



THE LINK

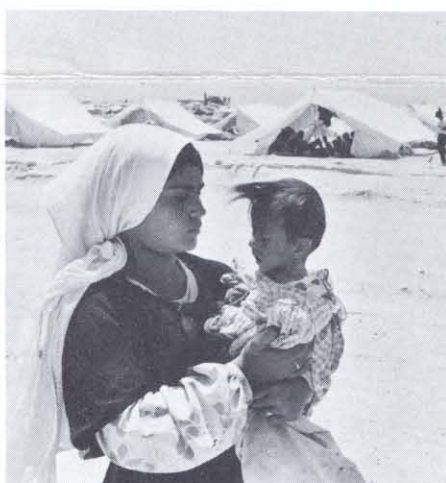
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U.N. Struggles Again for Elusive Mideast Peace



In these **Twice in A Lifetime** photographs — taken a generation apart — Palestinian Arab mothers of 1948 and of the Second Exodus of 1967 care for their young in refugee tent colonies. As Christmas approaches, do they make you think of another Mother over there long ago for whom “there was no room in the inn,” or of her Child who grew up to say, “As you did it to the least of these, . . . you did it to me?”

“Twice in A Lifetime” Portrays People UNRWA Serves

This month’s debates in the U.N. Special Political Committee to determine whether or not to extend the mandate of UNRWA (the U.N. Relief & Works Agency for Palestine Refugees) beyond mid-’69 have been in a setting of greater human awareness than ever. This is partly due to the immense popularity of the 60-page, magazine-style UNRWA book, *Twice in A Lifetime*. Printed on the sturdiest paper for use as a permanent reference or for sharing in group discussions, it uses maps, photographs and a dash of color in the manner of a documentary film to make the reader aware that the refugees portrayed “are human, too.”

The statistics and official accounts in Commissioner-General Michelmores’s October 15, 1968, Annual Report are, of course, important and we suggest you write UNRWA, Room 1801, United Nations, N.Y., for a free

copy. Carefully studied, it will reveal the mechanics of the yearly miracle by which America’s annual \$20,000,000 contribution (less than 1¢ per American per month!) can — when pooled with funds from other nations and with the services of the ‘host’ countries — be stretched to feed 180,000 school children, provide 1500 calories daily (at 4¢ a day) in family distributions to 863,000 refugees, and offer a degree of shelter and some medical care and vocational training. It will also answer with bald facts some of the cleverly belittling propaganda being widely disseminated by certain vocal Americans who begrudge that cent a month.

Yet, the human touch of *Twice in A Lifetime* remains vital to a grasp of the Holy Land’s current realities. Hence, AMEU (publisher of this *Link*) has raised funds to permit various church headquarters to send a gift

Year-Old Formula Still Vital

Secretary of State Rusk has stressed to the U.N. General Assembly the concern of many nations for prompt action on the U.N. Resolution of November 22, 1967.

Passed unanimously by the Security Council and endorsed alike by American pro-Arab and pro-Israeli periodicals, that resolution declared that “a just and lasting peace” for the “grave situation in the Middle East” requires: withdrawal of Israeli troops from recently occupied territories; ending belligerency with the affirmation of all nations’ right to life, independence and territorial integrity; freedom of navigation; justice for the refugees; and demilitarized zones.

Ambassador Gunnar Jarring has spent arduous months as the U.N.’s Special Representative to work out these provisions with all belligerents. To his report — and to the current debate surrounding it — events have brought a mixed freight of optimism and pessimism, our stake in which has

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copy to every priest who has supported Catholic Near East Welfare and to most ministers whose congregations have contributed to the mid-Lenten “One Great Hour of Sharing.” This is also our way of saying, “Thank you,” through them, for the supplementary gifts from churches to provide clothing and services beyond the scope of your monthly cent to UNRWA.

Ask your local pastor to let you steep yourself in his copy. Or, if you want your own, order it from AMEU. They cost 75¢ each. Naturally, we’d be pleased if you’d add 25¢ for postage and handling.

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 Americans for Middle East Understanding, Inc., whose directors are: John V. Chapple (v.p.), Arabist editor with the Encyclopaedia Britannica; Dr. John H. Davis, past Commissioner General of UNRWA; Dr. Harry G. Dorman, Jr., Executive Director, Middle East & Europe Dept., National Council of Churches; Dr. Henry G. Fischer, Curator of Egyptian Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art; Dr. Helen C. Hilling (sec.), Professor of Public Administration, N.Y.U.; L. Emmett Holt, Jr., M.D., Board Chairman of American Middle East Rehabilitation; Msgr. John G. Nolan, President of the Pontifical Mission for Palestine; Jack B. Sunderland (pres.), President of the American Independent Oil Co.; President Emeritus Henry P. Van Dusen of Union Theological Seminary, N.Y.; Rev. L. Humphrey Walz (ed.), Chairman of the Near East Sub-Committee of the Presbytery of N.Y.C.; and Charles T. White (treas.), past Financial Executive, Near East Foundation and AID.

