

Published by Americans for Middle East Understanding

Room 771, 475 Riverside Drive, N.Y., N.Y. 10027

Volume 10, Number 2

Special Issue 1977

## A Literary Look At The Middle East

Specially prepared by Djelloul Marbrook for the Link

OPEC, oil, PLO, camels and sand . . . these are the wirephoto, news footage and typographical associations that shape the incomplete data base from which many American readers draw their vague opinions about the Middle East. Typical of such low-level understanding is a recent letter to *The Washington Star* from a man whose town had run out of sand to cover its icy roads: "It seems the Arabs have everything we want," he wrote, "first oil, now sand."

If America's data bank on the Middle East is disconcertingly brittle, it is hardly due to lack of information, but rather to deficient channels to disseminate and popularize it. Accordingly, the Link now takes a comprehensive look at the most current and relevant books and periodicals, plus a brief look at films, available to students, teachers, librarians, and to those mainly concerned with the gas pump. Dozens of worthy, knowledgeable writers, editors and researchers appear in this issue. Brought into the sunlight of dialogue and inquiry, the work and thoughts of these individuals offer a broad, enlightened foundation to a citizenry presently underserved by the foreshortened news of the day.

Literature that views the Middle East and its diverse peoples with judiciousness and moderation does exist, but the means to call attention to it, to respond to it, has not always existed. Course material is reviewed as is material for discussion, lecture, and entertainment. There is within many a seed of discernment, of ecumenism that derives of knowledge.

#### **Contents**

#### **OVERVIEW**

- 2 An Introduction to the Near East By D. Magnetti and M.A. Sigler
- 2 The Kingdom of Oil By Ray Vicker
- 2 The Middle East and South Asia By Ray L. Cleveland

### THE MIDDLE EAST LABYRINTH

- 7 The Angry Arabs By W.F. Abboushi
- 9 The Arab-Israeli Dilemma By Fred J. Khouri
- 4 The Arabs in Israel By Sabri Jiryis
- 3 The Arabs, Israelis and Kissinger By Edward R.F. Sheehan
- 8 Biblical Backgrounds of the Middle East Conflict By Georgia Harkness and Charles F. Kraft
- 8 Crossroads to Civil War By Kamal Salibi
- 7 The Disinherited By Fawaz Turki
- 9 The Evasive Peace By John H.
- 6 Israel and South Africa By Dr. Richard R. Stevens and Dr. A.M. Elmessiri
- 9 Israel and the Arab World By Aharon Cohen
- 5 Palestine and International Law By Henry Cattan
- 4 The Palestinians By Frank H. Epp
- 6 The Politics of Palestinian
  Nationalism
  Edited by Fuad Jaber, Ann Mosely
  Lesch and Villiam B. Quandt
- 3 Publish It Not
  By Michael Adams and
  Christopher Mayhew

- 5 The Thirteenth Tribe By Arthur Koestler
- 4 With My Own Eyes By Felicia Langer
- 6 Zion Reconsidered By Jakob J. Petuchowski
- 5 The Zionist Mind By Alan R. Taylor PALESTINE IN BRIEF
- 9 The Elusive Peace in the Middle East Edited by Malcolm H. Kerr
- 9 The Fall of Jerusalem By Abdullah Schleifer
- 9 In the Anglo-Arab Labyrinth By Elie Kedourie
- 9 Israel and the Palestinians Edited by Uri Davis, Andrew Mack and Nira Yuval-Davis
- 9 Peace in the Middle East? By Noam Chomsky
- 9 The Transformation of Palestine Edited by Ibrahim Abu-Lughod
- 9 The Untempered Wind By Christina Jones
- 9 War and Peace in the Middle East By General Odd Bull
- 9 Zionism Edited by Gary V. Smith

#### PEOPLE AND PLACES

- 10 Abu Dhabi By John Daniels
- 12 The Arab Lands of Western Asia By Joseph J. Malone
- 11 The Birth of Saudi Arabia By Gary Troeller
- 12 **The Noble Heritage** By Alistair Duncan
- 12 **The Noble Sanctuary** By Alistair Duncan
- 11 The Sufis By Idries Shah PERIODICALS

FILMS

## Overview

#### The Kingdom of Oil

By Ray Vicker. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974. 264 pp. \$7.95.

## The Middle East and South Asia

By Ray L. Cleveland. Stryker-Post Publications, 1976. 90 pp. \$1.75.

## An Introduction to the Near East

By D. Magnetti and M.A. Sigler. Our Sunday Visitor, Inc., 1973. 240 pp. \$3.95, paperback.

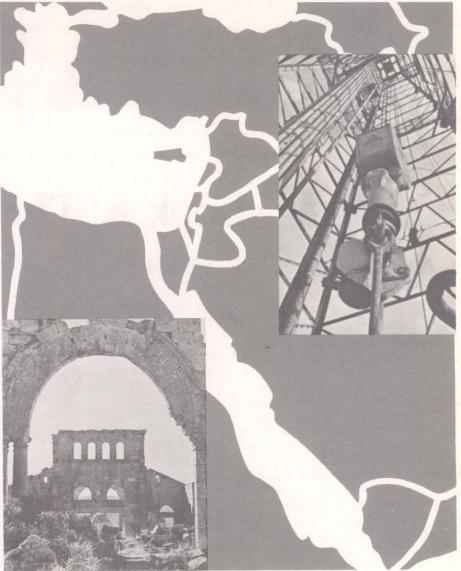
Perhaps the single most promising omen of Middle East peace is lightning-swift Arab economic development. The Arabs, in general, are looking more ahead to a renaissance than backward to injustices.

As if their strategic importance to west Asian and Mediterranean geopolitics were not crucial enough, Arab oil now has lit the lamps of the world's strategists. Ray Vicker makes clear from the outset what most journalists nod lazily toward or ignore: American foreign policy in the Middle East is inextricably linked with oil supply, pricing, and petrodollar investment.

Vicker clears up some nagging misconceptions. For one, he is meticulous in distinguishing between Arabs and the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). They are not interchangeable. The 1973 oil embargo was not an Arab embargo; it was an OPEC embargo: Arab states in particular, not the Arabs in general, should take the rap for the West's energy crisis and, for that matter, for the more radical members of OPEC.

Vicker wrote his book before Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates in 1976 broke with the OPEC majority over the majority's insistence on raising the price of crude oil 15 to 25 percent; that event makes his book seem prophetic.

He describes the cultural and economic changes in Iran, a non-Arab Aryan nation, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States, Iraq, Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Israel, and among the Pales-



Arab Information Center

tinians. He offers thoughtful options and insights galore for current problems, and he emphasizes the need for Middle East peace as a prerequisite for U.S. cooperation with the oil producers — a view Saudi Arabia expressed explicitly when it held oil prices to a 5 percent increase last year.

Ragaei el-Mallakh, professor of economics at the University of Colorado, where considerable energy management studies are under way, says in *The Middle East Journal* that Vicker's book should be required reading for students, Middle East scholars, specialists, members of the business community and government officials.

The Middle East and South Asia, Ray Cleveland's update of the Middle East volume of the World Today series, is just the reference work to provide a context for a new, clear-eyed look at that part of the world. It combines atlases, gazetteers and encyclopedia articles in a compendious overview covering such subjects as Iran's ambitious \$10.5 billion five-year plan and the Six Day War. Each of 25 nations receives a chapter containing vital statistics, histories, cultural and economic reviews, and prospects. Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip and other special areas are given separate treatment.

This remarkably fluid handbook should be at hand when one reads almost anything about the Middle East.

A worthy companion piece is the Magnetti-Sigler introduction, offering a very readable survey of the Near East from ancient times through 1967, followed by a factual study of each nation and studies of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. A comprehensive annotated bibliography rounds out this helpful work.

# The Middle East Labyrinth

It would be comforting to loll among the delights of Middle Eastern art and literature. It would be rewarding to journey spiritually to Mecca, where surprisingly there is much to learn about the West. It would be reassuringly businesslike to discourse about oil reserves. But comfort, reward, even business must all attend another matter — a painful, poignant matter. And no one has put this matter more appropriately than in a review by Walid Khalidi, American University of Beirut political studies professor now studying at Harvard's Center for International Affairs.

#### The Arabs, Israelis and Kissinger

A Secret History of American Diplomacy in the Middle East. By Edward R.F. Sheehan. Reader's Digest Press, distributed by Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1976. 287 pp. \$8.95.

The book's title diagnoses the Middle East's ailment. We cannot know what President Carter or Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance will do, but pondering what Henry Kissinger, Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford have done will help us judge future events. During their tenures the Middle East became less an emotional climate and more a pocketbook issue to Americans. Yet it cannot be wholly a bad thing that our pocketbooks now reflect the Middle East's political weather.

