

# **The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict Study Guide**

**The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict by Walter Lacquer and Barry Rubin**

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## Plot Summary

The Israeli-Arab Reader provides a comprehensive examination of the conflict between the Arabs and the Israelis. The examination begins at the beginning with the early days of the Zionist movement and the call for the creation of the State of Israel in the early 1900s. At this time, movements of nationalism are beginning among both the Arabs and Jews. For centuries, the Jewish saying is "Next year in Jerusalem" for they are a people who have no country. Some Jews immigrate to Palestine.

The area of Palestine is under British control at the time and the movement for a Jewish homeland leads to the Balfour Declaration of 1917 which calls for the establishment of a Jewish homeland at some point in the future. The idea does not have the support of the Arab nations and the issue is debated for years. In 1920, the British receive a mandate from the League of Nations to administer the area and to secure the conditions for a Jewish homeland. The mandate continues under the United Nations until partition occurs on May 14, 1948 and Israel becomes an independent state.

The immediate result of partition is invasion by the other Arab countries and a war which Israel wins. This is the beginning of numerous wars and conflicts between the two groups of people. The creation of Israel results in the exodus of many Palestinians who reside in refuge camps in the surrounding Arab countries. The conflicts and acts of terrorism continue with the Arab nations refusing to recognize Israel and demanding a homeland for the Palestinian people.

The first Arab leader to negotiate a peace with the Israelis is Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in 1973. Sadat and Egypt basically become outcasts in the Arab world but Sadat's talks with the Israelis eventually lead to the Camp David accords and eventually the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty. This begins the long slow process that leads to the Madrid Peace Conference in 1991 which involves the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in negotiations with Israel. This leads to future agreements between Israel and the PLO and other Arab states and autonomy for the people of Palestine.

The editors of the Israel-Arab Reader provide the speeches, letters, correspondence and report of the various entities involved from the late 1800s through the 1990s. The reader can read the original documents instead of reading about them and can draw their own conclusions. The entities involved are most of the Arab, Israeli, Palestinian, Russian and American leaders of the time with the excerpts presented in chronological order. The book is lengthy but very interesting and worthwhile reading.



## Part I, pp. 2-36

### Part I, pp. 2-36 Summary and Analysis

The chapter examines the period up to the Balfour Declaration of 1917. There are feelings of nationalism in both the Jews and Arabs. The Jews, victims of the pogroms, are told their future is in the East. In 1905, the Arabs begin to discuss secession from the Ottoman Empire and the formation of an Arab nation in which all citizens will have equality and there will be freedom of religion. These are the views of Negib Azouri.

Theodor Herzl is also promoting a Jewish state. He is the founder of Zionism. Since the Jews are persecuted wherever they go, he sees the solution as the formation of a Jewish state. Jews in different parts of the world are subject to persecution. Herzl feels their situation will not improve. He envisions two agencies, the Society of Jews and the Jewish Company, that will perform the practical aspects of organizing the new country. The most obvious places for the Jewish state are in Palestine or Argentina.

The objective of a Jewish state is stated in the Basle Declaration of 1897. This is adopted by the first Zionist Congress.

The Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1915-1916 concerns the post war division of the Middle East. France and Britain will accept the formation of an Arab state with both France and Britain having their areas of control. There will be a third area of international administration.

The British come to support the idea of a Jewish state in Palestine and this leads to the Balfour Declaration of 1917 in which the British promise to help attain this goal in a way that will not prejudice the rights of non-Jewish entities in the area. The objective is agreed to by Emir Feisal, the Sherif of Mecca and Dr. Chaim Weizmann, the leader of the Zionist movement. Both communities agree to work together as neighbors.

The King-Crane Commission, appointed by President Wilson, recommends that Syria have an independent self-government. The rights of Lebanon as a predominantly Christian country must also be guaranteed. The Commission recommends that all of Syria be placed in a single mandate under Emir Faisal.

The General Syrian Congress responds to the recommendations of the King-Crane Commission in 1919. They want total independence for Syria with a government of a constitutional monarchy. The Congress does not acknowledge or want the French in Syria but say they will work with the British. They also oppose the formation of a Jewish state in Palestine.

At the San Remo Conference of April 24, the Mandate of the League of Nations is assigned to Britain who will administer the territory of Palestine with the goal of establishing a Jewish homeland.



## Part II, pp. 38-72

### Part II, pp. 38-72 Summary and Analysis

This section looks at the years of the British Mandate from 1920 to 1947. In 1922, the British issue the Churchill White Paper which shows a weaker support for a Jewish homeland in Palestine. They talk about the further development of the Jewish community and the allowance of immigration. The British also promise to support the independence of the Arabs.

In 1931, Prime Minister MacDonald says the British are following the policy of the mandate. The British government feels it has an obligation to help displaced and landless Arabs as well as the Jews but immigration must not be at a rate too high for the economic conditions to absorb. They do not want Jewish immigration to cause Arab unemployment.

There are Arab riots during this period. The 1937 Peel Commission concludes that the riots are the result of the fear of a Jewish state and the desire for Arab independence. They recommend the partition of Palestine since they feel that the differences between the two groups cannot be reconciled. This appeals to the Zionists but not the Arabs and the British eventually reject the plan.

Vladimir Zo'ev Jabotinsky writes to the Palestine Royal Commission in favor of a Jewish state. In November 1938, a British policy commission recommends against partition. They feel that there are too many problems involved in trying to create both a Jewish and an Arab state in Palestine.

The British announce a new policy in a White Paper in 1939. They will allow Jewish immigration of fifteen thousand people per year for five years at which point it will stop if the Arabs oppose it. There will also be restrictions on the Jewish purchase of land. The Arabs want a Palestinian state with an end to Jewish immigration. The people of Palestine want to work towards self-government and the British intend an independent Palestine state to be established within ten years. During the transitional period, both Arabs and Jews expect to participate in government under British administration. There are also rules for immigration and land purchases.

The Jewish people take exception to the policies of the White Paper.

The White Paper is also rejected by David Ben Gurion, the Chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency. They do not like the limited Jewish immigration, especially in light of the Nazi persecution. They feel that Jewish immigration should be controlled by the Jewish Agency.

Haj Amin al Husani, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, supports Germany, since he is living in Germany. Hitler cannot openly support the Arabs at this time. He will not announce

his goal of the destruction of the Jewish state until the Germans have conquered through Caucasia.