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U.N. for Peace (Cont'd from page 1)

been summed up by Ambassador Charles W. Yost to inquiring Congressmen as follows:

"The Middle East is at present the area where local conflict could most easily involve the Great Powers contrary to their desires and interests. It is, therefore, important to the security of the U.S., the USSR and the Europeans that the Arab-Israeli conflict be resolved before it leads to further hostilities. Despite appearances to the contrary, the substantive differences between moderate elements in most of the countries involved are less than they have been and are not unbridgeable.

"In order that these more moderate views may prevail, however, it will be necessary that the members of the U.N. Security Council, including the U.S., play a more positive role than they have so far in proposing and bringing about a settlement. In view of the hazards involved, there is no time to be lost."

BOOKS

DISCOUNTS AVAILABLE

(notes by H.G.F.)

With this issue we enclose a respond envelope to make various publications available to our readers at a discount of at least 40%, plus the cost of mailing and packing. It is hoped that other titles will soon be available on the same basis. One of our future selections, Van Horn's *Soldiering for Peace*, will be supplemented by the strikingly similar testimony of Commander Elmo Hutchinson, an American officer who served as a UN Military Observer from 1951 to 1955. His book, *Violent Truce*, is out of print, but will be reissued within the next few months.

In offering the present selections we have, in the following brief notices, tried to indicate the author's point of view and the type of information that he has presented. Because of its exceptional value, one further book has been described even though it cannot be purchased in this country. "For copyright reasons," *Israel and the Arabs*, a Penguin Special, is not for sale in the U.S.A. It can only be obtained from Canada (price \$1.25) or by ordering from an English bookseller such as B. H. Blackwell, Broad Street, Oxford; in the latter case a dollar amply covers the price of 5 shillings (60 cents) plus mailing. We cannot recommend this very usual procedure, however, since the New York office of Penguin Books advises that such importations are illegal. For those interested in the subject, they suggest another Penguin that is available in an American edition and hence not subject to any restrictions: *Israel, Miracle of the Desert*.

THE ARAB-ISRAELI DILEMMA, by Fred J. Khouri. 436 pages. Syracuse University Press.

Although this volume received very favorable comment in *The Saturday Review of Literature* (by Drew Middleton, Sept. 7, 1968) and in *Newsweek* (by Thomas Gordon Plate, September 9), it could not be purchased in New York from either of two distributors recommended by the publisher's sales department. The following comments are therefore drawn from the aforementioned reviews. Professor Fred Khouri of Villanova University, Pennsylvania, offers a detailed and thoughtful analysis of the current Middle East situation, including many interviews with heads of states and national officials. He objectively and impartially criticizes the policies of the Arab states, Israel, the United States and the Soviet Union. In considering the future, he believes (as Mr. Middleton emphatically does) that there is little hope for any compromise peace settlement in the immediate future, and that such an effort must be preceded by a gradual detente resulting from step-by-step diplomacy. Mr. Middleton doubts that there is time for so gradual an evolution towards peace, and thinks everything depends on decisive action by the two superpowers. Among Mr. Middleton's other comments, one in particular echoes the purpose of AMEU: "No one can quarrel with his call for more complete information about the region for all concerned, Professor Khouri's first prerequisite."

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN, by Alfred M. Lilienthal. 420 pages. Devin-Adair, N. Y.

Alfred Lilienthal, whose newsletter *Perspective* is mentioned elsewhere in this issue, has been an adversary of Zionism since 1947, when, during a visit to Palestine on behalf of a relative who was settling there, he was shocked by the prevailing attitudes and policies of local Zionist leadership. *The Other Side of the Coin*, his most recent book on the Middle East, was published two years before the hostilities of June, 1967. It is nonetheless most timely, for its conclusions are basically in agreement with those of Uri Avnery (see below), although he goes further than Avnery in his proposal not only to recall the Palestinian Arab refugees, but to make room for them by providing for a proportionate Jewish emigration from Israel to North America. Like Avnery, he believes that: "Only an Israel which is of as well as in the Middle East can win the trust and confidence of the people around her." Of equally timely importance is the wealth of evidence that Mr. Lilienthal presents concerning Zionist pressure in the United States and its effect on nearly everything that is done or said about the Middle East in this country. All of us who desire to promote a fuller understanding of

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Temple of Friendship



The little Temple of Dendur, dating to the reign of Augustus Caesar, is one of the most appealing of the Nubian monuments removed from the Nile Valley south of the new High Dam. It was dismantled in 1963 by the Egyptian Department of Antiquities, and offered to the United States in March 1965, in gratitude for the \$12 million of Egyptian credit that America had recently contributed to the Abu Simbel project. That completion of that project was marked by official ceremonies on September 22, with Lucius Battle representing our Department of State. Almost precisely one month earlier Egypt's token of appreciation had reached New York City in 661 crates. The crates are now being unpacked at the south end of the Metropolitan Museum, where they will be stored within an inflatable plastic bubble, permitting a view of some of the reliefs. Eventually the temple will be re-erected in a specially constructed hall adjacent to

the existing Egyptian collection, at the north end of the building. It is the only complete and fully decorated Egyptian temple that is small enough to be afforded indoor protection. As such, it will constitute a unique museum exhibit.

