פרופסורים אמריקאים
למען השלום במז"ת
ברק א'

נפתח: 1.1.75

נסגר: 31.12.76

1-16

מלא:
פרופסורים אמריקאים למען השלום במז"ת
ברק א'

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East

Israel liaison office
18 Keren Hayesod street
Jerusalem, Israel
Telephone 34898

Rivka Hadary, director

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

24 October 1975

Dear Colleague:

In a region seldom characterized as quiescent, two major problems are today provoking special concern. The first is the November 30th renewal date of UNDOF on the Israel-Syria border and the second is the status of the Palestinians.

We invite you to participate in a series of field days designed to offer a closer appraisal of these problems by focusing on the complex military, political and human factors involved.

1. Syria - Israel

17 - 18 November 1975:

Opening session in Jerusalem; Overnight at Kibbutz HaGoshrim; Visits at Kiryat Shmona; at kibbutzim and at army camps on the Golan Heights.

2. The Palestinians

26 - 27 November 1975: For visitors from the Jerusalem and Beersheva areas

10 - 11 December 1975: For visitors from the Haifa area

21 - 22 January 1976: For visitors from the Tel Aviv and Rehovot areas

Each of these field missions will begin in the evening with a background briefing and will include visits on the next day to villages and towns to meet with residents of the West Bank.

To reserve a place for yourself (and, of course, for your husband or wife) please fill out the enclosed card, indicating that you will come to the Golan Field Day and/or the appropriate Field Day on the Palestinians.

These missions always fill up quickly, so please let us hear from you by return mail if possible.

Cordially,

Helen Rivkin

Helen Rivkin
Coordinator of Activities

AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST
Israel Liaison Office

24 October 1975

MEMO.

Details of Field Trip to Northern Israel and the Golan Heights

Monday, 17 November 1975

1. This mission will begin with a background analysis of recent developments in Syria by Prof. Moshe Maoz (Chairman of the Institute of Asian and African Studies, Hebrew University) at the Van Leer Institute, 43 Jabotinsky St., Jerusalem, at 9:00 A.M.

2. For those from the Tel Aviv - Rehovot area, one bus will leave from the main gate at the Weizmann Institute at 7:15 A.M. for Jerusalem and will terminate there the next evening. Please let us know on the enclosed post card if you are interested in this arrangement.

3. At 11:00 A.M., we will leave Jerusalem by bus and travel north (with a lunch stop) to Kiryat Shmona, located on the Lebanese border, for a tour and discussion with residents of the town.

4. Dinner and accommodations are reserved at the Kibbutz HaGoshrim Guest House, where we will have an opportunity to relax and enjoy an informal evening getting better acquainted.

Tuesday, 18 November 1975

5. At 8:00 A.M., the buses will leave for visits to military outposts on the Golan Heights as guests of the Israel Defense Forces.

6. Our last stop on the Golan will be a visit to Merom HaGolan and a discussion with members of that kibbutz.

7. On our return trip, we will stop in Tiberias for a late lunch and an evaluation by participants.

8. Registration for the two-day Field Mission, including overnight reservations at the kibbutz guest house, kosher meals, and chartered bus transportation is IL 135.00 per person.*

*Please, should you find after reserving a place that you are unable to attend - please inform the office of your cancellation. Space is severely limited; there is always a waiting list, and your notification will enable a colleague to participate.

AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST
Israel Liaison Office

24 October 1975

M E M O

Details of Field Trip to the West Bank

In order to permit informal and intensive discussion with Palestinians, the Field Mission will be repeated three times. Each time it will be designed only for professors living in a specific area and attendance will be limited.

For Visitors Residing in Jerusalem and Beersheva areas:

Wednesday, 26 November 1975

1. The mission will begin with a background analysis by Gideon Weigert, Israeli journalist and specialist on Arab affairs. The briefing will be held at the Zalman Shazar Center, 4 Hovevei Zion, Jerusalem, at 8:00 P.M.

Thursday, 27 November 1975

2. At 8:00 A.M., a bus will leave the parking lot of the Moriah Hotel, Keren Hayesod Street, Jerusalem, for the West Bank.

3. The day will be spent in the company of Mr. Weigert, visiting various communities on the West Bank for discussions with residents.

4. We will have lunch in a local Arab restaurant. Please let us know if you want arrangements for a kosher box lunch.

5. We will return to Jerusalem in the late afternoon for a cup of coffee and a wrap-up and evaluation by participants.

6. Registration is IL 45.00 per person.*

*Please, as in the case of the previous mission, should you find after reserving a place that you are unable to attend - please inform the office of your cancellation - to enable a colleague to participate.

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East

Israel liaison office
18 Keren Hayesod street
Jerusalem, Israel
Telephone 34898

Rivka Hadary, director

September 1975

From: Rivka Hadary

Re: Report - Academic Year 1974 - 75

The effectiveness of Israel's presentation of its position in the Middle East conflict to public opinion in the United States has been this year's cause célèbre. And indeed, not only does American public opinion have a significant effect on legislative action, but that opinion is influenced by the academic world which is often both articulate and politically involved.

With this in mind, the Liaison Office has directed a good deal of energy to learning more about the segment of the American academic community which visits Israel; and in providing enough facts about the background of the conflict to enable these visitors to form knowledgeable conclusions. On their subsequent return to the U.S., APPME provides the continuing vehicle for the expression of these conclusions through effective campus activity, and from there to the community at large.

The enclosed Year-End Report outlines seven areas of general activity. Appendix B concentrates on Programming for Sabbaticals.

Appendix A is a report of a questionnaire distributed to visitors. This year a section was included which asked for opinions about some of the most complex problems in the current political situation in the Middle East. This section was added with hesitation because of the obvious difficulty of dealing with such complicated problems in a "multiple choice" format. Nevertheless, the format does force the individual to express an opinion. These expressions of opinion offer an interesting index of how the information picture can be evaluated. (By the way, a greater percentage of visiting professors completed and returned the questionnaire than did so last year when the section was not included.)

Again, we invite your ideas and suggestions in our efforts to inform and activate the American academic community. Please let us hear from you.

Cordially,

R.H.

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East
Israel Liaison Office Jerusalem

September 1975

Report on Activities

Academic Year 1974 - 1975

The Israel Liaison Office of American Professors for Peace in the Middle East intensified services during the year

to American professors visiting Israel for longer or shorter periods;
to the APPME National Office in the U.S.;
to APPME campus groups and individual academics in the U.S.;
to professors on study missions to Israel; and
to Israeli agencies, organizations and individuals.

Activity was centered around the following seven major areas:

Study Missions.

In addition to the regular Study Missions which the Liaison Office fully programmed and administered, cooperation was extended to the special Mission of APPME members which arrived in Israel, in June, for a four day stay after visiting Egypt, Syria and Jordan. Representatives of the Arab Countries Mission reported to some 95 colleagues and Israeli guests at a Reception in Jerusalem. Meetings and individual arrangements were taken care of for those professors who stayed on in Israel after the official departure of the group.

22 December 1975 - 1 January 1975: 16 participants from 15 universities. Focus was on the responses of Israeli society to the critical political climate and to future political options.

11 June 1975 - 25 June 1975: 13 participants from 10 universities. Focus was on an examination of specific problem areas in the conflict which appear to be most resistant to solution.

Servicing of American Professors on Sabbatical.

The Liaison Office was in contact with 303 American academics (coincidentally, the exact number for the previous academic year) who visited during some part of the '74-'75 academic year. Represented were 111 universities and 9 research institutions from the U.S.; 15 universities in Canada. These account for 33 states in the U.S. and 7 Canadian provinces.

These 303 American academics were associated, during their stay with 16 Israeli institutions of higher learning.

Sixty-nine affiliated formally with APPME during their stay.

Attached, as Appendix A, is an analysis of a questionnaire which was distributed by mail to Sabbatical professors in May, 1975. The analysis includes personal and professional data, and responses to attitudinal questions about the Arab-Israel Conflict.

Also attached, as Appendix B, is a report which gives the details of the special programming provided for sabbaticals, including Field Missions, individual servicing, background mailings, etc.

Individual Academics.

There has been increasing emphasis during this past year in providing individual assistance to visiting professors who come to Israel for brief or extended stays. The assistance has often been on a referral basis for aid in the personal adjustment to a foreign country. Most often however, it has taken the form of professional referrals and contacts for academics involved in research projects. In this regard, meetings, interviews and in-field sessions were arranged as appropriate to the project.

Two examples:

1. A political scientist from State University of N.Y., New Paltz was engaged in research to determine the inter-action and influence of Israeli academics upon the decision-making process in Israel foreign policy. Interviews were arranged for him with nine government leaders and public figures. The analysis will be available shortly.

2. A professor of History from Allegheny College, Cumberland, Md., who had worked for extended periods in Saudi Arabia and Lebanon was spending a brief part of his sabbatical in Israel. The services of a private guide specializing in archeology were arranged in order for him to visit the sites in the Old City presently under discussion by UNESCO. At the professor's request he was also put into contact with newspaper people.

In this way over 50 individuals were serviced and about 90 meetings arranged.

Reports on meetings and assistance offered visitors are sent to New York for organizational purposes.

U.S. Lecture Project.

The Liaison Office continued working with the Israel Universities Study Group and other Israeli agencies in the selection of Israeli academics and public figures for lecture tours of American universities. Visiting lecturers are briefed before their departure on the current atmosphere of American campuses, on the nature of the communities they will visit, as well as on APPME, under whose auspices they would be appearing.

During 1974-75, 9 Israeli academics went on tours of approximately 2 weeks duration to universities and to regional conferences sponsored by APPME. In this way 90 campuses were visited involving 237 meetings.

Lecturers to the States are contacted on their return for their impressions and their evaluation.

Consultative Services.

Consultative assistance re programming was provided to non-APPME study missions and/or individuals on special projects. Experience with the interests and American cultural frame of reference as well as an immediacy with the Israeli scene has made it possible to suggest resource people, speakers or individualized field trips. On a general level, meetings were held with visitors from Europe and Australia who are involved with information work.

Editorial Work for APPME Publications.

The Liaison Office provided assistance in the publication of APPME periodicals, journals and books. At the request of the Editor and the Publications Committee, Israeli specialists were selected and contacted to contribute materials for these publications. Follow-through and transmission of manuscripts was given attention. Special attention was required for the volume The Palestinians, the need for which demanded its publication within a very short time.

Service to the Wider Community. Copies of all APPME publications (the Bulletin, Middle East Review, Jerusalem and The Palestinians) were distributed to a growing number of libraries and agencies, individuals in related fields and public personalities.

The book, Jerusalem, was very well received and repeated requests came from many sources. In so far as supply permitted, it was distributed in larger quantities to the Municipality of Jerusalem, Hebrew University, the Israel Office of Information and various information centers abroad.

An annotated bibliography, in English, on the background of the Middle East conflict, for use by Sabbaticals, students, and others is in preparation.

APPME participates in meetings of the Resident Directors of American Organizations in Israel. It cooperates with the Interfaith Committee, the Israel Universities Study Group, and other institutions - academic, governmental and community.

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East
Israel Liaison Office Jerusalem September 1975

Report: Appendix A

Analysis of Questionnaire

Americans on Sabbatical 1974 - 1975

In April 1975, a questionnaire was mailed to 285 American professors currently in Israel. It was designed to obtain detailed information on a personal and professional level about academic visitors on Sabbatical in Israel, and to determine what kind of informational programming and publications would best meet their interests and needs.

In addition, a series of questions was inserted for the first time which dealt with attitudes and opinions concerning the Israel-Arab conflict.

Of those contacted, 114 responded; that is, 40%, which is a significantly high percentage.

The first section of the questionnaire inquired into the following areas:

What is the average age of the visitors; what is their marital status; how many children did they bring to Israel and what are their ages; what is the predominant religion?

What universities are they affiliated with; what are their highest earned degrees; what major disciplines and what academic statuses are represented; from what part of the United States do they come?

What motivated them to choose Israel as the location of their Sabbatical year abroad; what is the nature of their interest in this country; i.e., is it purely professional; if additional motivating factors are involved, to what extent; what is the nature of the interest or the tie?

Are their differences in the population of the Sabbatical visitors of 1974-75 which differ markedly from the past or which indicate certain trends?

1. Personal Data (all figures listed below are percentages)

a.

Location in Israel	Percentage of Respondents
Jerusalem	42
Tel Aviv	14
Rehovot	22
Haifa	15
Beer Sheva	6

b. Length of Stay:

	Percentage:
Three months	4
Six months	11
One year	54
Two years	9
Indefinite	17
Not indicated	4

c. Age:

	Percentage:
20 - 29	4
30 - 39	35
40 - 49	35
50 - 59	18
60 - 69	2

d. Religion:

Jewish	89
Christian	7
Indicated "None"	4

e. Marital Status:

	Percentage:
Married	85
Single	10
Divorced	4
Widowed	1

f. Number of accompanying children per family:

	Percentage:
None	28
One	16
Two	24
Three	23
Four or more	9

g. Ages of Children:

	Percentage:
Up to 5 years	23
6 - 12 years	51
13 - 17 years	18
18 years and over	7

(The total number of accompanying children was 195.)

As in the past, Sabbatical professors during 1974-75 are relatively young. Fully 70% are between the ages of 30 and 49. This helps account for the fact that the vast majority are married (85%) and brought children (72%), and the fact that fully 69% of the children were of school age. The adjustment of the

the children to strange and therefore difficult school situations is a significant determinant in the overall impact of the Israeli experience on the professors. The possible establishment of a limited referral service by the Liaison Office may help professors over the initial difficulties of acclimating their families to the various educational facilities and approaches which exist within Israel.

The need for providing specialized non-classroom educational experiences for teen age children has been noted in past reports. This kind of programming obviously does not fall under the purview of the APPME Liaison Office. However, the office continues to believe that the value of providing positive experiences to returning young Americans heading for American campuses cannot be overestimated. We continue to be most willing to cooperate with the appropriate department or agency in the development of such projects.

A slight fall off of Christian respondents has been noted this year, i.e., 14% in 1973-74, 7% in 1974-75.

2. Professional Data (figures listed below are percentages)

a.

Highest Earned Degree	Percentage of Respondents:
Ph.D.	81
B.A.	0
M.A.	9
M.D.	8
Other	2

b.

Status at Home University:	Percentage:
Sabbatical	46
Leave of absence	32
Other	16
Not indicated	6

c.

Status in Israel:	Percentage:
Visiting Professors	54
Private Research	13
Oleh	2
Other (usually research fellowships)	25
Not indicated	7

d.

Discipline:	Percentage:
Humanities	17
Social Sciences	20
Physical Sciences	16
Biological Sciences	13
Engineering	7
Mathematics	13
Medicine	8
Law	1
Business	3
Other	1

e. Region:

Region:	Percentage:
Northeast	42
South	6
Middle West	20
West Coast	16
Canada	11
Not indicated	5

As in the past, the figures confirm that the majority of professors are in the fields of mathematics or the sciences rather than the humanities or social sciences. However, the choice of which fields of study are represented is as much a function of which Israeli institutions invite visitors and in which fields the Israeli universities are interested, as it is a function of which professors choose Israel for their sabbaticals.

In all parts of the U.S., legislators are responsive to local public opinion and pressure. It is extremely important to APPME therefore in its organizational follow-through, not only to be aware of the region of the country from which the Sabbaticals come, but also to take note of each campus involved.

It is essential to keep in mind then that, on the total level of contact and activity (and not limiting ourselves to those who responded to the questionnaire) the Israel Liaison Office during the 1974-75 academic year dealt with 303 professors. These academics came from 111 universities plus 9 research institutions in the U.S., and from 15 universities in Canada. The universities are to be found in 33 U.S. states and 7 Canadian provinces.

There has been an increase this year in professors from Canadian universities and provinces - a fact of some significance which will be useful to the Canadian Professors for Peace in the Middle East which was formally established during the past year.

3. Attraction to Israel

The professors who received the questionnaire were asked to choose from among several possible reasons that academics come to Israel on sabbatical.

Reasons for Choice of Israel:	Percentage of Total Responses:
Teaching Opportunities	6
Religion and/or Culture	51
Identification with Israel	75
Research Opportunities	30
Trial Period for Aliyah	21
Curiosity	9

Since the respondents were encouraged to choose more than on reason where applicable, each of the figures represents the percentage of total responses to the question

The salient factor in the above was that 75% of the visitors indicated that Identification with Israel was the primary or second most important reason for choosing Israel for a Sabbatical year - followed by Religion and/or Culture (51%).

Also of interest is the fact that fully one-fifth felt that Trial Period for Aliyah is a primary reason.

Another important factor is the special case of Weizmann Institute, which offers many post-doctorate research fellowships to young scientists and which is world famous for its specialized research.

4. Areas of Interest

The next section of the questionnaire detailed a series of 24 individual topics on different subjects and asked professors to indicate their interest or non-interest in specific programs dealing with the subjects represented. Broadly speaking, the subjects covered three major areas of study:

a. Israel Foreign Policy and International Relations

b. Israeli Internal Developments and Policies

c. Ideological and Cultural Bases of the State

Following is a list, by order of preference, of those subjects in which the most interest was expressed:

Subject:	Responses:
Israel and the Arab States	66
Israeli Society under Stress	64
Israel's Strategic and Military Position	56
Israeli Arabs	53
Peace Options	53
The Occupied Areas	51

The six subjects listed below were those in which the least interest was expressed:

Subject:	Responses:
Zionism	38
Syria's Position in the Arab World	33
Oil and the Middle East	32
Egypt under Sadat	31
The Kibbutz	28
The October War and its Aftermath	28

Consistently, visiting academics look to APPME to bring them information, through study programs, publications, and field missions, on those subjects dealing with the conflict in the Middle East, with Israel's relationships

with her immediate neighbors, and with the agonizing problems of peace and war.

5. Political Attitudes

This year, for the first time, an attempt was made to learn something about the political interpretations and conclusions regarding the Arab-Israel conflict which were reached by visitors after a number of months in the region. This section of the questionnaire was prepared with hesitancy - almost trepidation - that requests for attitudanal responses might "turn off" the professors, and because of the knowledge that opinions do not easily lend themselves to restrictive "multiple-choice" responses. Knowing, however, that a start must be made somewhere, a series of questions was asked which called for opinions on the following areas:

The position of the Arab states, Israel and the United States on resolution of the conflict;

Alternatives regarding the occupied territories;

Factors affecting the possibility of war in the area;

Self-descriptions by the respondents with regard to the above political issues.

On the positions of the States involved, the following figures represent percentages of total responses:

a. The Arab states . . .:	Percentage of:
Egypt is now prepared for peace with Israel	10
Syria is now prepared for peace with Israel	0
Are ready to accept Israel once their territories are returned	14
Have as their eventual goal the destruction of Israel	68
Other (suggested by respondent)	3
No answer	9

b. Israel's position is . . .:	Percentage:
Intransigent	2
Appeasing	2
Far sighted	1
Inflexible	6
Realistic	54
Flexible	5
Short term	30
Firm	19
Other	5
No answer	5

c. The long range interest of the United States is:

	Percentage:
To maintain a strong Israel	73
To build stronger ties with the Arab states	22
To settle the Conflict as quickly as possible	40
To induce Israel to be more flexible	13
Other	2
No answer	3

d. The March 1975 step-by-step diplomacy failed because:

	Percentage:
Of Israel's unwillingness to accept Egypt's position	12
The Israeli public would not permit its leadership to accept less than a non-belligerency statement	24
Egypt was unwilling to make political concessions in return for territory	60
Egypt could not make political concessions against the demands of other Arab countries	47
No answer	7

On the occupied territories (figures are percentages of total responses):

a. Israel should relinquish (with a peace treaty):

	Percentage:
The West Bank	36
The Golan Heights	9
Gaza	32
East Jerusalem	4
Sinai	48
With modified borders, all of the areas	37
Nothing	4
Other	2
No answer	6

b. Israel should relinquish (without a peace treaty):

	Percentage:
The West Bank	4
The Golan Heights	3
Gaza	3
East Jerusalem	0
Sinai	18
With modified borders, all of the areas	3
Nothing	69
Other	3
No Answer	6

c. With regard to the West Bank, Israel should:

	Percentage:
Accept a PLO Palestinian state	9
Accept a Palestinian state, without the PLO	24
Accept a Palestinian state "federated" with Jordan	46
Accept only the presence of Jordan	17
Annex the West Bank	15
Maintain the status-quo	6
Other	5
No answer	10

d. Jerusalem should:

	Percentage:
Become an international city	5
Be divided again as before 1967	0
Remain a united city with provision for Arab sovereignty in specified places	60
Remain a united city as it is today	35

On war and peace (figures are percentages of total responses):

a. In the near future:

	Percentage:
War is inevitable	4
War is probable	41
There is some possibility of war	39
There is a slight chance for a peace settlement	36
There is a good chance for a peace settlement	3
No answer	3

b. The main stumbling block to peace in the Middle East

	Percentage:
Is the unresolved problem of Palestinian refugees	20
Is the right of the Palestinians for their own state	7
Is the involvement and competition for influence by the Superpowers	20
Is the Russian interest in preventing solution	14
Is Israel's unwillingness to return territories	4
Are the expansionist desires of Zionism and Israel	1
Is the Arab inability to accept a Jewish state	79
No answer	7

On self-characterization about above political issues (figures are percentages of total responses):

a. Political position:

	Percentage:
Liberal	69
Conservative	13
Hawk	5
Dove	18
Other	3
No answer	7

b. Changes in political position since visit:	Percentage:
More liberal	2
More conservative	15
More hawkish	27
More dovish	4
Remained the same	54
No answer	4

Of importance in the above responses is the apparent consensus of opinion which emerges. Although it is not possible to define political outlooks in objective terminology, nevertheless, normal modern usage itself defines these terms. The percentages would indicate that most of the professors can be considered "moderate". This moderation is especially salient in the responses dealing with Israel's ideal courses of action (with and without peace treaties) with regard to the occupied territories.

The visitors consider themselves to be in the tradition of political "liberals". Many found that the experience in Israel gave them a somewhat more conservative outlook although most felt that they had not changed substantially.

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East
Israel Liaison Office Jerusalem

September 1975

Report: Appendix B

Programming for Sabbaticals 1974 - 1975

This aspect of programming was directed toward American academics who spent part or all of the academic year on research or at one of the institutions of higher learning in Israel. It is from within this group that an excellent source of potential leadership and growth for APPME may be found. Programs, field missions, seminars and published material provide information and analysis of the conflict and its background in order to develop, on the part of the visitor, a personal identification and commitment to continuing activity.

1. Field Missions. A series of five field missions focusing on the problems between Israel and bordering Arab countries.

a. "The Palestinians, Jordan and Israel": 21 November 1974 77 participants. A one day field mission, including the Allenby Bridge and Nahal settlement, Na'aran. Analysis-discussion with Dr. Emanuel Sivan, Dept. of General History, Hebrew University.

b. "Israel-Egypt": 12-13 January 1975 71 participants. The mission began with an analysis-discussion by Mr. Daniel Dishon, Shiloah Institute for Middle East and African Studies, and Mr. Moshe Yegar, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Field trip into the Sinai included stops at the UN Headquarters at Rabah and two army bases, with briefings by the UN and by Israel Defense Forces officers, plus a final evaluation session by the participants.

c. "Israel-Syria": 5-6 February 1975 85 participants. The mission began with an analysis-discussion with Dr. Itamar Rabinovich, Acting Director of Shiloah Institute. The field mission included visits to Kibbutz Menara on the Lebanese border, visits to army installations and fortifications on the Golan Heights, and to Kibbutz Merom Hagolan on the border facing Kuneitra. It ended with an evaluation session by participants.

d. "Israel-Syria": 5-6 March 1975 42 participants. Because of a large waiting list for the previous month's field trip to the Golan Heights, the mission was repeated one month later, beginning with an analysis-discussion by Prof. Moshe Maoz, Dept. of Asian and African Studies, Hebrew University. The itinerary was identical to the previous one.

e. "Defense Strategy and Security Needs": 14 May 1975 85 participants. A one day field mission designed to examine Israel's security needs and defense strategy, beginning with a visit to an Air Force Base, and briefings by Israel Defense Forces officers. This was followed by an analysis-discussion led by Dr. Max Singer, World Institute, and Col. Shlomo Baum. An organizational evaluation completed the Field Day.

2. Seminars.

a. Seminar I - "Sources of Traditional Islamic Attitudes towards Jews": Spring, 1975. Chairman, Prof. William Brinner, Dept. of Near East Studies, University of California. Two series: one each in Haifa and Jerusalem; each series consisting of two sessions plus Field Trip to the Village of Abu Ghosh and to Bethlehem. 37 participants.

b. Seminar II - "Politics of Democracy: Israel": Spring, 1975. Chairman, Prof. Daniel Elazar, Dept. of Political Science, Temple University. Two sessions. 15 participants.

3. Informational Mailings.

a. APPME Publications:

1) Middle East Review	No.I, Fall, 1974 "The Palestinians: Problems and Possibilities."
2) Middle East Review	No. II, Winter, '74 - '75 "Social Trends in the Arab World."
3) Middle East Information Series	No. 26 - 27, Spring - Summer, 1974 "The Energy Problem and the Middle East."
4) Middle East Issues Series	No. 1. January, 1975
5) Bulletin	June, 1974 "Prospects for Disengagement."
6) Bulletin	December, 1974 "Palestinian Question . . . "
7) Bulletin	January, 1975 "The Mystique and Myth of UNESCO."
8) Sinai Report	Excerpts from an internal report prepared by Ms. Anne Sinai, APPME editor, after her visit to Arab countries.

b. General Publications: Publications are offered - for one issue - as English language periodicals which, though in no way endorsed by APPME, visitors may find of interest. These included a catalogue of books and articles on Middle East and African Studies, Keter Publishing House; "Israel Digest"; "New Outlook"; "D.I.A." and "Co-existence".

4. UNESCO Protest Statement. 27 February 1975. Sabbaticals were invited to add their names to a statement of protest against the anti-Israel stand taken by UNESCO. The statement with 114 signatures was published as an ad in the "Jerusalem Post". It was sent to UNESCO headquarters in Paris. Prof. William Brinner, University of California and Prof. Paul Sigler, University of Chicago, representing APPME, presented a copy of the Statement to U.S. Ambassador Kenneth Keating at a meeting at the Embassy in Tel Aviv.

5. Questionnaire. A questionnaire was sent to sabbatical professors, requesting not only personal information, but containing for the first time a series of questions about the respondents' political positions vis-a-vis the Middle East conflict. (See Appendix A)

מברק יוצא — מסווג

משרד החוץ
מחלקת הקשר

ארכיון עמ' 25 איגוד הסוכנים לאמריקה
דוח האיגוד ו.ד.ש

סודי ביותר. תרגום מסמך זה כולו או מקצתו לאדם שאינו מוסמך לכך — עובר על החוק לתיקון דיני העונשין (בטחון המדינה יחסי־חוץ וסודות רשמיים). תשי"ז — 1957.

APPME

מס. 322
נשלח 131500 מאי 75

ש מ ו ר

אל: ניו-יורק
מאת: המשרד

עדרון-שלכט 101.

APPME

הגשבו בקשה לאישור הספי ונודיעכם בשבוע הבא.
אנחנו בקשר עם הסכל גדבר הסוכנות אשר לדבריו כבר שלם ל-
חלקנו.

APPME גם

הסברה

נוסב הסברה כספים

APPME

ירושלים, א' סיון תשל"ה
11 במאי 1975

לכבוד
גב' רבקה הדרי
ארגון פרופסורים אמריקאים
למען השלום במזה"ת
רח' קרן היסוד 18
ירושלים

רבקה היקרה,

הנני מעביר אליך העתקי מכתבים של פרופסורים אמריקאים שהשתתפו לאחרונה בכנס מדעי באוניברסיטת בן-גוריון בנגב. לפי המכתבים כל כותביהם מועמדים טובים לשיתוף פעולה בעבודת APPME באוניברסיטאותיהם. נראה לי רצוי שתעבירי שמותיהם למשרדכם בניו-יורק.

ב ב ר כ ה,

מ. עופר

העתק: מר י. לוי, הקונסוליה הכללית, ניו-יורק

המרצים הנאצלים
מתוך רשימת הקלמרים

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East

Israel liaison office
18 Keren Hayesod street
Jerusalem, Israel
Telephone 34898

MEMO

TO: M. YEGER

FROM: HELEN RIVKIN

RE: QUESTIONNAIRE 1975

Enclosed, for your information, is a copy of the questionnaire sent to visiting Americans on sabbatical in Israel during 1974-75. This year for the forst time we added a section (see part III) whose purpose is to get some feedback on the political leanings of American visitors.

We'll be happy to share with you the results of the questionnaire after they have been analyzed.

H.R.

AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST
Israel Liaison Office 18 Keren Hayesod St. Jm. Tel: 02-34898

April 1975

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name_____ Date of birth_____

Address in Israel_____ Phone number_____

Address in U.S._____ City & State_____

2. Marital status: ( ) Single ( ) Married ( ) Widowed ( ) Divorced

No. of accompanying children_____ Ages_____

Highest earned academic degree_____ Religion_____

3. University affiliation in U.S. or Canada_____

Department_____

Present status: ( ) Sabbatical ( ) Leave of absence

( ) Other_____

4. University affiliation in Israel_____

Department_____

Present status: ( ) Visiting Professor ( ) Private research

( ) Other_____

Date of arrival in Israel_____ Projected date of departure_____

5. What, in your opinion, are the two most important reasons that academics choose Israel for their Sabbatical years? (Please indicate numbers 1 and 2 in order of importance.)

( ) Teaching opportunities ( ) Research opportunities

( ) Religion and/or culture ( ) Trial period for aliyah

( ) Identification with Israel ( ) Curiosity

6. Were you aware of APPME in the States? ( ) Yes ( ) No

Were you affiliated with APPME in the States? ( ) Yes ( ) No

Part II

Below are a number of possible programming topics that have been suggested. There is also a scale to indicate your level of interest.

a. Definitely interested
b. Possibly interested
c. Not interested

(Please circle)

a b c	1.	Israel and International Relations
a b c	2.	Israel and the Arab States
a b c	3.	Superpower Involvement in the Middle East
a b c	4.	Israeli Society Under Stress
a b c	5.	Palestinian Nationalism
a b c	6.	Zionism
a b c	7.	The PLO - Background and Current Status
a b c	8.	Egypt Under Sadat
a b c	9.	Syria's Position in the Arab World
a b c	10.	Israel's Strategic and Military Position
a b c	11.	Oil and the Middle East
a b c	12.	Israeli Arabs
a b c	13.	The Occupied Areas
a b c	14.	The Kibbutz
a b c	15.	Ethnic Communities
a b c	16.	The Social and Economic Gap
a b c	17.	The Economy of Israel
a b c	18.	The October War and its Aftermath
a b c	19.	Peace Options
a b c	20.	Terrorism
a b c	21.	The Israeli Political System
a b c	22.	The Role and Influence of the Israel Defence Forces
a b c	23.	Moslem Culture
a b c	24.	The Significance of Jerusalem

Part III

Below are a number of statements which reflect various political points of view. In each statement, please check the phrase or phrases with which you most agree.

1. The Arab states today: -

( ) Egypt is now prepared for peace with Israel
( ) Syria is now prepared for peace with Israel
( ) are ready to accept Israel once their territories are returned
( ) have as their eventual goal the destruction of Israel

2. As part of a peace treaty, Israel should be prepared to relinquish

( ) the West Bank ( ) Gaza ( ) East Jerusalem
( ) the Golan Heights ( ) Sinai
( ) nothing ( ) with modified borders, all of the areas

3. Without a peace treaty, Israel should be prepared to relinquish

( ) the West Bank ( ) Gaza ( ) East Jerusalem
( ) the Golan Heights ( ) Sinai
( ) nothing ( ) with modified borders, all of the areas

4. Israel should

( ) accept a PLO Palestinian state on the West Bank
( ) accept a Palestinian state, without the PLO, on the West Bank
( ) accept a Palestinian state "federated" with Jordan
( ) accept only the presence of Jordan on the West Bank
( ) annex the West Bank
( ) maintain the status-quo

5. Jerusalem should

( ) become an international city
( ) be divided again as before 1967
( ) remain a united city with some provision for Arab sovereignty in specified places
( ) remain a united city as it is today

6. It is in the long range interest of the United States

( ) to maintain a strong Israel
( ) to build stronger ties with the Arab states
( ) to settle the conflict in the Middle East as quickly as possible
( ) to induce Israel to be more flexible

7. In the near future

( ) war is inevitable
( ) war is probable
( ) there is some possibility of war
( ) there is a slight chance for a peace settlement
( ) there is a good chance for a peace settlement

8. Henry Kissinger's step-by-step diplomacy failed because

( ) of Israel's unwillingness to accept Egypt's position
( ) the Israeli public would not permit its leadership to accept less than a non-belligerency statement
( ) Egypt was unwilling to make political concessions in return for territory
( ) Egypt could not make political concessions against the demands of other Arab countries

9. The main stumbling block to peace in the Middle East

( ) is the unresolved problem of Palestinian refugees
( ) is the right of the Palestinians for their own state
( ) is the involvement and competition for influence by the Superpowers
( ) is the Russian interest in preventing solution
( ) is Israel's unwillingness to return territories
( ) are the expansionist desires of Zionism and Israel
( ) is the Arab inability to accept a Jewish state in their midst

10. Would you characterize Israel's position as

( ) intransigent
( ) appeasing
( ) far sighted
( ) inflexible
( ) realistic
( ) flexible
( ) short term
( ) firm

11. Would you describe yourself as (mostly)

( ) liberal
( ) conservative
( ) hawk
( ) dove

12. Since your visit to Israel do you think you have become

( ) more liberal
( ) more conservative
( ) remained much the same
( ) more hawkish
( ) more dovish

Your comments are very welcome. _____

_____

_____

_____

Thank you very much!!!

APPME

UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA 19104

The College

DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICS

March 10, 1975

Mr. Moshe Yegar, Director
Office of Information
The Foreign Ministry
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Moshe:

I have meant to write to you for some time but some project always seems to be pressing - which is, of itself, presumably good news to you in your new responsibility. We have been quite active locally, under a heightened sense of urgency. At the moment we are organizing an APPME Conference at Penn, on Energy and the Middle East. We have acceptances from Ernst Frankel at MIT and a couple of other comparably illustious experts, so we should make a considerable impact. We also had an "Israel Week" on campus, with Congresswoman Bella Abzug as the most noteworthy speaker, plus movies and filafels. Also some smaller meetings, such as an excellent one with Amos Shapira, from Tel Aviv University. We are even getting organized, with a full local bureaucracy; both a Delaware Valley Section as well as campus chapters - but all this organization enabled us to get 650 local academics to pledge no further cooperation with UNESCO, all in one week-end of telephone calls.

Despite the increasing sophistication of the Arab propoganda effort the campus situation is fairly good. You would be astounded at the contrast between the campus atmosphere now and that which you witnessed. The anger and the aggressive anti-intellectualism have disappeared, and it is not true that they have been replaced only by lethargy and disinterest. There are problems aplenty, of course, but the students' concern about jobs and their personal futures are very similar to the attitude on Israeli campuses before 1973.

However I have wanted to comment to you on a situation there in Israel rather than here. Specifically, on the Jerusalem office of the APPME. As you recall I spent a year in Jerusalem in a role similar to that of Zev Brinner. I travelled with every APPME field trip, moderated discussion groups, and met frequently with all interested parties (HarEven, Cherick, etc.). I also attended almost every function arranged by Malke Shulewitz's Israel Academic Committee. And I made it my business to get to know most of the visiting academics that year, and I have watched their involvement, or non-involvement, with our national APPME activities after their return. Having put in all that effort I have certain strong convictions.

Firstly, both the APPME and the IAC programs are superb. A few people found minor flaws, but the overwhelming majority felt that these programs made the difference between a superficial experience and a profoundly informative year. There were 325 American professors in

Israel that year, and I know of neutrals converted to supporters, of passive sympathisers converted to activists, and of activists made more effective by the depth of insight gained through these programs.

The essential point, however, is that the pay-off of this investment depends crucially on the degree of association of the returning Professor with an organization through which he can act. Individual conviction is impotent without a mechanism for public expression. The APPME activities in Israel enlist the visiting academics in an organizational framework when they most appreciate and profit from it, and it thereby generates a dedication not only to Israel but also to our organizational purposes here in the USA. The Israel Academic Committee is no substitute whatever for the APPME-Israel office. The IAC informs visiting academics very well, and then releases them in total isolation. I regret to say that their insistence on direct competition with APPME activities has made our efforts here in the USA more difficult.

The purpose of the instructional program in Israel lies in the follow-up efforts here. It is ridiculous to lose sight of, and contact with, that primary purpose. I am sure that you appreciate that, having been here where the follow-up work goes on. We in APPME feel that our success depends crucially on the Israeli program. I appeal to you personally for your support there.

Sara sends her warm greetings, with mine, to Edna and to you.

Cordially,

Herb

Herbert Callen

APPME

הקונסוליה הכללית של
ישראל בניו־יורק
CONSULATE GENERAL
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK

800 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017
OXFORD 7-5500

כו' בניסן תשל"ה
7 באפריל 1975

אל: הציר (הסברה) - וושינגטון

מאת: יעקב לוי, ניו-יורק

הנדון: כינוסי "ארגון הפרופסורים" בקולורדו

בסוף החודש שעבר קיים ה- APPME שני כינוסים לדיון אקדמי בנושא המזה"ת. הכינוסים התקיימו באוניברסיטת קולורדו שבפורט-קולינס ובדנבר. בשני המקומות היתה לכינוס חסות משותפת של המח' למדעי המדינה באוניברסיטה. לוטה תכניות הכינוסים. בנוסף לפרופסורים אמריקניים מהאזור השתתף בכינוסים ד'ר איתמר רבינוביץ ששהה בסיור הופעות בקמפוסים באותה עת ובפט. קולינס הופיע נציג מחמ"ד - א. אתרטון. בכל כינוס השתתפו בין 70-90 איש (מרביתם פרופסורים), והם הוערכו כמוצלחים.

מעניין לציין כי מחמ"ד שלחה נציג בכיר לכינוס זה וסירבה לשלוח נציג לכינוס הבינלאומי שהתקיים באוניברסיטת אידהו (ראו דווח נפרד) באותה תקופת זמן, בגימוק של מחסור בכסף.

בברכה,

יעקב לוי

העתק: הקונכ"ל, לוס-אנג'לס
מנהל הסברה, ירושלים
מנהל מצפ"א
מר משה עפר - הסברה, ירושלים
מר אורי בר נר - וושינגטון

COLORADO
STATE
UNIVERSITY
FORT COLLINS
COLORADO
80521

department of political science

Dear Tom This is It seems to be morning w. All the best. Leo

ANNOUNCING

One Day Seminar on "Peaceful Alternatives in the Resolution of the Arab-Israeli Conflict", Thrusday, February 27, 1975.

Sponsor: The Department of Political Science, CSU, and the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East.

The seminar is open to faculty and students at C.S.U. It will provide an opportunity to meet with Assistant Secretary Alfred L. Atherton who has just returned from the Middle East as a member of Kissinger's recently completed mission; Itamar Rabinovich, of the faculty of Tel Aviv University, who is a historian specializing in Middle Eastern History and Acting Director of the University's Shiloah Research Center; and Professor Joseph Ha, Director of the International Relations program at Lewis and Clark College.

PROGRAM

1. Morning Session, 9:15-11:45 AM (Panel Chairman, J. Leo Cefkin) Room 228, Student Center

   Subject: "Detente and the Arab-Israeli Conflict"
   Introductory remarks by J. Leo Cefkin, on purposes of the seminar.

   Speakers: Assistant Secretary Alfred L. Atherton, "Detente and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Middle East".

   Dr. Joseph Ha, "Detente and Soviet Foreign Policy in the Middle East".

   Dr. Itamar Rabinovich, "Israeli Perspectives on Detente and the Middle East".

2. Luncheon - North Ballroom, Student Center, 12:00 Noon (Chairman, John A. Straayer)

   Speaker: Assistant Secretary Alfred L. Atherton, "United States Policy in the Persian Gulf".

3. Afternoon Session, 2:00-4:30 PM (Panel Chairman, William Griswold) Room 228 Student Center

   Subject: "Peaceful Alternatives for Resolution of the Palestinian and Jerusalem Issues".

   Speaker: Dr. Itamar Rabinovich, "The Israeli Approach, Policy and Problems".

   Assistant Secretary Alfred L. Atherton, "The U.S. Position".

   Commentator: Dr. Joseph Ha.

4. Public Meeting - 7:30 PM (Meeting Chairman, J. Leo Cefkin)
Room 320, Student Center

Speaker: Dr. Itamar Rabinovich, "The Israeli Quest for Peace in the Middle East".

The seminar is intended to provide up-to-date knowledge about recent developments in the Middle East and an opportunity to exchange views with experts. While attendance is not limited, the meeting room seats about 125 people and we prefer to meet with smaller numbers in order to provide better opportunities for discussion among audience and panelists.

Please make reservations for lunch as soon as possible. Deadline for luncheon reservations are Tuesday, February 25, 1975. Return reservations to J. Leo Cefkin, Political Science Department by using the form below. (Menu: Soup, steak sandwich , drink - $3.00 plus 25¢ expenses)

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

RESERVATION FOR LUNCHEON

NAME _____

DEPARTMENT _____

Amount Enclosed ($3.25@)_____ No. of Reservations _____

in the Middle East

Presents

a Mini-Conference

Wednesday, February 26, 1975

MORNING SESSION -- Co-Sponsored by the Political Science Department of METROPOLITAN STATE COLLEGE

9:50 AM to 10:50 AM

"Prosepects for Peace in the Middle East"

"An Israeli Perspective" Dr. Itamat Ravinovich, Acting Director Shiloah Center for Middle East Studies Tel Aviv University

"Great Power Interests & Activities in the Area" Dr. Joseph Ha Chairman, Department of International Relations, Lewis & Clark College, Portland

"The Palestinian Factor" Dr. Bard O'Neill, Professor of Political Science, U.S. Air Force Academy

LUNCHEON SESSION -- Co-Sponsored by the Graduate School of International Studies, UNIVERSITY OF DENVER

"Brown-Baggers' Special" - 12:15 - 2:00 PM
"Prospects for Peace in the Middle East:

"An Israeli Perspective" Dr. Itamar Ravinovich, Shiloah Center for Middle East Studies, TEL AVIV UNIV.
"The Soviet Factor in the Equation" Dr. Joseph Ha, Chairman, Department of International Relations, Lewis & Clark College, Portland

AFTERNOON SESSION -- Co-Sponsored by the Sociology Department of the University of Colorado, DENVER CENTER

3:30 PM to 5:00 PM

"Prospects for Peace in the Middle East"

"An Israeli Perspective" Dr. Itamar Ravinovich, Acting Director Shiloah Center for Middle East Studies Tel Aviv University

"Great Power Interests & Activities in the Area" Dr. Joseph Ha Chairman, Department of International Relations, Lewis & Clark College, Portland

"The Palestinians and the Energy Factors" Dr. Bard O'Neill, Professor of Political Science, U.S. Air Force Academy

EVENING SESSION -- Iliff School of Theology -- Public Meeting
8:00 P.M. -- 2201 So. University Blvd.

"The Israeli Quest for Peace in the Middle East" Dr. Itamar Ravinovich
Respondent - "The Palestinian Factor" Dr. Bard O'Neill

APPME

משרד החוץ

מחלקת הקשר

שמורה

מברק נכנס-משווג

אל: המשרד

מאת: וושינגטון

נשלח: 291800 מרץ 75

מיידי

ארגוב , יגר.

במסגרת המאמץ ההסברתי המיוחד ביקשנו ראשי APPME להנחות חבריהם לידום תופעות ורגישות באמצעי התקשורת ברוח המדרוכים שנמסרו להם וכן לידום פגישות עם סנטורים וחברי קונגרס הנמצאים בחופשת פסחא באיזוריהם. כמו כן מכינים הוצאת בולטין מיוחד בנושא הפסקת המום.

הודיעני האם הנכם זקוקים למאמרים מפרי עטם של חברי הארגון להפצה בארצות אחרות.

ארד

שהח רהם מנכל מ/מנכל ארגוב מצפא הסברת

אב/אב

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הקונסוליה הכללית של
ישראל בניו-יורק
CONSULATE GENERAL
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK

800 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

OXFORD 7-5500

יב' באדר, תשל"ה
23 בפברואר, 1975

28. II. 1975

אל: מר מ. עפר, המבורה

מאת: יעקב לוי, ניו-יורק

הנדון: תקופון בענין הנפט והמזה"ת

לוסה עותק של תקופון חדש בהוצאת "ארגון הפרופסורים". הפרסום מהווה ראשון בסידרה שתכלול 4-5 תקופונים דומים כל שנה.

דומני ששני מאמרים בבטאון יוכלו להיות לעזר מיוחד בנושא:
1. מאמרו של ע. רמבה הסוקר באופן מפורט את השנויים במחירי הנפט.
2. מאמרו של א. פרנקל המפריך הקשר בין מחיר הנפט לנסיגה ישראלית.

בברכה,

יעקב לוי

APPME

מדינת ישראל

משרד החוץ - מח' הסברה
ירושלים

אל: מ. אשרי/פ

תאריך: כו' באדר תשל"ה
9 במרץ 1975

מספר:

אל יעקב לוי, ניו-יורק
מאת סגן מנהל הסברה

פרסומי Appme בתקופה הקרובה

מכתבך אל מ. ארד מ- 26/2

שלום רב,

בעצם לא שאלת לדעתנו אבל אנו "מתנדבים" להציע מספר נושאים: -

(1) ההסתערות המוסלמית - ערבית באפריקה ואסיה

(2) נפט, מטרו-דולרים, והפליה בזעיה ודחיה ("אנטישמיות כלכלית")

(3) המשטרים הערביים כדגם של אי-סובלנות ואי-חילוניות.

בברכה,

מלכה בן יוסף

העתק: מר מ. ארד, ציר, וושינגטון
מנהל הסברה
מר ג. שר, ס/מ/הס'
מר מ. אומן, וושינגטון

הקריה, רוממה ירושלים 91999 טל' 531111

מדף 1046

משרד החוץ

מחלקת הקשר

מברק יוצא - מסווג

שמור

מס. 041730 מרס 75.

אל: ארנון שיבגמן

מאת: המשרד

אל:

הרבנית ארבון הפרקמטרדים. שלח 492.

משרד החסברה יעביר את הסכום המבוקש.

הראבן.

הראבן/מהחסברה מנכל מעבכל

ארבון הסברה מעמא תס

נגא/אי

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East

Israel liaison office
18 Keren Hayesod street
Jerusalem, Israel
Telephone 34898

With Compliments

Rivka

B'NAI B'RITH HILLEL FOUNDATIONS AT SMITH COLLEGE AND AMHERST COLLEGE
HELEN HILLS HILLS CHAPEL • NORTHAMPTON, MASS. 01060 • 413-584-2700-EXT. 268

YECHIAEL E. LANDER, RABBI
Director

JEREMY BROCHIN
Counselor

Mahe
Per

December 16, 1974

Ms. Hannah Hopfer
American Professors for Peace in the Middle East
69 Bank St.
New York, New York 10014

Dear Hannah:

This is the first opportunity I've had to write and thank you for arranging for the visit by Menachem Milson. I feel that his visit was an enormously worthwhile one. Though his public speeches were sparsely attended, we had some very productive meetings with faculty on the different campuses. We also were able to obtain considerable coverage in the press and that reached out to a much larger community. Menachem was most kind to undertake a very stiff schedule for his two days in the Pioneer Valley and we are grateful for it. Thank you again for helping to arrange for it. We hope you will keep us in mind when future visitors from Israel come to our shores.

Shalom,

Yechiael Lander
Rabbi

YL:ipr

Dictated but not read by Rabbi Lander

Moshe Dor

AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST / 69 Bank St. New York, N.Y. 10014 • 212-741-2410

Prof. Mordecai Abir

EVALUATION FORM

Would you kindly fill out the form below and return it to:

Chairman, Speakers Bureau
American Professors for Peace in the Middle East
69 Bank Street
New York, New York 10014

1) Name of speaker(s) Prof. Mordecai Abir Date: Oct. 1974

Topic(s) General Discussion of the life of an academic in Israel i.e. autobiographical sketch of himself

2) Type of Meeting(s) With: (students, faculty, community leaders) No. expected No. present

Sociology class, Georgia State University with Dr. Eugen Schoenfeld, Chairman of the Department
Political Science Class, Emory University with Dr. Harvey Klehr
Student-Faculty luncheon at Emory
Friday Shabbat services with students at Hillel House at Emory.

3) What were your impressions of the meeting? What was audience response to speaker? Were they interested in topic? What were main questions asked?

My impression was one of extreme favorablness both regarding his person and the content of his speech.

4) What sort of publicity was arranged? (Press, radio, TV)
Announcements and personal letters to students and faculty.

5) What format (classroom lecture, faculty luncheon, open meeting, etc.) would best serve the purpose of reaching those who could benefit from the presentation of the speaker?

Refer to no. 2.

6) Recommendations and comments: (Please use other side if necessary)

Deeply appreciated the opportunity to meet him and hope our paths will cross again.

Name: Reda [illegible] University: Emory U.

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East

Israel liaison office
18 Keren Hayesod street
Jerusalem, Israel
Telephone 34898

With Compliments

Rabul Cousman

NATIONAL STUDY MISSION

OF

AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

TO

ISRAEL

22 December 1974 - 1 January 1975

Israel Liaison Office
Keren Hayesod 18
Jerusalem
Tel. 02 - 34898

NATIONAL STUDY MISSION

OF

AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

TO

ISRAEL

22 December 1974 - 1 January 1975

Israel Liaison Office
Keren Hayesod 18
Jerusalem
Tel. 02 - 34898

PARTICIPANTS:

Prof. Irwin Yellowitz, Group Leader
Dept. of History
City College of New York

Prof. Harold Chase
Dept. of Political Science
University of Minnesota

Prof. Stuart Colie
Dept. of Political Science
Central Connecticut State College

Prof. Bryan Dobbs
Dept. of English
University of Texas, Austin

Prof. Roy Feldman
Dept. of Political Science
Mass. Institute of Technology,
Boston

Prof. S. Feldman
Dept. of Social Work
Boston University

Prof. Paul Freedenberg
Dept. of Political Science
Tulane University,
New Orleans, La.

Prof. Joseph Ha, Chairman
Dept. of International Affairs
Lewis and Clark College
Portland, Oregon

Prof. Sanford H. Kadish
Dept. of Law
University of California, Berkeley

Accompanied by
Ms. Kadish

Prof. Ralph Lowenstein
Dept. of Journalism
University of Missouri, Columbia

Prof. Adrea Rosenberg
Dept. of Political Science
Metropolitan State College
Denver, Colorado

Prof. Bernard Schechterman
Dept. of Politics and Public Affairs
University of Miami

Prof. Leonard Scheinman
Dept. of Government
Cornell University
Ithaca, N.Y.

Prof. Malcolm Sherman
Dept. of Mathematics
State University of New York
Albany, N.Y.

Prof. Edward Stern
Dept. of Physics
University of Washington

Mr. Frank Phillips
National Coordinator, APPME

Helen Rivkin
Coordinator, Israel Liaison Office

Rivka Hadary
Director, Israel Liaison Office

Monday, 23 December 1974

6:00 p.m.	Arrival at Ben Gurion International Airport by El Al, flight no. 2016
8:00 p.m.	Dinner at Hotel
8:30 p.m.	Welcome to the City

Overnight at the Basel Hotel, Tel Aviv (03 - 244161)

Tuesday, 24 December 1974

8:30 a.m.	Orientation - Rivka Hadary
Lunch	At Hotel
2:00 p.m.	"Arab-Israel Relations: Developments and Prognosis" Mr. Daniel Dishon, Editor, "Middle East Record" of the Shiloach Center for Middle Eastern Studies Dr. Itamar Rabinovich, Acting Director of the Shiloach Center
Dinner	At Hotel
8:00 p.m.	"The Involvement of the Superpowers" Dr. Arnon Gutfeld, Dept. of History, Tel Aviv University

Overnight at the Basel Hotel, Tel Aviv

Wednesday, 25 December 1974

8:30 a.m.	"A View of the New Economic Program" Mr. Yeruham Meshel, Secretary General, Histadrut - General Federation of Labor
11:00 a.m.	"The Economic Picture - Components for Change" Mr. Meir Amit, Director, Koor Industries
Lunch	At Hotel
Afternoon	Free
5:00 p.m.	"Responses of a People Under Stress" Ms. Hanna Zemer, Editor, "Davar"
8:00 p.m.	"Internal Political Developments and the Need for Change" Prof. Amnon Rubenstein, Dean, Faculty of Law, Tel Aviv University

Overnight at the Basel Hotel, Tel Aviv

Thursday, 26 December 1974

8:00 a.m.	Field trip Accompanied by Mr. Yisrael Stockman, Mt. Scopus Center for Research on Palestinian and Israel-Arab Relations
	Briefing by Mr. Stockman followed by
	Meetings in the West Bank with local leaders and
	Meetings in Nazareth with leaders of the Israel-Arab community
	(Lunch en route)
Dinner	Kibbutz Kfar Blum Guest House
8:30 p.m.	Evaluation

Overnight at Kfar Blum, Upper Galilee (067 - 40468)

Friday, 27 December 1974

8:00 a.m.	Tour of the Kibbutz
9:00 a.m.	Field trip - the Golan Accompanied by Mr. Moshe Gerber Settlement Dept., Jewish Agency
	Visits to strategic sites, kibbutzim and moshavim
	(Lunch en route)
Dinner	At Hotel
Evening	Free

Overnight at the Kings Hotel, Jerusalem (02 - 35232)

Saturday, 28 December 1974

9:00 a.m.	"Jerusalem - The Perimeters and the City" Accompanied by Mr. Amnon Hadary, U.S. Desk, W.Z.O.
Lunch	At Hotel
Afternoon	Free
	(Optional Tour of the Old City)
Dinner	At Hotel
8:00 p.m.	"Jerusalem - Co-existence and the Future of the City" Mr. Meron Benveniste, Deputy-Mayor (added guests - American professors on sabbatical in Israel)

Overnight at the Kings Hotel, Jerusalem

Sunday, 29 December 1974

8:00 a.m.	Field Trip
	The Allenby Bridge - The Open Bridges Policy -
	Masada - The Presence of History -
	(Lunch en route)
Dinner	At Hotel
Evening	Free

Overnight at the Kings Hotel, Jerusalem

Monday, 30 December 1974

8:30 a.m.	"The Jewish Dimension of Israel"
10:15 a.m.	Yad V'Shem
1:00 p.m.	Luncheon and Meeting "Israel's Political Position - A Perspective" Mr. Shmuel Tamir, M.K. (Free Center)
4:00 p.m.	"Implications After Rabat" Mr. David Farhi, Director-General, Ministry of Information
Dinner	At Hotel
8:30 p.m.	"Israel's Political Position - A Perspective" Dr. Meir Pe'il, M.K. (Moked)

Overnight at the Kings Hotel, Jerusalem

Tuesday, 31 December 1974

8:30 a.m.	"The Citizen and Security" Mr. Shlomo Hillel, Minister of Police
Lunch	At Hotel
4:00 p.m.	Final Evaluation
8:30 p.m.	Closing Dinner Special Guest: Mr. Avraham Schenker, Head of the Organization and Information Dept., W.Z.O.

Overnight at Kings Hotel, Jerusalem

Wednesday, 1 January 1975

Ben Gurion Airport

Departure

AMERICAN PROFESSORS
FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

פרופסורים אמריקאים
למען השלום במזרח התיכון

New Address:
18 Keren Hayesod Street

ISRAEL LIAISON OFFICE
~~11 Alharizi Street, Tel. 34898~~
Jerusalem 92421

23 December 1974

Mr. Moshe Ofer
Israel Universities Study Group
for the Middle East
POB 4070
Jerusalem

Dear Moshe,

Just a note, to remind you that we're looking forward to seeing you at the closing dinner of the APPME National Study Mission.

We expect to give the members of the Mission an auspicious beginning to the new year together and send them home full of positive feelings about Israel.

The dinner will be held on Tues., 31 December 1974, at the Citadel Restaurant in Jerusalem, and we'll expect to see you at 8:30 P.M.

Cordially,

Helen

Helen Rivkin

P.S. Please let us know that you're coming so that we can confirm reservations at the Citadel.

AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

פרופסורים אמריקאים
למען השלום במזרח התיכון

ISRAEL LIAISON OFFICE
11 ALHARIZI STREET
JERUSALEM 92421

Tel.: 34898

Rivka Hadary, Director

1 April 1974

M E M O

For: Your Information

From: Rivka Hadary

Re: Israeli Lecturers Program for APPME (Fall'73 - March '74)

Placing Israeli lecturers on American campuses is not a new phenomena to American Professors for Peace in the Middle East: the first speaker went on campus tour in September of 1967. The program consists of inviting Israeli academics and public figures for lecture tours of two to three weeks at American colleges and universities. Selection and preparation of speakers in Israel has always been done with the full cooperation of the individuals responsible at Israeli universities and agencies. Itineraries are arranged entirely by the National Office of APPME. The program has grown each year with the development of a Lecture Bureau Director in New York and with the assistance of the APPME Liaison Office in Jerusalem.

This report covers the period immediately after the October War when, understandably, the urgent need for providing information abroad intensified all of our efforts.

There have been 16 Israeli speakers on lecture tours since the Fall of '73. (The list of names is attached.) Of these 13 are academics, 2 are government figures and 1 is a journalist.

The combined itineraries of the speakers took them to over 135 universities. *(List attached)

There have been some 440 meetings. Although the types of meetings can slip rather easily from one "category" to another, broadly they might be broken down:

Lectures, graduate seminars, class sessions	-	184
Faculty meetings, luncheons and briefings	-	125
Open Forums	-	77
Conferences	-	9
U.S. government figures	-	4
Media (press, radio, television)	-	41

It is important to realize that these figures reflect only the Israel Lecture Program and do not refer to the intensive and parallel activity which utilizes American academics who lecture from campus to campus also under APPME auspices. Nor does it include Israeli or European "extras" - individual visitors for whom APPME arranges two or three meetings rather than a full itinerary.

The response to the APPME Israel Lecture Program has been enthusiastic and positive. (Attached are excerpts from evaluations which have thus far been received in the Jerusalem office. As New York forwards the complete set, we will share them with you.) A number of factors have combined to achieve the quality of the program: excellent and highly motivated speakers, a technically efficient organization which is experienced and knowledgeable with regard to the American academic scene, a grass-roots network of APPME professors' committees at universities across the United States, the working cooperation - in common cause - between APPME, the universities and the appropriate ministries and agencies - and finally, an overall commitment on the part of all those involved as to the value of effective hasbara.

Cordially,

R.H.

* The number of universities and meetings is incomplete as Prof. Berglas' itinerary has not yet been received.