## Part II, pp. 72-103

### Part II, pp. 72-103 Summary and Analysis

The Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry is formed in 1946 to examine the status of Jews in the pro-Axis countries. The report is published on May 1, 1945 and states that the world has an obligation to absorb Jewish immigrants. Palestine cannot absorb all of them. The report encourages assistance to European Jews who want to rebuild their communities. There has to be policies of restitution. Many concentration camp survivors are still living in camps at this time. They should be released and allowed to immigrate to Palestine, if they wish. Since there is so much hostility between the Arabs and the Jews, the report recommends the continuation of the mandate under the United Nations. Efforts should be made to equate the disparity in the standards of living of the two groups with the hope it will diminish the hostility between them.

The Arabs want a halt to Jewish immigration and the transfer of land until self-government institutions are in place. They feel that a Palestinian state will protect the rights of the Jews equally. It should be an Arab state because the majority of the people are Arab. They oppose any kind of partition.

On February 14, 1947, the British announce that they want the United Nations to consider the Palestinian problem. They establish a United Nations Special Committee on Palestine. In November, the United National General Assembly endorses the partition plan. The Committee feels that Palestine should be granted independence as soon as possible. There is a two year transitional period during which constitutions are to be written and provisional governments will to be named.

It is decided that the mandate will end by August 1, 1948 and the British will withdraw from the area. Arab and Jewish states will be formed. They will form their own governments and armed militias and all citizens, including women, will have the right to vote. Jerusalem will become an international city and holy places will be protected. Rules are defined pertaining to rights of citizens.





## Part III, pp. 107-158

### Part III, pp. 107-158 Summary and Analysis

This section covers the period from May 1948, when the State of Israel is established, to 1967 and the Arab-Israel war. Israel declares independence on May 14, 1948. The British mandate ends and troops from various Arab countries enter Palestine.

On July 5, 1950, the Knesset passes the Law of Return which gives every Jew the right to immigrate to Israel.

In April 1963 the Arabs publish the Manifesto of the United Arab Republic which states the governing principles of the United Arab Republic. This same year sees the charter of the Palestine Liberation Organization come into being. It calls for the establishment of a National Assembly and a General Assembly. A Palestinian lawyer named Ahmed Shukairy is instrumental in this effort.

Jerusalem is made an international city by the United Nations to be administered by the United Nations. Included in this administration is the city itself, the surrounding towns and villages and the holy places. In 1951, the United Nations call upon Egypt not to interfere with commerce through the Suez Canal.

In 1958, Ahmed Shukairy addresses the United Nations on the issue of refugees. The refugees has a right to their homeland and should be resettled. Relief programs are not a substitute for resettlement. Repatriation is the only solution.

Irish writer Erskine Childers also addresses the refugee problem. He also examines how the refugee situation is created by looking at whether or not the Palestinians are told to flee. The Arab countries cannot absorb the refugees into their economies. In some cases, the Palestinians panic and flee; in other situations, they are forced to leave.

The Israeli viewpoint, expressed by Abba Eban, is that the refugee problem is created by Arab aggression in 1947 and 1948. If the Arabs had not fought against Israel, there would be no refugees. Israel blames the Arabs for the refugee problem and for not integrating the refugees into their countries. The refugees are being used as a political tool by the Arab nations to try to eliminate Israel. Others agree that the Arabs are using the refugees to gain political leverage against Israel.

The Research Group for European Migration studies the problem and agrees with the above points. Repatriation to Israel, which the refugees hate, is not the solution. The refugees should be integrated into the Arab countries.

Golda Meir, Israeli Foreign Minister, calls for disarmament and the use of negotiation to bring about peace in the region.



Nasser moves his troops into the Sinai in 1967 and again blocks Israeli ships from using the waterways, bringing on armed conflict, which the Egyptians lose. He supports one united Arab front against Israel.



## Part III, pp. 158-212

### Part III, pp. 158-212 Summary and Analysis

Abba Eban addresses the United Nations on June 19, 1967 regarding the Six Day War. He claims that the conflict is the result of a threat to Israel's survival by the Arabs who are backed by the Soviet Union. He cites their statements to destroy Israel instead of respecting existing agreements. Syria, backed by the Soviets, promotes terrorist attacks against Israel. Eban goes on to say how the situation develops that leads to the outbreak of the war. Israel fights in self-defense for her own survival. Eban envisions the economic gains to the entire region if they could achieve peace as resources that are currently used to military purposes would be freed for other uses by all the Middle East countries. Negotiation is the only constructive course that there is for the entire region.

Yizhak Rabin, former Israeli chief of staff and ambassador to the United States commends the Israeli action in the war and their right to defend themselves. At the same time, Nasser defends the rights of the Arabs to try to regain their land. Their policy is no peace or recognition or negotiation with Israel. Israel will not withdraw from the lands it won in the war without a negotiated peace treaty. Nasser admits that the Soviet Union supplied them with arms and he thanks them.

Gideon Rafael, Israel Representative to the United Nations writes United Nations Resolution 242 in 1967. This resolution proposes peace in the Middle East through treaty negotiations. Once the treaties are negotiated, Israel will withdraw from the occupied areas according to the terms of the treaties. The Soviets propose total withdrawal from the occupied territories.

Resolution 242, as adopted by the United Nations, calls for an end to hostilities in the Middle East. It wants the Arabs to stop their acts of aggression. The resolution promotes a negotiated peace settlement and withdrawal according to negotiated boundaries. It is hoped that the guidelines of Resolution 242 will lead to a negotiated peace.

## **Part IV, pp. 214-258**

### **Part IV, pp. 214-258 Summary and Analysis**

This chapter looks at events following the Six Day War leading up to the Camp David meetings. Many Palestinian organizations come into being like the Palestinian Liberation Organization, the Fatah, the Arab National Movement and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. These groups differ in their degree of radicalism.

The Palestine National Charter expresses the right of the Palestinian people to a homeland. The Palestinian must always be prepared for armed struggle since liberation of Palestine can only be achieved through armed conflict.

Fatah is the Palestine National Liberation Movement. Their struggle against Israel is based on colonization and the expansion of Israel. They reject the United Nations resolution claiming it ignores the rights of the Palestinian people. They do not consider the resolution to be binding on the Palestinian people. Their views are echoed in an interview with Yasir Arafat.