Shortly after the crated temple had left Alexandria, an editorial in the *Christian Science Monitor* aptly termed it a "Temple of Friendship" and concluded:

"It is a happy thought that the present dark state of relations between Egypt and the United States has not held up this project. The temple's age can remind us all that the passing of time and the growth of mutual goodwill are certain to bring a betterment in these relations. Egypt's refusal to halt this project, even under the bitterness felt against America as a result of last year's Arab-Israeli war, bespeaks Cairo's welcome conviction that America and Egypt will once again be friends."

Muslims Celebrate Mohammed's Jerusalem Journey

October 19, 1968, was, for the Muslims, the 7th of Rajab, 1388, A.H.—the anniversary of the Prophet Mohammed's Nocturnal Journey to Jerusalem and his *mi'raj* (ascent) from the spot. In New York the Islamic Center's celebration of the event featured Libyan Ambassador Wahbi al-Bouri, Afghanistani Minister Muhammad Zikria, Temple University Professor Ismail Raji A. al-Faruqi and poet Mahmoud Radhouan on various aspects of the meaning of Jerusalem and Palestine to the world of Islam.

Jewish Committee Sponsors British Speaker

The American Jewish Committee has sponsored the appearance in this country of Dr. James Parkes of England. His mission is to stress "the failure of Christian institutions to defend Israel's right to survive when threatened with annihilation by Arab nations in May, 1967," and to explore the "abandonment of the conversion approach to Jewish people."

MIDDLE EAST INSTITUTE HOLDS TWO-DAY CONFERENCE

"The United States and The Middle East" was the theme of the 22nd annual conference of the Middle East Institute, October 4-5, at Georgetown University. Presiding was Evan M. Wilson, our former Consul General in Jerusalem. Lucius D. Battle, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, gave the opening address. The major programming centered in three simultaneous panel discussions.

Chairing the "Political" series was John C. Campbell of the Council on Foreign Relations. Successive discussions were led by Roderic H. Davison of George Washington University on "Area Points of View," by the Hon. Charles Yost of the Council on Foreign Relations on "The Middle East in World Politics," and by Col. Amos Jordan, U.S.A., on "United States Interests."

For the "Economic" section, Kenneth Iverson of the International Bank was chairman. Peter Wodtke of the First National City Bank dealt with

"Investment and Business," Harvard professor A. J. Meyer with "Oil," and Maurice Williams of the Agency for International Development with "A.I.D. and Other Government Economic Programs."

Richard H. Nolte of the Institute of Current World Affairs chaired the "Communication" discussions, with Alan Horton of the American Universities Field Staff handling "The Function of The Institutions of Learning and Foundations," Roderick MacLeish of the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company "The Function of The Media," and Richard Etlinghausen of the N.Y.U. Institute of Fine Arts "The Function of the Arts."

The dinner and plenary sessions featured the M. E. Institute's president, Ambassador Raymond A. Hare, and the Hon. Eugene R. Black, former president of the World Bank. For further details write the Middle East Institute, 1761 N Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 10036.

A Link with the Holy Land's Christians

There are over 4,000,000 Christians in the Middle East. Most belong to historic churches rooted deep in the Holy Land's seed bed of faith. Many have been trained in schools and universities established by American missionary enterprise. Others have shared in the healing ministries of clinics and hospitals our church offerings help maintain.

There is irony, therefore, in the danger that history, looking back at our era, may point to that area as the tinder box for global war, with them on one side, ourselves on the other. And the tragedy is compounded by the fact that this threat mounts at a time when the Arab-Israeli conflict has not only weakened the churches over there but has also driven wedges of distrust between them and us.

What contributions, then, can we make toward strengthening both their Christian influence and the ties that bind them to us? Determined to have a first-hand answer, the National Council of Churches' Middle East and Europe Department sent an interdenominational team of experts over there this past summer. Their 20-page report, presented to the NCC's General Board in Houston on Sept. 12, makes sorrowful but challenging reading. At its core is the following half paragraph from page 8:

"Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant . . . church representatives with whom we spoke were courteous and forbearing, but also utterly frank in voicing their disappointment and disillusionment that Christians of the West, especially those in the United States, have not been (according to their understanding of the matter) more vigorous in pursuit of justice. Their conviction that justice is not being granted to them either on their own terms or on terms of various United Nations resolutions is matched by their fear that western Christians and Churches are indifferent to their situation and even have betrayed them."

Underlying Arab Christian Attitudes

Why do they feel that way? Because of their convictions which the American team, without passing judgment, summarized as follows: Western nations, out of a sense of guilt for the persecution of Jews in Europe, created the state of Israel, requiring the evic-

tion of Arabs from their homes. Israel, permitted to ignore U.N. resolutions for justice to the dispossessed, has enlarged and consolidated its position. Westerners backed Israel in the Six Day War. Since then, as since 1948, the U.S. has virtually paralyzed U.N. remedial action by its non-support. This "must be due" either to the American churches' partisanship for Israel or their ineffective neutrality. "Therefore, it appears to many Christians in the Middle East that Christians in the U.S., despite relief programs and acts of mercy, have betrayed them in their struggle for justice."