Lecturers - Fall '73 - March '74

Dr. Bezalel Porten Dept. of Jewish History, Hebrew Univ.	17 Sept. - 30 Oct., 1973
Mr. Samuel Yaari Director, Israel Petroleum Inst.	25 Nov. - 6 Dec., 1973
Mr. Meron Benvenisti Deputy Mayor, City of Jerusalem	27 Nov. - 4 Dec., 1973
Prof. Yoram Dinstein Dept. of International Law, Tel Aviv Univ.	4 - 14 Dec., 1973
Mr. Yuval Elizur Journalist	4 - 14 Dec., 1973
Prof. Joshua Jortner Inst. of Chemistry, Tel Aviv Univ.	4 - 11 Dec., 1973
Prof. Amnon Rubenstein Dean of the Law Faculty, Tel Aviv Univ.	4 - 14 Dec., 1973
Dr. Itzak Kelson Dept. of Physics & Astronomy, Tel Aviv Univ.	25 Jan. - 8 Feb., 1974
Dr. Itamar Rabinowich Shiloah Research Center, Tel Aviv Univ.	25 Jan. - 9 Feb., 1974
Dr. Amos Shapira Faculty of Law, Tel Aviv Univ.	25 Jan. - 9 Feb., 1974
Dr. Arnon Gutfeld Dept. of History, Tel Aviv Univ.	18 Feb. - 9 March, 1974
Prof. Avivi Yavin Dean, Faculty of Exact Sciences, Tel Aviv Univ.	18 Feb. - 1 March, 1974
Dr. Haim Shaked Director, Shiloah Research Center, Tel Aviv Univ.	22 Feb. - 8 March, 1974
Mr. Daniel Dishon Shiloah Research Center, Tel Aviv Univ.	8 - 22 March, 1974
Prof. Saul Abarbanel Dept. of Mathematics & Vice-Rector Tel Aviv Univ.	8 - 22 March, 1974
Prof. Eitan Berglas Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, Tel Aviv Univ.	8 - 22 March, 1974

Universities Toured

1. Boston U., Mass
2. Brandeis U., Waltham, Mass.
3. Brooklyn College, N.Y.
4. Bernard Baruch College, NYC
5. Brigham Young U., Provo, Utah
6. Bethel Theol. Sem., Minneopolis, Minn.
7. Cornell U., Ithaca, N.Y.
8. Columbia U., N.Y.C
9. Carnegie-Mellon U., Pitts., Pa.
10. City College of N.Y., NYC
11. Clarkson College, Potsdam, N.Y.
12. Cleveland Marshall Law School, Ohio
13. Carleton U., Ottawa, Ca.
14. Cleveland State U., Ohio
15. Courant Inst. of Mathematical Sciences, NYC
16. Claremont Grad School, Calif.
17. Chicago Theol. Sem., Ill.
18. Colorado State U., Col.
19. Case-Western Reserve, Cleveland, O.
20. California State U., Fullerton
21. California State U., Northridge
22. California State U., San José
23. Calif. State College, Fullerton
24. Calif. State College, Pomona
25. Duquesne U., Pitts., Pa.
26. Dominican College, San Rafael, Calif.
27. Drew U. Theol. School, Madison, N.J.
28. Duke U., Durham, N.C.
29. Emory U., Georgia
30. Florida State U., Tallahasee
31. Fuller Theol. Sem., Calif.
32. Georgia State U., Atlanta
33. George Washington U., Washington, D.C.
34. Graduate Theol. Union, Berkeley, Calif.
35. Harvard U., Cambridge, Mass.
36. Howard U., Washington, D.C.
37. Hershey Medical Center, Penna.
38. Hamline U., St. Paul, Minn.
39. Iliff School of Theol., Denver, Col.
40. Indiana U., Indianapolis
41. Indiana U., Bloomington
42. Indiana State U., Terre Haute
43. Indiana U Southeast, New Albany
44. Johns Hopkins U., Baltimore, Md.
45. Jacksonville U., Florida
46. Kent State U., Ohio
47. Kentucky State U., Frankfort
48. Loyola U., New Orleans, La.
49. Lewis & Clark U., Oregon
50. Lone Mountain College, Calif.
51. Loretto Heights College, Denver, Colo.
52. Longview College, Mo.
53. Loyola U., Montreal, Ca.
54. Mass. Inst. of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.
55. McGill U., Montreal, Ca.
56. Miles College, Georgia
57. Marquette U., Milwaukee, Wis.
58. Northwestern U., Evanston, Ill.
59. New York U., NYC
60. Ohio State U., Columbus
61. Old Dominican U., Norfolk, Va.
62. Portland State College, Oregon
63. Purdue U., Lafayette, Ind.
64. Pennsylvania State U., Middletown, Pa.
65. Queens College, N.Y.
66. Rice U., Texas
67. Rutgers Univ., New Brunswick, N.J.
68. Reed College, Oregon

Universities Toured

69. Rose Hulmon Inst., Terre Haute, Ind.
70. Renssalaer Polytechnic Inst., Troy, N.Y.
71. Syracuse U., N.Y.
72. State U. of New York, Stonybrook
73. State U. of New York, Albany
74. State U. of New York, Buffalo
75. State U. of New York, Binghampton
76. State U. of New York, Oneonta
77. Samford U., Alabama
78. Sir Geo. Williams U., Montreal, Ca.
79. St. Paul's Theol. Sem., St. Paul, Minn.
80. St. Thomas Theol. Sem., Denver, Colo.
81. Simson College, Calif
82. Seton Hall U., South Orange, N.J.
83. St. Lawrence U., N.Y.
84. State U. College, Potsdam, N.Y.
85. Temple U., Philadelphia, Pa.
86. Tulane U., New Orleans, La.
87. U. of Arizona, Tempe
88. U. of Alabama, Tuscaloosa
89. U. of Akron, Ohio
90. U. of Chicago, Ill.
91. U. of Cincinnati, Ohio
92. U. of California, Berkeley
93. U. of California, Los Angeles
94. U. of Denver, Colo.
95. U. of Dallas, Texas
96. U. of Florida, Gainsville
97. U. of Georgia, Athens
98. U. of Houston, Texas
99. U. of Illinois, Chicago
100. U. of Illinois, Urbana
101. U. of Louisville, Ky.
102. U. of Minneapolis, Minn.
103. U. of Michigan, Ann Arbor
104. U. of Montana, Missoula
105. U. of Maryland, Baltimore
106. U. of Missouri, Kansas City
107. U. of Nevada, Las Vegas
108. U. of North Colorado
109. U. of New Mexico, Albuquerque
110. U. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
111. U. of Nebraska, Lincoln
112. U. of North Dakota, Grand Forks
113. U. of Pittsburgh, Penna.
114. U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
115. U. of Rhode Island, Kingston
116. U. of South Carolina, Columbia
117. U. of Southern Florida, Tampa
118. U. of San Francisco
119. U. of Toronto, Ca.
120. U. of Tennessee, Memphis
121. U. of Texas, Austin
122. U. of Texas, Dallas
123. U. of Virginia, Charlottesville
124. U. of Wisconsin, Milwaukee
125. U. of Wisconsin, Madison
126. U. of Wisconsin, River Falls
127. U. of Wyoming, Laramie
128. U. of Washington, Seattle
129. Union College, N.Y.
130. Vanderbilt U., Nashville, Tenn.
131. Valley College, Los Angeles
132. Wellesley College, Mass.
133. Wayne State U., Detroit, Mich.
134. Yale, New Haven, Conn.
135. York U., Canada
136. Youngstown State U., Ohio

Comments from Evaluations of Lecturers

Mr. Daniel Dishon:

"The speaker was in total command of his materials and had the constant attention of the audience both during the lecture and question period."

Temple University, Philadelphia, Penna.

Dr. Arnon Gutfeld:

"First, let me say that he was excellent: . . . A really first-class spokesman for Israel, and a model of the kind of lecturer we need. . . . There were over a hundred present (public meeting at the university campus) and the audience was impressed not just by his address but by the skill and ease with which he handled all questions."

University of New Mexico, Alburquerque

"The audience response was most decidely positive. Gutfeld actually changed some minds down here. . . . The man is a perfect spokesman for Israel in every way. Faculty people are in the business of writing reviews of various kinds as you know and 'fudging' is often the way one glides over rough edges. But where Israel is concerned I am not likely to make such allowance nor are others of us here. Send Gutfeld to Geneva."

Arizona State University

"Dr. Gutfeld presented an articulate and comprehensive analysis of the Middle East situation. He was well received at both meetings. The faculty were chiefly interested in the Palestinian question, where the students were more concerned with existing strategic and diplomatic conditions and their outlook."

Brigham Young University

"All meetings were extremely successful both in terms of attendance, interest and audience participation. Many probing and difficult questions were posed by the audience and Dr. Gutfeld handled them all with great aplomb. The main topic of interest was the Palestinian problem. . . . Dr. Gutfeld was commended by the campus security officer. Dr. Gutfeld, the officer said, showed great skill in keeping a potentially explosive and emotional meeting from getting out of hand. At no time did he descend to profanity or name-calling, as did some members of the audience. At all times, he presented the case and the cause of Israel with assurance, knowledge and most of all with dignity."

San Jose State University, Calif.

Dr. Itamar Rabinowich:

"Prof. Rabinowich handled himself brilliantly. There were some hostile questions by Arab students and Rabinowich's answers, while clear, concise and fair, obviously did not change their minds. However his analysis of Syrian internal history was so brilliant that a Syrian (the same hostile one from the previous day) congratulated him on his talk, its its depth, sophistication and clarity. . . . Send Rabinowich back next year."

University of Washington

"The various audiences displayed considerable interest in Dr. Rabinowich's lectures. Questions ran the gamut from such specifics as withdrawal by Israel from the occupied Arab

evaluation comments -II

territories to the prospects for peace in the future. . . . Local paper carried 10" article on his visit and presentations, and three radio stations carried similar information. Then during the day the campus station and one town station carried interviews. . . . Dr. Rabinowich did an excellent job presenting an academic view of the complex problems surrounding the Middle East conflict. As a practicing political scientist he was able to furnish our community a current interpretation and assessment of what we can expect. . ."

University of Wyoming

"The general view held here is that Dr. Rabinowich's visit was a success. He left a most favorable impression on everybody, from university president to students. In addition to a uniquely pleasant personality, Dr. Rabinowich's major attributes were his clarity of thought, fluency of speech, mastery of subject matter and ability to communicate. . . . This man ought to be invited back."

University of North Dakota, at Grand Forks

" . . . In general student (American) audiences are not as easy to attract these days. There is satiation with politics in general and there is little novelty in the topic. 'Insiders' are concerned, and public affairs directors of radio stations may be happy to have 'timely' speakers, but student audiences here at Madison are not - at the moment - especially interested. Dr. Rabinowich had a good deal to say and said it well. He was interesting and knowledgeable and generally a good speaker."

University of Wisconsin, at Madison

Dr. Amos Shapira:

. . . "as you know he spoke before two classes, met with the President for an hour, and then had lunch with members of the faculty and key officers of the Student Government Association. Dr. Shapira certainly was an engaging and enthusiastic speaker and one who left an impression with the students. . . ."

Jacksonville University, Jacksonville, Fla.

. . . "he gave only one lecture on our campus, but it was an excellent one."

Loyola University, New Orleans, Lousiana

Prof. Avivi Yavin:

"The audience at Shaw University (half black students, half Arab students) was unsympathetic, even hostile. In all other meetings the audience was very sympathetic. All were interested in the topics presented by Prof. Yavin. Most of the questions were concerned with the current military, political and economic situation in Israel. Prof. Yavin was very well received. In my judgement he is the best speaker we have had during the last four years or so."

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Dr. Itzak Kelson:

"Dr. Kelson appeared on Dan Ryan's talk show for two hours. The show has a listening audience of approximately 100,000 and questions ranged from complimentary to rabidly anti-

evaluation comments - III

Zionist. . . The only adverse comment I heard was expressed by one of our rabbis who felt that Dr. Kelson was not strong enough in rejecting Arab propaganda. The criticism from this rabbi should be considered as a stamp of approval. Kelson was first-rate in every aspect."

Youngstown State University, Youngstown, Ohio

"Talk was very well received. There was about a half hour question and discussion period. Questions were about the wisdom of Israel relinquishing territory, Israeli preparedness. . . . Channel 6 early evening news - good impression. . . . Dr. Kelson is extremely personable and knowledgeable and made a very good impression on those he met.

Indiana University

"No Arabs in audience (evening lecture of 80); audience had positive reaction to Kelson's moderate, well-balanced view of events. Questions were phrased to elicit more information. Very positive reaction from all. . . . Typical comment was - One of the best events we've sponsored. Let's have more speakers of this caliber."

Purdue University, Indiana

"Speaker very effective judged by audience reaction. Main questions - oil, Arab refugees, prospects for peace. . . . Our one Palestinian is demanding an opportunity to present 'his case'."

Pennsylvania State University at Capitol Campus

"It was a good event, the speaker handled himself well both in the presentation and also with questions. Questions: Israeli attitude toward Kissinger, a Palestinian state, prospects of disengagement with Syria, Russians role in the Middle East."

University of Cincinnati, Ohio

APPME

למשה עלבה

שמור

CONSULATE GENERAL OF ISRAEL
111 EAST WACKER DRIVE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60601
PHONE (312) 644-4140

קונסוליה כללית
של ישראל

י"א בכסלו תשל"ה
25 בנובמבר 1974
215.1

אל : משה ארד - וושינגטון
יעקב לוי- ניו-יורק
מאת : א. כרם, שיקגו

הנדון: כנס APPME בשיקגו

הכנס התקיים באוניברסיטת רוזוולט ב-17/11/74 והיה הראשון שאורגן ע"י ההנהלה החדשה של הארגון באיזור. השתתפו כ-100-120 איש.

הנואם הראשי של האסיפה הראשונה היה מר דוד קורן (ממונה ליידן ולבנון במחמ"ד). בנאומו בלטו הנקודות הבאות:

1. המאזן בתום מלחמת יום הכיפורים איפשר את התורך האמריקאי.
2. ארה"ב מחפשת פתרונות באמצעים שונים. הממשל הנוכחי מכוון לפרוק הבעיות למרכיביהן וטפול נפרד לכל מרכיב.
3. חשיבות הקשר שהוקם ע"י קיסינג'ר עם סדאת ואסאד והאפשרות לדבר אתם יטר לענין.
4. "Rabat was a blow to U.S. diplomacy"
5. הביקור האחרון של קיסינג'ר הוכיח שהצדדים רוצים להמשיך בגישה של צעד אחר צעד.
6. הערכת ישראל לגבי אספקת הנשק בצבא סוריה - מוגזמת. ישראל מודאגת ועצבנית אין לחץ אמריקאי על ישראל כיוון שארה"ב יודעת שזה לא יוביל לשום דבר.
8. בנושא הפלשתינאי אמר: "In our view the Palestinians must recognize the existence of Israel and express a willingness to negociate".
אעפ"כ "The legitimate interest of the Palestinians must be taken into account"
מר קורן ציין שהוא "Is not in a position to spell out what those legitimate interests are".
9. לתשובה לשאלה לאחר אסיפת הבקר אמר מר קורן "נכעס מאד על כל צד שיפתח ראשון במעשה עוינות".

יחד עם מר קורן דבר פרופ' אלרואי מ"הנטר קולג'", ניו-יורק. עיקר נאומו היה התקפה על מזכיר המדינה ומדיניותו בפתרונות לא פתרונות שאלרואי תיאר "Incredible Dostoyewskian performances"
הוא טען שקיסינג'ר יוצר ומנצל התנגשויות וניסה לשבר את ישראל ודן "A shabby confidence game with Dinitz".

ביחס לקורן פרופ' אלרואי הרשים את הקהל היהודי לחיוב אבל מספר לא-יהודים קלטו את דבריו כשטחיים ומונעים פוליטים.

2/...

CONSULATE GENERAL OF ISRAEL
111 EAST WACKER DRIVE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60601
PHONE (312) 644-4140

קונסוליה כללית
של ישראל

באסיפה השנייה דברו העתונאי טרנס פריטי, ד"ר חיים שקד ופרופ' שאריף בסיוני. פרופ' בסיוני הינו נואם חזק, משכנע ורמומי אשר יודע לדבר לקהל אמריקאי אקדמי במונחים המובנים לו. לעומת ד"ר שקד שמרוב מאמציו לשמר על עמדה אקדמית היה מתחמק ומשעמם. טרנס פריטי נתפס כתעמולן.

ברצוני לציין שנסינו לשכנע את הארגון לא להזמין את באסיוני לאור נסיונות קודמים. נראה שמאז ביקורו של קלוביס מקסור באביב, קבל על עצמו באסיוני לעבוד בקרב היהודים ובעבודה זו הוא מצליח מאד. גישתו מתונה והוא אינו מהסס לנצל את עמדתו האקדמית המכובדת למסור שקרים וסילופים כאמת. עיקר דבריו כדלקמן:

1. 21 מדינות ערב נאבקות על תפקיד בחברה המודרנית
2. אי-אפשר לעסוק בבעיה הפלשתינאית בלי להבין מדוע היא עלתה. ובהקשר זה לא לא ניתן להתעלם מהשאלה האידאולוגית של ציונות ויחסה לערביות (arabism). האם ישראל מסוגלת לתהליך של דיציוניזציה? האם ישראל יכולה להפוך ערבית? באם ישראל תהיה מסוגלת להשתחרר מהציונות האירופאית הנוקשה ולנתק את חוט הטבור עם הציונית העולמית אזי הברירה הפוליטית הינה הברירה המציאותית לעומת הפתרון הצבאי. כלומר, הפלשתינאים יקימו מדינה בבדה המערבית ויעבדו עם ישראל הלא ציונית להקמת מדינה חילונית דמוקרטית.
3. אין זה אומר שהתרבות היהודית וחוש השייכות היהודי צריכים להעלם. השאלה אינה שאלה של integration של היהודים בעם הערבי אלא של interdependence ותהליכי אבולוציה מקבילה אצל שני העמים.
4. לדעתו הכרונה של סאדאת הינה מדיניות של כינון איטי של שלום.
5. הברירה של ארה"ב הינה לעזור לפלשתינאים למצוא את ברירות השלום או לדחוף אותם למלחמה.

פריטי ענה שהברירה שבאסיוני מציע לישראל היא להתרג באמצעות אלימות או באמצעות "שלום". אבל אין ספק, כפי שהתברר לנו בשיחות עם אקדמאים לא-יהודים שהשתתפו, שהרושם החזק בכנס נשאר מדבריו של באסיוני.

בכנס ראשון של הארגון בשיקגו לאירוע היה הצלחה מוגבלת ויהיה צורך בהשקעת עבודה רבה בקמפוסים בכדי לבנות גוף רציני ובעל משקל.

בברכה,

אריאל כרם

העתק: דוד תורג'מן, ניו-יורק
מצפ"א
הסברה

APPME

הקונסוליה הכללית של
ישראל בניו־יורק
CONSULATE GENERAL
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK

800 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017
OXFORD 7-5500

כו' חשון תשל"ה
11 נובמבר 1974

אל: הקונסול הכללי - ניו-יורק

מאת: יעקב לוי, ניו-יורק

הנדון: כנס APPME בניו-יורק

ביום א', ה-10/11, קיים APPME את השני מבין תשעה כינוסי הפרופסורים בנושא הפלסטיני. השתתפו כ-180 פרופסורים, כמרים (כנראה עקב הרצאת ארכיבישוף ראיא) ואנשי ה- American Petrolium Institute (שקיימו כנס מקביל באותו מלון).

בכנס הרצו פרופסור מ. קרטים (סקירת רקע על הסכסוך והצגת העמדה הישראלית), הטופר הבריטי טרנס פריטי (ישראל, פלסטינים ושלום - סקירה שביטאה את העמדה הישראלית תוך ביקורתיות בכמה נקודות משניות), והארכיבישוף ראיא (הרצאה על ירושלים - קריאה לקתולים ולמוסלמים לגלות נדיבות וויתורים פוליטיים כלפי היהודים בירושלים למען שלום ואחוה).

לכינוס קדמה הרצאת פופסור מ. בריצ'ר בפני 20 חברי אקסוקטיבת APPME. מסקנתו פסימית (צפויה מלחמה בקרוב) וסוברת שעל ישראל לנהל מו"מ עם ה- PLO ואם לא תסכים, תיגרר ברבות הימים להסכמה כנ"ל. הותקף ע"י הארכיבישוף על רקע ההעלמות הפרופסורים ומדעני המדינה מהצורך בחזון מעבר לאנליזות המבריקות ומהקורה בתחום יחסי יהודים ערביים (ערביי ישראל וביקורי קיץ) כמפתח לשלום.

2/.

הסמינר היה מוצלח בשל כמות הנוכחים, איכותם והיות רוב המרצים לא-יהודים.

בברכה,

יעקב לוי

העתק: הציר (הסברה) - וושינגטון
מנהל מצפ"א
מנהל הסברה - ירושלים
מר משה עפר - הסברה, ירושלים
מר אורי בר נר - וושינגטון
הגב' חנה גרינברג - הסברה, ירושלים

הקונסוליה הכללית של
ישראל בלוס־אנג'לס

CONSULATE GENERAL
OF ISRAEL IN LOS ANGELES

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י"ב בכסלו, תשל"ה
26 בנובמבר, 1974

אל: הסברה, ושינגטון
העתק: הסברה, ירושלים
מע"ת, ירושלים
מאת: הקונסוליה הכללית, לוס אנג'לס

הנדון: פרופ' שמיר – מר פריטי

ביקור האורחים – מטעם ארגון הפרופסורים – עבר בהצלחה.

קוימו פגישות עם הנהלת ה"לוס אנג'לס טיימס" וכן עם ועד הקהילה לעניני מז"ת.

בדיון פומבי ב – UCLA השתתף גם נציג ערבי, פרופסור אליאס תומא, שהציג את דעתו הפרטית כפלשטינאי תושב קליפורניה. האיש הפתיע במתינותו והציע חלוקה של ארץ ישראל בין מדינת ישראל לבין מדינת פלשטין לפי העקרון של 1947, אך בגבולות אחרים שייקבעו במו"מ.

פרופסור שמיר הציג בכשרון ובחן את גישת ממישראל ומר פריטי הביע תמיכה עקרונית בישראל תוך הסתיגות מן הניטראליות של ממשלת בריטניה.

כמו כן נאם פרופסור ג'אקומקוס, בנימה פרו–ישראלית מובהקת.

ב ב ר כ ה ,

דוד זוהר

דוד זוהר

AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

פרופסורים אמריקאים למען השלום במזרח התיכון

ISRAEL LIAISON OFFICE
~~11 ALHARIZI STREET~~
JERUSALEM 92421

New Address:
18 Keren Hayesod Street
Tel.: 34898

Rivka Hadary, Director

MEMO

From: Rivka Hadary

22 September 1974

Re: Sinai Report

Enclosed are excerpts from an internal report prepared by Ms. Anne Sinai, APPME Editor of Publications, following her recent visit through a number of Arab countries.

Ms. Sinai was a participant in the First Editorial Conference on the Middle East, 24 May - 10 June, 1974, which was invited to visit and interview leaders in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan; on 5 June, the group of 90 American journalists and editors crossed the Allenby Bridge for a five day stay in Israel.

We think you will be interested in the personal opinions and feelings of various Arab leaders, and the position they choose to project to the West.

Cordially,

RH

Meetings:

1. Major General Hassan El Badry, Cairo
2. Mr. Osman Ahmed Osman, Minister for Reconstruction, Cairo
3. Mr. Abdel Meguid Hegazy, First Deputy Prime Minister, Cairo
4. Suez Canal Field Trip
5. Dr. Ahmed Gamal Ahmad, Minister of Information, Cairo
6. Mr. Charles Malik, Beirut
7. Mr. Naef Nobal, Governor, Kuneitra; Dumas Refugee Camp, Syria
8. Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, Damascus
9. Mr. Zaid Sammer Rifai, Prime Minister, Amman

AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST
Israel Liaison Office
Jerusalem

September, 1974

Excerpts from the Report to the National Executive Committee of APME on the First Editorial Conference on the Middle East. May 24 - June 5, 1974

CAIRO

1. Meeting with Major General Hassan El Badry at the Nasser National Academy and High War College (Also present as hosts: Major Generals Saad Maamoun, Moukhtar Ezzel Dine and Kamal Mounir.)

Gen. Badry: Egypt worked for six years to improve its combat efficiency and to restore its prestige and defend the dignity of the Arabs. Egypt managed to achieve, in the October war, the isolation of Israel and the evil American-Israeli alliance. Egypt had accepted all the U.N. resolutions in its efforts to reach a just solution, and had accepted the Rogers Plan, the Jarring Initiative, etc. even proximity talks. But Israeli arrogance and its total reliance on the U.S. had brought all Egypt's good intentions to naught.

"So that our will might remain supreme in the area" and to stop Israel's expansionist designs, Egypt's decision to embark on a military campaign followed the conviction that war was the only means of breaking the impasse. There was not only the problem of occupied Egyptian land but also the question of Jerusalem and the rights of the Palestinians.

The political decision was made in November 1972 to ready the armed forces. It was part of a total strategy, both military and political, to change the political picture in the area. "We wanted to prove to Israel that she was not the power in the area and to show up the real nature of U.S. interests in the M.E." We wanted to show Israel that "geography does not provide security and that we can make the U.S. choose to make Israel withdraw or we would show up its real interests."

He then went on to provide a blow by blow account of exactly how the Egyptians had won the war, militarily; how many forces Israel had and how they were disposed and how Egyptian strategy had overcome them. He discussed Israeli plans for a preemptive strike (which it had been planning to carry out) and how it was planning to deploy its forces.

For Egypt, it was necessary to carry out untraditional plans in order to achieve surprise. Israel was full of excessive confidence and was unfamiliar with Egypt's real capacities. In its vanity, Israel believed there was a huge gap in civilization and technology between it and the Arabs. It believed that the Egyptian command was incapable of taking the necessary decision, both "in the international situation and

in the Arab environment. The war showed that Arab unity is a force and that only the Soviet Union would back Egypt."

There was close cooperation with the Syrian Command. "We planned our strategic deception at the State level...We worked in absolute secrecy...Some of our forces were never briefed until H. hour."

The result was total confusion and paralysis of the Israeli military establishment for 4 days. "Thus we responded to the surprise attack of 1967."

"Israel always refused to join battle unless it enjoyed air supremacy."

"We were humiliated. To regain our honor and our holy places were sufficient motives for our morale."

"Russian and Egyptian relations never amounted to collusion - not one single Russian was used in our army."

The conclusions he drew from the October war were as follows:

1) History will enumerate Egypt's heroic action.
2) Israel's military defeat has changed the map of the Middle East.
3) Israel suffered its defeat from "secure borders."
4) Egypt proved the falseness of Israel's Security Doctrine.
5) Egypt proved that Israel's holding of Sharm el Sheikh did not get it free navigation.
6) The solidarity and unity of the Arabs was proved.
7) Africa and the non-aligned countries are with the Arabs; it has also revived Muslim sympathy everywhere.
8) Greater numbers of guided missilies and the potentialities of air defense of this type was proven; the Israeli concept of air supremacy has lost its validity.
9) Surface to surface missiles have proved effective and will be improved; electronic warfare plays a vital role.

2. Briefing with Osman Ahmed Osman, Minister for Reconstruction

Mr. Osman: The Canal cities were 85%-65% destroyed. Egyptians are not going to repair the roads or the buildings but will rather have a regional plan connecting the Suez Canal area with Sinai and these with the Delta, and there they will create industry to attract foreign investment. Manpower is cheap and easily available and the area is at the meeting point between Europe, Africa and the Far East. Port Said will be the free zone area and the goal is to permit free investment there. But for all this Egypt needs peace in the area. Over 500 big enterprises have already applied to build there. The harbor will be able to hold big ships and this will be a trans-shipment center. There will be roads, railways, telecommunications, power, water and an airport. There will be agriculture and related industries and the reclamation of some 300,000 acres on the East Bank and 500,000 acres on the West Bank of the Canal - within the next 5 years.

Egypt will also concentrate on the indigenous raw materials, such as cement, fertilizers, gibson, etc. and will connect the Sinai with the West Bank of the Suez Canal. They will build 5 tunnels under the Canal, at Suez, Port Said, Kantara, Saria, Ismaelia. They will create a new type of fishing industry and encourage tourism throughout the year and expand the petro-chemical industry and the refinery. It will cost $10 million, including the reconstruction of the cities and the infra-structure of the whole project.

"We ask the U.S. for very little" he said. Money is not the problem. The problem is peace which would secure foreign investment. Over 25 American consultant firms want to start projects right away, but Egypt has no agreement with Israel as yet. Peace, however, means "real peace." The Suez Canal will be open to all. (question: Does this mean to Israel also?) "Everything can be developed. But peace means an Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied territories; it means restoring the rights of the Palestinians. Otherwise there will be no peace. Nothing will be done. We will drop our projects."

"If peace comes we will start. If not, we will stop. All the world is looking for peace now, even the other party. We'll see."

To a question about bringing in foreign workers to the free zone by the development companies, Mr. Osman said there was enough Egyptian labor, engineers and other experts. He said several Russian enterprises were interested in the project, but there was nothing yet from the Chinese. The only condition Egypt would impose is that the foreign company does not remove its foreign capital for a minimum of 5 years. They will be tax free for that period. The foreign company would pay next to nothing for the infrastructures, which will be built by Egypt and they can have 90 year contracts. They would have to pay 1% of all their imports, and this would include the cost of harbor utilities, etc.

"If your economy is strong, your politics are strong," he concluded.

Mr. Osman declared that, in his opinion, not only would Egypt stop all plans for the free zone area but also for the reconstruction of Egypt itself if their conditions for peace were not met.

3. Briefing with Abdel Meguid Hegazy, First Deputy Prime Minister

Mr. Hegazy: He wanted to establish the real facts about Egyptian strategy for peace to the year 2,000, and to talk about Egypt's relations with "all those who have accepted the new real-politik in the Middle East."

He attacked the U.S. for supporting Israel in the past and thus alienating the Arabs. He was prepared to let bygones be bygones and he said Egypt now wanted joint cooperation with the U.S. in its economic programs and investment. Egypt was neither pro-East nor pro-West, neither Communist nor Capitalist. What Egypt wanted from the U.S. was an initial grant of $250 million.

Egypt expected Nixon to "do something about Israel." Kissinger had done a tremendous job because he was more "realistic" in his dealings with the M.E. The U.S. had not wanted to listen to Egypt in the past and that policy had "brought nothing but bad relations." Egypt expected to reach a second stage after disengagement, in Geneva. Egypt was now following a different strategy and this had been thought out after the war.

As regards the P.L.O., that organization was the only representative of the Palestinians and the P.L.O. could make any decision it wanted to on its policy, but the P.L.O. had to be represented in Geneva.

Question: What was Egypt's concept of peace? "The implementation of Resolution 242 in all its parts; the liberation of our territory is not a topic for discussion." However, it was up to the Palestinians to decide on Jerusalem and the "liberation of territory and a Palestinian State."

Whether the U.S. could use the Canal would depend on the special circumstances at a given time. "But we are putting no conditions at Geneva." Question: Would Israel be able to use the Canal? Much depended on what happened in Geneva and many events thereafter. "Nothing can be done without peace."

He then went on to say that Egypt had not stood still and waited, but had continued the development of the country since 1967, and would continue to do so. Israel "gets aid for nothing" and lives entirely on this aid. Egypt is self reliant. Israel received $200 million and the U.S. has been behind Israel all the time. Egypt received no aid from the Soviet Union. Military and other debts could easily be repaid. They presented no problem whatsoever. This theme, of Egypt's capacity to repay the Soviet Union without any difficulty, was constantly reiterated by everyone who was asked this question. Egypt was its own master, unlike Israel.

As to the development of the Suez Canal free zone, this too "depends on peace and peace is the implementation of Resolution 242." "I can't talk about recognition of Israel at this time."

He defined Egyptian Socialism as State Capitalism. The aim now, he said, was public capital and foreign investment and aid into government controlled enterprises. Egypt, he said, had both long and short term plans for using aid and capital from the West and from the Soviet Union. Egypt is also, since 1971, encouraging the private sector, in a new economic policy.

Egypt would get this capital because "there is greater confidence in Egypt because it is looking forward to peace." The Arab countries have surpluses. Egypt has manpower and resources and is a tourist center. He looked forward to an Arab Common Market and a "kind of coalition between Egyptian resources and U.S.-Soviet Union technology."

"The oil embargo was a good example of how essential it is for all countries to get together."

Question: Would Egypt throw out UNEF again? "Today, no, but it depends on future developments at Geneva."

He returned to a repeated theme: Congress grants Israel all the aid it wants but imposes conditions for Egypt. "There is a greater power behind it." The oil boycott was "never meant to disrupt. We are free to raise our prices, just like the Soviet Union and the U.S."

4. Visit to the Suez Canal as Guests of the Army (Field trip accompanied by Egyptian Lieutenant-Colonels and Generals across the Canal to the former Bar Lev Line and to Kantara.)

A Lieutenant-Colonel, in reply to a question regarding his perceptions of the Israeli soldiers: "His morale is only high and confidence is only great when he is surrounded by security. Sharon's assault on the West Bank only came because he had the security of air cover and three of our missiles had been knocked out. The average Israeli soldier gives up when he loses his security. 24 men held a position for two days because they had the canal and a stream surrounding them. The rest of the army had fled - we found, to our surprise, that we did not capture a single general; the highest ranking personnel we found were captains - the rest were sitting in cafes in Tel Aviv. When we managed to get across the Canal - and our army was giving all they had - and when we got to these 24 men, those cowards surrendered. Our men are ready to go to the end when they are told. Unfortunately, I must tell you that out of revenge - our boys were so eager to revenge themselves because of their lost land - they killed 30% to 40% of the prisoners before we could get there and tell them to stop. We had decided on a policy of capturing the prisoners."

He also said: "We learned two things from the Israeli army. Their officers were not on the front lines and left their troops behind with low level officers, and that is why so few top officers died. We were very surprised. Then we learned some things about Israeli tactics which we are adapting to our army."

He believed that there would be peace for 10 to 20 years. He had been through 1948, 1951 (in the Yemen) and had himself fought in 1967 and 1973. Now he was ready for peace, but he would not leave the army; he felt a regular army was needed to train for defense. However, he did not feel that the war with Israel was over and finished. He wanted peace in his generation.

5. Briefing with Dr. Ahmed Gamal Ahmad, Minister of Information and Dr. Aisha Rhateb, Minister for Social Welfare; Sheik Abdul Aziz Issa, Minister for Al Azhar Affairs; Mr. Albert Salan, Member of the National Assembly; Mr. Fuad Mohidin, Minister for Local Government, held at the Ministry of Information.

Dr. Ahmad: A new situation of peace, understanding and cooperation exists today.

Last year it would have been inconceivable to receive such a gathering from the U.S. because the image of this country was misrepresented in the West. The October war was a blessing; it was a new prelude to peace and will bring understanding on both sides of the border.

Egyptians and Americans have important things in common. "In God We Trust" is inscribed on your coins. There is personal freedom, democracy, which we have in common. The only barrier was the serious misunderstanding of Egyptian intentions and regime and "struggle for liberation against the expansionist Zionist movement."

People have had only one version of the story. The Zionist propaganda was the only source before. But Egypt has learned to speak the language of the West. Egypt is even thinking more rationally and more constructively. "It remains for the other party and for our friends, the U.S. to pay their share in a just peace."

From the very beginning, Egypt as part of the Arab nation, made a clear distinction between Zionism as a political movement and the ingathering of the exiles and Judaism. There would never have been a Jewish problem in the Middle East. Anti-Semitism is alien to Islam. We emphasized this since 1948. After 1967 Egypt became more realistic. "We have to live with some situations. We do not like them but we have to live with them." Egypt had officially sanctioned Israel's de facto existence in 1967 by supporting Resolution 242. Egypt was then ready to make concessions, such as giving up belligerency, guaranteeing secure boundaries and peaceful passage through the Canal, in exchange for withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories. An Israeli withdrawal was the objective. After June 5, 1967, recognition of the legitimate political and national rights of the Palestinians had been added.

Concerning the oil embargo, the Minister felt that "a little pressure may do some good."

He also said that Israel had deceived the world in their contention that the West belongs to the Judaeo-Christian tradition. Egypt will strive to show that the West belongs to the Judaeo-Christian-Islamic tradition.

He was asked: "You have decided to make peace with Israel. But you say you are against Zionism, and Israel is a Zionist State. How do you reconcile this?"

"Yes, Israel is a Zionist state today. But we will persuade America to stop supporting Israel. Israel is totally dependent on U.S. support. Once this support is withdrawn, the state will be weakened. Then there are many divisions inside Israel - between Ashkenazi and Sephardi and so on. The Zionist state will fall of its own weaknesses. "If Israel remains a Zionist state, that remains to be seen. Who would have believed that Israel would have given up one piece of territory? We differ in history and in perception. It is not static, flat or predictable. Israeli policy has been based on establishing 'new facts', to acquire new acquisitions. The war of 1973 created new facts in favor of the Arabs. It achieved a basic change in the position of the U.S. and of many Israelis. Therefore one cannot predict that Israel will always remain Zionist in the classical, impractical way. No peace can be permanent unless this sort of irritation can be removed...Israelis are questioning the old military establishment of Golda Meir."

LEBANON

Briefing with Charles Malik, former Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations, at the Ministry of Information; also present as hosts: Mr. Jumblatt and Mr. Yetter Bashir Aridi, Dean of the International School of Journalism

Mr. Malik: "We take pride in Lebanon and in our freedom and in our relatively relaxed state of mind. We have many problems and are not ashamed of them. We have complete freedom of discussion. This is a crucial moment in the history of the Middle East and the world. It could turn out to be the turning point in Middle East and world history. We need the proper historical perspectives about these events and we can see a not too distant future of complete peace. It is easy to lose sight of the larger picture with little things. The future of real peace, interaction, concord, understanding for all the peoples and nations and states in this part of the world will come. This need not be impossible now. There will be interaction among all concerned in this part of the world.

"The essential problem is complementary but not the same in this great moment in history. The real problem is to raise our sights to the future. It is how two peoples may live together in peace - the Jews and the Arabs and how three religions stemming from Abraham may live together in peace in the region of their origin. How can we live together in peace, amity and basic interaction? This is the creation of history. I hope it will be created by peace and understanding and wisdom.

"The modality of living in peace will have to be worked out, basically through the rough and tumble of historical action. I hope it will be through talk and negotiations.

"The second aspect is international. This is a unique area in the world and it is an historical center of the world and our ancestors created it. Geographically three continents meet here. There is no other place like this. It may well turn out to be the center of the world economically in a couple of decades. We have astronomic resources rising in magnitude almost daily. Therefore this will economically attract more of the world in the coming years. The whole world focuses on this area. Therefore the Middle East problem is an international problem of how Russia and America may coordinate their policies and interests so as not to clash and end in disaster, and how the industrial nations will relate themselves to oil and the potentialities of the area to create a constructive and creative relationship.

"We look to the time when the world will be happy because of the Middle East and when the people of the Middle East will live in peace and creative interaction without surprises and hostilities."

Questions were put by the group and answers offered by all the hosts.

Can Lebanon control the terrorists? "Can Belgium control their terrorists?"

Why doesn't Lebanon seal off its southern border? "Why doesn't Israel seal off its northern border? With all its immense preparedness Israel can't do it!"

"The world is forgetting the Palestinians. They are making their existence felt in this strange way. When the world takes notice it must behold their views or at least part of their views."

What chances are there for the creation of a Palestinian State on the West Bank and Gaza? "Whatever the Palestinian organizations will be willing to accept we are willing to accept."

What can be done if one of the parties will not sit down at the table to talk peace? "They did so today. Let them work out our joint salvation."

What is the role of the Russians in the Middle East? "They are jockeying for position and influence with the U.S. here. They have done badly lately. Russia has found the Middle East a tougher nut to crack than it supposed. It must adjust to the inner facts of life in the Middle East. This jockeying will continue until an equilibrium is reached between their diverse interests and influences. I think it will develop in the normal way without any great armed clash. Russia's role should be to help the people of the Middle East, not to influence them to be the cause of disturbance to each other or the rest of the world. Both powers should behave in such an exaltedly responsible manner that they will not excite each other or us. There should be restraint and peace and development. They should set an example to us."

Would Lebanon help the refugees? "It is not for us to see what can be done for the refugees but for Israel."

Will the Arab States continue to use oil blackmail? "Blackmail is a cliche. How many products does the U.S. prevent its industry from exporting abroad - at least 1,000. If it wishes to export or not it is free to do so. Similarly the Arabs can do the same. This tremendous natural resource is theirs and they are free not to export it. Why do you call normal economic international action on the part of the Arabs blackmail while U.S. actions on banned items are not called blackmail?"

"We all live in the same world and obey the same kind of law. We may make mistakes but we do not have a holier than thou attitude."

"The Arabs feel that the U.S. is so much on the side of Israel that many Arabs could not distinguish whether they were fighting Israel or the U.S. Sadat at the end of the October war said he accepted the cease fire because he could not fight the U.S. It became apparent that the U.S. was fighting Egypt. If the Arabs, rightly or wrongly, feel they are at war with Israel and the U.S. they will reinstall the boycott. During the war, the U.S. did not send food to Germany, its enemy."

Can Israel possibly accommodate the Palestinians inside Israel? "Palestine is the land of the Palestinians, not an Israeli land. What rights do these foreigners from all over the world have to go back to Palestine while the people of Palestine cannot go back to their own land. The PLO wants a binational state, like Lebanon. We have 16 sects and 6 nationalities and all political parties. The problem is created by Israel. Why can't they live together. Israel must realize that they are not the chosen people of God."

"The UN has failed because the nations have not agreed to set it in motion. The nations are squabbling, therefore they can't set the machinery in motion, e.g., why didn't you submit Vietnam to the UN?"

"The Middle East peoples are excitable and impatient and we have to live with this as a way of life. We have to be patient. There may be an explosion again but the two peoples will have to learn how to live in peace."

Can the Lebanon act the role of honest broker? "Lebanon is always ready to do what it can. But this also requires a kind of international climate to enable us to perform this function."

"We are getting help from our friends and our enemy is getting help from our enemy."

"These brothers of ours want to go back home."

(Malik): "I believe the Arabs should do more for the refugees. They are doing much but should do more. These people have a certain sense of purpose or mission and priority No. 1 is not to be comfortable but how to return to their country and how to influence public opinion as to enable them to return to their country. They remember their dear homes so tenderly, they cry when they think of their dear homes only a few hundred miles away."

(Malik): "This country is caught between its general humanity and its sense of profound sympathy for its Palestinians. If the position remains the same, they say they will be terrorists or, as they say, use these methods of liberating their own country. ...This method of incrimination and recrimination has no end. That is why we must raise our sights and look to the future, when the Middle East will bloom into a new era of prosperity and the arts of civilization. There must be a profound sense of honor and mutual forgiveness."

SYRIA

1. Visit to Dumas Refugee Camp with Mr. Naef Nobal, Governor of Kuneitra Area

Mr. Nobal: After a war one must plan to rebuild what was completely destroyed. The area would not be a military base, as before 1967 "and it never was a military base then" but a commercial center "which it was before" and an administrative center and the economic heart of the Syrian Heights. Kuneitra would become the central city of Helwan and Banyas and al Kuteka by the Jordan River and the sea of Galilee. Its inhabitants would concentrate on livestock, grapes, vegetables. This was the most fertile area in Syria; it was not a desert. The governate of Kuneitra takes care of the people's health. 2,000 children had been born here since 1967. The school had all levels and Syrian texts are used.

We don't teach the children propaganda against any race or people, only they know they must restore their land. We have no interest in hating any race in the world.

But as a natural right of any human being we have the right to defend ourselves against aggression. The children are taught to be loyal to their land but not to hate.

The total number of displaced Syrians since 1967 was 153,000. This figure includes "the Israeli aggression of 1967 and the conflict of 1973".

The camp is under the jurisdiction of the governate of Kuneitra. The inhabitants are not productive because peasants are incapable of adapting to anything except agriculture. The government spends 3 ½ million Syrian pounds per month on them. These people can go wherever they please and settle anywhere, not alone in Syria but in the whole Arab world. Palestinians get Syrian citizenship after 5 years. "We would let them settle here as citizens but those people insist on remaining Palestinians and do not want to give up their dream or their status".

Question: "Do the refugees here have local government?"

"What do they need that for, they have the police."

Mr. Nobal said the Syrian government had a great development plan for the Kuneitra region, to make it the breadbasket of Syria. For this Syria wanted American aid. But nothing could be done until the Israelis had returned all the occupied Syrian territories.

2. Briefing with Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister

"Syria strives for the social and economic welfare of its people and for the liberation of the occupied territories. Syrian-American relations should develop toward the realization of a just and durable peace in the area. Syria had a long history in the creation of human progress and civilization and is now trying to continue this historic role. But there is the Palestinian problem and the Israeli occupation of part of the Arab country and Syrian territory. I believe few Americans know the Palestinian problem. Or they have been misled by Zionist propaganda or by the acts of the Palestinian resistance, which practices terrorism to confirm its presence."

This Palestinian problem began in 1917, with the Balfour Declaration. There were then only a few thousand Jews in Palestine. The Arabs supported the allies but their reward was a punishment and the Palestinian problem. There were no problems between Arabs and Jews before the Balfour Declaration. The Arabs defended the Jews during the European wars and in North Africa. Jewish immigration to Palestine began a wave of oppression against the Palestinians, ending in 1948 with the expulsion of 1-1/2 million Palestinians and inhuman violence. Children were killed, women disemboweled, etc.

Now the Palestinians are living in inhuman conditions. There is now a second generation. The Palestinian problem is an historical and human international problem. The Palestinians are today sticking more to their rights than at any other time in the past. They are legendary in their tenacity; others only theorize, they live it.

The second problem is the Israeli occupation in part of our territory. The 1949 U.N. Security Council map, when Israel applied for U.N. membership, showed a certain picture of Israel. It has expanded 5 times in area since 1948.

This means that Israel did not want peace, but aggression and territory. Since 1949, Israel has refused to abide by the U.N. decisions and resolutions and it is aggressing against its neighboring Arab states. 1967 was the last aggression. Israel is trying to let the people think that the Arabs want war and that we are the aggressors but Israel is occupying Arab territory. In 1973 the Arabs exerted every effort to establish a political settlement. Israel placed obstacles to the Jarring-Rogers plan, while Egypt accepted it. After all their efforts, the October war was fought by the Arabs to achieve peace and for their territories.

By peace is meant complete withdrawal, and guaranteeing and ensuring the national rights of the Palestinian people. Israel appears not to know that the Arab people, as its ancient tradition, have always defended their liberty and their freedom and will never relinquish their territories.

The Arabs know that no occupation can last in history. Israel used to claim it can establish peace through occupation.

Many countries signed peace agreements - for example, with the Nazis in World War II. We know their fate. Because any agreement based on giving some benefits to the aggressor will be to their disadvantage - as happened to Holland, etc. under the Nazi occupation.

The October war expressed the danger resulting from Israel's persistence in refusing peace and its intransigence against Resolution 242. We know the consequences of the October war on the world. The continuation of the Israeli occupation is a very great danger to world peace and security in the region. Today the world is more sensitive to the Middle East. Israel's stand reflects on the peoples of the world.

Israel wants secure boundaries - in this age when there is no such thing.

Why don't the Arabs have secure boundaries? Who committed the aggression? Why are boundaries secure only 70 kilometers from Damascus and not from Tel Aviv? Security is not in force and occupation but in peace.

The presence of Israeli forces in the Golan and Suez did not prevent the Arabs from embarking on the October war. We are a peace loving people and no one can say he does not want peace but also no one wants capitulation and surrender. This is an explicit difference between peace and surrender.

Our people, who took the responsibility for human civilization, loves peace, but will never agree to concede any part of its land or its nationals.

Our understanding of peace is simple and we declared this before, after and during the war. Peace cannot be imposed by force. There must be complete withdrawal from the occupied territories and the securing of the national rights of the Palestinian people. More difficult and complicated circumstances will come in the end if this is not achieved.

The Jewish problem here is mere Zionist propaganda and world gullibility. Our Jews are Syrian Arab citizens and we do not differentiate between the religious sects. The best doctor in Syria (he died) was a Jew.

Israeli mistreatment of the Arabs in the occupied territories amounts to atrocities.

Some Syrian Jews went to New York from Syria because Oriental Jews are treated so badly in Israel. It reflects the racist nature of Zionism.

The Arabs are humane, but during the October war, Israel jets bombed Damascus. Hundreds of women and children were killed. We had the means to hit Israeli cities but refused because we did not want to be war criminals.

There can be no face to face talks because the problem is that Israel is not committing itself to Resolution 242. We would sit together at the U.N. and in the Security Council. The problem is not sitting together in rooms but that Israel should adhere to applying the U.N. resolutions.

Disengagement is a step toward Resolution 338 - complete withdrawal and guaranteeing the rights of the Palestinian people. Rabin, only yesterday, declared that Israel is not willing to withdraw to the borders of 1967 or to implement the Resolutions of the Security Council. Therefore, the problem is not of sitting down together but that Israel should move toward peace.

The Palestinians are dealing with Israel in the same manner as Israel used and is still dealing with them. Before we criticize terrorism, why is Israel doing the same thing? Young people are doing what Israel did to them. One I know lost his mother at the hands of Israeli gangsters before 1948. Israel created terrorism. It is the outcome. We support the Palestinians in this struggle and consider the PLO as the representatives of this people. We demand the help of the world. Israel imports immigrants from the Soviet Union to live in someone's homeland. The Palestinians live as oppressed, hungry, expelled and deprived people. What does the West expect from those living in the refugee camps for almost 25 years? No Arab government can prevent the Palestinians from exercising their rights and attaining their rights.

"We do not say there is no treaty possible with Israel. We are content with Resolution 242."

JORDAN

Briefing with the Prime Minister: Zaid Sammer Rifai

Mr. Rifai: In 1950 there was the unity of the West Bank with Jordan. More than 60% of our civil servants are from the West Bank. The whole country became one large family. In 1967 the whole West Bank was occupied. The people of the West Bank are

today Jordanian citizens. We still have a lot of dealings with the West Bank. We promote and pay them and we have contact with them. One member of Parliament comes to our parliament from the West Bank where he lives. It is still one country. Unfortunately, the Palestinians outside have formed guerrilla organizations and believe in an independent Palestinian state. We think the West Bank is part of Jordan and we must liberate it, but if the Palestinians outside have the support of all the Arab countries in establishing a Palestinian state that would be relieving Jordan of its responsibility even before withdrawal. Jordan would not have the occupied territory and we would not be obligated to accept Resolution 242 and would not become a party in the process of a peace agreement.

He said, responsing to questions:

"The future of the West Bank will be decided by its own people. There should be a plebiscite after withdrawal.

"Jerusalem is the most important aspect of the Arab-Israel dispute. We believe that Jerusalem cannot remain a united Israeli city. Its return to the Arabs is the cornerstone of a Middle East settlement. It should not be a divided city but we insist on Arab sovereignty over the Arab city. We want a new status for the city and this can be negotiated. Jerusalem is the most difficult aspect but this can be overcome.

"Peace means withdrawal to the borders of 1967 but no Arab country insists on withdrawal taking place before there is peace. It should be a staged withdrawal and a staged peace. Israel must choose between territory and peace.

"The PLO should be represented in Geneva, but only to discuss the rights of the Palestinian people. It is not within their competence to discuss an Israeli withdrawal."

AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

פרופסורים אמריקאים למען השלום במזרח התיכון

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

APPME

ISRAEL LIAISON OFFICE

New Address:
18 Keren Hayesod

~~11 ALHARIZI STREET~~
JERUSALEM 92421

Temporary
Phone: 36967
~~Tel.: 34898~~

Rivka Hadary, Director

30 October 1974

Dear Colleague,

The decisions taken at the Rabat Summit Conference may be expected to have far reaching effects on further political movement in the Middle East and on future possibilities for peace. The kinds of responses which Israel can or should make now will be the subject of public debates in the media and in the Knesset. As you are so well aware, the debates are not theoretical exercises but vitally relevant issues.

We invite you to take a closer look at these issues by participating in a series of Field Missions, each of which will focus, in turn, on the immediate participants in the conflict.

* 21 November 1974: "The Palestinians - Jordan - Israel"
* 15 & 16 December 1974: "Egypt - Israel"
  Analysis-discussion and overnite in Jerusalem; field trip to Cease-fire lines in the Sinai
* 5 & 6 February 1974: "Syria - Israel"
  Analysis-discussion in Tel Aviv, overnite at Kibbutz Kfar Blum Guest House; field trip in the Golan.

(Details of the first Mission are enclosed; further information on the second two Missions will follow.)

Each Mission will include a field trip, an analysis-discussion with specialists and an evaluation session. You - and, of course, your husband or wife - are welcome to join us for any one or more missions; however, space is limited. A return post card is enclosed for your convenience.

We very much look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially,

Rivka Hadary
Rivka Hadary

Wm. Brinner
William M. Brinner
Chairman, APPME in Israel
(Near East Studies, U. of Calif.)

for a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab States

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East
Israel Liaison Office 18 Keren Hayesod Jerusalem

31 October 1974

M E M O

RE: Details of Field Mission

Thursday, 21 November 1974 -"The Palestinians - Jordan - Israel"

Field trip to the Allenby Bridge and points of "Settlement" in the area:

1. A bus will leave from the corner of Keren Hayesod & Sokolov streets Jerusalem, promptly at 8:00 A.M., to go directly to the Allenby Bridge to observe the process of the Open Bridges policy and for a briefing by the IDF. On the return trip, we will visit points of planned settlement and the sites of recent demonstrations.

   (If there are enough requests, an additional bus will be added, to originate and end at the main gate of Weizmann Institute, Rehovot. Those people who request a Weizmann pick-up will be informed whether or not it is available before the Mission itself.)

2. We are scheduled to be at Van Leer Institute, Jerusalem, at 12:00 Noon, for lunch and an analysis-discussion, with

   Dr. Yair Evron, Dept. of International Relations, Hebrew Univ.
   Prof. Emanuel Sivan, Dept. of History, Hebrew Univ.

3. An evaluation session by the participants will complete the Field Mission which will be over by 4:00 P.M.

4. We shall consider your return post card a firm commitment to participate. In the past, field missions have always been oversubscribed. If you find that you cannot come after all, please notify our office (the temporary phone is 02-36967) or evenings, 02-261253, and give someone on the waiting list an opportunity to attend in your place.

5. Registration (including a kosher lunch & chartered bus) - IL 25.00.

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למען השלום במזרח התיכון

ISRAEL LIAISON OFFICE
~~11 Atharizi Street~~, Tel. 34898
Jerusalem ~~92421~~

New Address:
18 Keren Hayesod Street

27 November 1974

Mr. Moshe Ofer
Israel Universities Study Group
for the Middle East
P.O.B. 4070
Jerusalem

Dear Moshe,

Have fun. As far as I'm concerned this is thoroughly and entirely incomprehensible.

Best,

Rinka Hadary

RH:rc

הקונסוליה הכללית של
ישראל בניו־יורק
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כו' חשון תשל"ה
11 נובמבר 1974

אל: הקונסול הכללי - ניו-יורק

מאת: יעקב לוי, ניו-יורק

הנדון: כנס APPME בניו-יורק

ביום א', ה-10/11, קיים APPME את השני מבין תשעה כינוסי הפרופסורים בנושא הפלסטיני. השתתפו כ-180 פרופסורים, כמרים (כנראה עקב הרצאת ארכיבישוף ראיא) ואנשי ה- American Petrolium Institute (שקיימו כנס מקביל באותו מלון).

בכנס הרצו פרופסור מ. קרטיס (סקירת רקע על הסכסוך והצגת העמדה הישראלית), הטופר הבריטי טרנס פריטי (ישראל, פלסטינים ושלום - סקירה שביטאה את העמדה הישראלית תוך ביקורתיות בכמה נקודות משניות), והארכיבישוף ראיא (הרצאה על ירושלים - קריאה לקתולים ולמוסלמים לגלות נדיבות וויתורים פוליטיים כלפי היהודים בירושלים למען שלום ואחוה).

לכינוס קדמה הרצאת פופסור מ. בריצ'ר בפני 20 חברי אקטוקטיבת APPME. מסקנתו פסימית (צפויה מלחמה בקרוב) וסוברת שעל ישראל לנהל מו"מ עם ה- PLO ואם לא תסכים, תיגרר ברבות הימים להסכמה כנ"ל. הותקף ע"י הארכיבישוף על רקע ההעלמות הפרופסורים ומדעני המדינה מהצורך בחזון מעבר לאנליזות המבריקות ומהקורה בתחום יחסי יהודים ערביים (ערביי ישראל וביקורי קיץ) כמפתח לשלום.

2/.

הסמינר היה מוצלח בשל כמות הנוכחים, איכותם והיות רוב המרצים לא-יהודים.

בברכה,

יעקב לוי

העתק: הציר (הסברה) - וושינגטון
מנהל מצפ"א
מנהל הסברה - ירושלים
מר משה עפר - הסברה, ירושלים
מר אורי כר נר - וושינגטון
הגב' חנה ברינברג - הסברה, ירושלים

APPME

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כא' חשון תשל"ה
6 בנובמבר 1974

אל: הקונסוליה הכללית, _____

מאת: יעקב לוי, ניו-יורק

הנדון: ספר "ארגון הפרופסורים" בנושא ירושלים

לוטה עותק מהספר החדש של "ארגון הפרופסורים" בנושא ירושלים, הספר כולל מאמרים הדנים באספקטים היסטוריים, מדיניים ומשפטיים בירושלים. כן נטקרות הקהילות השונות בעיר וזיקת הדתות השונות אליה.

בנפרד נשלחו אליכם 10 עותקים של הספר. הספר יופץ ישירות ל-400 ספריות אוניברסיטאיות מרכזיות, ול-500 אנשים מרכזיים באמצעי התקשורת. בנפרד נעביר אליכם פירוט תפוצה זו.

בברכה,

יעקב לוי

העתק: הציר (הסברה) - וושינגטון
הקונס"ל, ניו-יורק
מנהל הסברה - ירושלים
מר אורי בר נר - וושינגטון
מר משה עפר - הסברה, ירושלים
מר מאיר פדן - הסברה, ירושלים
מר משה אומן - וושינגטון

APPME

כב' חשון תשל"ה
7 בנובמבר 1974

אל: הקונסוליה הכללית, היוסטון

מאת: יעקב לוי, ניו-יורק

הנדון: ביקורי

APPME
מכתבנו מה-3/10 (לוטה)

בנוסף לכנושים אלו מתכנן הארגון כנס באוסטין, טקסס ב-26/11, בהשתתפות ד'ר שמעון שמיר ומשתתפים אחרים (טרם נקבעו). המארגן: פרופסור בריאן דובס.

בברכה,

יעקב לוי

העתק: הציר (הסברה) - וושינגטון
מר אורי בר נר - וושינגטון
מנהל הסברה - ירושלים
מצפ"א

הקונסוליה הכללית של
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יז' תשרי תשל"ה
3 אוקטובר 1974

אל: הקונסוליה הכללית, _____

מאת: יעקב לוי, ניו-יורק

הנדון: כינוסי ארגון הפרופסורים בנושא הפלסטיני

בחודש נובמבר יקיים ארגון הפרופסורים שבעה כינוסים שיוקדשו לנושא הפלסטיני. כידוע הארגון מקיים כינוסים בתחילת כל שנה אקדמאית.

ה- papers הנדונים בכינוסים מקובצים לספר המופיע אח"כ בטעם הארגון (לדוגמא: People and Politics in the Middle East; Israel: Social Structure and Change).

להלן פרטים על הכינוסים שנקבעו, כולל עיתוי ומשתתפים. עוד ייתכנו שינויים ותוספות (בעיקר מבחינת המשתתפים):

יום שבת ויום א'	9-10/11	טורונטו	ד"ר חיים שקד טרנס פריטי
יום א'	10/11	ניו-יורק	טרנס פריטי
יום א'	17/11	שיקגו	פנל א': ל. בינדר ט. פריטי ח. שקד ש. בסיוני פנל ב': מ. קרטיס ג. אלרוי א. סונדרס (מחמ"ד)

2/.

יום ב'	18/11	פורטלנד אורגון	ט. פריטי
יום ד'	20/11	סן-פרנציסקו	שמעון שמיר ט. פריטי
יום ה'	21/11	לוס-אנג'לס	שמעון שמיר ט. פריטי
יום א'	24/11	וושינגטון	שמעון שמיר ט. פריטי ג. אלרוי דוד לנדס(?) צבי יעבץ(?) מ. בריצ'ר(?)

הגדרת נושא הכינוס תשתנה ממקום למקום. בשיקגו מוגדר כ-
Palestinian Issues - Alternative Scenarios
בוושינגטון: Israel and the M.E. - A year After the October War
במקומות אחרים ייקבעו הנושאים עפ"י צרכי המקום.

הקונכלי"ם והקונסולים יוזמנו, כמקובל, להשתתף בכל הכינוסים.

נערכנכם כשיושלמו הפרטים.

בברכה,

יעקב לס

העתק: הציר (הסברה) - וושינגטון
הקונסול הכללי - ניו-יורק
מנהל הסברה, ירושלים
מר אורי בר נר - וושינגטון
מר יורם אטינגר - הסברה, ירושלים
מצפ"א

AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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New Address:
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Rivka Hadary, Director

30 October 1974

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* 21 November 1974: "The Palestinians - Jordan - Israel"
* 15 & 16 December 1974: "Egypt - Israel"
  Analysis-discussion and overnite in Jerusalem; field trip to Cease-fire lines in the Sinai
* 5 & 6 February 1974: "Syria - Israel"
  Analysis-discussion in Tel Aviv, overnite at Kibbutz Kfar Blum Guest House; field trip in the Golan.