The Platform of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine is also presented. This organization feels that the purpose of Arab militarism is to oppress Arab social movement and prevent the workers and peasants from gaining political power. They feel the guerrilla movement contains an absence of revolutionary ideology and the workers and peasants should support the struggle of the Palestinian cause. Class struggle is the basis of the Palestinian struggle.

The Fatah believes that the liberation of Palestine is the most important objective. All other goals are subordinate. They make a distinction between the destruction of the State of Israel and its people. They will allow Jews to live in Palestine. The Fatah views are presented in a series of pamphlets and they publish many books on guerrilla warfare.

The Syrian Ba'th Party, meeting in April 1969, stresses the need for coordination of the various Arab fronts in the struggle for the liberation of Palestine. They need a unified policy.



## Part IV, pp. 258-303

### Part IV, pp. 258-303 Summary and Analysis

Hassanain Haykal views the conflict as a way of forcing the Arab nations to submit to the domination of the West. The 1967 cease-fire lines will be a source of continued conflict. Haykal analyzes the war and concludes that there were many high level Arab shortcomings. Israel did not want to enter the war. As long as Israel has greater military strength than the Arabs, the United States will not be in a hurry to find a solution to the problem. It is through the military strength and intimidation of the Arabs by Israel that the United States dominates the Middle East. In terms of 1967, Israel wins the battle but the war will continue and future wars will be different because the Israelis will be forced to use different tactics because they will involve densely populated areas.

In *Returning to Palestine*, Ahmed Baha Ed-Dine discusses the effects of the war. The best defense against Israel would be for Palestine to become a state. He views this as consisting of the East and West Banks of the River Jordan, including Jordan and Gaza. The Palestinian people should return to this Palestine. Most of the educated and most competent Palestinians have already immigrated to different countries.

Moshe Dayan tells the story of Dr. Arthur Ruppin who immigrates to Israel. The realities of the situation are such that the Arabs and Jews cannot integrate but should exist within one state. This will be a bi-national state. He comes to see that the Arabs will not accept this and continue to oppose Jewish immigration. Thus, there has to be a separate Jewish state. Ruppin concludes that the Jews will be in a state of continued warfare with the Arabs.

Yhoshua Arieli looks at the issue of democracy and the occupied territories. The assumption is that the territories will be occupied for a long time because it is to Israeli's advantage. A siege situation will result in acts of terrorism and the resulting repression by the Israelis. The society will adapt to the situation psychologically. The situation cannot continue. The government will have to become democratic or oppressive.

Hafiz al-Asad in a 1973 speech commends his soldiers for the battle they have fought and how they have restored self-confidence to the Arabs. He also thanks the various Arab states that helped Syria in the battle. They have recovered the Golan Heights and have the Israelis in retreat.

Anwar Sadat addresses the People's Assembly in Cairo in October 1973. He discusses the victories the Arabs have won in eleven days of battle. Sadat reminds them that three years ago he pledged the liberation of the occupied lands. He rebuilt the Egyptian forces after the Six Day War and commends them for their performance in the 1973 war. Sadat says that peace cannot be achieved through terror but only through justice. The Arabs fight to reclaim the land they lost in 1967 and to restore the rights of the Palestinians. He also comments on how the United States rushed to the aid of the

Israelis with new weapons and equipment. If the Israelis withdraw from all of the occupied territories, Egypt would be willing to participate in a peace conference at the United Nations.



## Part IV, pp. 303-340

### Part IV, pp. 303-340 Summary and Analysis

Sadat says that Egypt accepts a cease-fire in 1973 because they are not prepared to fight America. He is referring to the new weapons that the Americans provide to the Israelis and claims the Israelis engage in psychological warfare. In another speech given in 1974, Sadat talks about Egypt's relations with the Soviets. The Russians do not favor military action in the Middle East. They provide military experts to Egypt but Sadat eventually ousts them. This strains Egypt's relations with the Soviet Union which do not return to normal until Egypt extends the lease on facilities in Egypt. As a result of the second Nixon-Brezhnev summit, there is a military relaxation.

On October 23, 1973, Golda Meir tells the Knesset that Israel is prepared to accept the terms of the cease-fire with the military in the positions they have when the cease-fire takes place. She says the Israelis gain land in Syria and regain some of what they lost in Egypt. Israel is prepared to enter into peace negotiations in accordance with the terms of the cease-fire.

The report of the Agranat Commission deals with Israeli preparedness for the Yom Kippur War. Problems with blocking actions stem from deviations from the objectives of the Chief Of Staff. The Commission analyzes various battles in the South and North and any deficiencies they find.

In an interview, George Habash, the General-Secretary of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, explains why his group does not join Yasir Arafat's delegation that visits Moscow. They do not want to show an alliance with Arafat's organization and do not plan to take part in the Geneva conference.

Yasir Arafat addresses the United Nations General Assembly in November 1974. He talks about colonialism, which is how he interprets the Jewish influx into Palestine before partition. This immigration displaces Arabs and partition takes away a portion of the Arab homeland. This creates the problem of refugees. Arafat blames Israel for the wars and problems in the Middle East. Arafat does not feel that the Palestinians are the terrorists because they are fighting to recover their homeland. The terrorists are those who fight to colonize and occupy. According to Arafat, the struggle of the Palestinian people is embodied in the Palestine Liberation Organization. As Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, he dreams of a free Palestine.



## Part IV, pp. 340-382

### Part IV, pp. 340-382 Summary and Analysis

Y. Harkabi addresses the issue of the meaning of a democratic Palestinian state. The different Palestinian groups disagree on the meaning which causes a split between the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine of George Habash. It is felt that the term "democratic state" makes the Arab organizations look good. They want an independent Palestinian state as part of a unified Arab state in which the Israeli Jews will have minority rights. The state will have a definite Arab character. This means that there must be fewer Jews in the region.

Walter Laqueur analyzes the prospects of peace between Israel and Egypt. The Arabs have to psychologically accept the existence of Israel before they can negotiate and work out their problems. At the opening of the Geneva Peace talks, the United States feels that the prospects for peace are good. They first concentrate on the Egypt-Israeli problems. Egypt is most likely to negotiate a separate deal since they are more concerned with the losses in the 1967 war. Since most of the Palestinian organizations promote the destruction of Israel and the establishment of an Arab state, there is little chance that the peace talks can achieve overall peace.