Listen to Khalidi: "By an Arab policy, this reviewer means a sense of direction for the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, acknowledging the centrality of the Palestinian issue and its catalytic Arab role (emphasis added) . . . as well as the centrality of the frontiers issue."

America has ignored the primacy of the Palestinian issue in Arab policy at its own peril. That is what Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani, Saudi Arabia's oil minister, suggests when he inquires what the United States would offer in return for his country's thwarting the

attempt of most OPEC members to raise dramatically the price of oil.

The Sheehan book pinpoints the reasons why the Middle East remains so much on our minds. According to Khalidi's review in the Journal of Palestine Studies. Sheehan's lenses train relentlessly on Kissinger, a man for whom the Middle East, in



World Wide Photos

Kissinger's own words, was not ready, and a man who was not ready for the Middle East. Unlike Sheehan, however, Khalidi contends that Kissinger emerged from the October War with an Egyptian policy, not an Arab policy. The author presents a brief for former Secretary of State William Rogers' stepby-step diplomacy but says it was eroded by the rush of Kissinger's personality.

Sheehan, veteran Foreign Service public affairs officer in the Middle East and journalist, concludes that Kissinger pursued interim accommodations, as far as his wariness of American Zionist influence would permit him to go. Now, Sheehan prays, American leaders must summon the courage to formulate an Arab policy, not a considered response to events.

Sheehan is a just observer, a careful documenter who believes in doing his homework. Sheehan provides the kind of journalism that the next book deplores the lack of in England.

#### **Publish It Not**

The Middle East Cover-up. By Michael Adams and Christopher Mayhew. Longman Group, Ltd. New York, N.Y., 1975. 193 pp. 5 pounds.

Any book that claims that "over the past half century, and particularly since 1967, a deliberate and generally successful attempt has been made to cover up the truth about Palestine, with damaging consequences for the cause of peace and justice" is going to be a storm center. This book is just that. It contends that the British media have managed to institutionalize a double standard in treating Arabs and Jews generally and Palestinians and Israelis specifically.

Mayhew has held important Labor government posts; Adams is a respected journalist. Together they argue that readers of New Statesman, the Daily Telegraph, The Sun, The Economist and other newspapers and journals, as well as viewers of the BBC and Independent Television are captive to the media's refusal to give Palestinian Arabs a fair shake. It is a contention critics of The New York Times, The Washington Post, and of other major American newspapers and the broadcast networks would do well to research.

The emotional reaction to the Adams-Mayhew book stands in marked contrast to the rather clipped, concise tone of the book, and may be the best indication of the soundness of their premise that most editors do not give the Palestinians proper journalistic treatment for fear of being smeared as anti-Semites.

The character of the next author, in her definitive efforts to document and interpret the distress of Palestinians, somehow lessens the damage dealt by an inept press.

#### With My Own Eyes

By Felicia Langer. Ithaca Press, United Kingdom, 1975. 192 pp., paperback. 2.50 pounds.

If there has been no cover-up, if Western reportage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been pristine and fair, why have we not heard about the horrors Felicia Langer, an Israeli lawyer, describes in her disturbing book? Because Israel has covered up its illegal detentions and tortures of Arabs? Surely a press that regularly discovers the slightest nuance of Palestinian politics, a press that convicted Abu Daoud without trial, should be able to uncover Israeli mistreatment of Arabs. Was Langer herself unavailable to foreign correspondents? It seems incredible that Israeli policy towards Arabs under Israel's control constitutes: (1) a local story of little international interest, or (2) a mess of unverifiable rumors.

Langer writes with muted, lawyerlike concern for human rights, international conventions, and Israeli law itself. But outrage breaks through accounts of illegal jailings, brutalization, inhumane sentencing, kidnap and execution. She has a story to tell; she is too much concerned with justice to indulge polemic, but her title bespeaks the pain of an open-eyed Israeli.

"At the end of the six days (the war)," she observes, "little Israel became an empire: the West Bank of the Jordan, Arab Jerusalem, the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip and Sinai: What a wonderful dowry!, the leaders thought happily. But the only bothersome thing was the bride that came with it — the Arabs living there. For what Israel wanted was, as Golda (Meir) had put it, a maximum of territories with a minimum of inhabitants."

In the aftermath of the war, Langer engaged in legal battles in behalf of Arabs in Israeli jails. She describes preventive detention in contravention of Israeli and international law, vindictive prison sentences, capricious gun-barrel deportations — and bulldozers leveling entire Arab communities.

George Miller of the American
University at Beirut, reviewing With My
Own Eyes for the English-language
Beiruti magazine Monday Morning,
concluded, "Nobody who reads it can
still believe the 'making the desert
bloom' myth that now seems to color
world opinion" about Israel.

The narration of the Israeli Arabs

and their deepening dilemma continues in the next selection.

#### The Arabs in Israel

By Sabri Jiryis. The Monthly Review Press. 314 pp. \$12.50.

From a broader base, *The Arabs in Israel*, definitively traces Israel's step-by-step reduction of Arab rights. Jiryis bases his work on careful study of Hebrew and Arab documents, official records, and the Israeli press over the past 25 years. *Arabs in Israel* delineates the gradual efforts of the Israeli government to disinherit and uproot the rural



Arabs who remained after the State of Israel emerged in 1948. The author deals with such matters as Palestinian nationalism, Israel's true ideology, and the Arab population and territories absorbed by Israel in 1967.

Originally published in Haifa in 1966, the book was censored, then suppressed after publication. Deleted material now appears in the revised edition, in which the author comments on events reaching to March 1973.

Reviewer Henry G. Fischer acknowledges that Jiryis "keeps very closely to the situation within Israel's pre-1967 borders and generally avoids those problems, such as pressure by the kibbutzim on Arab villages in the demilitarized zone, that involved hostilities with Israel's neighbors."

In the New York Times Book Review of July 25, 1976, Israeli writer Sol Stern

labels Jiryis as being one-sided because he "never mentions Arab attacks against Jews or the instances of Arab terrorism." Fischer notes that Jiryis does in fact mention those problems: infiltrations by returning refugees and attacks by the fedayeen as well as Israeli Arabs who "had decided to help the Palestinian resistance and carry out guerilla operations inside Israel."

Drawing substantially from Hebrew sources, Jiryis compliments the Israeli government when credit is due, according to Fischer. While Arabs in Israel may seem to portray the case of Israeli Arabs v. the Israeli Government, it is, in the reviewer's opinion, painstakingly presented by a fairminded lawyer and scholar.

Why are the Palestinians, indeed all Arabs, considered less human than the rest of us? Are they fractious? Do they throw bombs and attack villages? Is their humanity actually forfeit to their radicals and our media? What are these Palestinians made of?

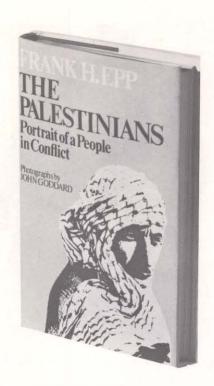
#### The Palestinians

Portrait of a People in Conflict. By Frank H. Epp. Herald Press, 616 Walnut Ave., Scottdale, Pa. 15683 and McClelland and Stewart of Toronto, Canada, 1976. 240 pp. \$10.

Frank Epp is president of Conrad Grebel College at the University of Waterloo, Ontario. As a journalist and historian with special concern for the minority group, his book, accompanied by 32 pages of photographs, goes a long way towards telling us what the Palestinians are made of.

He encourages 172 priests, students, businessmen, professionals, commandos, camp refugees, politicians and tradesmen to talk about their lives, perceptions, feelings and hopes. Labels drop away. The Palestinians are no longer terrorists, intractable orators, a suffering mass, an issue: they are people. We have seen the Israelis in their kibbutzim; we have heard and seen their envoys on our talk shows; we feel that we know them, but the Palestinians remain strangers. In a sense, the Israelis are us, while the Arabs are them.

Epp's Mennonite faith does not lead him to facile ecumenical conjecture. He intends to listen to Israelis and record what they say and feel, too, but the Palestinians come first because they



have been heard least. His summation is stern:

"Surely the Jews of Israel, and the nations of the world with them, have begun to conclude that 400,000 Arabs in Israel will not remain second-class citizens forever, that the additional 1 million under Israeli control will not be driven out, and that another 1 million pressing their claims from Jordan, Syria and Lebanon cannot be pounded into submission or roasted with napalm without Israel itself going down to destruction."