(Details of the first Mission are enclosed; further information on the second two Missions will follow.)

Each Mission will include a field trip, an analysis-discussion with specialists and an evaluation session. You - and, of course, your husband or wife - are welcome to join us for any one or more missions; however, space is limited. A return post card is enclosed for your convenience.

We very much look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially,

Rivka Hadary

Rivka Hadary

William M. Brinner
Chairman, APPME in Israel
(Near East Studies, U. of Calif.)

for a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab States

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East
Israel Liaison Office 18 Keren Hayesod Jerusalem

31 October 1974

M E M O

RE: Details of Field Mission

Thursday, 21 November 1974 -"The Palestinians - Jordan - Israel"

Field trip to the Allenby Bridge and points of "Settlement" in the area:

1. A bus will leave from the corner of Keren Hayesod & Sokolov streets Jerusalem, promptly at 8:00 A.M., to go directly to the Allenby Bridge to observe the process of the Open Bridges policy and for a briefing by the IDF. On the return trip, we will visit points of planned settlement and the sites of recent demonstrations.

   (If there are enough requests, an additional bus will be added, to originate and end at the main gate of Weizmann Institute, Rehovot. Those people who request a Weizmann pick-up will be informed whether or not it is available before the Mission itself.)

2. We are scheduled to be at Van Leer Institute, Jerusalem, at 12:00 Noon, for lunch and an analysis-discussion, with

   Dr. Yair Evron, Dept. of International Relations, Hebrew Univ.
   Prof. Emanuel Sivan, Dept. of History, Hebrew Univ.

3. An evaluation session by the participants will complete the Field Mission which will be over by 4:00 P.M.

4. We shall consider your return post card a firm commitment to participate. In the past, field missions have always been oversubscribed. If you find that you cannot come after all, please notify our office (the temporary phone is 02-36967) or evenings, 02-261253, and give someone on the waiting list an opportunity to attend in your place.

5. Registration (including a kosher lunch & chartered bus) - IL 25.00.

Israel Liaison Office
American Professors for Peace in the Middle-East
~~11 Alharizi Street~~
Jerusalem ~~92421~~
Israel

New Address:
18 Keren Hayesod Street

-6.11.74
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JERUSALEM

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1035

Mr. Moshe Yegar
Ministry for Foreign Affairs
Jerusalem

AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

פרופסורים אמריקאים למען השלום במזרח התיכון

ISRAEL LIAISON OFFICE
11 ALHARIZI STREET
JERUSALEM 92421

Tel.: 34898

Rivka Hadary, Director

September, 1974

From: Rivka Hadary

Re: Report - Academic Year 1973 - 1974

In the way that it affected every aspect of life in Israel, the October War affected the nature, the intensity and the focus of the APPME Israel Liaison Office work as well.

Prof. Daniel Elazar, Temple University, in an article analysing American reaction to the War noted that

> "The key organization in the faculty effort continued to be the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East (APPME), a group born out of the Six Day War, kept alive in the intervening years through a number of academically-oriented programs designed to bring Israel and its problems to the campus in an intellectually respectable and honest way, and available as an instrumentality of action in time of crisis. While the organization's sympathies had always been clear, the Yom Kipper War produced a more forceful pro-Israel stance. . . Many of them [APPME affiliates] have spent time in Israel since 1967 as visitors and on sabbaticals, and they are the faculty who can identify with the country in very personal ways. . . " *

In order to intensify this identification and since effective habarah is directly related to continually refining knowledge about the target group, a questionnaire was distributed to 275 American professors visiting in Israel during the 1973-74 academic year. The

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* Daniel J. Elazar, "United States of America", The Yom Kippur War; Israel and the Jewish People, edited by Moshe Davis, Arno Press with Herzl Press (New York 1974), pp 25.

questionnaire, which was devised by the Liaison Office in cooperation with three visiting sociologists, asked for information relating to personal and professional data and to attitudes toward Israel. All kinds of facts emerged - 84% are Ph.d.s; fully 17% are not Jewish (previously it has been assumed to be no more than 10%); and some 56% indicated that they were attracted to a sabbatical in Israel for other than purely professional reasons. . . A full analysis of the responses follows later in this report.

In effect, the activities of the Liaison Office centered around seven major areas: - Leadership Study Missions, servicing of American professors on sabbatical in Israel, individual academics on brief visits, U.S. Lecture Project, consultative services, editorial work for APPME publications, and service to the wider community. Again, details of each of these areas follow later in this report.

The new academic year presents its own set of challenges. The news is different; the mood is different; the future seems uncertain.

We invite your ideas and suggestions and your continued cooperation in our efforts to activate the American academic community toward the mutual goal of peace in our region.

Cordially,

R.H.

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East
Israel Liaison Office Jerusalem

September 1974

Report on Activities

Academic Year 1973 - 1974

The activities of the Israel Liaison Office of American Professors for Peace in the Middle East developed during the past academic year a spectrum of services to American professors visiting Israel for longer or shorter periods; to the APPME National Office in New York; to APPME campus groups and individual academics in the U.S.; to professors on intensive study missions to Israel; and to Israeli agencies, organizations and individuals. Activity was centered around the following seven major areas:

Leadership Study Missions.

21 December 1973 - 3 January 1974 for National Executive members and Regional Representatives: 20 participants from 17 universities. Focus was on the aftermath of the October War and its ramifications for Israeli society, economy and external policies.

18 June - 1 July 1974 for National Executive and Regional Representatives: 19 participants from 13 universities. Focus was on the question of the Palestinians and viewpoints towards solutions for peace in the region.

Servicing of American Professors on Sabbatical.

The Liaison Office was in contact with 303 American academics who visited during some part of the '73-'74 academic year. Represented were 117 universities and 11 research institutions from the U.S.; nine universities and two research institutes in Canada. These account for 30 states in the U.S. and four Canadian provinces.

Attached, as Appendix A, is an analysis of the population of sabbatical professors based on answers to a questionnaire which was distributed by mail. The analysis includes statistics dealing with personal and professional data and with attitudes towards Israel.

Also attached, as Appendix B, is a report which gives the details of the special programming provided for sabbaticals, including Field Missions, organizational sessions, background mailings, etc.

Individual Academics.

Assistance and information about Israel were provided by mail to individual professors in the States. This covered the gamut from such personal concerns as educational facilities for children of professors who were considering visits, availability of apartments, information about volunteerism and sabbatical material on such issues as terrorism, the Palestinians, Jerusalem, etc.

Assistance was also provided to individual professors visiting for short periods on research projects or with special interests. Meetings were scheduled with colleagues in related fields, with government leaders, etc.; itineraries arranged for private field trips. Over 45 individuals, from 39 different universities, about 80 meetings.

U.S. Lecture Project.

The project consists of inviting Israeli academics and public figures for lecture tours of American universities. Selection and briefing of speakers in Israel was done in full cooperation between the Liaison Office and the Israel Universities Study Group and other relevant Israeli sources.

During '73-'74, 17 Israeli speakers went on lecture tours of two to three week duration. Of these, 14 are academics, two are government figures and one is a journalist. The combined itineraries of the speakers took them to over 140 universities, and there were some 450 meetings involved. (A special report on the project, fully detailed, was sent out on 1 April 1974.)

Consultative Services.

The APPME Handbook on Organization plus sample APPME publications were made available to the Hebrew University in its efforts to organize professors in Europe. Lists and guidelines were also provided to the Israel Universities Study Group, and to the Organization and Information Dept. to assist in their development of academic and intellectual groups in Europe and South America. Consultative assistance re programming was provided to non-APPME study missions and/or individuals on special projects. Experience with the interests and frame of reference to Americans as well as an immediacy with the Israeli scene has made it possible to suggest resource people, speakers or individualized field trips which would be appropriate to the specific needs of visiting individuals or groups.

Representative of this type of project was the assistance given to Prof. Robert Hirshfield. Prof. Hirshfield who, in addition to being Chairman of the Dept. of Political Science at Hunter College, is producer and director of a New York television program which features political discussion. He came to Israel to video-tape two programs on the Arab-Israel conflict. The Liaison Office was instrumental in suggesting, screening and contacting participants for the programs which were subsequently shown on TV in the greater New York area.

Editorial Work for APPME Publications.

Israeli professors, writers and specialists were selected and contacted to contribute articles to APPME publications, including issues of the Middle East Information Series, several "Newsletters" and the soon to be be published book on Jerusalem. In addition, special attention was given to a major volume now in preparation on Israel and the Third World.

Service to the Wider Community.

Six different sets of APPME publications were distributed to a growing list of libraries, agencies, Israeli academics and interested individuals within the country.

In December, an Open Forum was held in Jerusalem for an audience of approximately 300 Israelis at which a panel of visiting American professors reported to the community at large on the mood of the American campus during and after the Yom Kippur War.

A Statement of Concern signed by 74 visiting academics published in the local press shortly after the War as an indication of their identification with Israel.

* * *

The element of how a particular function can affect or encourage follow through in the U.S. is a constant dimension of Liaison Office work. In July, 1974, a carefully annotated list of American professors, by American university affiliation, who had spent part or all of 1973-74 in Israel was forwarded to the National Office of APPME. The list contained a variety of information to enable the National Membership Chairman, regional representatives and home university colleagues to more effectively approach the returnee for participation in APPME on his own levels of interest.

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East
Israel Liaison Office Jerusalem

September 1974

Report: Appendix A

Analysis of Questionnaire

Americans on Sabbatical 1973 - 1974

In an attempt to obtain more detailed and meaningful information about academic visitors on sabbatical in Israel, a questionnaire was distributed by mail in April 1974 to 275 American professors in the country at that time. Thirty-six percent responded, a significantly high percent. (Ten percent is an average response to this type questionnaire.)

The following areas were investigated:

What is the median and modal age of the visitors; did they bring their families and what ages are the children; what are the highest earned degrees; what is the predominant religion?

What type of university are they affiliated with; what major disciplines are represented; from what part of the United States do they come?

What motivated them to choose Israel for their sabbatical positions; what is the nature of their interest in this country, i.e. - is it purely professional; if additional motivating factors are involved, to what extent; what is the nature of the interest or the tie?

1. Personal Data (all figures listed below are percentages)

a.

Age:	Percentage:
20 - 29	13
30 - 39	31
40 - 49	35
50 - 59	15
60 - 69	3
70 - 79	2

b.

Highest Earned Degree:	Percentage:
Ph.d.	84
B.A.	0
B.S.	1
M.A.	3
M.S.	4
M.D.	2
J.D.	2
Other	4

c. Religion: Percentage:

Jewish	81
Catholic	2
Protestant	12
Other	5

d. Family Status: Percentage:

Married	89
Accompanied by wife	81
Age of accompanying children:	
Under 1 year	2
1 to 5 years	34
6 to 12 years	42
13 to 17 years	15
18 to 22 years	4
Over 22 years	1

Sabbatical visitors are relatively young, the modal age range is 40 - 49 (35%). The high level of their educational attainment should also be noted (84% have earned Ph.d. degrees). Fully 17% are not Jewish - previously it had been assumed to be no more than 10%.

The vast majority were married and came with their families. Of special interest is the fact that 57% of the accompanying children are of school age. The adjustment of the children to strange and therefore difficult school situations is a significant determinant in the overall impact of the Israeli experience on the professors. The possible establishment of a limited referral service by the Liaison Office may help professors over the initial difficulties of acclimating their families to the various educational facilities and approaches which exist within Israel.

In addition, on a non-classroomlevel, the educational experience of the accompanying teen age children should be given special consideration and augmented. In fact the office has received numbers of requests in the past two years asking for special programs - "field trips, seminars - such as you've organized for us - to expose our kids to Israel". This kind of programming obviously does not fall under the purview of the APPME Liaison Office. However the value of such a project on a number of levels is very clear. The Liaison Office therefore would be most willing to cooperate with the appropriate department or agency in the development of such a project.

2. Professional Data (figures listed below are percentages)

a. Status at Home University: Percentage:

Sabbatical	46
Leave of absence	25
Emeritus	2
Other	5

b. Status in Israel: Percentage:

Visiting professor	61
Private research	17
Other (usually fellowships)	18

c. Discipline: Percentage:

Physical Sciences	18
Biological Sciences	5
Social Sciences	19
Humanities	12
Medicine	6
Business	2
Mathematics	6
Engineering	9
Law	1
Other	4
Not indicated	18

d. Region: Percentage:

Northeast	36
Middle West	18
South	3
West Coast	13
Canada	9
Not indicated	21

Of interest in the figures above is the fact that this year, as well as in the past, a majority of the professors were in the sciences or in mathematics, as opposed to the social sciences and humanities. In any case, the choice of which fields of study are represented is as much a function of which Israeli institutions invite visitors and in which fields the Israeli universities are interested, as it is a function of which professors choose Israel for their sabbatical.

It is extremely important to APPME, for purposes of organizational follow-through, not only to be aware of the region of the country from which the Sabbaticals came, but also to take note of each campus involved. The three universities represented from the State of Tennessee and the one from Oklahoma are not less valuable than the 25 odd campuses from New York.

> It is essential to keep in mind then that, on the total level of contact and activity - and not limiting ourselves to only those who responded to the questionnaire - the Israel Liaison Office during the 1973 - 74 academic year dealt with 303 professors. These academics came from 117 universities plus 11 research institutions in the U.S., and from nine universities and two research institutions in Canada. The universities are to be found in 30 different U.S. states and four Canadian provinces.

3. Attitudes Toward Israel

The professors who received the questionnaire were asked to choose from among several possible reasons for coming to Israel on sabbatical. The importance of understanding the nature and previous perspective of the target group is obvious.

Attraction to Israel:	Percentage:
Teaching opportunity	14
Research opportunity	30
Philosophical, religious,culture	24
Trial period for aliya	21
Other	20

Several factors should be noted:

a. The respondants were permitted to indicate two or more answers and often did so (i.e.: "Teaching opportunities" and "Aliya").

b. In almost every case, those who chose "Other" amplified their choice with such comments as: "Personal identification" or "Ties" or "Strong interests in Israel".

c. The special case of Weizmann Institute, which offers many research fellowships to young scientists, and which is world famous for its specialized research, should be taken into consideration.

4. Areas of Interest

The final part of the questionnaire detailed a series of 26 individual topics on different subjects and asked professors to indicate, using a five point scale, their interest or non-interest in specific programs dealing with the subjects represented. Broadly speaking, the subjects covered three major areas of study:

a. Israel Foreign Policy and International Relations

b. Israeli Internal Developments and Policies

c. Ideological and Cultural Bases of the State

Following is a list, by order of preference, of those subjects most often marked on the two highest points of the selection scale:

Subject:	Responses:
The Occupied Areas	74
Israel and the Arab States	73
Peace Options	71
Israeli Arabs	69
Israel and International Relations	67

Consistently, visiting academics look to APPME to bring them information, through study programs publications, and field missions, on those subjects dealing with the conflict in the Middle East, with Israel's relationships with her immediate neighbors, and with the agonizing problems of peace and war.

Prepared by: Helen Rivkin
Coordinator Educational Projects

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East
Israel Liaison Office Jerusalem

September 1974

Report: Appendix B

Programming for Sabbaticals 1973 - 1974

This aspect of programming was directed toward American academics who spent part or all of the academic year on private research or teaching at one of the institutions of higher learning in Israel.

The outbreak of war in October caused a change of focus in anticipated programming and the intensification in providing information to Americans who found themselves in a crisis situation, cut off from accustomed news and analysis and without facility in the Hebrew language.

1. Informational Mailings.

a. Background Papers:	Three series, each consisting of six to eight articles which dealt with aspects of the Arab-Israel conflict (i.e., the oil issue, American involvement, Soviet presence, detente, etc.; authors of the papers included Ernst Frankel, Eugene Rostow, Julius Stone). These Background Papers were prepared by APPME in the United States and reprinted extensively in Israel for distribution both here and in Europe.
b. Pamphlets:	"Secure and Recognized Borders" and "Some Questions on the Egyptian Position" (Israel Office of Information)
c. Briefing:	Summary of a Briefing Session on 15 October 1973 given by Michael Elizur, then head of the North American Desk, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
d. "Statement of Concern":	Circulated to visitors by mail, asking them to identify publicly with a statement on the nature and background of the war. This statement was timed to appear in the "Jerusalem Post" on the day of Henry Kissinger's first visit to Israel and contained 74 signatures of visiting academics, identified by their university affiliation.
e. Newsletters:	Two Bulletins of the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East.
f. Middle East Information Series:	Fall 1973 - "Palestine and Palestinism Part I" Winter 1973-74 - "Palestine and Palestinism Part II"

2. Briefings.

A series of three informal discussions were held during and immediately following the October War to provide visitors with the opportunity of hearing and questioning analysts.

15 October 1973, Jerusalem, 102 participants, with Michael Elizur, North American Desk, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

20 November 1973, Tel Aviv, 19 participants, with Dr. Yoram Dinstein, Dept. of International Relations, Tel Aviv University.

22 November 1973, Haifa, 17 participants, with Dr. Dan Segre, Dept. of Political Science, University of Haifa.

3. Committee Meetings.

A series of small advisory committee meetings called early in the year to determine needs of the visitors and to develop a nucleus of activists.

6 November 1973, 16 participants to develop programming and organize specialized committees.

13 November 1973, 5 participants to develop techniques of providing additional critical and analytical material in English.

4. Participation in Leadership Study Mission.

23 December 1973, Jerusalem, 56 participants. Reception prior to Open Forum. The 56 participants stayed on for the forum on "The Mood on the American Campus".

28 December 1973, Tel Aviv, 16 participants. All-day Conference held with Leadership Study Mission participants and Haim Bar Lev, Minister of Commerce and Industry; Prof. Amnon Rubenstein, Dean of Law School, Tel Aviv University; Mr. Shmuel Tamir, M.K., Likud Party.

5. Field Missions.

The focal point of the political situation in the Spring of 1974 dealt with disengagement with Egypt and Syria and with the definition of secure borders and possible arrangements with Jordan.

a. Jordan Valley:

28 February 1974, from Jerusalem, 72 participants, plus Situation-Analysis Session (post field trip) with Yuval Elitzur, journalist and foreign correspondent.

b. Israel-Egyptian Border: 6 March 1974, 74 participants. Pre-field trip Situation-Analysis Session with Prof. Shlomo Avineri, Dept. of Political Science, Hebrew University.

21 March 1974, from Jerusalem, 37 participants, accompanied by military guide.

c. Israel-Egyptian Border: 27 March 1974, Tel Aviv, 57 participants. Pre-field trip Situation-Analysis Session with Meir Amit (Gen. Res.), Director General of Koor Industries, and Dr. Itamar Rabinowitch, Shiloah Institute, Tel Aviv University.

28 March 1974, from Tel Aviv, 75 participants, accompanied by military guide.

6. Organizational Follow-Through Meetings. A series of wrap-up sessions held on, 3 June in Rehovot, on 5 June in Tel Aviv, and on 10 June in Jerusalem. Informal discussions took place in order to concretize and conceptualize their impressions of Israel and to focus in on how this information might effectively be used on their home campuses.

AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST / 69 Bank St. New York, N.Y. 10014 • 212-741-2410

ISRAEL LIAISON OFFICE — APPME
11 Alharizi Street
Jerusalem

APPME BACKGROUND PAPER

ASYMMETRY IN THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT

By Michael Curtis

The unprovoked Arab aggression in the Yom Kippur war against Israel on October 6, 1973, carefully planned and prepared, achieving tactical if not strategic surprise, showed once again the basic cause of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Since 1948 the Arab nations have refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the state of Israel or to envision it as an equal member of the family of nations in the Middle East. This refusal has produced four wars, a war of attrition, unending terrorist attacks and Arab breaches of international agreements including Security Council Resolution 242 and the ceasefire agreement of August 7, 1970 arranged by the United States.

The conflict has always contained asymmetrical elements: the disparity in the forces of the contending sides, the relationship of the participants to their patrons, and the real objectives of the Arabs and Israel.

The disparity in strength between Israel with its 3 million population and its potential 18 Arab opponents with some 120 million was illustrated on October 6, 1973 when Egypt attacked with 5 infantry divisions, 2 motorized divisions, 2 armored divisions and 2640 tanks against the Israeli 3 brigades, one of which was in training, in Sinai, while 3 Syrian infantry divisions and 2000 tanks attacked the 180 Israeli tanks on the Northern front. The Arabs at a great advantage in men and materiel, not only fought bravely and well but also proved that they were capable of using effectively the sophisticated weapons and electronic equipment supplied by the Soviet Union.

The coordination of the Arab attack and its initial success were not the only surprise. The unity of the Arab countries in the desire for revenge against Israel, their improved propaganda and public relations image, their strong pressure on Third World countries to break relations with Israel, their very successful diplomatic use of the oil weapon leading to the neutrality of most of Western Europe and a humiliating appeasement policy by France, Britain and Japan, has left Israel virtually isolated diplomatically and politically.

The Soviet military assistance and political support of the Arabs has been constant and unequivocal. By its supply of arms, training of Arab armies, help in moving surface to air missiles into the forbidden cease-

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Prof. Curtis is the Chairman of the Political Science Department at Rutgers Univ. at New Brunswick, N.J. and the Chairman of the National Executive Committee of American Professors for Peace in the Middle East.

fire zone on the very day after the August 7 ceasefire agreement was signed, and actual planning, the Soviet Union has been a party to the aggression. During the war itself, the Russians rescued the Arabs by immediate resupply of weapons and spare parts, replacing all the 550 aircraft, 2000 tanks and 30 SAM missile batteries destroyed by the Israelis. They threatened to enlarge the conflagration by alerting 7 fully mobilized divisions of Soviet airborne troops. They have provided the Arabs with surface to surface missiles, the Frog with a 50 mile range and the Scud, which can be armed with a nuclear warhead, with a 165 mile range which now threaten the civilian population of Israel.

The Soviet Union has provided total political support to the Arabs. Between 1967 and 1973 it echoed the Arab demand for unilateral Israeli withdrawal from all occupied territory. In October 1973 it pressed for a ceasefire when the tide of battle had turned and the Egyptian 3rd army was encircled.

The United States has not given Israel the same automatic or inevitable support. The United States replaced Israeli losses only after the dramatic character of Russian intervention became clear. But its concern for the survival of Israel, its desire to limit direct Soviet military involvement and to prevent a one-sided Soviet-Arab political success at the United Nations does not always make its position coincidental with that of Israel.

There has always been a troubling disquiet about the ultimate objectives of the Arabs. In recent years there has been a very deliberate muting of the tone of Arab pronouncements about the extermination of Israel and a general absence, in statements for external consumption, of extravagently belligerent rhetoric against Israel. But the real aims of the Arab countries and peoples are still not clear.

Any affront to Arab honor and dignity caused by past Israeli successes has been amply assuaged by the performance of Arab arms in the Yom Kippur war, but no Arab leader has yet spoken of the desirability and benefits of a real, complete peace or of a future Middle East of which Israel will be a part. The Arabs will not acquiesce in the control by Israel of territories held since 1967, but it is uncertain whether Israeli withdrawal will encourage them to press for the liquidation of Israel as a political entity or whether the dynamics of history and the negotiating process will lead to peace, the normalization of relations, the end of the economic, political and diplomatic boycott of Israel and acceptance of co-existence. Unhappily, when the Arabs have spoken of "peace," they have used the word not in the sense of <u>sulkh</u>, a real lasting peace, but, at best, in the sense of <u>salaam</u>, an armistice, possibly of limited duration.

By contrast, Israel has continually wanted a real peace, the acceptance of its own legitimacy and meaningful negotiations to decide on territories and peoples of the area.

Today, the possibility of such negotiations exists after the ceasefire provisions of November 11, 1973, the talks at Kilometer 101, Security

Council Resolution 338 of October 22, 1973 which calls for negotiations between the parties concerned, and the opening of the Geneva conference. Egypt has not adhered to the negations of Khartoum (no peace, no recognition, no negotiations with Israel) and its reiterated precondition that talks not start until after total Israeli withdrawal.

Israel and Egypt have agreed on the desirability of an interim settlement by the disengagement and separation of forces along the Suez Canal and accepted the supervision of disengagement and of a demilitarized buffer zone in Sinai by a U.N. force. Logically, disengagement should result in a token Egyptian military presence in Sinai, the opening of the Suez Canal to ships of all nations, the civilian settlement of Egyptian cities along the Canal, reconstruction of the Cairo-Suez railroad, free skies, free passage in the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, and a gradual phased Israeli withdrawal to defensible borders. The 1967 ceasefire lines contained enough depth for Israel to contain the 1973 Arab aggression. Any agreement must provide borders that do not constitute a temptation to future Arab attack while allowing Israel a satisfactory defense line if it is attacked.

If defensible borders are assured,the momentum of successful negotiations on an interim arrangement should lead to a gradual overall settlement which would include not only Sinai and Sharm-el-Sheik but also the Golan Heights, the West Bank, Jerusalem and the Palestinians. The absence of fighting on the Jordanian front and of strikes, demonstrations or terrorism in the West Bank and the maintenance of open bridges for transport of people and goods across the Jordan was a striking feature of the war. Before any solution of the West Bank, there must be agreement on who can be regarded as the appropriate representatives of the "Palestinians" and what exact meaning is to be given to the imprecise phrase "the legitimate rights of the Palestinians" which the Arabs have used for propaganda effect.

A settlement in the Middle East must be found lest another more destructive round of hostilities occurs. Israel is determined to survive. The Soviet Union has realized it may be involved in a global conflict through Arab intransigence. The United States has acknowledged that its national interest would be adversely affected by the elimination of Israel. Even the Arab oil policy has been moderated. This has resulted from the realization that the oil producing nations are reaping vast economic benefits rather than achieving any political goals, from the divisions between the Arab states themselves and the resentment of the enormous revenues obtained by Saudi Arabia, from the growing Arab awareness of a possible recession in the industrialized nations which could be detrimental to the Arabs themselves, from the dawning realization in some of the Third World countries that Arab behavior is harmful to their interests, and from the fact that the dramatic rise in oil prices has now made other forms of energy economic and an energy policy for the Western World essential.

The immediate need is for a disengagement of Syrian and Israeli forces in the Golan Heights, followed by the repatriation of Syrian inhabitants in the newly occupied territories, the exchange of prisoners between Syria and Israel and territorial adjustments in the Heights.

The possibility for a real peace is at hand. Under the leadership of Pres. Sadat, Egypt is increasingly showing its interest in such a peace. It should be the task of U.S. foreign policy to impress on the Arabs the necessity for such a peace, the desirability of coexistence between the Arab states and Israel and the dire consequences of a fifth war.

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ISRAEL LIAISON OFFICE — APPME
11 Alharizi Street
Jerusalem

APPME BACKGROUND PAPER

MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GOLAN PLATEAU

By Colonel Irving Heymont

Terrain studies show that the most significant military feature of the Golan Plateau is the very restricted access to the area from Israel. More specifically, the western edge of the plateau is a steep escarpment that rises abruptly to heights of 400 to 1700 feet above the floor of the Huleh valley - one of the richest agricultural areas in Israel. This escarpment is almost a vertical wall that extends from the northernmost point of Israel to a point just north of the Sea of Galilee. From this point the escarpment runs slightly east of the Sea of Galilee and drops somewhat in elevation. The southern boundary of the Golan Plateau is the gorge of the Yarmouk River which is also the boundary with Jordan. The pre-1967 Armistice line between Israel and Syria, for all practical purposes, was this escarpment and the western shore of the Sea of Galilee.

Peacetime access from Israel to the Golan Plateau across the escarpment is limited to the highway from Haifa to Damascus. This road cuts through the escarpment at about the midpoint and crosses the Jordan River at the Bnot Yaakov bridge not far from the Kibbutz Ayelet Hashahar - so well known to American tourists. The other two roads from the west leading into the Golan Plateau, before 1967, were outside of Israel. One road was just north of Dan in the northeast corner of Israel and the other, in the south, was around the southern edge of the Sea of Galilee, through the gorge of the Yarmouk and then up on to the plateau. All three roads converged at the town of Qnaitra which is located at the high point (elevation 3,950 ft.) on the ridge that runs southeast from the Mt. Hermon range (high point, 9,200 ft.) which dominates the Golan Plateau from the north.

The Golan Plateau, in the possession of a friendly neighbor, is of no importance to Israel. However, in the hands of a foe it is an extremely troublesome area. From the western edge of the Golan it is only about 60 miles, without major terrain obstacles, to the Haifa-Akko area - the industrial heartland of Israel. Further, the Golan escarpment dominates the fertile Huleh Valley enabling the Syrians, before the 1967 war, to bring the agricultural settlements under accurate artillery bombardment because these fires could be directed by observers on the ground. The problem was compounded by limitations on Israeli options to respond. Counterbattery fires were limited by the lack of effective observation from the Huleh Valley; air attacks were degraded by well dug-in Syrian

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Col. Heymont, a retired U.S. Army officer, is with the General Research Corporation, Operations Analysis Division, McLean, Virginia.

positions with strong overhead cover, and a ground attack against the positions covering the escarpment would require major forces with attendant risks of heavy casualties and severe political repercussions. In the 1967 war, the Israelis took these risks and stormed the escarpment and breached the Syrian defenses but at a heavy cost in casualties. The Israeli losses were probably attenuated by the defeat of Egypt and Jordan just prior to the attack on Syria. The morale and determination of the Syrian forces had probably been severely undermined by the rout of the Egyptian and Jordanian armies. The news of this rout was undoubtedly known to Syrian soldiers who had transistor radios in addition to their weapons.

Given a continuing threat from Syria, the possession of some part of the Golan Plateau is a necessity for the security of Israel. This need is not primarily to protect directly the Huleh Valley settlements from bombardment by ground weapons. Rather, the need is to secure an area for ready deployment of Israeli ground forces to deter a ground attack on Israel in view of a possible quick Israeli reaction. The Golan Plateau and its continuation to the east contain no major terrain obstacles except for the escarpment leading to the plateau from the Huleh Valley. The settlements in the Huleh Valley can be brought under fire from long-range missiles such as the Soviet FROG and SCUD missiles that are readily available to the Syrians. The use of such missiles against targets in the Huleh can be expected to be deterred if the Israelis are in position to threaten swift ground attacks against vital Syrian areas. This situation prevailed between the 1967 and Yom Kippur wars and can be expected to continue unless the Syrians precipitate another full scale war as they did in October 1973. Further, the possession of some part of the Golan Plateau provides Israel with a buffer space that in the event of a surprise conflict reduces the possibilities of ground combat within Israel itself. This was the case in the Yom Kippur war when the Israelis were able to reinforce their forces on the Golan with mobilized reserve ground units within 18 to 24 hours.

The depth of the area required on the Golan Plateau, to include the adjacent parts of the Mt. Hermon range, need be only enough to permit the deployment of ground combat forces and large enough to support some civilian and paramilitary settlements. If the area is too wide, the ability of Israel to react quickly on the ground is reduced unless large forces are maintained in the area at all times. The presence of civilian and paramilitary settlements in the area would enhance security by reducing the temptation for the Syrians to occupy the area by infiltration or a lunge forward with small forces. Fortunately, the southern part of the Golan Plateau is quite fertile and can sustain economically viable agricultural communities.

The 1967 Armistice line on the Golan Plateau runs slightly east of Qmaitra.. The resulting Israeli-held area meets the requirements outlined above. Any permanent extension of the Israeli-held area deeper into Syria to the east would add little to the security of Israel and might even detract by over extension of Israeli capabilities. However, the 1967 Armistice line is not the only one that would provide security for Israel, there may be others that would also be satisfactory.

AMERICAN PROFESSORS
FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

פרופסורים אמריקאים
למען השלום במזרח התיכון

ISRAEL LIAISON OFFICE
11 ALHARIZI STREET
JERUSALEM 92421

Tel.: 34898

Rivka Hadary, Director

September, 1974

From: Rivka Hadary

Re: Report - Academic Year 1973 - 1974

In the way that it affected every aspect of life in Israel, the October War affected the nature, the intensity and the focus of the APPME Israel Liaison Office work as well.

Prof. Daniel Elazar, Temple University, in an article analysing American reaction to the War noted that

> "The key organization in the faculty effort continued to be the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East (APPME), a group born out of the Six Day War, kept alive in the intervening years through a number of academically-oriented programs designed to bring Israel and its problems to the campus in an intellectually respectable and honest way, and available as an instrumentality of action in time of crisis. While the organization's sympathies had always been clear, the Yom Kipper War produced a more forceful pro-Israel stance. . . Many of them [APPME affiliates] have spent time in Israel since 1967 as visitors and on sabbaticals, and they are the faculty who can identify with the country in very personal ways. . . " *

In order to intensify this identification and since effective habarah is directly related to continually refining knowledge about the target group, a questionnaire was distributed to 275 American professors visiting in Israel during the 1973-74 academic year. The

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* Daniel J. Elazar, "United States of America", The Yom Kippur War; Israel and the Jewish People, edited by Moshe Davis, Arno Press with Herzl Press (New York 1974), pp 25.

questionnaire, which was devised by the Liaison Office in cooperation with three visiting sociologists, asked for information relating to personal and professional data and to attitudes toward Israel. All kinds of facts emerged - 84% are Ph.d.s; fully 17% are not Jewish (previously it has been assumed to be no more than 10%); and some 56% indicated that they were attracted to a sabbatical in Israel for other than purely professional reasons. . . A full analysis of the responses follows later in this report.

In effect, the activities of the Liaison Office centered around seven major areas: - Leadership Study Missions, servicing of American professors on sabbatical in Israel, individual academics on brief visits, U.S. Lecture Project, consultative services, editorial work for APPME publications, and service to the wider community. Again, details of each of these areas follow later in this report.

The new academic year presents its own set of challenges. The news is different; the mood is different; the future seems uncertain.

We invite your ideas and suggestions and your continued cooperation in our efforts to activate the American academic community toward the mutual goal of peace in our region.

Cordially,

R.H.

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East
Israel Liaison Office Jerusalem

September 1974

Report on Activities

Academic Year 1973 - 1974

The activities of the Israel Liaison Office of American Professors for Peace in the Middle East developed during the past academic year a spectrum of services to American professors visiting Israel for longer or shorter periods; to the APPME National Office in New York; to APPME campus groups and individual academics in the U.S.; to professors on intensive study missions to Israel; and to Israeli agencies, organizations and individuals. Activity was centered around the following seven major areas:

Leadership Study Missions.

21 December 1973 - 3 January 1974 for National Executive members and Regional Representatives: 20 participants from 17 universities. Focus was on the aftermath of the October War and its ramifications for Israeli society, economy and external policies.

18 June - 1 July 1974 for National Executive and Regional Representatives: 19 participants from 13 universities. Focus was on the question of the Palestinians and viewpoints towards solutions for peace in the region.

Servicing of American Professors on Sabbatical.

The Liaison Office was in contact with 303 American academics who visited during some part of the '73-'74 academic year. Represented were 117 universities and 11 research institutions from the U.S.; nine universities and two research institutes in Canada. These account for 30 states in the U.S. and four Canadian provinces.

Attached, as Appendix A, is an analysis of the population of sabbatical professors based on answers to a questionnaire which was distributed by mail. The analysis includes statistics dealing with personal and professional data and with attitudes towards Israel.

Also attached, as Appendix B, is a report which gives the details of the special programming provided for sabbaticals, including Field Missions, organizational sessions, background mailings, etc.

Individual Academics.

Assistance and information about Israel were provided by mail to individual professors in the States. This covered the gamut from such personal concerns as educational facilities for children of professors who were considering visits, availability of apartments, information about volunteerism and sabbatical material on such issues as terrorism, the Palestinians, Jerusalem, etc.

Assistance was also provided to individual professors visiting for short periods on research projects or with special interests. Meetings were scheduled with colleagues in related fields, with government leaders, etc.; itineraries arranged for private field trips. Over 45 individuals, from 39 different universities, about 80 meetings.

U.S. Lecture Project.

The project consists of inviting Israeli academics and public figures for lecture tours of American universities. Selection and briefing of speakers in Israel was done in full cooperation between the Liaison Office and the Israel Universities Study Group and other relevant Israeli sources.

During '73-'74, 17 Israeli speakers went on lecture tours of two to three week duration. Of these, 14 are academics, two are government figures and one is a journalist. The combined itineraries of the speakers took them to over 140 universities, and there were some 450 meetings involved. (A special report on the project, fully detailed, was sent out on 1 April 1974.)

Consultative Services.

The APPME Handbook on Organization plus sample APPME publications were made available to the Hebrew University in its efforts to organize professors in Europe. Lists and guidelines were also provided to the Israel Universities Study Group, and to the Organization and Information Dept. to assist in their development of academic and intellectual groups in Europe and South America. Consultative assistance re programming was provided to non-APPME study missions and/or individuals on special projects. Experience with the interests and frame of reference to Americans as well as an immediacy with the Israeli scene has made it possible to suggest resource people, speakers or individualized field trips which would be appropriate to the specific needs of visiting individuals or groups.

Representative of this type of project was the assistance given to Prof. Robert Hirshfield. Prof. Hirshfield who, in addition to being Chairman of the Dept. of Political Science at Hunter College, is producer and director of a New York television program which features political discussion. He came to Israel to video-tape two programs on the Arab-Israel conflict. The Liaison Office was instrumental in suggesting, screening and contacting participants for the programs which were subsequently shown on TV in the greater New York area.

Editorial Work for APPME Publications.

Israeli professors, writers and specialists were selected and contacted to contribute articles to APPME publications, including issues of the Middle East Information Series, several "Newsletters" and the soon to be be published book on Jerusalem. In addition, special attention was given to a major volume now in preparation on Israel and the Third World.

Service to the Wider Community.

Six different sets of APPME publications were distributed to a growing list of libraries, agencies, Israeli academics and interested individuals within the country.

In December, an Open Forum was held in Jerusalem for an audience of approximately 300 Israelis at which a panel of visiting American professors reported to the community at large on the mood of the American campus during and after the Yom Kippur War.

A Statement of Concern signed by 74 visiting academics published in the local press shortly after the War as an indication of their identification with Israel.

* * *

The element of how a particular function can affect or encourage follow through in the U.S. is a constant dimension of Liaison Office work. In July, 1974, a carefully annotated list of American professors, by American university affiliation, who had spent part or all of 1973-74 in Israel was forwarded to the National Office of APPME. The list contained a variety of information to enable the National Membership Chairman, regional representatives and home university colleagues to more effectively approach the returnee for participation in APPME on his own levels of interest.

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East
Israel Liaison Office Jerusalem September 1974

Report: Appendix A

Analysis of Questionnaire

Americans on Sabbatical 1973 - 1974

In an attempt to obtain more detailed and meaningful information about academic visitors on sabbatical in Israel, a questionnaire was distributed by mail in April 1974 to 275 American professors in the country at that time. Thirty-six percent responded, a significantly high percent. (Ten percent is an average response to this type questionnaire.)

The following areas were investigated:

What is the median and modal age of the visitors; did they bring their families and what ages are the children; what are the highest earned degrees; what is the predominant religion?

What type of university are they affiliated with; what major disciplines are represented; from what part of the United States do they come?

What motivated them to choose Israel for their sabbatical positions; what is the nature of their interest in this country, i.e. - is it purely professional; if additional motivating factors are involved, to what extent; what is the nature of the interest or the tie?

1. Personal Data (all figures listed below are percentages)

a.

Age:	Percentage:
20 - 29	13
30 - 39	31
40 - 49	35
50 - 59	15
60 - 69	3
70 - 79	2

b.

Highest Earned Degree:	Percentage:
Ph.d.	84
B.A.	0
B.S.	1
M.A.	3
M.S.	4
M.D.	2
J.D.	2
Other	4

c. Religion: Percentage:

Jewish	81
Catholic	2
Protestant	12
Other	5

d. Family Status: Percentage:

Married	89
Accompanied by wife	81
Age of accompanying children:	
Under 1 year	2
1 to 5 years	34
6 to 12 years	42
13 to 17 years	15
18 to 22 years	4
Over 22 years	1

Sabbatical visitors are relatively young, the modal age range is 40 - 49 (35%). The high level of their educational attainment should also be noted (84% have earned Ph.d. degrees). Fully 17% are not Jewish - previously it had been assumed to be no more than 10%.

The vast majority were married and came with their families. Of special interest is the fact that 57% of the accompanying children are of school age. The adjustment of the children to strange and therefore difficult school situations is a significant determinant in the overall impact of the Israeli experience on the professors. The possible establishment of a limited referral service by the Liaison Office may help professors over the initial difficulties of acclimating their families to the various educational facilities and approaches which exist within Israel.

In addition, on a non-classroomlevel, the educational experience of the accompanying teen age children should be given special consideration and augmented. In fact the office has received numbers of requests in the past two years asking for special programs - "field trips, seminars - such as you've organized for us - to expose our kids to Israel". This kind of programming obviously does not fall under the purview of the APPME Liaison Office. However the value of such a project on a number of levels is very clear. The Liaison Office therefore would be most willing to cooperate with the appropriate department or agency in the development of such a project.

2. Professional Data (figures listed below are percentages)

a. Status at Home University: Percentage:

Sabbatical	46
Leave of absence	25
Emeritus	2
Other	5

b. Status in Israel: Percentage:

Visiting professor	61
Private research	17
Other (usually fellowships)	18

c. Discipline: Percentage:

Physical Sciences	18
Biological Sciences	5
Social Sciences	19
Humanities	12
Medicine	6
Business	2
Mathematics	6
Engineering	9
Law	1
Other	4
Not indicated	18

d. Region: Percentage:

Northeast	36
Middle West	18
South	3
West Coast	13
Canada	9
Not indicated	21

Of interest in the figures above is the fact that this year, as well as in the past, a majority of the professors were in the sciences or in mathematics, as opposed to the social sciences and humanities. In any case, the choice of which fields of study are represented is as much a function of which Israeli institutions invite visitors and in which fields the Israeli universities are interested, as it is a function of which professors choose Israel for their sabbatical.

It is extremely important to APPME, for purposes of organizational follow-through, not only to be aware of the region of the country from which the Sabbaticals come, but also to take note of each campus involved. The three universities represented from the State of Tennessee and the one from Oklahoma are not less valuable than the 25 odd campuses from New York.

> It is essential to keep in mind then that, on the total level of contact and activity - and not limiting ourselves to only those who responded to the questionnaire - the Israel Liaison Office during the 1973 - 74 academic year dealt with 303 professors. These academics came from 117 universities plus 11 research institutions in the U.S., and from nine universities and two research institutions in Canada. The universities are to be found in 30 different U.S. states and four Canadian provinces.

3. Attitudes Toward Israel

The professors who received the questionnaire were asked to choose from among several possible reasons for coming to Israel on sabbatical. The importance of understanding the nature and previous perspective of the target group is obvious.

Attraction to Israel:	Percentage:
Teaching opportunity	14
Research opportunity	30
Philosophical, religious,culture	24
Trial period for aliya	21
Other	20

Several factors should be noted:

a. The respondants were permitted to indicate two or more answers and often did so (i.e.: "Teaching opportunities" and "Aliya").

b. In almost every case, those who chose "Other" amplified their choice with such comments as: "Personal identification" or "Ties" or "Strong interests in Israel".

c. The special case of Weizmann Institute, which offers many research fellowships to young scientists, and which is world famous for its specialized research, should be taken into consideration.

4. Areas of Interest

The final part of the questionnaire detailed a series of 26 individual topics on different subjects and asked professors to indicate, using a five point scale, their interest or non-interest in specific programs dealing with the subjects represented. Broadly speaking, the subjects covered three major areas of study:

a. Israel Foreign Policy and International Relations

b. Israeli Internal Developments and Policies

c. Ideological and Cultural Bases of the State

Following is a list, by order of preference, of those subjects most often marked on the two highest points of the selection scale:

Subject:	Responses:
The Occupied Areas	74
Israel and the Arab States	73
Peace Options	71
Israeli Arabs	69
Israel and International Relations	67

Consistently, visiting academics look to APPME to bring them information, through study programs publications, and field missions, on those subjects dealing with the conflict in the Middle East, with Israel's relationships with her immediate neighbors, and with the agonizing problems of peace and war.

Prepared by: Helen Rivkin
Coordinator Educational Projects

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East
Israel Liaison Office Jerusalem

September 1974

Report: Appendix B

Programming for Sabbaticals 1973 - 1974

This aspect of programming was directed toward American academics who spent part or all of the academic year on private research or teaching at one of the institutions of higher learning in Israel.

The outbreak of war in October caused a change of focus in anticipated programming and the intensification in providing information to Americans who found themselves in a crisis situation, cut off from accustomed news and analysis and without facility in the Hebrew language.

1. Informational Mailings.

a. Background Papers:	Three series, each consisting of six to eight articles which dealt with aspects of the Arab-Israel conflict (i.e., the oil issue, American involvement, Soviet presence, detente, etc.; authors of the papers included Ernst Frankel, Eugene Rostow, Julius Stone). These Background Papers were prepared by APPME in the United States and reprinted extensively in Israel for distribution both here and in Europe.
b. Pamphlets:	"Secure and Recognized Borders" and "Some Questions on the Egyptian Position" (Israel Office of Information)
c. Briefing:	Summary of a Briefing Session on 15 October 1973 given by Michael Elizur, then head of the North American Desk, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
d. "Statement of Concern":	Circulated to visitors by mail, asking them to identify publicly with a statement on the nature and background of the war. This statement was timed to appear in the "Jerusalem Post" on the day of Henry Kissinger's first visit to Israel and contained 74 signatures of visiting academics, identified by their university affiliation.
e. Newsletters:	Two Bulletins of the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East.
f. Middle East Information Series:	Fall 1973 - "Palestine and Palestinism Part I" Winter 1973-74 - "Palestine and Palestinism Part II"

2. Briefings.

A series of three informal discussions were held during and immediately following the October War to provide visitors with the opportunity of hearing and questioning analysts.

15 October 1973, Jerusalem, 102 participants, with Michael Elizur, North American Desk, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

20 November 1973, Tel Aviv, 19 participants, with Dr. Yoram Dinstein, Dept. of International Relations, Tel Aviv University.

22 November 1973, Haifa, 17 participants, with Dr. Dan Segre, Dept. of Political Science, University of Haifa.

3. Committee Meetings.

A series of small advisory committee meetings called early in the year to determine needs of the visitors and to develop a nucleus of activists.

6 November 1973, 16 participants to develop programming and organize specialized committees.

13 November 1973, 5 participants to develop techniques of providing additional critical and analytical material in English.

4. Participation in Leadership Study Mission.

23 December 1973, Jerusalem, 56 participants. Reception prior to Open Forum. The 56 participants stayed on for the forum on "The Mood on the American Campus".

28 December 1973, Tel Aviv, 16 participants. All-day Conference held with Leadership Study Mission participants and Haim Bar Lev, Minister of Commerce and Industry; Prof. Amnon Rubenstein, Dean of Law School, Tel Aviv University; Mr. Shmuel Tamir, M.K., Likud Party.

5. Field Missions.

The focal point of the political situation in the Spring of 1974 dealt with disengagement with Egypt and Syria and with the definition of secure borders and possible arrangements with Jordan.

a. Jordan Valley:

28 February 1974, from Jerusalem, 72 participants, plus Situation-Analysis Session (post field trip) with Yuval Elitzur, journalist and foreign correspondent.

b. Israel-Egyptian Border: 6 March 1974, 74 participants. Pre-field trip Situation-Analysis Session with Prof. Shlomo Avineri, Dept. of Political Science, Hebrew University.

21 March 1974, from Jerusalem, 37 participants, accompanied by military guide.

c. Israel-Egyptian Border: 27 March 1974, Tel Aviv, 57 participants. Pre-field trip Situation-Analysis Session with Meir Amit (Gen. Res.), Director General of Koor Industries, and Dr. Itamar Rabinowitch, Shiloah Institute, Tel Aviv University.

28 March 1974, from Tel Aviv, 75 participants, accompanied by military guide.

6. Organizational Follow-Through Meetings. A series of wrap-up sessions held on, 3 June in Rehovot, on 5 June in Tel Aviv, and on 10 June in Jerusalem. Informal discussions took place in order to concretize and conceptualize their impressions of Israel and to focus in on how this information might effectively be used on their home campuses.

Jerusalem, September 10th 1974

Mrs. Rivka Hadari
American Professors for Peace in the Middle East
11, Alharizi Street
Jerusalem

Dear Rivka,

Enclosed please find two lists:

1. Israeli professors and lecturers on Sabbatical in 1974/75. The list of the Technion will be added shortly and there also will be some additions to the enclosed list.

The people recommended for Hasbara activity have been marked as follows:

* Suited for Hasbara

** Very suited for Hasbara

Maybe these markings, which of course should be treated confidentially, are not exhaustive since I had to rely in most cases on opinions and recommendations obtained from various people.

Some of the recommended academics have already agreed to undertake lecture tours during their Sabbatical year abroad.

2. American professors and lecturers who spent the Academic Year 1973/74, or parts of it, in Israel. This list was composed by the Israel Academic Committee and the remarks are based on their comments. Of course many of the people on this list are known to you and you may want to add your own comments.

Both lists have been transmitted to Yaacov Levy and I assume that he will pass them on to your New York office, but in this case duplication won't do any harm.

Shana Tova to you, Helen and Rachel,

Moshe Ofer

AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

פרופסורים אמריקאים למען השלום במזרח התיכון

ISRAEL LIAISON OFFICE
11 ALHARIZI STREET
JERUSALEM 92421

Tel.: 34898

Rivka Hadary, Director

12 August 1974

MEMO

From: Rivka Hadary

Re: American Professors for Peace in the Middle East: End-of-Year Reports

Enclosed are the excerpts of a Briefing by Prof. Hans Morgenthau on "The Prospects for Disengagement" which was presented at the National Council Meeting of American Professors for Peace in the Middle East.

Knowing the importance you attach to providing substantive information on Israel and the Middle East conflict in the United States, we would particularly like to draw your attention to the synopses of the year-end reports which were given at the National Council meeting. The Reports cover the areas of the Speakers Bureau, the Publications Committee, the Israel Liaison Office, the Organization Committee, and of course the overall picture of the year's activities as presented by the National Chairman.

Also indicated throughout the Bulletin are various publications published by the American Academic Association for Peace in the Middle East and distributed by APPME.

Your comments are always welcome.

Cordially,

Rivka Hadary

Rivka Hadary

RH:rc

for a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab States

BULLETIN

of the

American Professors For Peace In The Middle East

June, 1974

NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING HELD IN NEW YORK

APPME's seventh annual National Council meeting, presided over by Chairman David S. Landes, convened in New York on Sunday, May 19th, to hear reports on the past year's activities and to discuss policy and programs for the coming academic year. The luncheon session featured a briefing by Prof. Hans Morgenthau (C.C.N.Y.). A summary of this briefing, as well as excerpts from other reports, follow. Included too is the list of APPME's new officers for 1974-75.

The Prospects For Disengagement

Excerpts of a Briefing to the National Executive Council by Prof. Hans Morgenthau.

The decisive factor in the Middle East today is the change in U.S. foreign policy. Since the October 1973 War U.S. policy, which for 25 years was one of unqualified support for Israel, has changed to one of so-called "even-handedness," in which the U.S. supports Israel on the one hand and certain Arab states on the other.

This policy has, so far, been fairly successful. The U.S. has been able to displace Soviet influence in Egypt and hopes to do the same in Syria, thereby encircling the most pro-Soviet of the Arab states—Iraq which, considering the weakness of that government, may

Disengagement (cont'd.)

more readily fall. The U.S. would then become the predominant power in the Middle East.

When one considers, however, the specific problems with which Israel is confronted one cannot lose sight of the over-all political objectives pursued by the U.S. in the Middle East. In view of those global objectives, the specific interests of Israel must take second place. In this situation the very logic of the new U.S. policy must create great pressures on Israel to make concessions to the Arab states — concessions which Israel would otherwise not have made.

The Soviet Involvement

The situation is aggravated by the fact that the Soviet Union has also embarked on a new policy in consequence of the October war. The Soviet Union has no interest in a peaceful settlement. If the issue of Israel were to disappear, the Soviet Union would lose its leverage in the Arab world.

The Soviet Union is extremely unpopular with the Arabs and Arabs are unpopular with the Soviet government. Their alliance had been a marriage of convenience. The Arabs, confronted with the unqualified support of the U.S. for Israel had to look for support elsewhere — and found it in the Soviet Union. If there were to be a peaceful settlement and the Arab States were to become reconciled to Israel's existence the Soviet Union would have no leg to stand on in the Arab world.

The same is also true if Israel were to disappear in another war, so the Soviet Union can have no interest in Israel's destruction. The Soviet Union has an interest in the continuation of a low-burning conflict, which may blow up from time to time into all-out war, inviting the intervention of the two superpowers through the tool of the U.N.

This concept, of a low-burning conflict, can be formulated in theory but is difficult to realize in practice, especially when dealing with the highly emotional and uncontrollable governments of the area. It places the Soviet Union in a very difficult position. Russia must try to regain the ground it has lost in the Arab world and it must be careful not to give enough support to the Arabs to enable them to destroy Israel. Also, it cannot allow the U.S. to gain its objective of a peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

The Soviet Union, realizing as President Sadat did, that the Arabs are not likely to gain their objective in the foreseeable future by war, must still stimulate some kind of war, which it must prevent from degenerating into another all-out Arab defeat. This was the Soviet thinking in October of last year, when its direct military intervention was prevented by the U.S. alert and through the U.N., acting as intermediary.

The Soviet Union has made promises of a similar kind to Syria, telling the Syrians that if they became involved in an all-out war with Israel and needed Soviet ground troops they would get them.

The Threat to World Peace

This would be dangerous to world peace. The U.S. has left the Soviet Union in no doubt of its reaction to direct Soviet intervention. The U.S. was ready, last September, to send two divisions to counter any landing of Russian troops in Egypt. Mr. Kissinger must have told Mr. Gromyko that if the Russians were to send troops to Syria the U.S. would also send troops to the area. It is a situation which is more dangerous to world peace than was the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, which was really a freakish affair, created by Mr. Khrushchev's impetuosity.

The Middle East then, is the scene of a clash between the two super-powers operating vicariously through their respective clients, and where the vital interests of both sides are directly involved.

Control of the Middle East land mass which joins Asia, Africa and Europe has been, for over 100 years, one of the objectives of Russia. The "Eastern Question," which dominated the relations between Britain and Russia in the second part of the nineteenth century, was centered in good measure on Persia and the Middle East. The Middle East today plays a not dissimilar role to that which the Balkans played in 1917. Here is the meeting point of the vital interests of the great powers. There is the danger that if these vital interests are unduly impaired by one side or the other, one or the other will resort to the threat of force and will find it necessary to realize that threat.

One must therefore look at the Middle East situation from a larger perspective. The success of Kissinger's efforts to secure disengagement between Israel and Syria is a step forward in the expansion of American influence and also toward the short-term peaceful settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict. But one should not lose sight of the organic relationship between the chances for peaceful settlement in the Middle East and the chances for a military confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

One might argue that as the chances for a peaceful settlement increase the chances for a military confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union also increase. If the Soviet Union can have no interest in a peaceful settlement in the Middle East—this would seal the expulsion of Russian influence in the area—then the Soviet Union, short of being deterred by the overall power of the U.S., would try to prevent such a peaceful settlement.

Thus there is a paradoxical situation. We have to be interested in a peaceful settlement on the local level and in the prevention of war on the global level yet we can also argue that a peaceful Middle East settlement increases the threat to global peace.

This situation is, unfortunately, the most complex in modern diplomatic history.

Will you be teaching at a different university next semester? Are you moving? Will you be on Sabbatical? Please send your address to our National Office so that we can keep you on our mailing list.

APPME SPEAKERS Bureau has a roster of expert lecturers. To arrange for a visit to your campus, please contact Ms. Hannah Hopfer.

Report of the Chairman of the National Executive Committee

At the time of our last meeting we did not anticipate any major change in our activities, but we felt it necessary to strengthen our organization both in New York and around the country in various ways. We decided then that the meetings of the Steering and Executive Committees would alternate monthly and that we would strengthen the Membership and Organization Department by appointing a full time director.

The October war obliged us to expand considerably the immediate scope of our activities, and I would like to dwell on the manner in which our organization responded during the months of crisis that followed. At our National Executive Committee meeting on October 14, two important decisions were reached: the first was to agree on a statement on the conflict to be issued in the New York Times in the name of the National Executive Committee; the second was the decision to mobilize all possible resources of the National Office to provide immediately and continuously the necessary information and material on the context and changing circumstances of the conflict.

One week after the war collections of **APPME BACKGROUND PAPERS** began to be mailed to APPME members on campus. These papers were freshly written by leading academicians, all specialists in their fields. Authoritative articles were also reproduced. There have been six of these kits comprising some 30 papers to date, providing the facts, explaining the crisis and analyzing the current events surrounding the conflict. This series was reproduced by various organizations in many thousands of copies and in five languages.

The National Office also lent its services to a number of telephone campaigns to solicit expressions of opinion from prestigious academicians. In this way we fostered the articulation of many academics eager to express their concern at the course of events.

Speakers Bureau

During the period from September 1973 to May 1974, the Speakers Bureau arranged national tours for 19 Middle East experts who made 418 appearances on 188 campuses, 58 of these being visited for the first time by an APPME-sponsored speaker. In addition, numerous single appearances were made by our own APPME speakers as well as by visiting academicians available for one appearance only.

We continued our policy of seeking to open as many fresh academic doors as possible in a variety of hitherto unreached departments, but with the onset of the war it became necessary to send qualified lecturers not only to campuses new to us but also to established groups who requested information and analysis in a time of confusion about the conflict.

The overall picture in a time of crisis is such that the crisis itself becomes a topic rather than a carefully delineated aspect of one of the disciplines involved in studying the Middle East. In September we still thought that this would be the year when archaeologists, urban planners etc. would be of interest. We had also planned to have speakers on some of the broader cultural patterns of Israel and the Red Sea and Persian Gulf peoples. It is understandable that the focus instead was primarily on the impact of the war and new prospects for peace, and it is to this aspect that our speakers, in the main, addressed themselves.

All Evaluation Reports received indicated the importance of local and campus press, radio and TV coverage of the visiting scholars. For communities in heartland America, a successful interview on a major local talk show is as important an aspect as the formal lecture in a symposium. All of our lecturers participated in a variety of local programs, including classroom lectures, faculty luncheons, panel discussions, campus-wide meetings, formal colloquia, seminars etc. All these activities were well covered by the local media.

A word about the method of selecting campuses is in order. When planning a national lecture tour, the following factors are considered:

a) specific requests for programming received during the year from APPME groups as well as others on campus.

b) specific requests by the lecturer to go to a specific campus

c) organizational needs of APPME

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Adam Wiener, Nassau Community College
Morton G. Wurtele, University of Calif., L.A.
Richard J. Wurtman, M.I.T.

Report (cont'd.)

organized last year, continues to meet on a fairly regular basis and arranged three meetings during this academic year—an Energy Conference in October, a Study Mission Report in January and a Long Island area meeting in May. Only lack of space precludes reports of activity in other areas and campuses all over the country.

For the future, it is proposed that we turn our attention to seriously promoting organizational expansion through effective programs; programs that will not only serve to educate ourselves but project our ideas to others in the academic community and attract new people. It is vitally necessary that APPME adopt an overall policy of investing all possible resources in an intensive effort to promote a series of regional conferences and forums co-sponsored by local universities involving prestigious Middle East experts—these forums to take place as early as possible in the 1974-75 academic year and thus serve as a springboard for the main organizational effort.

Canada, in particular, should be encouraged to convene an official founding Conference of its own in order to stimulate interest there.

Conferences and forums are of course not new to us. Their importance in our educational thrust is well known. The difference is that we utilize them as a spur to organization, an opportunity for publicity and effective displays of our literature as well as to increase our active membership.

Reporting for the Publication Committee was Prof. Oded Remba, for the Speakers Bureau, Prof. Irwin Yellowitz and for the Organization and Membership Department, in the absence of Prof. Fred Pollak, Frank Phillips.

F.P.

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Report (cont'd.)

d) geographical and economic considerations

e) information of the special needs of a particular campus.

