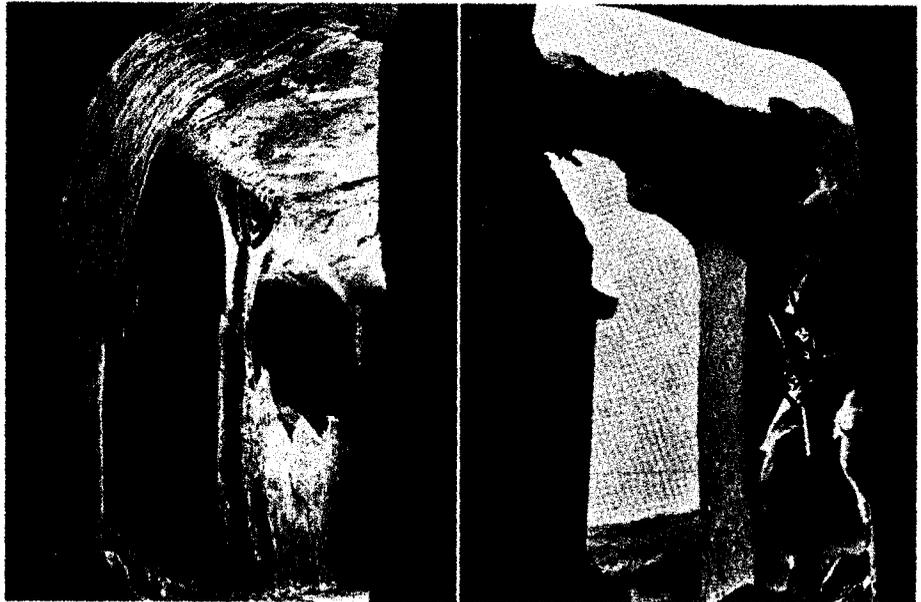


the mideast



DARK AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL

THE PRESENT CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST ENCOMPASSES a tangle of issues and conflicts. There is a potential conflict between the two great imperial powers. Israel and the surrounding states are in a state of war. There are tensions, which have erupted in the past into a bloody war, between Palestinian Arabs and the largely Bedouin forces of Hussein. There are conflicts among the Arab states, in particular, a long-standing rivalry—in a sense, it goes back to the Biblical period—between Egypt and Iraq.

But overshadowing all of these is the conflict between two nations that claim the right of national self-determination in the same territory, which each regards as its historic homeland. The conflict is military, to be sure, but it has a moral dimension as well. The fact is that each of these competing claims is just in its own terms. Furthermore, each claim is in a sense “absolute”—a demand for survival.

I read not too long ago a formulation of this root problem, by an Israeli scientist now at Brandeis University, that seems to me to put the matter well. He writes:

As far as the Palestinians are concerned the origin of the conflict is the establishment of the Jewish society and eventually of the State of Israel in Palestine. They consider it a totally immoral act which resulted in the destruction of their society. This claim is to my mind beyond argument. The extenuating circumstance, namely, that European society has become an intolerable place for Jews to live in, can help to defend the moral motivations behind Zionism but cannot shed any doubt on the Palestinian moral grievance. It can also be

Noam Chomsky's books include Syntactic Structure (Humanities Press), American Power and the New Mandarins, and Problems of Knowledge and Freedom (Pantheon).

used to promote understanding between two groups with a history full of suffering.

On the other hand, the destruction of the Israeli society as a way to correct that moral injustice is blatantly immoral. Such a program in no way follows from the recognition of the grievance of the Palestinians. What does, however, follow is the recognition of the following principle:

Palestinian Arabs and Israelis have equal rights in the whole territory of Mandate Palestine.” (Daniel Amit)

This principle he suggests as a “moral point of reference,” which implies no specific practical steps, but which might serve as a framework for the adjudication of claims and the outline of a long-range program.

In fact, none of the parties in the conflict has accepted this principle, or any meaningful “moral point of reference” that might provide the framework for a just solution. Neither Israel nor any of the Palestinian organizations has unequivocally recognized the national rights of its opponent in this conflict between total justice and total justice. Neither has recognized unequivocally the right of the other to national self-determination, to independent national institutions, political, social and cultural, that express the character of their national life as they choose to develop it.