Every Western generation has had its scholars, theologians, diplomats, adventurers, archeologists and linguists who have revered the Middle East, who have delved into its nooks and crannies from Sumer to Port Said. These men and women have produced a vast and heady literature, stocked with peoples of the Middle East, who do not live and breath for most of us except in tomes. The popularizers—men like Burton and Lawrence—have more often succeeded only in popularizing themselves.

This phenomenon posed no particular problem until the advent of Zionism. Then, impelled as much by shame, remorse and a subtle desire to be rid of the Jewish Question as by any sense of the historical "rightness" of Zionism, large numbers of Westerners gave their tacit support to a closure of the diaspora; it would, after all, be skin off the Arabs' backs, not ours.

Frank Epp's book, without saying so, challenges such abstract, casual

thinking. If justice must be blind, he seems to say, then the prerequisite for justice is recognition of our common humanity, and that is non-exclusive. This is an important first step toward reconciliation — this de-exoticizing, this humanizing of the Middle East. Henry Cattan, the next author, is meticulously concerned with justice.

#### Palestine and International Law

The Legal Aspects of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.

By Henry Cattan. Second edition. Longman, 1976. 362 pp. \$17.50.

Cattan, a distinguished international lawyer, analytically rejects the Zionist claim to Palestine.

According to reviewer Harry N. Howard of the Middle East Institute, Cattan contends forcefully that the uprooting of the Palestinians breached "elementary principles of international law" and was "an unparalleled violation of the Charter of the United Nations."

The author similarly finds the League of Nations mandate and the General Assembly partition of Palestine on November 29, 1947, illegal, as was the creation of the Israeli state in May 1948. The people of Palestine, not the League, not Great Britain, not the U.N., and certainly not Israel, were sovereign over their land, he says. Cattan looks to the United Nations, not to jury-rigged diplomacy, for a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Howard commends the author for his expert explications of the historico-legal aspects of the issue, particularly within the appendices conderning the League mandate and United Nations documents. Whatever one's persuasion, the reviewer concludes, the book will shed light on the tangled diplomacy that led to the Israeli state — and the refugee camps. Tangled ethnology is the central focus of Arthur Koestler in his latest book.

#### The Thirteenth Tribe

By Arthur Koestler. Random House, 1976. 255 pp. \$8.95.

Koestler argues that the progenitors of the Ashkenazim, the segment of European Jewry that today directs Israel's affairs, were Turkic Khazars and not Semites at all. Though Koestler says nothing new, his book represents the first popularization of the question of the non-semitism of the Ashkenazim. He supposes that the real diaspora for the Ashkenazim came not with the fall of the Jewish state in 70 A.D. but in the 13th century when the Mongols overran Khazaria on the northeast shore of the Black Sea.

Koestler's thesis unwittingly topples one of Zionism's most impressive claims to Palestine; that the Ashkenazim are descendants of the Jews who held sovereignty over the land until Emperor Vespasian evicted them. Ironically, if this thesis proves true, the Sephardic Jews, who are treated as second-class citizens by their fairer-skinned Ashkenazi "brothers and sisters," may have a stronger claim to Palestine.

Israel is a theocratic state, so one disbelieves that the Khazar Theory wholly undermines European Jewry's claim to Palestine. One cannot, after all, discount what might be called a spiritual thirst for a homeland. But if that is to be the case, one certainly cannot discount the Palestinian Arabs' spiritual and historical thirst for a very recent homeland.

Aware of the troublesomeness of his theory, Koestler accordingly declares that the Khazar Theory hardly dilutes Zionist claims to Palestine, because the United Nations decision to partition Palestine in 1947 created a *de jure* reality. One wonders if Mr. Cattan might be able to dissuade Mr. Koestler.

Keeping Koestler's thesis in mind, it is interesting to recall Philip K. Hitti's classic *The History of the Arabs* in which Dr. Hitti deals at some length with the difficulties of defining an Arab ethnically. Today the people whom the media refer to as Arabs are Arabic-speaking peoples; defining beyond that remains tricky business.

If, as Koestler unwittingly hints, Zionist claims to Palestinian hegemony are ethnically dilute, they are certainly not emotionally dilute, nor are they limited to Jews.

#### The Zionist Mind

By Alan R. Taylor. The Institute for Palestine Studies, Beirut, 1974. 198 pp. 12 pounds, \$6; 8 pounds, \$4 paperback.

"If Israel were to cease to exist as an independent Jewish state, I don't know whether I could continue to believe in God." Author Alan Taylor chooses to quote a Dutch Protestant theologian

who, notwithstanding his Zionist fervor, agonizes about the inalienable rights of the Palestinians and injustices perpetrated against them.

What is one to make of this? Hugh R. Harcourt, reviewing the book in the spring of 1975 in The Journal of Palestine Studies, thinks Taylor, a professor at American University in Washington, D.C., may have missed "the depth of zeal and contradiction within the European Christian sector of this Zionist mind." Assuredly what Taylor has not missed and clearly establishes is that the Zionist mind has by no means been copyrighted by Jews. The author wisely avoids comment on the validity of a collective mind; had he fallen into this Jungian pitfall he might never have delivered this valuable book.

Taylor undercuts the common supposition that Zionism is, as Harcourt puts it, a single, systematic, one-directional movement. Instead, he delineates the modes of thought associated with Zionism. Harcourt finds particularly interesting Taylor's interpretation of ". . . the debilitating influence upon Jewish tradition of the vaunted modern Western symbol of 'rights.' " One of Taylor's conclusions, one Harcourt says will earn the author a distinct file in the annals of the Anti-Defamation League, is startling: "Indeed, Jewish recourse to the politics of emancipation as the ultimate system of value implies a subtle accommodation to the anti-Semitic view that 'normalization' is the key to the Jewish 'problem.' "

One's appetite is whetted by Koestler's entertaining work, one's curiosity piqued by Taylor's scholarliness. The next book, admittedly 11 years old, remains remarkably current. Its thesis: Israel is not Zion and Zionism is not Judaism.

#### Zion Reconsidered

By Jakob J. Petuchowski. Twayne Publishers, New York, N.Y. 1966. 143 pp. \$9.75.

Petuchowski published this book on the eve of the Six Day War. He argues that all Jews, including Zionists at home in Israel, and probably all Muslims and Christians as well, are in exile from Zion. Rabbi Elmer Berger, reviewing the book in a Link issue, Winter 1975-76, found it rejected the idea that, both historically and theologically, the secular state of Israel can be equated with Zion or with the state of messianic

redemption that Zion represents in the theologies of all three religions.

Far from being an instant expert or itinerant commentator, Petuchowski lived and taught in Israel and came away convinced that the state of Israel and the ethics, universalism and spiritual idealism associated with the idea of Zion were not companionable.

Westerners have been hearing and reading about a romanticized Zionism ever since the holocaust; what they hear and read about the Palestinians is reduced to terrorism, factionalism, and, at best, tragedy in the detention camps.

If Westerners rest easy with a view of Israel as a tidy theological resolution or a social solution to a European problem, it may be due to an unwillingness to recognize Israel as an extension of colonialist racism. It would, after all, have to be Aryan racism to a greater extent than Jewish racism.

That is exactly the issue raised now by Drs. Richard R. Stevens and A. M. Elmessiri as they delve into the startling relationship between Israel and South Africa. Amply recorded in United Nations documents, this relationship only now and then surfaces in the Western press.

#### Israel and South Africa

By Dr. Richard R. Stevens and Dr. A. M. Elmessiri. New World Press, 1976. 214 pp. \$6.

The Stevens-Elmessiri work recalls that Theodore Herzl, one of Zionism's founders, wrote in his diaries that the Zionist solution of the Jewish Question is a colonial solution. In other words, it was the prerogative of the white race to export its problems - social, demographic and economic - to Africa and the Orient. The Jews, being surplus to European society, could therefore be willingly exported to the Middle East which, for convenience and by way of righting old wrongs, could be classified as politically non-white. The Arabs had been historically troublesome; what an exquisite solution then to bestow Europe's unwanted upon them.

Israel and South Africa, then, share a similar origin — they are exports. Yet some of South Africa's most ardent critics wax just as ardently in Israel's behalf. Not only did the early settlers of both colonialist enclaves appreciate this mutuality, Stevens and Elmessiri tell us, but Lord Arthur Balfour, to whose declaration Israel owes something, was



instrumental in drafting the Act for the Union of South Africa.

The authors deal first with the similarities, links and relationships between Israel and South Africa. Later, they offer newspaper articles, secret memoranda, documents and memoirs chronicling these relationships. Particularly intriguing is a disclosure by David Ben-Gurion, Israel's first prime minister, of Zionist-South African collaboration during the 1948 war.

This book contributes importantly to dispelling certain myths surrounding Israel and should make the objective reader eager to know something of how the Palestinians feel about Europe's exportation of the Jewish problem — the task the next book assumes.

