated in a war against black Africans, and never before have they become so involved in a counter-insurgency effort.

In an article published in *The Jerusalem Post* titled "Russia's Small Vietnam," David Robison relates the extent of Soviet involvement: "The total number of Russian military men is believed to be almost 1,000; about 300 are in the south." *Time* magazine (Mar. 1) reports that more than 100 Soviet advisers are accompanying the Sudan army on combat operations in the south, and this ground help is augmented by air support.

German Correspondent Rudolph Chimmelli accompanied a Sudanese pilot, Soviet co-pilot, and Soviet and Egyptian navigators in a Russian-style helicopter gunship. In Juba, the capital of one of the three southern provinces, a Sudan company commander admitted that Soviet helicopters flown by Russians are "the only means the army has for carrying out" large-scale counterinsurgency operations.

The growing arsenal of Soviet weapons includes two squadrons of U-16 medium bombers, MIG-21 jets, helicopters, artillery and light tanks. *Reuters* Correspondent John Chadwick discovered Soviet technicians servicing MIGs in Juba; and David Robison cites U.S.

Defense Intelligence Agency reports that five Antonov and 12 U-16 bombers with Russian pilots have been used on raids.

Robison also revealed that as many as 5,000 Egyptian troops are deployed in Sudan, and that 100 Egyptian MIGs are stationed at Wadi Seidna, an airbase 15 miles from Khartoum. Egyptian pilots are flying in the south, and other Arab nations are helping Khartoum. Kuwait has donated \$5.5 million; Libya and Algeria have also sent aid.

The Anya'nya rebels have little more than small arms with which to confront Khartoum. Southern civilian casualties have been enormous. The Southern Sudan Liberation Front petitioned the UN General Assembly last December, charging that "since the year 1962 nearly one million South Sudanese men, women, and children have perished either through deprivation, famine and disease, or they have been shot dead.

"About 300,000 others live as refugees in the neighboring countries of Uganda, Congo, Kenya, Ethiopia and the Central African Republic. Those left in South Sudan live equally as refugees, hiding in tropical forests and mountains . . ."

### No Statistics

The very nature of this genocidal war precludes an exact statistical measure of its destruction (even UN observation teams have been harassed or prevented from viewing it), but scattered figures from neighboring countries and the UN confirm the Front's claims. Robison says that "rough UN estimates (made 3 years ago) accepted by foreign observers and diplomats indicate that over half a million southerners, out of six million, have died since 1960 from disease and famine caused by the war." There are at least 150,000 refugees from the Arab war in camps outside the Sudan. Many have been resettled. And many have been driven back to Sudan, as Khartoum was often successful in persuading her non-Arab neighbors to cooperate.

Cologne Journalist Siegman Schelling, foreign editor of *Rheinischer Merkur*, describes the horror: "As soon as one crosses the border into the Sudan from the Congo or Chad, one comes upon burned-out villages, abandoned settlements 'scorched earth'. . . In the South Sudan, only one child out of four reaches adulthood; there is no medicine,

## Only in America

When the United States launched its peace initiative last summer, we rejoiced over the end of the shooting, but we gloomily predicted in these columns that the negotiations would be between the United States and Israel rather than between Egypt and Israel.

Our pessimism deepened when the Egyptians and Russians violated the standstill agreement by deploying Soviet missiles all over the cease-fire zone near the Suez Canal. Israel had no recourse but to complain to the United States—and with little hope for a roll-back and rectification.

The Jarring talks resumed in January and speedily reached an impasse. Once again the parties to the dialogue were the United States and Israel, with a satisfied Egypt waiting on the sidelines.

The reason for this bizarre situation is that Secretary of State William P. Rogers decided in 1969 to outline the terms of a settlement.

That outline was a setback for Israel because it americanized the Soviet-Egyptian contention that Israel must withdraw from the Sinai peninsula to the old international frontiers. Thus, Rogers said on Dec. 9, 1969:

*It would require withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from U.A.R. territory to the international border between Israel (or Mandated Palestine) and Egypt which has been in existence for over a half century.*

In addition, Rogers proposed that Israel rely on international guarantees rather than on keeping her own forces at Sharm el-Sheikh to protect her rights to transit the Straits of Tiran—the denial of which, by Egypt, touched off the six-day war in 1967.

The United States was *not* insisting that Israel withdraw her military forces in advance of a peace treaty. It was proposing that this be done as part of a final settlement.

But, as we have contended, the effect of the U.S. position was to make it virtually impossible for Israel to negotiate for the kind of borders which she regards as "defensible."

Why should Egypt agree to negotiate this question or recede from its position as long as the United States—Israel's closest supporter—has committed itself to Egypt's frontier line?

So the negotiations are now deadlocked. Jarring has gone back to Moscow for a month and, according to Israel's critics, the ball is now in Israel's court.

### Confusion in the Senate

Against this background, Israel's Foreign Minister Abba Eban came to Washington to meet Rogers. At the same time, on the invitation of eight Senators, he met with 38 members of the Senate at a coffee break on March 19 to offer Israel's views. He stated Israel's opposition to insubstantial territorial changes as well as to insubstantial international guarantees. He stressed Israel's willingness to negotiate all issues with Egypt.

