

# ***ISRAEL***

**Will Appeasement  
lead to Peace?**

THE JEWISH PEOPLE'S claim and right to the historic Land of Israel (Eretz Israel) are once again contested by the Arabs, rejected or ignored by the Big Powers and smaller nations, and questioned even in some circles of our own people. At this moment this subject is -- and is likely to be for a considerable time -- the focal point of international dialogue on the settlement of the Middle East problem.

It is therefore necessary to understand and reaffirm the basic justice of Israel's position and her striving for a viable country with strategically favorable borders that would offer it maximum security and prevent another major war with her enemies.

The Land of Israel Movement has set itself the task of educating the Israel public and World Jewry about the need to retain the territories which the Israel Army liberated from Arab occupation in the 1967 War, and from which Israel is being asked to withdraw.

The areas under discussion are: Jerusalem, which was redeemed and re-united and has become the capital of Israel; the Golan Heights, from which the Syrians threatened and attacked Israel's northern settlements; the West Bank of the Jordan (which contains the Shrines of Jewish civilization) from which Israel's densely populated coastal areas were threatened; the Gaza Strip, which was the advance base for Egyptian aggression; Sharm-el-Sheikh, which guards the entrance to the Red Sea -- Israel's vital life-line to the east and the south.

The Land of Israel Movement is a rather unique political factor in Israel today. It is an independent organization that includes prominent Israel personalities of all shades of opinion who have found common cause in the endeavor to strengthen the nation's resolve to retain the liberated territories. After the formal adherence by the Government of Israel to the American Peace Proposals, the Land of Israel

**Movement** became associated with the Gahal-initiated wider public committee, TAHAL -- the Movement which is now actively campaigning against withdrawal from these territories, and is calling upon Israel to stand firm and upon all friends of Israel to support her in this stand. TAHAL is an all-party body which now comprises 42 Knesset Members from the Government and Opposition benches, and thus represents more than one third of Israel's Parliament.

In recent **months** the Land of Israel Movement has received support in several countries from committees which were set up specifically for that purpose. These committees do not oppose the Government of Israel but, on the contrary, aim to strengthen its firm stand in the face of external pressures.

During the visit to the United States of Mr. Shmuel Katz, an Executive Member of the Land of Israel Movement, a committee was set up in New York City to promote the ideas of the Land of Israel Movement among the American Jewish community.

The founding committee consists of the following:

Prof. Milton Arfa, Mr. Leo Bella, Mr. Shelomo ben-Israel, Mr. Bernard Deutsch, Prof. Marnin Feinstein, Prof. Erich Isaac, Rael Jean Isaac, Prof. Yoakim Isaacs, Prof. Hayim Leaf, Rabbi Nathan N. Schorr, Mr. Ilan Shiloh and Mr. Nissan Tetuan.

As its first step, the American Committee has published this brochure, which deals with **some** of the most burning questions at the present time. We hope that you will find it of interest and value and that you will agree with the views expressed.

If you do, we would ask you to communicate with us to offer your support and services for what is today and urgent national task.

Please write to: AMERICANS FOR A SECURE ISRAEL

# VITAL QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

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## 1. WHAT IS THE CONNECTION OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE WITH THE LAND OF ISRAEL ?

The connection of the Jewish people with the Land of Israel is unique in the history of nations. With most of the people driven from the country after nearly continuous habitation of more than 1,800 years, (1300 B.C.E. to 500 C.E.), the Jews never gave up claim to it. The Land was woven into the people's religion and culture and became the focus of its dream of national revival, never to be abandoned or replaced during the long periods of oppression and persecution or the short respites of comparative ease that have been its fate ever since. Notwithstanding bans and prohibitions, and the incredible hazards of travel in the Middle Ages, Jews never ceased to maintain their link with the country.

This unique connection of the Jewish people with its homeland has become an ineradicable element in the fabric of western culture and consciousness. It was the implicit basis of the Balfour Declaration, and explicitly recognised in the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine, which envisaged the reconstitution of the Jewish National Home.