Ehe Kedouri examines the problem between the Arabs and the Israelis. She claims that the Balfour Declaration has to have shaken the Muslims and she discusses the problems that follow, repeating most of the history. There is a cultural conflict. The terms Arab use to refer to Bedouin or nomads now is used to refer to a new political order. The Soviets begin to support the Arabs in the 1950s to counter the American influence in the area.

On September 1, 1975, the Israelis and Egyptians announce their intentions to settle their differences by peaceful means.





## Part IV, pp. 384-430

### Part IV, pp. 384-430 Summary and Analysis

This section looks at the years following the truce between Israel and Egypt that eventually leads to the Camp David accords. The other Arab states and the Palestinians refuse to take part in this. During these years, there are conflicts between Israel and Lebanon and further attempts at negotiated peace.

Harold H. Saunders discusses the United States' role in trying to achieve peace in the Middle East. The United States will do whatever it can to promote peace in the region. A final solution will not be achieved until the Palestinian people have a defined permanent status. As for who would represent the Palestinians, the Rabat Summit recognizes the Palestinian Liberation Organization as their representatives.

The Likud Coalition publishes its position in March 1977, saying that Israel will never give up its right to Judea and Samaria. Israel is interested in peace and invites her neighbors to participate in peace conferences with any pre-conditions. They call the PLO an organization of assassins.

Egyptian President Sadat addresses the Israeli Parliament on November 20, 1977 and explains his reasons for entering into a peace agreement. He feels he did the best thing for both Arabs and Israelis. He is seeking a permanent peace based on justice. Sadat says that the Palestinian people cannot be ignored and they are entitled to legitimate rights. Their right to statehood cannot be ignored. This is what is included in peace based on justice.

The PLO calls Sadat's actions treasonous and call for a united Arab front and the rejection of the outcomes of the various peace talks. The Arab League Summit conference describes Sadat's visit to Israel as a link in a hostile scheme. They condemn him for the visit and their goal is to frustrate the peace efforts. The Arab world basically implements a boycott of Sadat and Egypt.

Israeli Prime Minister Meacham Begin plans to offer administrative autonomy for Arabs in Judea, Samaria and Gaza instead of the present military rule. He proposes rules for voting, citizenship and land ownership.

The Camp David Frameworks for Peace are discussed. These accords are signed by both Begin and Sadat. Among other things, the Camp David accords call for a five year transitional arrangements for the West Bank and Gaza. Jordan will be involved in the administration which should lead to a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan. Any disputes between Egypt and Israel will be settled peacefully.

This leads to the Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty of March 26, 1979. Israel withdraws from the Sinai and boundaries are negotiated.



A few days later the Arab league states withdraw their ambassadors from Egypt and break diplomatic relations. They also expell Egypt from the Arab League. Sadat and the treaty are rejected by many Arab leaders. Russian Foreign Minister Gromyko says a separate peace means nothing to the overall problem. There is not a total withdrawal from the occupied territories.

In August 1981, Israel announces that it has no intention of giving up its claims on Judea, Samaria and Gaza or the Golan Heights despite the calls of Saudi Prince Fahd ibn Abd al-Aziz. The Palestinians also reject Sadat. In 1981, Egyptian Hosni Mubarak, who succeeds Sadat, upholds the treaty.

In December 1981, Defense Minister Ariel Sharon lists the Arab threat as the main security problem facing Israel along with Soviet influence in the area.

In spring 1982, Yitzhak Shamir, Israeli Foreign Minister, says the Palestinian homeland is in eastern Palestine which has been administered by Israel since 1967. Neither side can push for total autonomy until they learn to coexist.



## Part V, pp. 430-477

### Part V, pp. 430-477 Summary and Analysis

Egyptian Minister of State Boutros Bpoutros-Ghali says that Egypt's two challenges are to restrain Israeli ambitions and how to provide a viable solution for the Palestinian problem. Egypt says it is committed to offering a peace that will guarantee the rights of the Palestinian people and wants other Arab entities to join the talks. They welcome the Saudi Fahd Peace Plan. Egypt and Israel have normal diplomatic relations. A lasting peace will have to include the Palestinian Liberation Organization in the negotiation process. The other Arab states must recognize the role of leadership that Egypt has taken in the peace process.

In Congressional testimony on July 12, 1982, Secretary of State George Shultz discusses the conflict in Lebanon and how it threatens Israeli security.

Prime Minister Begin, in an August 8, 1982 speech, says that the State of Israel's existence is not threatened by terrorists but the lives of the people are.

President Reagan also proposes a peace plan in 1982. His two objectives are to contain the Soviet threat and to work within the framework of the Camp David agreements. After the return of the Sinai, the Reagan Administration begins to promote talks on Palestinian autonomy. This has to be postponed due to the war in Lebanon. Once the war ends, the Administration again focuses on the peace talks. All sides will have to compromise to reach a genuine peace. The best approach seems to be self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza in conjunction with Jordan.

The Twelfth Arab Summit supports the peace proposals of President Habib Bourguiba and King Fahd and then adds their own conditions. The Jordanian Crown Prince announces the PLO is the representative of the Palestinian people. Jordan is a factor because most of the occupied territories were part of Jordan. Israel must stop expanding and give back the occupied territories. So far, no one has a viable plan for Middle East peace, but he believes one will be worked out.

The Kahn Commission Report looks at Israeli activity in West Beirut during the war and concludes they are the only force in the area to take control and prevent further violence.

Arafat's comments on the PLO being expelled from Lebanon state that the actions are the result of Zionist and United States imperialism. He says they have entered a new phase in history.

The Palestine National Council continues to promote Palestinian autonomy and engage in armed struggle. They insist on the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people. They reject the Camp David accords and the Reagan Plan. Barry Rubin questions the ability of the PLO to negotiate a peace after being expelled from Lebanon.

Jordan promotes the formation of a unified Arab delegation. They oppose the Israeli practice of displacing Palestinians by building Israeli settlements. Jordan says it supports the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people. Jordan will not negotiate on behalf of the Palestinians.

Lebanon and Israel sign a truce agreement on May 17, 1983 which ends the war between them.

Said Musa discusses the political conflict within Fatah. They feel the Reagan Plan ignores the Palestinian people even though it contains some positive points.