The following Tuesday, Senators Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) and Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) rose in the Senate to criticize the Department of State's plan. The Department then proposed that Rogers respond in the Senate.

Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.), who has been critical of Israel's policies in the past, praised Rogers. Fulbright told UPI that it was unprecedented for a foreign minister to come here and negotiate with the Senate rather than sitting down with the Arabs and Jarring. (*Ed. note: We suspect Eban would like nothing better than to negotiate with the Arabs if he could, and such negotiations would surely obviate the need for so much debate here.*)

The reports of the Rogers' briefing, as well as senatorial reaction, were bewildering. Thus, the press reported that Rogers had assured the Senate that the United States was not demanding that Israel withdraw in advance of a settlement. Why some members of the Senate should have regarded this as a change in U.S. policy, we fail to understand. This has been the U.S. position from the beginning. Nor is it a concession or change for the United States to

# NEAR EAST report

## Washington letter on American policy in the Near East

Vol. XV, No. 13, Mar. 31, 1971

### Viewing the news



### Egypt on the March

Egypt is mobilizing diplomatically and militarily to force Israel's submission to an order to withdraw to the old armistice lines.

Foreign Minister Mahmoud Riad flew to Paris to confer with Egyptian ambassadors in Western countries. In his meeting with his French counterpart Maurice Schumann, Riad stressed that fighting may break out if the impasse continues. Riad also met with Envoy Gunnar V. Jarring who stopped in Paris on his way back to resume his post in Moscow. And Italian Foreign Minister Aldo Moro is seeking a meeting with Israel's Abba Eban, currently in Latin America.

*Egypt may now be pushing for action by the Big Four or by the Security Council to pressure Israel to accept Jarring's proposals.*

The diplomatic pressure on Israel was heightened by reports of a large emergency Soviet airlift of arms to Egypt this past fortnight. Antonov 22s, the biggest Soviet transport planes, have been unloading crates in Egyptian airports. The last such airlift occurred in February 1970, before the introduction of Soviet airmen and missile technicians.

The Soviet Union has sent 200 pilots and 150 MIG-21J fighter-interceptors to Egypt, and supplied \$2.5 billion in military aid last year, according to the Institute for Strategic Studies of London. The Institute's annual report described the volume of military aid to Egypt as unprecedented—no other non-Communist state has ever received such a vast quantity of sophisticated arms in such a short time. The study says that Egypt has the most powerful air defense system outside NATO, with 75-85 SAM-3s manned by Soviet crews and that Russia is stationing close to 20,000 military personnel in Egypt.



say that it does not regard a commitment by Israel to agree to complete withdrawal from Sinai as a condition precedent to the continuation of negotiations. In fact, the United States has been encouraging Israel to submit her own proposals on frontiers—something Israelis have hesitated to do because they feel that it will get them nowhere because the U.S. advocacy of total withdrawal from Sinai has put a very low ceiling on Israel's capacity to negotiate.

We do not think that anyone should have been surprised by Eban's appearance before members of the Senate. Many foreign diplomats have been invited to Capitol Hill.

[And it is a coincidence that just last week the American Israel Public Affairs Committee issued invitations to members of the Senate and House to join it on Israel's 23rd birthday at luncheons on the Hill in honor of Israel's Ambassador Yitzhak Rabin.]

Congress has been a positive friend of Israel from way back. Its views have been decisive in the past. Indeed, we doubt whether Israel would have come into existence if it had not been for the way in which Congress, reflecting U.S. opinion in this country, supported Israel's cause throughout World War II, right down to Israel's establishment on May 14, 1948—at a time when our own State Department was pressuring the Jewish Agency to accept a UN trusteeship in Palestine and not to proceed with the establishment of Israel.

We recall such distinguished supporters of Israel as Senators Taft, Wagner, Lodge, Ashhurst, Capper, Murray, Walsh and King, to name only a few.

Last summer, in testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, this Editor recited that record, showing that on the Middle East Congress had often taken a stronger position than the Department of State—a position vindicated by subsequent events. A few weeks after that, Congress gave renewed demonstration as it approved the amendment to the Defense Procurement Act to authorize arms for Israel.

Perhaps all this could happen only in America. And that is much to America's credit, for no other country is as faithful to the democratic ideal which cherishes the concept of free speech and which encourages a frank exchange—not only between secretaries of state but between legislators and the peoples of friendly countries.

Would that it could happen in Egypt! Perhaps, some day, we shall see Eban addressing the National Assembly in Cairo, with a return visit from Egypt's Foreign Minister to the Knesset.

## heard in Washington

Senate debate on U.S. Middle East policy opened on Mar. 23, when five Senators challenged Secretary Rogers' position and Chairman Fulbright of the Committee on Foreign Relations, came to his defense.

Senator Jackson warned that "external guarantees" proposed by Rogers could not substitute for defensible borders. Israel should not be expected "to relinquish geographical positions on which her survival depends."

Jackson asked the Administration to call for:

- "A map of Israel with secure and recognized borders whose defense can be assured by the Israelis themselves"—to include Sharm el-Sheikh, with arrangements for access.
- Total demilitarization of Sinai.
- The phased withdrawal of Russian military personnel from Egypt in conjunction with Israel withdrawal to agreed upon and defensible borders."