Campuses visited for the first time included: Howard University; University of Nebraska—Lincoln; Drew University Theological School; Seton Hall University; University of Montana—Missoula; Dominican College—San Rafael; Chicago Theological Seminary; Old Dominican University; University of Tennessee; St. Paul Theological Seminary; University of Southern Florida; Shaw University; University of South Carolina; Washington University; Brigham Young University; University of Nevada—Las Vegas; University of Arizona—Tempe; University of Albuquerque; Carleton University—Ottawa; St. Lawrence University; McGill University—Montreal; University of Toronto; Indiana State University—Terre Haute; Vanderbilt University; Kentucky State University, and many others.

The topics discussed included Biblical themes, Economics, International Law and Borders, Arabs in Israel, etc.

It became apparent soon after the war that the energy problem had become an extraordinarily important element of the Middle East conflict. Consequently, energy conferences were held at the end of November at Berkeley, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Dallas and Boston.

Publications

The publications distributed by APPME during 1973/74 included the quarterly journal, *Middle East Information Series*—published by the American Academic Association for Peace in the Middle East—and the **BACKGROUND PAPERS** mentioned earlier in this report. MEIS XXIV and XXV formed two parts of a discussion on **PALESTINE AND PALESTINISM:** MEIS XXVI and XXVII constituted a 108 page double issue on the **ENERGY PROBLEM AND THE MIDDLE EAST** (an updated supplement to MEIS XXIII of May 1973). This issue featured many and varied facets of the energy dilemma and the Arab oil boycott in its international ramifications. Projected topics for 1974-75 are: *The Great Powers and the Middle East; The Middle East as International Crossroads; Minorities in the Middle East*. The Fall 1974 issue will discuss Arab society.

We will also be distributing a full length book, "Jerusalem." With Msgr. John M. Oesterreicher and Anne Sinai as co-editors, this 308 page book is to be published in August 1974 by John Day & Co. under AAAPME auspices. The contents include essays by international authorities on the past and present features of the city, its human, spiritual and political life. Documentation is included.

It is interesting to note that AAAPME has received 240 new library subscriptions this year, bringing the total list to over 600.

The 1971-72 AAAPME Conference Papers with additional material, **Israel: Social Structure and Change** (edited by Michael Curtis) was published in cooperation with *Transaction Press* in the

Keep informed on Middle East issues by becoming a sustaining member of APPME: For Membership Blank please see page 6.

APPME Membership Benefits

include

- Receipt of four issues annually of **Middle East Information Series,** a journal bringing scholarly and topical material to the academic community;
- The **Bulletin,** focusing on the most current issues;
- Substantial discounts on the **Area Studies Series** and other books and pamphlets;
- A complete list of materials issued by the National Office;
- Participation at national and regional Conferences of the American Academic Association for Peace in the Middle East;
- Participation in study tours of professors and access to speakers.

Current Publications

ISRAEL: SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CHANGE **$4.95**
(AAAPME 1972 Conference Papers and additional material, edited by Michael Curtis and Mordecai Chertoff)
Sustaining Members Discount Price **$3.75**

•

PEOPLE AND POLITICS IN THE MIDDLE EAST **$3.95**
(AAAPME 1970 Conference Papers and additional material, edited by Michael Curtis)
Sustaining Members Discount Price **$2.75**

•

MIDDLE EAST HAPPENINGS: COLLOQUIES, IMAGES, MYTHOLOGIES A Response in Perspective to Some Current Positions **$ .25**
(A Pamphlet, by Joseph Neyer)

•

JERUSALEM
(Edited by Msgr. John M. Oesterreicher and Anne Sinai)
Publication Date: June, 1974

•

MIDDLE EAST INFORMATION SERIES

MEIS XXVI-XXVII—The Energy Problem and The Middle East (Spring/Summer, 1974) **$2.50**
Sustaining Members Discount Price **$2.00**

•

MEIS XXV—Palestine and Palestinism **Part II** (Winter 1973-74) **$1.25**
Sustaining Members Discount Price **$1.00**

•

MEIS XXIV—Palestine and Palestinism **Part I** (Fall, 1973) **$1.25**
Sustaining Members Discount Price **$1.00**

•

MIDDLE EAST REVIEW
Beginning with the fall, 1974 issue, **Middle East Information Series** will change its name to **Middle East Review.** The issue will feature SOCIAL TRENDS IN THE ARAB WORLD.

Report (cont'd.)

fall of 1973 and distributed to Sustaining Members of APPME.

The 1972-73 Conference on *Israel and the Developing Countries* will also result in a book of that title some time during the coming year.

The APPME **Bulletin** continues publication on a quarterly basis.

Study Missions

The leadership Study Mission to Israel at the end of 1973 was a great success. Twenty professors, all active either at the National or Regional level, spent two weeks from December 20, 1973 through January 4, 1974, in Israel on an intensive program arranged by Rivka Hadary, Director of our Jerusalem Liaison office. Many of the participants were interviewed by local media on their return and shared their impressions with academic associates and different community organizations. At least one of the participants, Prof. Lawrence Kaplan of Kent State, had his report published in toto by a local community organization in Cleveland. We hope that our forthcoming Study Mission in June, which is geared to the same objectives, i.e., expanded organizational effort and programming, will prove equally successful. Prof. Michael Curtis was the group leader in December and Prof. Herbert Callen, National Executive Co-chairman, will lead the group this June.

A detailed report from Rivka Hadary on the activities and scope of our Jerusalem liaison office was presented. We have come to appreciate the fact that reaching the hundreds of American professors who spend a sabbatical in Israel is an important aspect of our work. From this involvement, we may no doubt expect to see new leadership emerge in many areas. This is different and no substitute for the Study Missions we have undertaken this year. Any professor going on sabbatical or spending some time in Israel is urged to contact our Jerusalem liaison office. The address is: APPME Liaison Office, Rivka Hadary, Director, 11 Alharizi, Jerusalem.

Discussions are in progress with the Shiloah Institute of Tel Aviv University with a view to organizing a seminar in Israel for graduate students in Middle East studies, the programming for which would be in the hands of the Shiloah Institute. The Institute is the Middle East research center of the Tel Aviv University.

Organization and Membership

Although the bulk of our programatic activity continues to operate through key people in selected universities throughout the country, there are now self sustaining units or chapters of APPME in a number of universities and some regional areas. These units are instrumental in initiating local seminars and chapter meetings, utilizing speakers from nearby campuses obtained through their own efforts or through the National Speakers Bureau.

Returnees from our Study Missions have also made a significant contribution to the expansion and presence of APPME on their own and neighboring campuses. In connection with this, the Committee on Organization and Membership will be glad to hear from professors who are planning to travel to other cities for conferences or lectures and who are willing to undertake local organizational visits whenever their schedules permit.

The emphasis in the past year has continued in the direction of converting affiliates, who receive only the APPME Bulletin and occasional invitations to meetings, into full fledged Sustaining Members receiving all of the publications distributed by us, such as *Middle East Information Series; Area Studies* and *APPME Background Papers*. Considerable success can be reported in this area. There has also been a gratifying increase in new membership. An intensive Membership Campaign is to be initiated in the fall offering the new book "Jerusalem" or other full length books from among our publications to all new members as premiums for becoming a Sustaining Member.

The meshing of activities of the Speakers Bureau and the Department of Organization has proven of the utmost value in opening up new areas for organizational and programatic contacts. Communication with the Jerusalem office is being maintained regarding sabbatical returnees and other contacts in the United States and Canada. This office continues to send such contacts literature and encourages them to become active members of APPME.

Organizational visits by the new National Coordinator this year to several cities and campuses included Minneapolis, Chicago, Urbana, Milwaukee, Los Angeles and San Francisco. A central office has now been established in Chicago to service the universities in the city and environs. Staffed by a part-time director Ms. Maureen Gold, it is hoped that organizational activity and communication will be improved in this area. This is in the nature of a pilot scheme and may be instituted in other areas if successful. New chapters are in the process of being established at the San Francisco Medical Center of the University of California, San Jose and Sacramento.

A report by Prof. Irwin Cotler (McGill Univ.) indicated that Canadian membership continues to expand in Toronto, Montreal, and Ottowa, with a corresponding increase in activity. We look forward to increased participation from other parts of Canada in the near future.

Although the Canadians are individually affiliated with APPME, they operate separately as *Canadian Professors for Peace in the Middle East*, utilizing our services whenever necessary.

The New York Steering Committee,

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VISIT TO ISRAEL

LEADERSHIP STUDY MISSION

OF

AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

TO

ISRAEL

21 December 1973 - 3 January 1974

Israel Liaison Office
11, Alharizi St.
Jerusalem
Tel. 02- 34898

PARTICIPANTS:

1. Prof. Michael Curtis, Group Leader
   Dept. of Political Science
   Rutgers University

   Chairman, National Executive Comm.

2. Prof. J. Leo Cefkin
   Dept. of Political Science
   Colorado State University

   Regional Representative

3. Prof. Bernard Codner
   Dean for Continuing Education
   School of Business and Economics
   Calif. State College of L.A.

   Member, National Executive Comm.

4. Prof. Judah M. Eisenberg
   Dept. of Physics
   University of Virginia

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5. Prof. Irving Halperin
   Dept of English
   California State
   University

   Member, National
   Executive Comm.

6. Prof. Lawrence S. Kaplan
Dept. of History
Kent State University

Regional Representative

7. Dr. Herbert Karp
School of Medicine
Emory University

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8. Prof. George Moutafakis
Dept. of History
Queensborough Community Coll. CUNY

Member, National Executive Comm.

9. Prof. Joseph Neyer
Dept. of Philosophy
Rutgers University

Vice-Chairman, National Executive Comm.

10. Prof. Fred H. Pollak
Dept. of Physics
Yeshiva University

Treasurer, National Executive Comm.

11. Prof. Samuel Schwartz
School of Medicine
University of Minnesota

Member, National Executive Comm.

12. Dr. Ailon Shiloh
College of Social and
Behavioral Sciences
University of South Florida

Member, National Executive Comm.

13. Prof. Bernard Spolsky
Dept. of Education
University of New Mexico

Regional Representative

14. Prof. Ellen Spolsky
Dept. of English
University of New Mexico

Regional Representative

15. Prof. Emanuel Stadlan
Dept. of Neurology
University of Tennessee

Member, National Executive Comm.

16. Dr. Alfred Sugarman
Dept. of Speech
Portland State College

Regional Representative

17. Marie Syrkin, Prof. Emeritus
Brandeis University

Vice-Chairman, National
Executive Comm.

18. Dr. Bernard Weiss
Dept of History
Duquesne University

Regional Representative

19. Dr. Harold Wershaw
Dept. of Sociology and
Anthropology
University of Alabama

Regional Representative

20. Dr. Judith Diesendruck
    Executive Director APPME

21. Rivka Hadary
    Director, Liaison Office

22. Helen Rivkin
    Coordinator, Liaison Office

Friday, 21 December 1973

12:50 p.m.	Arrival at Ben Gurion International Airport by El Al, flight no. 002
7:00 p.m.	Dinner
8:30 p.m.	Orientation - Rivka Hadary

Overnight at the Diplomat Hotel, Jerusalem (67141)

Saturday, 22 December 1973

Morning	Free
	Optional tour of Jerusalem
Lunch	At Hotel
3:00 p.m.	Discussion: " The Metzada Complex" Prof. Yosef Dan, Dept. of Hebrew Literature Hebrew Univ.
Dinner	At Hotel
8:30p.m.	Informal Exchange "Reactions and Responses of Israelis to the Yom Kippur War" Dr. & Ms. Jack Cohen, Dir. Hillel Foundation, Hebrew Univ. Dr. & Ms. Aryeh Goren, American Studies, Hebrew Univ. Dr. & Ms. Joseph Neipris, School of Social Work, Hebrew Univ. Prof. & Ms. Gershon Shaked, Hebrew Literature Hebrew Univ.

Overnight at the Diplomat Hotel, Jerusalem

Sunday, 23 December 1973

	Briefing: "Israel's Position Today Vis-a-vis 5 October 1973"
9:00 a.m.	"A Global View" - Mr. Yaacov Shimoni, Asst. Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
11:30 a.m.	"A Regional View" - Mr. David Ariel, Liaison Officer to the Military Government from the Foreign Ministry
Lunch	At Hotel
3:30 p.m.	Briefing: "Super-Power Involvement in the Middle East", Mr. Mordecai Gazit, Director General, Office of the Prime Minister
Dinner	At Hotel
7:00 p.m.	Pre-Forum Meeting with American professors on sabbatical in Israel
8:15 p.m.	Open Forum " Reactions of the American Academic Community to the Yom Kippur War" Participants-Members of the Study Mission

Overnight at the Diplomat Hotel, Jerusalem

Monday, 24 December 1973

8:30 a.m.	Briefing: "Focus on the Palestinians" Mr. Zev Chafets, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Full day	Field trip Meetings and visits
Dinner	At Hotel
8:00 p.m.	Discussion: "Palestinians - The Larger Issue" Dr. Yehoshua Porath, Dept. of History of the Muslim Countries, Hebrew Univ.

Overnight at the Diplomat Hotel, Jerusalem

Tuesday, 25 December 1973

8:00 a.m.	Departure for Allenby Bridge
1:00 p.m.	Luncheon and Symposium: "The Role of the Academic in National Crisis" Host: Mr. Avraham Harman, President, Hebrew University and members of the Hebrew University faculty
4:00 p.m.	Discussion: "The Area of Information - Problems and Approaches" , Mr. Alouph Har-Even, Director of Information, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Dinner	At Hotel
Evening	Free

Overnight at the Diplomat Hotel, Jerusalem

Wednesday, 26 December 1973

5:30 a.m.	Departure
Full day	Field Trip to the Sinai Briefings and discussions enroute

Overnight at the Diplomat Hotel, Jerusalem

Thursday, 27 December 1973

9:00 a.m.	Check out
9:30 a.m.	Departure for Tel Aviv
Lunch	At Hotel
3:00 p.m.	Discussion: "The Energy Issue" Mr. Moshe Bitan, Managing Director, Paz Oil Company
4:30 p.m.	Briefing: "Where Israel Stands - The Military Dimension", General Shlomo Gazit, Israel Defence Forces
7:30 p.m.	Dinner and Symposium: "Evaluation and Requirements - The Visiting Lecture Project" Prof. Yuval Ne'eman, President, Tel Aviv University Prof. Saul Abarbanel, Dept. of Applied Mathematics Dr. Yoram Dinstein, Dept. of International Law Prof. Joshua Jortner, Dept. of Physical Chemistry Prof. Amnon Rubinstein, Dean, Faculty of Law Prof. Shlomo Simonsohn, Rector

Overnight at the Basel Hotel, Tel Aviv (244161)

Friday, 28 December 1973

	Conference: "Where Israel Stands Today"
9:00 a.m.	Morning Session "Political Implications" Prof. Amnon Rubinstein, Dean, Faculty of Law, Tel Aviv Univ. Mr. Shmuel Tamir, M.K. (Free Center)
12:00 noon	Lunch
1:30 p.m.	Afternoon Session "Economic Implications" Mr. Haim Bar Lev, Minister of Commerce and Industry
4:00 p.m.	Check out and departure
Dinner	At Kibbutz Gesher Haziv Guest House
8:30 p.m.	Home hospitality with members of the kibbutz

Overnight at Gesher Haziv Guest House (04-922840)

Saturday, 29 December 1973

Morning	Free
2:00 p.m.	Discussion: "The Ideological Struggle - An Aftermath of the War" Mr. Moshe Kerem, Dept. of Education, Haifa Univ., and Member of Kibbutz Gesher Haziv Mr. Avraham Schecker, Member of the Executive, World Zionist Organization.
Evening	Optional Tour: Haifa

Overnight at Gesher Haziv Guest House

Sunday, 30 December 1973

7:00 a.m.	Check out and departure
Full Day	Field trip to Golan Heights Meetings and visits to settlements
Dinner	At Hotel
8:15 p.m.	Discussion: "The Israeli Political System" Prof. Asher Arian, Dept. of Political Science, Tel Aviv Univ.

Overnight at Basel Hotel, Tel Aviv

Monday, 31 December 1973

9:00 a.m.	Briefing: "The Arab States - An Analysis of Current Positions", Dr. Haim Shaked, Shiloah Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies Dr. Itamar Rabinowitz, Shiloah Center
Lunch	At Hotel
3:00 p.m.	Discussion: "Social Problems in the Aftermath of the War" Ms. Florence Mittwoch, School of Social Work, Bar Ilan Univ.
Dinner	At Hotel
11:00 p.m.	On Site: Party Headquarters - Election Returns Likud Ma'arakh Mafdal

Overnight at the Basel Hotel, Tel Aviv

Tuesday, 1 January 1974

Free

Overnight at the Basel Hotel, Tel Aviv

16/.

Wednesday, 2 January 1974

9:00 a.m.	Briefing: "Election Mandate - Future Directions" Mr. Shimon Peres, Minister of Transport and Communications
11:30 a.m.	Discussion and Lunch: "Future Directions - The Role of Settlement" Prof. Raanan Weitz, Head Settlement Dept.
3:30 p.m.	Evaluation Session
8:00 p.m.	Closing Dinner Special Guest: Amb. Yitzhak Rabin

Overnight at the Basel Hotel, Tel Aviv

Thursday, 3 January 1974

Departure

LEADERSHIP STUDY MISSION

OF AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST TO ISRAEL 18 June – 1 July 1974

Israel Liaison Office, 11 Alharizi St., Jerusalem, Tel. 02–34898

UFER

Participants:

Prof. Herbert Callen, Group Leader
Dept. of Physics
University of Pennsylvania
Co-Chairman, National Exec. Comm.

Accompanied by
Ms. Sara Callen

Prof. Edwin M. Epstein
Assoc. Dean, Sch. of Business Admin.
University of California at Berkeley
Chairman, Bay Area Chapter

Dr. Joseph E. Goldberg
Dept. of Government & Foreign Affairs
University of Virginia at Charlottesville
Regional Representative

Prof. David L. Gutmann
Dept. of Psychology
University of Michigan at Ann Arbor
Member, National Exec. Comm.

M.E. Hodes, M.D.
Medical Genetics, Sch. of Medicine
University of Indiana at Indianopolis

Accompanied by
Ms. Halina Zora Hodes

Prof. Philip M. Piaker
School of Management
SUNY at Binghamton
Regional Representative

Accompanied by
Ms. Pauline Piaker

Dr. Rochelle H. Ross
Dept. of Modern Foreign Languages
Loyola University at New Orleans
Program Organizer, New Orleans Chapter

Prof. Neal Rothman
Dept. of Mathematics
University of Illinois at Urbana
Regional Representative

Prof. Rozann Rothman
Dept. of Political Science
University of Illinois at Urbana
Regional Representative

Prof. Stuart Schwartz
Dept. of Engineering
Princeton University
Regional Representative

Prof. Melvin Shimm
Dept. of Law
Duke University
Regional Representative

Prof. Robert Sinai
Dept. of Political Science
SUNY at Potsdam
Regional Representative

Ms. Anne Sinai
Editor of Publications,
American Academic Association
for Peace in the Middle East

Prof. Myron Taube
Dept. of English
University of Pittsburgh
Regional Representative

Accompanied by
Ms. Marion Taube

Prof. Morton G. Wurtele
Chairman, Dept. of Meteorology
University of California at Los Angeles
Chairman, UCLA Chapter

Ms. Rivka Hadary
Director
Israel Liaison Office – APPME

Ms. Helen Rivkin
Coordinator
Israel Liaison Office – APPME

Tuesday, 18 June 1974

12:50 p.m.	Arrival at Ben Gurion International Airport by El Al, flight no. 002
7:00 p.m.	Dinner
8:30 p.m.	"Orientation" – Rivka Hadary

Overnight at the Kings Hotel, Jerusalem (35232)

Wednesday, 19 June 1974

8:30 a.m.	"Where Israel Stands Today" Mr. Yaacov Shimoni, Asst. Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
11:00 a.m.	"Arab-Israel Relations: Developments and Change" Dr. Y. Harkabi, Middle Eastern Studies, Hebrew University Prof. Moshe Maoz, Chairman – Inst. of Asian & African Studies, Hebrew University
Afternoon	Free
~~7:30~~ p.m. 8:00 PM	"Background and Change in Israeli Politics" Dr. Emanuel Gutmann, Chairman – Political Science Dept. Hebrew University Mr. Aviadad Yafeh, M.K.

Overnight at the Kings Hotel, Jerusalem

Thursday, 20 June 1974

8:00 a.m.	Field Trip The Allenby Bridge
1:30 p.m.	"An Economic Appraisal" - Changed - See page for 21 June Mr. Ephraim Davrath, Economic Advisor to the Minister of Finance
Afternoon	Free
8:00 p.m.	"Responses to Internal Stress" - Changed - See page for 23 June Mr. Shaul Rosolio, Inspector-General, National Police

Overnight at the Kings Hotel, Jerusalem

Friday, 21 June 1974

10:00 a.m.	"The Jewish Dimension of Israel" Mr. Zev Mankowitz, Director, Institute for Youth Leaders Mr. Michael Rosenak, Educational Director – Kiryat Moriah Moderator: Mr. Amnon Hadary, W.Z.O.
1:15 PM ~~Afternoon~~	~~Free~~ "An Economic Appraisal" Ephraim Davrath
9:00 p.m.	Home hospitality

Overnight at the Kings Hotel, Jerusalem

Saturday, 22 June 1974

Morning	"Jerusalem – The Perimeters and the City" (Tour)
Afternoon	Free
8:00 p.m.	"Jerusalem – Co-existance and Future of the City" Mr. Meron Benveniste, Deputy-Mayor

Overnight at the Kings Hotel, Jerusalem

Sunday, 23 June 1974

8:15 a.m.	Field Trip to The West Bank Accompanied by Mr. Yisrael Stockman, Mt. Scopus Center for Research on Palestinian and Israel-Arab Relations Briefing by Mr. Stockman, followed by Meetings with local leaders, government functionaries (past and present), intellectuals and peasants in villages, towns, and an urban center.
~~Evening~~ 8:30 PM	~~Free~~ "Response to Internal Stress" Shaul Rosolio

Overnight at the Kings Hotel, Jerusalem

Monday, 24 June 1974

8:00 a.m.	"One Perspective on Israel's Political Position" Mr. Meir Pa'il, M.K. Moked
10:30 a.m.	Prof. Ephraim Katzir, President The State of Israel
1:00 p.m.	"Superpower Involvment – Israeli Perspectives" Dr. Galia Golan, Political Science & Russian Studies, Hebrew Univ. Dr. Shlomo Aronson, Political Science, Hebrew Univ.
8:30 p.m.	Evaluation Session

Overnight at the Kings Hotel, Jerusalem

Tuesday, 25 June 1974

9:00 a.m.	"A View of the Future of the Territories" Mr. Yehuda Ben-Meir, M.K. – National Religious Party
10:30 a.m.	Field Trip Kiryat Arba and Gush Etzion, meetings with the settlers Accompanied by Mr. Michael Shashar
Evening	Free

Overnight at the Basel Hotel, Tel Aviv (244161)

Wednesday, 26 June 1974

5:00 a.m. Field Trip

The Sinai – Israel Defense Force bases and UNEF post

Overnight at the Basel Hotel, Tel Aviv

Thursday, 27 June 1974

9:00 a.m.	"What Israel's Position Should Be" Mr. Menachem Begin, M.K., Herut Party
11:30 a.m.	"The Need for Change" Ms. Shulamith Aloni, Minister Without Portfolio & Citizens Rights Movement Prof. Amnon Rubenstein, Tel Aviv University & "Shinui" Movement
3:00 p.m.	"Movement Within Arab-Israel Relations" Mr. Aharon Yariv, Minister of Information

Overnight at the Shulamit Hotel, Haifa (242811)

Friday, 28 June 1974

8:30 a.m.	"An Urban Center in the Aftermath of the October War" Mr. Yosef Almogi, Mayor of Haifa
10:30 a.m.	Field Trip – Arab villages in the Galil Accompanied by Mr. Yusuf Khamis, Arab Dept., Histadrut
Evening	Home hospitality with members of Kibbutz Kfar Blum

Overnight at Kfar Blum (40468)

Saturday, 29 June 1974

9:00 a.m.	Field Trip – The Golan
4:00 p.m.	"The State Through the Prism of the Kibbutz" Mr. Saadia Gelb, Member of Kfar Blum
Evening	Evaluation Session

Overnight at Kfar Blum

Sunday, 30 June 1974

8:00 a.m.	Field Trip "Communities Under Stress" Hatzor, Migdal HaEmek and Safed Accompanied by Mr. Harry Rosen, Jewish Agency
8:30 p.m.	Closing Dinner "The Central Issues – Follow Through" Mr. Alouph Har-Even, Head, Dept. of Information, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Overnight at the Basel Hotel, Tel Aviv

Monday, 1 July 1974

Departure
El Al Flight No. 001

Printed in Israel by ISRATYPESET, Jerusalem

TENTATIVE ITINERARY - LEADERSHIP STUDY MISSION - June-1 July 1974

Sunday Date:	Monday Date:	Tuesday Date: 18 June	Wednesday Date: 19 June	Thursday Date: 20 June	Friday Date: 21 June	Saturday Date: 22 June
		Continuity & Change Arrival	8:30 A.M.: "Where Israel Stands Today" Yaakov Shimoni, Foreign Ministry 11:00 A.M.: "Arab-Israel Relations: Developments and Change" Yehoshafat Harkabi, Hebrew University; Moshe Maoz, Hebrew University Free	8:00 P.M.: Field Trip to Allenby Bridge 1:30 P.M.: "An Economic Forecast"	10:00 A.M.: Symposium: "The Jewish Dimension for Israel" Zeev Mankowitz, Inst. for Youth Leaders; Michael Rosenak, Hebrew University. Moderator: Amnon Hadary, World Zionist Org.	Jerusalem-A Tour of the Perimeters and the City Free
		Orientation Session Rivka Hadary	7:30 P.M.: Symposium: "Background and Change in Israeli Politics" Emanuel Gutmann, Hebrew University; Gideon Ben Yisrael, Central Committee, Histadrut	8:00 P.M.: "Responses to Internal Stress" Shaul Rosolio, Insp.Gen., National Police	Evening: Home Hospitality	8:00 P.M.: "Jerusalem-Co-existance and Future of the City" Meron Benveniste, Deputy-Mayor
Overnite:		Kings Hotel-Jerusalem	Kings Hotel-Jm.	Kings Hotel-Jm.	Kings Hotel-Jm.	Kings Hotel-Jm.
From:						

Sunday Date: 23 June	Monday Date: 24 June 8:00 A.M.: Meir Pail	Tuesday Date: 25 June	Wednesday Date: 26 June	Thursday Date: 27 June	Friday Date: 28 June	Saturday Date: 29 June
Field Trip to West Bank Acc. by Yisrael Stockman, Mt. Scopus Center for Research on Palestinian and Israel-Arab Relations Briefing: Y. Stockman Meetings with local leaders, government functionaries (past and present), intellectuals, peasants in Dir Dibwan, Jalazan Refugee Camp, Khirbet Abu Falah, Nablus, Selfit. Free	10:30 A.M. "The Intellectual as Leader" Prof. Ephraim Katzir, President, State of Israel 1:00 P.M.: "Superpower Involvement - An Israeli Perspective" Galia Golan, Shlomo Aronson, Hebrew University 8:00 P.M.: Briefing: "Administration of the Territories" Michael Shashar, Former Spokesman for the Military Government	9:00 A.M.: "A View on the Future of the Territories" Yehuda Ben-Meir, M.K. Nat'l Religious Party Field Trip and Meetings at Kiryat Arba and Gush Etzion, Acc. by Mr. Shashar (Transfer to Tel Aviv)	Field Trip to Sinai 11:30 A.M.: "Developments in the Problem of Terrorism" Gen. Shlomo Gazit, Head of Intelligence 5:00 P.M.: "The Israeli-Arab Community" Jacob Cohen, Arab Affairs Dept., Histadrut	9:00 A.M.: "What Israel's Position Should Be" Menachem Begin, M.K., Chmn., Herut Party 11:30 A.M.: "The Need for Change" Shulamit Aloni, M.K. Citizens Rights Movement; Amnon Rubenstein, Tel Aviv University and "Shinui" Movement 3:00 P.M.: "Movement Within Arab-Israel Relations" Aharon Yariv, M.K., Minister of Information (Transfer to Haifa)	8:30 A.M. "An Urban Center in the Aftermath of the October War" Yosef Almogi, Mayor of Haifa 10:30 A.M.: Field Trip to Arab Galilee Villages Acc. by Yusuf Khamis, Arab Affairs Dept., Histadrut (Transfer to Kibbutz Kfar Blum) Home Hospitality with Kibbutz Members	Field Trip to Golan 4:00 P.M.: "The State through the Prism of the Kibbutz" Saadia Gelb, Member, Kfar Blum Evening: Evaluation
Overnite: Kings Hotel-Jm. From:	Kings Hotel-Jm.	Basel Hotel-T.A.	Basel Hotel-T.A.	Shulamit Hotel - Haifa	Kibbutz Kfar Blum	Kibbutz Kfar Blum

Sunday Date: 30 June	Monday Date:	Tuesday Date:	Wednesday Date:	Thursday Date:	Friday Date:	Saturday Date:
Field Trip: "Communities under Stress" Hatzor, Migdal HaEmek, Safed Acc. by Harry Rosen, Jewish Agency	Departure					
8:00 P.M.: Closing Dinner "The Central Issues - Follow Through" Alouph HarEven, Head, Dept. of Information, Foreign Ministry						
Overnite: Basel Hotel - T.A. From:						

TENTATIVE ITINERARY - LEADERSHIP STUDY MISSION - 18 June - 1 July 1974

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Date:	Date:	Date: 18 June	Date: 19 June	Date: 20 June	Date: 21 June	Date: 22 June
	1) theme: Continuity and Change 2) —— indicates waiting for response 3) tentative prog. dated: 24.5.74	Arrival	8:30 A.M.: Y. Shimoni, Foreign Office: "Where Israel Stands Today" 11:30:A.M.: Y. Harkabi, Hebrew University "General Survey of Arab-Israel Relations" 5:00 P.M.: E. Katzir (?)	9:00 A.M.: Field Trip to Allenby Bridge 12:00 Noon: Field Trip to Army Base, Bi'ka: Col. Amos Midroni: "The Israeli Army, Its Role in Israel Society" Free	10:00 A.M. Symposium Moderator-A. Hadary, W. Z. O.; M. Rosenak, Hebrew University; Z. Menkowitz: "The Jewish Dimension of Israel" Tour Perimeter of Jerusalem ? FREE	Optional Visits to Arab and Jewish Homes in Old City Free
		Orientation	7:30 P.M.: Symposium E. Gutmann, Hebrew University and Gideon Ben Israel, Central Comm.Hist-Background and Development of Israeli Political System	7:30 P.M. Symposium Moderator-H. Rosen, Jewish Agency; Rosolio, Israel Police Force; E. Pelled, Min. of Education; M. Isaac,M.D., or L. Greenhouse, M.D.: "A People Under Siege"	7:00 P.M. ? M. Rivlin, W. Z. O. Home Hospitality	8:00 P.M. M. Benveniste, Dep.-Mayor, City of Jerusalem: "Problems and Prospects - City of Jerusalem
Overnite:		Kings Hotel Jerusalem	Kings Hotel	Kings Hotel	Kings Hotel	Kings
From:						

Prikolnik Prikolnik

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Date: 23 June	Date: 24 June	Date: 25 June	Date: 26 June	Date: 27 June	Date: 28 June	Date: 29 June
Field Trip to West Bank: Visits with Palestinians	9:00 A.M. S. Peres (?)	9:00 A.M.: Y. Ben Meir, Mafdal: "A View on the Territories"	9:00 A.M. A. Yariv (?)	9:00 A.M.: M. Begin, "Options for Peace"	8=30 A.M.: Y. Almogi, Mayor "Arab- Jewish Relations, Haifa"	Free
		Field Trip to Kiryat Arba and Moshav Sadot	11:30 A.M.: Gen. S. Gazit(?) "Developments in Problem of Terrorism"	11:30 A.M.: Symp. "The Need for Change" S. Aloni, C.R.M. A. Rubenstein, T.A. Univ.	10:30 A.M.: Field Trip to Arab Galilee Villages, acc. by Y. Khamis, Hist.	Field Trip to Golan (?)
	12:00 Noon: Tour of Knesset 1:30 P.M.: A. Yariv (?)	(Transfer to Tel Aviv)	3:00 P.M.: S. Peres (?)	3:00 P;M; A. Yariv (?)		Discussion with Kibbutz Members: "Developing Role & Influence of Kibbutz"
	5:00 P.M. Katzir (?)		7!30 P.M. Y. Neeman, Pres. T.A. Univ. or Y. Cohen, Arab Affairs, Hist.	(Transfer to Haifa)	(Transfer to Kfar Blum)	
7:30 P.M. M. Maoz, H. U. "Palestinian Movement-Background & Prospects	Free	8:00 P.M.: Meir Pa'il= "A View on the Territories"				
Overnite: Kings Hotel From: Jm.	Kings Hotel Jm	Basel Hotel Tel Aviv	Basel Hotel Tel Aviv	Shulamit Hotel Haifa	Kfar Blum	Kfar Blum

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Date: 30 June	Date: 1 July	Date:	Date:	Date:	Date:	Date:
(Transfer to Tel Aviv) 2:00 P.M. Gen. Gazit (?) 8:00 P.M. Closing Dinner K Keating, U.S. Ambassador Overnite: Basel Hotel From: T.A.	Departure					

TENTATIVE ITINERARY LEADERSHIP STUDY MISSION - 18 June - July 1974

Sunday Date:	Monday Date:	Tuesday Date: 18 June	Wednesday Date: 19 June	Thursday Date: 20 June	Friday Date: 21 June	Saturday Date: 22 June
	1) Theme Continuity and Change	Arrival	8:30 A.M.: Y. Shimoni, Foreign Office: "Where Israel Stands Today"	9:00 A.M.: Field Trip to Allenby Bridge	10:00 A.M. Symposium Moderator-A. Hadary, W. Z. O.; M. Rosenak, Hebrew University; Z. Menkowitz: "The Jewish Dimension of Israel"	Optional Visits to Arab and Jewish Homes in Old City
	2) —— indicates waiting for response		11:30:A.M.: Y. Harkabi, Hebrew University "General Survey of Arab-Israel Relations"	12:00 Noon: Field Trip to Army Base, Bi'ka: Col. Amos Midroni: "The Israeli Army, Its Role in Israel Society"	Tour Perimeter of Jerusalem	Free
	3) Exclusive prog. dated 24.5.74		5:00 P.M.: E. Katzir (?)	Free	FREE	
				7:30 P.M. Symposium Moderator-H. Rosen, Jewish Agency; Rosolio, Israel Police Force; E. Pelled, Min. of Education; M. Isaac, M.D., or L. Greenhouse, M.D.: "A People Under Siege"	7:00 P.M. M. Rivlin, W. Z. O. Home Hospitality	8:00 P.M. M. Benveniste, Dep.-Mayor, City of Jerusalem: "Problems and Prospects - City of Jerusalem
		Orientation	7:30 P.M.: Symposium E. Gutmann, Hebrew University and Gideon Ben Israel, Central Comm. Hist-Background and Development of Israeli Political System			
Overnite:		Kings Hotel Jerusalem				
From:			Kings Hotel	Kings Hotel	Kings Hotel	Kings

Date: 23 June	Date: 24 June	Date: 25 June	Date: 26 June	Date: 27 June	Date: 28 June	Date: 29 June
Field Trip to West Bank: Visits with Palestinians	9:00 A.M. S. Peres (?)	9:00 A.M.: Y. Ben Meir, Mafdal: "A View on the Territories"	9:00 A.M. A. Yariv (?)	9:00 A.M.: M. Begin, "Options for Peace"	8=30 A.M.: Y. Almogi, Mayor "Arab- Jewish Relations, Haifa"	Free
		Field Trip to Kiryat Arba and Moshav Sadot	11:30 A.M.: Gen. S. Gazit(?) "Developments in Problem of Terrorism"	11:30 A.M.: Symp. "The Need for Change" S. Aloni, C.R.M. A. Rubenstein, T.A. Univ.	10:30 A.M.: Field Trip to Arab Galilee Villages, acc. by Y. Khamis, Hist.	Field Trip to Golan (?)
	12:00 Noon: Tour of Knesset 1:30 P.M.: A. Yariv (?)	(Transfer to Tel Aviv)	3:00 P.M.: S. Peres (?)	3:00 P;M; A. Yariv (?)		Discussion with Kibbutz Members: "Developing Role & Influence of Kibbutz"
	5:00 P.M. Katzir (?)			(Transfer to Haifa)	(Transfer to Kfar Blum)	
7:30 P.M. M. Maoz, H. U. "Palestinian Movement-Background & Prospects	Free	8:00 P.M.: Meir Pa'il= "A View on the Territories"	7!30 P.M. Y. Neeman, Pres. T.A. Univ. or Y. Cohen, Arab Affairs, Hist.			
Overnite: Kings Hotel From: Jm.	Kings Hotel Jm	Basel Hotel Tel Aviv	Basel Hotel Tel Aviv	Shulamit Hotel Haifa	Kfar Blum	Kfar Blum

Sunday Date: 30 June	Monday Date: 1 July	Tuesday Date:	Wednesday Date:	Thursday Date:	Friday Date:	Saturday Date:
(Transfer to Tel Aviv) 2:00 P.M. Gen. Gazit (?) 8:00 P.M. Closing Dinner K.Keating, U.S. Ambassador Overnite: Basel Hotel From: T.A.	Departure					

AMERICAN PROFESSORS
FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

פרופסורים אמריקאים
למען השלום במזרח התיכון

ISRAEL LIAISON OFFICE
11 ALHARIZI STREET
JERUSALEM 92421

Tel.: 34898

Rivka Hadary, Director

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

Individual letter to participants in Study Mission (sent to U.S addresses)

2 June 1974

We are very glad to know that you will be participating in the APPME Study Mission and would like to welcome you personally.

The Study Mission itinerary has been sent to Prof. Herbert Callen and to our New York office. The itinerary is still tentative - a condition which characterizes the present situation in Israel and the Middle East. Meetings have been arranged to enable you to discuss the current situation and possible future developments with leaders in the new government, with the old opposition and with the proponents for change. Field trips are planned to the new separation-of-forces lines, a kibbutz that predates the State, and to those territories still awaiting the spotlight of negotiation. In addition the Seminar will concern itself with a broad based inquiry into Israeli society.

The schedule is a very demanding one. But it is our special concern that the Study Mission program reflect the profound events which have taken place in Israel during these past months and examine the motivations and circumstances which will have an impact on events in the future.

Some technical notes: The combination of intensive program and touring can prove very tiring: plan to travel casually. The simplest way for you to receive mail will be in care of the Israel Liaison office at the address above.

Hotel accommodations are two to a room unless we have been informed that you prefer single accommodations and will, yourself, be responsible for the difference in cost. Every effort has been made to allow "free time" so that you may make personal contacts with colleagues and friends if you wish.

We anticipate a stimulating and productive Study Mission and very much look forward to meeting you at Ben Gurion Airport.

Cordially,

Helen Rivkin
Coordinator Educational Projects

Rivka Hadary
Director

for a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab States

AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Israel Liaison Office
11 Alharizi St. Jerusalem
Tele: 02-34898

LEADERSHIP MISSION TO ISRAEL
17 June 1974 - 1 July 1974

Prof. Herbert Callen, Group Leader
Dept. of Physics
University of Pennsylvania
co-Chairman, National Exec. Comm.

Accompanied by
Ms. Sara Callen

Prof. Edwin M. Epstein
Assoc. Dean, Sch. of Business Admin.
University of California at Berkeley
Chairman, Bay Area Chapter

Dr. Joseph E. Goldberg
Dept. of Government & Foreign Affairs
University of Virginia at Charlottesville
Regional Representative

Prof. David L. Gutmann
Dept. of Psychology
University of Michigan at Ann Arbor
Member, National Exec. Comm.

M.E. Hodes, M.D.
Medical Genetics, Sch. of Medicine
University of Indiana at Inianapolis
Regional Representative

Accompanied by
Ms. Halina Zora Hodes

Prof. Philip M. Piaker
School of Management
SUNY at Binghamton
Regional Representative

Accompanied by
Ms. Pauline Piaker

Dr. Rochelle H. Ross
Dept. of Modern Foreign Languages
Loyala University at New Orleans
Program Organizer, New Orleans Chapter

Prof. Neil Rothman
Dept. of Mathematics
University of Illinois at Urbana
Regional Representative

Prof. Rozanne Rothman
Dept. of Political Science
University of Illinois at Urbana
Regional Representative

Prof. Stuart Schwartz
Dept. of Engineering
Princeton University
Regional Representative

Prof. Robert Sinai
Dept. of Political Science
SUNY at Potsdam
Regional Representative

Ms. Anne Sinai
Editor of Publications,
American Academic Association
for Peace in the Middle East

Prof. Morton G. Wurtele
Chairman, Dept. of Meteorology
University of California at Los Angeles
Chairman, UCLA Chapter

Rivka Hadary
Director
Israel Liaison Office - APPME

Helen Rivkin
Coordinator
Israel Liaison Office - APPME

Later Additions:

Prof. Melvin Shimm
Dept. of Law
Duke University

Prof. Myron Taube
Dept. of English
University of Pittsburgh

Accompanied by
Ms. Marion Taube

אירגון פרופסורים אמריקאיים

הקונסוליה הכללית של
ישראל בניו־יורק

CONSULATE GENERAL
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK

800 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

OXFORD 7-5500

23 באפריל 1974

אל: מר מ. עפר, הסברה

מאת: יעקב לוי, ניו-יורק

הנדון: משלחת קיץ של ארגון הפרופסורים.
מכתבנו מ-2/4

נבקש, הפעם, להיות בתמונה בעת הכנת התכנית לבקור הקבוצה ולקבל לעיוננו טיוטה לפני סכומה הסופי.

בברכה,

יעקב לוי

עותק:
הציר, הסברה, וושינגטון

מאיר יערי

24. V. 1974

ארה"ב ארגון הפרלמנטרים האמריקאים למען השלום ו.ש.ל

22 במאי 1974

אל : הציר, השגרה, וושינגטון
מאת : יעקב לוי, ניו יורק

הנדון: ערפומי APPME

הארגון מתכוון להקדיש סדרת
(המחליפה את M.E.I.S) בשנה הקרובה לנושאים הבאים:

ME REVIEW

מאוקטובר - Arab Society

נובמבר - Global and Regional Consequences
(חוברת כפולה שתעסוק בהשפעת ~~Disengagement~~ מלחמת יום כיפור
האזור מבחינה פנימית, השפעתה על תעלת סואץ,
מיצרי באב-אל-מנדב, האינטרסים האמריקנים
והסובייטים).

מרץ - Ethnicities and Minorities in the M.E.

בברכה,

יעקב לוי

העתק: ה"ה ריבלין, הראכן, ברגר, עפר

BULLETIN

of the

American Professors For Peace In The Middle East

November, 1973

THE MIDDLE EAST WAR AND ITS ISSUES

At the time of writing, a second cease-fire has come into effect in the Middle East. Since the unprovoked and massive surprise aggression against Israel by Egypt and Syria of Oct. 6, APPME has been mailing Background Papers prepared by specialists on the complex problems raised by the new war. Three of these Papers are printed in this issue, together with a Policy Statement of Oct. 14 by APPME's Executive Committee (published in the New York Times, **Oct. 19) and statements reflecting international academic opinion. APPME members on campus have been using the above material in their lectures and contacts with the local media.**

Arab Oil

by Ernst Frankel*

Fossil Energy Reserves

Arabian Middle Eastern and North African oil reserves are estimated at 300 billion barrels out of a world total of 550 billion barrels of known reserves.

If offshore, Alaskan, and other new discoveries, as well as newly developed fields are added, total recoverable reserves are estimated at 2,000 billion barrels worldwide and at 600 billion barrels for Arab countries.

Coal reserves in equivalent barrels of petroleum (oil) amount to over 4,000 billion barrels worldwide and 2,000 billion barrels for the U.S. alone.

Therefore, although the Arab countries control 55% of the proven oil reserves (1972) and about 29% of the estimated oil reserves (worldwide) their control of proven fossil fuel reserves including coal is only 9%.

Fossil Fuel Demand

World Consumption (1972)	or	40 million barrels per day (MBD) 14 billion barrels/year (BBY)
U. S. Consumption (1972)		17.4 MBD 6.5 BBY
U. S. Import from Arab countries (1972)		1.0 MBD 0.36 BBY
Total Middle East Export (1972)		21.0 MBD 7.8 BBY
Total Arab Oil Export (1972)		15.0 MBD 5.5 BBY
World Consumption (1985)	or	80 MBD 28 BBY
U. S. Consumption (1985)		28 MBD 10.8 BBY

* Prof. Frankel is a member of the Dept. of Oceanography at M.I.T.

Arab Oil (cont'd.)

U. S. Consumption 1972 = 43.5% of World Total
U. S. Import from Arab Countries = 5.8% of U. S. Total
Arab Export (1972) 37.5% of World Consumption
Non Transportation Use of Oil which could be replaced by Gas (Coal) or Nuclear Power.

World 65% or 26.0 MBD (1972)
U. S. 55% or 9.8 MBD (1972)
World 60% or 48.0 MBD (1985)
U. S. 55% or 15.5 MBD (1985)

Oil Supply	Billion Barrels/year 1972	(BBY)	Expected 1985
Iran	2.30	"	3.40
Arab Countries Total	5.50	"	10.50
To U. S.	0.36	"	3.0
To Japan	1.80	"	3.6
To Western Europe	2.75	"	3.2
To Other	0.55	"	0.70
Canada	0.50	"	2.30
South America	0.50	"	0.80
U. S.	4.40	"	6.80
Other	0.70	"	2.60
World Total	14.00	"	28.00

Assuming No Change in Use of Oil for Energy

Oil imports to the U. S. will increase from 2.1 BBY in 1972 to 4.0 BBY in 1985 assuming a flow of about 6 million barrels/day from Alaskan and new offshore wells.

Iran and Canada could easily provide the total U. S. import requirements up to and beyond 1985.

BUT

By 1985 there will be 250,000 MWE (megowatt equivalent) or more new nuclear capacity installed which will reduce oil consumption in the U. S. by about 5% or 0.5 BBY.

U. S. coal and oil shale deposits are larger than the Worlds Total Oil reserves.

The cost of producing petroleum (syncrude) via either oil shale or coal in a socially acceptable way (i.e. proper disposal of spent shale, full recovery of stripped land, full disposal of environmentally harmful components etc.) will be about $6 per barrel, using current technology that could be implemented on a large scale in the early 1980s. This price includes full depreciation of investment over 20 years, as well as a 10% profit margin.

Median predictions of petroleum prices by 1980 (in 1973 dollars) is more than $7.00/bbl. (Libya is already demanding $6.00/bbl.)

As a result it will be economically attractive to revert to coal and shale derived energy fuels.

The syncrude costs will remain stable at $6.00/bbl and presumably fall as technology improves and economies of scale are derived (including full amortization).

Even if Arab oil is completely withheld from the free nations, the U. S., Canada, South America etc. could supply the free world with petroleum and synchrocrude from known reserves for over 300 years at the extrapolated rate of consumption, given about 30% of energy consumption is provided by syncrude and nuclear power by 1985 and 75% by 2000 and thereafter.

There is therefore not only an alternative but an economically and politically attractive solution.

It is imperative for industrial nations to organize into a buyers cartel to counter the OPEC sellers cartel.

OPEC has basically doubled the loaded price of crude in just a few years by adopting an OPPORTUNITY costing approach.

Unless user countries organize and start developing alternatives such as discussed, crude oil prices may well read $12.0/bbl or more by 1980.

Nuclear fuel costs are less than $2.80 bbl and syncrude (or gas) cost no more than $6.00 bbl.

Both technologies are with us and can be shown to have lesser environmental and political consequence than continued mushrooming use of import petroleum.

The economic effect on the U. S. would be to replace a negative balance or outflow of $25-40 billion per year by 1985 by a potential positive balance of payment or inflow of $10-20 billion per year.

Furthermore such an approach of a gradual conversion to a balanced fuel use, with rapidly depleting petroleum assuming decreasing importance, while synthetic and nuclear fuel take over, will assure continued development of this country and its allies as well as improvement of the standard of living, quality of life and maintenance of the environment.

Legal Aspects of the Current Crisis

October 19, 1973

by Julius Stone*

The outcome of the Syrian-Egyptian attack upon Israel will be determined on the battlefield, and hopefully with the moderating influence of international diplomacy, but there is one requisite for a lasting settlement that must be accepted as vital by all fair-minded and realistic observers.

Any cessation of the conflict requires that the parties observe in good faith their obligations under international law and undertaken by international agreement, whether in a cease-fire or a peace.

On this score the record of the Arab states and their Soviet sponsor should serve as a warning against any attempt to impose a one-sided and unworkable 'solution' which will invite those states yet again to break their obligations.

Senator Henry Jackson did well to remind Americans of the outrageous breach of good faith by Egypt and the Soviet Union which accompanied and followed the last cease-fire agreement of August 7, 1970.

In that agreement, both Egypt and the USSR promised not to introduce any new military installations within a 30 mile zone on the side of the Canal held by Egypt. Nevertheless, as Senator Jackson has just pointed out, "No sooner did the cease-fire with its standstill provisions start than the first Soviet-Egyptian violations occurred, that very night of August 7, 1970."

At that time, Senator Jackson and others pressed the Nixon Administration to demand that the Soviets and Egyptians live up to the terms of the agreement and remove scores of Russian missiles installed in brazen violation of the agreement they had barely finished signing. This plea did not prevail against the heady illusions of those who thought that the willingness of the Arabs and Russia to accept the "Rogers Initiative" was too valuable to jeopardize by insisting that the terms of the cease-fire be respected. Instead, the Israelis were pressed to maintain the cease-fire despite these violations.

If the results of such appeasement were predictable, they are no less tragic for those who now have to bear the suffering these violations were bound to inflict. As Senator Jackson now rightly observes, "The tragic fact is that young Israeli pilots are this very hour paying with their lives for the failure to insist that Egypt and the Soviet Union honor their written agreement."

Soviet and Arab spokesmen have tried to mask the perfidious record by insisting that what they have done in launching their surprise aggression is no different from what Israel did in 1967. To say this is to make an utter mockery of well-established principles of international law. For this body of law certainly distinguishes between a legitimate act of self-defense and the naked act of aggression which is also committed in deliberate and premeditated violation of a clear undertaking such as the cease-fire.

In 1967 the Arab states were insisting that they were **already at war** with Israel. Before Israel moved, moreover, they had already committed a series of hostile deeds, each of which is well recognized as an act of war under international law even by the legal authorities of the Soviet Union.

- Egypt claimed to exercise rights of war by barring Israel ships and cargo from the Suez Canal.
- On May 26, 1967, ten days before the Israel forces struck back, Egypt declared a naval blockade of Israel's only southern port, an act which in international law is unquestionably an act of war. This blockade moreover was a flagrant breach of the terms on which Israel had agreed in 1957 to withdraw from Sharm El Sheikh. Pres. Nasser made no effort to disguise his intentions in blockading the Israeli port of Eilat. On May 26 he stressed that this was a step in total war and in an all-out campaign "to destroy Israel."
- Egypt had used the Gaza Strip as a base for sending armed bands of fedayeen into Israel, another activity recognized by international law as an act of aggression.
- Syria had continuously used the Golan Heights as a base from which to bombard Israeli settlements and launch military incursions.
- While circulating false reports of Israeli mobilization—reports immediately denied by U.N. Truce Observers as well as Israel—Egypt and her allies mobilized some 200,000 armed men around Israel's vulnerable frontiers along with armor and air forces vastly superior to those of the Israelis. Egypt also peremptorily demanded the withdrawal of UNEF, in order to facilitate an attack from Sinai, to which Secretary-General U Thant surprisingly acceded.

International law does not require a state to make itself a sitting duck and submit to extinction by overwhelming power thus poised to strike at it. A right of self defense is granted to any state in such a situation, and it is this right which Israel exercised in 1967 after its appeals to the Security Council and the maritime powers of the world went unheeded.

When Israel finally struck back, in June 1967, moreover, her action was recognized as legitimate even in the U.N. organs where numerous Soviet-Arab resolutions seeking to brand Israel the aggressor and to compel her to withdraw from territories which she had occupied in the course of the war of self-defense thrust on her, were consistently defeated by overwhelming votes ranging from between 3-1 to 4-1.

So far as legality and elementary good faith in observance of the previous cease-fire agreements are concerned, the Syrian and Egyptian records of violation are shamelessly flagrant and in no sense are they matched by Israel violations.

- Egypt openly, sometimes with Jordan, supported the hostile acts by armed bands against Israel.
- Egypt engaged in wide range hostilities across the Suez line under the slogans of "Preventive Defense" and "War of Attrition."
- Egypt without provocation sunk the Israeli destroyer **Eilat** on the high seas by rocket fire. She was guilty of 119 such violations to the end of 1968 even before the escalation. After the escalation of the "War of At-

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Legal Aspects (cont'd.)

trition" she committed 4,000 such violations in a period of nine months, killing 146 persons including civilians, and wounding 430. In later such acts, no less than 215 were killed and 565 wounded.

- Syria was guilty of 407 cease-fire breaches in the nine months ending May 1970 again involving many soldiers and civilians dead and wounded.

Returning, then, to the present crisis there is also no symmetry at all between the military treachery of the sudden Syria-Egyptian attack on a Holy Day when all Jews are traditionally at prayer from morning till nightfall, and the self-defensive action of Israel forces in 1967. In 1967, the Arab forces had already long begun the military initiative and had repudiated the armistice arrangements and were already in full military posture for attack at the moment of the Israel response.

So far as international law is concerned, too, it is important, especially for the negotiations, to remember that Egypt has no clear title under international law or any other law to the return of Gaza. Nor has Jordan any such title to the return of Jerusalem and the West Bank. The presence of those states in those territories in 1967 was based solely on conquest during their unlawful 1948 war against Israel. At that time even the Soviet Union characterized their action as aggression.

While under international law a state which is the sovereign of a territory which falls under military occupation by its adversary may have a right to return to it. Subject to the peace terms that are negotiated, the situation is quite different where the claimant never was the sovereign but merely a military occupant who has now been ousted. This is so even if the former occupation arose lawfully. Where, however, as in Gaza, Jerusalem and the West Bank, the Egyptian and Jordanian occupations spring from unlawful warmaking, the lack of title is even more definite.

By contrast, Israel's entry into these territories in 1967 arose from lawful operations in self-defense. Her status there is at **the least** that of a lawful belligerent occupying power. The fact that there is no other state having sovereignty over these territories probably means that (if no peace treaty is concluded) Israel's title under international law would mature into sovereignty. For according to the International Court of Justice, in such cases of uncertainty, title goes according to "the relative strength of the opposing claims to sovereignty." (I.J.C. Reports, 1953, p. 67)

Finally, any solution now proposed will be one-sided and illusory if all that is offered by the Arab side to Israel is some mere "recognition" of her right to exist. **For it is obvious that such a recognition would in fact be reversible at any time at the mere whim of Arab leaders.** It could thus not be a satisfactory **quid pro quo** for an Israeli withdrawal from territory she now lawfully occupies. For such a withdrawal would be a surrender by Israel of territory and defensive positions which she now lawfully holds.

Unlike the Arab offer merely to recognize Israel, which is in any case made hazardous by the Arab record of violated agreements, such a surrender by Israel would be irreversible, and the demand for it on such a basis unacceptable.

APPME SOURCE MATERIAL AVAILABLE

APPME's National Office can supply the following, upon request:

APPME INFORMATION SHEETS, Oct. 17, 1973, which include

- Background to the War
- Middle East Population Statistics and Financial Resources
- Arab Objectives: 1955-1973 (quotations)

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APPME BACKGROUND PAPERS, Oct. 22, 1973, which include:

- "The Soviet Involvement," by John A. Armstrong
- "A View of Israeli Military Strategy," by Col. I. Heymont
- "Implications of the War On the Israel Economy"

In addition to the material in this issue of the Bulletin

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MIDDLE EAST INFORMATION SERIES XXIV (Fall, 1973)
"Palestine and Palestinism" Part I.

EGYPT'S TWO-PHASE DOCTRINE: 1973.

"Egypt's objective is to liberate its territories which were occupied by Israel in 1967 and to find the means for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people . . ."

President Sadat, address to the Special Session of the People's Assembly (Egyptian Parliament) on Oct. 16, 1973.

". . . I will not refer to the final objective of the Arab-Israel conflict, but it is important to concentrate on the question of what is the aim of our war against our enemy and of his war against us. *The aim at this phase is not a piece of territory in the Golan, the Golan as a whole, a part of Sinai or all of Sinai;* nor is the question about Jerusalem, the West Bank of the Jordan River, Gaza and the rights of the Palestinians. The aim is to shake to its foundations Israel's security doctrine and to prove that it is mistaken. The influence of the shaking to its foundation of Israel's security doctrine will not confine itself to the current stage of the Arab-Israeli war, but will permeate far and deep into the next phases. *The matter does not relate to the liberation of the Arab territories which were occupied since 5 June 1967, but strikes further and deeper against the future of Israel."*

M. Heykal, Al Ahram, Oct. 19, 1973.

Policy Statement of the National Executive Committee of the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East adopted on Sunday, Oct. 14, 1973

The surprise attack on Israel by Syrian and Egyptian forces and the massing of the Arab and Communist world against Israel since that attack imperil the structure of global peace. The ceasefire negotiated by the United States in 1970, founded on undertakings made by both sides to our Government, has been broken in an act of unprovoked aggression. This aggression has had the full support of the Soviet Union—a support which must raise the most serious doubts about the Soviet commitment to international detente.

This is not a limited aggression. It is an attack on Israel's existence as a state. Again and again Arab leaders have told their own people that the recovery of the lands lost in 1967 would represent only the first stage of their struggle against the existence of the Jewish state. No one can doubt that military success in the Sinai or on the Golan Heights, even if it were not immediately followed by a thrust toward Israel's population centers, would drastically reduce Israel's margin of safety and serve as a standing invitation to a renewed battle at a later date.

The United States has a clear interest in avoiding any such outcome: for the elimination of a viable Israel would make the Soviet Union the predominant power in the Middle East, reducing American influence and radically altering that delicate balance of force on which rests the hope for detente. Any American willingness to sacrifice Israeli security in order to gain a quick resolution of the conflict would risk a long term defeat not only for Israel but for the United States as well.

We have a moral commitment, reiterated by a succession of American presidents, to this small embattled democracy. This commitment is now being tested. It must now be honored.

For these reasons American Professors for Peace in the Middle East urges:

1. That the United States continue to provide Israel with the materiel necessary for her defense;
2. that the United States for the sake of our own sovereignty and independence resist any attempt at blackmail by the Arab oil producing countries;
3. that the United States continue to press for a ceasefire as a first step to peace.

The tragic eruption of full scale war in the Middle East demonstrates again the over-riding necessity for a negotiated settlement of the territorial and political issues which divide the two sides. It also proves once more that secure and defensible boundaries are vital to the survival of Israel. There can be no resolution of the conflict until the Arab states accept the existence of Israel and agree to negotiate a stable peace.

Statement on the Middle East Crisis by Scholars from Europe and the United States

tober 10, 1973

For the fourth time since its creation, Israel is engaged in battle with the neighboring Arab world. It is a battle which is uneven in two respects. In the first place, if Israel wins the Arab world endures; if the Arabs win, Israel will cease to exist. Secondly, there is no equivalence in the forces engaged. Syria and Egypt have drawn on enormous forces, both of manpower and material. Sixteen other Arab countries have expressed their solidarity with them, and a number have already sent units of their armed forces to join in the battle. The Soviet Union is committed to supplying massive aid to the Arab armies. Israel faces this situation as a small people fighting on its own.

We have not been unanimous in our attitude toward Israel's policies in the past. But we agree now that it is of overriding importance that Israel survive and that a genuine peace be established in the Middle East.

The real issue today, as it was in 1967, is the determination of Egypt and Syria, aided by the Soviet Union, to destroy Israel. For this reason, we feel that it is the duty of free men throughout the world who cherish the cause of peace and see it as a pre-condition for humanity's survival and development, to insist on the overriding duty of the Arab states to recognize Israel's right to exist in peace, and to demonstrate this by agreeing immediately to meet the representatives of Israel for discussion and negotiations. A peace process must mean mutual recognition, with peaceful co-existence as its goal, achieved by free negotiations. In the circumstances which have arisen, the secure nature of the agreed boundaries is, more than ever, seen to be imperative. The nature of the territorial settlement will only emerge as a function of mutual trust.