## Part VI, pp. 478-529

### Part VI, pp. 478-529 Summary and Analysis

The 1990s represent a different world. Arab thinking evolves to the point of seeing that Israel is not going to be destroyed so compromises are necessary. The Cold war ends with the end of the Soviet Union. Jordan tries negotiating with Israel and the PLO between 1982-1987 but fails. The intifada begins in December 1987. There are many peace proposals and the PLO begin a dialogue with the United States. In August 1990, Iraq invades Kuwait. A new Israeli government elected in 1992 is willing to make territorial concessions in peace negotiation and negotiations between the PLO and Israel lead to a peace with the PLO forming a government on the West Bank. Peace treaties between Israel and other Arab nations follow.

In November 1984, King Hussein speaks to the Palestine National Council and says Palestine is still the top priority. The relationship between the Palestinian and Jordanian people will be determined by them and by no one else. Jordan supports the Fez summit resolutions and they agree to work with the PLO to achieve peace. In February 1985, the Jordanian-Palestine agreement is signed which lays out their objectives. They then approach the United States for talking with a delegation that includes PLO representatives. The PLO and the Americans cannot agree on conditions at this time.

In December 1987, the PLO Executive Committee praises the action of those participating in the intifada. The West Bank Gaza Palestinian leaders feels this uprising shows their determination for self-determination and support for the PLO. They provide a list of fourteen points to be used in preparation for a peace plan. A month later the intifada leadership basically says the same thing. Their representatives in any peace talks have to be the PLO.

United States Secretary of State Schultz proposes peace talks in March. These are to be based on the United Nations Resolutions. The following months the PLO Executive Committee again commends the people involved in the uprising. They intend to continue the uprising until they have their Palestinian state and demand an equal role in any peace talks.

The intifada leadership issues a statement in April-May 1988 reporting on the progress of the uprising which they feel is successful. They claim the Israelis will not be able to stop them no matter how harsh the repressed measures are. It is the fifth month of the uprising. There is a strike on April 4 to protest the Shultz plan. Throughout the calls are lists of their demands. There are boycotts and strikes.

In July King Hussein issues a statement regarding Jordan's ties with the West Bank. Jordan does not insist on any links and wants an independent Palestine.



## Part VI, pp. 529-576

### Part VI, pp. 529-576 Summary and Analysis

In August 1988, Hamas is created. Various articles from the Hamas charter are presented. Included are things like every Muslim has a duty to fight the enemy and Jihad is the only solution to the Palestinian problem. They support the rights of the Palestinians and oppose all who oppose them.

The Palestinian National Council issues a political resolution in November 15, 1988. They defend the intifada as a popular revolution supported by all Palestinians and condemn the occupation and repressive measures. They believe that Palestine and Jordan should exist on a confederal level. On November 15, 1988, the Council issues a declaration of independence in which they proclaim the establishment of the State of Palestine on the Palestinian soil.

President Mubarak says, on January 21, 1989, that he is ready for peace. All of the years of war have resulted in a lower standard of living for the region. He calls for Shamir to agree to a peace conference on the terms they have specified. Shamir says Israel will not negotiate with the PLO but proposes the subjects to be covered in peace negotiations just as Mubarak does. He is concerned with elections and keeping the Israelis away from the polls.

Arafat gives a speech on the intifada in September. He praises those involved in the uprising and the sacrifices they have made and how they are helping to pave the way for a Palestinian state. In spite of the attempted Israeli blackout of their activities, the intifada will continue until there is a free Palestinian state.

In October 1988, United States Secretary of State Baker proposes a five point plan that will allow for the Palestinians to participate in the peace talks. He proposes a meeting of the involved parties in two weeks.

President Saddam Hussein speaks to the Arab Cooperation council in February 1990. He talks of the changes in the world and the fact that the Arabs, if they settle their differences, can affect the balance of power. The Arabs have lost Palestine through their own weakness and not because of the strength of the Israelis. America should respect the Arabs and not interfere in their internal affairs. The Arab states supply the United States with oil. The Gulf countries should not allow the United States to dominate them.

In a December 13, 1990 interview, Yasir Arafat talks of a letter from the United States saying they will increase their presence in the Persian Gulf and will not tolerate any interference.

In a Political Communique of September 28, 1991, the Palestine National Council says there can be no peace or stability in the Middle East until the Palestinian issue is

settled. The United States announces they will participate in an official dialogue with the PLO. The Council's demands are the same as usual.

The United States favors Palestinian participation in the peace process and says it favors Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories. The Palestinians will select their own delegates and the United States will accept any outcome decided by all of the parties.



## Part VI, pp. 577-623

### Part VI, pp. 577-623 Summary and Analysis

Both Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Haydar Abd al-Shafi give speeches at the October 31, 1992 Madrid Peace Conference. Shamir discusses the history of the Jewish people and the region. The current peace meeting is based on the American initiative and the Israeli plan formed by the Camp David accords. Shamir tells the Arabs that they must accept the legitimacy of Israel before there can be peace. Aydar Abd al-Shafi spoke of the Palestinian hopes for the end of oppression and for their right to self-determination.

In his inaugural speech of July 13, 1992, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin says his government's main goal is the end of the conflict with the Arabs and the establishment of peace. He invites the Palestinian-Jordan delegation to meetings with his government informally in Jerusalem. The Israelis will agree to autonomy and self-rule. He invites the Arab leaders to enter into discussions and says he will travel to any Arab country to meet with them

In Arafat's December 31, 1992 speech, he says the road to victory is the road to Palestine. After a year of discussions in Madrid, there is a great distance between the two sides. He claims the negotiating conditions are unfair.

In August 1993, Mahmoud Darwish resigns from the PLO leadership saying the PLO is finished. It changes as soon as it signs a peace agreement.

In September, Israel and the PLO reach agreement on self-government arrangements. The transitional arrangements will last five years and include things like a protocol for withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho, resolutions of disputes and regional programs like water and electricity. The agreement is signed by Yasir Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin on September 9, 1993. After the signing, the two, along with President Bill Clinton, give speeches on the monumental event.

In a speech to the Knesset on September 21, 1993, Rabin discusses the agreement and how he feels they are entering a new era leading to peace. This is the goal of his government and he intends to pursue the peace process. There are risks inherent in the agreement, but they are prepared to face them.

President Asad of Syria, on October 1, 1993, states that the PLO reached a secret agreement with Israel without the other Arab states being involved in the months of secret negotiations. He says Syria will not obstruct the agreement even though they are not satisfied with it. They will continue on with the peace process.