### Courting Disaster

The Soviet Union, not the United States, would benefit from a settlement which required Israel to pull back to the June 1956 borders:

"It would be seen not as the result of American diplomacy but as the result of American retreat under Soviet pressure" and an "abandonment of a U.S. commitment. . . .

"Insecure borders are an invitation to conflict and hostility. . . . To promote a Berlin-type solution . . . would be a clear abdication of our responsibility to the future," Jackson said.

Any consideration of Soviet participation in a force to guarantee the peace, in Jackson's view, would be "courting disaster." He warned against "legitimizing" the Russian military presence; adding "new elements of tension" by stationing American troops alongside Russians and relying on Soviet "doubtful reliability" in case of an Egyptian order to vacate.

Jackson concluded that the time had come for serious negotiations "without preconditions on either side."

Senator Javits agreed. While he commended Rogers for his initiative, he faulted the Administration's formula on borders.

### The Reality of Security

Javits cited two "major deficiencies":  
On geography—Israel's 1957 experience contradicted Rogers' assertion that

## Geography vs. Philosophy

geography is ordinarily not important "in modern day world situations. Israel accepted promises backed by the United States in lieu of geography and found herself frustrated, the promises broken, under siege from guerrillas and ultimately at war because of occupation by the UAR of precisely the very geography surrendered in 1957 at our behest."

Now, he continued, Israel is seeking "the reality, not the illusion, of security."

On Big Four peacekeeping—Javits said Israel would not want to invoke a guarantee which might activate U.S. or Soviet troops on her borders. He feared that Israel "could easily become a ward or a scapegoat" if she became "the theater of confrontation" between the forces of two superpowers.

He warned against "rushing ahead too fast, without thinking through all the implications." Israel needs "physical assurances. . . . The guarantees of peace on mere good faith . . . are no substitute for arrangements on the ground," he said.

Javits also pointed out that the strategic situation had changed as a result of Russian involvement—"to the disadvantage of Israel's security . . . and to the disadvantage of American security, including potential jeopardy to our fleet in the Mediterranean."

At that point, Sen. George D. Aiken (R-Vt.) asked Javits if he would favor committing U.S. troops to support Israel if hostilities resumed and Russian troops came to Egypt's aid.

Javits: "The question becomes a matter of the security and the interest of this country. . . . I do not believe we can lay down any such prescription in advance. I believe that if we tried to do that it would only make more difficult the settlement of the conflict and commit the United States to a job to which it should not be committed." He said Israel had shown she could defend herself.

Aiken: "I simply want to ask again . . . if it appeared that Israel would be defeated in a military conflict would the security of the United States be jeopardized? Would Western Europe be interested at all or would they look solely to the United States for balancing the military strength against that of the Arabs and their Russian allies?"

Jackson was sure that it was "the view of the Senate that involvement

of the Soviet Union in the Middle East does affect the vital national security interests of the United States and NATO." He continued: "If we are equivocal, the Russians are going to be tempted to intimidate politically and to make military moves directly against Israel."

### Fulbright Defends Rogers

Fulbright praised Rogers for his proposal "to reach a negotiated settlement" rather than to rely on "geography" and "the force of arms."

He claimed that there had been no progress on negotiations because Israel believed that the United States and the Senate would back her "no matter what position" she took. He said that was "unfortunate" because he did not see "any possibility of negotiation" as long as Israel believed we were "completely at its disposal."

Fulbright cited "an honest difference of opinion" on Israel's interests. "Is it force of arms, backed by the United States, or is it a negotiated diplomatic settlement?" he asked. He believed the second alternative was "the only hope over the long term."

He did not think Israel "should take the United States so much for granted." Although Congress had demonstrated its support of Israel in the past, Israel would risk losing that support if she gave the impression that she was "determined not to negotiate," Fulbright warned.

He asked Javits "to give the Administration and the Secretary of State credit for an honest desire to bring about a settlement" in Israel's interest.

Fulbright and Javits clashed over the meaning of the November 1967 resolution and Rogers' proposals on withdrawal.

Fulbright: "Do I understand that the Senator is, in effect, saying that the agreement which I believe Israel accepted, on withdrawal to the 1967 line, is no longer acceptable to the Israelis or to the Senator from New York?"

Javits replied that the resolution did not call for unconditional withdrawal—that "the part relating to withdrawal leaned on secured and recognized boundaries; the part bearing on secured and recognized boundaries leaned on withdrawal. Neither could stand alone." Israel, he said, maintains that she can-

not withdraw until the boundary question is settled.

Nevertheless, Fulbright insisted, withdrawal was "the essence" of the 1967 resolution "regardless of the technical details."

Because a climate for withdrawal had been created, Javits pointed out, "perhaps even unintentionally and unwittingly," it was now a "sine qua non" that Israel had to get out, then we could go on to negotiate."

Fulbright objected that this was not the Administration's position. The United States was not proposing that Israel withdraw "physically" from every inch of territory. It was proposing that Israel accept the "principle" of withdrawal from occupied territories except for "insubstantial changes."