We regret that some of our governments have been complacent or worse in the face of the Arab aggression, and that most have remained passive while the Soviet Union has taken immediate action to replace Egyptian and Syrian losses of equipment and munitions.

We, the undersigned, university teachers from various nations, call upon our colleagues to join with us in pressing our governments to take action to save the state of Israel from annihilation or a prolonged war of attrition which will endanger its capacity to survive, and to take immediate and active steps to prepare the way for an enduring peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

Signers of the Middle East Statement

MAX BELOFF, Britain, Government and Public Administration, University of Oxford
GILBERTO BERNARDINI, Italy, Physics, Direttore, Scuola Normale Superiore Collegio Universitario, Pisa
ALEXANDER M. BICKEL, USA, Law, Yale University
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FRANCOIS BOURRICAUD, France, Sociology, Universite de Paris
ROBERT BRUSTEIN, USA, Drama, Dean, School of Drama, Yale University
PIERRE CANLORBE, France, Medicine, Universite de Paris
GOSTA CARLSSON, Sweden, Sociology, University of Stockholm
JEAN-CLAUDE CASANOVA, France, Political Economics, Universite de Paris
EARL CHEIT, USA, Program Officer in Charge of Higher Education & Research, Ford Foundation
WOLFGANG CLEMEN, Germany, English, Universitat Munchen
SERGIO COTTA, Italy, Philosophy of Law, Universita di Roma
HANS DAALDER, Netherlands, Political Science, University of Leiden
MATTEI DOGAN, France, Sociology, Universite de Paris
JURGEN DOMES, Germany, East Asian Studies, Freie Universitat Berlin
WOLFRAM FISCHER, Germany, Economic and Social History, Freie Universitat Berlin
FRANKLIN FORD, USA; History, Harvard University
ARMIN FRANK, Germany, American Studies, Freie Universitat Berlin
CHARLES FRANKEL, USA, Philosophy, Columbia University
HARRY FRANKFURT, USA, Philosophy, Rockefeller University
FRANK FREIDEL, USA, History, Harvard University
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ERIC WEIL, France, Philosophy, University of Nice
BRYAN WILSON, Britain, Sociology, University of Oxford
GORDON WRIGHT, USA, History, Stanford University

Statement of 21 professors of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, on the Middle East crisis.

For the fifth time since its creation, Israel is engaged in battle with the neighboring Arab world. It is a battle which is uneven in two respects. In the first place, if Israel wins, the Arab world will endure; if the Arabs win, Israel will cease to exist. Secondly, there is no equivalence in the forces engaged. Syria and Egypt have drawn on enormous forces, both of manpower and materiel. Sixteen other Arab countries have expressed their solidarity with them, and a number have already sent units of their armed forces to join in the battle. Israel faces this situation as a small people fighting on its own. Nearly all of our students, and most of our colleagues, are today in uniform.

We, the undersigned, have always used our right as free men to express our views on our country's policies, both external and internal; and some of us have disagreed with some of these policies in the past. Today it is clear to all of us beyond any shadow of doubt, that Egypt and Syria prepared this attack over a long period, and deliberately chose to launch it on the Day of Atonement, the most sacred day in the Jewish calendar.

It is equally clear to us that, though aware of the Egyptian and Syrian plans, the Government of Israel chose to abstain from a pre-emptive strike, and rather to do all it could to avert the danger by a diplomatic effort.

The real issue today, as it was in 1967, is the determination by Egypt and Syria to destroy Israel.

We are doubly convinced that the road to meaningful negotiations for a peaceful outcome has always been open to the Arab states. Had that road been taken by the Arab states, the response of our people and our government would have been such as to ensure that every conceivable step to bringing these negotiations to a mutually acceptable and positive conclusion would have been made by us.

The Egyptian and Syrian attack against us on the Day of Atonement, has led us to the painful conclusion that the policy of the present governments of the Arab states, is to go to any length to destroy the existence of Israel.

There can be no peace in the Middle East, unless the right of our people to independence and continued existence in Israel is fully recognized by our neighbors.

There can be no peace until the Arab states change their policy, and understand that the future of the Middle East must take the form of peaceful co-existence between them and Israel.

The cause of organizing a peaceful world is based on the right of all peoples to free existence and harmonious national self-expression and self-government. These rights cannot be denied to Israel and its people.

For this reason, we feel that it is the duty of free men throughout the world who cherish the cause of peace and see it as a pre-condition for humanity's survival and development, to insist on the overriding duty of the Arab states to recognize Israel's right to exist in peace, and to demonstrate this by agreeing immediately to meet the representatives of Israel for discussion and negotiation.

The Arab doctrine of prior agreement by Israel to withdraw from territory, is illogical and unacceptable. Everyone of us is wholly convinced that our very existence today—that we have been able, at considerable cost in lives, to withstand Egyptian and Syrian assault and turn it back—are due to the fact that this doctrine was rejected by us. The way in which the Egyptian and Syrian attack was prepared and launched must convince the world that this rejection was thoroughly justified.

The argument has been heard that having suffered military defeat in the past, the Arabs cannot be expected to negotiate with Israel without a "gesture" from Israel. The "gesture" demanded has been that Israel should place the Arabs unconditionally, and before any agreement or commitment on their part, in a condition where, as experience shows, it would be made easier for them to attack Israel. We cannot agree that this is morally acceptable or practically feasible. Nor should the world agree. For the fifth time since 1948, we have seen our country besieged and attacked, our friends and relatives killed; we have been the

target of terror on a world-wide scale; yet today, when everyone of us has members of his family, students and colleagues, at the front, we say that we remain ready for a peace process with our Arab neighbors. A peace process must mean mutual recognition, with peaceful co-existence as its goal, achieved by free negotiations. In the circumstances which have arisen, the secure nature of the agreed boundaries is, more than ever, seen to be imperative. The nature of the territorial settlement will only emerge as a function of mutual trust.

We address ourselves to our colleagues, to students, and to men of good will all over the world in the hope that they will use their influence to the utmost to bring home to the Arab countries the demand of the world that the language of hate and villification, and the dialogue of war, must be replaced by the dialogue of peaceful co-existence.

Signatories:

SHLOMO AVINERI
JOSEPH BEN-DAVID
ERNST BERGMANN
ARYEH DVORETZKY
SAMUEL EISENSTADT
SAUL FRIEDLANDER
NATAN GOLDBLUM
JACK GROSS
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DON PATINKIN
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MOSHE SHILO
GABRIEL STEIN
EPHRAIM URBACH
DAVID WEISS

Voting at the United Nations

October 22, 1973

As the fourth Arab-Israeli cease-fire begins to come into effect, the strategy of peace making replaces that of war. The resolution adopted by the Security Council calls for a) a cease-fire in place; b) the implementation of Resolution 242 adopted in 1967; c) the immediate opening of negotiations under "appropriate auspices." The vagueness of the wording leaves many unanswered questions. Does "appropriate auspices" mean the U. N. or Soviet-American mediation? Does the U. N. intend to reactivate the almost irrelevant U. N. Truce Supervisory Organization? In anticipation of such a move, the Canadian Government has already offered more observers. Will the conditions laid down by Israel of an exchange of prisoners and acceptance of the cease-fire by all countries involved in the fighting, prevent separate cease-fire agreements? However, it should be noted that while negotiations for a settlement are inherent in Resolution 242, they are specifically endorsed in this resolution. Will the U. N., this time, be capable of meeting the challenge of what is essentially a diplomatic undertaking —of bringing about serious negotiations which remain the only means of converting a temporary and fragile truce into a lasting peace?

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It is by now a well established cliche that were the Arab States to move a Resolution declaring that the earth was flat, the General Assembly record would show a majority of the 135 member nations casting their votes in favor. The number of abstentions on that particular day would depend on a variety of extraneous factors, bearing no direct relation to the subject under discussion, but rather to oil needs, arms sales, financial aid and to plain political horsetrading. The idealistic hope which surrounded the creation of the U.N. twenty-five years ago have given way to a cynical mathematical calculation in which the vote on any particular issue can be determined in advance by a head-count of the voting blocs.

When a Middle East issue is on the agenda, the outcome is even more assured. To the eighteen votes of the Arab States can be added the twelve of the communist countries, eight of the non-Arab Moslem world, fifteen of the African countries with which Israel has no diplomatic ties and a further three from Asia—China, India and Ceylon—where a similar situation prevails. Add to this Spain which has never established diplomatic relations and a further ten to fifteen members of the so-called non-aligned nations who automatically vote with the Arabs.

The result is a built-in majority vote which time and again has passed resolutions condemning military actions by Israel but has never yet chosen to condemn any act of Arab aggression.

In the fifteen member Security Council the situation is, if anything, even more hopelessly partisan. Among the five permanent members of the Council, the Soviet Union and China automatically record anti-Israel votes while France usually follows suit. Of the remaining ten members, five have no diplomatic ties with Israel.

Despite the fact that Article 23 of the U.N. Charter clearly states that in electing non-permanent members of the Security Council, due regard should be "specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security," Iraq has now been elected to membership of the Security Council, replacing India. As part of its contribution to the maintenance of peace and security Iraq has refused to sign the Security Council sponsored armistice of 1949, has actively supported terrorist warfare, has openly proclaimed its intention to destroy a member state and finally has joined with Egypt and Syria in the unprovoked aggression of October 6, 1973.

Support for the Arabs in their conflict with Israel is motivated by many factors. The Soviet-American detente has so far not extended to the Middle East and is in no way reflected in the anti-American policies of the Soviet Union in that area. The Arab bloc, operating within the wider spectrum of the Organization of African Unity, can bring considerable pressure to bear on African voting practices, backed as it is by offers of financial assistance from the oil producing States. Among the non-aligned, anti-Americanism plays a significant role. In some countries, such as Nigeria with a majority Moslem population, internal needs are a decisive factor influencing its voting in the U.N. Other countries with sizeable Moslem minorities and the permanent spectre of internal communal disturbances or separatist movements that this engenders, pay tribute by casting pro-Arab votes. Even those countries which have normal relations with Israel in other spheres are bound by O.A.U. (Organization of African Unity) discipline to cast pro-Arab votes in the U.N.

And through it all runs the 'realpolitik' of the member states that make up

U.N. (cont'd.)

the United Nations, whether it be Panama seeking allies against the United States or India still dreaming of securing Arab votes against Pakistan should the need arise again.

The atmosphere prevailing in the U.N. was strikingly evident in the debates during the week of October 6th, when not one country—excluding Israel and the U.S.—even mentioned the fact that United Nations Observer Teams had submitted clear evidence that Egypt and Syria were the aggressors in the present war.

A respected observer of U.N. politics, Robert Alden, the U.N. Bureau Chief of the New York Times, recently commented on the feeling of "seething hostility towards Israel" in that body. On October 10, he wrote: "Many of the countries involved enjoy normal relations with Israel, but when it comes to the United Nations, the realities of bloc politics prevail."

Mr. Alden added a further dimension to the picture: "The matter of anti-Jewishness—it cannot be called anti-Semitism in the U.N. because the Arabs are Semites—is more elusive. In the past Mr. Malik has sarcastically referred to the Jews as 'the chosen people' and to the size of Jewish noses. . . . On social occasions here also, diplomats make reference to Jews as shrewd traders willing to take unfair advantage."

To this can be added Mr. Malik's own words during the debate on October 9: "Like savage barbaric tribes, in their mad destruction they have annihilated, destroyed and tried to remove from the surface of the earth cities, villages, the cultural heritage of mankind. They have ravaged entire civilizations."

On those delegates, coming from countries which have no past association with and little knowledge of Jewish history, the cumulative effect of endless repetition of such speeches and attitudes, has produced the desired results.

Against this background of a United Nations engaged only in the realities of political bargaining and reflecting little concern for the luxuries of justice or morality, it is inevitable that its efforts to help solve the Israel-Arab conflict have produced few constructive results.

Even in the limited area of taking effective preventative measures against international terrorist activities, the U.N. has proved to be an impotent tribunal rather than a body capable of assuming a leadership role on the world political scene. Although the discussion on terrorism was initiated by the Secretary General and although it is a problem which affects not only Israel but the national interests and security of all member states, power bloc politics again proved to be the dominating factor and no resolution attempting to actively combat terrorism was adopted by the General Assembly or the Security Council.

In the wider arena involving conflict situations, the international body has proved incapable of providing the necessary diplomatic forum or of creating the conditions of dialogue within which the conflicting parties could be brought together for the purpose of negotiation and settlement. Only in the cases of the Congo and of Cyprus was the U.N. able to fulfill this role, aided by the special conditions which prevailed in both these situations. The experience in the Middle East of attempts to pacify the region by the presence of a United Nations Emergency Force has yielded quite different results from those produced in Cyprus for instance. The Egyptians demonstrated in 1967 the irrelevance of the UNEF force which was expelled without even reference to the Security Council or the General Assembly.

The most recent example, outside of the Middle East, was during the Indo-Pakistan war. Despite all the guarantees that had been given to Pakistan and notwithstanding a resolution passed by the General Assembly with 105 votes to 5, the conflict was ultimately determined by the balance of forces and not by U.N. Resolutions.

In the specific case of the Israel-Arab conflict the United Nations has been instrumental in bringing cease-fire agreements into existence. This was true on June 10, 1967 when a mutual commitment by Syria and Israel was entered into and which has never been repudiated by either government. The Egyptian-Israel cease-fire was in force by mutual agreement until 1968 when it was repudiated by the Egyptians. On August 7, 1970, through the good offices of the United States, Egypt again renewed the cease-fire with Israel. The agreements were again confirmed on June, 1973, in response to a decision of the Security Council, in which all three governments concurred. On October 6, 1973, the binding international agreements, to which Egypt, Syria and Israel had put their signatures, were violated by the Arab armies. As envisaged in Resolution 242 of the Security Council, these cease-fire agreements were to be the first stage in a process to be followed by negotiations. The negotiated peace settlement which would ensue, would determine, among other things, the secure and recognized boundaries to which Israel would withdraw.

SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS

Country	Membership	Diplomatic Relations With Israel
Guinea	Till Dec. 31, 1973	yes
Panama	Till Dec. 31, 1973	yes
India	Till Dec. 31, 1973	some
Sudan	Till Dec. 31, 1973	no
Yugoslavia	Till Dec. 31, 1973	no
Byelorussia	From Jan. 1, 1974-Dec. 31, 1975	no
Cameroon	From Jan. 1, 1974-Dec. 31, 1975	no
Costa Rica	From Jan. 1, 1974-Dec. 31, 1975	yes
Iraq	From Jan. 1, 1974-Dec. 31, 1975	no
Mauritania	From Jan. 1, 1974-Dec. 31, 1975	no
Australia	Till Dec. 31, 1974	yes
Austria	Till Dec. 31, 1974	yes
Indonesia	Till Dec. 31, 1974	no
Kenya	Till Dec. 31, 1974	yes
Peru	Till Dec. 31, 1974	yes
China	Permanent Member	no
France	" "	yes
United Kingdom	" "	yes
USSR	" "	no
USA	" "	yes

The Attitude of the Israel Government to the United States Peace Proposal

On 31 July 1970, the Government of Israel resolved as follows:

1. "Having considered the appeals of the President of the U.S.A., and while continuing its commitment to its basic policy guidelines and authorized statements, the Government has resolved to reply affirmatively to the latest peace initiative of the Government of the U. S. and to designate, at the appropriate time, a representative for peace negotiations without prior conditions under the auspices of Ambassador Jarring, within the framework of Security Council Resolution 242, and with the aim of reaching a binding, contractual peace agreement between the parties.

2. Israel's position in respect of a cease-fire on all fronts, including the Egyptian front, on a basis of reciprocity, in accordance with the Resolution of the Security Council, remains in force. Taking into account the clarification provided by the Government of the U. S. on the subject, Israel is prepared to reply affirmatively to the proposal of the U. S. concerning a cease-fire (for three months at least) on the Egyptian front."

On 4 August 1970, the Cabinet approved the following text of the Government's reply to the Government of the U. S.

"Having considered President Nixon's message of 24 July 1970. Basing itself on its contents and in strict adherence to its policy principles and authoritative statements, the Government of Israel has decided to reply affirmatively to the latest U. S. peace initiative, and to inform the U. S. that it may convey to Ambassador Jarring that:

1. Israel is prepared in due time to designate a representative to discussions to be held under Ambassador Jarring's auspices with UAR (Jordan), according to such procedure and at such places and times as he may recommend, taking into account each side's attitudes as to method of procedure and previous experience of discussion between the parties.

2. Israel's position in favour of a cease-fire on a basis of reciprocity on all fronts, including the Egyptian front, in accordance with the Security Council's cease-fire Resolution, remains unchanged. On the basis of clarifications given by the U. S. Government in this matter, Israel is prepared to reply affirmatively to the U. S. proposal for a cease-fire (for at least three months) on the Egyptian front.

3. The discussions under Ambassador Jarring's auspices shall be held within the framework of Security Council Resolution 242, on the basis of the expression of readiness by the parties to carry out the Security Council Resolution 242 in all its parts, with the object of achieving an agreed and binding contractual peace agreement between the parties which will ensure:

a) Termination by Egypt (Jordan) and Israel of all claims or states of belligerency and respect and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of each other and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force. Each of the parties will be responsible within its territory for the prevention of all hostile acts by regular military forces or paramilitary forces, including irregular forces, against the armed forces or against civilians living in the territory of the other party.

b) Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the 1967 conflict to secure, recognized and agreed boundaries to be determined in the peace agreements.

4. Israel will participate in these discussions without any prior conditions. Israel will not claim the prior acceptance by the other party of its positions, as Israel does not accept in advance the positions of the other parties as communicated publicly or otherwise. Each party will be free to present its proposals on the matters under discussion."

The Arab Attack on Israel in the Perspective of International Law and Politics

by Eugene V. Rostow*

The Egyptian and Syrian attack on the Israeli armed forces in the Sinai and the Golan Heights is the most blatant case of aggression since North Korea invaded South Korea in 1950. There is no way in which the Arab nations' armed attack can be reconciled with their obligations to the Charter of the United Nations, and to the decisions of the Security Council interpreting and applying the Charter.

Israeli armed forces are stationed in the West Bank, the Golan Heights, and Sinai under a series of 1967 Security Council Resolutions, which authorize Israel's presence in those areas as an occupying power under international law, and forbid the use of armed force to disturb it. For reasons fundamental to the history of the Middle Eastern conflict, the Security Council decided in 1967 that Israel should not be required to withdraw from any of the occupied territories until the parties reach the

* Sterling Professor of Law at Yale University, and former Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs.

The Arab Attack (cont'd.)

agreement of peace required by Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967. In 1957, Israel withdrew from the Sinai without a treaty of peace, in exchange for promises which Nasser broke, one by one, until he closed the Strait of Tiran in 1967, and thus made the Six-Day War nearly inevitable. In 1967, the Security Council decided not to repeat the tragic error of 1957. This time, it said, there would be a "package deal"—Israeli withdrawal in exchange for an agreement establishing peace. Then, but only then, Israel would withdraw to "secure and recognized" boundaries established by the peace agreement, which should also include provisions solving the refugee problem, and guaranteeing the inviolability of the new boundaries through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones, and guaranteeing Israel's maritime rights through the Strait of Tiran and the Suez Canal. Both the text and the history of the Resolution make it clear that in establishing secure and recognized boundaries for Israel the parties would be free to modify the Armistice Demarcation lines of 1949. The Armistice Agreements—the only agreements thus far signed by Israel and the Arab states—expressly provide that the Demarcation lines could be altered by agreement when the parties moved from armistice to a state of peace.

Some nations have commented that the use of force to reclaim national territories could hardly be called "aggression." The United Nations rejected that argument in the Korean case. Such claims would justify an attack by West Germany on East Germany, or vice versa.

The heart of the matter is that for six years Egypt has refused every proposal for a conference of the parties to negotiate the agreement called for by Security Council Resolution 242. It even rejected the suggestion of a group of African nations to convene a conference on the principle of "no annexations," which Israel accepted.

In attacking Israel on October 6, 1973, Egypt and Syria were making war against the Security Council, rather than obey its mandate to negotiate peace in accordance with the principles and provisions of Resolution 242. Egypt says its only interest is in obtaining Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories. If that were the case, it had only to suggest that Ambassador Jarring convene a conference for the purpose.

The Charter authorizes the use of force by nations only in the exercise of their inherent right of self-defense against armed attack, and by others which decide to assist in such efforts of self-defense. No theory of international law would justify the use of armed force by Egypt and Syria to reclaim the Sinai and the Golan Heights as "self-defense against armed attack."

The Arab aggression of October 6 is even more ominous in the perspective of international politics than of international law. Like the Korean aggression, it is a deliberate and carefully planned Soviet move, threatening fundamental security interests of the United States and its allies. Utilizing the Arab sense of grievance against the existence of Israel as a catalyst, the Soviets have trained and supplied the Arab forces to initiate a war which, they hope, would draw the United States into conflict with all the Arab nations, and thus transform the Middle East and the Near East into a Soviet camp, out-flanking NATO, and controlling space and oil supplies vital to the economies and the defense of Europe, the United States, and Japan. It demonstrates that the goals and methods of Soviet policy are unchanged. They continue to sponsor limited wars, in open violation of the Charter, and to terminate them only when they face unacceptable risk.

The interests of the United States and its NATO allies in the conflict are obvious, and must be protected. Here, as in other parts of the world, the goal of a secure peace requires that all nations be induced to accept and respect the rules of the Charter governing the international use of force.

Will you be teaching at a different university next semester? Are you moving? Will you be on Sabbatical? Please send your address to our National Office so that we can keep you on our mailing list.

Oil and the Middle East

Below is the unabridged version of a letter published in the New York Times of Aug. 30, 1973.

To the Editor,

Even as the controversy as to whether the energy "crisis" is real or contrived is still raging, some of the major oil companies have decided the time is ripe to escalate and further confound the already complex issue. What the companies are attempting to do is to link the energy dilemma with the Arab-Israel conflict. Their euphemistically stated aim is to foster the "aspirations of the Arab people" and "their effort toward peace in the Middle East" in order to effect a basic shift in American policy.

As recently as June 6, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs Joseph Sisco stated that the Arab-Israel conflict and the problems relating to the oil-rich Arabian Peninsula-Persian Gulf area "constitute in fact two separate sets of problems, each of which should be viewed primarily in its own context."

But the companies have reasons of their own for linking the two problems. They have been accused by government agencies of "anti-competitive" practices which led to the recent fuel and gasoline shortages and mounting public ire. And they have been charged with helping create a scare atmosphere in the mass media, which, among other things, emboldened moderate states such as Saudi Arabia—long opposed to using oil as a political weapon—to declare that it might not raise output unless there was a "change in the political climate."

The companies have been caught in a web, at least partly of their own making. And they have found it convenient to use the Arab-Israel conflict as a culprit and as an issue sure to inflame passions and political debate as well as distract attention from the underlying causes of the energy dilemma, both in its short and long-term aspects. The conflict affords an opportunity to wrap a figleaf around the energy problem to conceal its true nature.

But careful analysis would show that this conflict has little to do with energy. Even if Israel never existed, this would have in no way averted the short and medium term shortages which are due to the structure of the industry, to its influence on government policies, to environmental constraints and specifically to inadequate refining capacity. The demands for higher prices on the part of all producers, Arab and non-Arab, and the desire to control their own economic resources through nationalization and participation are totally unrelated to Israel. Nor does the Arab-Israel conflict have anything to do with lags in developing alternate energy sources from the abundant resources in this country (e.g. coal). This neglect has made the U.S. increasingly dependent on distant and politically insecure supply sources at unacceptably high balance of payments costs and has placed it at a strategic disadvantage vis-a-vis the USSR.

The solution lies not in major foreign policy shifts, which would not significantly reduce the drawbacks of dependence, but in accelerated development of alternate energy sources, greater exploration of domestic fossil fuels, conservation, and diversification of supply sources in the Western Hemisphere, Nigeria, Iran and Saudi Arabia. As for Saudi Arabia, it needs U.S. friendship and security at least as much as we need Saudi oil; the kingdom has been deeply concerned over growing Soviet influence in Iraq, Somalia and South Yemen and Communist support for rebel groups in the Gulf states. Its recent verbal threats have been interpreted by the London **Economist** as being intended largely for internal and inter-Arab consumption.

It is now more questionable than ever whether the self-serving tax, import quota, pricing and foreign policies promoted by the companies have coincided with the interests of consumers and taxpayers or the national interest of the U.S. as a Great Power.

Oded Remba

Professor of Economics,
Staten Island Community College, CUNY;
Co-Editor, "The Energy Problem and the Middle East," *Middle East Information Series*, May 1973.

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BULLETIN

of the

American Professors For Peace In The Middle East

November, 1973

THE MIDDLE EAST WAR AND ITS ISSUES

At the time of writing, a second cease-fire has come into effect in the Middle East. Since the unprovoked and massive surprise aggression against Israel by Egypt and Syria of Oct. 6, APPME has been mailing Background Papers prepared by specialists on the complex problems raised by the new war. Three of these Papers are printed in this issue, together with a Policy Statement of Oct. 14 by APPME's Executive Committee (published in the New York Times, **Oct. 19) and statements reflecting international academic opinion. APPME members on campus have been using the above material in their lectures and contacts with the local media.**

Arab Oil

by Ernst Frankel*

Fossil Energy Reserves

Arabian Middle Eastern and North African oil reserves are estimated at 300 billion barrels out of a world total of 550 billion barrels of known reserves.

If offshore, Alaskan, and other new discoveries, as well as newly developed fields are added, total recoverable reserves are estimated at 2,000 billion barrels worldwide and at 600 billion barrels for Arab countries.

Coal reserves in equivalent barrels of petroleum (oil) amount to over 4,000 billion barrels worldwide and 2,000 billion barrels for the U.S. alone.

Therefore, although the Arab countries control 55% of the proven oil reserves (1972) and about 29% of the estimated oil reserves (worldwide) their control of proven fossil fuel reserves including coal is only 9%.

Fossil Fuel Demand

World Consumption (1972)	or	40 million barrels per day (MBD) 14 billion barrels/year (BBY)
U. S. Consumption (1972)		17.4 MBD 6.5 BBY
U. S. Import from Arab countries (1972)		1.0 MBD 0.36 BBY
Total Middle East Export (1972)		21.0 MBD 7.8 BBY
Total Arab Oil Export (1972)		15.0 MBD 5.5 BBY
World Consumption (1985)	or	80 MBD 28 BBY
U. S. Consumption (1985)		28 MBD 10.8 BBY

* Prof. Frankel is a member of the Dept. of Oceanography at M.I.T.

Arab Oil (cont'd.)

U. S. Consumption 1972 = 43.5% of World Total
U. S. Import from Arab Countries = 5.8% of U. S. Total
Arab Export (1972) 37.5% of World Consumption
Non Transportation Use of Oil which could be replaced by Gas (Coal) or Nuclear Power.

World 65% or 26.0 MBD (1972)
U. S. 55% or 9.8 MBD (1972)
World 60% or 48.0 MBD (1985)
U. S. 55% or 15.5 MBD (1985)

Oil Supply	1972	Billion Barrels/year (BBY)	Expected 1985
Iran	2.30	"	3.40
Arab Countries Total	5.50	"	10.50
To U. S.	0.36	"	3.0
To Japan	1.80	"	3.6
To Western Europe	2.75	"	3.2
To Other	0.55	"	0.70
Canada	0.50	"	2.30
South America	0.50	"	0.80
U. S.	4.40	"	6.80
Other	0.70	"	2.60
World Total	14.00	"	28.00

Assuming No Change in Use of Oil for Energy

Oil imports to the U. S. will increase from 2.1 BBY in 1972 to 4.0 BBY in 1985 assuming a flow of about 6 million barrels/day from Alaskan and new offshore wells.

Iran and Canada could easily provide the total U. S. import requirements up to and beyond 1985.

BUT

By 1985 there will be 250,000 MWE (megowatt equivalent) or more new nuclear capacity installed which will reduce oil consumption in the U. S. by about 5% or 0.5 BBY.

U. S. coal and oil shale deposits are larger than the Worlds Total Oil reserves.

The cost of producing petroleum (syncrude) via either oil shale or coal in a socially acceptable way (i.e. proper disposal of spent shale, full recovery of stripped land, full disposal of environmentally harmful components etc.) will be about $6 per barrel, using current technology that could be implemented on a large scale in the early 1980s. This price includes full depreciation of investment over 20 years, as well as a 10% profit margin.

Median predictions of petroleum prices by 1980 (in 1973 dollars) is more than $7.00/bbl. (Libya is already demanding $6.00/bbl.)

As a result it will be economically attractive to revert to coal and shale derived energy fuels.

The syncrude costs will remain stable at $6.00/bbl and presumably fall as technology improves and economies of scale are derived (including full amortization).

Even if Arab oil is completely withheld from the free nations, the U. S., Canada, South America etc. could supply the free world with petroleum and synchrocrude from known reserves for over 300 years at the extrapolated rate of consumption, given about 30% of energy consumption is provided by syncrude and nuclear power by 1985 and 75% by 2000 and thereafter.

There is therefore not only an alternative but an economically and politically attractive solution.

It is imperative for industrial nations to organize into a buyers cartel to counter the OPEC sellers cartel.

OPEC has basically doubled the loaded price of crude in just a few years by adopting an OPPORTUNITY costing approach.

Unless user countries organize and start developing alternatives such as discussed, crude oil prices may well read $12.0/bbl or more by 1980.

Nuclear fuel costs are less than $2.80 bbl and syncrude (or gas) cost no more than $6.00 bbl.

Both technologies are with us and can be shown to have lesser environmental and political consequence than continued mushrooming use of import petroleum.

The economic effect on the U. S. would be to replace a negative balance or outflow of $25-40 billion per year by 1985 by a potential positive balance of payment or inflow of $10-20 billion per year.

Furthermore such an approach of a gradual conversion to a balanced fuel use, with rapidly depleting petroleum assuming decreasing importance, while synthetic and nuclear fuel take over, will assure continued development of this country and its allies as well as improvement of the standard of living, quality of life and maintenance of the environment.

Legal Aspects of the Current Crisis

October 19, 1973

by Julius Stone*

The outcome of the Syrian-Egyptian attack upon Israel will be determined on the battlefield, and hopefully with the moderating influence of international diplomacy, but there is one requisite for a lasting settlement that must be accepted as vital by all fair-minded and realistic observers.

Any cessation of the conflict requires that the parties observe in good faith their obligations under international law and undertaken by international agreement, whether in a cease-fire or a peace.

On this score the record of the Arab states and their Soviet sponsor should be as a warning against any attempt to impose a one-sided and unworkable 'solution' which will invite those states yet again to break their obligations.

Senator Henry Jackson did well to remind Americans of the outrageous breach of good faith by Egypt and the Soviet Union which accompanied and followed the last cease-fire agreement of August 7, 1970.

In that agreement, both Egypt and the USSR promised not to introduce any new military installations within a 30 mile zone on the side of the Canal held by Egypt. Nevertheless, as Senator Jackson has just pointed out, "No sooner did the cease-fire with its standstill provisions start than the first Soviet-Egyptian violations occurred, that very night of August 7, 1970."

At that time, Senator Jackson and others pressed the Nixon Administration to demand that the Soviets and Egyptians live up to the terms of the agreement and remove scores of Russian missiles installed in brazen violation of the agreement they had barely finished signing. This plea did not prevail against the heady illusions of those who thought that the willingness of the Arabs and Russia to accept the "Rogers Initiative" was too valuable to jeopardize by insisting that the terms of the cease-fire be respected. Instead, the Israelis were pressed to maintain the cease-fire despite these violations.

If the results of such appeasement were predictable, they are no less tragic for those who now have to bear the suffering these violations were bound to inflict. As Senator Jackson now rightly observes, "The tragic fact is that young Israeli pilots are this very hour paying with their lives for the failure to insist that Egypt and the Soviet Union honor their written agreement."

Soviet and Arab spokesmen have tried to mask the perfidious record by insisting that what they have done in launching their surprise aggression is no different from what Israel did in 1967. To say this is to make an utter mockery of well-established principles of international law. For this body of law certainly distinguishes between a legitimate act of self-defense and the naked act of aggression which is also committed in deliberate and premeditated violation of a clear undertaking such as the cease-fire.

In 1967 the Arab states were insisting that they were **already at war** with Israel. Before Israel moved, moreover, they had already committed a series of hostile deeds, each of which is well recognized as an act of war under international law even by the legal authorities of the Soviet Union.

- Egypt claimed to exercise rights of war by barring Israel ships and cargo from the Suez Canal.
- On May 26, 1967, ten days before the Israel forces struck back, Egypt declared a naval blockade of Israel's only southern port, an act which in international law is unquestionably an act of war. This blockade moreover was a flagrant breach of the terms on which Israel had agreed in 1957 to withdraw from Sharm El Sheikh. Pres. Nasser made no effort to disguise his intentions in blockading the Israeli port of Eilat. On May 26 he stressed that this was a step in total war and in an all-out campaign "to destroy Israel."
- Egypt had used the Gaza Strip as a base for sending armed bands of fedayeen into Israel, another activity recognized by international law as an act of aggression.
- Syria had continuously used the Golan Heights as a base from which to bombard Israeli settlements and launch military incursions.
- While circulating false reports of Israeli mobilization—reports immediately denied by U.N. Truce Observers as well as Israel—Egypt and her allies mobilized some 200,000 armed men around Israel's vulnerable frontiers along with armor and air forces vastly superior to those of the Israelis. Egypt also peremptorily demanded the withdrawal of UNEF, in order to facilitate an attack from Sinai, to which Secretary-General U Thant surprisingly acceded.

International law does not require a state to make itself a sitting duck and submit to extinction by overwhelming power thus poised to strike at it. A right of self defense is granted to any state in such a situation, and it is this right which Israel exercised in 1967 after its appeals to the Security Council and the maritime powers of the world went unheeded.

When Israel finally struck back, in June 1967, moreover, her action was recognized as legitimate even in the U.N. organs where numerous Soviet-Arab resolutions seeking to brand Israel the aggressor and to compel her to withdraw from territories which she had occupied in the course of the war of self-defense thrust on her, were consistently defeated by overwhelming votes ranging from between 3-1 to 4-1.

So far as legality and elementary good faith in observance of the previous cease-fire agreements are concerned, the Syrian and Egyptian records of violation are shamelessly flagrant and in no sense are they matched by Israel violations.

- Egypt openly, sometimes with Jordan, supported the hostile acts by armed bands against Israel.
- Egypt engaged in wide range hostilities across the Suez line under the slogans of "Preventive Defense" and "War of Attrition."
- Egypt without provocation sunk the Israeli destroyer **Eilat** on the high seas by rocket fire. She was guilty of 119 such violations to the end of 1968 even before the escalation. After the escalation of the "War of At-

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Legal Aspects (cont'd.)

trition" she committed 4,000 such violations in a period of nine months, killing 146 persons including civilians, and wounding 430. In later such acts, no less than 215 were killed and 565 wounded.

- Syria was guilty of 407 cease-fire breaches in the nine months ending May 1970 again involving many soldiers and civilians dead and wounded.

Returning, then, to the present crisis there is also no symmetry at all between the military treachery of the sudden Syria-Egyptian attack on a Holy Day when all Jews are traditionally at prayer from morning till nightfall, and the self-defensive action of Israel forces in 1967. In 1967, the Arab forces had already long begun the military initiative and had repudiated the armistice arrangements and were already in full military posture for attack at the moment of the Israel response.

So far as international law is concerned, too, it is important, especially for the negotiations, to remember that Egypt has no clear title under international law or any other law to the return of Gaza. Nor has Jordan any such title to the return of Jerusalem and the West Bank. The presence of those states in those territories in 1967 was based solely on conquest during their unlawful 1948 war against Israel. At that time even the Soviet Union characterized their action as aggression.

While under international law a state which is the sovereign of a territory which falls under military occupation by its adversary may have a right to return to it. Subject to the peace terms that are negotiated, the situation is quite different where the claimant never was the sovereign but merely a military occupant who has now been ousted. This is so even if the former occupation arose lawfully. Where, however, as in Gaza, Jerusalem and the West Bank, the Egyptian and Jordanian occupations spring from unlawful warmaking, the lack of title is even more definite.

By contrast, Israel's entry into these territories in 1967 arose from lawful operations in self-defense. Her status there is at **the least** that of a lawful belligerent occupying power. The fact that there is no other state having sovereignty over these territories probably means that (if no peace treaty is concluded) Israel's title under international law would mature into sovereignty. For according to the International Court of Justice, in such cases of uncertainty, title goes according to "the relative strength of the opposing claims to sovereignty." (I.J.C. Reports, 1953, p. 67)

Finally, any solution now proposed will be one-sided and illusory if all that is offered by the Arab side to Israel is some mere "recognition" of her right to exist. **For it is obvious that such a recognition would in fact be reversible at any time at the mere whim of Arab leaders.** It could thus not be a satisfactory **quid pro quo** for an Israeli withdrawal from territory she now lawfully occupies. For such a withdrawal would be a surrender by Israel of territory and defensive positions which she now lawfully holds.

Unlike the Arab offer merely to recognize Israel, which is in any case made hazardous by the Arab record of violated agreements, such a surrender by Israel would be irreversible, and the demand for it on such a basis unacceptable.

APPME SOURCE MATERIAL AVAILABLE

APPME's National Office can supply the following, upon request:

APPME INFORMATION SHEETS, Oct. 17, 1973, which include

- Background to the War
- Middle East Population Statistics and Financial Resources
- Arab Objectives: 1955-1973 (quotations)

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APPME BACKGROUND PAPERS, Oct. 22, 1973, which include:

- "The Soviet Involvement," by John A. Armstrong
- "A View of Israeli Military Strategy," by Col. I. Heymont
- "Implications of the War On the Israel Economy"

In addition to the material in this issue of the Bulletin

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MIDDLE EAST INFORMATION SERIES XXIV (Fall, 1973)
"Palestine and Palestinism" Part I.

EGYPT'S TWO-PHASE DOCTRINE: 1973.

"Egypt's objective is to liberate its territories which were occupied by Israel in 1967 and to find the means for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people . . ."

President Sadat, address to the Special Session of the People's Assembly (Egyptian Parliament) on Oct. 16, 1973.

". . . I will not refer to the final objective of the Arab-Israel conflict, but it is important to concentrate on the question of what is the aim of our war against our enemy and of his war against us. *The aim at this phase is not a piece of territory in the Golan, the Golan as a whole, a part of Sinai or all of Sinai;* nor is the question about Jerusalem, the West Bank of the Jordan River, Gaza and the rights of the Palestinians. The aim is to shake to its foundations Israel's security doctrine and to prove that it is mistaken. The influence of the shaking to its foundation of Israel's security doctrine will not confine itself to the current stage of the Arab-Israeli war, but will permeate far and deep into the next phases. *The matter does not relate to the liberation of the Arab territories which were occupied since 5 June 1967, but strikes further and deeper against the future of Israel."*

M. Heykal, Al Ahram, Oct. 19, 1973.

Policy Statement of the National Executive Committee of the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East adopted on Sunday, Oct. 14, 1973

The surprise attack on Israel by Syrian and Egyptian forces and the massing of the Arab and Communist world against Israel since that attack imperil the structure of global peace. The ceasefire negotiated by the United States in 1970, founded on undertakings made by both sides to our Government, has been broken in an act of unprovoked aggression. This aggression has had the full support of the Soviet Union—a support which must raise the most serious doubts about the Soviet commitment to international detente.

This is not a limited aggression. It is an attack on Israel's existence as a state. Again and again Arab leaders have told their own people that the recovery of the lands lost in 1967 would represent only the first stage of their struggle against the existence of the Jewish state. No one can doubt that military success in the Sinai or on the Golan Heights, even if it were not immediately followed by a thrust toward Israel's population centers, would drastically reduce Israel's margin of safety and serve as a standing invitation to a renewed battle at a later date.

The United States has a clear interest in avoiding any such outcome: for the elimination of a viable Israel would make the Soviet Union the predominant power in the Middle East, reducing American influence and radically altering that delicate balance of force on which rests the hope for detente. Any American willingness to sacrifice Israeli security in order to gain a quick resolution of the conflict would risk a long term defeat not only for Israel but for the United States as well.

We have a moral commitment, reiterated by a succession of American presidents, to this small embattled democracy. This commitment is now being tested. It must now be honored.

For these reasons American Professors for Peace in the Middle East urges:

1. That the United States continue to provide Israel with the materiel necessary for her defense;
2. that the United States for the sake of our own sovereignty and independence resist any attempt at blackmail by the Arab oil producing countries;
3. that the United States continue to press for a ceasefire as a first step to peace.

The tragic eruption of full scale war in the Middle East demonstrates again the over-riding necessity for a negotiated settlement of the territorial and political issues which divide the two sides. It also proves once more that secure and defensible boundaries are vital to the survival of Israel. There can be no resolution of the conflict until the Arab states accept the existence of Israel and agree to negotiate a stable peace.

Statement on the Middle East Crisis by Scholars from Europe and the United States

ctober 10, 1973

For the fourth time since its creation, Israel is engaged in battle with the neighboring Arab world. It is a battle which is uneven in two respects. In the first place, if Israel wins the Arab world endures; if the Arabs win, Israel will cease to exist. Secondly, there is no equivalence in the forces engaged. Syria and Egypt have drawn on enormous forces, both of manpower and material. Sixteen other Arab countries have expressed their solidarity with them, and a number have already sent units of their armed forces to join in the battle. The Soviet Union is committed to supplying massive aid to the Arab armies. Israel faces this situation as a small people fighting on its own.

We have not been unanimous in our attitude toward Israel's policies in the past. But we agree now that it is of overriding importance that Israel survive and that a genuine peace be established in the Middle East.

The real issue today, as it was in 1967, is the determination of Egypt and Syria, aided by the Soviet Union, to destroy Israel. For this reason, we feel that it is the duty of free men throughout the world who cherish the cause of peace and see it as a pre-condition for humanity's survival and development, to insist on the overriding duty of the Arab states to recognize Israel's right to exist in peace, and to demonstrate this by agreeing immediately to meet the representatives of Israel for discussion and negotiations. A peace process must mean mutual recognition, with peaceful co-existence as its goal, achieved by free negotiations. In the circumstances which have arisen, the secure nature of the agreed boundaries is, more than ever, seen to be imperative. The nature of the territorial settlement will only emerge as a function of mutual trust.

We regret that some of our governments have been complacent or worse in the face of the Arab aggression, and that most have remained passive while the Soviet Union has taken immediate action to replace Egyptian and Syrian losses of equipment and munitions.

We, the undersigned, university teachers from various nations, call upon our colleagues to join with us in pressing our governments to take action to save the state of Israel from annihilation or a prolonged war of attrition which will endanger its capacity to survive, and to take immediate and active steps to prepare the way for an enduring peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

Signers of the Middle East Statement

MAX BELOFF, Britain, Government and Public Administration, University of Oxford
GILBERTO BERNARDINI, Italy, Physics, Direttore, Scuola Normale Superiore Collegio Universitario, Pisa
ALEXANDER M. BICKEL, USA, Law, Yale University
MOGENS BLEGVAD, Denmark, Philosophy, University of Copenhagen
FRANCOIS BOURRICAUD, France, Sociology, Universite de Paris
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FRANK FREIDEL, USA, History, Harvard University
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DONALD MACRAE, Britain, Sociology, London School of Economics
BERNICE MARTIN, Britain, Sociology, London School of Economics
DAVID MARTIN, Sociology, Britain, London School of Economics
NICOLA MATTEUCCI, Italy, Political Science, Univ. of Bologna
KENNETH R. MINOGUE, Britain, Political Science, London School of Econ.
GIUSEPPE MORUZZI, Italy, Physiology, Universita di Pisa
THOMAS NIPPERDEY, Germany, History, Universitat Munchen
CHARLES PERELMAN, Belgium, Philosophy & Logic, Univ. of Brussels
GIAMPIETRO PUPPI, Italy, General Physics, Univ. of Bologna
GEORGE ROMOSER, USA, Political Science, Univ. of New Hampshire
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GIOVANNI SARTORI, Italy, Political Science, Univ. of Florence
PAUL SEABURY, USA, Government, Univ. of California, Berkeley
HATTO SCHMITT, Germany, History, Universtat Bonn
TORGNY SEGERSTEDT, Sweden, Sociology, University of Uppsala
EDWARD SHILS, USA, Sociology, Univ. of Chicago
FRITZ STERN, USA, History, Columbia University
FRIEDRICH TENBRUCK, Germany, Sociology, Universitat Tubingen
ERIC WEIL, France, Philosophy, University of Nice
BRYAN WILSON, Britain, Sociology, University of Oxford
GORDON WRIGHT, USA, History, Stanford University

Statement of 21 professors of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, on the Middle East crisis.

For the fifth time since its creation, Israel is engaged in battle with the neighboring Arab world. It is a battle which is uneven in two respects. In the first place, if Israel wins, the Arab world will endure; if the Arabs win, Israel will cease to exist. Secondly, there is no equivalence in the forces engaged. Syria and Egypt have drawn on enormous forces, both of manpower and materiel. Sixteen other Arab countries have expressed their solidarity with them, and a number have already sent units of their armed forces to join in the battle. Israel faces this situation as a small people fighting on its own. Nearly all of our students, and most of our colleagues, are today in uniform.

We, the undersigned, have always used our right as free men to express our views on our country's policies, both external and internal; and some of us have disagreed with some of these policies in the past. Today it is clear to all of us beyond any shadow of doubt, that Egypt and Syria prepared this attack over a long period, and deliberately chose to launch it on the Day of Atonement, the most sacred day in the Jewish calendar.

It is equally clear to us that, though aware of the Egyptian and Syrian plans, the Government of Israel chose to abstain from a pre-emptive strike, and rather to do all it could to avert the danger by a diplomatic effort.

The real issue today, as it was in 1967, is the determination by Egypt and Syria to destroy Israel.

We are doubly convinced that the road to meaningful negotiations for a peaceful outcome has always been open to the Arab states. Had that road been taken by the Arab states, the response of our people and our government would have been such as to ensure that every conceivable step to bringing these negotiations to a mutually acceptable and positive conclusion would have been made by us.

The Egyptian and Syrian attack against us on the Day of Atonement, has led us to the painful conclusion that the policy of the present governments of the Arab states, is to go to any length to destroy the existence of Israel.

There can be no peace in the Middle East, unless the right of our people to independence and continued existence in Israel is fully recognized by our neighbors.

There can be no peace until the Arab states change their policy, and understand that the future of the Middle East must take the form of peaceful co-existence between them and Israel.

The cause of organizing a peaceful world is based on the right of all peoples to free existence and harmonious national self-expression and self-government. These rights cannot be denied to Israel and its people.

For this reason, we feel that it is the duty of free men throughout the world who cherish the cause of peace and see it as a pre-condition for humanity's survival and development, to insist on the overriding duty of the Arab states to recognize Israel's right to exist in peace, and to demonstrate this by agreeing immediately to meet the representatives of Israel for discussion and negotiation.

The Arab doctrine of prior agreement by Israel to withdraw from territory, is illogical and unacceptable. Everyone of us is wholly convinced that our very existence today—that we have been able, at considerable cost in lives, to withstand Egyptian and Syrian assault and turn it back—are due to the fact that this doctrine was rejected by us. The way in which the Egyptian and Syrian attack was prepared and launched must convince the world that this rejection was thoroughly justified.

The argument has been heard that having suffered military defeat in the past, the Arabs cannot be expected to negotiate with Israel without a "gesture" from Israel. The "gesture" demanded has been that Israel should place the Arabs unconditionally, and before any agreement or commitment on their part, in a condition where, as experience shows, it would be made easier for them to attack Israel. We cannot agree that this is morally acceptable or practically feasible. Nor should the world agree. For the fifth time since 1948, we have seen our country besieged and attacked, our friends and relatives killed; we have been the

target of terror on a world-wide scale; yet today, when everyone of us has members of his family, students and colleagues, at the front, we say that we remain ready for a peace process with our Arab neighbors. A peace process must mean mutual recognition, with peaceful co-existence as its goal, achieved by free negotiations. In the circumstances which have arisen, the secure nature of the agreed boundaries is, more than ever, seen to be imperative. The nature of the territorial settlement will only emerge as a function of mutual trust.

We address ourselves to our colleagues, to students, and to men of good will all over the world in the hope that they will use their influence to the utmost to bring home to the Arab countries the demand of the world that the language of hate and villification, and the dialogue of war, must be replaced by the dialogue of peaceful co-existence.

Signatories:

SHLOMO AVINERI
JOSEPH BEN-DAVID
ERNST BERGMANN
ARYEH DVORETZKY
SAMUEL EISENSTADT
SAUL FRIEDLANDER
NATAN GOLDBLUM
JACK GROSS
YEHOSHAFAT HARKABI
AVRAHAM HARMAN
ALEX KEYNAN
DON PATINKIN
JOSHUA PRAWER
MICHAEL RABIN
NATHAN ROTENSTREICH
JACOB TALMON
GERSHOM SCHOLEM
MOSHE SHILO
GABRIEL STEIN
EPHRAIM URBACH
DAVID WEISS

Voting at the United Nations

October 22, 1973

As the fourth Arab-Israeli cease-fire begins to come into effect, the strategy of peace making replaces that of war. The resolution adopted by the Security Council calls for a) a cease-fire in place; b) the implementation of Resolution 242 adopted in 1967; c) the immediate opening of negotiations under "appropriate auspices." The vagueness of the wording leaves many unanswered questions. Does "appropriate auspices" mean the U. N. or Soviet-American mediation? Does the U. N. intend to reactivate the almost irrelevant U. N. Truce Supervisory Organization? In anticipation of such a move, the Canadian Government has already offered more observers. Will the conditions laid down by Israel of an exchange of prisoners and acceptance of the cease-fire by all countries involved in the fighting, prevent separate cease-fire agreements? However, it should be noted that while negotiations for a settlement are inherent in Resolution 242, they are specifically endorsed in this resolution. Will the U. N., this time, be capable of meeting the challenge of what is essentially a diplomatic undertaking —of bringing about serious negotiations which remain the only means of converting a temporary and fragile truce into a lasting peace?

•

It is by now a well established cliche that were the Arab States to move a Resolution declaring that the earth was flat, the General Assembly record would show a majority of the 135 member nations casting their votes in favor. The number of abstentions on that particular day would depend on a variety of extraneous factors, bearing no direct relation to the subject under discussion, but rather to oil needs, arms sales, financial aid and to plain political horsetrading. The idealistic hope which surrounded the creation of the U.N. twenty-five years ago have given way to a cynical mathematical calculation in which the vote on any particular issue can be determined in advance by a head-count of the voting blocs.

When a Middle East issue is on the agenda, the outcome is even more assured. To the eighteen votes of the Arab States can be added the twelve of the communist countries, eight of the non-Arab Moslem world, fifteen of the African countries with which Israel has no diplomatic ties and a further three from Asia—China, India and Ceylon—where a similar situation prevails. Add to this Spain which has never established diplomatic relations and a further ten to fifteen members of the so-called non-aligned nations who automatically vote with the Arabs.

The result is a built-in majority vote which time and again has passed resolutions condemning military actions by Israel but has never yet chosen to condemn any act of Arab aggression.

In the fifteen member Security Council the situation is, if anything, even more hopelessly partisan. Among the five permanent members of the Council, the Soviet Union and China automatically record anti-Israel votes while France usually follows suit. Of the remaining ten members, five have no diplomatic ties with Israel.

Despite the fact that Article 23 of the U.N. Charter clearly states that in electing non-permanent members of the Security Council, due regard should be "specially paid, in the first instance to the contribution of members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security," Iraq has now been elected to membership of the Security Council, replacing India. As part of its contribution to the maintenance of peace and security Iraq has refused to sign the Security Council sponsored armistice of 1949, has actively supported terrorist warfare, has openly proclaimed its intention to destroy a member state and finally has joined with Egypt and Syria in the unprovoked aggression of October 6, 1973.

Support for the Arabs in their conflict with Israel is motivated by many factors. The Soviet-American detente has so far not extended to the Middle East and is in no way reflected in the anti-American policies of the Soviet Union in that area. The Arab bloc, operating within the wider spectrum of the Organization of African Unity, can bring considerable pressure to bear on African voting practices, backed as it is by offers of financial assistance from the oil producing States. Among the non-aligned, anti-Americanism plays a significant role. In some countries, such as Nigeria with a majority Moslem population, internal needs are a decisive factor influencing its voting in the U.N. Other countries with sizeable Moslem minorities and the permanent spectre of internal communal disturbances or separatist movements that this engenders, pay tribute by casting pro-Arab votes. Even those countries which have normal relations with Israel in other spheres are bound by O.A.U. (Organization of African Unity) discipline to cast pro-Arab votes in the U.N.

And through it all runs the 'realpolitik' of the member states that make up

U.N. (cont'd.)

the United Nations, whether it be Panama seeking allies against the United States or India still dreaming of securing Arab votes against Pakistan should the need arise again.

The atmosphere prevailing in the U.N. was strikingly evident in the debates during the week of October 6th, when not one country—excluding Israel and the U.S.—even mentioned the fact that United Nations Observer Teams had submitted clear evidence that Egypt and Syria were the aggressors in the present war.

A respected observer of U.N. politics, Robert Alden, the U.N. Bureau Chief of the New York Times, recently commented on the feeling of "seething hostility towards Israel" in that body. On October 10, he wrote: "Many of the countries involved enjoy normal relations with Israel, but when it comes to the United Nations, the realities of bloc politics prevail."

Mr. Alden added a further dimension to the picture: "The matter of anti-Jewishness—it cannot be called anti-Semitism in the U.N. because the Arabs are Semites—is more elusive. In the past Mr. Malik has sarcastically referred to the Jews as 'the chosen people' and to the size of Jewish noses. . . . On social occasions here also, diplomats make reference to Jews as shrewd traders willing to take unfair advantage."

To this can be added Mr. Malik's own words during the debate on October 9: "Like savage barbaric tribes, in their mad destruction they have annihilated, destroyed and tried to remove from the surface of the earth cities, villages, the cultural heritage of mankind. They have ravaged entire civilizations."

On those delegates, coming from countries which have no past association with and little knowledge of Jewish history, the cumulative effect of endless repetition of such speeches and attitudes, has produced the desired results.

Against this background of a United Nations engaged only in the realities of political bargaining and reflecting little concern for the luxuries of justice or morality, it is inevitable that its efforts to help solve the Israel-Arab conflict have produced few constructive results.

Even in the limited area of taking effective preventative measures against international terrorist activities, the U.N. has proved to be an impotent tribunal rather than a body capable of assuming a leadership role on the world political scene. Although the discussion on terrorism was initiated by the Secretary General and although it is a problem which affects not only Israel but the national interests and security of all member states, power bloc politics again proved to be the dominating factor and no resolution attempting to actively combat terrorism was adopted by the General Assembly or the Security Council.

In the wider arena involving conflict situations, the international body has proved incapable of providing the necessary diplomatic forum or of creating the conditions of dialogue within which the conflicting parties could be brought together for the purpose of negotiation and settlement. Only in the cases of the Congo and of Cyprus was the U.N. able to fulfill this role, aided by the special conditions which prevailed in both these situations. The experience in the Middle East of attempts to pacify the region by the presence of a United Nations Emergency Force has yielded quite different results from those produced in Cyprus for instance. The Egyptians demonstrated in 1967 the irrelevance of the UNEF force which was expelled without even reference to the Security Council or the General Assembly.

The most recent example, outside of the Middle East, was during the Indo-Pakistan war. Despite all the guarantees that had been given to Pakistan and notwithstanding a resolution passed by the General Assembly with 105 votes to 5, the conflict was ultimately determined by the balance of forces and not by U.N. Resolutions.

In the specific case of the Israel-Arab conflict the United Nations has been instrumental in bringing cease-fire agreements into existence. This was true on June 10, 1967 when a mutual commitment by Syria and Israel was entered into and which has never been repudiated by either government. The Egyptian-Israel cease-fire was in force by mutual agreement until 1968 when it was repudiated by the Egyptians. On August 7, 1970, through the good offices of the United States, Egypt again renewed the cease-fire with Israel. The agreements were again confirmed on June, 1973, in response to a decision of the Security Council, in which all three governments concurred. On October 6, 1973, the binding international agreements, to which Egypt, Syria and Israel had put their signatures, were violated by the Arab armies. As envisaged in Resolution 242 of the Security Council, these cease-fire agreements were to be the first stage in a process to be followed by negotiations. The negotiated peace settlement which would ensue, would determine, among other things, the secure and recognized boundaries to which Israel would withdraw.

SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS

Country	Membership	Diplomatic Relations With Israel
Guinea	Till Dec. 31, 1973	yes
Panama	Till Dec. 31, 1973	yes
India	Till Dec. 31, 1973	some
Sudan	Till Dec. 31, 1973	no
Yugoslavia	Till Dec. 31, 1973	no
Byelorussia	From Jan. 1, 1974-Dec. 31, 1975	no
Cameroon	From Jan. 1, 1974-Dec. 31, 1975	no
Costa Rica	From Jan. 1, 1974-Dec. 31, 1975	yes
Iraq	From Jan. 1, 1974-Dec. 31, 1975	no
Mauritania	From Jan. 1, 1974-Dec. 31, 1975	no
Australia	Till Dec. 31, 1974	yes
Austria	Till Dec. 31, 1974	yes
Indonesia	Till Dec. 31, 1974	no
Kenya	Till Dec. 31, 1974	yes
Peru	Till Dec. 31, 1974	yes
China	Permanent Member	no
France	" "	yes
United Kingdom	" "	yes
USSR	" "	no
USA	" "	yes

The Attitude of the Israel Government to the United States Peace Proposal

On 31 July 1970, the Government of Israel resolved as follows:

1. "Having considered the appeals of the President of the U.S.A., and while continuing its commitment to its basic policy guidelines and authorized statements, the Government has resolved to reply affirmatively to the latest peace initiative of the Government of the U. S. and to designate, at the appropriate time, a representative for peace negotiations without prior conditions under the auspices of Ambassador Jarring, within the framework of Security Council Resolution 242, and with the aim of reaching a binding, contractual peace agreement between the parties.

2. Israel's position in respect of a cease-fire on all fronts, including the Egyptian front, on a basis of reciprocity, in accordance with the Resolution of the Security Council, remains in force. Taking into account the clarification provided by the Government of the U. S. on the subject, Israel is prepared to reply affirmatively to the proposal of the U. S. concerning a cease-fire (for three months at least) on the Egyptian front."

On 4 August 1970, the Cabinet approved the following text of the Government's reply to the Government of the U. S.

"Having considered President Nixon's message of 24 July 1970. Basing itself on its contents and in strict adherence to its policy principles and authoritative statements, the Government of Israel has decided to reply affirmatively to the latest U. S. peace initiative, and to inform the U. S. that it may convey to Ambassador Jarring that:

1. Israel is prepared in due time to designate a representative to discussions to be held under Ambassador Jarring's auspices with UAR (Jordan), according to such procedure and at such places and times as he may recommend, taking into account each side's attitudes as to method of procedure and previous experience of discussion between the parties.

2. Israel's position in favour of a cease-fire on a basis of reciprocity on all fronts, including the Egyptian front, in accordance with the Security Council's cease-fire Resolution, remains unchanged. On the basis of clarifications given by the U. S. Government in this matter, Israel is prepared to reply affirmatively to the U. S. proposal for a cease-fire (for at least three months) on the Egyptian front.

3. The discussions under Ambassador Jarring's auspices shall be held within the framework of Security Council Resolution 242, on the basis of the expression of readiness by the parties to carry out the Security Council Resolution 242 in all its parts, with the object of achieving an agreed and binding contractual peace agreement between the parties which will ensure:

a) Termination by Egypt (Jordan) and Israel of all claims or states of belligerency and respect and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of each other and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force. Each of the parties will be responsible within its territory for the prevention of all hostile acts by regular military forces or paramilitary forces, including irregular forces, against the armed forces or against civilians living in the territory of the other party.

b) Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the 1967 conflict to secure, recognized and agreed boundaries to be determined in the peace agreements.