One might imagine a resolution of the fundamental issue—the conflict between Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs—that would accord, more or less, with this principle: perhaps a federation of predominantly Jewish and predominantly Arab areas, each preserving national institutions and retaining a high degree of self-government, but moving step-by-step towards closer integration, with parity between the two national communities, if conditions and the growth of mutual trust permit. However, rather than speculate about such possibilities—which seem remote at the present

by noam chomsky



"a non-Jewish citizen suffers various forms of discrimination . . ."



"the demand for equal rights for Palestinians does not imply a demand for Arab dominance or a denial of Jewish national rights . . ."



time—we might better turn our attention first to a rather different outcome that seems to be taking shape.

[ABSORBING THE WEST BANK]

In March of this year, King Hussein of Jordan put forth a plan for a Jordanian federation which would include a Palestinian state in the West Bank territories captured by Israel during the Six-Day War. In responding to it, Prime Minister Golda Meir stated:

Israel will continue to pursue her enlightened policy in Judea and Samaria [i.e., the West Bank] and will maintain the policy of open bridges. She will continue to look after the provision of services to the inhabitants of Judea and Samaria, and will respect every peaceful and law-abiding citizen.

The Israeli Parliament added: "The Knesset has determined that the historic right of the Jewish people to the Land of Israel [understood as including the West Bank] is beyond challenge." This declaration is the first official statement to that effect. Strictly speaking, it does not imply that the occupied territories are to be permanently retained. Taken in context, however, the declaration strongly suggests the intention to stand by these "historic rights." And it has been so understood by knowledgeable and sympathetic correspondents.

There is no doubt that the Israeli response to Hussein's proposal constituted a hardening of the Israeli position with regard to the West Bank. Minister Israel Galili, Premier Meir's political adviser who directs policy on settlement in the administered areas, stated on television that the River Jordan should become Israel's "agreed border—a frontier, not just a security border." (The Allon Plan, hitherto the minimal Israeli position, employed the term "security border" in referring to the Jordan River, suggesting the possibility of semi-independence for the West Bank.) Mrs. Meir added: "We do not agree that between Israel and Jordan there should be a Palestinian state." Such a state "could have only one simple purpose and that is to be a state which will press against Israel to 'liberate' the Palestinian homeland for the Palestinian people—that is, to throw the Israelis into the sea."

Given the actual balance of forces, the comment can only be reasonably interpreted as signifying a refusal to contemplate any form of independence for a "Palestinian entity." She went on to say that Israel would "certainly not encourage any organization or any voice which will say the West Bank is a separate Palestinian state, because our policy is against it." The phrase "not encourage" is something of a euphemism.

Whatever the conscious intentions of the Knesset may have been in announcing the historic rights of the Jewish people to the full Land of Israel, some form of indefinite Israeli occupation is implicit in the dynamics of the post-1967 situation. A headline in the journal *Maariv* stated that " 'General Time' is working for the benefit of Israel in Judea and Samaria" (Dec. 31, 1970). The article quotes Sheikh Muhammad Ali al-Jaabari who points out that "as the months pass, Israeli rule will be consolidated in these territories." In a speech that aroused some controversy, Defense Minister Dayan, by no means an extremist within the framework of Israeli political life, suggested that Israel

should regard itself as the "permanent government" ("memshelet keva") in the occupied territories. A criticism from the right in the journal of the National Religious Party questioned the public statement of such views, suggesting rather that "whatever has to be done can be implemented without an explicit statement which could be viewed by the world as a proposal for official annexation."

Under the circumstances, integration of the occupied territories will appear to many to be the humane course, as suggested by Mrs. Meir's remarks, quoted above. After all, the Arabs must exist within some organized structure, and their standard of living may well rise under Israeli administration. Dissidents will be expelled or silenced. Collaborators will be found for local administration. Settlement will proceed apace. As Mr. Dayan explained: "We must devise a pattern of living and of situations which can be tolerated by the Arabs. By this I do not mean arrangements which are to their liking, but those they can live with, if they so wish." If they do not so wish, they can emigrate, with official blessings. Israel has the capability to develop a program of this sort, and there is every reason to expect that it will continue to receive public support.

