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Mosse: 'It has to be peace without annexation'

George Mosse is a professor of history at the University and an expert on National Socialism. He recently returned from a half-year teaching in Israel. The interview was conducted last week.

Would you say that your observations about the Middle East are formulated more as an historian or do you think the question of being a Jew enters in on your perspective of Israel?

Mosse: I think everything enters into it—one is a total person so I put all these factors into it, having been a refugee Jew, a professor. But I would say the limiting factors are that I see Israel, of course, largely from the campus of the Hebrew University or the University of Haifa, and that I very rarely come into contact, if at all, with what you might say "the man in the street."

What would you say were your most salient observations about both Israeli society and what's happening there right now?

Israeli society is in trouble. Israel is getting all the problems which highly industrialized nations have; that is to say, juvenile delinquency, petty crime, not large crime. And the tensions in the society are, I think, pretty high. There are slums, there are under-privileged—all the kinds of things with which we are familiar, but which are, let us say, not on the magnitude of our problems and which I think are still, and I emphasize still, soluble.

Your colleague, Maurice Zeitlin, in a similar interview has stated, "I consider that the Israeli side has been more correct historically than the position of the Arab governments." Will you speak to that?

Well, I wouldn't use the words right or wrong in this situation. A fact exists, and you have to go out from there. Of course, the right and wrong is a very difficult subject and, by no means, I should think a clear one. I think that in '48 probably that there was nothing else to do in the way the British withdrew which was the worst way possible, and a civil war was inevitable. So I suppose that, given the situation, which is a much better phrase, in my mind, than historically right or wrong—that given the situation, that was correct. The 1967

war—I have not read enough about it to make a judgement. Whether this was a correct or incorrect decision, it was certainly a decision fraught with consequences.

One of the major arguments from both the Arab Left and some elements of the American Left have been that, historically the liberation movement, specifically the Palestinian liberation movement, has not been anti-Semitic but anti-Israeli. Do you think the distinction is valid?

No, about that I am very dubious—about the validity of it. I think that, unfortunately, in many ways, it has been difficult to hold them apart. The only first hand experience I have of this is with the Left in France. And there is no doubt even by the slogans from the walls of the Sorbonne that anti-Zionism slides over into anti-Semitism. The slogans that you saw at the Sorbonne and their literature pass very easily from anti-Zionism to anti-Semitism. Now, there is a reason for that. Most Jews support Israel, so that you might almost say it is "a logical development."

What political developments do you look to in the way of a settlement? You've spoken somewhat about the potential for change within the Israeli society.

Well, on that I do have very definite opinions. I think that it has to be a peace without much annexation. I believe that in the twentieth century it is not feasible for one nation to annex populated areas of another nation. Nor do I approve of one nation putting colonies of itself into populated areas of another. I believe also,



PROF. GEORGE MOSSE

quite strongly, that such a peace has to take the security of Israel into consideration. After all, the experience of Israel has hardly been encouraging in this regard.

But I believe, as many people in Israel believe, that this security can be assured

without any annexation. Now, you must understand that Israeli public opinion is divided. You must understand the Israeli Cabinet is divided. When you read newspapers in America you always get the impression that this is a monolithic nation; they are all behind Dayan. But as a matter of fact, Dayan is in the Cabinet rather isolated. Unfortunately, from my point of view, he does play to a certain chauvinism in public opinion. But I'm not sure how strong it is. For the most hopeful factor in the whole situation is that in Israel itself chauvinism has not been on as high a level as you would expect. Now, in such a situation in any other nation there would be a great deal of chauvinism, without question. But this has not happened. There are reasons for that, and in this case, historical reasons partly in the history of Zionism, partly in the history of Jews in general. What I am afraid of in this regard is that the longer the status quo lasts, the more people like Dayan will be able to play on rising chauvinism. I also believe, in this regard, that occupation, long term occupation, such as Dayan forecasts, corrupts not only the occupants, but also the occupiers. There are many Israelis who have written about this and I think quite correctly that one of the great dangers facing Israel is, in fact, from the occupation, not by revolt, but by what you might call a kind of moral corrosion.

How do you view the relationship between the U.S. and Israel? That is, do you see it to its advantage to maintain the status quo?

It's not to the advantage of the United States to maintain the status quo because I doubt if a status quo of that nature can be maintained forever. But from the United States' point of view, the status quo there has many dangers in it. This is a very crucial part of the world, not like Vietnam, which is off the beaten track. We must not forget that the oil demands of Europe will rise by some 30 to 40 per cent in the next few years and that about 60 to 70 per cent of this demand will have to come from the Near East.

(continued on page 8)

AT ISSUE: THE MIDDLE EAST

The Middle East: for some the hear of the religious world, for others the heart of world political strife. In this issue, the Cardinal begins a preliminary investigation of some of the problems and opinions which have dominated world opinion on the strife between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

Palestinian: 'All the Arab states are reactionary'

Mr. X is a Palestinian studying in the United States. Because of his fear of losing his passport, he was unable to use his real name.

Cardinal: What are your basic aims in the Middle East?

Mr. X: The basic aim of the revolutionary movement in the Middle East is simply to establish a democratic state of Palestine where Moslems, Christians and Jews can live together as equal citizens. That's the way I envision peace in the Middle East. In the long run I envision The Middle East as one solid country that encompasses all of the Arab states and the state of Palestine including the Jewish people, who are living now in Palestine, in Israel or whatever you call it.

nationhood. I mean there is Lebanese nationhood even if there was no Lebanon. There was not a state called Jordan, there was not a state called Yemen in south Yemen where those people have developed the concept of nationalism as it is now greatly, however, there is something called Arabism which they all accept. So, while the area that was called Israel and that we now call Palestine was not defined as a Palestinian state, it was a region of the so-called Great Syria and the Ottoman Empire, where Palestinian people were living.

Do you think that the Arab governments are using Arab refugees as pawns to gain sympathy by not accepting them? Also, do you think that they should absorb the

states that have refugees are already crowded states. A country like Egypt that has six million acres and on it live 35 million people cannot absorb another two and a half million. They already have more than they can absorb, than they can afford. Syria is in a similar situation and so is Lebanon.

But the most important factor is that the Egyptian. They do not want to be called Syrian. They just want to be called Palestinian. And if a mistake is done it should not be corrected by another mistake.

Similarly from another point of view, there are Jewish people now in Palestine, three million of them. If we are to solve the problem we can't ask those people to go back to Germany, just ask them to live equally with the Palestinians. That is the only way.

I look at it in this way; Palestinians are Palestinians and their problems would be solved not by being absorbed into the Arab state; it should be through the return of the Palestinian people to their homeland, Palestine.

How do you view the American role in the Middle East?

America plays a big role in the Middle East, backing the state of Israel from the beginning. They continued supporting Israel militarily, financially and politically. Without the American support there would have been no state of Israel as it exists today. The success of the state of Israel can less be attributed to the Israeli people as to the role of the American government in the Middle East. Without the napalm and Phantoms and 900 million dollars a year that Israel gets from the United States, Israel would never have been that successful in taking the Palestinian Arabs and defeating the Arab states.

If you ask me whether the United States is doing right or wrong—Well the American foreign policy could hardly be right in any area in the world, so why should we hid in the Middle East. Here the United States is a country that gets 2.2 billion dollars of net income from the Arab states every year.

It's willing to sacrifice this interest, sacrifice the friendship of the Arab people, sacrifice the right of the Arab people for self-determination for the sake of a political gain that some individuals are going to get in elections or in achieving certain policies for the United States.

So I think the United States is doing wrong to its people and to the people of the Middle East by supporting the Israeli

aggression and by supporting the Israeli denial of the Palestinian people for the right of self-determination.

How do you feel about the Soviet role in the Middle East and do you think it was right for them to be kicked out?

I don't think the Soviet Union is as bad as the Americans in terms of interest in the Middle East. However, I don't think that the Soviet Union is supporting the Arabs for its own sake. In supporting the Arabs it is expecting certain interests to be achieved later on: basically, the United States and the West, an area that was historically dominated by the west.

Secondly, to deny the U.S. and the West an area that is economically exploited by the West. And thirdly, to achieve a certain success in establishing a block of states like Eastern Europe, for example.

However, the nature of the Middle East is completely against the Russian influence in the Middle East. Though Russia has never exploited the Middle East, everybody knows it has an interest in the Middle East for the time being. These people in the Middle East have just achieved their independence in Moslem countries but they're mostly ruled by dictators who do not accept that other powers can tell them what to do as exemplified most recently by the Russian exit from Egypt.

When the people start feeling that the Russians are telling them what to do, especially in the army, they didn't tolerate it. It's a matter of independence. They cherish their independence even if they are ruled by dictators. They would not have an outside power tell them what to do.

Do you think Israel can be eliminated in the way of a solution?

The problem of the Arab people, especially the Palestinian people, is in the existence of the fascist state of Israel and in Arab reaction itself if you see how much we suffer from the killing in the streets of our men.

Who do you consider reactionary?

I consider any government who is playing the game politically for its own interests is a reactionary government. So, if King Hussein would come tomorrow and negotiate with the state of Israel and sacrificing our rights of self-determination, his is reactionary. If president Sadat is going to accept Russia's plan then he is reactionary.

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JERASH REFUGE CAMP

A lot of people say that Palestine was never really a state and never had a real government and it was just a reaction to the Israeli state.