Javits did not like the use of the word "insubstantial." The question of "absolute assurance of transit through the Suez, command of Sharm el-Sheikh, the demilitarization question—these are subjects for intense negotiation," he said. He concluded that interpretation of the UN resolution should be left to the parties.

### 99-Year Lease?

Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott said he had not heard any criticism from Eban of the Secretary of State nor any complaint that the United States was exerting any undue pressure.

Scott said that progress toward negotiations had been made, much of it "due to the skill of the Secretary of State," and he would be "the last one who would want to see his effectiveness undercut in any way." Nevertheless, he went on to say, the United States should not force or in "any way intend to force any particular formula or compromise settlement."

As a compromise, Scott proposed that Israel lease Sharm el-Sheikh for 99 years. That would still recognize Egypt's sovereignty.

### The Untouchable Title

Egypt's intentions were questioned by Sen. Abraham A. Ribicoff (D-Conn.). Egypt's UN representative had refused to accept Israel's Feb. 26 proposals from Ambassador Jarring because the communication was headed "from the Government of Israel . . ."

It was only after Jarring had removed the offending title that the Egyptian official would touch the document.

Ribicoff said the episode was revealing "about the desire of the Egyptian leadership for peace and their good faith."

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) feared that the United States would become "a party" to the Soviet policy which would deny Israel secure and recognized boundaries. "What Israel is asking for today is in our national interest," he added.

Humphrey said President Nixon "has kept the options open" but that "for some reason the State Department gets befuddled and confused on this issue." He urged the President "not to permit other officers of Government to bind his hands: The President can use the force . . . and prestige of his office . . . to encourage negotiations, and that is what is needed."



### The Press Is Skeptical

In his column appropriately titled "Israelis Aren't Blocking Talks," Roscoe Drummond contrasted Israel's willingness to enter into negotiations on every issue without preconditions with Egypt's insistence on acceptance of her demand for total withdrawal as a precondition for the negotiations to proceed.

Drummond cited "past experience" and the present Soviet identification with Egypt as "reasons enough why Israel must put the negotiations of 'secure and defensible borders' ahead of outside military guarantees of its national survival."

It is "reasonable" and "realistic" for Israel to doubt the longevity of "such outside guarantees." For, he noted, "Israel plans to be a nation for quite some time."

The *Baltimore Sun* found in the Israel position articulated by Foreign Minister Abba Eban last week "an attitude inherently valid, firmly maintained" and "a hope for the future."

The *Sun's* Mar. 23 editorial explained that "the policy is simply survival, and

survival in peace. To survive as a nation Israel believes that the fundamental decisions, for example the decision about withdrawal under present circumstances, must be its own."

A recent Herblock cartoon depicts a scene with Secretary Rogers assuring Israel that "Goodness, we're not trying to lean on you—we want you to work out your own way of accepting our terms" as he literally leans on an adamantly unreceptive Golda Meir to obtain her signature on the "Rogers Foggy Bottom Plan"—"Negotiations To Give Egypt Everything It Wants."

A Soviet official and an Egyptian grin in the background as they watch from their missile sites.

In an editorial on Mar. 22, the Durham (N.C.) Morning Herald stressed that "geography and history support Mrs. Meir's position that Israel must have Sharm el-Sheikh and access to it, the Golan Heights, and a Jordan River which the Arabs cannot cross."

The editorial reasoned that "while the desire for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East is commendable, there will be no true peace if key Israeli territory is left exposed to Arab attack as it was under the original borders. . . . The fact that they were drawn indiscriminately, without regard to the realities of security, has been in part responsible for the continuing tension and strife characteristic of the relations between the Israelis and their neighbors."

The Herald termed Administration pressures on Israel "regrettable."

Observing that U.S. pressures on Israel are "obvious" and "considerable," the Greensboro Daily News declared that "the United States ought to make a very searching evaluation indeed of the 'great power' approach before inducing Israel to put herself, once again, at a military disadvantage in the face of Arab numbers. . . . We are reluctant indeed to see Israel bullied, against her better judgment, to take a course she has found so unsatisfactory twice before."

The Mar. 23 editorial asked: "How often must Israel be burned to fear the fire?"

The Washington Post on Mar. 25 cautioned against "guaranteeing an intrinsically unstable situation" which would be created by "a 'settlement' imposed by the great powers rather than negotiated by the local parties."

The Post pointed out that "not without reason," Egypt has "evidently concluded that the United States is so intent on quickly tying up a Mideast package with a Big Two ribbon that

Egypt does not have to negotiate a settlement, it need merely sit tight while Washington imposes the so-called Rogers plan on Israel."

Such a settlement "would be a great mistake," the Post warned, because it "is bound to be second-rate: it would not involve a real commitment by either Egypt or Israel."

The Post further asserted that "it would be an error to permit the Big Two's interest in a peacekeeping project to interfere in the parties' necessary quest for a mutually acceptable settlement" and that "it would also be an error to try to establish the project before it had been thought out and before it had gained the acceptance of those for whose ostensible benefit it was being designed."