## Part VI, pgs. 624-686

### Part VI, pgs. 624-686 Summary and Analysis

Hani al-Hassan feels that the PLO gives up much of what it stands for in signing the agreement with Israel. The West Bank-Gaza Palestinian leaders are also not happy with the agreement. They want more involvement through the establishment of councils and working groups.

When Presidents Asad and Clinton meet on January 16, 1994, both express their hope for a continuation of the peace process and the resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In March 1994, the Israelis and the PLO negotiate the Cairo Agreement which reaffirms their commitment to the Declaration of Principles. The Agreement covers the scheduled withdrawal of Israeli troops, the transfer of authority to the Palestinian government in Gaza and Jericho and the structure and jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority. The rights of each group are defined. Both Rabin and Arafat give speeches after the signing of the agreement and both express their hopes for peace and how it depends on the occupation of both sides.

Rabin addresses the Knesset on April 18, 1994 and stresses the need to put the past behind them and to try to create a better future. Neither side will get everything that they want in negotiations and he hopes that the Gaza-Jewish negotiations will soon be concluded. There will be a referendum when they reach a viable agreement with the Syrians. The Israelis are also prepared to negotiate with Lebanon and Jordan. He discusses the causality figures of the intifada and the current problems with Hamas and Islamic Jihad. Terrorist activities will not stop the peace process. In his July 6, 1994 speech, he reiterates how the Palestinians and Israelis are fated to live together.

Israel and Jordan enter into the Washington Agreement on July 26, 1994 as a step in the peace process for both countries. Both King Hussein and Prime Minister Rabin hail the agreement and the new era in Israeli-Jordanian relations. Their peace treaty, the Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty is signed in October 1994. It defines their border and immediate withdrawal from each others' territory. Each country will respect the other's security. Both countries, along with Egypt, will work to solve the problems of refugees. They also agree to cultural and scientific exchanges and other areas of cooperation such as transportation.

Rabin, Arafat and Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres are awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in December 1994. All agree that they must continue in their peace efforts.



# Characters

## Anwar Sadat

Anwar Sadat is an Egyptian leader. He, like other Arab leaders vows to recover the lands that were occupied by the Israelis. He supports Arab nationalism and unity. Sadat rises through the ranks of the Arab military and strongly supports them. He rises to the rank of Supreme Commander and is responsible for rebuilding them after the Six Day War. He feels that peace cannot be imposed by terrorism and that it must be the result of justice. Sadat claims the 1973 war is fought to reclaim the lands they lose in 1967 and to restore the rights of the Palestinians. The Arabs accept the terms of the 1973 cease fire because they are not going to fight America, which quickly provides Israel with new and modern weapons. Sadat becomes President of Egypt after Nasser's death in 1970 and is the first Arab leader to enter into a negotiated peace with Israel. On November 20, 1977, he addresses the Israeli Parliament. He says he realized that he took risks when he entered into an agreement with the Israelis and went against the stance of the Arab world but he says he felt he did the best thing for both Arabs and Israelis. His call for a peace based on justice includes the recognition of the Palestinian people and their right to a homeland. Sadat's visit to Israel is considered treasonous by different Arab organizations and most Arab nations implement a boycott of Sadat and Egypt. He signs the Camp David accords which lead to the Egypt-Israel Peace treaty of March 26, 1979. The Arab nations break off diplomatic relations with Egypt as a result.

## Gamal Abdel Nasser

Gamal Abdel Nasser is the Arab leader who helps to establish the United Arab Republic. He works with the Presidents of Iraq and Syria to establish the country and helps to write the Manifesto of the United Arab Republic which states the governing rules of the country. Nasser serves as a Palestinian officer in the Palestine War of 1948 after Israel declares independence and goes on to become President of Egypt. He makes many speeches and makes it clear that his army is prepared to enter Palestine at anytime. He opposes the establishment of a Jewish state since the Balfour Declaration when he is a school boy. He attends Military College and then the Staff College and is well versed in the issues of the area. As President of Egypt, he refuses to allow Israeli ships to travel through the Suez Canal. He announces that any Israeli ships that arrive in an Egyptian port became the property of the people of Palestine. Nasser is a strong supporter of Arab unity and the rights of the people of Palestine. In 1967, Nasser moves his troops into the Sinai and again closes the Straits of Tiran to Israeli ships claiming that he is doing this for the cause of the Palestinian people. This leads to another war with Israel, which the Arabs lose. After the Egyptian defeat on June 9, Nasser announces his resignation. As a result, there are demonstrations in Cairo, and he withdraws his resignation. Nasser feels that the entire west sides with Israel against the Arab world. He feels that the Soviet Union is the only friend of the Arabs. Nasser dies in 1970.



## Yasir Arafat

Yasir Arafat is a leader of the Palestinian people and of the PLO and Fatah. He feels that the State of Israel is unacceptable because it is artificially created in the middle of the Arab world. Israel does not have the common language, background and culture that the rest of the world has. Arafat supports the total liberation of Palestine with the establishment of an independent and democratic state. His movement promotes the equality of women. He views the establishment of Israel as the result of a colonialism that displaces Palestinians and sees his Palestine Liberation Organization as embodying the struggle of the Palestinians. They are not terrorists because they are fighting to recover their homeland, in his view. As Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, he dreams of a free Palestine. After years of fighting, the PLO is finally recognized as the representatives of the Palestinian people and begins talks with the Israelis and other countries at the Madrid Peace Conference in October 1991. This eventually leads to the signing of the Israel-PLO Declaration of Principles on September 9, 1993. He receives the Nobel Peace Prize in 1994, along with Rabin and Peres.

## Emir Feisal

Emir Feisal is the son of the Sherif of Mecca. He is born in 1855 and is a strong Arab leader. In 1919, he meets with Dr. Chaim Weizmann, the leader of the Zionist Congress and signs an agreement supporting the objective of a Jewish state in Palestine. The state will be formed in such a way so as not to infringe on the rights of the Arabs. Feisal is one of the Arab leaders who leads the uprising against the Turks and is well respected throughout the Arab world. Both the British and the Americans support him to become the leader of the new Arab state. In 1921, Feisal becomes King of Iraq and eventually announces that he has no memory of entering into an agreement with Weizmann. Feisal is instrumental in helping to shape the Arab world in the following years.