There is a difference between a state and a nation. There was always a nation called Palestine, a Palestinian nation. The Palestinian people were always indigenous people and they were always aware of their nationhood as part of the Arab nation. Now if you want to state that there was not a state called Palestine, similarly there was not a state called Lebanon, yet nobody could deny the existence of the Lebanese

refugees from Palestine?

To start with we have to discuss where the Arab refugees are. The Arab refugees are in Jordan, in Lebanon, in Syria and in Egypt. When Jordan accepted the refugees as Jordanian citizens, however, it is the Palestinian refugees who do not want to be called Jordanian. Because they are not Jordanian. They consider themselves Palestinian. Even under King Hussein at least at the theoretical level, at least at the constitutional level he gave them equal citizenship.

The other thing is that most of the Arab

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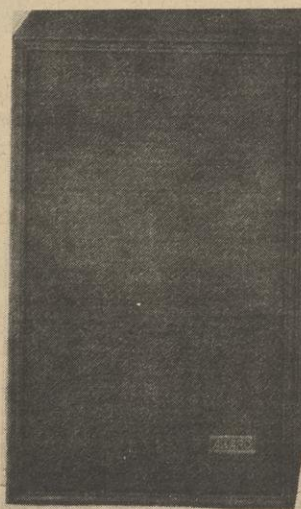
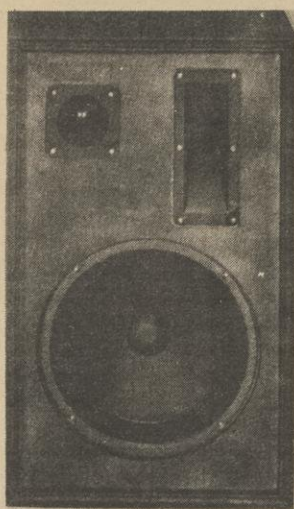
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Letter from a Palestinian

We must expropriate gently the private property on the states assigned to us. We will try to spirit the penniless population across the border countries, while denying it employment in our own country. The property owners will come over to our side. Both the process of expropriation and the removal of the poor must be carried out discreetly and circumspectly.

These are the words of Theodor Herzl, founder and architect of Zionism, scheming the expulsion of the Arab natives of Palestine, in order to create an exclusive and purely Jewish state in this land.

The above declaration is not a whim buried in history books. It is an existing fact named "Israel". This imposed political entity is privileged with peculiarities unprecedented since the dawn of history. Its murder and uprooting of the dominant Palestine Arabs is "war of independence". Its acquisition of more Arab land by aggression and the creation of more refugees is "war of liberation". She is an ideal democracy for the way she treats her second class Palestinian minority. Wanton destruction and arbitrary mass confiscation of individually owned Palestinian property is "progress". Surprising how a world that only recently condemned and doomed Nazism tolerates and condones Zionist crimes. Appalling how the many advocates of liberalism in the West, proclaiming the right of self-determination, ignore, even justify, the Zionist oppression in Palestine.

IN THE EYES of the Israelis and the West the Palestinians were surplus human beings, to be removed and dumped elsewhere to redress a wrong not they but Europe had done to the Jews. Western governments talked in oneway about the rights of the Jews and in another about those of the Arabs. They often said that Israel was here to stay; they never said that the Palestinian Arab nation was here to stay. They talked in language of high principles and threats about Israel's right to free navigation; they used a much milder language about the right of the Palestinian refugees to repatriate. Unwise statements by Arab spokesmen about pushing Israel into the sea were widely quoted and condemned; no one seemed to care that Israel had, in fact, thrown a whole people into the desert. From the very beginning, the Palestinians were the ones militated against. Yet this is precisely what ill-formed Zionist and pro-Israeli Western opinion rejects.

The self-complacent conscience of the West, including that of the Jew, must be shaken. One is blinded by one's own thoughts and aspirations and those of his people. One sees neither the sufferings caused to others, nor the defeat inflicted on truth and justice. It is easy to justify the most detestable of acts in order to preserve this cozy refuge. Like a befuddled mind, a lazy conscience creates monsters.

A Palestinian

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Zeitlin: 'Israel is indigenous...it will remain there'

Maurice Zeitlin is a professor of sociology at the University. He recently returned from a year in Israel. This is the second part of a two part interview with Prof. Zeitlin which was conducted by Cardinal reporter Jon Wolman. The first part appeared in an earlier Monday.

Cardinal: There has been talk about a possible peace settlement in Israel and also about the increase in terrorist tactics. We'd like you to talk a little about that.

What I think from my informant sources and from being around the country is that Israel and Jordan have, in fact, worked out a modus vivendi.

Whether it has been through secret couriers and meetings or not I have no idea, but it is quite clear that they have been more than inching toward an acceptance of the status quo which is very beneficial to both of them.

There was an article in the New York Review of Books some time back by a professor at the University of Jerusalem and what he does is describe that status quo. He says that the Israelis are not only inching toward it, but that's what they want more than anything else. Israelis aren't so much interested in a settlement as they are in maintaining the status quo, he says. And it's the thesis of his article, that the status quo is ultimately not good for Israel.

Yes, well that's obviously one of the great historical debates in and out of Israel.

Where Israelis stand is not all that clear. It's not that clear to a great extent because the level of national debate is not that great. On the level of parliament there is a governmental consensus about a good number of the security issues in the country but it's very difficult to understand that consensus unless one has lived in Israel, or unless one has visited it extensively. Because you find out when you travel around Israel you are in an occupied territory without noticing it.

Now that has two implications. One is, it shows you where the borders were before. For example, let's say there was a border on campus. We study here and we return to the near east side or west side, all right; but the east side is completely cut off to us by a wall and there are machine guns posted on that wall and there is sort of a 'no-man's land' between the state capital and Williamson St. And you can see everything that goes on over there, and the old city contains in it the graves of your ancestors, contains the temple you want to worship in, but you can't go there.

In the Middle East this was seized in a course of a war, at the very inception of Israel. Fact of the matter, just living in Jerusalem you are living on top of a border all the time, you heard the minarets in the morning and the evening, you saw the crowds milling and the throngs there, and you wondered what was going on in your Jerusalem. The fact that it happened to be occupied by a foreign power was of profound significance.

It wasn't that Arabs were in the east and you were in the west. It was that it was occupied by a foreign country which happened to wrench that piece of territory in the war—and you managed to hold on to the western part of Jerusalem in the war—because there was no legal right for the Jordanians to be there—any more than

there was a legal right for the Israelis to be there now.

In '48 the Jordanians took it by force and in '67 the Israelis took it by force. On both occasions, of course, it was a result of the war that was initiated by Arab governments. So the sense of where the borders are, is really something one doesn't quite get used to, no matter how much one expresses it, intellectually, unless one travels in that country.

So then an Israeli says to you "Look, I'm not prepared to return Jerusalem into the hands of an enemy government." He may be saying it for national reasons, he may be saying it for religious reasons, for spiritual reasons, for historical reasons.

But he's also very much saying "I do not want marching gun emplacements and artillery twenty feet away from where I'm walking in the market place. Again, I do not want Jewish graves destroyed again or used for paving stones. I want to be able to go pray if I want or to walk on the temple mount. I want to be able to go up to the university campus at Mount Scopus and not be sniped at. I want to live in the Jewish quarter if possible. I want to see the homes that my father rebuilt." To a great extent those sentiments are the same ones expressed by ardent Palestinian nationalists as well.

I think it's interesting the way you are approaching that, because first of all you say that the Six-day War as well as the '48 war was initiated by the Arabs...

Not the Arabs. I said certain Arab governments.

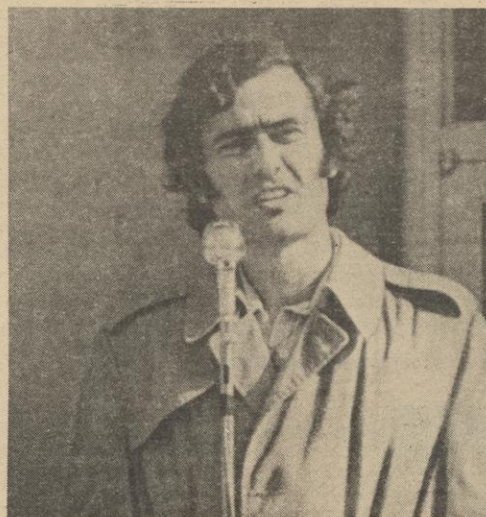
Certain Arab governments. Yes but, De Gaulle's memoirs say that it was initiated by the Israelis (the Six-day War) and that they had prepared for it for some time and they may or may not have waited for the Arabs to initiate some sort of activity. But that the people the Israelis had to deal with in order to prepare, such as the French Government, all knew what was coming, they all knew Israel was ready to attack.

Well, it's no secret that Israel was prepared to attack and everybody was trying to restrain her. She was prepared to attack an enemy that was particularly ready to attack her. There's no question about that.

The question is "who was massing troops on whose border, who was infiltrating and who was responsible for terrorism, destruction, murdering and maiming, and for shutting off the Gulf of Aquaba and the Straits of Teheran, and refusing Israel shipping in her own ports and artillery from the heights of Golan into peaceful unarmed settlements?"

When you look at it in those terms it is unquestionable. But it would be silly and naive to assume that Israel isn't constantly on the alert and that it wasn't more so on the alert and prepared to take preventative action which it finally did. I suppose you could argue that it initiated the war, if by that you mean they were the first ones to officially cross the border in the war. That's true, because, what the Arab governments constantly do, of course, is they never do anything. They're not doing it. It just happens to be infiltrators.