According to the Washington paper, "if Americans are to provide a Mideast guarantee, it should be a guarantee of a territorial situation already rendered as secure as possible on its own. The way to do this is for Egypt and Israel to determine, by mutual accommodation, what the situation to be guaranteed is. To open to Egypt a route by which it can avoid negotiation—even if this is done in the name of friendship for Israel—is to close the door to the possibility of a more secure peace. Negotiations are the horse; guarantees are the cart: this order is fundamental to any sound concept of guarantees."

Israel Minister of Transport and Communications Shimon Peres, on Mar. 17, entered the debate on the relative importance of guarantees and territorial changes: "As a Jew I may say that our history is richer in guarantees than territory. If we are a promised land, we had more promises than land."

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# Fulbright's Complaint

Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) mounted a major attack on Israel's position in a speech at Yale University last Sunday. Fulbright charged that Israel is trying to manipulate the United States by dreaming up the threat of Soviet expansionism in the Middle East and arguing that it is in America's national interest to help her block it.

The Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations said:

"Recent visitors to the Middle East assure me that the Israelis are quite sincere in their fears of being 'thrown into the sea' and in their conception of the Soviet Union as an insatiable imperialist power, bent, presumably, upon the conquest and communization of the Middle East.

"Nonetheless, I perceive in this some of the same old Communist-baiting humbuggery that certain other small countries have used to manipulate the United States for their own purposes. When it comes to anti-communism, as we have noted in Vietnam and elsewhere, the United States is highly susceptible, rather like a drug addict, and the world is full of ideological 'pushers.'

"It is a fine thing to respect a small country's independence and to abstain from interference in its internal affairs. It is quite another matter when, in the name of these worthy principles—but really because of our continuing obsession with communism—we permit client states like Israel and South Vietnam to manipulate American policy toward purposes contrary to our interests, and probably to theirs as well."

## Distortions and Inconsistencies

There are many distortions and inconsistencies in Fulbright's position.

On the one hand, Fulbright speaks contemptuously of "client states," among which he counts Israel. He is worried lest Israel involve us in her defense. But Israel's determination to defend herself irks Fulbright. For he per-versely turns around and derides what he calls Israel's policy of "antiquated—and to a great degree delusional—self-reliance."

No analogy can be drawn between Viet Nam and Israel. Israel is not a client state of the United States. Israel does not want Great Power intervention in the Middle East. Indeed, Israel is urging that the Great Powers get out of the Middle East.

Fulbright argues that Israel has been heavily dependent on the United States for arms and economic assistance.

Here again there is no analogy between Viet Nam and Israel, for, if we have poured our soldiers and billions of dollars of materiel into Viet Nam, we have *not granted* Israel any military aid. We have *sold* her weapons and our economic assistance has consisted, to a large extent, of loans rather than grants.

Israel has not been appealing for American soldiers. She does not invoke the U.S.-Soviet cold war. Israel is not, and does not claim to be, in the forefront of the so-called free world struggle against so-called international communism. What Israel is up against is raw Soviet power—not simple Soviet ideology.

Fulbright equates Soviet and American policy and makes it appear that the United States is as culpable as the Soviet Union in the Middle East. Thus, he airily dismisses Soviet presence there as "the sailing of warships around the Mediterranean."

But he does not mention the grim threat which alarms Israel. That is the massive concentration of sophisticated Soviet weapons—planes, missiles and tanks, as well as Soviet soldiers and technicians—on her doorstep. Israel is a target. She has had to face Soviet pilots in actual combat.

Fulbright overlooks the fact that every escalation in the Arab-Israel arms race has begun with the Soviet Union, while the United States has often withheld arms from Israel in the never-ending hope that there might be some indication of Soviet restraint—which never came.

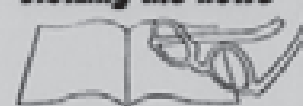
Even as Fulbright spoke, there were reports from Beirut that for the last three weeks there have been new shipments of Soviet missiles and radar-

# NEAR EAST report

## Washington letter on American policy in the Near East

Vol. XV, No. 14, Apr. 7, 1971

### Viewing the news



### Fighting in Jordan Continues

Palestinians and Jordanian army troops are shooting again, with threats of intervention from Arab capitals.

Fighting broke out on Mar. 26 in Irbid and has spread to much of the country, including Amman. The Palestinians blew up a branch pipeline of Jordan's only refinery at Zerqa and planted mines on roads leading to the Jordan Valley.

Egypt has declared support for the Palestinians and called for a meeting of Arab states. The Palestinians want pan-Arab sanctions against Jordan.

### Egypt's One Upmanship

Egypt demands that Israel pay a high price for reopening the Suez Canal which Egypt had closed and the use of which is to Egypt's advantage, Premier Golda Meir charged in a speech Sunday. Israel's counter-proposal will be drafted by a special ministerial committee.

Egypt's seven-point plan calls not only for Israel's withdrawal from the eastern bank of the Canal but for her replacement by Egyptian troops. The withdrawal would be "an organic part" of Israel's total withdrawal, Cairo declared in a story distributed by the state's Middle East News Agency. In exchange, the plan permits "all nations" to use the Canal. (Israel is not mentioned by name.)