4. Israel will participate in these discussions without any prior conditions. Israel will not claim the prior acceptance by the other party of its positions, as Israel does not accept in advance the positions of the other parties as communicated publicly or otherwise. Each party will be free to present its proposals on the matters under discussion."

The Arab Attack on Israel in the Perspective of International Law and Politics

by Eugene V. Rostow*

The Egyptian and Syrian attack on the Israeli armed forces in the Sinai and the Golan Heights is the most blatant case of aggression since North Korea invaded South Korea in 1950. There is no way in which the Arab nations' armed attack can be reconciled with their obligations to the Charter of the United Nations, and to the decisions of the Security Council interpreting and applying the Charter.

Israeli armed forces are stationed in the West Bank, the Golan Heights, and Sinai under a series of 1967 Security Council Resolutions, which authorize Israel's presence in those areas as an occupying power under international law, and forbid the use of armed force to disturb it. For reasons fundamental to the history of the Middle Eastern conflict, the Security Council decided in 1967 that Israel should not be required to withdraw from any of the occupied territories until the parties reach the

* Sterling Professor of Law at Yale University, and former Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs.

The Arab Attack (cont'd.)

agreement of peace required by Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967. In 1957, Israel withdrew from the Sinai without a treaty of peace, in exchange for promises which Nasser broke, one by one, until he closed the Strait of Tiran in 1967, and thus made the Six-Day War nearly inevitable. In 1967, the Security Council decided not to repeat the tragic error of 1957. This time, it said, there would be a "package deal"—Israeli withdrawal in exchange for an agreement establishing peace. Then, but only then, Israel would withdraw to "secure and recognized" boundaries established by the peace agreement, which should also include provisions solving the refugee problem, and guaranteeing the inviolability of the new boundaries through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones, and guaranteeing Israel's maritime rights through the Strait of Tiran and the Suez Canal. Both the text and the history of the Resolution make it clear that in establishing secure and recognized boundaries for Israel the parties would be free to modify the Armistice Demarcation lines of 1949. The Armistice Agreements—the only agreements thus far signed by Israel and the Arab states—expressly provide that the Demarcation lines could be altered by agreement when the parties moved from armistice to a state of peace.

Some nations have commented that the use of force to reclaim national territories could hardly be called "aggression." The United Nations rejected that argument in the Korean case. Such claims would justify an attack by West Germany on East Germany, or vice versa.

The heart of the matter is that for six years Egypt has refused every proposal for a conference of the parties to negotiate the agreement called for by Security Council Resolution 242. It even rejected the suggestion of a group of African nations to convene a conference on the principle of "no annexations," which Israel accepted.

In attacking Israel on October 6, 1973, Egypt and Syria were making war against the Security Council, rather than obey its mandate to negotiate peace in accordance with the principles and provisions of Resolution 242. Egypt says its only interest is in obtaining Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories. If that were the case, it had only to suggest that Ambassador Jarring convene a conference for the purpose.

The Charter authorizes the use of force by nations only in the exercise of their inherent right of self-defense against armed attack, and by others which decide to assist in such efforts of self-defense. No theory of international law would justify the use of armed force by Egypt and Syria to reclaim the Sinai and the Golan Heights as "self-defense against armed attack."

The Arab aggression of October 6 is even more ominous in the perspective of international politics than of international law. Like the Korean aggression, it is a deliberate and carefully planned Soviet move, threatening fundamental security interests of the United States and its allies. Utilizing the Arab sense of grievance against the existence of Israel as a catalyst, the Soviets have trained and supplied the Arab forces to initiate a war which, they hope, would draw the United States into conflict with all the Arab nations, and thus transform the Middle East and the Near East into a Soviet camp, out-flanking NATO, and controlling space and oil supplies vital to the economies and the defense of Europe, the United States, and Japan. It demonstrates that the goals and methods of Soviet policy are unchanged. They continue to sponsor limited wars, in open violation of the Charter, and to terminate them only when they face unacceptable risk.

The interests of the United States and its NATO allies in the conflict are obvious, and must be protected. Here, as in other parts of the world, the goal of a secure peace requires that all nations be induced to accept and respect the rules of the Charter governing the international use of force.

Will you be teaching at a different university next semester? Are you moving? Will you be on Sabbatical? Please send your address to our National Office so that we can keep you on our mailing list.

Oil and the Middle East

Below is the unabridged version of a letter published in the New York Times of Aug. 30, 1973.

To the Editor,

Even as the controversy as to whether the energy "crisis" is real or contrived is still raging, some of the major oil companies have decided the time is ripe to escalate and further confound the already complex issue. What the companies are attempting to do is to link the energy dilemma with the Arab-Israel conflict. Their euphemistically stated aim is to foster the "aspirations of the Arab people" and "their effort toward peace in the Middle East" in order to effect a basic shift in American policy.

As recently as June 6, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs Joseph Sisco stated that the Arab-Israel conflict and the problems relating to the oil-rich Arabian Peninsula-Persian Gulf area "constitute in fact two separate sets of problems, each of which should be viewed primarily in its own context."

But the companies have reasons of their own for linking the two problems. They have been accused by government agencies of "anti-competitive" practices which led to the recent fuel and gasoline shortages and mounting public ire. And they have been charged with helping create a scare atmosphere in the mass media, which, among other things, emboldened moderate states such as Saudi Arabia—long opposed to using oil as a political weapon—to declare that it might not raise output unless there was a "change in the political climate."

The companies have been caught in a web, at least partly of their own making. And they have found it convenient to use the Arab-Israel conflict as a culprit and as an issue sure to inflame passions and political debate as well as distract attention from the underlying causes of the energy dilemma, both in its short and long-term aspects. The conflict affords an opportunity to wrap a figleaf around the energy problem to conceal its true nature.

But careful analysis would show that this conflict has little to do with energy. Even if Israel never existed, this would have in no way averted the short and medium term shortages which are due to the structure of the industry, to its influence on government policies, to environmental constraints and specifically to inadequate refining capacity. The demands for higher prices on the part of all producers, Arab and non-Arab, and the desire to control their own economic resources through nationalization and participation are totally unrelated to Israel. Nor does the Arab-Israel conflict have anything to do with lags in developing alternate energy sources from the abundant resources in this country (e.g. coal). This neglect has made the U.S. increasingly dependent on distant and politically insecure supply sources at unacceptably high balance of payments costs and has placed it at a strategic disadvantage vis-a-vis the USSR.

The solution lies not in major foreign policy shifts, which would not significantly reduce the drawbacks of dependence, but in accelerated development of alternate energy sources, greater exploration of domestic fossil fuels, conservation, and diversification of supply sources in the Western Hemisphere, Nigeria, Iran and Saudi Arabia. As for Saudi Arabia, it needs U.S. friendship and security at least as much as we need Saudi oil; the kingdom has been deeply concerned over growing Soviet influence in Iraq, Somalia and South Yemen and Communist support for rebel groups in the Gulf states. Its recent verbal threats have been interpreted by the London **Economist** as being intended largely for internal and inter-Arab consumption.

It is now more questionable than ever whether the self-serving tax, import quota, pricing and foreign policies promoted by the companies have coincided with the interests of consumers and taxpayers or the national interest of the U.S. as a Great Power.

Oded Remba

Professor of Economics,
Staten Island Community College, CUNY;
Co-Editor, "The Energy Problem and the Middle East," *Middle East Information Series,* May 1973.

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REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Submitted to the National Council on Sunday, May 13, 1973

by MICHAEL CURTIS

It is now six years since the formation in May 1967 of the Ad Hoc Committee which led to the formation of the APPME. At the first National Council meeting in April 1968 our Statement of Purpose was adopted. It is appropriate to consider our present state of activity and structure in the light of that Statement.

A. The original recommendation was that APPME remain a broad-based organization with an informal structure. Today we have over 14,000 professors affiliated with us in a wide variety of local structures on 600 campuses. However, because of financial problems, 2 years ago, the National Council authorized dues payment. To date, approximately 1,000 professors pay dues. In 1972, the National Executive Committee recommended that a Department of Organization and Membership be created. Among other matters this new department has tried to encourage affiliates to become dues paying members, develop new membership and assist in the creation of viable local chapters. The department is headed by Batya Bauman with Nan Isaacson as her assistant.

B. The original recommendation that the main thrust of APPME be educational and that the organization should eschew direct political action has been our general guide. From an initial issuing of periodic information kits, one annual academic conference, and 2 or 3 national campus lecture tours, we now have a whole array of excellent publications, hundreds of campus lectures and several academic conferences a year, usually co-sponsored with universities.

Other educational activities such as Study Missions, briefings, special conferences in cooperation with other organizations have been added to our academic and intellectual efforts.

C. The original recommendation that great emphasis be placed on creating strong regional groups which would be capable of developing their own local programs has not met with the anticipated success. The reality is that local programming largely results from the initiative of the national office. This no doubt is primarily the result of the fact that professional staff is available principally at the national level. Since Regional Directors are not a realistic consideration at the moment, this dependency of regional groups continues.

Three departmental reports on the activities of the National organization since the last Council meeting in March 1972 have been submitted to this Council. To these reports can be added the following remarks which will complete the picture.

1. Academic Conferences

April 1972 - Philadelphia - The fourth of a series of regional conferences on "Social Experimentation in Israel" was held. It was attended by about 400 people. Papers delivered at this conference and three others during the academic year form the nucleus of the forthcoming book ISRAEL: Social Structure and Change. At the National Executive Committee in Philadelphia it was recommended that the theme of "Israel and the Third World" be a major subject at regional conferences.

In November 1972 three regional conferences (Los Angeles, Boulder and New York) were held on the theme of 'Politics in the Middle East' and 'Israel and the Third World.' These conferences followed the recommendation that a limited number of full length papers be presented rather than a collection of 15 minute summaries as in previous conferences. As editor of conference proceedings, I have solicited articles from a number of people to add to the papers presented at the November conferences. We intend to prepare a book on "Israel and the Developing Nations."

II. Study Missions

In June 1972 thirty-three professors participated in a three week seminar in Israel. The local arrangements and programming for all seminars in Israel are executed by Rivka Hadary, Director of our Liaison Office in Jerusalem. As a result of my experience as group leader of the June seminar, I strongly recommended that future missions have fewer participants and that the members share a broad homogeneity of academic interests. Six months after the Mission each participant was contacted and it became clear that the impact of the Mission was positive. Some of the participants are now very active in the organization; others have enriched their academic courses with our material.

In December-January 1972-73 twelve social scientists, under the leadership of Gil Carl AlRoy of the National Executive Committee, went on a two week Seminar to Israel. This group participated in a conference sponsored by Haifa University and had, in general, more contact with academics than previous missions. All the participants felt that the seminar was a valuable and important experience for them.

III. Israel Liaison Office

During the past academic year our National Co-chairman, Herbert Callen, has been on sabbatical at Hebrew University and has worked closely with Rivka Hadary. The major emphasis is working with American professors on sabbatical in Israel. These professors receive all our publications, are offered opportunities to meet informally in small

groups (with guest speakers), to go on one day on-site field missions (Gaza, West Bank, etc.), to participate in 2-3 day mini-missions and various seminars hosted by governmental and non-governmental groups.

IV. National Executive

I might remind you that the National Council elects the National Executive Committee and the officers of the organization. These officers, together with the chairmen of standing committees, form the Steering Committee.

The Council recommendation of 1971 that the National Executive meet not less than twice a year, preferably outside of New York, has been implemented but with partial success. During the year the Executive met in Philadelphia and New York. The meeting in New York was followed by an address by Michael Sterner, Director of Egyptian Affairs, U. S. Department of State.

Without sufficient travel subsidies available, it is difficult to have a sizable number of National Executive Committee members present outside of New York. In addition, a semi-annual meeting is too infrequent to achieve the interchange of views that is desirable in the organization. The Steering Comittee, which has met monthly to attend to organizational matters, has therefore recommended that in the forthcoming year, the Executive meeting and Steering Committee alternate their meetings and that, when feasible, a meeting be arranged out of New York. This recommendation should be approved by the National Council.

V. My task as Chairman of the National Executive Committee has been greatly assisted, and indeed made a source of pleasure, by the efforts and dedication of the APPME staff and officers. Our Executive Director, Judith A. Diesendruck, is a person of remarkable competence and skill, whose expert hand has helped guide and execute the policies of the organization. Ann Sinai has been an invaluable source of help in her publishing activities. The performance of Hannah Hopfer as Director of the Speakers Bureau has been most impressive. All the speakers who have appeared under our sponsorship have testified to this. And we appreciate the efforts of the new Director of the Organization Department, Batya Bauman and the new staff people, Nan Isaacson and Minnie Winkler. Natalie Goldman and Myrna Hamada have both carried a heavy burden of office work with good grace. I must thank the members of the Steering Committee for the long hours they have devoted to the organization and for their continued and strong support. It has been a happy experience to be able to delegate authority to members of the committee and know that appropriate action will result.

General Remarks

During the last year or so, the organization has tended to place less stress on the conflict aspects or geo-political elements in the Middle East and has put more emphasis on the record of Israeli accomplishment, achievement and problems. We felt it was incumbent on us to deal in an academic way with that record whether it concerned social and political experimentation in Israel, or Israel's relations with the 3rd world. As members of the academic profession, we sought to foster the most widespread discussion of themes of this kind and insure that the positive nature of Israel's record be made more familiar.

In the presidential campaign of '72 the organization as such took no stand, though individual members worked on behalf of different candidates. It is not our purpose to engage in electoral activity or to contribute organizationally.

Similarly, however much we were sympathetic to the problem of Soviet Jewry, we felt it more appropriate that organizations specifically concerned with that problem make public statements rather than that APPME directly involve itself in the issue.

In the 7th year of existence our organization is now mature; its purpose is clear; its structure is sound; its thrust is well known. I would like this meeting of the National Council to discuss what more we can do; how our organization can be improved; and in which new directions we might move.

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STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East came into existence June, 1967, in response to a specific crisis. However, there was a need, long-felt, for such an organization on the American campus. The decision of the Executive Committee is therefore to recommend our continuation with a program directed to filling this need.

Expressed in brief and simple, perhaps simplistic terms, the need, and therefore our hope, is to maintain a campus-based organization which can marshal academicians prepared to work for a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab states and, as a means of achieving this goal, encourage if not organize studies carried out with scholarly detachment, designed to lead to a better understanding of the forces and factors at play in the Middle East. Our aim is to educate at least the academic, and hopefully the general community to the political realities of the Middle East and help the movement towards the realization of peace and security for Israel and the region as a whole. In order to shape the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East into an instrument capable of achieving these aims the Executive Committee recommends that the following be adopted as the organization's program, at least for the present.

1) American Professors for Peace remains a broad based organization accepting into membership anyone who seeks affiliation with it and subscribes to its program of working towards a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab states. To this end, the Executive Committee recommends that American Professors for Peace remain an affiliate -- rather than a membership -- organization and that its formal structure be kept as informal and as loose as is possible.

2) That the main thrust of American Professors shall be an educational one, drawing upon the special skills, talents and perspectives found in the academic community; that it encourage study and analysis of the social, political and economic issues which must be resolved if a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab states is to be achieved; and that it attempt to educate others to an awareness and recognition of these issues. To this end, the organization should eschew direct political action or involvement -- as an organization -- with any political party or faction.

3) That in order to permit this program to be carried out the greatest emphasis shall be placed on developing strong regional groupings which shall be capable of developing their own local programs in accordance with the needs of the time and the place, and reflecting the strengths and interests of the academicians in the area, and in consonance with the purposes and aims of the APPME. To this end no specific regional structure be established as a requirement for affiliation with and activity within the American Professors, leaving this to be determined by the region itself in accordance with its particular circumstances.

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4) The national office shall serve primarily as a clearing house and a coordinator for activities of the organization. It shall give priority to assembling and distributing informational kits (similar to those already distributed) written and edited in accordance with the academic nature and objectives of the organization, and the development of a speaker's program through which the local and regional affiliates will be able to meet their programmatic needs; it will attempt to arrange contact with, and if possible visits by, academic and governmental personnel from abroad for the purpose of bringing to each region as much first-hand information and authoritative analysis as possible; in addition it shall receive, evaluate and implement suggestions for special programs. Secondarily it will consider initially such activities as national and international conferences, study missions, research projects, and meetings with representatives of the Middle East Governments (such as briefing sessions by the ambassadors of Israel, the United Arab Republic and Jordan) and will, as far as is permissible and feasible, convey to the affiliates the information gathered through these meetings.

Approved: National Council Meeting
April 21, 1968
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Any cessation of the conflict requires that the parties observe in good faith their obligations under international law and undertaken by international agreement, whether in a cease-fire or a peace.

On this score the record of the Arab states and their Soviet sponsor should serve as a warning against any attempt to impose a one-sided and unworkable 'solution' which will invite those states yet again to break their obligations.

Senator Henry Jackson did well to remind Americans of the outrageous breach of good faith by Egypt and the Soviet Union which accompanied and followed the last cease-fire agreement of August 7, 1970.

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At that time, Senator Jackson and others pressed the Nixon Administration to demand that the Soviets and Egyptians live up to the terms of the agreement and remove scores of Russian missiles installed in brazen violation of the agreement they had barely finished signing. This plea did not prevail against the heady illusions of those who thought that the willingness of the Arabs and Russia to accept the "Rogers Initiative" was too valuable to jeopardize by insisting that the terms of the cease-fire be respected. Instead, the Israelis were pressed to maintain the cease-fire despite these violations.

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International law does not require a state to make itself a sitting duck and submit to extinction by overwhelming power thus poised to strike at it. A right of self defense is granted to any state in such a situation, and it is this right which Israel exercised in 1967 after its appeals to the Security Council and the maritime powers of the world went unheeded.

When Israel finally struck back, in June 1967, moreover, her action was recognized as legitimate even in the U.N. organs where numerous Soviet-Arab resolutions seeking to brand Israel the aggressor and to compel her to withdraw from territories which she had occupied in the course of the war of self-defense thrust on her, were consistently defeated by overwhelming votes ranging from between 3-1 to 4-1.

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So far as international law is concerned, too, it is important, especially for the negotiations, to remember that Egypt has no clear title under international law or any other law to the return of Gaza. Nor has Jordan any such title to the return of Jerusalem and the West

Bank. The presence of those states in those territories in 1967 was based solely on conquest during their unlawful 1948 war against Israel. At that time even the Soviet Union characterized their action as aggression.

While under international law a state which is the sovereign of a territory which falls under military occupation by its adversary may have a right to return to it. Subject to the peace terms that are negotiated, the situation is quite different where the claimant never was the sovereign but merely a military occupant who has now been ousted. This is so even if the former occupation arose lawfully. Where, however, as in Gaza, Jerusalem and the West Bank, the Egyptian and Jordanian occupations spring from unlawful warmaking, the lack of title is even more definite.

By contrast, Israel's entry into these territories in 1967 arose from lawful operations in self-defense. Her status there is at *the least* that of a lawful belligerent occupying power. The fact that there is no other state having sovereignty over these territories probably means that (if no peace treaty is concluded) Israel's title under international law would mature into sovereignty. For according to the International Court of Justice, in such cases of uncertainty, title goes according to "the relative strength of the opposing claims to sovereignty." (I.J.C. Reports, 1953, p. 67)

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While under international law a state which is the sovereign of a territory which falls under military occupation by its adversary may have a right to return to it. Subject to the peace terms that are negotiated, the situation is quite different where the claimant never was the sovereign but merely a military occupant who has now been ousted. This is so even if the former occupation arose lawfully. Where, however, as in Gaza, Jerusalem and the West Bank, the Egyptian and Jordanian occupations spring from unlawful warmaking, the lack of title is even more definite.

By contrast, Israel's entry into these territories in 1967 arose from lawful operations in self-defense. Her status there is at *the least* that of a lawful belligerent occupying power. The fact that there is no other state having sovereignty over these territories probably means that (if no peace treaty is concluded) Israel's title under international law would mature into sovereignty. For according to the International Court of Justice, in such cases of uncertainty, title goes according to "the relative strength of the opposing claims to sovereignty." (I.J.C. Reports, 1953, p. 67)

Finally, any solution now proposed will be one-sided and illusory if all that is offered by the Arab side to Israel is some mere "recognition" of her right to exist. *For it is obvious that such a recognition would in fact be reversible at any time at the mere whim of Arab leaders.* It could thus not be a satisfactory *quid pro quo* for an Israeli withdrawal from territory she now lawfully occupies. For such a withdrawal would be a surrender by Israel of territory and defensive positions which she now lawfully holds.

Unlike the Arab offer merely to recognize Israel, which is in any case made hazardous by the Arab record of violated agreements, such a surrender by Israel would be irreversible, and the demand for it on such a basis unacceptable.

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ISRAEL LIAISON OFFICE — APPME
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APPME BACKGROUND PAPER

ON AGGRESSION
by Franz B. Gross*

October 26, 1973

The movement of the Egyptian troops across the stand-still, cease-fire line can only be qualified as a case of aggression. On Friday, August 7, 1970, the United Arab Republic and Israel accepted the United States proposal for a cease-fire to come into effect that midnight. Egypt contends that the movement of troops on October 6, 1973 from one area of Egypt to another area of Egyptian territory cannot be considered as a violation of any rules of international law. However, the obligation to observe cease-fire lines, demarcation-lines or other agreed temporary international borders is a legal obligation and vital for international peace. To give just a few instances, Japan has not signed a final peace treaty with Russia and its boundaries are still temporary. Similarly, Korea as well as East and West Germany, now both members of the United Nations, have temporary boundaries not accepted by final peace agreements. It seems clear that any violation over these lines would be considered aggressions and would likely lead to hostilities or war on a large scale. The Syrian situation is similar since Syria had accepted the cease-fire proposal of the United Nations in 1967 but not the Security Council Resolution 242 prescribing a framework for negotiations.

The legal status of the Sinai peninsula and the Golan Heights, can be described as an area, sparsely inhabited under the military administrations of Israel, pending a final peace treaty. In international law, this occupation gives a country final jurisdiction and a change of the boundary would be an appropriate subject of a peace conference to be held at some future date.

The United States position in this stiuation is two-fold. Firstly, the United States, as a member of the Security Council of the United Nations, is bound by its commitments to the Charter of the United Nations. Secondly, it is individually a party to the agreement between the United Arab Republic and Israel concerning the cease-fire on the Suez Canal. The second obligation is very specific and the agreement gives Israel the possibility to ask for assistance for violation of these boundaries. Moreover, the stand-still agreement included a specific commitment not to change the military situation in that particular area and this com-

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*Dr. Gross is Dean of Graduate Studies at Duquesne University

mitment was violated by Egypt and the Soviet Union. Assistant Secretary of State, Sisco, stated the American position immediately after the cease-fire. He said that the "United States had received a clear commitment that militarily speaking things would stand-still. The principle that both sides accepted - and here I include Egypt, I include Israel, and I include the Soviet Union - they clearly accepted the principle that neither side would use the cease-fire to try to improve their position militarily. I think that's very clear; I think it's very categoric."[1]

From the above statement, it seems clear that Egypt violated both the cease-fire regulation of the United Nations, and; a specific commitment to the United States as the mediator between the two parties. The argument made that negotiations were not successful or did not really get started between the parties concerned is not a valid reason for the disregard of the stand-still, cease-fire agreement in force for over three years.

Based on the agreement, Egypt in particular had a commitment not to build missile bases in the Suez Canal area and not to concentrate troops in the area much less to attack across the cease-fire line. Under international law and the charter of the United Nations, victims of aggression are entitled to the support of its allies, and, with appropriate approval of the Security Council, to the support of all members of the United Nations. If necessary the United Nations could vote sanctions under Chapter VII, once it is determined who violated the territorial integrity and political independence of another state.

In the past, the United Nations has followed the doctrine of collective security, as outlined above, in the cases of Iran, Indonesia, Korea, and the Congo, but did not act in the case of neighboring armies crossing the international boundaries of Palestine to prevent the implementation of the United Nations partition plan in Palestine. Since that time the freedom of movement of goods and people between Israel and its neighbors have been restricted although Israel and the Arab states had a clear obligation to continue the armistice agreements through the conclusion of a final peace treaty. The issue of Arab armies fighting on Arab land is a non-legal concept without validity in international law. The territories concerned are areas under Israel's jurisdiction pending a final disposition by peace treaty and any change in the status quo must be achieved by peaceful means without threat or use of force.

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1. Dept. of State Bulletin transcription of "Today Show," Oct. 15, 1970.

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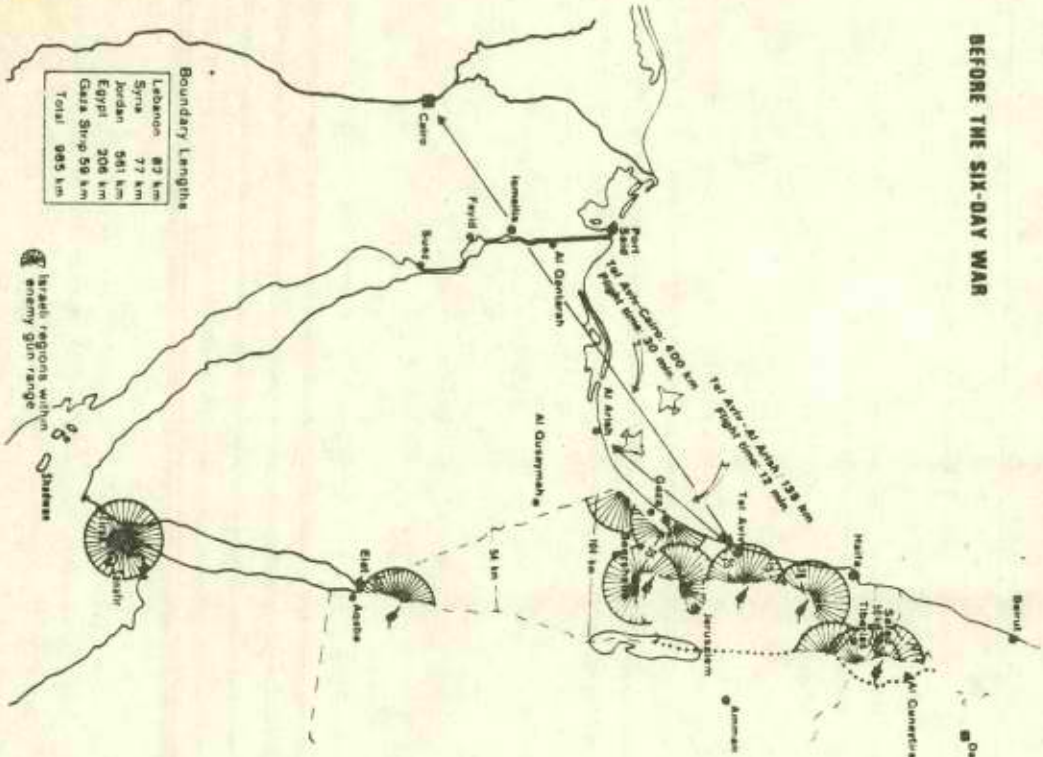
MIDDLE EAST INFORMATION SERIES XV, Spring 1971

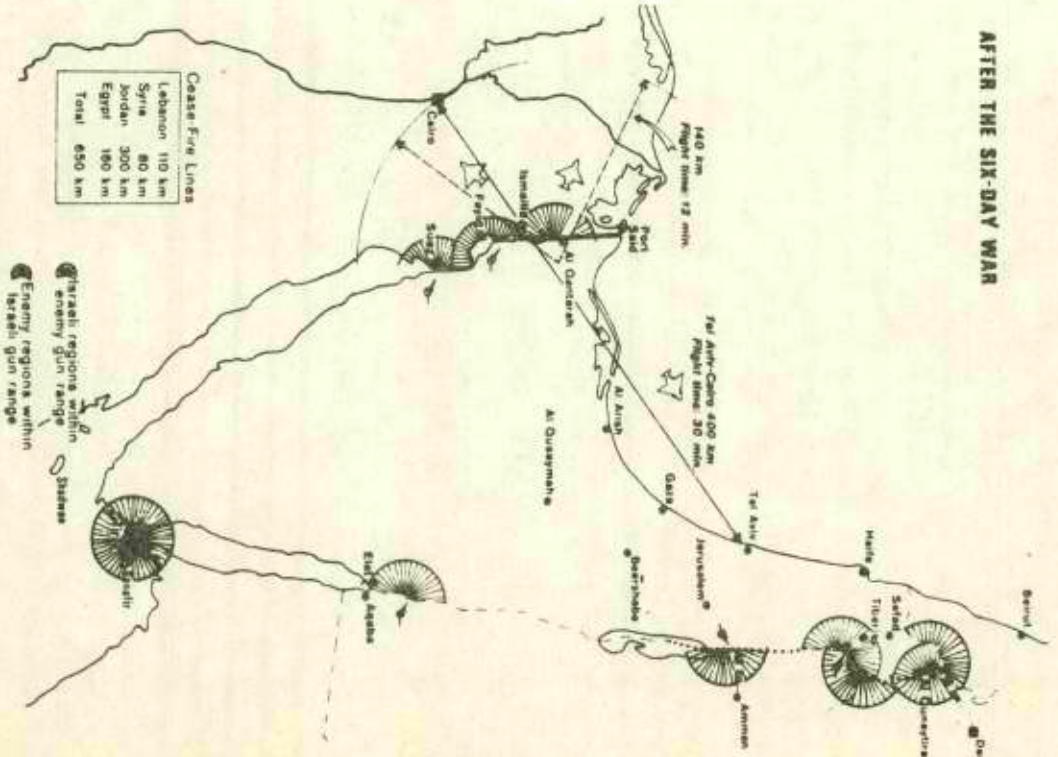
ISRAEL'S VULNERABILITY TO HOSTILE FIRE

BEFORE THE SIX-DAY WAR



ISRAEL'S VULNERABILITY TO HOSTILE FIRE

AFTER THE SIX-DAY WAR



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REPORT OF THE PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT

May 13, 1973

Under the auspices of the Editorial Advisory Board, the Publications Department, during 1972/3 has concentrated on the planning and development of the quarterly journal, Middle East Information Series and its distribution to a widening public of academicians and college libraries. MEIS has, this year, been well received for its balanced approach to the Israel-Arab conflict. The journal's quality has thus been well established in many academic quarters. As a result, and significantly so during this last academic year, many more well known academicians have been ready to contribute articles to the journal, and the articles in MEIS now increasingly consist of new and hitherto unpublished material, especially prepared for each particular issue. Many of the articles published have invoked comments and praise from high ranking U.S. academicians.

Within this year, 60 new subscriptions have been received from new libraries in the U.S. and Europe. Commercial book distributors in the U.S. and abroad have also begun to order copies of our publications. We have established a regular exchange of publications with such Middle East based publications as the Institute of Palestine Studies in Lebanon, the P.L.O. in Syria, as well as several Israeli publications. Our requests for review copies of the latest U.S. and European publications on the Middle East are always met.

In addition, we have had requests for permission to reprint our material from such quarters as the Library of the National War College and other institutions.

The journal and the Bulletin have been this department's only publications during this year, but Area Studies projected in 1971/1972 will be published within the coming academic year.

The Editorial Advisory Board has been expanded to include three consultants. A roster of specialists generally aid in suggesting possible authors for specific articles. We have also created an index of specialists who have written or may be called on to contribute articles to our publications.

MEIS

Four issues of this quarterly journal (Nos. XX, XXI, XXII, XXIII) have been produced during this academic year.

Each structured as a thematic unit, these issues have been devoted to: The U.S. and the Middle East, Europe and the Middle East, The Third World and the Middle East, and The Energy Problem and the Middle East. The last issue is 96 pages in length, and was specially planned for its relevance and timeliness, presenting diverse views on the topic.

It was found, this year, that the 4,000 copies of each issue we have been producing during the year is too small a number to meet our growing needs, and 4,500 copies are now being produced of each issue, while 5,500 copies of the special issue on the energy problem have been ordered. This issue has been widely publicized, with a special press release to the media, to Washington personalities and to community and other bodies.

Each MEIS has, in fact, become an Area Study, containing material of permanent value and relevance.

The bulk of each MEIS is mailed to academicians, including the new academicians who have been added to our mailing list during this year. In addition, this publication will now go to several hundred more university libraries next year. This expanded list is the result of the journal's widening reputation and the publicity it has received via the commercial distributors. It is also the result of a project undertaken by the department in February/March, when copies of a book, Arab Attitudes Toward Israel by Y. Harkabi, published by the Israel Universities Press, received by us as a gift, together with three samples of our publications, were sent as a gift offer to over 900 university libraries with an invitation to join our mailing list. The response has been extremely satisfactory to date.

Our libraries' listing now also includes not alone libraries in Europe but also a university library in New Delhi, India, which wrote to us upon hearing of our publications. In the U.S., subscribers are teaching academicians and students as well as community organizations and general reference libraries and Middle East publications. MEIS articles continue to be regularly listed in the Middle East Journal and also in several other publications in and on the Middle East.

MEIS issues projected for 1973/4 include: Historical and Demographic Aspects of the Palestine Conflict; Arab Society; Israeli Society; The Non-Arab Near East.

Middle East Area Studies

The Area Study on Arab Attitudes to Jewish Statehood edited by Prof. AlRoy has been our most sought after publication, and is being used as text in Middle East courses at several colleges. It is now practically out of stock, while stocks of our other published Area Studies are also low.

Although no new Area Studies were published this year, the Area Study on Jerusalem (edited by Msgr. John M. Oesterreicher) is now almost ready for publication. It is of book length and contains a wide range of essays, discussing every aspect of the city's existence. Hopefully, the Area Study on Regional Economic Problems of the Arab-Israel Conflict (edited by Oded Remba) and other projects will get underway during this year.

Conference Book

The 1972/3 APPME Conference papers, with additional material, entitled: Israel: Social Structure and Change (edited by Michael Curtis), are being published in book format in cooperation with Transaction Press. The book

is scheduled for publication in August 1973.

Bulletin of the AAAPME

Three issues of the Bulletin have been published during this academic year. The first, (October 1972) highlighted the Palestinian guerrilla organizations and West Bank views of terrorism, the second (January 1973) dealt mainly with U.S. policy and the political and strategic implications of the Soviet exodus from Egypt, and the third (March 1973) provided an analysis of Arab attitudes toward a peace settlement and of Israeli Arab educational problems.

11,000 copies of the Bulletin are printed and distributed to academicians and community organizations.

Publications Report: American Professors for Peace in the Middle East

Bulletin

A special issue of the Bulletin of the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East will be published following the National Council Meeting. This issue will be mailed to APPME members and will highlight the Council's proceedings and current Middle East affairs.

Oded Remba, Chairman
Editorial Advisory Board

Anne Sinai, Director
Publications Department

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REPORT OF THE ORGANIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP DEPARTMENT MAY 13, 1973.

For a period ot time it has been recognized that closer contact between the national organizational and the regional structures, as well as campus chapters, would have to be achieved. In recognition of this need this department was created at the end of 1972. The following activities have been initiated, are in progress, and, in some instances have been accomplished.

1) Handbook for Campus Chapters: This item has been produced in order to spell out the functions, suggested activities and organizational procedures for campus chapters. It deals with such matters as building a chapter, membership, programming, publicity, community education, distribution of publications and the relationship of the chapters and the national office. The Handbook stresses that it is meant only to suggest guide lines and should be tailored to the individual needs of each chapter. It was mailed to contacts on the campuses and, as of this writing, the feed-back has been excellent.

2) Sabbatical Returnees: Some 200 American professors were on sabbaticals in Israel during the 1971-72 academic year. Our Israel Liaison Office forwarded their names to us for follow-up. A letter was sent welcoming them home, soliciting their membership, and sending them kits of materials including Middle East Information Series, the Bulletin, Statement of Purpose and other pamphlets. In addition, letters were sent to our contacts at the campuses where they are based urging that they be contacted and involved in APPME activities. It was also suggested to the contacts at the respective campuses that these people be used programmatically. Of these sabbatical returnees 23 paid their APPME dues to our Liaison Office in Israel. Thirty one responded to our initial membership solicitation letter and paid dues here. Of the 200 letters which were sent out, 25 were returned to us marked "Address Unknown." In other words, approximately half have been "accounted for." Follow-up letters for dues will be going out to the remaining 100 who have not responded.

3) Scholars and experts from the Middle East on Sabbaticals in the United States: In addition to sabbatical returnee lists we have received from Israel, we have also received lists of Israelis on sabbaticals in the United states and those coming for brief visits. Again, we inform the contacts at the respective campuses whenever relevant so that they may utilize these opportunities.

4) Coordinating with the Speakers Bureau: This department has been working with the Speakers Bureau in connection with lecture tours. We have been contacting the campus persons in charge of programs for visiting lectures offering assistance such as sending quantities of materials to be available at events scheduled around the lecturer, sending them our lists of professors at their campuses so that they may be invited to appropriate functions, membership materials, suggesting they solicit membership from those professors who attend, etc.

5) Organizing the New York Area: An intensive campaign was undertaken to call together contacts at universities and colleges in the New York metropolitan area and to reach professors in order to involve them in APPME activities in the greater New York area. On April 8 there was a meeting of these people. Approximately 30 professors from 25 campuses indicated they would attend, however, due to inclement weather, 16 attended from 12 campuses. A large percentage of them were new and enthusiastic, and they volunteered to organize chapters on their campuses. Copies of the Handbook were distributed for discussion and comments. The Handbook also provided answers to questions raised. A New York Steering Committee evolved from this meeting. This committee will concern itself with such things as planning a conference in the fall, possibly a regional Speakers Bureau, and looking into the distrubution of literature in campus, public and private libraries in the area. This approach should serve as a model for other relevant parts of the country.

6) Prospective Members: A routine has been established for the handling of names submitted to us from various sources as an ongoing activity. They are sent kits of our materials which include a small explanatory card indicating that it is being sent at the suggestion of the person submitting the name. The kit includes sample publications and membership materials. In addition, we have been sending these names to the contacts at the respective universities.

Submitted by: Fred Pollak, Chairman
Batya Bauman, Director

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REPORT ON THE SPEAKERS BUREAU

March 1972 -- April 1973

The Speakers Bureau, under the Chairmanship of Professor Irwin Yellowitz, has as its goals: a) arranging national tours for visiting scholars, b) providing speakers for specific occasions upon request from a campus, and c) developing local Speakers Bureaus, thereby increasing the exchange of American professors, campus by campus. The one-woman Speakers Bureau at the national office can report extraordinary expansion in category a, some results in category b, while category c remains in the planning stage until such time as the staff is enlarged.

a) The following report deals with the period from March 1972 through April 1973. Since the last report on the Speakers Bureau was issued in February 1972, there have been 12 national tours, covering 128 campuses with 292 separate appearances. On such tours, each campus visit, in addition to the formal lectures to classrooms, almost always includes local TV and press coverage, informal luncheon meetings with groups of interested faculty and informal evenings at professors' homes, thus providing an opportunity for additional discussion. In almost every case, the speaker makes several appearances a day. (A typical example would be the recent visit of Dr. Emanuel Gutmann to Colorado State University in Fort Collins, Col. Dr. Gutmann arrived there from Atlanta on Sunday evening and addressed a community group. Monday morning he had a press conference with representatives of local press, radio and TV. After a luncheon with faculty members of the Political Science Department, (about 10), he gave a lecture to a class on Islamic Civilization on "State and Religion in Israel." There was a 3:00 P.M. Seminar with graduate students and faculty where he spoke on "Internal Problems in Israel." In the evening there was another lecture, open to students, faculty and townspeople (about 150) where he talked on "Israel's Foreign Policy.")

An attempt has been made to reach a greater number of campuses this year and a stronger emphasis has been laid on sending speakers to campuses never before visited by an APPME speaker. Particular emphasis has been given to southern and mid-western campuses. Evaluation forms are sent out to each campus host to insure some feedback. There is increasing evidence, upon analyzing these, that speakers on the politics of the Middle East do not serve as a drawing card. Academic credentials and scholarship are the only guaranteed entree to many campuses. Of the 131 campuses visited, 45 were hosts to an APPME sponsored speaker for the first time. A number of new and valuable contacts were made as a result of these visits, since these new contacts not only are often willing to cooperate in forming new APPME chapters, but also serve as a source of valuable information as to activities and the particular needs on campus of special interest to APPME. There is close coordination with the Organization Department with respect to these contacts made through the Speakers Bureau.

NATIONAL TOURS

* Campuses visited by an APPME speaker for the first time.

1) NISSIM ELIAD (21 campuses, 37 appearances)
(Member of Knesset representing Independent Liberal Party, prominent jurist, member of Education and Interior Committees and expert on Arab and minority problems in Israel)

Topics: Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel
Black Panthers and Minority Problems in Israel
Educational Challenge in Israel

From March 13 to April 13, 1972, Mr. Eliad spoke at the following campuses:

University of Colorado
* Colorado State University
Loretta Heights College, Denver
Augsburg College, Minneapolis
* Maimonides Institute, Minneapolis
University of Minnesota
* St. Catherine's College, Minneapolis
Macalester College (International Center), Minneapolis
St. Olaf's College, Minneapolis
Carleton College, Minneapolis
* University of Wisconsin, River Falls campus
Hamline University, Minneapolis
* University of Oregon, Eugene
University of California, Los Angeles
* Irvine College, Irvine, Cal.
* Portland State University, Portland, Ore.
* Lewis and Clark College, Portland, Ore.
* Rice University, Houston, Tex.
Duke University, Durham, N.C.
Nassau Community College

In addition to these campus lectures, TV, radio and press interviews, Mr. Eliad addressed the United Nations Association in Minneapolis, a Methodist Church group in Houston, a bi-cameral session of the Colorado State Legislature, and appeared as a panelist at the Conference of World Affairs at the University of Colorado, Boulder, Col. Mr. Eliad also participated in the APPME Academic Conference in Philadelphia.

2) YEHUDA YUDIN (6 campuses, 13 lectures)
(Leading Israeli authority on labor economics and labor history, member Executive Committee of Histadrut)

Topics: Labor-Management Relations in Israel
Profit Sharing in Israel
The Economy of Israel

From April 13 - April 25, 1972, Mr. Yudin spoke at:

Temple University
University of Wisconsin, Madison
University of Illinois, Urbana
* University of Wyoming
* University of California, Santa Cruz
University of California, Los Angeles (Center for Industrial Relations)

3) ISRAEL KESSAR (14 campuses, 26 lectures)
(Sociologist, expert in Labor Relations)

Topics: Minority Problems in Israel
Health Care Systems that Work
Absorption of Immigrants

From May 2 - 22, 1972, Mr. Kessar lectured at:

Hunter College
Bernard Baruch College
* University of Connecticut, Storrs
University of Massachusetts (Labor Relations Center)
Pennsylvania State University, Middletown
University of Virginia, Charlottesville
Georgia State University
* University of Florida, Gainesville
* Florida State University
* Miles College (black college in Birmingham, Ala.)
* Samford University (" " " " ")
* Jefferson State Jr. College, Birmingham, Ala.
* Stanford University (International Students Organization)
* University of Alabama

4) MERON BENVENISTI (20 campuses, 51 appearances)
(First Administrator for East Jerusalem 1967-72, former Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem, author, town planner)

Topics: Co-existence of Jews and Arabs as a Community
The Future of Jerusalem
Problems in Administrating Jerusalem

From October 25 through November 21, 1972, Mr. Benvenisti spoke at the following campuses:

Bernard Baruch College
University of Texas, Arlington
* Southern Methodist University
* University of Texas, Austin
* University of Houston
* Henzen College, Houston
Rice University
* New School for Social Research
George Washington University, Wash., D.C. (International Law Dept. and International Law Soc.)

Loyola University, New Orleans
* California State University, Northridge
* California Institute of Technology
* Pomona College, Pomona, Cal. (International Studies Center)
University of Southern Calif. (School of Architecture and Urban Planning)
University of California, Los Angeles (Dept. of Arch. and Regional Planning)

California State University, Los Angeles
* St. Thomas College, Minneapolis
Augsburg College, Minneapolis
University of Chicago
University of California, Berkeley

In addition to his 51 lectures, Mr. Benvenisti was a panelist at two of the APPME Academic Conferences (Boulder and Los Angeles), spoke at the Middle East Institute in Wash., D.C., and appeared on numerous talk shows, press and radio interviews. Mr. Benvenisti also briefed the New York area APPME chapter.

5) DAN V. SEGRE (4 campuses, 12 lectures)
(Professor of Political Science at Haifa University and the Van Leer Institute, Jerusalem)

Topics: Prospects for the Future of the Middle East
Israel and the Third World

From November 15 to November 28, 1972, Prof. Segre appeared at:

* Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Center for International Studies)

Harvard University, Dept. of Afro-American Studies
Denver University
State University of New York, Binghamton

In addition to being a major participant in the 3 Academic Conferences, Professor Segre addressed the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City.

6) ELIAHU NAVI AND MRS. ELIAHU NAVI (13 campuses, 22 lectures by Mr. Navi, 4 by Mrs. Navi)
(Mr. Navi is the Mayor of Beersheva, a former judge and an expert on Arab affairs. Mrs. Navi is a social worker and educator.)

Topics: Arabs and Jews in Israel
Development Areas in Israel
Immigrant Absorption
Israel and Islam
Women and Women's Lib in Israel (Mrs. Navi)

From October 25 through November 8, 1972, the Navis, in addition to TV, press and radio shows appeared at:

Nassau Community College
Adelphi University
State University of New York, Albany
Hunter College
University of Wisconsin, Madison
* University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N.Dak.
Lewis and Clark University, Portland, Ore.
* Reed College, Portland
University of Oregon, Eugene
California State University, San Francisco (International Studies Program)

University of California, Berkeley

7) YEHOSHUA ALMOG (15 campuses, 37 appearances)
(Representative of the Israel Foreign Ministry in the Administered Territories and Minister Plenipotentiary, Professor of Political Science at American University, Jerusalem)

Topics: Israel's International Relations in the Middle East
The Realities of the Israel Administered West Bank
The Administered Territories
Israel and the Third World

From February 11 to March 2, 1973, Mr. Almog lectured at:

University of Virginia, Charlottesville
* University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Florida State University
* Jacksonville University
* Louisiana State University
* Tulane University
* University of Tulsa
* Longview Jr. College, Lees Summit, Mo.
* University of Missouri, Kansas City
* Oberlin College
Duquesne University
Brandeis University
* Boston University

Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Center for International Studies)

Harvard University

Press, radio and TV interviews. (Mr. Almog happened to be in Tulsa on the day of the Libyan plane incident and appeared several times that day on radio and TV due to the tremendous interest.)

8) EMANUEL GUTMANN (15 campuses, 45 appearances)
(Dr. Gutmann is chairman of the Department of Political Science, Hebrew University, Jerusalem)

Topics: State and Religion
Social Integration in Israel
Internal Problems (non-economic)

Dr. Gutmann and Prof. Daniel Dishon (the next speaker) in addition to the usual campus lectures, appeared together as panelists at the following "mini-conferences" which were arranged by our APPME contacts. Local experts served as moderators and panelists:

University of Pennsylvania - with Professor George Moutafakis (Queensborough Community College), Father Edward McCarthy, President, Villanova University, and Father Terrence Toland of St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia.
Theme of the Conference: Treatment of Minorities in the Middle East.

Princeton University - ROUND TABLE, with faculty and students of Department of Near East Studies. Other participants were Professors E.L. Morse, Carl Brown and Avrom Udovitch. Theme: Factors in the Middle East conflict.

Atlanta, Ga. -- SEMINAR COLLOQUIM, co-sponsored by Depts. of Political Science, Religion and Theology of several Atlanta universities.

University of California in Los Angeles-

SEMINAR, sponsored by Near East Center. Theme: Factors in the Middle East Conflict. Participants were graduate students, faculty. Dr. Malcolm Kerr was one of the participants.

University of California in Berkeley -

"Mini-Conference" sponsored by Institute of International Studies and the Committee on Arts and Lectures. Other participants were Professors George Lenczowski, Agnan Daoud-Agha, Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr. Theme: "Peace in the M.E. Prospects & Problems."

In addition to the above, Dr. Gutmann also lectured at:

Brooklyn College
New York University (Near East Center)
Temple University
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (Center for Near Eastern Studies)
* State University of New York, Stony Brook
Columbia University (Middle East Institute)
Emory University
Georgia State University
Colorado State University
University of California in Los Angeles
University of California in Berkeley
State University of New York, Binghamton
Cornell University (Center for International Studies)
* Syracuse University

9) DANIEL DISHON (15 campuses, 36 appearances)
(Prof. Dishon is Senior Research member of Shiloah Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies of Tel Aviv University and Editor of the MIDDLE EAST RECORD)

Topics: Inter-Arab Relations as a Factor in the Middle East Conflict
Islam and Radicalism - Diversion and Unity in the Arab World
The Governments of the Arab States and their Relationship to the Fedayeen Movements

From March 19 through April 6, Professor Dishon lectured at:

City College
* Central Connecticut State College
* School for Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Wash., D.C.

George Washington University
American University
Brown University
Princeton University
Emory University
Georgia State University
* University of New Mexico
Denver, Col. - community wide schools
University of Colorado, Boulder
University of California in Los Angeles
University of California in Berkeley
New School for Social Research

10) ELIEZER WHARTMAN (3 campuses, 3 appearances)
(Foreign correspondent, columnist)

Topics: A Foreign Correspondent Looks at the Middle East
Israel: The Myth and the Reality
America's Stake in Israel

During March, 1973 Mr. Whartman lectured at:

Nassau Community College
New School for Social Research
Bernard Baruch College

11) BEN-ZION ORGAD (3 campuses, 3 appearances)
(Mr. Orgad is an Israeli composer and musician and Supervisor of Music Education in the Ministry of Education.)

During April 1973 Mr. Orgad appeared on the following campuses:

Columbia University (Teachers College)
Brooklyn College
University of Missouri, Kansas City

12) GABRIEL WARBURG (2 campuses, 6 appearances)
(Dr. Warburg taught at Haifa and Tel Aviv Universities and is currently on Sabbatical and is Senior Research Fellow at the Research Institute on Communist Affairs and the Middle East Institute at Columbia University.)

During April 1973, Dr. Warburg lectured at:

* Ohio State University
University of Colorado, Boulder

b) The number of requests initiated by a particular campus for specific single lectures on the Middle East conflict has diminished this year, obviously in proportion to the lessening of interest and the degree of crisis in the Middle East. Nevertheless, the following speakers appeared under our auspices at our suggestion:

April 1972 Msgr. John M. Oesterreicher (Seton Hall University) spoke to the Cleveland APPME Chapter.

" " Prof. Oded Remba (C.U.N.Y.) spoke at Long Island University.

October	1972	Mr. Y.I. Taub (Director and Senior Advisor, Bank of Israel) spoke to graduate students at American University, Washington, D.C.
"	"	Dr. Allen Pollack (Yeshiva University) spoke to members of the faculties of University of Tulsa and Oral Roberts College, Tulsa, Okla.
"	"	Ambassador Yaakov Morris (member of the Israel Mission to the United Nations) spoke to faculty at Rutgers University.
"	"	Mr. Zaydan Atashi (Consul of Israel) spoke to a class at Bernard Baruch College.
November	"	Professor George Moutafakis (Queensborough Community College) spoke to a class at Bernard Baruch College.
"	"	L.H. Offosu-Appiah (Ghanian journalist and educator, director of Encyclopaedia Africana) spoke to a class at Loyola University, New Orleans.
"	"	Professor I. Robert Sinai (City College) spoke at Central Connecticut State College.
"	"	Mr. Paul Johnson (former Editor, THE NEW STATESMAN) spoke to the World Affairs Council in San Francisco.
March	1973	Prof. George Moutafakis served as a panelist on "Conference on Minorities in the Middle East" at the University of Pennsylvania.

c) The encouragement of local Speakers Bureaus continues to be one of our major goals. At present, the national office lacks the staff and resources to move in this area, but we would welcome any suggestions from chapters on how to increase contact among campuses without a major effort by the national office.

Submitted by: Hannah Hopfer
Director, Speakers Bureau

HANDBOOK

FOR

APPME

CAMPUS CHAPTERS

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East
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March, 1973

INTRODUCTION

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East is a campus-based organization devoted to the achievement of a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab states. Our aim is to educate the academic and the general community to the political realities of the Middle East. By drawing on the intellectual and scholarly resources of the academic community in its various disciplines, APPME seeks to further a just and lasting peace through the objective study and clarification of the social, economic, and political issues in the Middle East.*

This Handbook is designed to help in implementing programs of activity which will foster the principles set forth in the above Statement of Purpose of APPME. It is meant to be a general guide in the establishment, development, and activities of local APPME chapters. Some of the items it covers might be appropriate to one campus and not to another. The local chapters should decide for themselves how to tailor it for their special needs and which activities and methods are appropriate to their own situations.

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* A complete Statement of Purpose was approved by the National Council in April 1968 and has been reaffirmed every year. The full text is included in the addendum.

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I BUILDING A CHAPTER

On a number of campuses, chapters already exist and many ideas and suggestions in this Handbook may already be in effect. However, there may be suggestions in this booklet which these chapters might want to use in order to expand their established programs.

On other campuses, there are small nuclei of interested people who have not as yet had the opportunity to expand membership and activities. This Handbook, hopefully, will be of particular usefulness to them.

On still other campuses, one or two people are on our mailing list but they have never attempted to organize a campus chapter. This Handbook is also geared to their needs. In order to build a chapter it is often best to begin with a few well-defined activities and then to expand as interest grows. You might want to start your activities by having a small luncheon with those people who are interested in discussing the Middle East. (See Chapter III - A.)

After a chairman -- and possibly a co-chairman -- has been selected, people should also be selected to undertake the following areas of activity:

1. Membership (see Chapter II)
2. Programming (see Chapter III)
3. Publicity (see Chapter IV)
4. Community Education (see Chapter V)

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II MEMBERSHIP

Try to interest as many of your colleagues as possible in becoming involved in the APPME activities on your campus and in affiliating nationally.*

Listed below are some ways you might go about this.

A. Contact National for names of professors at your campus who have at one time or another expressed some degree of interest. National has long lists of these names.

B. By planning a conference, lecture or luncheon you can acquire a mailing list. (See Chapter III -B.) Names can be obtained by asking the attendees to register, including their names, academic departments, home addresses and phone numbers. This list will be your main membership source.

C. Submit these names to National so that they will be put on the mailing list to receive the Bulletin. Encourage them to become Sustaining Members* entitled to receive all publications. (See Chapter VIII -B- 1.)

D. A private talk with an individual colleague is often one of the best ways to gain his/her membership.

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* National affiliation costs $10 per year and by paying these dues, the affiliate becomes a Sustaining Member and will receive regularly the Middle East Information Series, the Middle East Area Studies series, Bulletin, Conference Proceedings, pamphlets, and other publications distributed by APPME.

II. INTERESTING

Try to interest as many of your colleagues as possible in becoming involved in the AFRME activities on your campus and in affiliating nationally.*

Listed below are some ways you might go about this:

a. Contact National for names of professors at your campus who have at one time or another expressed some degree of interest. National has long lists of these names.

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III PROGRAMMING

(See also Chapter VI.)

This activity deals with the planning of events and functions on the campus and in the community. (See Chapter V.)

A. Small or Informal Meeting

1. Call together a small group of faculty who are interested in the Middle East. It could take the form of a luncheon or a gathering at some member's home. Feature, whenever possible, people who have recently returned from the area; or such a meeting can be arranged around the visit of a prominent speaker to your campus. (See part D of this Chapter.) In general, several faculty members from most campuses visit the Middle East each year. The National Office can supply you with names of these people on your campus or, perhaps, on a campus nearby. (See Chapter VIII - A - 5.)

B. Large Meeting or Conference

1. Try to plan a conference or large meeting in joint sponsorship with the university or a particular academic department.

2. Get a prominent speaker from National or another source.

3. Secure an appropriate facility on campus.

4. Invite the public, especially campus administration, college chaplains, faculty in departments of Political Science, Economics, Sociology, History, Near East Studies, etc. Invite community leaders such as clergy and other church officials, civic and ethnic groups, local political figures and their representatives, media people, etc.

5. Publicize. (See Chapter IV.)

6. Ask each attendee who registers to give his full name, home address, and phone number; if faculty - give department, school, school address and phone number.

7. Display APPME publications and materials from National. (See Chapter VIII - A - 2.)

8. Arrange for a press conference and radio and T.V. appearances on talk shows for visiting prominent speakers. (See Chapter IV - B - 2, 3; D.)

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9. You may want to reproduce the proceedings or an important address or paper presented at the conference.

C. Organizational Planning Meetings

1. Call meeting of key people to plan activities at least once, and preferably twice, a year. This meeting could coincide with the informal meeting discussed above, or it could be a separate meeting, whichever works best in your situation.

D. Visiting Prominent Speakers

When a prominent speaker comes to your campus for an APPME function try to arrange a few campus "spots" for him/her to address; for example, a group of faculty at a luncheon, relevant special interest clubs (both faculty and student). Try to interest the academic department heads of relevant disciplines to arrange for him/her to lecture to his/her classes or faculty. In addition, try to get him/her into your local community to address a businessmen's group, a church group, a women's group (i.e. League of Women Voters), an ethnic group (i.e. Knights of Columbus), a high school assembly, Masons, Elks, etc.

A typical way to utilize a national speaker would be as follows or any variation thereof:

Early morning:	Class or convocation lecture
Late morning:	Press conference
Luncheon:	Political Science department faculty (and/or other department faculty members such as Near East Studies department).
Afternoon:	Student special interest group
Evening:	Community group, open campus meeting, if appropriate.

E. Community Education (See Chapter V.)

1. Offer to community groups speakers from your own membership who are qualified to speak on the Middle East. In addition, utilize good speakers from nearby campuses. The local political, civic and church groups should know they can rely upon you for their programs dealing with the Middle East. (See Chapter VI - 3.)

5. You may want to reproduce the proceedings or an important address or paper presented at the conference.

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2. If not already overworked with campus activities and as time schedules permit, make visiting prominent speakers available to local community groups in time slots not taken for campus activities, as discussed above.

IV PUBLICITY

Your relationship with media -- the press, radio and T.V. -- has a two-fold purpose. The first is to assure proper publicity and maximum coverage of your activities. The second is to establish your credentials as a reliable resource for the media in matters pertaining to the Middle East.

A. Compile a list of all major media contacts, both on and off campus.

1. Campus publicity department, particularly the campus public relations director.

2. Campus newspaper -- the editor and/or a sympathetic reporter.

3. Campus radio and T.V. stations, particularly the program managers.

4. Publications of campus special interest groups, clubs, and organizations.

5. Local community newspapers -- city editors, religious affairs editors, special events editors, sympathetic reporters, etc.

6. Civic, ethnic, and religious weekly or monthly publications.

7. Local community radio and T.V. contacts -- station managers and directors, reporters and analysts; talk show producers and hosts. Talk programs must fill a large schedule every day and are always on the lookout for interesting programs. Therefore, do not feel reluctant about approaching them -- they welcome it.

8. Local community bulletin boards, as well as campus bulletin boards.

B. Try to establish your credentials with all the above as an authoritative resource on Middle East affairs.

1. Invite the media to attend all opening meetings of APPME.

2. Hold press conferences with prominent speakers when they visit your campus.

3. There may be occasions to arrange background briefing sessions with media people, particularly editorial boards of newspapers, featuring qualified specialists. This differs from a press conference in that the aim is not for publicity, but to brief the press -- although publicity may result.

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5. Put key people on your mailing list and arrange for them to receive the Bulletin.

6. Send key media people a letter after your chapter has been formed, making them aware of your existence, letting them know you are ready to cooperate with them as a resource for information and for programs and interviews featuring prominent speakers. (See sample letter, addendum.)

7. Sometimes the media omits articles or coverage of an event you think significant and you may want to be sure it receives proper publicity. Write a letter to the editor, or discuss this with the editorial staff.

C. Announcements and Press Releases.

1. Announcements

An announcement announces an event -- the date and time, where it is to take place, the program, and featured speaker (with some short description of him/her) or panel of speakers. The announcement should be posted on campus and community bulletin boards as well as sent to your mailing list and to special columns in newspapers dealing with community events and special radio and T.V. program spots which announce community events.