The modern return to Zion started at the end of the 18th century and took an organized form towards the end of the 19th. Ever since, the love of the Jewish people for its country has found expression in an unbounded capacity for effort and sacrifice. At a heavy cost in blood, toil and sweat the Jewish people has turned its desolate wastes into a flowering, civilized, modern country.

## 2. HAS ANY OTHER PEOPLE A COMPARABLE CLAIM ?

Throughout the 13 centuries when there was no organized Jewish national life in the country, from the sixth century, though political control changed hands 14 times, no other people developed,

nurtured and cherished it or laid claim to it as its homeland. It was always incorporated as part of a larger occupied territory, seized by whatever conqueror had the ascendancy.

To the Arabs who conquered Palestine in the seventh century and ruled it for four hundred years the country was part of an empire that extended from their Arabian homeland as far as Spain and Sicily. After the disintegration of the Arab empire the country remained largely depopulated. The Arab inhabitants were so few and indifferent that it became a desolate waste. Swamps prevailed in the north, erosion gave birth to desert in the south.

Throughout the centuries of Ottoman rule the Arabs never once claimed Palestine as theirs, nor did they raise a finger to displace the Turkish rulers, even when the flag of Arab revolt was raised by the British T. E. Lawrence in other parts of the Ottoman Empire during the First World War. Neither the Nili movement, nor the Jewish Legion, nor the intense Zionist political effort and its military contribution to victory in the First World War had the faintest parallel among the Arabs of Palestine.

When the nations of the world considered the future of the country as a reconstituted Jewish State, they rightly recognized the civil rights of the "non-Jewish" inhabitants of the country. They did not have any grounds, however, for recognizing a national Arab right to Palestine.

The Arab claims to Palestine as a national territory was raised coherently for the first time in 1921, after the Zionist return under international auspices had been assured. In 1919, Emir Feisal, later the King of Iraq, the then leading negotiator for the Arab people, had still no difficulty in wishing the Jews "a most hearty welcome home". The British Mandatory regime succeeded to the sovereignty of Palestine—formerly an Ottoman conquest—to be held in trust for the reconstitution of the Jewish National Home. In 19-17 the Jewish Agency agreed to surrender part of the territory, as a compromise to ensure peace with the Arabs. The Arabs rejected the compromise, and seven Arab states invaded the country to destroy the Jewish homeland after the British had resigned their Mandate.

The Jewish right to the Land of Israel, grounded in history, sanctified by tradition and sacrifice, is thus finally reaffirmed in the modern law of nations.

### **3. WHAT ARE THE BOUNDARIES OF THE LAND OF ISRAEL ?**

Historical Eretz-Israel included parts of present-day Syria and of the Sinai Peninsula. Historically Sinai is not part of Egypt. It was part of the Ottoman Empire until the Turks in 1840, under the pressure of the European Powers, ceded its western part to the Egyptian Khedive, Mohamed Ali, while the eastern part was joined to Egypt in 1906 at the demand of Britain, which had assumed suzerainty over the country.

The Golan Heights, Sinai and Transjordan all figured in Zionist colonization projects at the turn of the century. In the official Zionist memorandum submitted to the Peace Conference in 1919, the northern boundary ran along the Litani River to Mt. Hermon, and the eastern boundary was the Hedjaz Railway. Most of Sinai was included in the south. These Zionist demands were at the time described by Emir Feisal, the Arabs' leading representative, as "modest and proper".

These "modest and proper" boundaries were whittled down in the years that followed, as a result of further British deals. In 1920 Britain transferred to France substantial territories in the north (now included in Lebanon and Syria), so that the 1922 Mandate for western and eastern Palestine (Transjordan), covered a total of 36,000 square miles. But Britain decided to exclude Transjordan, too, from the Jewish National Home. Only Western Palestine remained, with an area of 10,000 square miles. This was the territory partitioned in 1948.

### **4. WHEN A PEOPLE HAS SUCCESSFULLY REPELLED AGGRESSION, IS IT CUSTOMARY TO RETURN THE TERRITORY FROM WHICH THE AGGRESSION WAS LAUNCHED ?**

Certainly not! On the contrary--large tracts previously part of the national territories of Germany and Japan, the aggressors in World War II, have been incorporated into the territories of their intended victims. As a result, Soviet Russia and Poland hold territories which never belonged to their peoples. There is no sign or suggestion of their returning them to Germany or Japan. Nor would it occur to anybody to suggest the return to Germany of Alsace Lorraine by France or of Sudetenland by Czechoslovakia, although the threat of German aggression no longer exists, at least in the foreseeable future. Israel's Arab neighbours, on the other hand, have

not given up their threat to her security, indeed to her very existence, which after repeated failures they still continue to proclaim as their unalterable purpose.