Two further by-products of the Arab-Israeli conflict tarnish hopes for a stronger Christian presence in the geographic cradle of the Church. First is emigration of top laymen because of economic stringency and political apprehension.

Even more disappointing is the defection of Arab Christian youth. Disturbed by the claim made by some Western Christians that modern Israeli policies fulfill Biblical prophecy, they reject the Old Testament as incredible. What they feel "Christian nations have done against Arabs" makes the Christian faith seem irrelevant. And they "doubt both the ability and readiness of Christian forces in the world to contribute significantly toward the achievement of justice and peace."

The American deputation — Episcopalian Raymond E. Maxwell, Reformed Edwin M. Luidens and United Presbyterian Rodney A. Sundberg (without Methodist Harry Haines whom illness kept home) — had opportunities to explore the soil that is producing such distressing harvests. With the guidance of World Council of Churches' Near East Emergency Secretary Richard Butler and the Near East Council of Churches' Korean Yoon Gu Lee and Dutch Ad Van Goor, they conferred with officials and citizenry of every stripe. They also visited both the Israeli-occupied territories and the surrounding Arab camps which, with the backing of the governments, churches and, especially, UNRWA (the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees), are trying to help cope with the 467,000 refugees whom the Six Day War has added to the previously uprooted 1,300,000 Palestinians (count-

ing the children born in exile, and not adjusting for those who, having fled twice, have been included in both figures).

The number leaving Israeli-occupied territory, they found, is added to daily. Contributing factors are: the belief that territorial expansion and confiscation of Gentile property are built in to Israeli policy; insecurity because of the unavailability of their savings and, in some cases, unemployment; the feeling that cherished Oriental values are being "threatened by the imposition of destructive alien elements of European culture"; and Israeli "pressures on people to leave."

This last, the deputation reports, "undoubtedly requires careful investigation." It includes a whole range of activities, from Israeli offers of money inducements to Arabs to leave home, to the bulldozing of whole villages out of existence.

On the Road to Emmaus

Investigation of three such villages — Emmaus, Beit Nuba and Yalu — with a view to their rehabilitation by church funds, was part of the deputation's mandate. These villages, the report reads, "were occupied by Israeli military forces on June 9, 1967, with little or no destruction because the Arab population did not resist. Within the next five weeks, all homes and other buildings were systematically destroyed except for a church and two Moslem shrines in Emmaus which were later demolished. As evidence of the existence of the villages there remains only a scrap of wood, a bent iron rod scattered here and there — and a broken water pump which had been installed with ecumenical relief funds. Eucalyptus trees have been planted and are rapidly covering the ground where the villages had stood for hundreds of years. . . ."

"The people of the villages, numbering 4,000, have been scattered. Some were killed in the blasting of their homes . . . others fled to nearby Ramallah or to the East Bank of Jordan . . . Israeli officials stated clearly to the deputation that there is no plan to rebuild the three villages or to return the inhabitants to their lands."

The American churchmen explain the factors which would govern Israeli

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"It appears to many Christians in the Middle East that Christians in the U.S. . . . have betrayed them in their struggle for justice."

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decisions in such a matter: In the hands of Arab military forces, the location of Emmaus, Beit Nuba and Yalu could permit blockading the road from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Politically, the Israelis believe that "the Arabs must be taught by prompt, destructive reprisals that insubordination will not be tolerated." Also "Israel's expressed policy is to provide for the settlement of as many Jews as possible" and this requires confiscation of arable lands.

Recommendations for Action

No matter whose side one takes, the old American injunction, "Don't just stand there; *do something!*" continues to haunt us. What *can* we do? The report provides some answers: "The American ambassador to Jordan . . . challenged the churches to spread a knowledge and understanding of the facts. This sentiment was echoed again and again by both nationals and foreigners."

Further suggestions included more serious study of the Jarring Mission's reports to the U.N., an updated National Council of Churches resolution on the Middle East crisis, and asking the NCC's Committee on Missionary Education to give the theme high priority in its church-wide study program.

Meanwhile, the deputation urges support of the emergency measures which the Near East Council of Churches, the Pontifical Mission for Palestine, other voluntary agencies and UNRWA must expand speedily: family service centers, vocational training, replacing tents with \$250 prefab huts, self-help employment, scholarships in church-related and other schools and emergency assistance to the YMCA and YWCA programs in Old Jerusalem.

But these are only stopgaps. More can only be accomplished by informed minds and sensitized consciences. And so, in its own words:

"The deputation returns from these contacts with conviction that the American people, and particularly the American churches, must be better informed about *all* the factors involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict, and their effect on the Middle East, and ultimately the entire world. The deplorable conditions of refugees, the deep chasm of bitterness between Arabs and the people of Israel demand from Christians an understanding concern and a commitment to justice which are indispensable to the discovery of a permanent solution of the problems, and toward the achievement of a just peace in the Middle East."
—L.H.W.