## The Politics of Palestinian Nationalism

By Fuad Jaber, Ann Mosely Lesch and William B. Quandt. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1973. 243 pp. \$8.95.

The Politics of Palestinian Nationalism goes a long way toward familiarizing readers with a central issue that has been relegated by Zionists and their sympathizers to a side issue. The book consists of three long essays. The first, by Ann Lesch, is a comprehensive study of Palestinian nationalism under the League of Nations mandate granted to Great Britain. It lays to rest the widely held beliefs that Palestinian nationalism is a post-mandate or post-1967 phenomenon.

Bichara Khader, reviewing the book

in *The Muslim World* in July 1976, complains that the Lesch essay would have been more relevant had it analyzed more and factualized less, and had it reflected Arabic sources of the period. But Khader considers the Lesch piece particularly and the book generally as important and unpolemical.

Originally prepared for the Rand Corporation, the Quandt essay deals with political and military developments after 1967. Khader finds Quandt reluctant to concede the professed goal of the resistance movement — the liberation of Palestine. Quandt leans toward a Palestinian state embracing the West Bank, Gaza and Transjordan. Khader faults the author for failing to reckon with the true nature of the Jordanian regime during the 1970 bloodletting among Arabs, but fails to proffer what that true nature might be.

Jaber's essay on the Palestinians' situation, vis-a-vis inter-Arab politics, wins high marks from Khader: "... certainly one of the best studies on this topic." Jaber's crucial conclusion was prophetic: the dependence of the resistance movement on Arab nations has inhibited its growth into an effective political and military force. In the aftermath of the Lebanese civil war we see the movement a shambles, totally at the mercy of "the dynamics of inter-Arab politics." Exactly what Jaber foresaw.

Quandt is at his worst and most suspect when he tries to define the Palestinian personality and apply his definition to the "distrust and friction" among Palestinians. He sees their dependence on Arab political exigencies as only secondary. One wonders if the events in Lebanon have dissuaded him from this view.

Fawaz Turki's poignant book brings the Palestinian dilemma to life by bringing the Palestinian to life. Its compassionate concern for the underdog, any underdog, makes it compelling reading.

#### The Disinherited

Journal of a Palestinian Exile. By Fawaz Turki. Monthly Review Press, N.Y., 1972. 156 pp. \$5.95.

In Western literature one cannot escape the pain of the Jew as outcast, the eternal foreigner: before and after Shakespeare's memorable Jew of Venice, the Jew is seen as scapegoat, and one does not have to examine exhaustively the genesis and rationale of scapegoatry to sympathize with this human misery. Yet Westerners remain curiously frozen toward the Palestinians, as if the latter's obvious misery were merely the necessary by-product of the final triumph of the Crusaders. The Palestinians are unfashionable in the way that American Indians and Israelis are now fashionable. They remain unrelated to any form of chic. Nor can it be because they have resorted to terrorism, for the latter two groups have most certainly resorted to it. The cause of this frozen attitude seems to be ignorance.

Turki's book does much to remedy this. "If I was not a Palestinian when I left Haifa as a child, I am one now," he writes. "Living in Beirut as a stateless person for most of my growing-up years, many of them in a refugee camp, I did not feel that I was living among 'Arab brothers.'" Perhaps this experience is paralleled by that of many Sephardic Jews in Israel.



U. N. Relief and Work Agency

Here is an Arab suffering in the same way so many Jews have suffered — stateless, contempt, discriminated against, holding the exquisite dream of return. But the difference, the startling difference, is that it has all happened within a lifetime.

Henry G. Fischer, reviewing this book for *The Link*, points out what the popular press has rarely conceded: the Palestinians have resisted assimilation or permanent settlement in Arab countries. This viewpoint counteracts the habitual editorial question: why

haven't the Arabs assimilated the Palestinians, why have they persisted in using them as pawns in their struggle with Israel? Turki contends that the Palestinians have resisted this solution. He further points to grave burdens thrust upon the Arab states had they attempted to absorb the Palestinians after 1948. The Arabs were not, after all, oil-rich in the 1940s and 1950s, just as several of their nations are not now oil-rich, notably Syria, Jordan and Egypt, the very nations that front Israel. Turki, nevertheless, finds much fault in the Arab states' relations with the refugees. He resists the idea of accepting "the backyard of Palestine" as a Palestinian Arab state, but he is constrained to think the compromise should be accepted if offered. He hopes for a multiracial state, albeit, as Fischer notes, this dream has been handled severely by recent Israeli courts equating ethnicity with citizenship.

The Disinherited is persuasive. One hopes that Christian churches, so eager to hear Zionist speakers espouse their dream of Zion, also will have the courage to hear the Fawaz Turkis of the world.

#### The Angry Arabs

By W. F. Abboushi. Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1973. 285 pp. \$8.95.

If there is fault to find with W.F. Abboushi's book, which tangibly probes for a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, it is his title. If the facts do not square Zionism with Zion, neither do they square generalizations about the angry Arabs with the actual behaviors of the several Arab states. Most diplomats, for example, concede the Arabs' remarkable restraint concerning the politics of oil, world power-balance relationships, and the means with which they have employed their spectacular economic and strategic leverage.

Yet, hangings in Baghdad and Damascus make the front pages, but the politesse and restraint of Arab diplomacy are all but lost to any but the most careful reader or televiewer. Algeria's stern Third World postures are permitted to overshadow its notably peaceable business relations with the West, for example.

Despite the title, Abboushi's book is, as L. Humphrey Walz has written in *The Link*, a "lucid and helpful" essay



that provides insights into the "Arabs' values, customs, traditions, faiths, dilemmas and dreams."

Abboushi is a political science professor at the University of Cincinnati and a Palestinian émigré, enabling him to sympathize with the people of his homeland as well as with Americans' difficulty in comprehending what has befallen that homeland. He writes wistfully of that lost time when a large number of Arabs regarded the United States as a non-colonialist democracy prepared to champion the disenfranchised everywhere. But Dr. Abboushi persists in believing that a betterinformed American electorate might yet restore even-handedness to foreign policy regarding Israel and the Palestinians. Accordingly, he devotes the first half of his book to the Arab heritage and the second half to causes and possible cures of the Arab-Israeli impasse. Walz concludes that the professor's concern for justice does not render him uncritical of the Palestinians or antagonistic toward the Israelis; rather he patiently feels for a solution.

Dr. Kamal Salibi's book about the Lebanese civil war hardly deserves being shunted into an overview of books about the Arab-Israeli conflict, but because many Americans persist in viewing the Middle East through glasses made in Israel, there is good justification for placing the work in exactly this context.

#### Crossroads to Civil War

Lebanon 1958-1976.

By Kamal Salibi.

Caravan Books. 1976. 178 pp. \$15.

This book review appeared in the June 1976 issue of EVENTS, The Weekly Newsmagazine of the Middle East, and is reprinted here in condensed form.

For Dr. Kamal S. Salibi, the eminent Lebanese historian and author of *Crossroads to Civil War*, the job of the historian "is to tell the story, not to predict the outcome."

His book is the first direct account of contemporary events in Lebanon. In 178 pages, Dr. Salibi, professor of history at the American University of Beirut (AUB), makes a successful attempt at tracing the stages by which the Lebanese Republic, with its established order, advanced towards disintegration.

But he admits that the sequel of the story, whatever it may be, should better be left to the future, to which it legitimately belongs.

Salibi, well-known to Western readers on the Middle East for his studies on Lebanese history and politics, takes the present civil war in Lebanon back to 1958, when the first



U.N. Relief and Work Agency

major civil strife in that Arab country took place. He elaborately traces subsequent developments which led to the 1975-76 civil war, without burdening the reader with minute details in which only veteran historians may be interested.

In general, he looks at the Lebanese civil war, which began on April 13, 1975, as a conflict on two levels:

First, the clashes among the Lebanese themselves who, as Christians and Moslems (or alternatively as conservatives and radicals), have been in serious disagreement over a number of domestic and regional issues for nearly two decades.

Second, the clashes between the Christian Lebanese and the Palestinian resistance movement — that is, those Palestinian refugees living in Lebanon since Israel was created in 1948.

Like most students of Middle East affairs, Dr. Salibi recognizes the fact that the Lebanese crisis was not exclusively Lebanese. The conflict between Moslems and Christians, conservatives and radicals, Palestinians and Lebanese, "is inextricably connected internally with social pressures resulting from rapid urbanisation, and externally with the issue of the Middle Eastern settlement between the Arab states and Israel."

Many optimists in Lebanon argued that the Lebanese crisis would be settled with the election of a new head of state to succeed President Franjieh. For Dr. Salibi, however, the unrest is likely to continue, though in various proportions, until the overall Middle East question is finally resolved.