#### 5. WHAT ARE JORDAN'S RIGHTS IN JUDEA AND SAMARIA ?

The Kingdom of Jordan is a British creation, carved out of the Eastern part of the Jewish homeland. Its domination over Western Palestine was achieved by an act of annexation following upon its 1948 invasion, in defiance of the United Nations resolution of November 1947. The annexation was never recognised internationally except by Britain, which had actively sponsored the invasion, and by Pakistan. The Arab States did not recognise it. The areas thus annexed by Jordan—Samaria and Judea, including eastern Jerusalem—are the very heart of the historic Land of Israel.

#### 6. IN WHAT SENSE IS JERUSALEM A CITY HOLY TO THREE FAITHS ?

There is a Moslem Holy Place in Jerusalem—the Haram at Sharif on the site of the Jewish Temple. Its holiness rests on the legend that Mohammed's horse rested at the Wailing Wall—out of Mohammed's respect for the Jewish Holy Place—before carrying him on the last stage of his journey to the Seventh Heaven. The Haram al Sharif thus became the third holiest place of Islam, after Mecca and Medina. But Jerusalem as a city has no special significance in the Moslem religion. Politically, even *when* Palestine was part of a province in the Arabian Empire, the regional centre was Ramleh.

The Christians have several Holy Places in Jerusalem, all connected with the last days of Christ and with his death and resurrection.

To the Jews, Jerusalem is the eternal centre, an indestructible part of the warp and woof of the people and its religion. Already in the Bible it is mentioned over 600 times as the mainspring of the nation. For over three thousand years it has been the focus of a national passion manifestly unique in human history. Indeed, in Jewish lore it is identical with the Land of Israel itself.

The feelings of both Christians and Moslems for the sites that hold a place in their hearts deserve every respect, and the State of Israel rightly ensures to all three faiths complete freedom of access to and worship at these Holy Places. These sentiments cannot, however, be equated with the profound significance of Jerusalem in the history and faith of the Jewish people.

**7. ARE THE PROSPECTS OF PEACE BETTER IF ISRAEL RETAINS HER PRESENT FRONTIERS OR IF SHE HANDS OVER TERRITORIES TO THE ARAB STATES?**

The Arabs make no pretence of having given up their objective of wiping Israel off the face of the earth and liquidating her inhabitants—an objective that received the force of an operational order to the Jordanian Army upon its attack against Israel in June, 1967. Yet it is not inconceivable that they may offer a "political settlement", as Hitler did at Munich, in exchange for the territories they lost through their aggression. This, however, will restore the enormous strategic advantages they enjoyed before the Six Day War, rendered considerably more dangerous by the purposeful strengthening of their military potential by the U.S.S.R. and, since 1969, its physical involvement in military planning and manning. Arab forces, ranged on the heights of Samaria and Judea which are essential to the country's defense, could then in a single successful battle drive a wedge between the northern and southern part of Israel and cut the country in half. Egypt held the Sinai Peninsula almost exclusively as a military and air base for operations against Israel — making hardly any other use of the territory. Now that Israel holds Sinai the extra minutes of flight time required by Egypt's planes to reach Israel's cities may spell the difference between life and death for thousands of their civilian inhabitants.

The restoration of these strategic advantages to the Arabs will moreover serve as a temptation for renewed aggression. To the Arab rulers it will be a clear indication that it pays to attack us, for if they fail, they can always have their losses returned to them. To the terrorist organizations it will mean an enormous extension of their destructive activities. The bombing and shelling now aimed from Jordan and Lebanon at towns and villages along the frontier will be extended to the heart of Israel. Most population centers, including Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, will be within the radius of their mortars and all the roads exposed to their mines. There is no more certain way of ensuring renewed warfare than by making territorial concessions to the Arab rulers.