Israel's main concern is the maintenance of an effective defensive line in case of a partial withdrawal and adequate surveillance to ensure against a repetition of a 1970-type illegal military buildup on territories Israel might vacate.

American diplomats, who have been mediating between Cairo and Jerusalem on the Suez, argue that any initiative to reopen the Canal is helpful because there should be some agreement on some issue, and the Suez seems like the least controversial and emotional of all the issues.



directed cannons—an airlift designed to establish a missile system covering the entire Nile Valley.

Instead of proposing Soviet withdrawal, Fulbright is insisting that Israel withdraw as the Russians and Egyptians demand and that we participate with the Soviet Union in "peacekeeping" arrangements.

### Misplaced Faith

Fulbright's faith in the Soviet Union has no historical basis. Fulbright probably will recall that on May 24, 1967, on the eve of the six-day war, he rose in the Senate to urge that we turn to the UN and to the Russians, in particular, to avert a conflict.

During the course of that 1967 speech, he spoke wisely of the potential role of the Soviet Union:

"Among the members of the United Nations, none has a greater opportunity to exercise leadership in the current crisis than the Soviet Union. Alone among the great powers, the Soviet Union has great influence with the Arab countries. . . . It would seem to be a singular opportunity for the Soviet Union, working within the framework of the United Nations, to take a position of leadership in support of peace. . . ."

But the Soviet Union did not live up to Fulbright's high expectations, for it was the leading actor in a farcical debate in the Security Council. And in the Middle East itself, it egged Egypt on to a fateful mobilization which led to war and defeat.

And now Fulbright is ready to let the Soviet Union and Egypt dictate the terms of the settlement.

### Demands Israel's Withdrawal

Fulbright said that "the Soviet position now is that Israel should return to the borders of 1967; that is substantially our position as well, and it is consistent with the Security Council resolution of November 1967. . . ."

The Department of State has repeatedly denied that this was the intent of the 1967 resolutions. It is unfortunate that Fulbright interprets that resolution and the American position precisely the way the Russians have been trying to interpret it.

### Yost Concurs

Fulbright can draw support from an article in the current issue of *Life* magazine, in which the former head of the U.S. delegation, Charles Yost, writes:

"There is an argument as to whether the UN Security Council resolution of Nov. 22, 1967 called for Israeli withdrawal from *all* occupied territories or only from some occupied territories to 'secure and recognized boundaries' to be negotiated between the parties." And then he goes on to say:

"Which interpretation one chooses is immaterial."

In other words, what the United Nations had to say about the frontiers—so important to Israel's struggle for defensible lines—becomes completely "immaterial" if the Great Powers agree to impose their own map.

No wonder the Russians and the Egyptians are able to take a rigid and inflexible line. If the diplomat who was supposed to represent the United States all these weary months is now ready to declare that the language of a major UN resolution does not really matter, how can anyone place any reliance on UN resolutions, and how can anyone depend on the United States to continue firmly to support them?

This is exceedingly relevant to the major issue today. There is now, as in 1957, great pressure on Israel to rely on UN forces and UN guarantees. The vagueness of UN resolutions and resolutions back in 1957 enabled Nasser to ride roughshod over UNEF ten years later.

If UN resolutions can be misinterpreted, mistranslated and misrepresented with such utter diplomatic abandon to suit the panic of the moment, who can be expected to depend upon them?

### But Others Disagree

It is true that many of Israel's supporters believe that Israel's role in the Middle East does thwart Soviet expansionism. And it is also true that many of the critics of U.S. policy in Viet Nam do not share Fulbright's view that America can be complacent about the Soviet thrust in the Middle East.

Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau writes in the April 1971 issue of *Foreign Affairs* that "we have been hypnotized by the ideological aspects of the Indochina war. . . . We have been too busy with trying to save Indochina from communism to pay much attention to what the USSR was doing in the rest of the world and to compete with it or oppose it as our interests require."

The eminent political scientist and

historian points out that Soviet expansionism is an important basis for the "uncertainty" of the future of Soviet-American relations.

Ideological pretensions are unimportant in the constant pattern of expansionism: "Russia has moved into the spaces left by the liquidation of the British and French Empires, thereby bringing close to consummation the Tsarist aspirations which during the better part of the nineteenth century had pitted Russia against Great Britain over the 'Eastern Question.'"

It is the Middle East, he writes, "which appears the most obvious point at which the interests . . . of the United States and the Soviet Union appear to collide."

Testifying before the Senate Subcommittee on National and International Operations, Prof. Bernard Lewis of London University argued that Soviet decisions are made in reaction to American policy. He elaborated on the theme that the Russians move when the United States retreats or is immobile.

He recalled the missile crisis of 1970, when the Soviet Union and Egypt violated the cease-fire standstill agreement by putting missiles into the Suez zone.

He told the Committee that the Russian assumption that the United States was "no longer capable of pursuing any kind of foreign policy was reflected in the brazen and contemptuous violation of the standstill agreement . . . and received apparent confirmation in the agitated attempts by some Washington spokesmen to look the other way."

### One-Way Criticism

It is pertinent to note that during this period Fulbright's committee did not think it necessary to inquire into the circumstances of the Soviet violation. There was no indication from Fulbright at that time that he was at all concerned about the Soviet buildup.