FRANK EPP REPORTS TO FELLOW-MENNONITES

The Land of Promise: A Land Without Peace is the wistfully challenging title of Frank H. Epp's 24-page mimeographed report to fellow-Mennonites on his most recent findings in the Middle East. Reflecting the gentle-spirited tough-mindedness of their historic "peace church," it calls for prompt, constructive action to alter the present collision course between Israel and the Arabs. If the rest of us are to help forestall further tragedy and contagious warfare we must study the needs and aspirations of both peoples, remembering that "the Arab side . . . is the least known and the most under-represented in the West."

The report pleads for a broader Christian awareness of fellow-Christian Arabs, for an exploration—with both Arab and pro-Israel theologians—of varied religious claims to the Holy

Land, and for improved Christian relations with Muslims. The Arab distrust for the West that makes Communist blandishments enticing by comparison, and the lack of Arab or Israeli confidence in the U.N. lead Epp to urge the Mennonites to apply with added vigor their historical concern for linking justice-with-love and idealism-with-realism in the search for peace. Following St. Paul's admonition to "speak the truth in love" *to* both sides and *about* both sides in this modern situation, he notes, requires the development of the best "education-communication process" backed by the finest "service-and-action process" feasible.

Fuller details may be had from the Peace Section of the Mennonite Central Committee, 21 South 12th, Akron, Pa. 17501.

CONFER ON REFUGEE AID

A multitude of spontaneous local groups across the country have taken to heart the desperate plight which recent events have inflicted on the Palestinian refugees, and have undertaken remedial programs. In order that efforts might be better coordinated, joint research engaged in, and project priorities defined, ANERA (American Near East Refugee Aid) has invited leaders from many of these groups to meet at the Cosmos Club in the nation's capital, November 8 and 9, to share common interests and expedite common goals. Executive Director John P. Richardson and President John H. Davis stress ANERA's concern to establish communications with related groups. Get in touch with them at 900 Woodward Building, 733 Fifteenth St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

Student Seminar in London

"Britain and The Arab World" was the theme of the conference at the Student Movement House, London, co-sponsored by the Council for the Advancement of Arab British Understanding, on October 26. Experts led in discussions on eight topics: British economic interests; Arabs, Jews and Zionism; Arab refugees and Britain's responsibility; Great Power politics; political, economic and social development; Nasser; the U.N.; and "Arab-British Dialogue on British Politics."

PACKET FOR CAMPUS DISCUSSIONS

William Bengtson, chairman of the newly formed Committee for Near East Concerns of the University Christian Movement (a Catholic-Orthodox-Protestant organization with headquarters at 748 Interchurch Center, 475 Riverside Dr., N.Y., N.Y. 10027), announces having assembled packets of study material — available for the time being without cost — to stimulate discussions at the college and university levels. He is also eager to have you write him about what is going on on campuses near you — like workshops, dialogues, lectures, banquets, films, courses — to enable young American intellectuals to have a fuller grasp of Mideastern realities. This will enable him to pass along suggestions to others on how to develop their own programs more practically and effectively.

Muslim Dialogues Continue With Jews and Christians

The New York Muslim-Christian dialogue group we reported in September has taken advantage of the temporary presence — as guest lecturer at Union Theological Seminary — of Dr. Kenneth Cragg, Great Britain's leading Christian interpreter of Islam. At the group's most recent gathering, he and Dr. Muhammad Abdul Rauf of the Islamic Center led a study — focusing on Christ's parable of the Prodigal Son — of Christian and Muslim approaches to "forgiving-ness" and "forgiveness."

Dr. Rauf has also engaged — in a more public, formal manner — in Jewish-Muslim joint presentations with Dr. Trude Weiss-Rosmarin, editor of the *Jewish Spectator*, who believes that Judaism and Islam are closer to each other than to Christianity, and that peace in the Middle East requires action based on this recognition.

In addition, Dr. Ali Hassan Abdel Kader of the Washington, D.C., Islamic Center has shared the platform with Martin Buber's literary heir, Prof. Morris Friedman of Temple University, Philadelphia, on the theme "Paths Toward Reconciliation."

Are these instances part of a trend, or simply isolated ventures? We'd be glad to hear of comparable undertakings elsewhere.

U. S. EX-AIDE OFFERS LECTURES

Phyllis Kotite, former officer in both the Department of State and the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, has just returned from nine weeks' re-visitation of Jordan, the West Bank, UAR and Lebanon, where she met with leading government, UN, and non-governmental representatives regarding the continuing crisis in the Middle East. She also met with citizens groups active in Middle East affairs such as Americans for Justice in the Middle East and the Friends of Jerusalem. A lecturer with 15 years experience, Miss Kotite is ready to speak to interested organizations in the U.S. on any aspect of the Middle East question from a political and/or humanitarian viewpoint. Travel expenses and respective organizations' customary honorarium, if any, are in order. She can be reached at 825 New Hampshire Ave. N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037; tel. (202) 337-8670.