Retention of the liberated territories by Israel, on the other hand, will deprive them of any topographical advantage, and reduces their appetite for a renewed attack on Israel. Moreover, Israel sovereignty over the newly regained territory will make it possible to come to terms with the Arab inhabitants there. Israeli rule will be able to

undo many of the effects of the hate and horror propaganda on which the Arabs of Judea and Samaria, and even more so of Gaza, were fed for twenty years. Since the Six Day War they have discovered that the Jews are reasonable and conciliatory, and that they avoid undue interference in their affairs. Fair treatment and freedom of communication with the Arab world outside may ultimately turn them into a peaceful element that will use its influence in Amman and Cairo to cool aggressive ardours. If there is any hope of peace—hoped for by every Israeli irrespective of political affiliation—it lies in Israel's retaining the territories now in her hands.

**8. CAN ISRAEL SOLVE HER CURRENT SECURITY PROBLEMS MORE EASILY IN HER PRESENT FRONTIERS, OR IN REDUCED FRONTIERS ?**

Throughout the nineteen years of the armistice lines, which were nearly twice as long as the present ceasefire lines, Israel was harassed across one or other of her frontiers. The Six Day War decreased the threat of direct attack on Jewish towns and villages. The Egyptian artillery attacks across the Suez Canal do not hit a populated area. Repeated attempts at infiltration and terrorist attacks across the Jordan since the Six Day War have proved once again that though it is no easy task to deal with terrorism directed from the outside, it cannot make much headway without considerable support from the civilian population. Such support has not been given. Moreover this population can be pacified once it knows that Israel is here to stay and there is no advantage in currying favour with Arab rulers or outside terrorists. But as events have shown it becomes restive as soon as there is talk of imminent withdrawal and return to Arab rule. The Israel Army has developed counter measures which have reduced considerably the scale of terrorist incursions. There can be no doubt that Israel will be far less harassed in her present territory than she would be in reduced frontiers.

**9. WHAT WOULD BE THE EFFECT OF THE PROPOSED JEWISH WITHDRAWAL, THE STATIONING OF A U.N. FORCE AND DEMILITARIZING BORDER AREAS ?**

Experience demonstrates that "demilitarized zones" are valuable aids to aggressors. The terrorist organizations would soon establish themselves throughout the whole of Judea and Samaria, and then operate from the demilitarized border zone against the heart of the

civilian population in Israel. No U.N. force could or would prevent such terrorist activity with the appreciable sacrifices necessary for this purpose. It would however be on the alert to prevent counter-action by the Israel Army.

This force would in fact provide the physical screen—as the Security Council would provide the political cover—for the gradual, or not so gradual, conversion of the demilitarized zones into full-scale Arab bases for the next attempt on the life of an Israel cramped and handicapped even more than she was in May 1967.

#### 10. IS THERE A PALESTINIAN NATION?

The Arabs in Palestine regard and describe themselves as part of the "great Arab nation". They had a renewed incomparable opportunity, in 1947, to assert themselves as a nation when—after the Jews had forced the British to relinquish their control—the United Nations decided on the establishment of an Arab as well as a Jewish State in Western Palestine. They did not take the opportunity but, together with the Arab States, tried to destroy the infant State of Israel. When that effort failed, and the Armistice agreements were signed, they had a new opportunity. They gave not the faintest sign of wanting to live as a nation. They meekly allowed King Abdullah of Transjordan to annex the areas they lived in, and for the 20 years of Jordan rule, they did not lift a finger to change their status. The prestigious Egyptian Weekly "*El Mussawur*" declared in December 1968 that the "Palestine nation is the product of gradual planning, since world public opinion would hardly justify a war by a hundred million Arabs against a small (Israeli) nation". In an open symposium of all the terrorist organisations held in March 1970 most of the participants expressed the view that the aim of their "struggle" is the "liberation of Palestine as a way to All-Arab-Unity" and that "there is no need for an additional Arab state which will only deepen Arab discord".