2. Press Releases

This is what you should send if you want media coverage. In addition to including the same information as an announcement, the press release should include more information for the benefit of the media. It should contain a paragraph on the nature of the program, a paragraph on the speaker, and a paragraph on APPME, as well as any other relevant information you would like to see picked up by the media. A press release should always include at the top the name, address, and the telephone number of the person responsible for sending it out in the event that the media people using it have any questions. Also, a press release should be written in such a way that the most important information is in the first paragraph and the importance of the information diminishes gradually to the end. This technique of writing up a press release is used because media cuts copy from the bottom up. You may want to include with the press release separate sheets of a bio of the prominent speaker and/or a fact sheet of some kind on a relevant or timely issue. Try to follow up the press release with phone calls to key media people to make sure they received it and will use it.

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D. Whenever possible it is best to have the university public relations department arrange for press conferences, T.V. and radio interviews, and the sending of releases.

It usually carries more weight when publicity comes from the university rather than a campus group, i.e. APPME. Therefore, it is important to maintain good working relations with the university public relations department. Indicate to them that they are the first to know of any event. When planning an event, discuss with them what is feasible for them to do and what you will do yourself. Do not be reluctant to approach the university public relations apparatus. They are happy to get this additional exposure and are generally interested in cooperating.

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V COMMUNITY EDUCATION

Since the educational role of the academician extends beyond the campus to the community, it is important that you are aware of the level, tone, and posture of campus and community attitudes and activities vis-a-vis the Middle East. You may be in a position of correcting misconceptions and you will want to increase knowledge of the Middle East through your educational activities.

A. Maintain good relations with key community groups such as the National Conference of Christians and Jews, local organization of the Council of Churches, League of Women Voters, local United Nations associations, fraternal organizations, Boards of Rabbis, etc. They can often be helpful in securing entree to other groups and perhaps media people. They can give you entree to various community bulletin boards and periodical publications. Wherever appropriate they may be asked for financial backing for special activities and programs. For instance, they should be approached to undertake such projects as placing publications in every public, church, and high school library. (See Chapter VII - B.) They should have confidence in and look to APPME as a source of reliable information for programming in all aspects of Middle East affairs.

B. Let community groups know of yourself or any colleagues on your campus who are prepared to speak on programs about the Middle East.

C. Make prominent speakers, who visit your campus, available to community groups when possible. (See Chapter III - E.)

D. Invite community leaders to hear prominent speakers when scheduled to appear at your campus.

E. Local Political Leaders

You can serve a valuable function by making yourself available to local political leaders, including congressmen and senators, and make a significant contribution toward furthering peace in the Middle East. They do welcome new sources of additional information and are particularly receptive to academic expertise.

1. The administrative assistant of a political leader should be contacted and perhaps you can set up a meeting with him/her to discuss how you can cooperate. Especially in large congressional districts, the administrative assistant is more accessible than the political figure, and is relied upon to

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supply him with accurate information. One of his resources for accurate information on the Middle East should be APPME.

2. Be sure they are receiving publications distributed by APPME.

3. Invite them to hear prominent speakers. You may want to arrange for the political leader and prominent speaker to be photographed together for the benefit of the press.

4. Whatever is done in this area must be strictly non-partisan and the chapter should not take part in political campaigns or take political stands. APPME should serve political leaders only as a resource for information on the Middle East.

F. Try to get on as many mailing lists as possible and read materials of campus and community groups which deal directly or indirectly with the Middle East.

G. Be aware of on-campus activities dealing with the Middle East. Try to attend these functions whenever possible.

H. Be aware of community activities as above. Read community press, radio and T.V.

I. Keep National posted on the posture of the Middle East on your campus and in your community, and check with National to clear all public position or policy statements you may want to make.

J. It is not inappropriate for an individual professor to respond to misinformation in the media or elsewhere. You may be in a position to know of the best person on campus to respond to such misinformation.

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VI SPEAKERS BUREAU

1. Utilize qualified people from your chapter or region who will go out into the community or to other campuses. Be sure these speakers have the necessary background material (available from National). If a speaker feels he/she would like more background information in a particular area, contact National. Speaker should be knowledgeable, articulate, and able to deal calmly with opposition.

2. You may want to run some kind of speakers' training program.

3. Try to arrange some important community "spots" for your speakers (see Chapter III - E - 1): businessmen's groups, church groups, women's groups (League of Women Voters), ethnic groups (Knights of Columbus), foreign policy associations, alumni groups, university women's groups, student groups, political clubs, high school assemblies, Masons, etc.

VII DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLICATIONS

A. Try to get publications in all libraries on campus and in the community. It is one of the tasks of APPME members to officially request that campus libraries order publications distributed by APPME.*

B. Discuss with some community organization or leader the possibility of their underwriting the cost of getting publications into community libraries.* Contact National about bulk rates.

C. See that the following people are placed on National's mailing list to receive the Bulletin regularly:

   1. Faculty in departments of Political Science, Near East Studies, Sociology, History, and Economics as well as other select campus officials and administrators.

   2. Key media people.

   3. Key community leaders: political figures, clergy, organization and club officers, etc.

D. Because of financial considerations, you may have to be selective about sending any of the above people publications other than the Bulletin. However, if a local community group or individual is willing to underwrite the cost of this as well as the cost of getting publications into libraries, your list can be expanded.

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VIII RELATIONSHIP OF CHAPTERS AND NATIONAL OFFICE

A. National Office to Chapters

1. Arranges national tours of prominent speakers.

2. Distributes publications -- i.e. mailing of Bulletin, MEIS, Area Studies to members, and Bulletin to interested prospective members. Supplies publications for display purposes at area conferences.

3. Helps to secure local funds for chapter projects.

4. Serves as clearing house for activities.

5. Supplies chapters with names of professors returning from sabbaticals from the Middle East; and other professors on individual campuses who should be contacted and/or activated.

6. Offers organizational advice.

7. Provides academic contacts where possible to professors on sabbatical or visits in the Middle East.

8. Annual meetings and conferences.

B. Chapter to National Office

1. Inform National of all activities.

   a. Send to National all of your announcements, press releases, minutes, programs, subsequent publicity, newspaper articles, etc.

   b. Send names and addresses of chairman and co-chairman, as well as other officers, and people you would like to have receive the Bulletin.

2. Keep in touch for help in securing speakers, possible funds, printed materials, and aid in setting up programs.

3. Inform of good speakers to be used nationally or regionally.

4. Inform of Middle East posture on campus.

5. Encourage payment of dues to National. (See Chapter II.)

6. Participate in national meetings.

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C. Chapter to Chapter

1. Contact nearby schools so that you may be in touch with your colleagues in APPME.

2. Put all nearby schools on your mailing list so that you will each be informed about APPME activities in your area.

3. Plan area conferences with them.

4. Exchange good speakers. (See Chapter VI -1.)

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SAMPLE LETTER TO THE MEDIA

Mr. (Name), Editor
Name of Paper, Station or Channel
Address

Dear Mr. Name:

I thought you would like to know that a chapter of the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East has been formed at the campus of (Name of University). Our program is best described in the Statement of Principles of APPME:

> American Professors for Peace in the Middle East is an organization devoted to the achievement of a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab states. By drawing on the intellectual and scholarly resources of the academic community in its various disciplines, APPME seeks to further a just peace through the objective study and clarification of the social, economic, and political issues in the Middle East.

Toward this end, we hope to sponsor campus events such as meetings and conferences, both small and large, which will afford opportunities to discuss and to throw light on the many problems which beset the Middle East. We hope to have prominent scholars and personalities visit us from time to time and would certainly welcome sharing such personalities with the media for briefings, press conferences and interviews.

We would also welcome your inquiries and respectfully offer you our own informational resources whenever you feel we can be of help.

Sincerely,

Your Name, Chairman,
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SAMPLE PRESS RELEASE

FROM: Prof. Fred Pollak, Chairman,
American Professors for Peace in the Middle East

Physics Dept.
Brown University
863-2476

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Mrs. Yael Vered, an official of the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, will speak on "Egypt One Year After Nasser" at Brown University on Monday, November 1st. The event will take place in 101 Wilson Hall at 4 P.M. under the sponsorship of the Brown University chapter of the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East.

Mrs. Vered is a former press and political counselor at the Embassy of Israel in Paris and a past director of the Foreign Minister's Bureau. She is presently Director of the Middle East Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

APPME is an organization of some 14,000 affiliates on 500 campuses throughout the United States and Canada. It is devoted to the achievement of a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab states. By drawing on the intellectual and scholarly resources of the academic community in its various disciplines, APPME seeks to further a just peace through the objective study and clarification of the social, economic, and political issues in the Middle East.

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Brown University
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Expressed in brief and simple, perhaps simplistic terms, the need, and therefore our hope, is to maintain a campus-based organization which can marshal academicians prepared to work for a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab states and, as a means of achieving this goal, encourage if not organize studies carried out with scholarly detachment, designed to lead to a better understanding of the forces and factors at play in the Middle East. Our aim is to educate at least the academic, and hopefully the general community to the political realities of the Middle East and help the movement towards the realization of peace and security for Israel and the region as a whole. In order to shape the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East into an instrument capable of achieving these aims the Executive Committee recommends that the following be adopted as the organization's program, at least for the present.

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April 21, 1968
Reaffirmed annually by
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מברק שנשלח ב-19.2

ממישראל ניו יורק

לוי. שלכם 373 צוות מרץ1 גם מבחינתו אין התנגדות שסיור ברגלס יימסר לארגון הסטודנטים הישראלים אם ארגון הפרופסורים מסכים.

2. ויגר. לצערנו יצא ויגר ללונדון בטרם הספקנו לעשות אתו הסידורים. אנא התקשר אתו באמצעות השגרירות וסכם אתו גם החזר הוצאותיו אם ימשיך לארה"ב כמו שבקשתם.

AMERICAN PROFESSORS
FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST / 69 Bank St.
New York, N.Y. 10014 • 212-741-2410

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REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Submitted to the National Council on Sunday, May 13, 1973

by MICHAEL CURTIS

It is now six years since the formation in May 1967 of the Ad Hoc Committee which led to the formation of the APPME. At the first National Council meeting in April 1968 our Statement of Purpose was adopted. It is appropriate to consider our present state of activity and structure in the light of that Statement.

A. The original recommendation was that APPME remain a broad-based organization with an informal structure. Today we have over 14,000 professors affiliated with us in a wide variety of local structures on 600 campuses. However, because of financial problems, 2 years ago, the National Council authorized dues payment. To date, approximately 1,000 professors pay dues. In 1972, the National Executive Committee recommended that a Department of Organization and Membership be created. Among other matters this new department has tried to encourage affiliates to become dues paying members, develop new membership and assist in the creation of viable local chapters. The department is headed by Batya Bauman with Nan Isaacson as her assistant.

B. The original recommendation that the main thrust of APPME be educational and that the organization should eschew direct political action has been our general guide. From an initial issuing of periodic information kits, one annual academic conference, and 2 or 3 national campus lecture tours, we now have a whole array of excellent publications, hundreds of campus lectures and several academic conferences a year, usually co-sponsored with universities.

Other educational activities such as Study Missions, briefings, special conferences in cooperation with other organizations have been added to our academic and intellectual efforts.

C. The original recommendation that great emphasis be placed on creating strong regional groups which would be capable of developing their own local programs has not met with the anticipated success. The reality is that local programming largely results from the initiative of the national office. This no doubt is primarily the result of the fact that professional staff is available principally at the national level. Since Regional Directors are not a realistic consideration at the moment, this dependency of regional groups continues.

Three departmental reports on the activities of the National organization since the last Council meeting in March 1972 have been submitted to this Council. To these reports can be added the following remarks which will complete the picture.

1. Academic Conferences

April 1972 - Philadelphia - The fourth of a series of regional conferences on "Social Experimentation in Israel" was held. It was attended by about 400 people. Papers delivered at this conference and three others during the academic year form the nucleus of the forthcoming book ISRAEL: Social Structure and Change. At the National Executive Committee in Philadelphia it was recommended that the theme of "Israel and the Third World" be a major subject at regional conferences.

In November 1972 three regional conferences (Los Angeles, Boulder and New York) were held on the theme of 'Politics in the Middle East' and 'Israel and the Third World.' These conferences followed the recommendation that a limited number of full length papers be presented rather than a collection of 15 minute summaries as in previous conferences. As editor of conference proceedings, I have solicited articles from a number of people to add to the papers presented at the November conferences. We intend to prepare a book on "Israel and the Developing Nations."

II. Study Missions

In June 1972 thirty-three professors participated in a three week seminar in Israel. The local arrangements and programming for all seminars in Israel are executed by Rivka Hadary, Director of our Liaison Office in Jerusalem. As a result of my experience as group leader of the June seminar, I strongly recommended that future missions have fewer participants and that the members share a broad homogeneity of academic interests. Six months after the Mission each participant was contacted and it became clear that the impact of the Mission was positive. Some of the participants are now very active in the organization; others have enriched their academic courses with our material.

In December-January 1972-73 twelve social scientists, under the leadership of Gil Carl AlRoy of the National Executive Committee, went on a two week Seminar to Israel. This group participated in a conference sponsored by Haifa University and had, in general, more contact with academics than previous missions. All the participants felt that the seminar was a valuable and important experience for them.

III. Israel Liaison Office

During the past academic year our National Co-chairman, Herbert Callen, has been on sabbatical at Hebrew University and has worked closely with Rivka Hadary. The major emphasis is working with American professors on sabbatical in Israel. These professors receive all our publications, are offered opportunities to meet informally in small

groups (with guest speakers), to go on one day on-site field missions (Gaza, West Bank, etc.), to participate in 2-3 day mini-missions and various seminars hosted by governmental and non-governmental groups.

IV. National Executive

I might remind you that the National Council elects the National Executive Committee and the officers of the organization. These officers, together with the chairmen of standing committees, form the Steering Committee.

The Council recommendation of 1971 that the National Executive meet not less than twice a year, preferably outside of New York, has been implemented but with partial success. During the year the Executive met in Philadelphia and New York. The meeting in New York was followed by an address by Michael Sterner, Director of Egyptian Affairs, U. S. Department of State.

Without sufficient travel subsidies available, it is difficult to have a sizable number of National Executive Committee members present outside of New York. In addition, a semi-annual meeting is too infrequent to achieve the interchange of views that is desirable in the organization. The Steering Comittee, which has met monthly to attend to organizational matters, has therefore recommended that in the forthcoming year, the Executive meeting and Steering Committee alternate their meetings and that, when feasible, a meeting be arranged out of New York. This recommendation should be approved by the National Council.

V. My task as Chairman of the National Executive Committee has been greatly assisted, and indeed made a source of pleasure, by the efforts and dedication of the APPME staff and officers. Our Executive Director, Judith A. Diesendruck, is a person of remarkable competence and skill, whose expert hand has helped guide and execute the policies of the organization. Ann Sinai has been an invaluable source of help in her publishing activities. The performance of Hannah Hopfer as Director of the Speakers Bureau has been most impressive. All the speakers who have appeared under our sponsorship have testified to this. And we appreciate the efforts of the new Director of the Organization Department, Batya Bauman and the new staff people, Nan Isaacson and Minnie Winkler. Natalie Goldman and Myrna Hamada have both carried a heavy burden of office work with good grace. I must thank the members of the Steering Committee for the long hours they have devoted to the organization and for their continued and strong support. It has been a happy experience to be able to delegate authority to members of the committee and know that appropriate action will result.

General Remarks

During the last year or so, the organization has tended to place less stress on the conflict aspects or geo-political elements in the Middle East and has put more emphasis on the record of Israeli accomplishment, achievement and problems. We felt it was incumbent on us to deal in an academic way with that record whether it concerned social and political experimentation in Israel, or Israel's relations with the 3rd world. As members of the academic profession, we sought to foster the most widespread discussion of themes of this kind and insure that the positive nature of Israel's record be made more familiar.

In the presidential campaign of '72 the organization as such took no stand, though individual members worked on behalf of different candidates. It is not our purpose to engage in electoral activity or to contribute organizationally.

Similarly, however much we were sympathetic to the problem of Soviet Jewry, we felt it more appropriate that organizations specifically concerned with that problem make public statements rather than that APPME directly involve itself in the issue.

In the 7th year of existence our organization is now mature; its purpose is clear; its structure is sound; its thrust is well known. I would like this meeting of the National Council to discuss what more we can do; how our organization can be improved; and in which new directions we might move.

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East
69 Bank Street New York, N.Y. 10014

NAME _____

UNIVERSITY _____ DEPT. _____

ADDRESS _____

RESIDENCE _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

I am enclosing $10.00 membership dues for the year 197____.

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Membership Card

AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST
69 Bank Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Prof. _____

Univ. _____

Dues paid _____ 197____

Keep this stub for your records

AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The achievement of a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab states

69 Bank Street, New York, N.Y. 10014
(212) 741-2410

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East was founded in 1967 by leading members of the American academic community realizing the need for a campus-based organization with a concern for the basic conflict areas in the Middle East.

The aims of APPME are to study and analyze the social, economic and political realities of the Middle East by drawing on the intellectual and scholarly resources of the academic community in its various disciplines, and to involve the American professors in programs leading to a better understanding of the issues.

To these ends, the organization distributes publications, organizes academic conferences, holds briefing sessions and arranges lecture tours of Middle East specialists on campuses throughout the United States. These and other APPME programs provide a continuing forum for exchanges of opinion on the Middle East conflict.

APPME eschews direct political action or involvement with political parties or factions. The organization commits itself to no specific policy regarding the Middle East. A member of APPME commits himself only to the achievement of a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab States.

NATIONAL MEMBERSHIP

APPME cordially invites you to become a member by returning the membership blank on the back of this brochure along with $10.00 membership dues. Members will receive the *Middle East Information Series* quarterly journal, the *Bulletin*, and other publications distributed periodically.

MEMBERSHIP BENEFITS INCLUDE:

Publications

- *Middle East Information Series* (quarterly journal)
- *Middle East Area Studies*
- *Bulletin*
- *Conference Proceedings*
- *Periodic Pamphlets*

Academic Conferences

Study Missions

Speakers Bureau Services

Middle East Liaison Office in Jerusalem

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REPORT OF THE PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT

May 13, 1973

Under the auspices of the Editorial Advisory Board, the Publications Department, during 1972/3 has concentrated on the planning and development of the quarterly journal, Middle East Information Series and its distribution to a widening public of academicians and college libraries. MEIS has, this year, been well received for its balanced approach to the Israel-Arab conflict. The journal's quality has thus been well established in many academic quarters. As a result, and significantly so during this last academic year, many more well known academicians have been ready to contribute articles to the journal, and the articles in MEIS now increasingly consist of new and hitherto unpublished material, especially prepared for each particular issue. Many of the articles published have invoked comments and praise from high ranking U.S. academicians.

Within this year, 60 new subscriptions have been received from new libraries in the U.S. and Europe. Commercial book distributors in the U.S. and abroad have also begun to order copies of our publications. We have established a regular exchange of publications with such Middle East based publications as the Institute of Palestine Studies in Lebanon, the P.L.O. in Syria, as well as several Israeli publications. Our requests for review copies of the latest U.S. and European publications on the Middle East are always met.

In addition, we have had requests for permission to reprint our material from such quarters as the Library of the National War College and other institutions.

The journal and the Bulletin have been this department's only publications during this year, but Area Studies projected in 1971/1972 will be published within the coming academic year.

The Editorial Advisory Board has been expanded to include three consultants. A roster of specialists generally aid in suggesting possible authors for specific articles. We have also created an index of specialists who have written or may be called on to contribute articles to our publications.

MEIS

Four issues of this quarterly journal (Nos. XX, XXI, XXII, XXIII) have been produced during this academic year.

Each structured as a thematic unit, these issues have been devoted to: The U.S. and the Middle East, Europe and the Middle East, The Third World and the Middle East, and The Energy Problem and the Middle East. The last issue is 96 pages in length, and was specially planned for its relevance and timeliness, presenting diverse views on the topic.

It was found, this year, that the 4,000 copies of each issue we have been producing during the year is too small a number to meet our growing needs, and 4,500 copies are now being produced of each issue, while 5,500 copies of the special issue on the energy problem have been ordered. This issue has been widely publicized, with a special press release to the media, to Washington personalities and to community and other bodies.

Each MEIS has, in fact, become an Area Study, containing material of permanent value and relevance.

The bulk of each MEIS is mailed to academicians, including the new academicians who have been added to our mailing list during this year. In addition, this publication will now go to several hundred more university libraries next year. This expanded list is the result of the journal's widening reputation and the publicity it has received via the commercial distributors. It is also the result of a project undertaken by the department in February/March, when copies of a book, Arab Attitudes Toward Israel by Y. Harkabi, published by the Israel Universities Press,received by us as a gift, together with three samples of our publications, were sent as a gift offer to over 900 university libraries with an invitation to join our mailing list. The response has been extremely satisfactory to date.

Our libraries' listing now also includes not alone libraries in Europe but also a university library in New Delhi, India, which wrote to us upon hearing of our publications. In the U.S., subscribers are teaching academicians and students as well as community organizations and general reference libraries and Middle East publications. MEIS articles continue to be regularly listed in the Middle East Journal and also in several other publications in and on the Middle East.

MEIS issues projected for 1973/4 include: Historical and Demographic Aspects of the Palestine Conflict; Arab Society; Israeli Society; The Non-Arab Near East.

Middle East Area Studies

The Area Study on Arab Attitudes to Jewish Statehood edited by Prof. AlRoy has been our most sought after publication, and is being used as text in Middle East courses at several colleges. It is now practically out of stock, while stocks of our other published Area Studies are also low.

Although no new Area Studies were published this year, the Area Study on Jerusalem (edited by Msgr. John M. Oesterreicher) is now almost ready for publication. It is of book length and contains a wide range of essays, discussing every aspect of the city's existence. Hopefully, the Area Study on Regional Economic Problems of the Arab-Israel Conflict (edited by Oded Remba) and other projects will get underway during this year.

Conference Book

The 1972/3 APPME Conference papers, with additional material, entitled: Israel: Social Structure and Change (edited by Michael Curtis), are being published in book format in cooperation with Transaction Press. The book

is scheduled for publication in August 1973.

Bulletin of the AAAPME

Three issues of the Bulletin have been published during this academic year. The first, (October 1972) highlighted the Palestinian guerrilla organizations and West Bank views of terrorism, the second (January 1973) dealt mainly with U.S. policy and the political and strategic implications of the Soviet exodus from Egypt, and the third (March 1973) provided an analysis of Arab attitudes toward a peace settlement and of Israeli Arab educational problems.

11,000 copies of the Bulletin are printed and distributed to academicians and community organizations.

Publications Report: American Professors for Peace in the Middle East

Bulletin

A special issue of the Bulletin of the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East will be published following the National Council Meeting. This issue will be mailed to APPME members and will highlight the Council's proceedings and current Middle East affairs.

Oded Remba, Chairman
Editorial Advisory Board

Anne Sinai, Director
Publications Department

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REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Submitted to the National Council on Sunday, May 13, 1973

by MICHAEL CURTIS

It is now six years since the formation in May 1967 of the Ad Hoc Committee which led to the formation of the APPME. At the first National Council meeting in April 1968 our Statement of Purpose was adopted. It is appropriate to consider our present state of activity and structure in the light of that Statement.

A. The original recommendation was that APPME remain a broad-based organization with an informal structure. Today we have over 14,000 professors affiliated with us in a wide variety of local structures on 600 campuses. However, because of financial problems, 2 years ago, the National Council authorized dues payment. To date, approximately 1,000 professors pay dues. In 1972, the National Executive Committee recommended that a Department of Organization and Membership be created. Among other matters this new department has tried to encourage affiliates to become dues paying members, develop new membership and assist in the creation of viable local chapters. The department is headed by Batya Bauman with Nan Isaacson as her assistant.

B. The original recommendation that the main thrust of APPME be educational and that the organization should eschew direct political action has been our general guide. From an initial issuing of periodic information kits, one annual academic conference, and 2 or 3 national campus lecture tours, we now have a whole array of excellent publications, hundreds of campus lectures and several academic conferences a year, usually co-sponsored with universities.

Other educational activities such as Study Missions, briefings, special conferences in cooperation with other organizations have been added to our academic and intellectual efforts.

C. The original recommendation that great emphasis be placed on creating strong regional groups which would be capable of developing their own local programs has not met with the anticipated success. The reality is that local programming largely results from the initiative of the national office. This no doubt is primarily the result of the fact that professional staff is available principally at the national level. Since Regional Directors are not a realistic consideration at the moment, this dependency of regional groups continues.

Three departmental reports on the activities of the National organization since the last Council meeting in March 1972 have been submitted to this Council. To these reports can be added the following remarks which will complete the picture.

1. Academic Conferences

April 1972 - Philadelphia - The fourth of a series of regional conferences on "Social Experimentation in Israel" was held. It was attended by about 400 people. Papers delivered at this conference and three others during the academic year form the nucleus of the forthcoming book ISRAEL: Social Structure and Change. At the National Executive Committee in Philadelphia it was recommended that the theme of "Israel and the Third World" be a major subject at regional conferences.

In November 1972 three regional conferences (Los Angeles, Boulder and New York) were held on the theme of 'Politics in the Middle East' and 'Israel and the Third World.' These conferences followed the recommendation that a limited number of full length papers be presented rather than a collection of 15 minute summaries as in previous conferences. As editor of conference proceedings, I have solicited articles from a number of people to add to the papers presented at the November conferences. We intend to prepare a book on "Israel and the Developing Nations."

II. Study Missions

In June 1972 thirty-three professors participated in a three week seminar in Israel. The local arrangements and programming for all seminars in Israel are executed by Rivka Hadary, Director of our Liaison Office in Jerusalem. As a result of my experience as group leader of the June seminar, I strongly recommended that future missions have fewer participants and that the members share a broad homogeneity of academic interests. Six months after the Mission each participant was contacted and it became clear that the impact of the Mission was positive. Some of the participants are now very active in the organization; others have enriched their academic courses with our material.

In December-January 1972-73 twelve social scientists, under the leadership of Gil Carl AlRoy of the National Executive Committee, went on a two week Seminar to Israel. This group participated in a conference sponsored by Haifa University and had, in general, more contact with academics than previous missions. All the participants felt that the seminar was a valuable and important experience for them.

III. Israel Liaison Office

During the past academic year our National Co-chairman, Herbert Callen, has been on sabbatical at Hebrew University and has worked closely with Rivka Hadary. The major emphasis is working with American professors on sabbatical in Israel. These professors receive all our publications, are offered opportunities to meet informally in small

groups (with guest speakers), to go on one day on-site field missions (Gaza, West Bank, etc.), to participate in 2-3 day mini-missions and various seminars hosted by governmental and non-governmental groups.

IV. National Executive

I might remind you that the National Council elects the National Executive Committee and the officers of the organization. These officers, together with the chairmen of standing committees, form the Steering Committee.

The Council recommendation of 1971 that the National Executive meet not less than twice a year, preferably outside of New York, has been implemented but with partial success. During the year the Executive met in Philadelphia and New York. The meeting in New York was followed by an address by Michael Sterner, Director of Egyptian Affairs, U. S. Department of State.

Without sufficient travel subsidies available, it is difficult to have a sizable number of National Executive Committee members present outside of New York. In addition, a semi-annual meeting is too infrequent to achieve the interchange of views that is desirable in the organization. The Steering Comittee, which has met monthly to attend to organizational matters, has therefore recommended that in the forthcoming year, the Executive meeting and Steering Committee alternate their meetings and that, when feasible, a meeting be arranged out of New York. This recommendation should be approved by the National Council.

V. My task as Chairman of the National Executive Committee has been greatly assisted, and indeed made a source of pleasure, by the efforts and dedication of the APPME staff and officers. Our Executive Director, Judith A. Diesendruck, is a person of remarkable competence and skill, whose expert hand has helped guide and execute the policies of the organization. Ann Sinai has been an invaluable source of help in her publishing activities. The performance of Hannah Hopfer as Director of the Speakers Bureau has been most impressive. All the speakers who have appeared under our sponsorship have testified to this. And we appreciate the efforts of the new Director of the Organization Department, Batya Bauman and the new staff people, Nan Isaacson and Minnie Winkler. Natalie Goldman and Myrna Hamada have both carried a heavy burden of office work with good grace. I must thank the members of the Steering Committee for the long hours they have devoted to the organization and for their continued and strong support. It has been a happy experience to be able to delegate authority to members of the committee and know that appropriate action will result.

General Remarks

During the last year or so, the organization has tended to place less stress on the conflict aspects or geo-political elements in the Middle East and has put more emphasis on the record of Israeli accomplishment, achievement and problems. We felt it was incumbent on us to deal in an academic way with that record whether it concerned social and political experimentation in Israel, or Israel's relations with the 3rd world. As members of the academic profession, we sought to foster the most widespread discussion of themes of this kind and insure that the positive nature of Israel's record be made more familiar.

In the presidential campaign of '72 the organization as such took no stand, though individual members worked on behalf of different candidates. It is not our purpose to engage in electoral activity or to contribute organizationally.

Similarly, however much we were sympathetic to the problem of Soviet Jewry, we felt it more appropriate that organizations specifically concerned with that problem make public statements rather than that APPME directly involve itself in the issue.

In the 7th year of existence our organization is now mature; its purpose is clear; its structure is sound; its thrust is well known. I would like this meeting of the National Council to discuss what more we can do; how our organization can be improved; and in which new directions we might move.

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REPORT OF THE ORGANIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP DEPARTMENT MAY 13, 1973.

For a period ot time it has been recognized that closer contact between the national organizational and the regional structures, as well as campus chapters, would have to be achieved. In recognition of this need this department was created at the end of 1972. The following activities have been initiated, are in progress, and, in some instances have been accomplished.

1) Handbook for Campus Chapters: This item has been produced in order to spell out the functions, suggested activities and organizational procedures for campus chapters. It deals with such matters as building a chapter, membership, programming, publicity, community education, distribution of publications and the relationship of the chapters and the national office. The Handbook stresses that it is meant only to suggest guide lines and should be tailored to the individual needs of each chapter. It was mailed to contacts on the campuses and, as of this writing, the feed-back has been excellent.

2) Sabbatical Returnees: Some 200 American professors were on sabbaticals in Israel during the 1971-72 academic year. Our Israel Liaison Office forwarded their names to us for follow-up. A letter was sent welcoming them home, soliciting their membership, and sending them kits of materials including Middle East Information Series, the Bulletin, Statement of Purpose and other pamphlets. In addition, letters were sent to our contacts at the campuses where they are based urging that they be contacted and involved in APPME activities. It was also suggested to the contacts at the respective campuses that these people be used programmatically. Of these sabbatical returnees 23 paid their APPME dues to our Liaison Office in Israel. Thirty one responded to our initial membership solicitation letter and paid dues here. Of the 200 letters which were sent out, 25 were returned to us marked "Address Unknown." In other words, approximately half have been "accounted for." Follow-up letters for dues will be going out to the remaining 100 who have not responded.

3) Scholars and experts from the Middle East on Sabbaticals in the United States: In addition to sabbatical returnee lists we have received from Israel, we have also received lists of Israelis on sabbaticals in the United states and those coming for brief visits. Again, we inform the contacts at the respective campuses whenever relevant so that they may utilize these opportunities.

4) Coordinating with the Speakers Bureau: This department has been working with the Speakers Bureau in connection with lecture tours. We have been contacting the campus persons in charge of programs for visiting lectures offering assistance such as sending quantities of materials to be available at events scheduled around the lecturer, sending them our lists of professors at their campuses so that they may be invited to appropriate functions, membership materials, suggesting they solicit membership from those professors who attend, etc.

5) Organizing the New York Area: An intensive campaign was undertaken to call together contacts at universities and colleges in the New York metropolitan area and to reach professors in order to involve them in APPHE activities in the greater New York area. On April 8 there was a meeting of these people. Approximately 30 professors from 25 campuses indicated they would attend, however, due to inclement weather, 16 attended from 12 campuses. A large percentage of them were new and enthusiastic, and they volunteered to organize chapters on their campuses. Copies of the Handbook were distributed for discussion and comments. The Handbook also provided answers to questions raised. A New York Steering Committee evolved from this meeting. This committee will concern itself with such things as planning a conference in the fall, possibly a regional Speakers Bureau, and looking into the distrubution of literature in campus, public and private libraries in the area. This approach should serve as a model for other relevant parts of the country.

6) Prospective Members: A routine has been established for the handling of names submitted to us from various sources as an ongoing activity. They are sent kits of our materials which include a small explanatory card indicating that it is being sent at the suggestion of the person submitting the name. The kit includes sample publications and membership materials. In addition, we have been sending these names to the contacts at the respective universities.

Submitted by: Fred Pollak, Chairman
Batya Bauman, Director

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REPORT ON THE SPEAKERS BUREAU

March 1972 -- April 1973

The Speakers Bureau, under the Chairmanship of Professor Irwin Yellowitz, has as its goals: a) arranging national tours for visiting scholars, b) providing speakers for specific occasions upon request from a campus, and c) developing local Speakers Bureaus, thereby increasing the exchange of American professors, campus by campus. The one-woman Speakers Bureau at the national office can report extraordinary expansion in category a, some results in category b, while category c remains in the planning stage until such time as the staff is enlarged.

a) The following report deals with the period from March 1972 through April 1973. Since the last report on the Speakers Bureau was issued in February 1972, there have been 12 national tours, covering 128 campuses with 292 separate appearances. On such tours, each campus visit, in addition to the formal lectures to classrooms, almost always includes local TV and press coverage, informal luncheon meetings with groups of interested faculty and informal evenings at professors' homes, thus providing an opportunity for additional discussion. In almost every case, the speaker makes several appearances a day.(A typical example would be the recent visit of Dr. Emanuel Gutmann to Colorado State University in Fort Collins, Col. Dr. Gutmann arrived there from Atlanta on Sunday evening and addressed a community group. Monday morning he had a press conference with representatives of local press, radio and TV. After a luncheon with faculty members of the Political Science Department, (about 10), he gave a lecture to a class on Islamic Civilization on "State and Religion in Israel." There was a 3:00 P.M. Seminar with graduate students and faculty where he spoke on "Internal Problems in Israel." In the evening there was another lecture, open to students, faculty and townspeople (about 150) where he talked on "Israel's Foreign Policy.")

An attempt has been made to reach a greater number of campuses this year and a stronger emphasis has been laid on sending speakers to campuses never before visited by an APPME speaker. Particular emphasis has been given to southern and mid-western campuses. Evaluation forms are sent out to each campus host to insure some feedback. There is increasing evidence, upon analyzing these, that speakers on the politics of the Middle East do not serve as a drawing card. Academic credentials and scholarship are the only guaranteed entree to many campuses. Of the 131 campuses visited, 45 were hosts to an APPME sponsored speaker for the first time. A number of new and valuable contacts were made as a result of these visits, since these new contacts not only are often willing to cooperate in forming new APPME chapters, but also serve as a source of valuable information as to activities and the particular needs on campus of special interest to APPME. There is close coordination with the Organization Department with respect to these contacts made through the Speakers Bureau.

REPORT ON THE SPEAKERS BUREAU

March 1972 -- April 1973

The Speakers Bureau, under the chairmanship of Professor Inga Veltfort, has as its goals: a) arranging national tours for visiting scholars, b) providing speakers for specific occasions upon request from a campus, and c) developing local Speakers Bureaus, thereby increasing the exchange of American professors, campus by campus. The one-woman Speakers Bureau at the national office can report extraordinary expansion in category a, some results in category b, while category c remains in the planning stage until such time as the staff is enlarged.

a) The following report deals with the period from March 1972 through April 1973. Since the last report on the Speakers Bureau was issued in February 1974, there have been 7 national tours, covering 120 campuses with 222 separate appearances. On each tour, each campus visit, in addition to the formal lectures to classrooms, almost always includes local TV and press coverage, informal luncheon meetings with groups of interested faculty and informal evenings at professors' homes, thus providing an opportunity for additional discussion. In almost every case, the speaker makes several appearances a day. (A typical example would be the recent visit of Dr. Bronowski to Colorado State University in Fort Collins, Col. Dr. Bronowski arrived there from Atlanta on Sunday evening and addressed a community group. Monday morning he had a press conference with representatives of local press, radio and TV. After a luncheon with faculty members of the Political Science Department, (about 10), he gave a lecture to a class on "Ethnic Civilization on State and Religion in Israel." There was a 3:00 P.M. seminar with graduate students and faculty where he spoke on "Internal Problems in Israel." During evening there was another lecture, open to students, faculty and community (about 150) where he talked on "Israel's Foreign Policy.")

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NATIONAL TOURS

* Campuses visited by an APPME speaker for the first time.

1) NISSIM ELIAD (21 campuses, 37 appearances)
(Member of Knesset representing Independent Liberal Party, prominent jurist, member of Education and Interior Committees and expert on Arab and minority problems in Israel)

Topics: Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel
Black Panthers and Minority Problems in Israel
Educational Challenge in Israel

From March 13 to April 13, 1972, Mr. Eliad spoke at the following campuses:

University of Colorado
* Colorado State University
Loretta Heights College, Denver
Augsburg College, Minneapolis
* Maimonides Institute, Minneapolis
University of Minnesota
* St. Catherine's College, Minneapolis
Macalester College (International Center), Minneapolis
St. Olaf's College, Minneapolis
Carleton College, Minneapolis
* University of Wisconsin, River Falls campus
Hamline University, Minneapolis
* University of Oregon, Eugene
University of California, Los Angeles
* Irvine College, Irvine, Cal.
* Portland State University, Portland, Ore.
* Lewis and Clark College, Portland, Ore.
* Rice University, Houston, Tex.
Duke University, Durham, N.C.
Nassau Community College

In addition to these campus lectures, TV, radio and press interviews, Mr. Eliad addressed the United Nations Association in Minneapolis, a Methodist Church group in Houston, a bi-cameral session of the Colorado State Legislature, and appeared as a panelist at the Conference of World Affairs at the University of Colorado, Boulder, Col. Mr. Eliad also participated in the APPME Academic Conference in Philadelphia.

2) YEHUDA YUDIN (6 campuses, 13 lectures)
(Leading Israeli authority on labor economics and labor history, member Executive Committee of Histadrut)

NATIONAL TOURS

a. Campuses visited by an AFMGE speaker for the first time.

1) MISSION TILAD (21 campuses, 37 appearances)
(Member of Knesset representing Independent Liberal Party, prominent jurist, member of Education and Interior Committees and expert on Arab and minority problems in Israel)

Topics: "Arab-Jewish Relations in Israel"
Black Panthers and Minority Problems in Israel
Educational Challenges in Israel

From March 15 to April 13, 1972, Mr. Tilad spoke at the following campuses:

University of Colorado
Colorado State University
Loretto Heights College, Denver
Anoka Ramsey College, Minneapolis
Metropolitan Institute, Minneapolis
University of Minnesota
St. Catherine's College, Minneapolis
Macalester College (International Center), Minneapolis
St. Olaf's College, Minneapolis
Carleton College, Minneapolis
University of Wisconsin, River Falls campus
Marquette University, Minneapolis
University of Oregon, Eugene
University of California, Los Angeles
Irvine College, Irvine, Calif.
Portland State University, Portland, Ore.
Lewis and Clark College, Portland, Ore.
Rice University, Houston, Tex.
Duke University, Durham, N.C.
Nassau Community College

In addition to these campus locations, Mr. Tilad gave press interviews, Mr. Tilad addressed the United Nations Association in Minneapolis, a Methodist Church group in Denver, a Hillel-sponsored session of the Colorado State Legislature, and answered questions at the Conference of Medical Faculties at the University of Colorado, Boulder, Col. Mr. Tilad also participated in the AFMGE Academic Conference in Philadelphia.

2) YEHUDA YOUTH (7 campuses, 12 lectures)
(Leading Israeli authority on labor economics and labor history, member Executive Committee of Histadrut)

Topics: Labor-Management Relations in Israel
Profit Sharing in Israel
The Economy of Israel

From April 13 - April 25, 1972, Mr. Yudin spoke at:

Temple University
University of Wisconsin, Madison
University of Illinois, Urbana
* University of Wyoming
* University of California, Santa Cruz
University of California, Los Angeles (Center for Industrial Relations)

3) ISRAEL KESSAR (14 campuses, 26 lectures)
(Sociologist, expert in Labor Relations)

Topics: Minority Problems in Israel
Health Care Systems that Work
Absorption of Immigrants

From May 2 - 22, 1972, Mr. Kessar lectured at:

Hunter College
Bernard Baruch College
* University of Connecticut, Storrs
University of Massachusetts (Labor Relations Center)
Pennsylvania State University, Middletown
University of Virginia, Charlottesville
Georgia State University
* University of Florida, Gainesville
* Florida State University
* Miles College (black college in Birmingham, Ala.)
* Samford University (" " " " ")
* Jefferson State Jr. College, Birmingham, Ala.
* Stanford University (International Students Organization)
* University of Alabama

4) MERON BENVENISTI (20 campuses, 51 appearances)
(First Administrator for East Jerusalem 1967-72, former Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem, author, town planner)

Topics: Co-existence of Jews and Arabs as a Community
The Future of Jerusalem
Problems in Administrating Jerusalem

Topics: Labor-Management Relations in Israel
Profit Sharing in Israel
The Economy of Israel

From April 12 - April 25, 1972, Dr. Yuchin spoke at:

Temple University
University of Wisconsin, Madison
University of Illinois, Urbana
* University of Wyoming
* University of California, Santa Cruz
University of California, Los Angeles (Center for Industrial Relations)

2) ISRAEL ROSSAR (17 campuses, 26 lectures)
(Sociologist, expert in Labor Relations)

Topics: Minority Problems in Israel
Health Care Systems that Work
Absorption of Immigrants

From May 2 - 22, 1972, Dr. Rossar lectured at:

Hunter College
Barnard Bruch College
* University of Connecticut, Storrs
University of Massachusetts (Labor Relations Center)
Pennsylvania State University, Philadelphia
University of Virginia, Charlottesville
Georgia State University
* University of Florida, Gainesville
* Florida State University
* Miles College (Black college in Birmingham, Ala.)
* Samford University (" " " " ")
* Jefferson State Jr. College, Birmingham, Ala.
* Stanford University (International Students Organization)
* University of Alabama

4) HERON ROVENSKIY (20 campuses; 31 conferences)
(First Administrator for East Jerusalem 1967-72,
Former Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem, Author, Town
Planner)

Topics: Co-existence of Jews and Arabs as a
Community
The Future of Jerusalem
Problems in Administering Jerusalem

From October 25 through November 21, 1972, Mr. Benvenisti spoke at the following campuses:

Bernard Baruch College
University of Texas, Arlington
* Southern Methodist University
* University of Texas, Austin
* University of Houston
* Henzen College, Houston
Rice University
* New School for Social Research
George Washington University, Wash., D.C. (International Law Dept. and International Law Soc.)

Loyola University, New Orleans
* California State University, Northridge
* California Institute of Technology
* Pomona College, Pomona, Cal. (International Studies Center)
University of Southern Calif. (School of Architecture and Urban Planning)
University of California, Los Angeles (Dept. of Arch. and Regional Planning)

California State University, Los Angeles
* St. Thomas College, Minneapolis
Augsburg College, Minneapolis
University of Chicago
University of California, Berkeley

In addition to his 51 lectures, Mr. Benvenisti was a panelist at two of the APPME Academic Conferences (Boulder and Los Angeles), spoke at the Middle East Institute in Wash., D.C., and appeared on numerous talk shows, press and radio interviews. Mr. Benvenisti also briefed the New York area APPME chapter.

5) DAN V. SEGRE (4 campuses, 12 lectures)
(Professor of Political Science at Haifa University and the Van Leer Institute, Jerusalem)

Topics: Prospects for the Future of the Middle East
Israel and the Third World

From November 15 to November 28, 1972, Prof. Segre appeared at:

* Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Center for International Studies)
Harvard University, Dept. of Afro-American Studies
Denver University
State University of New York, Binghamton

In addition to being a major participant in the 3 Academic Conferences, Professor Segre addressed the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City.

From October 25 through November 21, 1972, Mr. Benvenisti spoke at the following campuses:

Bernard Baruch College
University of Texas, Arlington
* Southern Methodist University
* University of Texas, Austin
* University of Houston
* Houston College, Houston
Rice University
* New School for Social Research
George Washington University, Wash., D.C. (International Law Dept. and International Law Soc.)

Loyola University, New Orleans
* California State University, Northridge
* California Institute of Technology
* Pomona College, Pomona, Cal. (International Studies Center)
University of Southern Calif. (School of Architecture and Urban Planning)
University of California, Los Angeles (Dept. of Arch. and Regional Planning)
California State University, Los Angeles
* St. Thomas College, Minneapolis
Augsburg College, Minneapolis
University of Chicago
University of California, Berkeley

In addition to his 21 lectures, Mr. Benvenisti was a panelist at two of the AAPHE Academic Conferences (Boulder and Los Angeles), spoke at the Middle East Institute in Wash., D.C., and appeared on numerous talk shows, press and radio interviews. Mr. Benvenisti also briefed the New York area AAPHE chapter.

5) DAN V. STORE (9 campuses, 12 lectures)
(Professor of Political Science at Haifa University, and the Van Leer Institute, Jerusalem)

Topics: Prospects for the Future of the Middle East
Israel and the United World

From November 14 to December 22, 1972, Prof. Store appeared at:

* Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Center for International Studies)
Harvard University, Dept. of Afro-American Studies
Denver University
State University of New York, Binghamton

In addition to being a major participant in the 3 Academic Conferences, Professor Store addressed the Council on Foreign Relations in New York City.

6) ELIAHU NAVI AND MRS. ELIAHU NAVI (13 campuses, 22 lectures by Mr. Navi, 4 by Mrs. Navi)
(Mr. Navi is the Mayor of Beersheva, a former judge and an expert on Arab affairs. Mrs. Navi is a social worker and educator.)

Topics: Arabs and Jews in Israel
Development Areas in Israel
Immigrant Absorption
Israel and Islam
Women and Women's Lib in Israel (Mrs. Navi)

From October 25 through November 8, 1972, the Navis, in addition to TV, press and radio shows appeared at:

Nassau Community College
Adelphi University
State University of New York, Albany
Hunter College
University of Wisconsin, Madison
* University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N.Dak.
Lewis and Clark University, Portland, Ore.
* Reed College, Portland
University of Oregon, Eugene
California State University, San Francisco (International Studies Program)
University of California, Berkeley

7) YEHOSHUA ALMOG (15 campuses, 37 appearances)
(Representative of the Israel Foreign Ministry in the Administered Territories and Minister Plenipotentiary, Professor of Political Science at American University, Jerusalem)

Topics: Israel's International Relations in the Middle East
The Realities of the Israel Administered West Bank
The Administered Territories
Israel and the Third World

From February 11 to March 2, 1973, Mr. Almog lectured at:

University of Virginia, Charlottesville
* University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Florida State University
* Jacksonville University
* Louisiana State University
* Tulane University
* University of Tulsa
* Longview Jr. College, Lees Summit, Mo.
* University of Missouri, Kansas City
* Oberlin College
Duquesne University
Brandeis University
* Boston University

6) ELIAHU NAVI AND MRS. ELIAHU NAVI (10 campuses, 22 lectures by Mr. Navi, 4 by Mrs. Navi)

(Mr. Navi is the Mayor of Beersheva, a former judge and an expert on Arab affairs. Mrs. Navi is a social worker and educator.)

Topics: Arabs and Jews in Israel
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Lewis and Clark University, Portland, Ore.
☆ Reed College, Portland
University of Oregon, Eugene
California State University, San Francisco (International Studies Program)
University of California, Berkeley

7) YEHOSHUA ALMOR (15 campuses, 37 appearances)

(Representative of the Israel Foreign Ministry in the Administered Territories and Minister Plenipotentiary. Professor of Political Science at American University, Jerusalem)

Topics: Israel's International Relations in the Middle East
The Realities of the Israel Administered West Bank
The Administered Territories
Israel and the Third World

From February 11 to March 2, 1973, Mr. Almor lectured at:

University of Virginia, Charlottesville
☆ University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Florida State University
☆ Jacksonville University
☆ Louisiana State University
☆ Tulane University
☆ University of Tulsa
☆ Longview Jr. College, Lee Summit, Mo.
☆ University of Missouri, Kansas City
☆ Oberlin College
Duquesne University
Brandeis University
☆ Boston University

Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Center for International Studies)

Harvard University

Press, radio and TV interviews. (Mr. Almog happened to be in Tulsa on the day of the Libyan plane incident and appeared several times that day on radio and TV due to the tremendous interest.)

8) EMANUEL GUTMANN (15 campuses, 45 appearances)
(Dr. Gutmann is chairman of the Department of Political Science, Hebrew University, Jerusalem)

Topics: State and Religion
Social Integration in Israel
Internal Problems (non-economic)

Dr. Gutmann and Prof. Daniel Dishon (the next speaker) in addition to the usual campus lectures, appeared together as panelists at the following "mini-conferences" which were arranged by our APPME contacts. Local experts served as moderators and panelists:

University of Pennsylvania - with Professor George Moutafakis (Queensborough Community College), Father Edward McCarthy, President, Villanova University, and Father Terrence Toland of St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia.
Theme of the Conference: Treatment of Minorities in the Middle East.

Princeton University - ROUND TABLE, with faculty and students of Department of Near East Studies. Other participants were Professors E.L. Morse, Carl Brown and Avrom Udovitch. Theme: Factors in the Middle East conflict.

Atlanta, Ga. -- SEMINAR COLLOQUIM, co-sponsored by Depts. of Political Science, Religion and Theology of several Atlanta universities.

University of California in Los Angeles-

SEMINAR, sponsored by Near East Center. Theme: Factors in the Middle East Conflict. Participants were graduate students, faculty. Dr. Malcolm Kerr was one of the participants.

University of California in Berkeley -

"Mini-Conference" sponsored by Institute of International Studies and the Committee on Arts and Lectures. Other participants were Professors George Lenczowski, Agnan Daoud-Agha, Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr. Theme: "Peace in the M.E. Prospects & Problems."

Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Center for International Studies)

Harvard University

Press, radio and TV interviews. (Mr. Almog happened to be in Italy on the day of the Ulivaz plane incident and appeared several times that day on radio and TV due to the tremendous interest.)

6) EMANUEL GUTMANN (15 campuses, 15 appearances)
(Dr. Gutmann is chairman of the Department of Political Science, Hebrew University, Jerusalem)

Topics: State and Religion
Social Integration in Israel
Internal Problems (nonreligious)

Dr. Gutmann and Prof. Daniel Elazar (the next speaker) in addition to the usual campus lectures, appeared together as panelists at the following "Mini-conferences" which were arranged by our APPIS contacts. Local experts served as moderators and panelists:

University of Pennsylvania - with Professor George Kourtakis (Quakenbridge Community College), Father Edward McCarthy, President, Villanova University, and Father Terrence Toland of St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia.
Theme of the Conference - Treatment of Minorities in the Middle East.

Princeton University - ROUND TABLE, with faculty and students of Department of Near East Studies. Other participants were Professors E.I. Horsa, Carl Brown and Avrom Udovitch. Theme: Factors in the Middle East conflict.

Atlanta, Ga. -- SEMINAR COLLOQUIUM, co-sponsored by depts. of Political Science, Religion and Theology of several Atlanta universities.

University of California in Los Angeles-

SEMINAR, sponsored by Near East Center. Theme: Factors in the Middle East conflict. Participants were graduate students, faculty. Dr. Malcolm Kerr was one of the participants.

University of California in Berkeley -

"Mini-Conference" sponsored by Institute of International Studies and the Committee on Arts and Lectures. Other participants were Professors George Lancowski, Agnon Gaud-Ahmi, Thomas C. Giaiabdi, Jr. Theme: "Peace in the M.E. Prospects & Problems."

In addition to the above, Dr. Gutmann also lectured at:

Brooklyn College
New York University (Near East Center)
Temple University
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (Center for Near Eastern Studies)
* State University of New York, Stony Brook
Columbia University (Middle East Institute)
Emory University
Georgia State University
Colorado State University
University of California in Los Angeles
University of California in Berkeley
State University of New York, Binghamton
Cornell University (Center for International Studies)
* Syracuse University

9) DANIEL DISHON (15 campuses, 36 appearances)
(Prof. Dishon is Senior Research member of Shiloah Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies of Tel Aviv University and Editor of the MIDDLE EAST RECORD)

Topics: Inter-Arab Relations as a Factor in the Middle East Conflict
Islam and Radicalism - Diversion and Unity in the Arab World
The Governments of the Arab States and their Relationship to the Fedayeen Movements

From March 19 through April 6, Professor Dishon lectured at:

City College
* Central Connecticut State College
* School for Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Wash., D.C.
George Washington University
American University
Brown University
Princeton University
Emory University
Georgia State University
* University of New Mexico
Denver, Col. - community wide schools
University of Colorado, Boulder
University of California in Los Angeles
University of California in Berkeley
New School for Social Research

In addition to the above, Dr. Gubbenn also lectured at:

Brooklyn College
New York University (Near East Center)
Temple University
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (Center for Near Eastern Studies)
* State University of New York, Stony Brook
Columbia University (Middle East Institute)
Emory University
Georgia State University
Colorado State University
University of California in Los Angeles
University of California in Berkeley
State University of New York, Binghamton
Cornell University (Center for International Studies)
* Syracuse University

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(Prof. Dishon is Senior Research member of Shiloah Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies of Tel Aviv University and Editor of the MIDDLE EAST RECORD)

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Emory University
Georgia State University
* University of New Mexico
Denver, Col. - community wide schools
University of Colorado, Boulder
University of California in Los Angeles
University of California in Berkeley
New School for Social Research

10) ELIEZER WHARTMAN (3 campuses, 3 appearances)
(Foreign correspondent, columnist)

Topics: A Foreign Correspondent Looks at the Middle East
Israel: The Myth and the Reality
America's Stake in Israel

During March, 1973 Mr. Whartman lectured at:

Nassau Community College
New School for Social Research
Bernard Baruch College

11) BEN-ZION ORGAD (3 campuses, 3 appearances)
(Mr. Orgad is an Israeli composer and musician and Supervisor of Music Education in the Ministry of Education.)

During April 1973 Mr. Orgad appeared on the following campuses:

Columbia University (Teachers College)
Brooklyn College
University of Missouri, Kansas City

12) GABRIEL WARBURG (2 campuses, 6 appearances)
(Dr. Warburg taught at Haifa and Tel Aviv Universities and is currently on Sabbatical and is Senior Research Fellow at the Research Institute on Communist Affairs and the Middle East Institute at Columbia University.)

During April 1973, Dr. Warburg lectured at:

* Ohio State University
University of Colorado, Boulder

b) The number of requests initiated by a particular campus for specific single lectures on the Middle East conflict has diminished this year, obviously in proportion to the lessening of interest and the degree of crisis in the Middle East. Nevertheless, the following speakers appeared under our auspices at our suggestion:

April 1972 Msgr. John M. Oesterreicher (Seton Hall University) spoke to the Cleveland APPME Chapter.

" " Prof. Oded Remba (C.U.N.Y.) spoke at Long Island University.

10) ELIEZER WAZTMAN (2 campuses, 3 appearances)
(Foreign correspondent, columnist)

Topics: A Foreign Correspondent looks at the Middle East
Israel: The Myth and the Reality
America's Stake in Israel

During March, 1973 Mr. Waztman lectured at:

Nassau Community College
New School for Social Research
Bernard Baruch College

11) BEN-ZION ORGAD (3 campuses, 3 appearances)
(Mr. Orgad is an Israeli composer and musician and Supervisor of Music Education in the Ministry of Education.)

During April 1973 Mr. Orgad appeared on the following campuses:

Columbia University (Teachers College)
Brooklyn College
University of Missouri, Kansas City

12) DANIEL LANDAUER (2 campuses, 6 appearances)
(Mr. Landauer teaches at Haifa and Tel Aviv Universities and is currently on Sabbatical and is Senior Research Fellow at the Research Institute on Communist Affairs and the Middle East Institute at Columbia University.)

During April 1973, Mr. Landauer lectures at:

Ohio State University
University of Colorado, Boulder

b) The number of requests initiated by a particular campus for specific single lectures on the Middle East conflict has diminished this year, obviously in proportion to the lessening of interest and the degree of crisis in the Middle East. Nevertheless, the following speakers appeared under our auspices at our suggestion:

April 1973 Major John R. Deisterreicher (Seton Hall University) spoke to the Cleveland AFPAC Chapter.

" " Prof. Oded Gonda (C.U.N.Y.) spoke at Long Island University.

October	1972	Mr. Y.I. Taub (Director and Senior Advisor, Bank of Israel) spoke to graduate students at American University, Washington, D.C.
"	"	Dr. Allen Pollack (Yeshiva University) spoke to members of the faculties of University of Tulsa and Oral Roberts College, Tulsa, Okla.
"	"	Ambassador Yaakov Morris (member of the Israel Mission to the United Nations) spoke to faculty at Rutgers University.
"	"	Mr. Zaydan Atashi (Consul of Israel) spoke to a class at Bernard Baruch College.
November	"	Professor George Moutafakis (Queensborough Community College) spoke to a class at Bernard Baruch College.
"	"	L.H. Offosu-Appiah (Ghanian journalist and educator, director of Encyclopaedia Africana) spoke to a class at Loyola University, New Orleans.
"	"	Professor I. Robert Sinai (City College) spoke at Central Connecticut State College.
"	"	Mr. Paul Johnson (former Editor, THE NEW STATESMAN) spoke to the World Affairs Council in San Francisco.
March	1973	Prof. George Moutafakis served as a panelist on "Conference on Minorities in the Middle East" at the University of Pennsylvania.

c) The encouragement of local Speakers Bureaus continues to be one of our major goals. At present, the national office lacks the staff and resources to move in this area, but we would welcome any suggestions from chapters on how to increase contact among campuses without a major effort by the national office.

Submitted by: Hannah Hopfer
Director, Speakers Bureau

October 1972 Mr. Y.L. Tsah (Director and Senior Advisor, Bank of Israel) spoke to graduate students at American University, Washington, D.C.

" " Dr. Allen Pollack (Wagner University) spoke to members of the faculties of University of Tulsa and Oral Roberts College, Tulsa, Okla.

" " Ambassador Yaakov Morris (Member of the Israel Mission to the United Nations) spoke to faculty at Rutgers University.

" " Mr. Zeyden Atasli (Consul of Israel) spoke to a class at Bernard Baruch College.

November " Professor George Moutafakis (Queensborough Community College) spoke to a class at Bernard Baruch College.

" " L.N. Offoson-Yeldah (Ghanian Journalist and educator, lecturer of Encyclopaedia Africana) spoke to a class at Tuskegee University, New Orleans.

" " Professor L. Robert Sinai (City College) spoke at Central Connecticut State College.

" " Mr. Paul Johnson (Former Editor, THE NEW STATESMAN) spoke to the World Affairs Council in San Francisco.

March 1973 Prof. George Moutafakis served as a panelist on "Conference on Minorities in the Middle East" at the University of Pennsylvania.

c) The encouragement of local Speakers Bureaus continues to be one of our major goals. At present, the national office lacks the staff and resources to move in this area, but we would welcome any suggestions from members on how to increase contact among campuses without a major effort by the national office.

Submitted by: Norman Hofter
Director, Speakers Bureau

AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST / 69 Bank St. New York, N.Y. 10014 • 212-741-2410

PLAN OF ORGANIZATION

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adopted by the National Council
February 1970

I. Membership

Any member of the faculty or administration (as officially defined by each institution) of an institution of higher learning in the United States can become a member of American Professors for Peace in the Middle East by agreeing to the following Statement of Principle:

> "American Professors for Peace in the Middle East is an organization devoted to the achievement of a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab States. By drawing on the intellectual and scholarly resources of the academic community in its various disciplines, A.P.P.M.E. seeks to further a just peace through the objective study and clarification of the social, economic, and political issues of the Middle East. I am in sympathy with this objective and wish to be associated with the program of American Professors for Peace in the Middle East."

Those who are on the rolls of A.P.P.M.E. as of the date of adoption of this Plan of Organization as a result of having signed one of the organization's public statements or having requested to be involved in the organization's work qualify for membership. A member may resign by letter to the national office.

II. Subscribers

A.P.P.M.E. may offer subscriptions to its "Information Kits" and other materials to members and non-members at an annual subscription fee.

III. National Council

The National Council shall meet once each academic year to evaluate A.P.P.M.E.'s program, to hear a financial report, to determine general policy, and to elect the National Executive Committee.