Fulbright has reserved his criticism in his Middle East analyses for Israel. Perhaps if, on occasion, he had criticized Soviet-Egyptian policy there might have been greater flexibility in Moscow and Cairo. Perhaps he might have stimulated the Russians themselves to rethink their own position.

Fulbright would do well to consider the fact that there is considerable dissent in Eastern Europe over the escalating Soviet involvement in Egypt.

The argument that Russia has found her Viet Nam in Egypt has often been made and loyal Communists have decried the vast amounts of military aid given to Egypt as a misplacement of priorities.

Taking the Fulbright speech and the Yost article together, we must conclude that there is a campaign to stampede the Israelis into a now-or-never peace-at-any-price surrender to the Soviet-Egyptian ultimatum.

#### Sanctions

Indeed, there was a threat of sanctions in the Fulbright speech:

"I would not shrink from applying certain sanctions as a last resort for the preservation of peace. . . . It makes no sense at all for us to shrink in horror at the very notion of an imposed solution, not only because we are legally bound by the Charter to accept certain kinds of 'imposed' solutions, but because the absolute sovereignty of nations is an outmoded principle. . . ."

[Ed. note: Especially for little "clients."]

Israel has always maintained that if she can have the weapons she needs she will be able to handle the Arab threat by herself, and for 23 years she has done just that.

But Israel cannot be expected to handle the Soviet Union alone. Only a firm stand by the United States can neutralize the Soviet threat.

#### For Whom the Bell Tolls

We cannot retreat to the isolationist belief that the United States need be concerned about nothing beyond its shores; that Soviet expansion over large chunks of the Third World and the seas and skies around it does not really pose any threat to the independence and survival of other peoples.

#### Muskie on Israel's Security

Israel has "very real security problems which cannot be solved wholly by guarantees whether two power or four power," Edmund S. Muskie (D-Me.) told T.V. Interviewer David Frost on Mar. 31.

He disagreed with the view that Israel is at fault for the present diplomatic impasse. Muskie said that in three areas—the Golan Heights, Sharm el-Sheikh and Israel's narrow waist in the West Bank—"Israel has every right to be concerned about security and she is trying to pursue it the best she can in a tactical situation which is difficult." Muskie also suggested that Israel's "tactical moves" should not be "second-guessed from the sidelines."

## Analysis

Many boundary lines in Asia and Africa have been fixed by Great Powers in the service of their own imperialistic interests. Thus, it is an ironic circumstance that Egypt owes her ownership of the Sinai peninsula to the British.

And it is an ironic sequel that today Egypt wants the Great Powers to help her regain the Sinai which she has lost to Israel three times in the last 23 years.

The Sinai peninsula has been one of the most crossed, but least occupied, pieces of real estate on the earth. Bedouin, from time immemorial, roamed its rugged terrain and niggardly soil in search of food for their meager flocks of sheep, goats and camels.

There was little mineral wealth or oil to attract prospectors, but conveniently spaced wells and oases provided water and, over the centuries, enabled some 47 armies to traverse its rocky and sandy waste, either for invasion or defense.

At the beginning of the modern era, in 1517, the Turkish Sultan, Selim I, took the Sinai route to conquer Egypt, initiating more than 400 years of Turkish suzerainty. During this period an Egyptian Pasha appointed by the Sultan ruled Egypt and bits and pieces of Sinai, then known as Arabia Petrea. Napoleon threatened Turkish domination when he subdued Egypt and used the Sinai as a convenient highway to conquer the Levant. But the Turkish Janissary rallied and drove the French out of the desert—and all of Egypt—in 1800. The Sinai, once again, was the domain of the Sultan.

So it remained until the restless Pasha of Egypt, Mohammed Ali, burst out of the Nile Valley and, under the generalship of his son, Ibrahim, crossed the Sinai in 1831. Encouraged by victories in Palestine, Syria and Anatolia, he threatened Constantinople itself by the end of the decade.

However, concerned European powers, under the leadership of Great Britain, saved the "Sick Man of Europe" and forced Ibrahim back to the Nile, where the Sultan told Ali: "I grant unto thee the Government of Egypt within its ancient boundaries. . . ."

However, the Sultan permitted Egypt to administer the northwestern wedge of Sinai—not because it was within Egypt's "ancient boundaries" or be-

## How Egypt Won Sinai

cause of previous territorial claims, but in order to compensate Ali for relinquishing his administration of Crete. The proclamation established the Rafa to Suez border lines—the first defined frontiers between Egyptian-administered Sinai and Turkish Sinai. (See map.)

Completion of the Suez Canal in 1869 enhanced importance of the Sinai peninsula as a buffer to protect the east bank of the Canal, and the British, who had entered Egypt in force in 1882, maneuvered to enlarge it.

Deeply distrustful of British designs, the Turks tried to weaken and erode the Sinai buffer. But British *de facto* control of Egyptian affairs became irresistible and a new arrangement was forced on the Supreme Porte.

In 1892 a new frontier was drawn from the vicinity of Rafa to the head of the Gulf of Aqaba. And only then did the present Sinai frontier take shape.