Crossroads to Civil War constitutes a serious attempt to expose the complex structural dynamics of the conflict in Lebanon in the form of an objective historical narrative. As a study and document, Crossroads to Civil War is indispensable reading for anyone interested in gaining full insight into the Lebanese situation.

Just as the virtue of Dr. Salibi's book is its intensely focused historicity, so the virtue of the next book is its broadly based approach.

## **Biblical Backgrounds** of the Middle East Conflict

By Georgia Harkness and Charles F. Kraft. Abingdon, 1976. 208 pp. \$7.95.

Georgia Harkness and Charles Kraft have written a curious book bound to provoke rejection and derision from opponents of the facile view that the Arab-Jewish conflict is a family quarrel among Semites. That it is just such a quarrel is the premise of this book, which employs biblical scholarship to make its case.

Though the book warns against anti-Semitism toward the Palestinians as well as the Jews, its premise is worrisome. Alas for those who misconstrue the Arab-Israeli conflict as a blood feud. Instances of Arab and Jew squabbling throughout written history are nothing compared to what Gentiles have inflicted upon Jews. Nor should the long periods of relative peaceability between Arab and Jew be obscured by a biblical tour de force.

That the present struggle is a more or less natural outgrowth of a family quarrel is a dangerous and suspect thesis; 20th-century politics far outweigh ethno-historical considerations in this issue. Yet any book that helps us, as this one does, to see Arabs and Jews as people whose histories closely intertwine performs a worthy service.

In contrast to the Harkness-Kraft biblical application is Aharon Cohen's technical approach to Arab-Jewish encounters over the ages.

#### Israel and the Arab World

By Aharon Cohen. Funk & Wagnalls. 575 pp. \$15.

Historically, Jews and Arabs first encountered each other after the Roman destruction of Judea. Aharon Cohen's task begins there, then continues through eighteen centuries of both warring and peaceful association between the two groups. It reaches deeply into events since the British Mandate in Palestine and the emergence of the State of Israel. The author canvasses the agitated balance of affairs left by the wake of the Six Day War.

Cohen recognizes the shortcomings of both sides, declaring that no "basic change can take place so long as each party only sees its side of the coin."

Embedded entirely in 20th-century politics are the final two entries of this section.

#### The Evasive Peace

By John H. Davis. Second edition. Dillon/Liederbach Inc., 1976. 136 pp. \$5.95.

#### The Arab-Israeli Dilemma

By Fred J. Khouri. Second edition. Syracuse University Press, 1976. 466 pp. \$5.95.

Davis, in a fast-moving and concise text, offers a factual matrix for the Arab-Israeli struggle, then goes on to explore possible ways to break the seeming deadlock. Khouri takes a more leisurely and scholarly approach, impartially criticizing the policies of the Arab states, Israel, the United States and the Soviet Union. Both books offer much to the expert and the uninitiated alike.

## Palestine In Brief

#### Zionism

The Dream and The Reality. Gary V. Smith, Ed. Harper & Row, 1974. 325 pp. \$12.50.

Twenty-one essays by such eminent Jewish writers as I. F. Stone, Hannah Arendt and Martin Buber. Views range from humanistic Zionism, to anti-Zionism, to non-Zionism. Invaluable insights conclude with overview, helpful glossaries of names, terms.

#### Israel and The Palestinians

Ithaca Press, 1975. Uri Davis, Andrew Mack, Nira Yuval-Davis, Eds. 6 pounds hardback; 3.80 pounds paperback.

Two parts: history of conflict, current issues. Reflects views of Jewish and Arab writers. Long-title essay by linguist Noam Chomsky provides thoughtful perspective. Notable for essays by Mustapha Karkuti supporting West Bank Arab state and by Hussein Agha who argues that any settlement to which Israel and the United States are parties would preclude a genuine Palestine national movement.

#### In the Anglo-Arab Labyrinth:

The McMahon-Husayn Correspondence and Its Interpretations, 1914-1939. By Elie Kedourie. Cambridge University Press, 1976. 330 pp. 12.50 pounds.

Academic title belies fascinating reading. McMahon was British high commissioner in Egypt, Husayn sharif of Mecca when British were trying to incite Arab revolt against Ottomans. This exchange is often cited as source of later misunderstandings, bitterness. Masterful interpretive monograph by Kedourie.

#### The Untempered Wind

Forty Years in Palestine. By Christina Jones. Longman, 1976. 226 pp. \$16.50.

Poignant evocation of life in Palestine as seen by a missionary during British mandate. Mrs. Jones, a witness of the Zionist conquest, quietly disposes of the myth that the land was a squalid desert coaxed into bloom by Jewish immigrants. She writes of the Suez misadventure, concludes in 1969, and manages to present a view remarkable for its compassion and realism.

#### The Transformation of Palestine

Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, Ed. Northwestern University, 1971. 522 pp. \$15.

Distinguished scholars re-examine history, development of Palestine during British mandate, and issues underlying current conflict.

## The Elusive Peace in the Middle East

Malcolm H. Kerr, Ed. State University of New York, 1975. 347 pp., with maps. \$6.95 paperback.

Widely diverging views of six knowledgeable writers, a Syrian, a Canadian, an Israeli, and three Americans. They agree on one point: the conflict has become a time bomb and some solution is imperative.

#### Peace in the Middle East?

By Noam Chomsky. Vintage, 1974. 198 pp. \$2.45.

Chomsky, a renowned linguist, seeks a peaceful solution in these essays, disputing the oft-heard contention that the Arabs can lose many wars, Israel but one; therefore, Israel must be obdurate. He pins his faith on more amenable future generations. The essays are weakest where they probe insufficiently the stance of the Palestine Liberation Organization and Soviet policy.

#### War and Peace in the Middle East

The Experiences and Views of a UN Observer.

By General Odd Bull.

Leo Cooper, United Kingdom, 1976.

220 pp., with half-tones and maps.
6.95 pounds.

Bull, a Norwegian, writes to challenge a Norwegian tendency to view the conflict through Israeli eyes. UN observer during the Six Day War, Bull concludes that the Arabs usually broke the letter of ceasefires and armistices, while the Israelis were in more or less constant violation of their spirit. Crisp, cool account of the war.

#### The Fall of Jerusalem

By Abdullah Schleifer.
Monthly Review Press, 1972.
247 pp. \$3.45 paperback.
Extraordinary eye-witness account of the Israeli conquest of Jerusalem in Six Day War. Forceful, informative.

# People and Places

Several months ago a wire-service story appeared in Washington's two newspapers looking as if the editors had reduced it from a bylined feature to filler material. The clue to its once higher state was found in the third paragraph, which informed readers that Algeria had sullenly turned its back on Middle Eastern affairs. Current adjectival usage in newspapers is reserved for features, commentary and editorializing. The writer certainly had known more than the editor permitted him to say, leaving the reader to ponder Algeria's sullenness.

The journalistic treatment of this article is revealing on several counts: (1) it hints at what happens to a great deal of information readers ought to know about the Middle East and North Africa to make informed judgements; (2) it indicates how a perfectly reputable, or possibly faulty, piece of journalism was turned into gratuitous bias. Therefore, anyone who read the article could assume that Algeria, for some obscure reason, is generally sullen.

One hopes that the writer meant to say, and perhaps did say in paragraphs that wound up in the editors' baskets, that Algeria is preoccupied with internal affairs and has some very specific reasons for disassociating itself from Middle East politics. But even that would have left most readers with too little, for Algeria is an economically vibrant, Muslim, overwhelmingly Arab nation playing an important role in Pan-Arab politics.

What can be done about this sort of gaffe? A great deal can be done — by teachers, librarians, concerned journalists, book reviewers, publishers and readers. There are excellent books



(and manuscripts) circulating about the Middle East. The books reviewed here suggest the range of works available, but teachers, librarians and booksellers would do well to satisfy themselves that they have not neglected all the peoples of the Middle East.

#### Abu Dhabi

A Portrait. By John Daniels. Longman, 1975. 100 pp., 78 illustrations. \$14.50.