#### 11. IS THE EXISTENCE OF AN ARAB MINORITY IN THE JEWISH STATE A NEW PHENOMENON ?

From its very beginnings the Zionist movement was aware that the Jews would have to live together with a sizeable Arab population. While striving for a state with a Jewish majority, the existence of a minority of Arabs enjoying full civil rights was fully accepted. Subsequently, the favourable economic conditions created by Zionist settlement attracted substantial numbers of Arab immigrants from

the neighbouring countries, who entered the country unimpeded by the British. When in 1947 the Zionist leaders accepted the partition scheme of the United Nations, Arabs constituted some 45 per cent of the population in the area envisaged for the Jewish State.

The reason why some Jews now shrink from the "demographic" problem is the suddenness of its re-emergence. Owing to the flight of the majority of the Arabs in 1948, in response to appeals of their leaders who promised speedy victory with the tempting prospect of taking over the Jewish possessions, the Arab minority during 1949--67 was so small as to obscure the problem.

Together with greater national security, the Six Day War brought back the problem of the Arab inhabitants. Henceforth there is no way of evading it. None of the various efforts at map-drawing to reduce its dimensions by territorial concession, while inevitably jeopardizing Israel's integrity and security, actually escapes the problem. We must face it squarely and apply all our wisdom, resource and patience to its solution.

## **12. IS IT MORAL FOR A JEWISH MAJORITY TO RULE OVER AN ARAB MINORITY ?**

If the rule of a majority people over a country containing one or several minority groups were immoral, the whole world would *be* faced with an insoluble problem in dealing with at least 10 per cent of its population living under these conditions. In fact there is nothing immoral or wrong in the rule of a majority. What is wrong and immoral is to treat a minority unfairly. The Arabs, as a majority people, rule over 19 sovereign states, extending from Morocco to the Persian Gulf and a gigantic area of 13 million square kilometres (about 5 million square miles). About a quarter of their population of some 100 million consists of minority groups, such as the Berbers in North Africa, the Druzes in Syria, the Kurds in Iraq and the Negroes in the Southern Sudan, most of whom are persecuted to varying degrees. The Negroes of the Sudan have been systematically massacred for several years.

To suggest that it should be immoral for 1,000,000 out of the 75,000,000 Arabs to live as a minority, free to maintain contact with their fellow Arabs and to develop their own cultural values, is sheer hypocrisy. No less is the suggestion that it should be immoral for the Jewish people to live in comparative security and without an immediate threat of aggression in the only land that it has.

**13. WHAT IS THE SIZE OF THE ARAB  
MINORITY WITHIN THE PRESENT FRONTIERS  
OF ISRAEL ?**

The Arab minority within the present boundaries (1970) is approximately 1,300,000. There were 350,000 in Israel before June 5, 1967; 60,000 are in Jerusalem, 320,000 in Gaza district and 570,000 in Judea and Samaria. These figures include an estimated 200,000 refugees living in open camps, mainly in the Gaza area. There accordingly are 66 per cent Jews to 34 per cent Arabs, Druzes and others in the entire area now under Israel control.

**14. NEED THE ARAB NATURAL INCREASE BE A  
CAUSE OF CONCERN?**

Already in the three years after 1967 the Jewish birthrate in Israel rose by 20 per cent and it is still rising, thus narrowing the gap. Moreover, it is likely that Arab emigration—a striking feature of the nineteen years of Jordanian rule—will continue. At the same time there has been a sharp rise in Jewish immigration, the numbers are rising from year to year, and there are more candidates for immigration than Israel is at present capable of coping with—a condition, however, which is improving. The net result of the operation of these factors since 1967 is that the numerical preponderance of the Jewish population has increased. In 1967 the ratio of Jews to non-Jews (Arabs, Druzes, and others) throughout the territory held by Israel was 63.2 per cent to 36.8 per cent. Today (early 1971) the ratio is 66 per cent to 34 per cent. There is no doubt that the Jewish people has the necessary resources, spiritual and material, to meet the challenge of the Arab natural increase.

**15. WHAT IS THE PRESENT PROSPECT OF  
ALIYA?**

We never knew where the next immigrants would come from. Even a short time ago few would have foretold that anti-Semitism would raise its head publicly in Poland, France and in other European countries, thus engendering a considerable aliya. The overt Zionist renaissance of Soviet Jewry is an event of momentous importance. Masses of Russian Jews will come home to Israel, turning the current trickle into hundreds of thousands.