Arab guerillas, they're not doing anything despite the fact that their artillery and bombs happen to land in an Israeli kibbutz and to kill an Israeli child; they're



PROF. MAURICE ZEITLIN

not doing anything. They're not crossing the border. What's happened is that the world has become inured to Israel living under the gun like that.

Until 1967 it was not a headline, it didn't rate a two-inch story in any American newspaper if a kid was killed in Israel. If a bus exploded with 40 American tourists on it, then it was news, but the constant and perpetual persistent danger under which Israel lived, or not Israel so much as Israelis, wasn't reported in the press.

Now, I have three children and I went to Israel with a relatively open mind, although I have always felt that generally and historically the Israeli-Arab conflict is as one-sided as most radicals think it is. And essentially I believe that the Israeli side has been more correct historically than the position of the Arab government.

But I went there, nevertheless, with an open mind and I certainly considered that the center in Israel and my views about Israel would be considered far left and unpopular. But I have three kids in school. Now, one of the Israeli children had to tell my children—because and each year the teachers don't go through the same things, that they should not pick up anything shiny in the streets, they should pick up no package no matter how pretty it looks. They should pick up no object, no toy, no piece of paper, no coin, no money, no doll because it could be a mine, it could be a bomb. Now, that's not something that's planted in the population by a government maintaining a repressive position vis a vis its population. It's something that's come out of the bone and marrow and experience of the typical Israeli.

The people who live in the kibbutz, live in shelters just like the North Vietnamese do, at any moment prepared to go into an underground concrete bunker. Children have lived for weeks at a time, certainly during the Six-day War, in bunkers, constantly going in and out of them. And a child grows up knowing he has to be careful not to pick up something which is shiny and pretty because he might get blown up. Those kinds of things have happened, although not in the recent past.

If you live in that kind of a situation and

then there is an acceleration of these kinds of activities, of infiltrations, of border crossings, terrorist activities, an increase of shelling across the border, a massing of troops, a closing down of the straits to your shipping, then the governments of the United Nations, of the great United States, the Soviet Union and other such superpowers may choose in the case of Israel to disregard that. That's not the initiation of a war.

Of course, if that would happen with them, there would be instant and immediate retaliation. But when it happens to Israel, everybody's become accustomed to it. So there are eight Arab countries that are constantly endangering the lives of Israelis and infiltrating its borders and doing all kinds of outrageous acts. But we've gotten used to it. So when Israel responds, and responds massively and fortunately victoriously, she's an aggressor. It's only under those conditions that one can even begin to understand it.

Let me just finish with the same point because I'm talking about borders and security simultaneously. Trying to give you the understanding of how an Israeli, whatever his politics, looks at the situation. Then perhaps he can begin to look toward what can be done to eliminate this situation, which is the same as far as I'm concerned.

* You drive from Jerusalem to Haifa now, it takes about two hours, two and a half hours, depending on what kind of a driver you are. Israeli drivers will probably do it quicker than that. They're probably the craziest drivers in the world. Why? Because you can take a bead of highway, a ribbon that stretches straight as an arrow from the Dead Sea right up to Haifa. It goes through the so-called occupied territory.

Before the Six-day War and before the road was built, and it was a long time before they decided that "what the hell we're here we ought to put up a road," before that, it used to take four or five hours because you had to go from Jerusalem all the way up the coast to Tel Aviv, all the way up to Haifa. You realize this, and what the occupied territory really is—it's smack in the middle of the territory of Israel. And all of this population of the west bank, which was a Palestinian population became Jordanian subjects; not citizens, by virtue of the fact that out here is the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and they took that in 1948.

Jerusalem was always supposed to be open and under the jurisdiction of the United Nations, and of the new Israeli and the Palestinian government. Jordan had nothing legally or historically to do with that area. The areas the Israelis now occupy were areas where the Syrian forces constantly were massed and had artillery emplacements and would shoot down into the kibbutzim, throw missiles and mortars etc. A couple people a month would be wounded or killed. That's not a massive war and nobody noticed it, but that doesn't happen anymore.

(continued on page 5)

The Middle East Countries

	Government	Area in Sq. Mi.	Population	Military Strength 1970-71	Capital	Religions	Compulsory Education	Official Language	Heads of State
EGYPT	Democratic Socialist State by constitution	386,198	1969 UN estimate 32,501,000	288,000 men	Cairo	Moslem (92%) Coptic Christians (7%)	age 6-12	Arabic	Pres: Anwar Sadat Prime Minister: Dr. Mahmoud Fauzi
IRAQ	Independent Sovereign Republic	173,259	1970 UN estimate 9,440,000	77,500 men	Baghdad	(1957 Census) Moslem (65%) Christians (200,000) Jews (4,900)	Primary and secondary education free and compulsory	Arabic	President: Maj. Gen. Ahmed Hassan Bakr
ISRAEL	Independent Sovereign Republic	7,993	1971 2,999,000	Regular: 75,000 With Reserves: 300,000	Jerusalem	Jews (85%) Moslems (326,000) Christians (76,000) Druze (36,000)	age 5-16	Hebrew and Arabic	President: Zalman Shazar Prime Minister: Golda Meir
JORDAN	Constitutional Monarchy	37,730	1970 UN estimate 2,300,000	60,000	Amman	Arab Moslems in majority Christians (250,000) Moslem Circassians (10,000)	none	Arabic	King Hussein
LEBANON		4,015	1970 UN estimate 2,790,000	17,000	Beirut	Christians (50%) Moslems (20%) Druze (88,000) Jews (6,600)	none	Arabic	President: Soliman Frangie Prime Minister: Saeb Salam
SYRIA	Republic	72,234	1970 UN estimate 6,100,000	85,000	Damascus	(1954 Census) Moslems (55%) Christians (490,000) Jews (32,000) Druze (120,000)	none	Arabic	President: Lieut. Gen. Hafez al Assad

Source: 1971/72 Statesman's Yearbook/1972 World Almanac.

Arab, Israeli activities on campus attract little notice

By STEVEN TUCKEY

The Arab-Israeli conflict has generated relatively minor political activity on campus with only a handful of Jewish and Arab students working to heighten consciousness here of the dangerous situation that presently exists in the cradle of civilization.

These Jewish and Arab groups have for the most part remained fairly invisible. Their panel discussions, movies and other

activities have garnered little attention on campus.

"To get a response from the American public you have to go into fiery subjects," said Qais Fattah of the Arab Student Associations (ASA). "If you talk about the Munich incident, then you get a response, but if you talk about the Israeli occupation of Palestine for the past 25 years, then people don't care."

Fattah's point is well borne out

by recent events, as the only political activity regarding the Middle East was the rally last September organized by Jewish students to protest the slayings of 11 Israeli athletes in Munich.

"The Jews have their views well-represented on campus and the rest don't seem to care," said Sahir Sudad of the Organization of Arab Students (OAS). One of the prime functions of the OAS, according to its charter, is "to help support the Arab people's struggle for freedom and justice everywhere, but especially in Palestine."

The two organizations up until a few years ago were united, but a split occurred which members in neither group were willing to discuss.

Although the two groups might differ somewhat ideologically, with the OAS reportedly taking a much more leftist doctrinaire approach to the Middle East conflict, they nonetheless share the same basic aim, which is to give the Arab point of view a fair shake on campus.

"The campus is part of the American community and thus what they hear and see is usually within the context of the American point of view," said Fattah.

Regarding Israel's place in the Middle East, Sudad expressed general sentiments of Arabs on campus. "As an ideology it must go," he said. "It is a racist state and has no place in the Middle East." Fattah and Sudad also expressed the hope that one day Arabs, Jews and Christians could live in a Palestinian state without one group dominating.

Among the Jewish groups on campus only one claims to be Zionist. The group is called Hanagshim which in Hebrew means Fulfillers. Its primary function is to provide a center for those interested in emigrating to Israel or developing a similar life style here on campus.

The group operates out of Kibbutz Langdon, a living co-op formed in the fall of 1971. According to one of its founders, Lenny Marcus, the house represents a "microcosm of Israel." Here Jewish and non-Jewish students alike try to develop a Jewish community.

Marcus gave his definition of Zionism 25 years after the creation of the Jewish state. "There is a dilemma among Zionists of what role Israel should play. The Jewish state is not just

the government and the ground but what you want developed," he said.

"I feel a Zionist is someone who is working toward that end of finding a role for Israel," he continued. "My being in America is in no way separated from my working for the state."

Both Marcus and Sudad strongly reflect the biases of their compatriots in the Mideast as evidenced by the following remarks:

On Munich:

"Munich was a tragedy. I hate the fact that we must now become murderers," said Marcus. "It seems absurd to me that anything like that should happen."

"I cannot react to a single incident," said Sudad. "My feelings go all the way back to 1947 when the Palestinians were kicked out of their land. The struggle will go on."

On the state of Palestine:

"The Palestinians state

"The Palestinian state is merely a reaction to the Jewish state. They had no government," said Marcus.

"We are not talking about government or who is controlling the land," said Sudad. "It is like you being in Madison and I tell you to get out."

On the Arab refugees:

"You must realize that the refugees are good for the Arabs to gain sympathy," said Marcus. "For 25 years these people have been used as pawns."

"These people were kicked off their land without compensation and forced to live in squalor," said Sudad. "A solution must be found."

On relations with each other on campus:

"The contact I've had with Arabs on campus has been friendly," said Marcus. "I don't think we were born enemies."

"Our meetings are open," said Sudad.