SPECIALIZED PERIODICALS

Two periodicals should be added to our last issue's list. Though differing in emphasis and sources, they have one characteristic in common: Both are edited by Jewish American citizens widely known in the Middle East.

Perspective, Alfred Lilienthal's newsletter featuring his insights into Arab-American affairs and the commercial, political, sociological and journalistic factors bearing on them. Monthly, \$10.00 a year; \$6.00 for students; \$15.00 overseas. Box 466, Radio City Station, New York, N. Y. 10019.

Mid East Report, a technical analysis of economic developments and prospects and the influences that affect business potential. Beirut-born editor David Toufic Mizrahi does research in French and his native Arabic as well as English. After studying Arabic philosophy in Lebanon, he did post-graduate work in law and political science in Paris before entering fifteen years of journalism. Twice monthly. \$150.00 a year, \$80.00 for six months. Sample copy free. 60 East 42nd St., New York, N. Y. 10017.

"U. S. Credibility Gap Helped Spark Six-Day War"—Nes

The Hon. David G. Nes who was in charge of our embassy in Cairo during the crisis of May-June, 1967, gave a lecture at the University of Colorado on "The June War in The Middle East" which included this statement:

Premier Eshkol on May 11 and 13 issued very clear warnings to Syria that further border incursions would be met by even greater retaliation than had been meted out before. In a statement which I heard translated on the radio on May 12, General Raban in effect said that were there any further provocations his army would march to Damascus, occupy the city, and overthrow the Syrian government.

At the same time that these statements were being issued from Tel Aviv, Cairo was receiving, both from the Syrians and the Russians, intelligence reports indicating that Israel was massing forces in preparation for the type of assault against Syria that General Raban had spoken of. By May 15, I think we are fairly certain that President Nasser had become convinced, because of these statements, because of the intelligence he was receiving from Syria and from the Russians, that a major Israeli attack was imminent, was probably scheduled for May 17. He could not stand aside a third time in the face of this type of development.

Then on May 16, which is the critical date, under instructions, and as the American Chargé d'Affaires in Cairo, I called on the Deputy Foreign Minister. I told him that our information as to activities within Israel was excellent, that we had free access to all parts of the country, both on the road and in the air, that we saw

no evidence of Israeli mobilization or of any intention to launch a serious foray against Syria.

I have been told that this information was transmitted immediately by telex from the Foreign Ministry to President Nasser; that he, on receiving it, turned to one of his aides, and said, "This assures an Israeli attack, it is merely American cover for such an attack." In other words, our credibility had reached such a point in Cairo at that time, that far from being believed, our word was taken as being merely a subterfuge. Now how did our position in Cairo reach such a level of distrust and misunderstanding?"

You can get Nes's detailed answer to that question in the pamphlet made of his lecture from The American Committee for Justice in The Middle East, P. O. Box 3211, Boulder, Colo., 80302. The same group has republished his *Baltimore Sun* feature, titled "Washington's Policy in The Middle East Held to Forestall Peace," with the subhead declaring, "Indifference to the Arabs, partiality to Israel may prolong enmity." If you order copies, which are free, remember that the first item cost 21c to print, the second 9c, and that the supply of both is limited.

Beirut Lectures Published

Seven of the past year's special lectures at the University Christian Center Forum of the American University of Beirut have been published as booklets. Three—by American Peter Dodd, English United Nations expert John Reddaway, and Korean refugee Yoon Gu Lee, respectively — have a common title, *Suffering Humanity: The Refugees in The Middle East.*

Two others bear the common heading, "Zionism — Judaism." One, by Prof. William Holladay, has the subtitle, *Is The Old Testament Zionist?* The other, by Dr. Fritz Steppat, gives *Some Historical Aspects of the Clash Between Zionism and Arab Nationalism.*

The remaining two are Arab views of "War and Peace in The Middle East." Dr. Elie A. Salem discusses *The Role of The University and The Intellectual*, the late Prof. Nabih A. Faris *The Present Situation and Future Prospects.*

Americans for Middle East Understanding, P. O. Box 98, Cooper Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10003, has ordered supplies of each booklet and will be happy to send any you wish at 25¢ singly or at \$1.00 for all seven.

Jerusalem Christmas Cards

The Friends of Jerusalem (P.O. Box 6425, Beirut, Lebanon) again offer a beautiful series of Christmas cards to raise funds for aid to Arabs in the territory occupied by Israel since June, 1967. Six of the eight designs, all beautifully printed, are by contemporary Arab artists and combine modern zest with ancient sanctity. The joyous reds and yellows of Helen Khal's "Mother and Child," the serene blue and silver dominating Mediha Umar's "Cathedral," Abu-Subhi's Persian-style "Antar and Abla," the two-panel montages of "Crescents and Crosses" by Jumana Husseini Bayezid, the neo-primitive "Angels of Peace" by Hrair, and Shibrein's "Arabesque" abstraction all give unusual insights into the Christmas message. The two more classical cards are an ancient Syrian icon of Madonna and Child and an 1860 view of the Holy City.