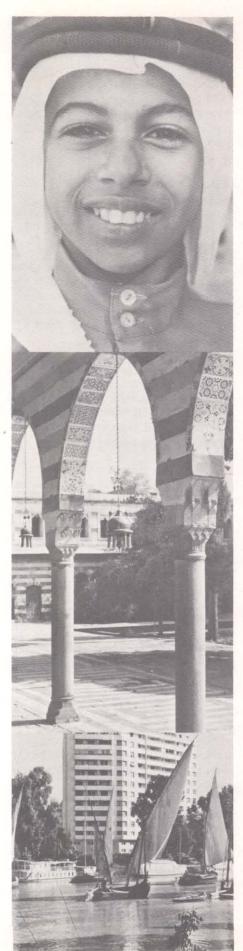
Say Abu Dhabi to a bright American youngster and you may, if you are lucky, get an association with Leigh Hunt's Abu ben Adham. Say Abu Dhabi to most youngsters and you are apt to get blank stares. That is a shame — and an important failing in our educational system —, because Abu Dhabi not only vitally concerns our foreign policymakers, but it is a fascinating land that just happens to have the highest per capita income in the world. And what does it do with its money?

"Money is of no value unless it is used for the benefit of the people," Abu Dhabi's ruler, Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahyan tells author John Daniels. How is that for an aspect of the Arab world the headlines belie? Surely we owe it to our children, if not ourselves, to present them with a man like Sheikh Zayed.

Abu Dhabi, Land of the Gazelle, is part of the United Arab Emirates. It popped into the headlines earlier this year when it joined Saudi Arabia in tempering OPEC's inclination to raise oil prices anywhere from 10 to 25 percent.

Daniels, a former British foreign officer and oil company official, has known the Arabian Gulf for more than 30 years. According to Link reviewer Hugh D. Auchincloss, Jr., Daniels writes of Abu Dhabi's 5,000-year history with reverence and care. The author delineates the sheikh's concern for the development of less fortunate Muslim and Arab lands, of changes in education, health care, housing, and agriculture — especially the Arid Lands Research Centre at Sadiyat. Auchincloss finds the book exciting and informative.

In terms of Saudi Arabia, subject of the next review, what do most Americans know of the House of Sa'ud, except an occasional blurred wirephoto of King Khalid or Zaki Yamani?



Arab Information Center

#### The Birth of Saudi Arabia

Britain and the Rise of the House of Sa'ud.

By Gary Troeller.

Frank Cass, United Kingdom, 1976. 288 pp., with 2 maps. 8.50 pounds. The adventurous life story of Abdul

Azziz ibn Sa'ud, that one-eyed giant, was the stuff of legends. Elizabeth Monroe in the Gazelle Review considers him "one of the four or five great men of our century." Sa'ud dealt with famous men — Lloyd George, Churchill, Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini, Roosevelt — and he watched them with a canny eye and maintained a towering dignity.

Troeller, an American, writes with verve, unlike the renowned St. John Philby, who wrote with heavy-handedness the history of the Wahhabis, Saudi Arabia, in 1955, and the Arabian Jubilee in 1953. The excitement and drama of this tale of desert warfare, intrigue, and religious fervor waned in Philby's literary fingers.

Troeller offers a more readable book. He dispels the hindsight that had Whitehall helped Sa'ud instead of his enemy, Sharif Husayn of Mecca, the man who would be caliph of all Islam, the results would have been better. Because Husayn was a sophisticate, the British were bound to be drawn to him. What they did not fathom was that his moral influence was divisive, whereas Sa'ud offered a simpler, more religiously discernible leadership. Sa'ud triumphed, without British help.

Though flawed by an incomplete transition from thesis to book, Troeller's book may well encourage other writers to discover one of the great adventure stories of our century.

Unlike Troeller's careful portrayal of Sa'ud, many histories merely caricature the peoples of the Middle East. They tend to deal with time and place in blocs rather than continuities. The next book, by no means recent but by every means current, remedies this malady.

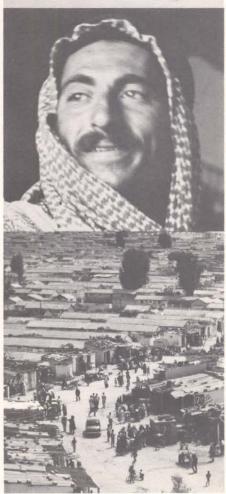
#### The Sufis

By Idries Shah.

Doubleday, 1971. 406 pp. \$2.95.

Shah has written the definitive work on Sufism, the hermetic tradition that traces its Islamic roots to the Companions of the Prophet, but predates Islam in various forms by many centuries. In so doing he has compiled an astonishing catalog of the traditions, ideas, art forms and inventions passed over to the West from the Middle East. Sufis readers are taken by





Arab Information Center U.N. Relief and Works Agency

the incredible indebtedness to the Middle East of Western civilization for some of its fondest achievements. Even more astonishing are the lines of transmission, the more or less steady flow of ideas from East to West, the vital commerce. Shah's book keynotes the subtlety of history, the sense that individuals own nothing, originate nothing, hold no patents - all is owned in common by peoples everywhere. The things hailed as our own cultural achievements are often what has gone before. There is no better book, certainly none more scholarly, from which to draw a context for better understanding of the Middle East: its foreignness becomes our vanity in Shah's hands.

A curious, albeit esoteric, companionability exists between *The Sufis* and our next book, which also speaks of the vital commerce our own country enjoyed with certain Middle Eastern nations.

#### The Arab Lands of Western Asia

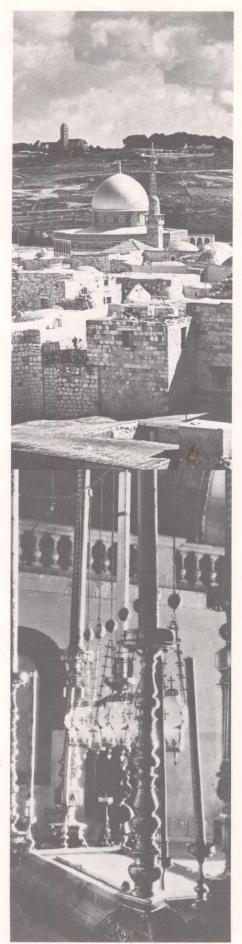
By Joseph J. Malone Prentice-Hall, 1973. 269 pp. Hardback \$9.50; paperback \$5.95.

This quick-paced, highly readable work is one in Prentice-Hall's The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective series. The book summarizes the histories and trends contributing to developments today in Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Jordan and the nations of the Arabian peninsula. Its author, Professor Malone, a University of Pittsburgh scholar, for many years directed the Middle East studies program at the American University in Beirut.

Harry N. Howard, a *Link* reviewer, finds Malone suggesting no "pat or quick and easy solutions" to current problems. But he concludes that the reader will better understand these problems after consulting Malone's "well-balanced, well-written, up-to-date essay." The reviewer cites an excellent bibliographical essay for the reader seeking a basic guide "to a broad spectrum of literature."

Howard congratulates Malone and the publisher for producing a "convenient, informative volume." It points, he says, to a better understanding of an area "not all of whose problems center around the Palestine issue."

One wonders how many of our school



U.N. Relief and Work Agency Arab Information Center

children, now that Arabs are so newsworthy, learn anything about bedouin traditions, about the Arabs' love of chivalry, hospitality, falconry, husbandry, about their cultural heritage. Writer/photographer Alistair Duncan, widely traveled in the Arab world, puts readers in touch with a landmark in their cultural tradition.

#### The Noble Sanctuary

Portrait of a Holy Place in Arab Jerusalem. By Alistair Duncan. Longman. 80 pp. 2 pounds.

The name Jerusalem remains one of the most connotatively wealthy words in the English language. Over time, three of the world's great religions have been cast together in this city to lay down a rich legacy of devotion.

For more than 1300 years, Islamic worshippers have focused attentions on a structure known as the Dome of the Rock, located on the middleground of Mount Moriah. Byzantine in architecture, oriental in its decoration, the Dome richly testifies to the glory of God.

Aided by 36 full-color illustrations, Duncan recreates its history, its various stages of construction and restoration.

With much the same care, the author, in a companion volume, looks in on another of the world's religious masterworks.

#### The Noble Heritage, Jerusalem and Christianity

A Portrait of the Church of the Resurrection. By Alistair Duncan. Longman. \$15.

A second religious achievement, the Church of the Resurrection or Holy Sepulchre, lies within the Old City of Jerusalem. Through 79 full-color photographs, Duncan visually describes the artistic beauty and craftsmanship of the edifice. The text runs the gamut of its history.

In the 4th century A.D., Emperor Constantine constructed a basilica on the site of Christ's crucifixion. Other construction followed, but all subsequent buildings were climaxed by the church erected by the Crusaders in the 12th century.

Time and nature eroded the church's original splendor, but restorative work, conducted in the 1960s and 1970s, has returned it to full magnificence.



## Periodicals

They range from beguilingly humble typescript churned out by rickety mimeograph to sleek, advertisement-fat annuals, from the polemical to the scholarly. They are the plethora of magazines, tabloids, journals, newsletters and reports about the Middle East. If there is a whiff of the underground about them, it is perhaps a measure of the misunderstanding surrounding the Middle East that such periodicals should seem suspect.