The low level of political activity regarding the Middle East can be attributed primarily to the fact that in recent years the United States has kept a relatively low profile in stark contrast to its policies pursued in Southeast Asia.

American policy makers have always had to contend with on the one hand, the large and politically influential Jewish bloc of voters, and on the other, a powerful oil lobby who looked to the Arab states as a vital future source of

wealth in light of this country's rapidly depleting reserves.

The end result has been a policy of limited military aid to Israel to insure her arms superiority while at the same time maintaining a sufficiently detached position to at times maintain relations with the Arab states.

Another reason that the Middle East involvement of the United States has not stirred much controversy on campus is that Israel has fought and won three wars without the aid of any large-scale American intervention. Thus a leftist candidate with a wide anti-war campus constituency, such as George McGovern, feels safe to lambast American intervention in Indochina, while at the same time pledge troops to Israel should it ever be threatened, because he realizes at the present time this situation is unlikely to arise.

Also the withdrawal of Soviet armaments and personnel from Egypt this summer has taken the conflict somewhat out of its larger Cold War nuclear context and placed it in a more natural setting—a clash of religion and culture going back to 70 AD when the Jewish people were forced to leave the Holy Land to disperse all over the world.

What these mean in terms of a settlement is hard to say but it has definitely made the conflict more provincial and thus of greater concern to those with direct ties to the area.

Screen Gem

MOVIE OF THE DAY

Story of G.I. Joe (1945), with Robert Mitchum and Burgess Meredith, directed by William A. Wellman. Coming shortly after Ford's They Were Expendable, Story of G.I. Joe is one of the first and greatest of the movies to convey the brutal experience of World War II combat from the point of view of the ordinary foot slogging soldier. Wellman based his film on the vivid newspaper reports of Ernie Pyle, picked Mitchum for his first starring role and welded his scenes together with documentary footage of the campaigns in Africa and Italy. Focussing on the impact of the war on the faces and characters of the men who fought it, G.I. Joe is a gritty epic, at once comic and tragic. At 8 & 10 p.m. in the Green Lantern, 604 University Ave.

News Briefs

ISRAELI MAYOR

The mayor of Beersheba, Israel, Mr. Eliah Navi, will speak here on Oct. 30 on "Israeli-Arab Co-existence." Mr. Navi's talk, which will be open to the public, is sponsored by the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East, a national faculty organization which was founded in 1967 to promote a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Play Circle, 8 p.m. For further information call Prof. Herbert Lewis, 262-5956, or L.H. Landweber, 262-7971.

WHERE COFFEEHOUSE

The non-profit Where Coffeehouse, 723 State St., will feature drama students reading the works of Edgar Allen Poe at a Halloween special tonight from 8:30-12:00. Coffee, cookies and hot cider will be served.

WSA CALENDARS

WSA calendars are being prepared for second semester. Schedule of events by groups of individuals should be submitted at the WSA office by Tues., Oct. 31.



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Zeitlin: 'Israel will remain there'

(continued from page 3)

The position of even the most extreme Israelis is to keep only the most strategic areas that are unquestionably needed to protect Israel and they are talking about holding onto an area of the desert in the Sinai. Those are the extremes. The government of Israel has not stated its position at all. The Israeli government, as one is led to understand from various communiques and from talking to people privately and from the tone and so forth, will never give up Jerusalem, will never give up the Golan Heights. This seems to be as strong a position as they will take on that.

They're not going to give up any access to the Gulf of Aquaba. But dealing with the Sinai and possible demilitarization of that area are virtually unshakeable terms on the part of the Israelis. It seems to be the general consensus within Israel to return part of the West Bank to Jordan even though Jordan has never had any legal right to it.

Therefore, it would be unjust from a historical and legal point of view as the Jordanians only dominion over that Hashamite Kingdom came during the 1948 war when they took it. And no other Arab government ever agreed that Jordan should have that territory.

The question of what would be just would be to turn this into a self-governed independent Arab state, which would mean a Palestinian Arab state. The majority of the population would be indigenous Palestinian Arabs who lived there and whose parents' parents lived there, probably, and it would permit, simultaneously, the settlement of the Palestinian Arabs just demands for just interest in having a place where they can develop their own nationality, and it would permit a resolution of the Arab refugee problem because those Palestinian refugees, the majority of whom are in camps, were from the West Bank in the first place, and were still in the West Bank or in camps under the blazing sun.

It wasn't because the Israeli government was keeping them there. It was because the Jordanian government by default, and the Egyptian government, was keeping them there purposely at the point of a gun. Festering in the camps, the conditions along the Gaza Strip were absolutely incredible. And if it were not for the United Nations agency UNRA these people would not have been able to survive.

On the matter of free local elections in Israel Prof. Zeitlin goes on to say: These are seen by the Arab Palestinian guerillas and the Arab governments as simply a method of incorporating the Arab population. Moshe Dayan, who is considered the evil boy throughout the world of the left, was responsible for the policy that now brings almost a quarter of a million Arabs across the Allenby Bridge every summer to visit, to tour and to go where they please anywhere in the West Bank or in Israel. Anywhere. Now that has been condemned by all the Arab governments with the exception of Jordan, as obviously intended to establish the facts that Moshe Dayan is always talking about, and to keep the status quo. This may be true.

Any rational Israeli would want as much exposure to the genuine reality of the condition of an Arab in Israel as possible because they live off myths. Incredible, unbelievable myths. So you have upwards of up to 250,000 Arabs from a number of nations crossing the Allenby Bridge and observing what is, in comparison, a rather benign occupation. This is opposed to the usual concept of an occupation; a heavy, oppressive, hated and feared government whose presence is everywhere and obvious in countless numbers of armed troops.

Although the Arabs in the West Bank do not have the right to vote in national Israeli elections because the area is not a part of Israeli territory and has not been annexed, they do have the right to vote in local consular elections. If the area is annexed it will lead to a situation where the Arabs would eventually gain citizenship and the implications of a million Arabs voting in an Israeli election would be vast.

Moshe Dayan visited Vietnam in 1969 and wrote a long article on the Vietnamese guerillas and said the United States will not win without destroying that population, because we are fighting against a guerilla movement which is dedicated to throwing the foreigner out on its own land. The United States, whatever one thinks of it, is the foreign occupying power and there's no parallel between that situation and the situation in Israel where the Arab guerilla forces are backed and supplied from oil interests and not from the people themselves.

Israel is indigenous, it grew there, it was born there, it will remain there. Israel is not Vietnam. Dayan wrote that. He essentially said "Now look, your alternative is either to kill the Vietnamese or withdraw. Our alternative is to either be killed or to survive."

MINORITY JOB AID

On Monday, Oct. 30, Career Advising and Placement Services will hold a 3:30 meeting in 112 Bascom to help minority students and others with job interview skills. Paul Edmond, contributor to the Minority Program in September, will answer questions.

U.S. Mid East policy - an Arab view

By QAIS NURI FATTAH
President, Arab Student Association

TO AN ARAB observer, American foreign policy in the Middle East seems to be based on two basic premises:

1-Protection of the interests of American capital in the area.

2-Support of the state of Israel.

Due to shortage of space, I will confine my treatment to the first premise, hoping that it might be possible to treat the second in the future.

THE ECONOMIC interests are viewed in terms of American oil companies and other firms operating in the area. American policy strives also to create and develop markets for its industrial products in the Arab world. To achieve these ends, political means are often employed.

In quest of its economic interests the US has found friends only in leaders of conservative or reactionary governments. Such governments are generally monarchies or sheikdoms

which—to varying degrees—hoard the country's wealth or spend it on a small minority of relatives or mercenaries. The majority of the people in these countries live in poor, backward conditions. American co-operation and support is viewed as the major factor for the existence and continuation of these governments. Popular revolutionary and nationalist movements in these

(continued on page 7)

News Briefs

U.S.-CHINA PEOPLE'S FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION
Madison's U.S.-China People's Friendship Association will be sponsoring a discussion and slide show presentation by two recently returned visitors to the People's Republic of China on Monday, Oct. 30, at 7:30 p.m. at Pres House.

Mark Selden, a professor at Washington University and author of Yen'an Way, will speak with Paul Pickowicz, a TA in the History Dept. on life in the communes and medical practice in mainland China.

The purpose of the association is to build the friendship between the American and Chinese peoples by educating Americans about socialist China. In continuing their work, the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association will show a film on women's struggles in China on November 16. On January 20 they will co-sponsor a "China Day" with the Wisconsin Union, bringing, among others, William Hinton, the author of Fanshen.

U.S.-China People's Friendship Association welcomes everyone to build for its educational functions. Their next meeting is on November 5th at 7:30 p.m. in the St. Francis House.

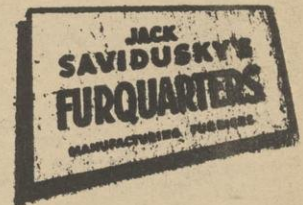
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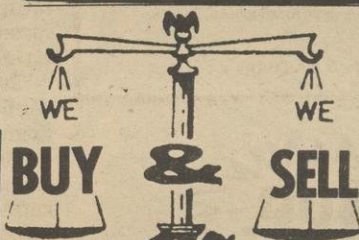
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Quintillian is a pseudonym for a writer for the Daily Cardinal.

"We are not used to the fact that transportation now includes the sender as well as the freight..."

—Marshall McLuhan on Munich

"The naked truth of decolonization evokes for us the searing bullets and bloodstained knives which emanate from it. For if the first shall be last, this will only come to pass after a murderous and decisive struggle between the two protagonists. The affirmed intention to place the last at the head of things, and to make them climb at a pace (too quickly, some say) the steps which characterize organized society, can only triumph if we use all means to turn the scale, including, of course, that of violence."

Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*

What will stand out about the act of Munich is its isolation. The massacre is tragic when viewed from more than one standpoint—and when the Associated Press calls it "bankrupt", in apparent reference to what they consider the moral stature of the guerillas, they open up a subject of which they know not the depth, not that the AP, on its rare editorial excursions, has ever been accused of ethical profundity.

As with all actions that allow even entities like the AP to take a free editorial stance, the feelings of moral horror are called forth from a consensus which is so deeply rooted in the cultural matrix as to have ceased to be a matter for conscious reflection. At the level that the "objective" entities of this society are permitted to freely editorialize, there is a wondrous disbelief that the values they defend could be anything but universal, and the ne plus ultra of the humanism with which we all believe we are imbued.

BECAUSE of this reflexive quality, this unconscious spontaneity, we achieve the clearest view of the imperialist mind at work, turned upon itself in the most stunning political contradictions.

George Jackson, two months before his own death, referred to a similar incident which occurred when his brother and others attempted to free him:

"Proof of the role of the law within the totalitarian-authoritarian relationship was also built into the action. In a fit of reckless, mindless gunfire, one-hundred automated goons shot through the bodies of a judge, district attorney, and three female non-combatants to re-establish control over all activity. To prevent certain actions, no cost in blood is too high."

It is difficult to determine who did what at the Munich Airport. If, as the Germans claimed, it was so dark their sharpshooters could not establish targets, then the credibility of how they were able to determine the exact scenario of what the Arabs did once the shooting began is a mystery of holy proportions.

THE POINT is not to drown the issue in technical arguments. What was the political role of the

German authorities? There was one, no doubt. This has not been asked.

Many have acted as if their moral outrage removed this question and others, and the question of their reactions, from all political considerations. In fact no such thing is possible—this unique, indeed transparent, ability to separate morals and politics when the stakes are high enough is not peculiar to imperialist cultures but exists within them in a heightened form, because the demand for such a separation is heavier.

We may note the reverse manipulation—which may make the moral enormity a bit clearer—is not the ability to drown political considerations in moral rage, but to divorce it altogether. The liberal approach

By QUINTILLIAN

merits or lack of them, as some may assume, but because political merit is so secondary to the way the powers who control the Middle East do business there. The entire circumstance of the attack in one way or another demonstrates this: the name of the group, Black September, represents the selling out of the movement by the host countries, a move that had very real life and death consequences for the Palestinians. Hussein's decision was enforced in a virtual bloodbath amidst a house by house extermination of the nationalists.

The name of the operation in Munich represents two villages from which Arab Christians were expelled by the Israelis 24 years ago and to which they have never been allowed to return.

only flashes of actuality. The Palestinian rebel starts from even further back than the meanest anti-Batista Cuban in the mid-fifties.

THE SITE of the attack is related to these and other considerations—and not as insensitive or politically inept as was assumed. We have mentioned isolation; the world is awash with visions of Israel as the land of milk and honey and matchmakers who resemble Carol Channing, a sort of reified image of Tenth St. delicatessen culture compounded with Exodus as the steel edge.

Secondly, there is the past history of conflict on the Israeli-border itself. Any attempt against Israel would certainly have had to come on or near the border or within the accessible areas of Palestine (i.e., the occupied portions). In the record of such attempts, the action-reaction pattern has only brought more death and ruination to the Palestinians due to Israeli reprisals. While the Israelis may want to instill democracy and progress in their new colonies, in which they resemble Americans in our own imperial attitudes, they also tend to be like Americans when they are challenged—murderously savage in reprisal.

Thus the site of the attack may be taken as one of expediency. There is another element—not, as it was so commonly misassumed at the time, that the attacks at Munich were an attempt to gain attention. It sounded plausible to many people at the time, yet on reflection it is also an incredibly stupid motive, an almost childlike motive. And indeed, the people who sit in the AP offices, and the other authorized commentators think much like ourselves in our sophisticated motivational thinking which still, after all, can only deduce childlike motives for the political acts of non-white people that we cannot understand.

There was a second motive to Munich besides expediency. But it was one not primarily of attention but of contempt for the west and its most sacred mystifications, of which the Olympics is an example. How did Fanon put it? "...Europe, where they are never done talking of Man, yet murder men wherever they find them, at the corner of their own streets, in all corners of the globe. For centuries they have stifled almost the whole of humanity in the name of a so-called spiritual existence."

I BELIEVE, without really knowing it to be so, that isolation is prominent in the Palestinian political mentality. They are a people with literally nothing to lose but their lives, which are for the most part lived out in wretched settlement camps that make one think of the glories of death in battle as redemption. No land, a culture that is unauthorized, and a political structure regarded as dangerous even by their 'allies.' They face a situation even more acutely existential than that of the Algerians Fanon had in mind. And thus, it is not surprising to find that they embrace one version or another of his prescriptions with ardor.

What chances do they damage? They have been written off by everyone. A chance for a peaceful settlement via an Arab-Israeli rapprochement? Such a settlement, for those who need to be reminded of what Black September means, specifically excludes the Palestinian, except as the object of the history of others.

In their attempt to discover an historical subject that will prevent their objectification, the Palestinians understand that the first order of business is liberation. To establish that subject they must act through history on their own. There are few things that would be more utterly defeating, aside from a continuation of the present situation than to be simply given an arid hunk of desert and told that it was theirs—after 25 years of being kicked around from camp to camp, having the family and social structure tampered with, their culture and tradition uprooted and denied, and their national aspirations met alternately with the most conniving trickery or vacuums of silence. If, after all of this, they were given a strip of desert somewhere, meaningless geographically, culturally, and economically they would still have nothing. In reality, Bangla Desh has more going for it.

The Palestinian has nothing. His situation, is ironically not unlike that of the European Jew during World War II—with two key differences: the Palestinian has fewer friends and secondly, they do not have even the precise existential certainty of their situation which Jews or those in the resistance could count on. They linger in the camps of a nation that doesn't especially want them, which finds the claims to "Palestine" nationhood an embarrassing inconvenience in gaining American dollars. They are in these camps, some of them totally dependent fourth-generation welfare recipients, while others live on the west bank in a semi-theocracy not even fully committed to pluralism among its own people.

IN OBSERVING the situation which we have helped to create, we should not be surprised at what occurs. Perhaps even more than for the Algerian, revolutionary violence is the claim to a new manhood and womanhood; and for the present and some time to come, it may be the only claim they are able to establish. Either the situation will change through their efforts, or they will be killed.

There is bankruptcy in this affair. But bourgeois conventional wisdom will never understand how far and deep it goes. Some Marxists have said there is no Palestinian revolution. One is tempted at times to agree—at times it appears to be the impossible revolution of an impossible nation. But nationhood and individual identity have strange ways of getting tied up. As long as people refuse to live below certain levels, this will not go away. In this context, there is no sense of arrogation or voluntarism in the actions of the Black September group at Munich.



to politics has consisted in a deadly fascination with power and its uses. The history of the Cold War, and of the Vietnam conflict, has been in essence, the attempt to establish a socialization among intellectuals and the middle class in which it is "sophisticated" to believe that power and politics are discontinuous from morals, except in a strictly ultimate way. Munich is not exempted from politics in general by a falsely unpolitical moral outrage which is, in fact, a politics of moral outrage.

A QUESTION of bankruptcy which the Palestinian movement is subject to, but not essentially responsible for, is its utter world isolation. It is not isolated on its

The object of the attack was, in fact, not a small and pitiful struggling little strip of desert stuck on the edge of the Mediterranean but a powerful and victorious state which was imposed by the victorious western allies at the moment of colonialism's last gasp in that part of the world.

The stasis is technological, but it is also political. The Arabs in general are divided, and especially the Palestinians, who do not even own the ground under their feet. In Vietnam, at least the physical base of nationhood was present for a national struggle (and eventually considerably more); in "Palestine" this remains a theoretical hope with

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6210 Social Science

The Roman Empire to Israel - a history of the Mid East

By STEVE TUCKEY

The Arab states for the past quarter of a century have had to survive with what they term a foreign and hostile power hoisted on them by alien forces from the West. Yet this is merely one small interpretation in the history of an area marked by foreign domination and rule of distant emperors.

The current alignment of the Arab states with the Eastern Communist bloc and Israel with the Western powers is a logical outgrowth of a land that has been the victim of not only economic exploitation but betrayals and broken promises by the West.

The Middle East, often called the "cradle of civilization," is where many of the great empires of antiquity rose and fell. After the collapse of the Roman Empire, the area remained divided until the seventh century when the prophet Mohammed began the Islam conquests that would eventually stretch from Morocco to India.

THE Moslem-Arabic Empire flourished until the 16th century when the Ottoman Turks rose and spread their rule throughout the Islam empire and into Europe almost to the gates of Vienna.

The Middle East remained essentially isolated for 300 years under Turkish domination until the beginning of the 19th century when British-French rivalry revitalized European interest.

Egyptian rulers in the mid-nineteenth century, still under the thumb of the Turkish Sultan, looked to the West for assistance in the modernization of their still backward country. The British and the French were more than willing to oblige as they saw an opportunity to gain influence in an area invaluable to their international trade.

European powers gradually seized hunks of the Ottoman Empire throughout the 19th century. The coup de grace for the once omnipotent Turkish dynasty was its siding with the Central Powers during World War I.