There are more and more Jews in the United States and other Western countries who are willing and able to immigrate. Many Jews in the West want to educate their children in Israel and more young people want to study and work here than the provisions and facilities so far made available would allow. There are already more than ten

thousand students from the West in Israeli institutions of higher learning. The size and speed of immigration from the West depends largely on necessary and feasible changes that are anyhow essential to our progress, with a view to building up a competitive economy and making Israel an educational centre for the Jews of the world.

The aliya figures show all the signs of a great Return from all countries of the dispersion. In 1967 the aliya reached the low mark of 17,000; in 1968 the numbers were 31,000; in 1969-42,000; the expected figure for 1970 is 50,000. There is reason to expect that the Jewish population of Israel will be doubled during the seventies.

#### **16. WHAT SHOULD BE THE STATUS OF THE ARABS IN ISRAEL ?**

The Arabs should be offered the status of citizens, enjoying all civil rights, under conditions that enable them to live a full life by the lights of their religion and culture. They have their own schools guided by the principles governing the state system. Democratic local government institutions should be fostered and freedom of communication allowed between the Arabs of Israel and the Arab communities abroad. The economic situation of the Arab population in Judea, Samaria and Gaza is already much better than under Jordanian and Egyptian rule. Wages have more than doubled and there is virtually no unemployment. Agricultural output has increased since 1967 by 50 per cent.

#### **17. DOES THE ARAB REFUGEE PROBLEM DIFFER FROM OTHER REFUGEE PROBLEMS ?**

All the refugees who left their countries of residence after the Second World War were absorbed in the countries of their own peoples. This is true of victors and vanquished alike. Twelve million Germans who lived east of the Oder-Neisse rivers and elsewhere were reassimilated in West Germany. Two-and-a-half million Poles from the Soviet Union were reintegrated in Poland. A million Ukrainians and Byelo-Russians from Poland were absorbed in the Soviet Union. Two million Japanese from Eastern Asia were taken in by Japan. Some fourteen million refugees from India and Pakistan were resettled in their newly established states. These are only a few examples. In no case did the host countries either appeal for or receive any international grants or subsidies for this purpose. During this self-same period Israel herself, in addition to over 100,000 D.P.'s from Western Europe, took in almost a million Jewish refugees from the Arab

and Moslem states, driven out by hostile governments.

The Arabs are the only refugees who were not accepted by their own people, in spite of the enormous areas at their disposal, their great natural wealth and the hundreds of millions of dollars given to the Arab States for refugee rehabilitation by the U.N., on top of the 6 billion dollars they received in international aid since 1948. There accordingly was no material obstacle to prevent solving the problem of the refugees. But instead of using them for a constructive purpose, the funds were spent on armaments designed for Israel's destruction, and the refugee problem was kept alive by the same Arab leaders who had first created it in 1948 by urging the Arabs to leave the country "temporarily" until their glorious return with the victorious armies to inherit the Jewish possessions. Thousands of people were thus deliberately kept in idle stagnation to further the ends of the political and propaganda war against Israel and misrepresent her as the cause of their misfortune. The Arab refugee camps in Jordan, Lebanon and Syria are actually training grounds of various terrorist organizations, controlled by them but financed by the United Nations (UNRWA).

#### **18. WHAT IS THE NATURE OF THE PALESTINE TERRORIST ORGANISATIONS? WHAT ARE THEIR SOLUTIONS ?**

The Arab terrorist organisations officially number 12. Their membership is mixed, with a substantial proportion of Transjordanians, Syrians and Iraqis. Many of their officers and members have been seconded from one or other of the regular armies of the Arab States. They operate in the Arab States adjacent to Israel, especially Syria, Jordan and Lebanon. The H.Q.'s, commands and communications of the terrorist organisations do not know any of the strains and dangers imposed on resistance movements. Their establishments, bureaucracies and leaders are well sheltered inside the Arab States. In Jordan and Lebanon the Governments have in effect allotted them special areas for their bases and operations. They are financed and armed by the Arab governments. Some of them are in fact an additional arm of the Arab States, more particularly of Egypt and Syria. The second biggest terrorist organisation, Saiqua, is to all intents and purposes a special unit of the Syrian army, trained, armed and commanded by Syrian Army H.Q.