Public opinion polls reinforce this natural expectation. The *Jerusalem Post* reported on January 8, 1970, that 41.5 percent of the population believe Israel should integrate the occupied territories into Israel and 86.4 percent favor widespread settlement throughout the areas, surely the prelude to further integration, in the real world. A year ago, the Ispapol public opinion survey reported the following response to the question, "What territories should Israel be ready to relinquish in exchange for a peace settlement with the Arab countries?": Sinai—48 percent; Judea and Samaria—21 percent; the Gaza Strip—17 percent; Sharm el-Sheikh—3 percent; the Golan Heights—2 percent; Jerusalem—0.6 percent; no territory whatsoever—30 percent. A more recent poll indicates that 31 percent of the population wants to retain the whole of the Sinai, 56 percent West Bank, 73 percent Gaza, 91 percent Sharm el-Sheikh, and 92 percent the Golan Heights. Surely it is reasonable to expect that these attitudes will harden, if explicit decisions have to be made.

[ISRAEL: JEWS AND OTHERS]

At the time of the Six Day War in June 1967, I personally believed that the threat of genocide was real, and reacted with virtually uncritical support for Israel at what appeared to be a desperate moment. In retrospect, it seems that this assessment of the facts was dubious at best. Some Israeli military experts take a very different view. Reserve General Mattityahu Peled, a member of the Israeli General Staff during the Six Day War, wrote recently that Israel has, in his view, been in no real military danger from Arab attack since 1948, and that there was no threat of destruction in 1967; rather, Israeli forces greatly outnumbered the Egyptians in the Sinai, not to speak of the technological balance. By now it is clear that the potential dangers to Israel, in the short run at least, are not military. They are real, but they lie elsewhere.

One continuing danger, recently emphasized by the brutal massacre at the Lod airport and the tragedy in Munich, is that of terror, a weapon of the weak and the

desperate which may continue to plague Israeli life. But there are other dangers, more subtle, but no less real, and disturbing to liberal Israelis. Professor Yehoshua Arieli, at the convention of the Movement for Peace and Security in February 1972, warned that current trends would lead to increased dependence on the United States, the consolidation of a "vested interest" of war profiteers, reliance on Arabs for unskilled manual labor, the deterioration of the democratic structure of the country:

If the status quo continues, the internal situation is likely to veer sharply towards non-homogeneity, non-identification with the goals of the Jewish State [meaning internal democracy, social justice, and the fundamental values of independent Jewish Labor], a lower intellectual level, internal disunity and fragmentation.

Events in the Gaza region illustrate a continuing danger—not military, but moral. In recent months it has been reported that families of wanted terrorists from the Gaza Strip have been held for a year at a desert camp and permitted to return home only when the hunted man is killed or captured. In the Gaza area, thousands of acres have been fenced off by the Israeli army and thousands of Bedouins evacuated, their wells blocked to prevent return, and some homes and cultivated areas destroyed. The intention appears to be to "dissect the strip," to establish Israeli settlements, urban and rural, paramilitary and civilian, and a new Israeli port town. According to an estimate in the journal of the Labor Party, about one third of the Gaza Strip is to become "state land" (*Davar*, March 20, 1972). The expulsion of the Bedouins was revealed by members of neighboring Mapam Kibbutzim in violation of military censorship, setting off public protests by Israeli peace groups.

Protests may continue, but new facts are being created, in accord with the declaration of Minister Galili in 1969: "It can be said with absolute certainty that the Gaza Strip will not be separated from the State of Israel again." Peter Grose reports that the Gaza Strip "is gradually being assimilated into Israel" with "a pattern of carrot-and-stick tactics by the occupation administration." In fact, "economic integration with Israel is well advanced, and controversial preparations are under way for new Jewish settlements on land occupied in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war." There is an "apparent program not officially announced—to settle Jews in the rich farmlands of Gaza" and to resettle 3,000 Gaza residents yearly elsewhere in the region, he reports, quoting also a statement by Galili (March 27, 1972) that "Gaza will not again be separated from Israel."