GROWING restive under Turkish rule, Arab states were very receptive to British and French promises of independence on the condition they revolt against their Turkish overlords.

After the war, however, these Arab states found themselves the victims of a new form of colonialism. Britain took Palestine and Iraq and France took Syria and Lebanon as mandates under the aegis of the newly created League of Nations in 1921.

Palestinian Arabs had cause now to be even more wary of their British "liberators" than their previous overseers, as the London regime in 1917 committed itself to the Balfour Declaration which pledged the establishment of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine.

In 1921 Palestine was divided into Palestine and Transjordan, though neither received independence until after World War II. Egypt and Iraq were granted their independence in the 1930's, though the British still dominated the area till the fifties.

BETWEEN the wars, Jewish emigration for the most part from Europe to Palestine increased rapidly. The industrious emigres brought with them a highly organized society that stood in sharp contrast to the Arab life-style.

From the very outset Arabs bristled at any talk of a Jewish state. They looked at it as merely another Western scheme to take some of their land away. And after the war against Hitler, they spoke of it merely as plot to relieve Westerners of guilt feelings about the Nazi atrocities. After all, they reasoned, they had not had a history of 2000 years of anti-Semitism as had the Christian states; yet it was their land that was being taken away from them to make way for the Jewish state.

The increasingly bitter strife between the two groups made the British anxious to leave the area as soon as possible. In November of 1947, the United Nations passed a resolution terminating the British mandate in Palestine and divided the area into the Jewish state of Israel and various Arab regions that soon would be absorbed by Egypt and newly-created state of Jordan.

On May 14 of the following year, after the last British troop left, the state of Israel was born with the irony of both the United States and the Soviet Union extending her recognition.

THE Jewish state, however, could not be fully realized until she had fought and won the first of her three wars against her Arab neighbors in 1948. The infant nation emerged with considerably more territory than she was ceded under the U.N. plan.

Israel introduced a highly socialized but Western-oriented parliamentary form of government and through massive governmental and private contributions from all over the world, but especially from the United States, built up a reservoir of technological skill that kept her secure against her hostile neighbors and "Made the deserts bloom."

The 1948 war displaced 70 per cent of the Palestinian population which placed the Jews in the majority. These refugees became tragic political pawns as Israel refused to absorb them, fearing a disruption in their highly planned society. The Arab government, except Jordan, pursue this policy in the present day on the grounds

they are nationals of the state of Palestine and to absorb them would be a tacit admission of Israel's existence.

Today these men and women without a country live as wards of the UN and serve as a solemn reminder of the grave obstacles to be surmounted if a mid-East settlement is to be reached.

EGYPT experienced a radical political and economic change in 1952 with the ousting of the corrupt and inefficient regime of King Farouk I. The coup brought into power a group of young army colonels bent on revolutionizing the highly feudal Egyptian society.

The eventual strongman of the group, Gamel Abdel Nasser, attempted first a strictly neutralist foreign policy but was rebuffed by the United States who insisted his nation join in anti-Communist pacts to receive any aid.

The Egyptian leader, though still maintaining a stiff anti-Communist position at home, turned to the Eastern bloc nations for military and economic aid, including funds for the highly ambitious Aswan Dam project.

Nasser's rage at the West's turning a deaf ear to his entreaties was one of the prime factors that led him to nationalize the British-run Suez Canal in October of 1956.

BRITAIN, Israel and France responded immediately with an invasion of Egypt but withdrew at the behest of a United Nations resolution jointly supported by the United States and the Soviet Union.

The withdrawal of British forces from Suez placed Nasser in a stronger position than ever to pursue his policy of non-alignment, receiving aid from both the West and the East.

Nasser's brand of non-Communist socialism spread to Iraq in 1957 and also to Syria with whom Nasser formed an ill-fated union in 1958. Revolutionaries in the Mid-east fashioned themselves after the Egyptian leader.

Though the Arab world was still riddled with dissension with reactionary monarchy and socialist dictatorships deeply suspicious of each other, Nasser in the early and mid-60's was at the height of his power as a leader of Pan-Arabism. The common enemy of Israel never proved a sufficiently strong impetus for unity.

IT WAS perhaps this illusory sense of unity that led the Egyptian leader to commit a series of provocative acts against Israel that culminated in the disastrous 6-day war in 1967.

Nasser, however, was at the height of his power as a leader of Pan-Arabism and it was perhaps this illusory sense of strength that led him to commit a series of provocative acts in 1967 that culminated in the Six Day War.

Israel struck first with her lightning air power that overwhelmed the inefficient Arab armies. In the end Israel gained from Egypt the strategically valuable Sinai Desert and the Gaza Strip while extracting the West Bank of the Jordan River from Jordan.

ARAB bloc countries were left in a state of confusion and despair, searching desperately for a scapegoat, Nasser, blamed his country's defeat on the fact that British and American warplanes intervened on Israel's behalf. He resigned shortly after the defeat, but remained in office after massive outpouring of support in the streets of Cairo.

In the wake, the Soviet Union gained a foothold in the area with massive outlayings of arms and personnel, which previously Nasser was hesitant to accept for fear of jeopardizing his neutralist policies.

Sporadic fighting continued along the Suez Canal until August of 1970 when Israel and Egypt agreed to cease-fire terms though no modus operandi could be devised for setting up peace talks.

Palestinian guerillas since the Six-Day War have proved to be a thorn not only in the side of Israel, but also in the sides of Arab governments from whose territories they operate. Their various forays have brought Israeli reprisals to Arab states who for either political or strategic reasons are unable to control them.

IN THE most massive and bloody crackdown on guerillas by an Arab government, Jordan's King Hussein in September of 1970 strengthened his shaky pro-Western regime, but nonetheless increased the dichotomy between the guerillas and the governments.

That same month Nasser died and was succeeded by Anwar Sadat whose increasingly neutralist path culminated in the expulsion of Soviet arms and personnel last summer.

Though Israel's continued existence coupled with her seemingly permanent grip on the territories she took after the Six-Day war provides unceasing humiliation for Sadat and the Arab world, the Egyptian leader at the present time has little recourse other than to annually declare and then postpone the "Year of Decision," regarding his country's permanent foe.

Campus Arab on American policy

(continued from page 5)

areas strive to establish regimes which aim at serving the interests of the majority of the people. Such movements are bound to view the US as an ally of their enemy, namely the reactionary Arab governments.

Moreover, the US does not enjoy good relations with progressive governments. Regimes such as those of Syria, Iraq and Egypt do not exchange diplomatic relations with the US. Yet, these governments have gone far in trying to serve their people. It seems paradoxical that the US people who hold high the ideals of freedom, democracy, and justice end up supporting the very governments which hold no allegiance to these ideals.

The reason for this trend lies in the fact that it is only the un-

popular reactionary governments which are willing to cooperate with American business interests. Such interests exhibit a tremendous disregard for moral values abroad, and view the Arab countries as merely places to exploit to the largest extent possible.

Unlike the reactionary Arab governments, progressive regimes do not see eye-to-eye with American economic interests. Conflicts have often arisen out of the existence of American concerns on keeping long-held extremely favorable but highly unjust practices and privileges. This has led to nationalization of American interests.

THE US FOREIGN policy in the Arab World must be based on a real appreciation of the principles of liberty and justice. It must support a real progress. It must

not substitute short-sighted quick-profit gains for long-term principles which identify with the real hopes and ideals of the Arab people.

Without such a framework, American policy will render impossible any meaningful relations between the Arab and American people, and will threaten the remainder of American oil interests in the area. Indeed, many Arabs now think that the US has already passed the point of no-return and hence that it is impossible to salvage any American interests in the future from expropriation or nationalization. This should be viewed with great concern by the US which is becoming increasingly dependent on Arab oil. Moreover, it should spur some hard thinking by Americans on these issues.

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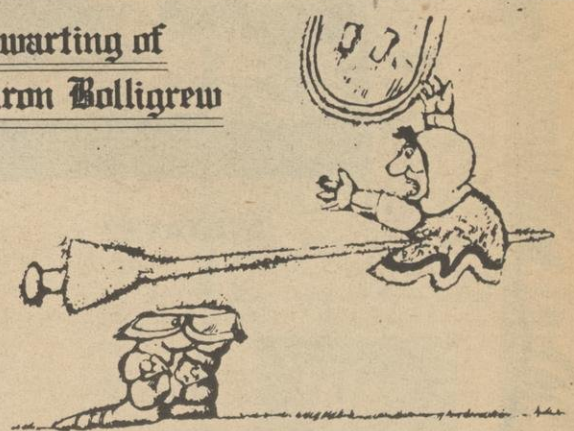
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(continued from page 1)

It is therefore, absurd to say that this is an area of the world where the big powers or anybody can stay out. They can't stay out, that's clear, and again I think one must start from facts. I think the United States should, and I think it will, work towards a settlement. I believe the Rogers plan was an excellent plan myself. I believe that the U.S., in fact, must put pressure on the contestants, both the contestants, Arabs and Israelis, for such a settlement. In fact, I believe myself that this is one of the real hopes of a settlement. You cannot go to a neutrality in an area which is so vital for the very existence of Europe and the United States.

You studied anti-Semitism as it

expressed itself in Nazi Germany. Do you see any kind of parallel development occurring over the question of Israel? For instance, there was a strong feeling among many Jews in America that the black movement in the U.S., by identifying with the Arab countries in the Middle East, was expressing an anti-Semitism that similarly is being expressed by the Soviet Union. Do you see that as a significant development?