Will this medley of "Middle East small press" serve to enlighten a larger public? Can the *cogniscenti* impart what they know to the uninformed? So tantalizing is the question, so numerous the publications, that the *Link* purposely examines as many of the more promising periodicals as space permits.

#### Middle East Annual Review

Middle East Review Co., Ltd., Greater Chesterford, Saffron Walden, Essex CB10 1NR, United Kingdom. \$23.35.

Published in English and Arabic, this review is an invaluable handbook to the recent politics, economics and governments of Middle East and adjacent nations. Filled with the advertising of businesses dealing in the Middle East, the publication starts with a general history of the area, a discussion of economic trends, then provides nation-by-nation data in depth. It is a bargain for the price.

#### **SWASIA**

The Middle East and Europe Working Groups of the National Council of Churches, 3631 39th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016. \$15 for individuals; \$25 for institutions.

At the other end of the mechanical spectrum is *SWASIA*, a small, dignified weekly newsletter publishing translations from Hebrew and Arabic publications and broadcasts. It focuses on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, with a media monitoring capacity that is valuable but limited.

#### Middle East International

105 Grand Buildings, Trafalgar Square, London WC2, United Kingdom. \$15 a year.

This timely magazine-format news journal offers such top-flight writers as Sir Anthony Nutting, author of the pithy and helpful *The Arabs*. The journal's emphasis is political, but it offers book reviews and some cultural commentary. Its demeanor is serious, knowledgeable and journalistic. For American readers it provides the odd experience of watching the British watch the United States deal with an area of the world in which it might be said that the British have indulged something more than a dalliance.

Palestine Digest

The League of Arab States, Arab Information Center, 1875 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Suite 1110, Washington, D.C. 20009. Free.

This digest contains reprints and articles that the Arab Information Center considers worthy of wider public

attention. Contents appear under the following headings: News and News Analysis, Viewpoints and Editorials, Documents and Book Reviews. The digest surveys the range of material being written about Middle Eastern matters in the American press. Reviewed by J.M.S.

**Journal of Palestine Studies** 

Published jointly by the Institute for Palestine Studies and Kuwait University. Mail address: P.O. Box 19449, Washington, D.C. 20036. \$15 a year; \$9 for students.

Indispensible and well-edited, this journal approaches its title topic with lowered voice and scholarly manners. It conjures the magnificent publishing tradition of the Middle East. The journal offers interviews, articles, research, book reviews, and searching commentary. It is not to be neglected by the serious observer.

#### **Israel and Palestine**

Boite Postale 130-10, 75463 Paris Cedex 10, France. 36 francs in France; 5 pounds in the United Kingdom and Ireland; \$12 elsewhere in Europe; \$10 in the United States and Israel.

Perceptive inquiries into super-power interests and the relationship of non-Zionist Jews to Zionist leadership distinguish this monthly tabloid. Its editors are avowedly devoted to the creation of an independent Palestinian state and the preservation of Israel. Written in English, this newspaper is journalistically enterprising and carefully edited.





#### The Muslim World

The Hartford Seminary Foundation, 55 Elizabeth St., Hartford, Conn. 16105. \$6 a year.

Founded in 1911, this remarkable ecumenical journal explores Christian-Muslim relationships, past and present, surveys periodicals, reviews books, and entertains letters and comment. Its tone is creative, its editing and discretion impeccable. The journal moderates passion with compassion, contention with context. It is difficult to posit a more even-handed vehicle for Christian-Muslim dialogue, cognizant as it is of the Judaic roots of both religions.

#### Khamsin

Francois Maspero, publisher, Paris 12FF, France. Quarterly.

This French-language journal refuses to accept a pro-Arab/pro-Israeli dichotomy. The editors, Eli Lobel and Leila Kadi, are respectively an Israeli expatriate and a Palestinian intellectual. Articles by Arabs and Jews range from workers' demonstrations in Egypt to the Lebanese civil war to U.S. diplomacy in the region. The review attacks standard assumptions so forthrightly that it deserves an Englishlanguage equivalent.

#### Gazelle Review

Ithaca Press, 13 Southwark St., London SE1, United Kingdom. 1.80 pounds; \$4.

A compact little review of literature, the *Gazelle* approach is eclectic, ranging from petroleum politics to modern Arabic poetry. Broadly focused, less than compendious, quasi-scholarly, it offers a useful handbook to current literature, maintaining a sharp eye for unusual research papers and project findings.

#### The Middle East Journal

The Middle East Institute, 1761 N St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. \$9 a year.

For rigorous scholarship and editorship, this journal has no peer. Its articles, chronologies, reviews and bibliographies of periodical literature are so competent as to constitute a quarterly landmark in Middle East studies. It is not possible to be serious about the subject without this journal.

#### The Voice

National Association of Arab-Americans, Suite 1175, 600 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. \$10 for individuals; \$20 for institutions.

Of considerable value to studies of the Arab-American community, this newsletter is published monthly, offering insights into a segment of the population that has only recently become politicized.

#### **Review of Middle East Studies**

Talal Asad and Roger Owen, Eds. Ithaca Press, United Kingdom. 1.80 pounds.

Challenging "parochial assumptions" in Orientalism, this review freshly reexamines such phrases as "Islamic society" and the "economic isolation of the Ottoman empire."

#### Middle East Perspective

Middle East Perspective, Inc., 850 Seventh Ave., New York, N.Y.10019. Monthly. \$15 a year; \$20 overseas; \$6 students.

This letter, meticulously edited by Dr. Alfred M. Lilienthal, is noteworthy for its consistent focus on the little-publicized relationship of non-Zionist and anti-Zionist Jews to Zionists. Distinctly anti-Zionist itself, and disquietingly vehement at times, it roams the Zionist myth factory with a discerning eye. It makes for challenging, thoughtful and virulent reading.

#### The Voice

4 Vincent Square, London SW1, United Kingdom. Airmail rate [USA] \$18.

This independent biweekly tabloid focuses consistently on the artistic and social life of the Arab nations. It assumes a readership more familiar with such matters than a comparable North American publication could assume.



Contact for the following films: San Francisco Newsreel, 630 Natomas Street, San Francisco, California 94103 or Third World Newsreel, 26 West 20th Street, New York, New York 10011.

#### **Revolution Until Victory**

B and W, 52 min.

The 1973 Newsreel film, sometimes titled "We Are the Palestinian People." Via historical footage, the movie dramatically traces the roots of the present struggle against Zionism and Zionism's relationship to the Jewish people. Comprehensively studies the Palestine resistance movement. Available also in Spanish.

#### To Live in Freedom

Color, 54 min.

Put together by an Israeli crew in 1975, considers class struggles that exist in Israel. Oriental Jews and Palestinians viewed as second- and third-class citizens. Lacks the perspective of the Palestinian Liberation movement. Offers a complete statement when shown in conjunction with Revolution Until Victory.

#### Al Fateh

B and W, 80 min. 1971 film by Unitele Films in Rome. Documentary capturing outlook of Palestinian people.

#### The Hour of Liberation Has Struck

Color, 62 min.

Critics Choice, Cannes Film Festival, 1974. Produced in 1973, directed by a 15-year-old Lebanese woman, the films sets forth the struggles of Dhofar and the People's Front for the Liberation of Oman.

Contact for the following films: American Friends Service Committee, Peace Education and Action Committee, 15 Rutherford Place, New York, New York 10003.

#### The Palestinians

16 mm., Color, 54 min. CBS reporter Bill McLaughlin objectively pursues the range of Palestinian experiences. In interviews with moderates through radicals, Palestinians express profound feelings about a return to their homes, as well as thoughts about Jewish Israelis, guerillas, terrorism, and the feasibility of a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza.

#### The Israelis

16 mm., Color, 36 min. Israeli author/journalist discusses the complex temperament of the Israeli people and backgrounds their personal and national fear for survival. It considers internal social problems and the role of Arabs present in the State of

Contact for the following filmstrips: Arab-American University Graduates, Inc. [AAUG.], P.O. Box 7391, North End Station, Detroit, Michigan 48202.

#### Palestinians: Holding On

Color, sound, 45 min.
Interviews with Arabs in occupied
Palestine, Gaza and the West Bank. On
camera are Palestinian settlements,
razed Palestinian homes and villages,
and communities resisting displacement. Lawyer Felicia Langer, PLO
Spokesman Shafiq El-Hout and
Nazareth Mayor Tawfiq Zayyad, deal
with Israeli repressive measures and
Palestinian reaction.

#### Palestine Is the Issue

Color, sound, 45 min. Layman's guide to Palestine, reaching from 19th-century Zionism to bombing of Palestine refugee camps in 1974.