Their operations against Israel are carried out from the adjacent territories—mostly artillery fire across the borders. Their targets are

usually civilian: the Jewish villages, and villagers, on the border.

The terrorist organisations—with the help of foreign advisers and very heavy financial aid from the Arab oilbearing States—have made effective use of communications media to build up a highly imaginative, and imaginary, image of a valiant underground movement, produced and maintained by the Arabs of Palestine, operating inside Israel-held territory, bravely facing the Israeli Army. In fact no terrorist centre operates from Israeli territory.

The political objective of all of them is the destruction of the State of Israel and the expulsion of the Jews. The more sophisticated among them "soften" the impact of this aim by calling for the "dismantling" -of the Jewish State and its replacement by a "democratic" State of Palestine—of Moslems, Christians and Jews—that is, an enlarged Jordan with a Jewish minority (if indeed the Jews were allowed to survive), According to the "National Palestinian Covenant" accepted and ratified by all terrorist organisations—Fatah and the "Popular Front" included in 1967 and 1968, only Jews who lived in Palestine before 1917 (3 per cent of the present Jewish population of Israel) would be granted citizenship.

#### 19. WHAT SHOULD BE ISRAEL'S ATTITUDE TO THE ROGERS PLAN ?

An outright rejection of the plan, accompanied by a vigorous publicity campaign throughout the world could prevent a disaster for the Western peoples. Israel's retreat from Suez and Sinai would ensure Soviet domination of the Middle East, opening to Moscow the gates to the Indian Ocean, the whole of Africa and the Persian Gulf. It would deprive Israel of its vital lines against the threat of annihilation. An Israeli withdrawal would compel her to devote all her material resources and manpower to her defence, dangerously undermining her economic balance and threatening her very existence as a State and as a living people.

Soviet intervention would continue, and the Rogers frontiers would be much less defensible than those of May 1967. Israel's population centres would be under constant attack by the long-range guns of terrorist organizations, and their infiltrators, backed by the Arab States.

No vague reassuring American promises of help in the undefined future can change that grim prospect. No government, however powerful, however well-meaning, has the right to demand the equivalent of self-destruction, even by stages, of another people. Chamberlain, in

order to appease Hitler, did it rudely to Czechoslovakia in 1938. Nixon, in order to make a deal, as he thinks, with the Soviet Union, and buy Arab regard, is doing it deviously in 1970 to Israel and the Jewish remnant.

A determined stand by Israel today will bring the realization of the unpalatable truth to the American people and the Western world.

#### **20. WHAT IS THE BASIS FOR PEACE NEGOTIATIONS?**

Israel should be prepared to negotiate peace treaties with all the neighbouring states, jointly or severally. The basis of the negotiations must be the present ceasefire lines with possible modifications, just as the negotiations in 1949 were based on the then ceasefire lines. Israel should offer a generous programme for economic and technical co-operation and extensive cultural exchange and communications. Until such time as a final peace treaty is signed, the rights of Israel's Arab citizens will be safeguarded as a matter of course by Israeli law.

#### **21. WHAT CAN BE DONE AGAINST SOVIET INTERVENTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST ?**

The spread of Soviet power in Egypt could have been prevented and could still be halted if the United States made it plain that it would not be tolerated. The Soviet government is neither eager to start, nor capable of waging the full-scale war that would be needed for her to force an Israeli withdrawal. To fight Israel would be a far more hazardous undertaking for Moscow than the U.S. venture in Vietnam. Nor does she seek a physical confrontation with the U.S. Moscow is also not unduly upset by considerations of prestige accompanying a back-down. Moscow has learnt the lore of brinkmanship. She is "trying it on". She tried it on in Azerbaijan in 1946, in Cuba in 1962—and withdrew gracefully in each case when confronted by a strong will of Truman or John Kennedy. If she gets her way now, there will be no stopping her. It so happens that Israel's security has become bound up with holding the global line against Soviet expansionism. And Israel should be encouraged and helped to hold this line.

**END OF PAMPHLET**