I think as far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it is probably significant. Yes. There is, I think, very little doubt about the anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union and it has a long history not only within Russia, but also within trends of Marxism. But as far as the anti-Semitism of the black movement is concerned I do not really feel that way very much. Now, we must distinguish between

anti-Semites.

There are stereotypes and if stereotyping leads to anti-Semitism, which it does, then I think it is possible that you might get anti-Semitism in all movements which oppose Israel. And yet, there are many who make a distinction between Israelis and Jews. This used to be very common up until the '67 War, partly because very few people believed Jews could be such good fighters. But I think that distinction, as I said before, is a very tricky one and it often slides over. So the question is really unanswerable.

Do you see a threat of fascism in the Middle East?

I do not. There have been articles appearing by quite eminent people in Israel, including the dean of the law school at the University of Tel Aviv, who has had fears of fascism as far as Israel is concerned. I consider it rather hysterical, because it is a very free country. On the campus of the Hebrew University you can distribute literature opposing the state—everything you like. I just don't see it anywhere, in that region, at least in its classical form. There is some scholarly controversy whether Nasser was close to fascism. But I don't put much stock in that myself at all.

Do you think the current presidential election is significant in terms of Middle East policy?

I think Nixon's policy on the Middle East has been an extremely sound one. I think it has been brilliant at times, as in the mobilization of our troops in Europe in order to get the Syrians to withdraw from Jordan. I happen to know something about McGovern's proposed policy for the Near East. I am sorry to say that I disagree with it. Because on the one hand it seems to say it asks the United States to stay out and on the other hand it says "give Israel all the arms it needs." I think this is an unfeasible policy. I

think, for reasons I said before we cannot take a nonchalant attitude on what happens in that area. Moreover, I do believe the big powers are essential for any settlement in that area.

Could you comment on the legitimacy of the establishment of Israel?

Legitimacy is a very awkward word. It was used as you may know, by the reaction in Europe in the 19th century to justify itself. I must say that I myself was not a Zionist at that time. But I think it is now rather beside the point to discuss whether it is legitimate or illegitimate. The fact is, Israel exists and one has to take a position on that fact, and not on the fact of whether one thought it should ever have come into being in that particular geographical area.

Do you consider yourself a Zionist?

In 1948, no, I should retract a little here, in 1948 once the Jews in Israel were in an embattled state, I, of course, was a supporter. But you must remember that in 1948 we all still lived under the shock of Auschwitz, and Bergen-Belsen and it was just a wonderful thing to see Jews fight for a change. I think that kind of emotional involvement played a very large part, not only in my own attitudes.

I must say something else in this, that I became involved in Israel, because I still don't know whether I'm a Zionist or not—the word really has no meaning for me.—I became involved in Israel under the influence of my own studies and scholarly work. I came to the conclusion that it was vital for Jews to have a homeland. And because it became vital for Jews to have a homeland, largely because of past history, it is for that reason that I got involved. But I got involved much later, than 1948 after my study and work on Jewish history had led me to that conclusion.

What has been the dramatic

effect on world opinion of the Israeli victory in 1967?

What has come out of it is something very curious. People don't like a winner, so part of the mystique of Israel was eventually lost. It was there, I think right after the War but it was eventually lost. It looks too strong. I think that was one consequence of the War. Now, I myself don't think it matters a great deal how Israel stands in public opinion, because I don't think public opinion has much to do with the policies that are pursued in that part of the world by the big powers, which is what matters. But still, it affected public opinion, at first euphorically and then, I think, adversely, because people don't like a winner.

How do you explain, then, American support of Israel?

American support of Israel is something quite different and again, on this, I am not an expert because I have very little to do with it on that angle. American support of Israel is institutionalized. It is almost an article of faith. It is not the kind of critical support that I would like to see, because whether American Jews like it or not they are involved with this Israel and uncritical support for everything the Israel government does is, I think, not at all helpful. I think that American Zionism has gotten itself into this kind of position. Whether American public opinion as a whole supports Israel, that I think is not borne out, or at least I haven't seen it borne out.

What do you think of Golda Meir's Israeli policies of the past few years?

Well, I happen to be very critical of Mrs. Meir for two reasons. One is, that I think there is very little sense there of social policy and of the social problems which Israel faces. Secondly, the idea of security seems to be so

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(continued from page 9)

uppermost that the social problems which still could be solved are, as a matter of fact, not being solved. I believe a person of that generation cannot think, if I can put it very drastically, of Zionism with juvenile delinquency—that was not in the original Zionist idea.

What about the issue of the Palestinian refugees?

I think it could have been resolved a long time ago. They are the pawns and the victims and I believe it is extremely tragic. It could be solved in several ways and, here again, one has to be realistic on what is possible. There was, years ago, a scheme which seemed to me to be very good, which was called the Johnson scheme, to fertilize the Jordan Valley and settle the Palestinian refugees in villages in that valley. There are many things that could be done of this nature.

Why don't you think this has happened?

I don't know. I'm not behind the scenes. But it is obvious that to some Arab governments the Palestinian refugees have been a useful tool and I also think that the Israeli government has not been very responsive. When I say Israeli government, I say some in the government, because we must always stress that there is a great debate going on in Israel and the side that I have expressed here is one side of this debate. It is one of the failures, I think, of American Zionists, that one hears very little about that debate.

What do you think of the charge that Israel was a tool in the creation of an American imperialistic government?

This charge is quite ridiculous. America's interference in the civil war in '48 which Israel won was very minimal, so it has obviously not been created by America, though it was recognized by America very soon after its creation. One must keep the

historical sequence clear there. Second of all, it is a kind of childish view of imperialism. Right now Mr. Nixon finds it difficult to deal with Mr. Thieu, you know. It is not quite true, in the first place, that it is an imperialism of the 19th century—that really no longer exists. But secondly, the Israeli government is singularly independent and what it is responsive to is America only to a certain degree, but much more to public opinion in the country. It has to be reelected and election is coming up next year. That is what will determine its actions and the Israeli government has been very successful in resisting American pressure, like the Rogers plan, for example. So you can't say it's a tool in that regard. A tool to do what? This is another question for you to answer. What can it do for us in the Middle East? Very little. A much more important tool we have is Saudi Arabia or Iran. You have to answer "a tool to do what?" We don't have any bases there like the Russians have in Egypt; the Sixth Fleet is in Greece, not in Haifa.

Would you comment on the raids Israel has conducted for retribution for Arab guerrilla actions?

I have very little to say about these raids. I think there is a more deeper problem that I tried to point out in the beginning. There is in Israel a debate between what we might call the Peace Party and the Status Quo Party, because these are the distinctions and I think it is up to American Jews with their resources to take a critical attitude and support the Peace Party there as they support the peace party here.

Do you see any potential for a unification between the Israeli and Arab working class?

None whatsoever. Not even Maurice Zeitlin does anymore. None whatsoever, because the

truth of the matter is that if there is real chauvinism and hatred it's between the Israel working classes, who mostly come from Arab territory, and the Arabs. That's the real hatred because they both come from the Arab world. The Jews have suffered in Arab countries. But one final point that I do want to make is that, of course, Israel is a sovereign nation and therefore, any support from the outside, and I think I've got to say this, is discreet support; it must be discreet support. But I think we can not take an uncritical attitude. I think that's a great disservice, because I do believe the status quo works against Israel and not for it, as General Dayan believes, for the social problems will grow to ever greater magnitude and not only that, but the Arabs of the West Bank are becoming the working classes, at least in Jerusalem and surrounding areas. So that you face the danger of really having an Arab proletariat in the country which is a considerable problem. You destroy the whole idea of the Jewish state obviously and you also are laying the grounds for a very severe war, a civil war.

Why has there been such a growth of the Arab working class?

Because the Arab labor has now the same wages but is more available than Jewish labor. In the building industry, for example, there used to be a great labor shortage. There is no longer a labor shortage.

How responsible do you think Israel has been in bringing Arabs into the Israel economic system?

Israel policy towards the occupied countries is, in terms of occupation, a very enlightened policy. You may remember that 10,000 Arabs voted for Mayor Kollek in Jerusalem in the last municipal election. Economically, the West Bank is flourishing, more than ever before, and that is not

only because of the employment opportunities in Israel, both for Gaza and the West Bank, it is also for the encouragement of new industry. Every day, you know, flowers are flown to Germany from the West Bank along with fresh vegetables—it is also the policy of the open door towards Jordan so that the Jordanian market is not lost. Economically, it is a very enlightened policy, but I do not believe that economic policy is the end-all.

How much of this is economics in a quest for a new market and how much of this is political enlightenment? How much does economics overcome national sentiment? The Arabs will call it the inevitable expansion.

Well, it has introduced a certain ambivalence into West Bank Arabs, because they're doing very well and they don't want to do any worse. So while they by no means love Israel, it has introduced a certain ambivalence which explains part of the large vote Kollek got from there. Certainly many of the mayors, you know, this municipal self-government, have been very friendly towards Israel.

What has defeated it to a large extent have been these, I call them colonies, Israel calls them settlements, that they have put in the West Bank.

On the Israeli side, it was a very shrewd realization and had nothing to do with domestic policy as such, it was a shrewd realization on the part of Dayan and others, that it was easier to govern the West Bank if you interfered as little as possible, left its pre-war status as much as possible, because these people still get paid by Jordan. Don't forget—most West Bank Arabs get low paychecks, one from Israel and one from Jordan, and that keeping the bridges open was to prevent an explosion. So it is a shrewd occupation policy and has nothing to do with domestic

policy.