The National Council shall comprise of:

(1) the members of the National Executive Committee.
(2) the regional chairman or their respective representatives, and
(3) local delegates elected as follows:

The National Executive Committee shall determine each year how many members are to be represented by a single delegate by a formula that will make the total size of the National Council between ninety and a hundred. Where a local chapter has enough members to elect at least one delegate, it shall elect the number of delegates to which it is entitled. Local chapters too small to elect their own delegates and individual members who are not part of a local chapter shall be combined with neighboring chapters and individual members for the purpose of electing delegates. Which chapters and individual members vote together shall be determined by the National Executive Committee in consultation with the appropriate regional chairmen. Where chapters vote together, the election shall be administered by the chairman of the largest chapter involved.

IV. National Executive Committee

The National Executive Committee shall be responsible for the interpretation and implementation of the general policies set by the National Council.

At the first National Council meeting at which this Plan of Organization is in effect, the National Council shall elect between thirteen and seventeen members of the National Executive Committee for a one-year term and between thirteen and seventeen members for a two-year term. Thereafter, each annual National Council shall elect between thirteen and seventeen members to the National Executive Committee for a two-year term. The Honorary Presidents, the Chairman and other officers of the National Executive Committee, and the regional chairmen shall also serve on the National Executive Committee ex officio. The National Executive Committee may add to itself up to ten additional members.

V. Steering Committee

The National Executive Committee shall elect the Steering Committee, which shall be responsible for carrying on the day-to-day activities of A.P.P.M.E. The Steering Committee shall also act for the National Executive Committee when decisions must be made before a meeting of the latter body can be called.

VI. Honorary Presidents

Each annual National Council may elect up to five distinguished academicians to serve as Honorary Presidents for a one-year term. During their tenure they shall serve as ex officio members of the National Executive Committee.

VII. Chairman of the National Executive Committee

Every second National Council shall elect a Chairman of the National Executive Committee for a two-year term. The Chairman of the National Executive Committee shall be the chief administrative officer of A.P.P.M.E. and shall chair the National Council and the Steering Committee as well as the National Executive Committee.

The National Executive Committee shall determine each year how many members are to be represented by a single delegate by a formula that will make the total size of the National Council between ninety and a hundred. Where a local chapter has enough members to elect at least one delegate, it shall elect the number of delegates to which it is entitled. Local chapters too small to elect their own delegates and individual members who are not part of a local chapter shall be combined with neighboring chapters and individual members for the purposes of election delegates. Both chapters and individual members vote together shall be determined by the National Executive Committee in consultation with the appropriate regional chapters. Where chapters vote together, the election shall be administered by the chapter of the largest chapter involved.

IV. National Executive Committee

The National Executive Committee shall be responsible for the implementation and implementation of the general policies set by the National Council.

At the first National Council meeting at which this Plan of Organization is in effect, the National Council shall elect between thirteen and seventeen members of the National Executive, serving for a one-year term, and seventeen and seventeen members for a two-year term. Thereafter, each annual National Council shall elect six-thirteen and seven-seventeen members to the National Executive Committee for a two-year term. The honorary presidents, the chairman and other officers of the National Executive Committee, and the regional chairmen shall also serve on the National Executive Committee as officio. The National Executive Committee may vote to fill up certain additional members.

V. Steering Committee

The National Executive Committee shall elect the Steering Committee, which shall be responsible for carrying on the day-to-day activities of N.P.H.E. The Steering Committee shall also act for the National Executive Committee when decisions must be made before a meeting of the Internal can be called.

VI. Honorary Presidents

Each annual National Council may elect up to five distinguished academicians to serve as Honorary Presidents for a two-year term. During their tenure they shall serve as ex officio members of the National Executive Committee.

VII. Chairman of the National Executive Committee

Every second National Council shall elect a Chairman of the National Executive Committee for a two-year term. The Chairman of the National Executive Committee shall be the chief administrative officer of N.P.H.E. and shall chair the National Council and the Steering Committee as well as the National Executive Committee.

VIII. Other Officers

Other Officers of the National Executive Committee may be elected by the National Council to one-year terms as deemed advisable.

IX. Regions

The National Executive Committee shall establish regions as they become appropriate.

A regional chairman's term of office shall be two years. The initial election of a chairman of region shall be administered by the National Executive Committee; subsequent elections shall be administered by the region itself.

The Chairman of the National Executive Committee, with the approval of the National Executive Committee, shall designate a Coordinator of Regional Programs who will serve as liaison between the National Executive Committee and the regional chairmen in organizing regional activities.

X. Local Chapters

A local chapter of A.P.P.M.E. shall be considered established when at least six members of A.P.P.M.E. certify to the National Executive Committee that they have organized a local chapter and indicate whom they have elected as chairman, and the National Executive Committee acknowledges that certification. There may be no more than one chapter on any campus, but neighboring campuses may combine to form a single chapter. Any member of A.P.P.M.E. may be a member of the chapter on the campus at which he is on the faculty. Chapters shall be called by the names of the colleges at which they are located or of the place.

A chapter chairman's term of office shall be one year.

XI. Chapter and Regional Programs and Finances

Chapters and regions may plan whatever programs they deem advisable and appropriate in their respective locations, subject to the general policies set up by the National Council as interpreted by the National Executive Committee.

No unit of A.P.P.M.E. may charge dues for membership without the express consent of the National Council or--exceptionally and in an emergency--the National Executive Committee. Local programs can be funded by private contributions and/or subsidy approved by the National Executive Committee from the national budget.

XII. Vacancies

Any vacancy in office may be filled by the National Executive Committee.

VIII. Other Officers

Other officers of the National Executive Committee may be elected by the National Council to one-year terms as deemed advisable.

IX. Vacancies

The National Executive Committee shall establish rules on filling vacancies appropriately.

A regional chairman's term of office shall be two years. The initial election of a chairman of region shall be administered by the National Executive Committee; subsequent elections shall be administered by the region itself.

The Chairman of the National Executive Committee, with the approval of the National Executive Committee, shall designate a coordinator of chapter projects who will serve as liaison between the National Executive Committee and the regional chapters in organizing regional activities.

X. Local Chapters

A local chapter of A.A.P.A.U.C. shall be considered established when at least six members of A.A.P.A.U.C. certify to the National Executive Committee that they have organized a local chapter and the chapter name they have elected as chairman, and the National Executive Committee acknowledges that certification. There may be no more than one chapter on any campus, but multicampus chapters may consider to form a single chapter. The member of A.A.P.A.U.C. has a member of the chapter on the campus at which he is from the faculty. Chapters shall be called by the names of the colleges at which they are located or of the place.

A chapter chairman's term of office shall be one year.

XI. Chapter and National Programs and Finances

Chapters and regions may plan whatever programs they deem advisable and appropriate in their respective locations, subject to the general guidelines set up by the National Council as interpreted by the National Executive Committee.

No dues of A.A.P.A.U.C. may charge dues for membership in chapters and regions consist of the National Council or--Executive Committee and in an emergency--the National Executive Committee. Local programs can be funded by private contributions and/or already authorized by the National Executive Committee from the National budget.

XII. Vacancies

Any vacancy in office may be filled by the National Executive Committee.

XIII. Amendments

An amendment to this Plan of Organization can be proposed by the National Executive Committee, two-thirds of its members concurring, and shall be adopted when passed by a two-thirds vote at the National Council.

XIV. Effective Date

This Plan of Organization shall be in effect immediately upon adoption by majority vote at the National Council to which it is submitted.

The Committee on Organization

Charles Auerbach
Franz B.Gross
David Mirsky
Msgr. John M.Oesterreicher
Steven L.Spiegel
Curwen Stoddart
Herbert H.Stroup
Marie Syrkin
Richard Venezky
Mervin Verbit, Chairman
Irwin Yellowitz

Modifications adopted by the National Council in February 1971

1. the title of "Honorary President" be changed to "Chairman of the National Council."

2. only one Chairman of the National Council be elected each year for a one-year term.

3. the number of members of the National Executive Committee be increased to a maximum of fifty. (Not including National Officers and regional chairman.)

4. the National Executive Committee shall meet not less than twice a year, preferably a different area of the country be designated the site for each of these meetings.

APPME

9 January 1974

Mr. Avraham Harman
President
Hebrew University
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Harman,

Prof. Michael Curtis, Chairman of the recent Leadership Study Mission of the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East, has asked us to express to you, to Prof. Keynan, Mr. Cherrick, and the other faculty members of the Hebrew University who participated, his thanks and appreciation for a most pleasant afternoon and an extremely valuable exchange of opinions. Because our group is in agreement with you about the significance of effective and meaningful hasbara, it was very important to learn the substantive ideas and experiences of the Hebrew University staff.

You must know that your cooperation is much valued and we hope to be able to call on you soon again in the ongoing work of our Jerusalem office with American professors in Israel.

Cordially,

Rivka Hadary

Rivka Hadary

Helen Rivkin

Helen Rivkin
Coordinator Educational Projects

RH/HR:rc
cc:Prof. Alexander Keynan

AMERICAN PROFESSORS
FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

פרופסורים אמריקאים
למען השלום במזרח התיכון

ISRAEL LIAISON OFFICE
11 Alharizi Street, Tel. 34898
Jerusalem 92421

3 December 1973

Prof. Alexander Keynan
Authority for Research & Development
Hebrew University
Mt. Scopus,
Jerusalem

Dear Prof. Keynan,

Ms. Hadary has told me about her conversation with you and your involvement with the meeting described in the enclosed letter.

Thank you very much,

Helen Rivkin

Helen Rivkin
Coordinator Educational Projects

HR:rc

Amer. Prof for Peace

3 December 1973

Mr. Abraham Harman
President
Hebrew University
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Harman,

Thank you very much for your quick positive response by cable to our request for a luncheon with our Study Mission, enabling us to go ahead and fix the meeting.

Please note that we would like the luncheon to start at 1:00 P.M. on 25 December 73, at Bet Belgia, rather than later as we had originally suggested.

We have been in touch with Professor Alexander Keynan as well and we understand that a number of professors from the Hebrew University faculty will also be invited by your office.

Hoping you will have a pleasant trip back home and looking forward to a stimulating afternoon on the 25th.

Cordially,

Helen Rivkin
Coordinator, Educational Projects

HR:rc
CC:Prof. Alexander Keynan

AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

פרופסורים אמריקאים למען השלום במזרח התיכון

ISRAEL LIAISON OFFICE
11 ALHARIZI STREET
JERUSALEM 92421

Tel.: 34898

Rivka Hadary, Director

29 November 1973

Mr. Abraham Harman
President
Hebrew University
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Harman,

We are writing to ask your involvement in a Study Mission of the leadership of the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East, which is scheduled to be here at the end of December.

The members of the Mission will be meeting with leading figures in the government and various strata of the general community in an effort to understand at first hand the grave situation which Israel has gone through and is going through. The purpose is to enable them to return to the States in a sounder position to interpret the current critical period to their colleagues in the academic community.

In this light, we believe that a meeting with you will be of great value. May we ask you to host a luncheon for our 22 member Study Mission on Tuesday, 25 December 1973, at 1:30 P.M. We would also welcome the participation of several members of faculty of the Hebrew University at the luncheon and in a discussion of "The Role of the Academic in National Crisis".

In our mutual understanding of the profound influence of the American academic community which is represented by this Mission, we look forward to your positive response.

Cordially,

Rivka Hadary

Rivka Hadary

RH:rc
Encl:Participant List

for a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab States

AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Israel Liaison Office
11 Alharizi Jerusalem Tel. 34898

LEADERSHIP MISSION TO ISRAEL - 21 December 1973 - 3 January 1974

Prof. Michael Curtis, Group Leader
Dept. of Political Science
Rutgers University
Chairman, National Executive Comm.

Prof. J. Leo Cefkin
Dept. of Political Science
Colorado State University
Regional Representative

Prof. Bernard Codner
Dean for Continuing Education
School of Business & Economics
Calif. State College of L.A.
Member, National Executive Comm.

Prof. Judah M. Eisenberg
Dept. of Physics
University of Virginia
Regional Representative

Prof. Irving Halperin
Dept. of English
Calif. State University
Member, National Executive Comm.

Prof. Lawrence S. Kaplan
Dept. of History
Kent State University
Regional Representative

Dr. Herbert Karp
School of Medicine
Emory University
Regional Representative

Prof. George Moutafakis
Dept. of History
Queensborough Community Coll., CUNY
Member, National Executive Comm.

Prof. Joseph Neyer
Dept. of Philosophy
Rutgers University
Vice-Chairman, National Executive Comm.

Prof. Fred H. Pollak
Dept. of Physics
Yeshiva University
Treasurer, National Executive Comm.

Prof. Samuel Schwartz
School of Medicine
University of Minnesota
Member, National Executive Comm.

Dr. Ailon Shiloh
College of Social & Behavioral Sciences
University of South Florida
Member, National Executive Comm.

Prof. Bernard Spolsky
Dept. of Education
University of New Mexico
Regional Representative

Prof. Ellen Spolsky
Dept. of English
University of New Mexico
Regional Representative

Prof. Emanuel Stadlan
Dept. of Neurology
University of Tennessee
Member, National Executive Comm.

Dr. Alfred Sugarman
Dept. of Speech
Portland State College
Regional Representative

Marie Syrkin, Prof. Emeritus
Brandeis University
Vice-Chairman, National Executive

Dr. Bernard Weiss
Dept. of History
Duquesne University
Regional Representative

Dr. Harold Wershaw
Dept. of Sociology & Anthropology
University of Alabama
Regional Representative

Dr. Judith Diesendruck
Executive Director, APPME

Rivka Hadary
Director, Liaison Office

Helen Rivkin
Coordinator, Liaison Office

RESOLUTION 242 (1967)

of 22 November 1967

The Security Council,

EXPRESSING its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East,

EMPHASIZING the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security,

EMPHASIZING FURTHER that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter,

1. AFFIRMS that the fulfilment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles :

(i) Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;

(ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

2. AFFIRMS FURTHER the necessity

(a) For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;

(b) For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;

(c) For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area through measures including the establishmen of demilitarized zones;

3. REQUESTS the Secretary-General to designate a Special Representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with te provisions and principles of this resolution;

4. REQUESTS the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible

Adopted unanimously at the 1382nd meeting.

BULLETIN

of the

American Professors For Peace In The Middle East

June, 1973

NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING HELD IN NEW YORK

APPME's sixth annual National Council meeting, attended by members of the National Executive and representatives of individual campuses, met in New York on May 13 to hear reports on the past year's activities and to outline policy for the coming academic year. Reports of APPME's activities are produced in this Bulletin, as is the list of the organization's new officers for 1973-1974. A report on current events in the Middle East is also included.

Report of the Chairman of the National Executive Committee*

Our Statement of Purpose was adopted at the first National Council meeting in April 1968.

The original recommendation was that APPME remain a broad-based organization with an informal structure. Today we have over 14,000 professors affiliated with us in a wide variety of local structures on 600 campuses. However, because of financial problems, the National Council authorized dues payment two years ago. In 1972, the National Executive Committee recommended that a Department of Organization and Membership be created, to encourage affiliates to become dues paying members, develop new membership and assist in the creation of viable local chapters.

The original recommendation, that the main thrust of APPME be educational and that the organization should eschew direct political action, has been our general guide. We now distribute excellent publications, organize hundreds of campus lectures and participate in several academic conferences a year, usually co-sponsored with universities.

Other educational activities such as Study Missions, briefings and special conferences in cooperation with other organizations have been added to our

Report (cont'd.)

academic and intellectual efforts.

The original recommendation, that great emphasis be placed on creating strong regional groups capable of developing their own local programs, has not met with the anticipated success. The reality is that local programming largely results from the initiative of the national office. This no doubt is primarily the result of the fact that professional staff is available principally at the national level. Regional Directors are not a realistic consideration at the moment, thus dependency of regional groups continues.

I. Academic Conferences

In April 1972 in Philadelphia, the fourth of a series of regional conferences on "Social Experimentation in Israel" was held. Papers delivered at this conference and three others during the academic year form the nucleus of the forhcoming book *Israel: Social Structure and Change*, to be distributed to APPME members. At the National Executive Committee in Philadelphia it was recommended that the theme of "Israel and the Third World" be a major subject at regional conferences.

In November 1972 three regional conferences (Los Angeles, Boulder and New York) were held on the themes of "Politics in the Middle East" and "Israel and the Third World." A book on "Israel and the Developing Nations" will be prepared.

II. Study Missions

In June 1972 thirty-three professors participated in a three-week seminar in Israel. The local arrangements and programming for all seminars in Israel are executed by Rivka Hadary, Director of our Liaison Office in Jerusalem.

In December-January 1972-73 twelve social scientists, under the leadership of Gil Carl AlRoy of the National Executive Committee, went on a two-week Seminar to Israel.

III. Israel Liaison Office

American professors on sabbatical in Israel are offered opportunities to meet informally and to participate in mini-missions and various seminars hosted by governmental and non-governmental groups.

IV. National Executive

The National Council elects the National Executive Committee and the officers of the organization. These officers, together with the chairmen of standing committees, form the Steering Committee.

During the year the Executive met in Philadelphia and New York. The meeting in New York was followed by an address by Michael Sterner, Director of Egyptian Affairs, U.S. Department of State.

Without sufficient travel subsidies available, it is difficult to have a sizable number of National Executive Committee members present outside of New York. The Steering Committee has therefore recommended that the Executive and Steering Committees alternate their meetings and that when feasible, a meeting be arranged out of New York.

General Remarks

During the last year or so, the organization has tended to place less stress on the conflict aspects or geo-political elements in the Middle East and has put more emphasis on the record of Is[illegible] achievements and problems. We felt it was incumbent on us to deal in an academic way with that record.

In the presidential campaign of '72 the organization as such took no stand. It is not our purpose to engage in electoral activity or to contribute organizationally.

Michael Curtis, Chairman
National Executive Committee

*Excerpted — the complete statement is available upon request.

Report of the Department of Organization and Membership

Under the chairmanship of Prof. Fred Pollak (Yeshiva U.) the department of Organization and Membership was created at the end of 1972 in recognition of the need for closer contact between the National organization in New York and its regional structures and campus chapters. Among the Department's first tasks was the preparation of a *Handbook* for campus chapters, delineating their functions and advising on organizational procedures, with suggestions for programming, publicity, community education, the distribution of publications and the physical arrangements for campus visits by Middle East lecturers. The *Handbook* is a first edition and suggestions are invited for future revisions, based on local campus experience.

Another task has been that of contacting U.S. academicians returning from sabbaticals in the Middle East and of inviting them to join the organization and to share their experiences. 200 returning academicians have now become APPME members.

The Department has assisted in establishing a New York Area Steering Committee, chaired by Prof. George Moutafakis (Queensborough Community College). The area covered includes the five boroughs, Long Island, Westchester and parts of New Jersey. This Committee is in the process of evolving a regional structure designed to add new members to the organization, to [illegible] distribute Middle East publications to a wider academic public, to recommend curricula for Middle East courses and to share information with local chapters on the various ideas on Middle East issues discussed on campus. The Steering Committee hopes to serve as a model for similar committees in other areas of the country.

Batya Bauman, Director
Department of Organization and Membership

Will you be teaching at a different university next semester? Are you moving? Will you be on Sabbatical? Please send your address to our National Office so that we can keep you on our mailing list.

Current Events (cont'd.)

defeat." Cabinet ministers went to the provinces to explain the "Corrective Revolution." Newspapers carried full page photographs of Sadat, with such accompanying epithets as: "one of the architects of the July 1952 revolution;" "the wise leader;" "the struggler;" "the flexible politician;" "the true nationalist;" "the fatherly one."

In an address to the People's Council (Parliament) on May 14 Sadat said that democracy was circumscribed by "the requirements of the battle." It was announced, May 15 that the trial of over 100 Egyptians and foreigners would be resumed (two former ministers are implicated) and that the 52 students arrested at the beginning of 1973 in the course of university unrest would now face a military court for activities "hostile to the socialist regime of Egypt."

Sadat told the People's Council that part of the "total confrontation" (with Israel) was for people to refrain from putting forward any demands for material betterment or "special benefits for special groups."

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East

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ISRAEL YEARBOOK ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Vol. Two, edited by Dr. Yoram Dinstein. Faculty of Law, Tel Aviv University. 1973, $10.00

(Includes sections on The General Law of Human Rights; Specific Problems of Human Rights; Human Rights in Israel; Judicial Decisions; Book Reviews and a Special Supplement of a Report to the International League for the Rights of Man on Neve Tirza and Ramle Prisons).

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THE ENERGY PROBLEM AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Will be mailed to professors who become members of APPME by September 1973.

Report of the Speakers Bureau

The National Speakers Bureau, chaired by Prof. Irwin Yellowitz (CCNY) sponsors and organizes national tours for visiting Middle East specialists, provides lecturers at the request of individual campuses and aims to develop local Speakers Bureaus on campus in order to encourage an exchange of ideas on Middle East issues among teaching academicians.

During the period from March 1972 through April 1973, the Speakers Bureau arranged 12 national tours by Middle East specialists on 128 campuses. The visiting experts gave formal classroom lectures, held briefing sessions with interested faculty members and with students, and often delivered public lectures sponsored by the university and open to the local community. All these activities were well covered by the local media. In almost every case the visitor addressed several meetings a day during his stay on a particular campus.

An attempt has been made to reach a greater number of campuses this year and a stronger emphasis has been placed on directing Middle East specialists to campuses not previously visited by an APPME-sponsored academician. Particular emphasis has been given to southern and mid-western campuses this year. Of the 131 campuses visited, 45 were hosts to an APPME-sponsored lecturer for the first time. There is close coordination with the Organization Department, which follows up on new contacts made by the Speakers Bureau.

Among some of the campuses visited by APPME sponsored lecturers for the first time are: St. Catherine's College, Minneapolis, Minn.; the Univ. of Oregon at Eugene, Ore.; Rice Univ., Houston, Tex.; Florida State Univ., Tallahassee, Fla.; Miles College, Birmingham, Ala.; the Univ. of Alabama; the Univ. of Texas, Houston, Tex.; Henzen College, Houston, Tex.; Calif. Instit. of Technology; St. Thomas College, Minn.; Louisiana State Univ., Baton Rouge, La.; Univ. of Missouri, Kansas City; Boston Univ.

The visiting lecturers spoke on Israeli labor economics, minority problems, Jerusalem, Jewish-Arab coexistence, Middle East-Afro-Asian Relations, Islam, Women's Lib in the Middle East and Israel's administration of the territories.

Hannah Hopfer, Director
Speakers Bureau

APPME SPEAKERS Bureau has a roster of expert lecturers. To arrange for a visit to your campus, please contact Ms. Hannah Hopfer.

Current Events in the Middle East

Lebanon

The crisis between the Lebanese army and the Palestinians in the past few months is more complex than it appears.

Lebanese President Sulayman Faranjiyya represents the mainstream of Maronite (Christian) opinion which feels that while no hard measures should be adopted which might upset the internal delicate balance, the Christian community should not give up its traditionally dominant position to the Muslims.

Lebanese Muslim leaders themselves are not a homogeneous group. The Palestinians' bases are in the south and east where the Muslim Shi'i community is largely centered. This community is poorer and less advanced than the dominant Sunni Muslims and the Palestinians' activities there have disrupted their normal life and spread resentment.

The Lebanese army's officer's corps is traditionally recruited from among the Christian population and is now the major force behind the President. In the wake of the incidents of May 1 and 2, the army felt it could no longer tolerate the erosion of the Lebanese government and of their own authority and prestige.

Although Syria's President Hafiz al-Asad is an outspoken proponent of guerrilla activities and the leader of an Arab revolutionary regime, he does not appear to want a repetition of the repercussions that followed his army's abortive intervention in Jordan in September 1970, (though this intervention had in fact resulted in his own seizure of power in November 1970).

Israel has stated that while she does not want to regard herself as an "inter-Arab policeman" she will not tolerate outside armed intervention, which might endanger her security.

Lebanon is today the Palestinians' last stronghold. The more extremist states—Libya, Egypt and Syria—are willing to pay lip service to their cause but demand that the Lebanese give them that freedom of action which they themselves are not willing to provide.

The Christian and Muslim communities of Lebanon will have to face the same decision that King Hussein faced in September 1971—whether as a nation, Lebanon will choose to preserve its sovereignty at the price of restricting the Palestinians' activities.

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Oil: An Israeli View

In a briefing to the National Council on May 13, Israel's Ambassador Simha Dinitz suggested that it was not correct to equate oil with Middle Eastern oil or Middle Eastern oil with Arab oil.

Iran, which is not Arab, sells oil to Israel and to the U.S. Those countries which are most belligerent against Israel have not a drop of oil to sell and those which have oil have their own considerations, like Saudi Arabia and the principalities of the Persian Gulf. Even Qadhafi himself said recently that he wanted to mobilize all his resources for the destruction of Israel, and therefore he needed to sell oil. Sheik Yamani, Saudi Arabia's Minister of Fuel has said that if the U.S. would not change its relations with Israel, Saudia would consider limiting its U.S. oil quotas but added immediately that it is a better investment to keep oil in the ground than it is to sell. This would be a good idea, Ambassador Dinitz felt, provided Mr. Yamani and King Feisal would still be there to collect that investment in the ground.

He felt that what was at stake for the U.S. was not a change in its policy towards Israel but whether the U.S. was willing to surrender its freedom of political action in a very crucial field of foreign affairs to the wishes of a few oil sheikdoms.

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Chinese Oil

The *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported, May 14, 1973 that according to Harned Pettus Hoose, a representative of American oil-equipment firms at the Canton Trade Fair, the Chinese have undertaken extensive petroleum surveys since the Cultural Revolution and now claim to have the third largest oil reserves in the world.

Hoose said the Chinese were moving rapidly to tap their vast reserves and that the Taching oilfield, China's model of industrialization, is only a trickle of the oil which lies in the Gulf of Chihli and in the specified fields "south of the Gobi desert."

Chinese negotiators in Canton told Hoose that the national Five-Year Plan had been revised in the last 18 months to emphasize the development and export of oil, and that major American oil companies, including Esso (Exxon), Caltex and Mobil and American oil tool companies were invited this Spring for their first Canton Fair. Negotiations for some off-shore drilling and pumping equipment with these companies "have passed the stage of technical matters and are getting down to prices."

He said the Chinese were willing to accept foreign technicians on offshore rigs provided that their titles were assistants or helpers and not "advisers."

Hoose estimated the size of the oil deal to be "US $200 or $300 million in the first year or so and probably a lot more later." He thought it most likely that China would pay for technology with oil but would under no circumstances allow foreign ownership of a well.

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A wide ranging discussion of the energy "crisis" is presented in "The Energy Problem and the Middle East" Middle East Information Series **XXIII, May 1973.**

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Egypt: A New Personality Cult

On the anniversary of Sadat's removal of Ali Sabri, Sha'raws Jam'a and Sami Sharaf on May 14 and 15, 1971, commemorated this year as "The Corrective Revolution," President Sadat's victory over his political rivals was compared with President Nasser's assumption of power in 1952. The late President Nasser has, for the first time, been criticized in an official statement by Deputy Premier and Minister of Information and Culture, 'Abd al-Qadir Hatim, who called the "Corrective Revolution" necessary in order to eliminate "the July (1952) Revolution's contemptuous attitude towards the people's potentialities and the neglect and dictatorial policies which led to the (1967)

PUBLICATIONS

APPME members are entitled to receive various publications distributed by the organization. The most regular of these are the publications issued by AAAPME, a non-profit academic association which publishes a quarterly journal—*Middle East Information Series*—periodic area studies on specific topics and the proceedings of the Association's periodic conferences.

AAAPME publications are read by a widening public of academicians and are regularly received by over 450 college libraries. Contributors to the journal and Area Studies are well known academicians who are specialists in their various fields. These publications are used by teaching academicians and students as source, reference and text material.

Four issues of MEIS (Nos. XX, XXI, XXII, XXIII) were available during this academic year.

Each structured as a thematic unit, these issues have discussed: *The U.S. and the Middle East; Europe and the Middle East; The Third World and the Middle East;* and *The Energy Problem and the Middle East.* The last issue is 96 pages in length, and presents a wide diversity of views on the background to the current "crisis."

MEIS issues projected for 1973/74 are: *Historical and Demographic Aspects of the Palestine Conflict; Arab Society; Israeli Society; The Non-Arab Near East.*

An Area Study on Jerusalem (edited by Msgr. John M. Oesterreicher) of book length and containing a wide range of essays discussing every aspect of the city's existence will be published by the Association during the coming academic year. An Area Study on *Regional Problems of the Arab-Israel Conflict* (edited by Prof. Oded Remba) is also being prepared.

A book of 1972/3 APPME Conference papers with additional material, entitled: *Israel: Social Structure and Change* (edited by Michael Curtis) will be mailed to APPME members in the fall semester.

Keep informed on Middle East issues by becoming a sustaining member of APPME: For Membership Blank please see page 6.

APPME Membership Benefits

include

- Receipt of four issues annually of **Middle East Information Series,** a journal bringing scholarly and topical material to the academic community;
- The **Bulletin,** focusing on the most current issues;
- Substantial discounts on the **Area Studies Series** and other books and pamphlets;
- A complete list of materials issued by the National Office;
- Participation at national and regional Conferences of the American Academic Association for Peace in the Middle East;
- Participation in study tours of professors and access to speakers.

Current Publications

MIDDLE EAST INFORMATION SERIES XXIII
(May, 1973) features: The Energy Problem and the Middle East. Distributed free to Sustaining Members

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ISRAEL: SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CHANGE **$3.95**
(AAAPME 1972 Conference Papers and additional material, edited by Michael Curtis)
Sustaining Members Discount Price **$2.75**

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ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWISH STATEHOOD IN THE ARAB WORLD **$2.95**
(Edited and with a contribution by Gil Carl AlRoy)
Sustaining Members Discount Price **$1.95**

•

ARAB NATIONALISM AND A WIDER WORLD **$1.25**
(Edited and with a contribution by Sylvia Haim)
Sustaining Members Discount Price **$1.00**

•

CHRISTIANITY IN ISRAEL **$1.25**
(Edited and with an introduction by A. Roy Eckardt)
Sustaining Members Discount Price **$1.00**

•

PEOPLE AND POLITICS IN THE MIDDLE EAST **$3.95**
(AAAPME 1970 Conference Papers and additional material, edited by Michael Curtis)
Sustaining Members Discount Price **$2.75**

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MIDDLE EAST HAPPENINGS: COLLOQUIES, IMAGES, MYTHOLOGIES A Response in Perspective to Some Current Positions **$ .25**
(A Pamphlet, by Joseph Neyer)

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Issued by the American Academic Association for Peace in the Middle East, a non-profit educational service that publishes material and arranges conferences on Middle East Affairs.

AMERICAN PROFESSORS
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STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East came into existence June, 1967, in response to a specific crisis. However, there was a need, long-felt, for such an organization on the American campus. The decision of the Executive Committee is therefore to recommend our continuation with a program directed to filling this need.

Expressed in brief and simple, perhaps simplistic terms, the need, and therefore our hope, is to maintain a campus-based organization which can marshal academicians prepared to work for a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab states and, as a means of achieving this goal, encourage if not organize studies carried out with scholarly detachment, designed to lead to a better understanding of the forces and factors at play in the Middle East. Our aim is to educate at least the academic, and hopefully the general community to the political realities of the Middle East and help the movement towards the realization of peace and security for Israel and the region as a whole. In order to shape the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East into an instrument capable of achieving these aims the Executive Committee recommends that the following be adopted as the organization's program, at least for the present.

1) American Professors for Peace remains a broad based organization accepting into membership anyone who seeks affiliation with it and subscribes to its program of working towards a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab states. To this end, the Executive Committee recommends that American Professors for Peace remain an affiliate -- rather than a membership -- organization and that its formal structure be kept as informal and as loose as is possible.

2) That the main thrust of American Professors shall be an educational one, drawing upon the special skills, talents and perspectives found in the academic community; that it encourage study and analysis of the social, political and economic issues which must be resolved if a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab states is to be achieved; and that it attempt to educate others to an awareness and recognition of these issues. To this end, the organization should eschew direct political action or involvement -- as an organization -- with any political party or faction.

3) That in order to permit this program to be carried out the greatest emphasis shall be placed on developing strong regional groupings which shall be capable of developing their own local programs in accordance with the needs of the time and the place, and reflecting the strengths and interests of the academicians in the area, and in consonance with the purposes and aims of the APPME. To this end no specific regional structure be established as a requirement for affiliation with and activity within the American Professors, leaving this to be determined by the region itself in accordance with its particular circumstances.

4) The national office shall serve primarily as a clearing house and a coordinator for activities of the organization. It shall give priority to assembling and distributing informational kits (similar to those already distributed) written and edited in accordance with the academic nature and objectives of the organization, and the development of a speaker's program through which the local and regional affiliates will be able to meet their programmatic needs; it will attempt to arrange contact with, and if possible visits by, academic and governmental personnel from abroad for the purpose of bringing to each region as much first-hand information and authoritative analysis as possible; in addition it shall receive, evaluate and implement suggestions for special programs. Secondarily it will consider initially such activities as national and international conferences, study missions, research projects, and meetings with representatives of the Middle East Governments (such as briefing sessions by the ambassadors of Israel, the United Arab Republic and Jordan) and will, as far as is permissible and feasible, convey to the affiliates the information gathered through these meetings.

Approved: National Council Meeting
April 21, 1968
Reaffirmed annually by
National Council

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REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Submitted to the National Council on Sunday, May 13, 1973

by MICHAEL CURTIS

It is now six years since the formation in May 1967 of the Ad Hoc Committee which led to the formation of the APPME. At the first National Council meeting in April 1968 our Statement of Purpose was adopted. It is appropriate to consider our present state of activity and structure in the light of that Statement.

A. The original recommendation was that APPME remain a broad-based organization with an informal structure. Today we have over 14,000 professors affiliated with us in a wide variety of local structures on 600 campuses. However, because of financial problems, 2 years ago, the National Council authorized dues payment. To date, approximately 1,000 professors pay dues. In 1972, the National Executive Committee recommended that a Department of Organization and Membership be created. Among other matters this new department has tried to encourage affiliates to become dues paying members, develop new membership and assist in the creation of viable local chapters. The department is headed by Batya Bauman with Nan Isaacson as her assistant.

B. The original recommendation that the main thrust of APPME be educational and that the organization should eschew direct political action has been our general guide. From an initial issuing of periodic information kits, one annual academic conference, and 2 or 3 national campus lecture tours, we now have a whole array of excellent publications, hundreds of campus lectures and several academic conferences a year, usually co-sponsored with universities.

Other educational activities such as Study Missions, briefings, special conferences in cooperation with other organizations have been added to our academic and intellectual efforts.

C. The original recommendation that great emphasis be placed on creating strong regional groups which would be capable of developing their own local programs has not met with the anticipated success. The reality is that local programming largely results from the initiative of the national office. This no doubt is primarily the result of the fact that professional staff is available principally at the national level. Since Regional Directors are not a realistic consideration at the moment, this dependency of regional groups continues.

Three departmental reports on the activities of the National organization since the last Council meeting in March 1972 have been submitted to this Council. To these reports can be added the following remarks which will complete the picture.

1. Academic Conferences

April 1972 - Philadelphia - The fourth of a series of regional conferences on "Social Experimentation in Israel" was held. It was attended by about 400 people. Papers delivered at this conference and three others during the academic year form the nucleus of the forthcoming book ISRAEL: Social Structure and Change. At the National Executive Committee in Philadelphia it was recommended that the theme of "Israel and the Third World" be a major subject at regional conferences.

In November 1972 three regional conferences (Los Angeles, Boulder and New York) were held on the theme of 'Politics in the Middle East' and 'Israel and the Third World.' These conferences followed the recommendation that a limited number of full length papers be presented rather than a collection of 15 minute summaries as in previous conferences. As editor of conference proceedings, I have solicited articles from a number of people to add to the papers presented at the November conferences. We intend to prepare a book on "Israel and the Developing Nations."

II. Study Missions

In June 1972 thirty-three professors participated in a three week seminar in Israel. The local arrangements and programming for all seminars in Israel are executed by Rivka Hadary, Director of our Liaison Office in Jerusalem. As a result of my experience as group leader of the June seminar, I strongly recommended that future missions have fewer participants and that the members share a broad homogeneity of academic interests. Six months after the Mission each participant was contacted and it became clear that the impact of the Mission was positive. Some of the participants are now very active in the organization; others have enriched their academic courses with our material.

In December-January 1972-73 twelve social scientists, under the leadership of Gil Carl AlRoy of the National Executive Committee, went on a two week Seminar to Israel. This group participated in a conference sponsored by Haifa University and had, in general, more contact with academics than previous missions. All the participants felt that the seminar was a valuable and important experience for them.

III. Israel Liaison Office

During the past academic year our National Co-chairman, Herbert Callen, has been on sabbatical at Hebrew University and has worked closely with Rivka Hadary. The major emphasis is working with American professors on sabbatical in Israel. These professors receive all our publications, are offered opportunities to meet informally in small

groups (with guest speakers), to go on one day on-site field missions (Gaza, West Bank, etc.), to participate in 2-3 day mini-missions and various seminars hosted by governmental and non-governmental groups.

IV. National Executive

I might remind you that the National Council elects the National Executive Committee and the officers of the organization. These officers, together with the chairmen of standing committees, form the Steering Committee.

The Council recommendation of 1971 that the National Executive meet not less than twice a year, preferably outside of New York, has been implemented but with partial success. During the year the Executive met in Philadelphia and New York. The meeting in New York was followed by an address by Michael Sterner, Director of Egyptian Affairs, U. S. Department of State.

Without sufficient travel subsidies available, it is difficult to have a sizable number of National Executive Committee members present outside of New York. In addition, a semi-annual meeting is too infrequent to achieve the interchange of views that is desirable in the organization. The Steering Comittee, which has met monthly to attend to organizational matters, has therefore recommended that in the forthcoming year, the Executive meeting and Steering Committee alternate their meetings and that, when feasible, a meeting be arranged out of New York. This recommendation should be approved by the National Council.

V. My task as Chairman of the National Executive Committee has been greatly assisted, and indeed made a source of pleasure, by the efforts and dedication of the APPME staff and officers. Our Executive Director, Judith A. Diesendruck, is a person of remarkable competence and skill, whose expert hand has helped guide and execute the policies of the organization. Ann Sinai has been an invaluable source of help in her publishing activities. The performance of Hannah Hopfer as Director of the Speakers Bureau has been most impressive. All the speakers who have appeared under our sponsorship have testified to this. And we appreciate the efforts of the new Director of the Organization Department, Batya Bauman and the new staff people, Nan Isaacson and Minnie Winkler. Natalie Goldman and Myrna Hamada have both carried a heavy burden of office work with good grace. I must thank the members of the Steering Committee for the long hours they have devoted to the organization and for their continued and strong support. It has been a happy experience to be able to delegate authority to members of the committee and know that appropriate action will result.

General Remarks

During the last year or so, the organization has tended to place less stress on the conflict aspects or geo-political elements in the Middle East and has put more emphasis on the record of Israeli accomplishment, achievement and problems. We felt it was incumbent on us to deal in an academic way with that record whether it concerned social and political experimentation in Israel, or Israel's relations with the 3rd world. As members of the academic profession, we sought to foster the most widespread discussion of themes of this kind and insure that the positive nature of Israel's record be made more familiar.

In the presidential campaign of '72 the organization as such took no stand, though individual members worked on behalf of different candidates. It is not our purpose to engage in electoral activity or to contribute organizationally.

Similarly, however much we were sympathetic to the problem of Soviet Jewry, we felt it more appropriate that organizations specifically concerned with that problem make public statements rather than that APPME directly involve itself in the issue.

In the 7th year of existence our organization is now mature; its purpose is clear; its structure is sound; its thrust is well known. I would like this meeting of the National Council to discuss what more we can do; how our organization can be improved; and in which new directions we might move.

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Approved: National Council Meeting
April 21, 1968
Reaffirmed annually by
National Council

AMERICAN PROFESSORS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST / 69 Bank St. New York, N.Y. 10014 • 212-741-2410

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Submitted to the National Council on Sunday, May 13, 1973

by MICHAEL CURTIS

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Other educational activities such as Study Missions, briefings, special conferences in cooperation with other organizations have been added to our academic and intellectual efforts.

C. The original recommendation that great emphasis be placed on creating strong regional groups which would be capable of developing their own local programs has not met with the anticipated success. The reality is that local programming largely results from the initiative of the national office. This no doubt is primarily the result of the fact that professional staff is available principally at the national level. Since Regional Directors are not a realistic consideration at the moment, this dependency of regional groups continues.

Three departmental reports on the activities of the National organization since the last Council meeting in March 1972 have been submitted to this Council. To these reports can be added the following remarks which will complete the picture.

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STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

American Professors for Peace in the Middle East came into existence June, 1967, in response to a specific crisis. However, there was a need, long-felt, for such an organization on the American campus. The decision of the Executive Committee is therefore to recommend our continuation with a program directed to filling this need.

Expressed in brief and simple, perhaps simplistic terms, the need, and therefore our hope, is to maintain a campus-based organization which can marshal academicians prepared to work for a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab states and, as a means of achieving this goal, encourage if not organize studies carried out with scholarly detachment, designed to lead to a better understanding of the forces and factors at play in the Middle East. Our aim is to educate at least the academic, and hopefully the general community to the political realities of the Middle East and help the movement towards the realization of peace and security for Israel and the region as a whole. In order to shape the American Professors for Peace in the Middle East into an instrument capable of achieving these aims the Executive Committee recommends that the following be adopted as the organization's program, at least for the present.

1) American Professors for Peace remains a broad based organization accepting into membership anyone who seeks affiliation with it and subscribes to its program of working towards a just and lasting peace between Israel and the Arab states. To this end, the Executive Committee recommends that American Professors for Peace remain an affiliate -- rather than a membership -- organization and that its formal structure be kept as informal and as loose as is possible.

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reaction to the struggle of Soviet Jewry and the plight of those who dissent.

Just last week, Dr. Leonid Tarassuk, a recent Soviet emigré to Israel and the former curator of the Hermitage's arms collection, told the press that had it not been for Radio Liberty, Soviet Jews would not have been aware of the meaning of the Jackson amendment, for the only reference to it in the Soviet press "was to people who oppose good trade relations by imposing factors which have no relation with trade." Tarassuk added that only through Radio Liberty could the Soviet citizen learn about the Sakharov interview.

The Presidential Study Commission on International Radio Broadcasting, headed by Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower, president emeritus of Johns Hopkins University, further disclosed that many Russian Jews would not have known about world reaction to the education tax if Radio Liberty had not filled the information gap.

The Commission strongly commended the broadcasting agencies, and the Administration is urging favorable action on continued federal funding.

viewing the news . . .

continued

politically misleading and morally reprehensible," said Dominick.

"Greater oil imports will have a major impact on the nation's balance of payments" . . . and the $70 billion (annual outflow for oil) by 1985 would destroy the value of the dollar.

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) charged in a speech on Aug. 22 that "American oil companies who attempt to use United States support for Israel as a scapegoat for the energy crisis are maliciously deceiving the American people and undermining an essential policy of our government."

Responding to Mobil's call for an imposed settlement, Humphrey asserted that "there is no way the United States can force a settlement. . . . Peace will come . . . only when Egypt agrees to participate in direct negotiations with Israel without preconditions. . ."

Rep. Jerome R. Waldie (D-Calif.) called the SoCal letter "a form of economic saber rattling which does little to encourage honorable people from resolving a difference" and labeled it a "blatant appeal for assistance on an economic basis in an area where there are major political and philosophical problems to resolve. . . . There is more at stake for the peoples of all nations than the production of oil," he declared.

The company's admonition, Waldie pointed out, is "hinged totally on a single point of self-interest" and lacks an understanding of Middle East affairs.

The *Wall Street Journal* wondered editorially "whether the West isn't more obsessed with Israel than the Arabs are. . . . As an immediate source of oil crisis, the Arab-Israel conflict ranks somewhere below Kurdish nationalism, the Iraq-Kuwait confrontation over the islands of Bubiyan and Warba, the Iraqi-Iranian dispute over the Shatt-al Arab waterway, the Saudi tension with Abu Dhabi over the Buraimi Oasis and the ethnic rebellion in the Dhofar province of Oman. . . . Rhetoric about Israel in fact often seems to be a 'figleaf', as one Middle East bureaucrat puts it, for more pressing economic objectives. . . . The Saudi dream of becoming an economic and industrial power needs cooperation from America. . ."

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At the Abadan, Iran oil refinery, two Iraqi terrorists killed one and injured 30 in an unsuccessful attempt to destroy the installation, the world's largest. The terrorists crossed over from Iraq.

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James E. Akins, the State Department's top expert on oil and energy, was nominated Tuesday to be the next ambassador to Saudi Arabia.

ICAO Meets in Rome: Having pushed through anti-Israel resolutions at the UN Security Council a fortnight ago and at the UN's International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) council in Montreal last week, the Arabs carried their diplomatic offensive against Israel to ICAO's assembly now meeting in Rome. They called for sanctions.

In the past, the 132-member nation ICAO has followed the parent body's lead. It refuses to supply information and technical data to South Africa and Portugal.

But Israel argues that according to the UN charter only the Security Council may legally impose such sanctions—which it refused to do two weeks ago. Israel emphasized that her interception of a Lebanese jetliner was not illegal because Lebanon violated the UN charter by concluding her 1969 pact of cooperation with Palestinian terrorists whose avowed aim is the destruction of Israel.

NEAR EAST report
Washington letter on American policy in the Near East

Vol. XVII, No. 35
Aug. 29, 1973

Established 1957

Near East Report
1341 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Subscription: $10 per year

Newspaper — Timely Value

heard in Washington — A New Secretary of State

The appointment of Dr. Henry A. Kissinger as Secretary of State is widely welcomed. It recognizes his brilliant role in President Nixon's search for new relationships with Russia and China. It holds hope for harmonious coexistence between the Executive and Legislative branches. It rehabilitates the Department of State to its rightful place in the implementation of foreign policy.

"We are back to Acheson and Dulles," was the comment of a veteran career officer who recalled how firmly these two tightly held the reins and how everyone knew where we were heading, although not all agreed then (or now) with the direction.

It has been generally understood that Kissinger has been responsible for most of our recent diplomacy, except in the Middle East, which most commentators say has been the province of outgoing Secretary of State William P. Rogers.

Rogers is credited with the achievement of the all-important Suez cease-fire negotiated three years ago. He came under fire from Israel and her friends in this country in 1969 when, deferring to Department veterans, and taking up where Secretary of State Dean Rusk left off, Rogers entered into Big Two and Big Four talks, was negative on Israel's pleas for military and economic aid and finally proposed a territorial blueprint which undermined Israel's bargaining position. Fortunately, the all-or-nothing Arabs and Russians were not ready to accept the Rogers proposals, even though they went far to meet Arab-Russian demands.

In mid-1970 there was a welcome change in U.S. policy resulting from the illegal Russian military build-up in the Suez Canal area. The United States then concluded that it was necessary to strengthen Israel's defense capability and, resisting demands for an imposed settlement, it insisted that the parties themselves—Arabs and Israelis—negotiate the peace. There have been some U.S.-Israel disagreements from time to time but, as both governments have been saying, relations are now on a high level.

To what extent Kissinger was involved in the evolution of this changing Middle East policy we do not know. But since the White House statements have, on occasion, been more vigorous than the Department's, we are inclined to believe that Kissinger contemplates no radical changes at this time.

On Being Jewish

Kissinger's Middle East position will be of interest because he is a Jew—he was born in Germany and his family came here during the Hitler era—and Arabs have not hesitated to question his objectivity. He met this criticism and challenge in his first press conference:

> **"I am asked to conduct the foreign policy of the United States, and I will conduct the foreign policy of the United States regardless of religion and national heritage. There is no other country in the world in which a man of my background could be considered for an office such as the one for which I have been nominated, and that imposes on me a very grave responsibility which I will pursue in the national interest."**

While Kissinger is the first Jew to be appointed an American Secretary of State, other distinguished Jewish leaders have served on the Supreme Court, in the Cabinet and in diplomacy, and no one of them has ever been criticized for any departure from the highest interests of the United States on the foreign and domestic scene.

The Russians themselves once had a Jewish commissar for foreign affairs, from 1929 to 1940—Maxim Litvinov—but that was in the days when the Russians seemingly respected their constitutional safeguards against anti-Semitism and when they sought collective security with democratic powers. Litvinov fell from power in 1940 because of his opposition to the Stalin-Hitler non-aggression pact.

Two other renowned Jewish statesmen, Leon Blum and Mendes-France, premiers of France—both of whom also fought Hitler—were victims of the Nazis. Coincidentally, it was Mendes-France who promised to extricate France from the Indochina war in 1954, and succeeded so swiftly.

As for unswerving devotion to his country's global interests, no one surpassed Benjamin Disraeli, England's conservative prime minister, of whom it was written: "He had the gift of large and spacious conception of the place and power of England in the world and of the policy by which she could maintain it."

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It may be salutary for the Russians and Arabs to be dealing with Kissinger, for it could condition them to the realization that the democratic system permits no discrimination on the ground of race or religion. If they can talk with Kissinger, perhaps they may some day come to talk with Israelis and Jews on an equal plane.

Arab Press Comments

Al Gomhuriya, Cairo: "If Rogers played the maneuvering game, Kissinger can be expected to stress the fait accompli which has been typical of U.S. global policy towards world crises in the past year. The fait accompli in Viet Nam and détente with Russia suited the strategic interests of the Vietnamese rebels and Peking and Moscow, but this line is totally rejected in the Middle East because it suits only the Israeli aggressor and supports the conquest of Arab lands. It is enough to note how the Israelis have welcomed this appointment. . ."

Radio Cairo: "One may expect no more than a slight change in U.S. policy in the Middle East, due to Kissinger's obstinacy."

DPA (West German Press Agency), Aug. 23, quotes Cairo political circles to the effect that Rogers resigned because he was thought of as pro-Arab, and unable to carry out policy in the face of U.S. Jewry and Israeli opposition. These sources said that Rogers' visit to Cairo in 1971 was fruitless although Rogers had said he could not have asked of the Egyptians more than they offered.

Pressed for his view on the Kissinger appointment, Issa Nakhleh, U.N. observer for the Palestinian Arab delegation, exclaimed: "You Jews are doing the same thing you did in Germany."

Voices Must Be Heard

When Congress reconvenes next week it will have the opportunity to consider another measure which may help Russians realize that there is a wide gap between American democracy and Soviet regimentation.

The legislation would authorize continued assistance to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Sponsored by Senators Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.), Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) and 34 other senators, it originally called for $50.3 million in funding in fiscal 1974 and an open-ended authorization for fiscal 1975. By a vote of nine to six, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee rejected an amendment by Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.) to reduce the authorization to last year's appropriation of $39.7 million but agreed with Fulbright to limit the authorization to one year.

Fulbright intends to offer an amendment limiting the U.S. contribution to no more than 50 percent of the radios' expenses, beginning next fiscal year.

These two agencies have significantly pierced the Iron Curtain, supplying information as well as the views of the American people including America's

Analysis

Communist Aid to the Middle East

The Soviet Union sharply reduced its military and economic aid commitments to the non-Communist less-developed countries in 1972 while Communist East European countries and Communist China expanded their aid programs.

According to a research study published last month by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (BIR) of the Department of State, Soviet economic aid fell from $865 million to $581 million between 1971 and 1972 and military assistance decreased nearly 80 percent—from $1,365 million to $310 million.

East European countries committed $645 million in economic aid in 1972, compared to $468 million the previous year. For China, foreign aid was a means of "fostering an image of world power . . . visibly challenging the Soviet Union," among less-developed countries. It added eight new ones and its economic aid program rose from $473 million to $499 million.

AID TO ARAB STATES

	From Communist Countries 1954-1972 (in millions of dollars)				From the United States 1946-1972 (in millions of dollars)			
	USSR		E. Europe	China	Military		Economic	
	Military	Economic	Economic	Economic	Loans	Grants	Loans	Grants
Algeria	$ 400	$ 421	$ 246	$ 92	$ —	$ —	$ 48.5	$ 168.6
Egypt	2,700	1,198	671	106	—	—	724.3	292.7
Iraq	1,000	549	419	45	—	46.7	26.1	30.9
Jordan	—	—	—	—	69.0	120.0	33.7	642.2
Kuwait	—	—	—	—	—	—	50.0	—
Lebanon	3	—	—	—	10.0	14.3	37.2	89.4
Libya	—	—	—	—	—	15.4	7.0	205.5
Morocco	15	88	40	—	59.6	38.8	526.8	330.4
Saudi Arabia	—	—	—	—	257.7	36.1	44.5	27.5
South Yemen	25	14	16	55	—	—	—	2.7
Sudan	65	64	153	82	1.5	.7	38.2	67.5
Syria	715	317	287	61	—	.1	24.0	36.8
Tunisia	—	34	73	36	5.2	37.0	356.9	395.8
Yemen	75	92	17	78	—	—	—	42.7
Total	$4,998	$2,777	$1,922	$555	$393	$309	$1,917	$2,332

Military Aid

The USSR extended almost $8.5 billion in military aid to less-developed non-Communist countries since 1955 with approximately 60 percent committed to the Arab states ($4.9 billion) and more than half of that to Egypt ($2.7 billion).

Middle East countries accounted for approximately 23 percent of Russia's world-wide military assistance program; 34 percent went to the Communist countries of the Warsaw Pact.

In 1970 and 1971, Soviet military aid to less-developed countries reached a record high of $2.4 billion—more than one-fourth the total since 1955.

BIR spokesmen had diverse explanations for the sharp drop in 1972.

"The Soviet Union is falling behind Western technology and can no longer afford a large foreign aid program," one official told the *Near East Report*.

Another speculated that the reduction reflects Russia's commitment to détente and to relaxing world tensions.

But a third official was skeptical of political implications and attributed the reduction to completion of military modernization in many countries.

The 1970 and 1971 increase, he said, represented Soviet backing of Egypt during the War of Attrition and of India during the India-Pakistan conflict. "The build-up of these countries was completed by 1972 and they have reached a plateau where they can no longer effectively absorb more sophisticated equipment."

He believed that it would be three to five years before actual deliveries will slacken off and by that time "we can expect another cycle of military modernization and increased commitments."

The BIR figures, however, do not tell the whole story. They do not include cash sales, such as a $60 million sale to oil-rich Libya, nor short-term credits. Moreover, Soviet foreign trade prices frequently understate value, in terms of Western production costs, and materiel is frequently sold at cut-rate prices.

"There is frequent refinancing and many countries end up paying only interest and some don't even do that," one Bureau source commented.

Data on East European and Chinese military assistance was not included in the Bureau study, but a recent report by the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) showed that between 1961 and 1971, Poland and Czechoslovakia delivered $218 million in arms to the Arab nations.

Economic Aid

Communist economic aid to less-developed countries exceeded $15 billion by 1972. Of this, Arab states received more than 30 percent ($5.25 billion) with Egypt receiving $1.97 billion; Iraq $1 billion; Algeria $759 million; and Syria $665 million.

Most economic aid takes the form of loans. Grants represent less than five percent.

Russia concentrates on project financing with 12-year 2.5 percent loans. The bloc countries extend eight to 10-year 3.5 percent credits, mostly for trade in machinery, equipment and commodities.

China is more liberal, offering interest-free loans for 10 to 20 years.

The study contended that the Soviet bloc ignores the Western trend toward multilateral aid and has begun to tie repayments to oil and gas.

U.S. Aid

AID figures show that the United States was more generous to the Arab states with economic aid while the Soviet Union was much more liberal with weapons. (*See table.*)

U.S. grants to the Arab states, both military and economic, far exceeded U.S. grant aid to Israel, which has never been given grant military assistance but has received substantial military credits enabling her to pay for her weapons.

—KENNETH WOLLACK

Published Weekly. Second class postage paid at Washington, D.C. Printed at 1341 G St., N.W. 20005. Subscription: $10 per year

Edited by I. L. Kenen

Détente Means More Than Trade

Pictures testify more persuasively than the spoken word. The spectre of the 1936 Berlin Olympics, where Adolf Hitler imperiously waved his swastika, last week haunted the World University Games in Moscow. The camera focused on the Soviet Union's blatant anti-Semitism. Millions of sports fans around the world witnessed how the Russians jeered the Israel athletes and harassed and arrested the despised Jewish spectators.

Will the Russians be permitted to host the Olympic Games in 1980? If Hitler could in 1936, why discriminate against the Russians? The world has forgotten how the British Cliveden set and the American isolationists were willing to accept Hitler in the 1930s, and so millions paid with their lives.

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Today, as in the 1930s, there is no effective international tribunal to uphold human rights and freedoms and to impose sanctions on those who trample on the liberties and rights of others. But the American people can be aroused to protest against injustice and the Congress, which speaks for them, can and should take action.

We are not talking about resolutions and statements of policies denouncing Soviet anti-Semitism. We refer to legislation. The fact is that as the Russians gain agreements with America on trade and other profitable transactions, growing more and more powerful, the Russian government also grows increasingly arrogant in abridging the rights of its citizens, Christians as well as Jews.

There is an effective answer; it need not be formulated as a negative censure or rebuke; it can be articulated as an affirmation of principle which we Americans support and which we believe should be respected by the Soviet Union as a member of the family of nations since 1934.

We refer to the widely-supported Jackson-Mills-Vanik legislation which would deny most-favored-nation status and credits to countries which restrict freedom of emigration. Apart from the vivid pictures at the Moscow games, there is a continuing flow of evidence of how the Russians continue to harass members of their scientific community. Thus, last month, *The New York Times* carried a letter from Russia's leading Jewish scientist, Dr. Benjamin G. Levich, who has been ostracized because he wants to go to Israel. In his letter he disclosed that the Russian government had not delivered an invitation from the American Electrochemical Society, which wants to award him the Palladium Medal in Boston on Oct. 9.

A Warning from Sakharov

Jews are not the only victims. Last week Russia's most eminent physicist, Dr. Andrei Sakharov, called foreign correspondents to his apartment to warn that Western aid would strengthen an "uncontrollable bureaucratic machine" and that no one "should ever be expected to live next to . . . a neighbor . . . who is armed to the teeth." He urged adoption of the Jackson amendment as the very minimum.

The Russian rulers must be informed that détente cannot be reduced merely to a dollars-and-rubles exchange, that Americans are not indifferent to the plight of those who suffer discrimination and torment at the hands of their government. Dr. Sakharov's statement has had a positive impact.

Addressing itself to Soviet ethics in general, *The Times* cited criticism of Russian motives in current moves toward a détente with the West, warning that "détente without Soviet democracy could be suicidal for world freedom."

We must not ignore Sakharov's warning, declares *The Times*. Should we do so, such negligence would constitute a virtual repetition of circumstances which have repeatedly led to disastrous results, and might do so again.

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The Jackson amendment is becoming a must legislation. So, too, is the need to continue U.S. assistance to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. (See *Voices Must Be Heard.*)

NEAR EAST report

Washington letter on American policy in the Near East

Vol. XVII, No. 35, Aug. 29, 1973

Viewing the news

Confrontation in Libya

Five major oil companies ignored a Libyan ultimatum to hand over 51 percent of their operations Saturday, thus setting the stage for a massive, perhaps final, confrontation between Western petroleum interests and the government of President Muammer Qaddafi.

Texaco, Mobil, Exxon, SoCal and Royal Dutch Shell refused to follow the example of Occidental and Oasis Oil Co. (Continental, Marathon and Amerada Hess), who turned over majority control at undervalued "net book value" two weeks ago and who agreed to purchase oil at an unprecedented $4.90 a barrel.

Fearful that the price increases, let alone the takeovers, will upset the delicate producer-consumer arrangements in the Persian Gulf, the companies would rather lose their oil in Libya than wreck the participation agreements. Even so, the five resisting companies believe that Libya will not expropriate their holdings, reports the London *Economist*, because nationalization would place Libya "outside the sphere of the participation agreements" and rob Qaddafi of "any chance of affecting these agreements, which would hardly strengthen his claim of being the most powerful figure in the Middle East oil world."

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Addressing Hadassah's national convention in Denver on Sunday, Sen. Peter H. Dominick (R-Colo.) warned of the "folly of over-reliance on foreign oil," and the concomitant economic dangers, and called for the Administration to begin "at once" an all-out development program of America's energy resources.

"To ascribe present real or imaginary oil shortages to United States policy in the Middle East is economically wrong,

(*Continued on page 140*)