Quite apart from the injustice of such deplorable policies as the use of families as hostages and population expulsion, the impact on Israeli society will surely be significant. In the first place, there will be protest and resistance. There are, for the first time, a number of resisters in Israeli prisons, refusing to serve in occupied areas. In the natural cycle, resistance will lead to repression. It is not impossible that dissident groups within the Oriental Jewish community, such as the Black Panthers, will find some common ground with Arabs in Israel and the occupied territories, in which case Israel will have many more than "one million time bombs" to concern it. This is particularly likely if the state, devoting substantial resources to military purposes, finds

(Continued on Page 53)

THE RADICAL PHILATELIST

... said the dignified
gentleman i am not a glass eater
if you must know and that was not
a glass eye it was a pickled onion...

—Archy the Cockroach
The Best of Don Marquis

TEN YEARS AGO THE UNITED STATES POST OFFICE MIS-
printed the color on a commemorative stamp dedicated to
the late UN Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjöld. Leonard
Sherman of Irvington, New Jersey, happened to buy a sheet
of the misprinted stamps—there were only three such sheets
originally issued—and he thereby stood to become a semi-
millionaire through the sale of his fifty stamps to mistake-
hungry collectors.

But the Post Office ruled against such good luck.
Postmaster General J. Edward Day ordered a million of the
misprints produced in order “to prevent inflated value of
the few accidental inversions from depriving the average
collector of the opportunity to purchase the unusual
stamp.” This incident was a living parable trying to main-
tain its balance between false pride (in the ownership of
some anonymous printer’s error) and false humility (an
item becomes more valuable because there’s something
wrong with it).

The cost of a first-class stamp has since risen, on the
installment plan, from 4 cents to 8 cents, but the criminal
level of creative imagination which the postal bureaucracy
wallows in to perpetuate itself remains priceless.

It was a combination of their announcement, in the
spring of 1970, of the 6 cents to 8 cents escalation,
together with the separate-but-equal massacres at Kent
State and Jackson State, which provided San Francisco
artist Bob Fried with the inspiration for his set of Non-
Negotiable Eights.

His signature had previously become associated with the
kind of flashy rock concert poster which prompted Mort
Sahl to comment on the need for a new vocational
category, that of translating the lettering on psychedelic
posters. He also did a poster advertising a play by the son of
Joseph Alioto, in which a priest balled a parishioner of the

*Paul Krassner is Editor and Zen Bastard of The Realist, and author
How a Satirical Editor Became a Yippie Conspirator in Ten Easy
Years (The Realist, 595 Broadway, New York, NY 10012).*



ROBERT FRIED · USA

female persuasion right on stage. Later, the embarrassed
mayor severely spanked his son with a soiled copy of *Look*
magazine.

Stamp-art wasn’t totally new to Fried, however. He had
once designed “first day covers” used by the Post Office.
These were special envelopes for commemoratives, one of
the lower forms of promotional propaganda, ranging from
the Panama Canal to the Campfire Girls.

But now he had to take care of business himself:
purchasing stock with dry glue on the back; learning the
subtleties of perforation; dealing with the legal aspects of
his fantasy.

He consulted Michael Stepanian, a soccer player and
dope lawyer who went to see the original Broadway
production of the play *Lenny* during a visit to New York,
stood up and shouted “Bullshit!” in a crowded theater,
then split. Stepanian in turn consulted retired Postal In-
spector G. B. Uttley, who, on the basis of 25-years ex-
perience in the field, gave the following recommendation:

“The maker plans to sell the stamps in sheets of 135
stamps, for \$10.00, which amounts to about 7.4 cents per
stamp. If he sells a large quantity, and a large quantity is
used in lieu of legal postage, a Postal Inspector may, for the
sake of expediency, persuade a United States Attorney that
the maker is defrauding the government by receiving the
money otherwise due the Post Office Department. This
would, of course, only apply to the extent that mailings of
this type would transit the postal channel without being
detected. Despite all the governmental precautions, there
will be a certain volume of this type of mail.

“Therefore, to protect the manufacturer, I would re-
commend that in connection with the distribution and
sale of the stamps, be clearly advised as follows:
CAUTION—Not Valid for Postage—Not to be Used on
Address Side of Mail Matter. As a minimum, I believe this
should be imprinted or stamped at least once on the margin
of each sheet. Better still, if production costs or artistic
considerations do not rule it out, would be to print a com-

PHOTO BY ROGER MULKEY

by paul krassner

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