Do you see a situation where the United States will have to become much more sensitive to the situation in the Arab world?

It's going to happen in January, 1973. Because of the election, Nixon could never do something he should have done—and I happen to know he wanted to do it—grasp Sadat's outstretched hand. And he will do that in January 1, 1973, and I think correctly so.

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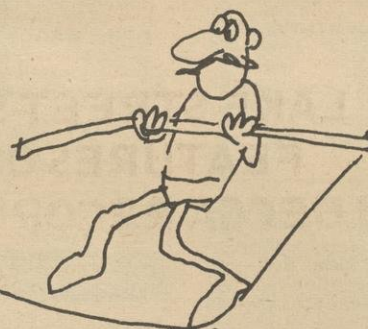
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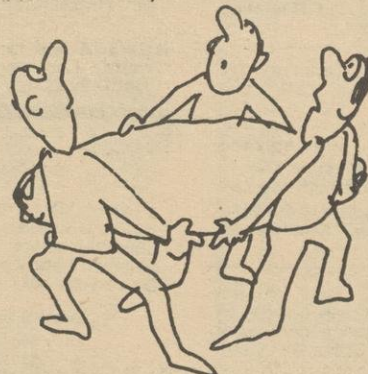
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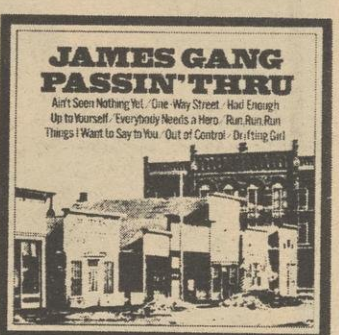
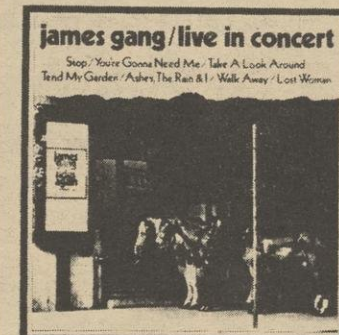
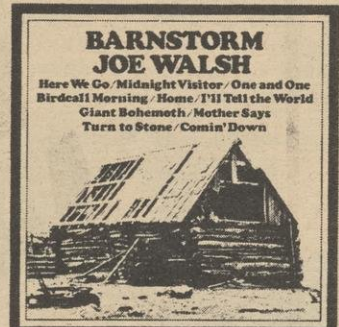
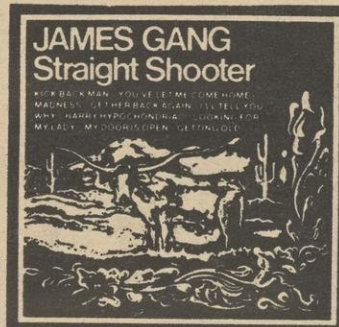


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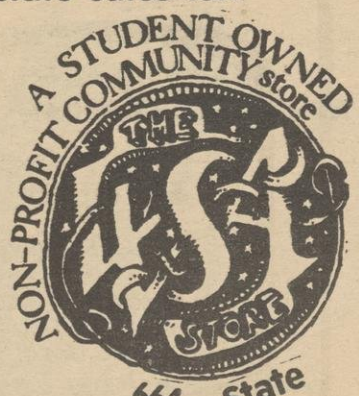
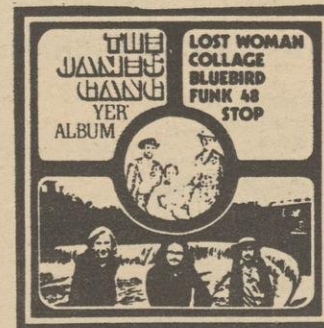


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Reactionary Arab governments

(continued from page 1)

Anyone who is going to deny us our rights is a reactionary. I can't specify which Arab states are reactionary at this time because all of them are.

How do you feel about the terrorist actions in Europe, Munich for example?

I absolutely reject the term terrorist. However, this term is widely used in the United States against the Irish people, the Vietnamese people, as with the Palestinians. Well, that's really strange. I never heard of an American terrorist, or British terrorist, or a French terrorist. I never heard even of a Russian terrorist. The word terrorist is kept solely for these three people.

Anyway then the Palestinian people, through the Black September movement, attacked the Israeli delegation in Munich they did not have the intention of killing any Israelis, because had they been interested in killing the Israelis, they should have killed them the moment they went into their apartment. However, they wanted one thing: that was if the Israelis wanted their athletes back they should release 200 Palestinians who are in Israeli prisons.

So that's the main object behind the operation. It was not to kill the Israeli athletes but to release the 200 Palestinian prisoners. History can't repeat itself. People learn from history. In the old days whenever we had the intention of doing something we were always foiled, and everybody would laugh at us.

When a Palestinian highjacked a plane and they went to Tel Aviv and asked for the release of

certain prisoners and they were killed, everybody praised the Israelis as heroes for foiling the attempt. Now that the Palestinians while being killed, are taking the life of their oppressor they are called terrorists.

It was the German police and the Israeli Government who refused to release the 200 Palestinian prisoners. It was the German government who started shooting against the Palestinians and I still wonder if there will be at any time a neutral organization to have an autopsy on all of the Israeli dead—to see who killed whom.

It was strange that in the dark the people are shooting against each other, all the Israeli hostages would be killed by Arab bullets.

What harassment of students by authorities in the United States have you encountered?

Recently, Palestinians especially Palestinian students in the U.S., have been harassed by the F.B.I. and by the Immigration Service. I think the U.S. is doing wrong in this too. I don't think that the Palestinian people consider the American people their enemies at any time. I don't think the Palestinian people would like to get the American people to be their enemies.

I don't think there is any need for this kind of harassment. Most of the Palestinian people do not have any home. Take, for instance, the example of the 11 Palestinian's who were in Chicago when they got their deportation notices last week and then where should they be deported to?

Their home was in what is now Israeli territory so they went to the Israeli embassy. The Israeli

Embassy refused to grant them the permission to go to Israel. However, the Israeli Embassy did them a good favor to ask The American Immigration authorities to let them stay. And this is not a story that could be easily proven.

What do you think is the motive behind the harassment? Is it just people who are politically active in the movement that are being harassed?

It's not that either. It's not that Mr. X, a Palestinian is doing wrong, no but one of his relatives is doing wrong so therefore he must be doing wrong. That is the origin of harassment. They threaten deportation if you give a speech or try to explain things or talk to a newspaper interviewer.

Take the example of Senator McGovern and the American left. When the American left tried to attack Sen. McGovern they always come with "How about the Palestinians?" or "Why should you support the establishment of a democratic state for both the Palestinian and Jewish peoples—where everybody would be equal."

However, I'm afraid of being used. I'm talking about the fact that this issue is only raised when there is an election. You go to the table where some of the organizations of the left are distributing pamphlets and you wonder why they never mention the Palestinian people except when there is an election. So that's what I am really afraid about. I thank them for their support but I have my own doubts, too.

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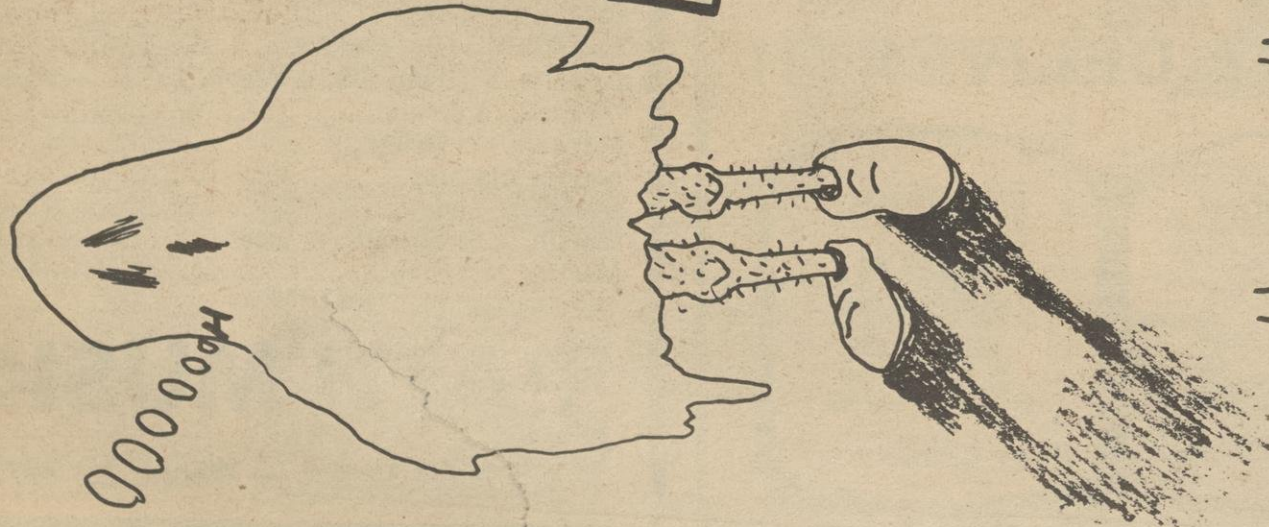
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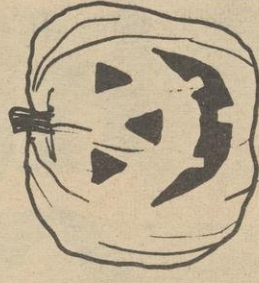
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