These can be ordered in assortments with 24 to the box or as single subjects with 25 to the box. In either case, the charge is 25c per card, air freight included. You have two choices of greetings in Arabic or English or French. One simply says, "Best Wishes for Christmas and the New Year." The other quotes the Koran 2:87 as saying, "And to Jesus, Son of Mary, gave we clear proofs of his mission and strengthened him by the Holy Spirit." In this latter the Arabic accompanies your choice of French or English text.

FORUM AT PRINCETON

Princeton University held its regular Middle East forum October 24-25.

Jewish Youth Ask to "Hear it Like it Is."

From Canada to Dixie to New England we hear of groups of Jewish young people who have asked knowledgeable Gentiles to give them a broader perspective on the Middle East, especially the Arab World. Some of these invitations have been prompted by typically youthful rebelliousness against the loyalties and mores of their elders. In other instances, the young hosts had thought they had all the answers already but wanted to engage in lively debate. A. C. Forrest, David Gillard and K. B. Anderson report courteous reception and cordial responses.

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Middle East problems must be aware of the obstacles to such understanding, and the obstacles they themselves may encounter. For this purpose Mr. Lilienthal's well documented and carefully indexed book is an indispensable companion. (*As we go to press we learn that copies cannot be offered at a 40% discount. They may be purchased from the author c/o PERSPECTIVE.*)

THE AMERICAN APPROACH TO THE ARAB WORLD, by John S. Badeau. 204 pages. Harper and Row, for the Council of Foreign Relations, 1968.

Professor Badeau dispassionately and methodically examines American interests in the Middle East — the global interest of containing Soviet expansion, and the primary interests of trade, transport and oil (its availability as distinct from concessions). The problems offered to American diplomacy in the Arab world are equally methodically examined, as are the actual and potential effects of economic aid and the guidelines for future policy. Particular attention is given to Egypt, where the author was President of the American University of Cairo, and where he served as Ambassador from 1961 to 1964. Dr. Badeau emphasizes, rather than minimizes, the difficulties presented by the Egyptian regime. But he believes that the U.A.R., along with other socialistic Arab governments, should not be excluded from future American aid: "Less than ever can the United States afford to polarize its position in the Arab world, becoming the champion of traditionalism (even when this is named 'moderation') while the U.S.S.R. and radical Arab nationalists play the role of innovators and modernizers." In view of the prevailing attitude in the United States, he realizes that such a policy will be difficult to pursue, yet the need for this degree of sophistication and persistence is essential if we are to counter Soviet influence. By the same token we must give priority to American interests in fostering a peaceful resolution of the 1967 Arab-Israeli conflict. "Israel's concern over the Gaza Strip and the Syrian borders on grounds of security must be met, but not by the annexation of these areas, which will only ensure a more rapid return by the Arabs to violence and guerrilla action." After the 1967 crisis a rapid return of American influence can hardly be anticipated. We can only succeed, says Professor Badeau, by resuming the sort of approach to the Arab world that was developed under the administration of John Kennedy, replacing emotion and headlong reaction by a compound of patience and realism.

ISRAEL WITHOUT ZIONISTS: A PLEA FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, by Uri Avnery. 215 pages, Macmillan.

With remarkable tenacity and courage, Uri Avnery has loyally opposed the Zionist-dominated government in Israel during the twenty years of its existence. Like Lilienthal and Rodinson, whose book is considered in the next paragraph, he believes Israel must cease to be oriented toward Western Jewry and the West in general, and must make common cause with the Arab nationalists. His party, the New Force, advocates the abolition of the Zionist organization, the transformation of the Jewish state into a pluralistic and secular one, the promulgation of a written constitution (which does not yet exist) and full equality of the Israeli Arabs. Avnery feels that the 1.2 per cent vote received by the New Force in 1965, which put him into the Knesset as a one-man party, offers the hope of a real change, and the hope of breaking the vicious circle of Arab resistance and Israeli reprisals. At the moment a rigid insistence on direct negotiations "relieves the Israeli government of the necessity to decide upon peace-conditions, a task quite beyond the present Great Coalition." It is unrealistic, says Avnery, to demand, as a first step, that the Arabs negotiate directly with the Israeli government, since this move forces them, without the sanction of the Palestinians themselves, to repudiate a struggle that the Palestinians will inevitably continue. Thus the solution of the Palestinian problem must come first. Mr. Avnery advocates compliance with the 1949 U.N. resolution requiring Israel to give the refugees a choice of repatriation or compensation. He considers it impossible to restore them to their homes and property, however, and believes only a minority will want to return. For the future of the occupied territories, he has formally proposed the creation of an Arab Palestinian nation and a federation between this nation and Israel. But the Knesset's response was, with few excep-

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Pharmacist Volunteers Skills

Learning the plight of the people on the West Bank of Jordan after the Six Day War led Eugene Kayatta of Manchester, Vt., to volunteer his professional and linguistic skills to Pontifical Mission work in Ramallah and Jerusalem. A professional pharmacist who spoke Arabic with his grandparents in his childhood, he now drives a battered jeep across the Palestinian countryside as he goes about purifying new wells, providing medicines, building sanitary facilities and, in teamwork with the uprooted people themselves, attacking with his own hands the dirty, nettlesome, frustrating jobs involved in care for the newly homeless.