## Abba Eban

Abba Eban becomes the Chief Israeli representative to the United Nations and eventually the Foreign Minister of Israel. He addresses the United Nations many times, speaking about the question of refugees and how the situation is created by the Arab nations and their refusal to absorb the refugees into their own culture. He also explains in detail how Egypt, backed by the Soviet Union, moves its troops into the Sinai and institutes a blockade of Israeli ships which leads to the Six Day War of 1967.

## Yithak Rabin

Yithak Rabin is the Israeli Prime Minister who signs the Israeli-PLO Declaration of Principles on September 9, 1993. He goes on to negotiate other peace treaties and shares the Nobel Peace Prize with Arafat and Peres in 1994.



## **David Ben Gurion**

David Ben Gurion is a leader in the movement for an Israeli state and a President of Israel. He is always active in Israeli politics and has been Chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency.

## **Ahmed Shukairy**

Ahmed Shukairy is a Palestinian lawyer who helps form the charter for the Palestine Liberation Organization. He serves on the United Nations delegations for different Arab countries.

## **Menachem Begin**

Menachem Begin is Prime Minister of Israel during the 1970s and is instrumental in negotiating the Egypt-Israeli Treaty of 1979 which leads to peace between the two countries.

## **Yitshak Shamir**

Yitshak Shamir is Prime Minister of Israel when the historic Madrid Peace Conference is held in October, 1992.



# Objects/Places

## Palestine

Palestine is an area of the Middle East where both Arabs and Jews live under the British mandate.

## Israel

Israel is an area of Palestine that declares independence on May 14, 1948.

## The United Arab Republic

The United Arab Republic is located to the east of the Sinai Peninsula and becomes an independent state in April 1963.

## Jerusalem

Jerusalem is an area under international administration and is located between Israel and Jordan.

## Jordan

Jordan is the Arab nation located east of Israel.

## Syria

Syria is an Arab nation located north of Israel and Jordan.

## Iraq

Iraq is an Arab nation located east of Syria.

## Camp David

Camp David is the United States Presidential retreat in rural Maryland and where the framework for peace between Israel and Egypt is worked out.

## **Lebanon**

Lebanon is a traditionally Christian country that is north of Israel and west of Syria.

## **Madrid, Spain**

Madrid, Spain is the European city where the 1992 Peace Conference is held.



# Themes

## Quest for Self-Determination

The dominant theme of the book is the quest for self-determination and autonomy, first by the Jews and then by the Palestinians. For hundreds of years, the Jews are a people without a homeland. There is a great deal of persecution of Jews in the various countries, as seen in the pogroms and the Nazi treatment of the Jews in World War II. The Arabs are under Ottoman rule for several centuries. They come under French and British administration after World War I. Both groups begin to experience nationalist movements in the early 1900s. The British, who control Palestine, issue the Balfour Declaration in 1917 which agrees to the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. This becomes a mandate of first the League of Nations in 1920 and then the United Nations. Partition finally occurs with the creation of the State of Israel in 1948. The Jewish people have their homeland but many Palestinians flee the area and live in refugee camps in various Arab countries. The Arab world refuses to recognize the State of Israel and is dedicated to its destruction and the establishment of a Palestinian homeland. Wars and conflicts take place for years until the first Arab leader, President Anwar Sadat of Egypt, negotiates a peace treaty with Israel in the 1970s. The peace process is slow and painful as both sides have to compromise to reach peace and to establish a homeland for the Palestinians who have a right to autonomy and self-rule.

## Conflict

A second theme of the book is that of conflict. The region has been full of conflict since the Balfour Declaration of 1917 in which the British agree to the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. This is supported by the mandates of the League of Nations and the United Nations. There are armed conflicts and acts of terrorism on both sides leading up to the Arab invasion of Israel after partition. Palestine is the home of many Palestinians who flee after Israel becomes a state. Most become residents of refugee camps in various Arab countries which become hotbeds of hatred and discontent as the Palestinians demand their freedom and a homeland. As a result of the Six Day War, more Arab land is occupied by the Israelis causing more hatred and oppression. Some of the land is recaptured during the 1973 war and the first steps toward peace are taken when Egypt and Israel negotiate a peace treaty in 1975. However, the conflict continues as many Palestinian groups come into being, such as Fatah, the Palestine Liberation Organization and Hamas. These groups promote their cause through acts of terrorism so even though there is no official war, the conflict continues through the acts of terrorism. This continues until the Palestinian organizations realize that Israel is not going to go away, in spite of the intifada and acts of terrorism.



## Importance of Negotiation

Another theme of the book is the importance of negotiation. Disputes and conflicts are not settled without negotiations and this is a mistake that all of the parties make until Sadat breaks the ice and negotiates a peace with the Israelis in 1975. Up until this time, the Muslim world is united in refusing to recognize Israel and dedicated to its destruction and Israel demands to be recognized as a legitimate state. This means that there is no dialogue possible between the two sides and the conflict intensifies as many Palestinian terrorist groups come into being. This leads to increased oppression in the occupied territories which worsens the situation. Eventually, the Palestinians and other Arab nations realize that they are not going to be able to destroy the State of Israel. Once they are willing to acknowledge this fact, this opens the door for the long road to peace to begin. Both sides have to realize that the road to peace can only be achieved through negotiation and negotiation means that there has to be compromise on both sides. Neither side is going to get everything that they want. They each have to make concessions whether they like it or not. The Arabs have to recognize the legitimacy of the State of Israel and the Israelis have to recognize Yasir Arafat and the Palestinian Liberation Organization as the representatives of the Palestinian people. Each have to accept something they do not want and compromise on various issues. This is the nature and purpose of negotiation.





# Style

## Perspective

The Israel-Arab Reader is a compilation of reports, articles, speeches and treaties of different people and groups involved in the situation in the Middle East. Many of the works presented are those of national or group leaders who are directly involved in events in the Middle East. Each of these leaders or groups presents their views on the various issues. The perspective of the selection is the perspective of the individual. The reader is reading the original documents, such as the speeches or the treaties, not somebody's interpretation of these documents. This allows the reader to see what the original documents contain and to draw his or her own conclusions from the.

Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin serve as editors of the book and both are well qualified academics to perform this role. Laqueur is a professor of history at Georgetown University. He is chairman of the International Research Council of the Center for Strategic and International Studies as well as the director of the Institute of Contemporary History and Weiner Library in London. He has also written and edited more than twenty-five books. Rubin is a professor at Hebrew University and a senior fellow at the Bar-Ilan University, Hebrew University Truman Center and the University of Haifa Jewish-Arab Center. He is also the author of numerous books.