Contact for the following films: Films, Inc., 440 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10016.

#### **Egyptian Villagers**

Color, 14 min.

Depicts Egyptian production potential not recognized as yet by the United States.

#### Man Changes the Nile

Color, 13 min. A more recently produced film reaching to completion of Aswan Dam.

#### Oasis of the Sahara

Color, 16 min.

Strong, though narrow, visual statement about the Arab world. Considered competent definition of life in an oasis in North Africa. Works best as one part of a series, portraying various facets of Arab life, including modern development and urban society.

#### Oil in Libya

Color, 16 min.

High-level introductory message about Libya. Information is sparse. Basically considers lifestyle modifications brought by oil and movement of villagers to city.

Contact for the following films: Coronet Films, 65 East South Water Street, Chicago, Illinois 60601.

## Moslem World: Beginnings and Growth

Color, 11 min.

Faithful portrayal of the religion and culture. Certain inaccuracies, e.g., confused use of "Arab" and "Moslem" and allusion to Koran as collection of Muhammad's sayings.

#### Life In An Oasis

(North Africa) Color, 11 min. This 1962 film deals with land reclamation in Egypt. Needs some updating.

Contact for the following films: Julian Bryan Production for International Film Foundation, 475 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10017.

#### **Ancient Egyptian**

Color, 27 min.

Interesting, beautiful film.

#### Israel: Story of the Jewish People

Color, 31 min.

Strong on photography and production. Content is average, slant is pro-Israel.

Contact for the following films: McGraw Hill, National Film Board of Canada, McGraw Hill Films, 1221 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10020.

#### Islam

B and W, 19 min.

One of the Great Religions series. Informative, though visually average.

Contact: McGraw Hill/NBC News [see address above].

#### River Nile

Color, 34 min.

A more recent NBC special; most like an adult armchair travel film. Traces Nile from Ethiopian highlands to Delta. Slightly dated.

Films section compiled by L.A.C.

#### Use this Convenient Order Form for books, etc.

- ☐ W.F. Abboushi, THE ANGRY ARABS, Westminster Press. 285 pp. \$8.95. With a view to satisfying the awakening interest of the American public in the Arab world and with a desire to contribute toward an honorable and workable peace between Arabs and Israelis, the author clearly presents the Arabs' values, customs, goals, traditions, etc. Our price, \$5.75.
- ☐ Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, editor, THE TRANS-FORMATION OF PALESTINE, Northwestern University. 522 pp. \$15.00. Distinguished scholars reexamine the history and development of Palestine during the mandate period and the issues underlying the Arab-Israeli conflict. Our price, \$9.00.
- ☐ Aharon Cohen, ISRAEL AND THE ARAB WORLD, Funk & Wagnalls. 575 pp. \$15.00. A comprehensive study of the relationships between Arabs and Jews from ancient times to the present day, as well as a detailed study of the present confrontation. An even-handed appraisal of both sides in this confrontation. Our price, \$4.50.
- ☐ John H. Davis, THE EVASIVE PEACE, revised 1976, Dillon/Liederbach Inc. 136 pp. \$5.95. The author gives the factual background to the present Arab-Israeli dilemma and presents a policy which could well lead to a permanent peace in the Middle East, without which he feels future wars are inevitable. Our price, \$3.50.
- □ Alistair Duncan, THE NOBLE SANC-TUARY, Longman Group, Ltd. 80 pp. 2.00 pounds. A collection of beautiful color pictures of Jerusalem, The Dome of the Rock and details of Arab design, accompanied by an appreciative text giving the history and the various phases of construction and restoration of "The Noble Sanctuary." Our price, \$3.00.
- ☐ F.H. Epp, THE PALESTINIANS, PORTRAIT OF A PEOPLE IN CONFLICT, Herald Press. 240 pp. \$10.00. Tells a story not widely heard in the West—the Palestinian side of the present conflict in the Middle East. Photos, maps and interviews give a composite picture of a people without a homeland: either in exile, subjected to military occupation or kept at a second-class status in Israel. Our price, \$6.25.
- ☐ Sabri Jiryis, THE ARABS IN ISRAEL, Monthly Review Press. 314 pp. \$12.50. A new and much expanded version of Jiryis' previously published 180-page study which bore the same title. A careful, well-documented, judicious work which gives an authoritative picture of the deprivation of the rights of the Arabs living in Israel. Our price, \$7.75.
- ☐ Felicia Langer, WITH MY OWN EYES, Ithaca Press. 192 pp. 2.50 pounds (paperback). The author, a noted Israeli Communist

- lawyer, presents a chronological series of case histories which document examples of the seizure of land, confiscation of property, blowing up of houses, torture of prisoners, arbitrary deportations and other violations of justice in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights. Our price, \$3.00.
- □ D. Magnetti & M.A. Sigler, AN INTRODUCTION TO THE NEAR EAST, Our Sunday Visitor, Inc. 240 pp. \$3.95 (paperback). A very readable short general history of the Near East from ancient times to 1967, followed by a factual study of each Near Eastern country and a study of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Includes a comprehensive annotated bibliography. Our price, \$2.25.
- □ C. Mayhew & M. Adams, PUBLISH IT NOT . . . THE MIDDLE EAST COVER-UP, Longman Group, Ltd. 193 pp. 5.00 pounds. A carefully documented account of the difficulty in England in publishing any material, even proven facts, critical of Israel and favorable to the Arabs. Some of the instances of bias and condemnation of those endeavoring to be even-handed are so blatant as to be shocking. Our price, \$10.00.
- ☐ Kamal S. Salibi, CROSSROADS TO CIVIL WAR, LEBANON 1958-1976, Caravan Books. 178 pp. \$15.00. A history book containing a direct account of contemporary events, so current that it brings the reader up to March 1976. This timely study is extremely valuable for those interested in understanding what is happening in Lebanon today. Our price, \$10.00.
- ☐ E.R.F. Sheehan, THE ARABS, ISRAELIS, AND KISSINGER, Reader's Digest Press. 287 pp. \$8.95. A secret history of American diplomacy in the Middle East. Contains a more detailed and enlightening account of Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy than that given in the news media, the storms resulting from published excerpts of secret documents, and telling portraits of Middle East leaders. Our price, \$5.50.
- □ R.P. Stevens & A.M. Elmessiri, ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA: THE PROGRESSION OF A RELATIONSHIP, New World Press. 214 pp. \$6.00 (paperback). The authors trace the historical framework of relations between these two countries by means of essays and documents, showing that the political philosophy of each is based upon the premise of European racial and cultural superiority over the "native population." Our price, \$3.25.
- ☐ Ray Vicker, THE KINGDOM OF OIL, Chas. Scribner's Sons. 264 pp. \$7.95. The author traces the shift of power from Western to Arab hands in the politics of oil and offers some suggestions for the future as far as energy is concerned. Contains a study of the history, politics, religions and social customs of the Middle East and its emergence into modern history via oil. Our price, \$5.00.

The Link aims at maintaining contacts among Americans who believe that friendship with the people of the Middle East is essential to world peace, who would contribute to this goal by spreading understanding of the history, values, religions, culture and economic conditions of the Middle East, and who would — in this context — press for greater fairness, consistency and integrity in U.S. policy toward that area.

It is published by A.M.E.U. (Americans for Middle East Understanding, Inc.) whose directors are: John V. Chapple, former CARE director, Gaza Strip Project; John H. Davis, former Commissioner General of UNRWA. International Consultant; Harry G. Dorman, Jr., former Director, Middle East and Europe Department, National Council of Churches; Henry G. Fischer, Curator in Egyptology. Metropolitan Museum of Art (v.p.); Helen C. Hilling, Professor, U. of Fla.; John G. Nolan, National Secretary, Catholic Near East Welfare Association; Joseph L. Ryan, S.J., St. Joseph's University, Beirut; Jack B. Sunderland, President of American Independent Oil Company: L. Humphrey Walz, Associate Synod Executive, HR, United Presbyterian Synod of the Northeast; Charles T. White, former Financial Executive, Near East Foundation and AID (treas.).

John M. Sutton, Executive Director; Mrs. E. Kelly, Administrative Assistant; Miss H. Cassile, Distribution & Travel. Mrs. L. Cooley, Editor Mr. F. Cooley, Designer

All correspondence should be addressed to Room 771, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York, 10027.



Americans for Middle East Understanding, Inc Room 771, 475 Riverside Drive New York, N.Y. 10027

☐ Contribution to AMEU, tax deductible.

☐ Free Pamphlet Collection.

A check or money order for \$\_\_\_\_\_ is enclosed, payable to AMEU.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_

7IP