In 1905-6 Abdul Hamid, the Turkish Sultan, made a determined attempt to regain the Sinai. But he failed and the 1892 arrangements were confirmed.

This line was not a border in its classical sense. Egypt was still part



Changing Sinai Frontiers

- Turco-Egyptian Frontier — 1840
- Turco-Egyptian Frontier — 1892
- Israeli-Egyptian Line — 1949
- ..... Israeli-Egyptian Line — 1967



of the Ottoman Empire. Thus the Rafa-Aqaba line merely separated the Ottoman area from the Anglo-Egyptian administered area. As Egyptian affairs were entirely decided by the imperial interests of Great Britain, Egypt had little say in all these border disputes. Thus, Egyptian jurisdiction over the Sinai today is a direct result of British colonial policy.

The complicated status of the Sinai during this period is illustrated by Theodore Herzl's negotiations to found a Jewish colony at El Arish, the "capital" of the Sinai, in 1902. Lord Cromer, the Vice-Regent of Egypt, and Egypt's Prime Minister hesitated because an earlier attempt in 1891-92 to form a colony near Aqaba had failed due to political complications with Turkey. However, Cromer sent out a small investigating commission to Sinai and assured Herzl that should its report be favorable, the Anglo-Egyptian government would offer liberal terms for Jewish colonization. The Egyptian government added the condition that any Jewish settlers must become Turkish citizens bound by Egyptian law.

The Commission encountered great difficulties. The Turks objected. The relationship between Herzl and Cromer cooled. The Commission reported that insufficient water supplies were available. The Egyptian government refused to divert Nile water to El Arish and, by mid-year 1903, it was apparent that the Sinai project had collapsed.

When World War I threatened in 1914, the British moved to strengthen the Sinai buffer between the hostile Turks and the Suez Canal. They announced that the "suzerainty of Turkey over Egypt was terminated" and that Egypt was their protectorate.

During the war, the Sinai became a battlefield. The Turks sent patrols into Sinai and harassed the British administrative center at Nakhl. In early 1915 the Turks attacked the Canal itself. They failed and the tide in the Sinai had turned.

At first, Arab forces offered some token aid to the British, but as Major C. S. Jarvis, Governor of Sinai from 1923 to 1936, wrote: "The Arabs suffered considerable loss (at Tur-1916) and this appeared to satisfy their martial ardor, as they took no further part in the war. . . ." The British carried on alone and, by January 1917, took Rafa.

The Sinai episode of World War I was over. British arms had secured the Sinai and their claims to it were, therefore, supported by the rights of

conquest. There was even some discussion of annexing Sinai, but when President Wilson was approached with the British idea he rejected it out of hand.

At the Lausanne Peace Conference in 1923, Turkey gave up all non-Turkish territories lost in the war. It renounced "all rights and titles over Egypt."

Thus, along with Egypt, Great Britain "inherited" the Sinai peninsula.

Anglo-Egyptian relations steadily worsened after World War I. Despite the termination of the Protectorate and granting of independence in 1922, Egyptian resentment of the British increased. The English finally agreed in 1936 to end their military occupation except in the immediate vicinity of the Canal.

The Egyptians then moved in, inheriting the British colonial border. But Egypt—now becoming expansionist—was unwilling to abide by this frontier.

Egypt invaded the new State of Israel in 1948, in defiance of the UN partition resolution. Egypt lost, and, as Israel forces crossed Sinai, nearing the Suez Canal, the British prepared to come to Egypt's assistance. Rather than accept the humiliation of support from the hated British, the Egyptians agreed to enter into an armistice agreement with the victorious Israelis. But they would not enter into a peace treaty which would have clearly defined the border.

A substitute for real peace, the General Armistice Agreement of February 1949, provided that the demarcation lines were "not to be construed in any sense as a political or territorial boundary."

In addition, the only function of the

armistice line was "to delineate the line beyond which the armed forces of the respective parties shall not move. . . ."

A fragile Sinai border had been drawn. But for the next seven years Egyptians launched acts of sabotage, pillage and murder across the Sinai frontier into Israel territory. This was one of the causes of the explosive Sinai War of 1956. Israel quickly subdued the whole peninsula—but under combined Soviet-American pressure—Israel was forced to retreat to the old Sinai frontier with Big Power guarantees which proved useless. The United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF)—that was deployed to guarantee a peaceful Egypt-Israel border failed. Egyptian armor and men amassed in the Sinai in the tense days of May 1967 — the largest army ever arrayed in that war-weary region. Israel's response in the six-day war annihilated the Egyptian military presence in the peninsula.

Now the peninsula stands as an area with the potential for war or peace. History has illustrated how the armies of ambitious men have used it to embark on their wars of conquest. The Turks and British used it as a vehicle for their imperial conquests. The Egyptians inherited it by compensation and default. By acts of belligerency she has shown contempt for this legacy.

The need for a secure and negotiated Sinai frontier remains, a frontier unencumbered by foreign interests and influence, directly negotiated by the two countries and supported by the goodwill of the world. Given that, this much disputed desert might some day be converted from a Corridor of War into a Highway of Peace.

—EDWARD FINGERHOOD



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