This book will be of interest to anyone who is interested in the history of the conflict and the peace process.

## Tone

There is no one overriding tone of the book but the overall nature of the book is subjective. The book consists of a compilation of speeches, treaties, reports and other documents of individuals involved in the Middle East. The mood of each selection depends on who the individual is. The Arabs have a pro-Arab point of view and the Israelis have a pro-Israel point of view. The treaties are objective statements of fact, presenting the facts of the negotiated agreements and treaties. The editors simply present the various selections. There are few comments by them except in the summaries at the beginning of each of the chapters, and these are objective statements of the facts such as when the peace conferences occur and what treaties are negotiated and when. None of the articles are interpreted and no conclusions are drawn. The editors leave this up to the reader. The reader can form his or her own conclusions regarding the subject matter and the character of the various people involved.

## Structure

The structure of the book consists of six parts arranged in chronological order. Part I covers the period From the Bilu to the British Mandate; Part II is Palestine 1920-1947;



Part II is Israel and the Arab World 1948-1967; Part IV is From War to War; Part V is Camp David and War in Lebanon; and Part VI is the Approach of Peace. Each of these parts contains articles, speeches, reports and treaties pertinent to the events of the period. Each of the selections is titled, usually with a date. The title of the selection is printed at the top of each page so the reader can always refer to the title.

The beginning of each chapter contains a summary of the relevant events of that period in history, written by the editors. There are several maps in the book so the reader can see where the various locations are and the reader will refer to these maps at various times while reading the book. There is a detailed Table of Contents with the title of each selection that is presented and the page number. This is followed by a brief Introduction by the editors stating their purpose of trying to provide an understanding of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the various peace initiatives.

The one thing missing is an Index which would have been useful for the reader who wants an easy way to look up names and events. In spite of this, the overall structure works well for the book.

## Quotes

The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion. (Part I, pg. 31)

This, then, is the interpretation which His Majesty's Government places upon the Declaration of 1917, and, so understood, the Secretary of State is of opinion that it does not contain or imply anything which need cause either alarm to the Arab population of Palestine or disappointment to the Jews. (Part II, pg. 41)

Palestine, then, must be established as a country in which the legitimate national aspirations of both Jews and Arabs can be reconciled without either side fearing the ascendancy of the other. (Part II, pg. 76)

We extend our hand in peace and neighborliness to all the neighboring states and their peoples, and invite them to co-operate with the independent Jewish nation for the common good of all. The State of Israel is prepared to make its contribution to the progress of the Middle East as a whole. (Part II, pg. 109)

Brothers, the revolt, upheaval and commotion which we now see taking place in every Arab country are not only because we have returned to the Gulf of Aqabah or rid ourselves of the UNEF, but because we have restored Arab honor and renewed Arab hopes. (Part III, pg. 159)

We, the Palestinian people, refuse to capitulate or to give legality to usurpation. As long as Israel is an invading, racist, fascist State, it will be rejected. Let no one think that any resolution taken outside the will of the Palestinians will ever acquire viability or legality. (Part IV, pg. 227)

Israel has lost its once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. After 5th June 1967 its myth acquired all the elements it needed. Yet Israel could not attain its goal of turning the end of the battle into the end of the war. Arab steadfastness proved that the battle has ended but the war will continue. Thus Israel has lost its opportunity. (Part IV, pg. 267)

The second reason for accepting the cease-fire, in addition to the two superpowers' guarantees of this cease-fire and the immediate implementation of the resolution, is that frankly I do not fight against America. I fought Israel for 11 days. As the Israeli defense Minister said yesterday, his ammunition would have run out in three days. This was also my assessment. But I am not prepared to fight America. (Part IV, pg. 303)



The Assembly rejected their proposal suggesting that the main purpose of the "Democratic State" concept was to improve the Arab image. Moreover, the inclusion of this slogan in the national program would, it was stressed, impair the Arab character of Palestine. Nevertheless, since it had been well received abroad, the Assembly considered it worth retaining. (Part IV, pgs. 341-342)

Both President Ford and Secretary Kissinger have stated firmly on numerous occasions that the United States is determined to make every feasible effort to maintain the momentum of practical progress toward a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. (Part V, pg. 385)

Beyond that, however, we owe it to Israel, in the context of our special relationship, to work with her to bring about a comprehensive peace—acceptable to all the parties involved, which is the only sure guarantee of true and durable security. (Part V, pg. 435)

The powerful uprising has affirmed the strength and unity of all the factions of our people inside and outside occupied Palestine. It has also affirmed the people's rallying around the PLO and their strong rejection of all suspect calls and projects aimed at dominating our people, forging our people's will, and peddling the Zionist-U.S. plot to deprive them of their inalienable national rights. (Part IV, pg. 503)

Hamas is a humane movement, which cares for human rights and is committed to the tolerance inherent in Islam as regards attitudes towards other religions. It is only hostile to those who are hostile towards it, or stand in its way in order to disturb its moves or to frustrate its efforts. (Part VI, pg. 535)

Today's gathering is a result of a sustained American effort based on our own peace plan of May 1989, which in turn was founded on the Camp David accords. According to the American initiative, the purpose of this meeting is to launch direct peace negotiations between Israel and each of its neighbors and multilateral negotiations on regional issues among all the countries of the region. (Part VI, pg. 580)

In this respect, I appreciate the fact that notwithstanding the great importance that President Clinton attaches to the internal affairs of his country, he has attached a special importance as a full partner and honest intermediary to helping the parties reach a comprehensive peace that is in the interests not only of the people of the region, but also the people of the world at large. (Part VI, pg. 627)

## Topics for Discussion

What are the forces that lead to the British being assigned the Mandate to administer Palestine after World War I? What is the objective?

What problems do the British face during the years of the mandate? How do they handle them?

What are the problems faced by the Palestinian refugees after Israeli independence? How are these problems handled? Why is it not a good solution?

What conditions lead to the Camp David accords and the Egypt-Israel Treaty? How is Sadat viewed in the Arab world afterward?

What is the goal of the Arab world regarding the Palestinian people? What are the obstacles to this goal?

What is the intifada? What is its purpose and who is involved? Is it successful?

What is the significance of the Madrid Peace Conference? What does it lead to?