To Chuck Schumer, the Senate Majority Leader

Dear Senator,

I applauded the speech you gave at the Senate floor on November 29, 2023 about the spread of anti-Semitism in America. While I can also support much of your March 15 speech on pathways to peace in Palestine, I am writing to point out a number of important omissions and contradictions in it. I speak only for myself, but I believe that many Americans, and not only Jews, would agree with me.

I praise your timely reminder that the terrible suffering of Gazans in this war is a result of Hamas tactics. We've been following the events of another war, the one in Ukraine, for long enough to learn that it is a responsibility of Hamas to evacuate Gaza civilians from the battle zone. Anything less than that is a war crime. Not only Hamas is neglecting this duty, but it is obstructing in all possible ways the massive efforts by the IDF to do this for them. Yet, in your speech you didn't address the important question of why? And by not addressing it you failed to identify one more party responsible for the suffering of Gazans.

Hamas militants are not cowards hiding among civilians out of fear. And while they don't hesitate to inflict as many civilian casualties among their own people as possible — because in their view killed children fulfill their mission on Earth by becoming martyrs — they are genocidal toward Jews, not their fellow Palestinians. So, why? The answer is obvious: Hamas does this because this works for them. Once the Hamas health ministry reports its phony figures of killed Gazans and presents some genuine bodies, crowds of well-meaning people in America and beyond join their voices with those of Hamas', Hezbollah's, Houthi's, Iran's and Russia's leaders in demanding the ultimate ceasefire. Thus, Senator, you forgot to explain to your well-meaning constituents, including those American Jews whose opinion you seek to represent, that the blood of Gaza civilians is on their hands.

To wash off that blood what they have to do is go out to the streets and clearly say: "Hamas, let *your* people go! You don't represent them. You are a kleptocratic, theocratic, totalitarian regime that brainwashes, oppresses, and terrorizes its own population. Whatever you think your righteous causes are, you are committing a war crime by intentionally putting Gazans in harms ways. The best thing you can do for them is to release the hostages and surrender."

Next, identifying President Mahmoud Abbas correctly as a long-time Holocaust denier you forgot to mention a detail that illuminates the entire history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: that he is a *professional* Holocaust denier, as he holds a PhD degree in the subject of "scientific anti-Zionism" awarded in 1982 by the Institute for Oriental Studies in Moscow, USSR. So, when you lament the 75 years of violence in the West Bank and Gaza, you fail to identify correctly the actors behind it.

In 1948, when Egypt and Jordan began a war against the newly formed Jewish state, they didn't plan for a two-state solution, and — too bad for the Palestinians — they lost that war started on their behalf.

In 1948, if the British allowed the Israeli army to prevent the Egyptian occupation of Gaza, the strip would now be your favorite Mediterranean vacation resort populated by prosperous Israeli citizens of both Arabic and Jewish descent.

The West Bank, annexed by Jordan in 1950, would not fall under the Israeli occupation in 1967, if the Soviet Union did not fan the nevercooling revanchist ambition of the Arab coalition and did not arm it for a war against Israel.

In 1973, it was the Soviet Union again who, pursuing its own interests in the region, armed Egypt and Syria with state-of-the-art weaponry of that day to wage the Yom Kippur invasion.

If the Islamic Republic of Iran didn't arm Hamas (as well as Hezbollah, and Houthi, and all other enemies of Israel), there would be no need for the Iron Dome, nor would there be October 7.

The truth is that the Palestinian people has always been held hostage to somebody else's anti-Israel interests, and its "leaders", such as Arafat, or Abbas, were and remain corrupt operatives financed from outside. So, let's not be delusional: there will be no peaceful two-state, or threestate, or whatever Palestinian state solution until such hostile to Israel regimes as formerly the Soviet and nowadays the Iranian one cease to exist. And the October 7 events made it crystal clear, it seems, to most Israelis. Whatever their internal political conflicts are about, there seem to be no voices left advocating for any form of Palestinian statehood in any foreseeable future. So, maybe it is the US administration that needs to update its pre-October 7 mindset?

You are absolutely right, Senator, that such superpower as the US must exert its influence, and to find out to what ends, let me briefly list some results of such influence in our recent past.

In 2014, when Putin attempted to annex Crimea, the US fulfilled its obligation to Ukraine under the Budapest memorandum that guaranteed its sovereignty. Or did it not?

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Later, when the people of Hong Kong waived American flags as symbols of freedom in their struggle against the communist China crackdown, the US stretched out its helpful hand and protected the democratic order promised to them. Or did it not?

And in 2022, when Russia started its "special military operation" in Ukraine, the US forces under NATO swiftly executed their own brilliant military operation that liberated Belarus from the oppressive dictatorial regime, and put an end to Putin's nuclear threats to Europe. (Oh, sorry — that was wishful fiction. But:) ... the US swiftly provided all necessary military assistance to Ukraine, including long-range missiles ATACMS and F-16 war planes which allowed Ukraine to repel the invasion. Or this is also fiction?

And the US superpower did not leave the Kurdish warriors, who bravely fought against ISIS on our behalf, to seek protection against Erdogan from Putin? and didn't leave those Afghans, who cooperated with us, to suffer under Taliban? and defended Armenians in Karabakh when Azerbaijan, backed up by Turkey, decided to annex it? And the Taiwanese believe that if and when the need comes we will defend them against China, don't they?

Well, as someone wise said, there is a world war raging out there the *civil* world war: between barbarism and civilization. And the Israeli soldiers — many of whom are not really soldiers, but teachers, students, engineers (our colleagues, friends, relatives — or their children) who after October 7 had to take up arms to defend their land — are bravely fighting this war on our behalf and risking their lives. Though their primary goals are to free the hostages and to topple Hamas, they are also fighting to liberate Gazans from this oppressive regime. You are right to say that something positive could come out of this for the Palestinians, but this is not going to be a sovereign state. Any such state would immediately become another corrupt theocracy oppressing its people and threatening Israel; there is massive evidence toward this prediction and none against it.

Demilitarization, deradicalization are the right words (incidentally, spelled out by the Israeli PM whom you declared an obstacle to peace) indicating the immediate post-war goals. As you justly pointed out, Israel is a democracy, and so its citizens will figure out their best course of action. You are also correct that the US administration has an opportunity to influence this course. But we have no moral right (especially given our track record) to tell Israelis what they should do. What we must do is trust our allies who do the fighting for us and provide them with our unequivocal support and assistance whenever they need it.

Sincerely Yours,

Alexander Givental Professor of Mathematics UC Berkeley March 17, 2024

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