Why? Because, he answers, "this is the land of my ancestors. Any one of those jobless, homeless farmers with hungry kids could be me. There but for the grace of God go I."

MARONITE CLERIC VISITS NEW ENGLAND

Churches in New Bedford, Fall River and Providence have had as their guest the Most Rev. Joseph Khoury, Maronite Archbishop of Tyre, Lebanon and the Holy Land. He is on his way back to Beirut from the Eucharistic Congress in Bogota, Colombia.

Freres On Home Leave

Jay P. Freres, a State Department observer of Israel's domestic and international trends, is using some of his leave to tell neighbors in his native Peoria, Illinois, of life in and around Tel Aviv. Fluent in both Hebrew and Arabic, he has been able to sample "grass roots" opinion from people of both traditions.

His Hebrew language school at Ulpan, Israel, brought him into touch with many young non-Israeli Jews who had been considering immigration. Most of them, he reports, decided not to stay in Israel partly because of cultural attachments to their countries of origin and partly because they did not like the high taxes or socialism of Israel. Few were deterred by fear of war.

Another fellow-student at Ulpan was Father Edwin Weber of Dayton, Ohio, who — because there are no churches in Tel Aviv — offered Mass in the Freres' home for seven months and told their children Bible stories of events in the surrounding regions.

BOOKS (Continued from page 7)

tions, predictably negative, and Israeli policies, described in the final pages of Avnery's book, have made this scheme increasingly impossible. In considering the ultimate disposition of the occupied territories, one cannot help comparing Avnery's reaction to the 1956 situation, when Israel was forced to abandon its conquests: "The retreat seemed to show that military means had become obsolete as an instrument of policy in the Middle East" and "Activism ceased to be fashionable in Israel for nearly ten years." Now, conversely, Dayan states "that the Six-Day War made peace even more remote, that the Arabs could not be expected to recognize an Israel which had become even stranger and bigger . . ." Uri Avnery's book is essential to anyone who desires to understand the scope of Arab-Israeli problems. The author's patriotic pride occasionally, and understandably, blunts the thrust of his indictment of Zionism—but in that patriotism lies the very force and motivation of his indictment. It could hardly have been more telling if it had come from any other source.

ISRAEL AND THE ARABS, by Maxime Rodinson, 239 pages. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England, 1968.

The original French edition of this book is virtually as recent as this translation by Michael Perl. The background and qualifications of the author have enabled him to present an account of Israel-Arab relations that is one of the most substantial and informative of any that have yet been published. His Jewish ancestry, combined with long and close contact with Syria and the other Middle Eastern countries, has given him a sympathetic understanding of both Israelis and Arabs, and this understanding is reinforced by his specialized knowledge of Semitic languages. A member of the Communist Party from 1937 to 1958, Professor Rodinson still retains a Marxist outlook, which, on the positive side, has made the book refreshingly free of some of the prejudices to which Americans are accustomed, but which also entails an anti-American bias. While there is much truth in his condemnation of United States foreign policy, the bias sometimes leads to half-truths, such as his explanation of the 1954 Lavon affair as a scheme devised "to force the British to stay in Egypt by simulating Egyptian outrages against British Institutions." Actually—as Uri Avnery clearly states—this terrorist plot was principally aimed at American-Egyptian relations. And he is over-inclined to see the long arm of the C.I.A. behind such events as the Indonesian revolt of 1965 and the Greek military coup two years later. Such points will seriously reduce the impact of *Israel and the Arabs* in the United States, and may already have contributed to the absence of any American edition. It is a great pity that this should be the case, for the author otherwise shows a considerable degree of critical objectivity. Many of his observations are strikingly parallel to those of Avnery, but the emphasis is on developments in the Arab world. Like Avnery too is the spirit of his final statement: "May this conflict, which in no way serves the cause of humanity, be calmed, and one cause of useless hatred among so many others be eliminated. While the smallest hope of achieving this remains, there can be no excuse for those in whose power it is to contribute towards it and who make no attempt to do so."

FUND FOR NEEDY ARMENIANS

The late Vartan H. Jinishian, successful New York businessman, bequeathed his estate for the relief of needy Armenians, primarily in the Middle East, and particularly in the Aleppo and Beirut areas. Many of the possible beneficiaries are Palestinian Christian refugees.

His will established the fund in memory of his parents, the Rev. and

Mrs. Haroutune Jinishian of Marash, Turkey, with the United Presbyterian Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations as trustee. It is to be administered without religious discrimination to cover medical costs, food for the destitute, day care for children of working mothers, fuller care for orphans and the aged, rehabilitation of the handicapped, and emergency relief of many sorts.