



# THE LINK

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## Black Bids New Administration Face Mideast Facts



At the banquet honoring his decades of past service to the Near East Foundation, Cleveland E. Dodge (left) discusses the future with John S. Badeau, his successor as Chairman of the Board.

### Badeau Succeeds Dodge as Near East Foundation Chairman

The Near East Foundation enters the new year with a new Board Chairman, Dr. John S. Badeau, Director of the Middle East Institute of Columbia University, past President of the American University in Cairo and former Ambassador to Egypt. In turning over the gavel to him at a gala dinner at New York's Hotel Pierre, retiring Chairman Cleveland E. Dodge reviewed the Foundation's history since its early years as the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief.

Originally set up to provide food, clothing, shelter and medical care for refugees, he pointed out, it now concentrates on agricultural education, village improvement and community organization, offering technical assistance rather than bricks and mortar. Operating under the philosophy that "If you'd feed a man for one day, give him a fish; if you'd feed him for a lifetime, teach him *how* to fish," the foundation has been called upon to

serve far beyond its original scope. 25 nations of Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa have responded to its offer of "a hand, not a handout."

If you're interested in further details of its present programs, write the Near East Foundation at 54 East 64th St., New York 10021.

### BONUSES

An unexpected number of people have expressed interest in our November issue's articles headed "Pharmacist Volunteers Skills" and "Temple of Friendship." Hence we're supplying supplementary materials on both themes: This issue's domestic mailing includes the reprint of the Catholic Digest's "One Man Peace Corps in the Holy Land." And we've ordered enough copies of the new Abu Simbel Newsletter to incorporate into our next mailing.

### World Banker Lists Four Fundamentals; Rejects Three Fallacies

Addressing the Middle East Institute in Washington on what can be done to foster "in the near future" some settlement of "the perilous issues which are inflaming the Middle East today to a degree I have never yet experienced," past-President Eugene R. Black of the World Bank declared:

All I ask here is that the next Administration recognize publicly certain fundamentals:

First, our government has very little, if any, political credit in the Arab states today;

Second, the position of our Israeli friends is made all the more perilous for this fact;

Third, our government can only exert effective political influence on the Israeli government insofar as it can support a reasonable Arab position; and

Fourth, this will not be possible until we show ourselves willing and able to develop some enduring interests in common with the Arab states.

If we cannot accept these four facts we face the grave danger of finding that our great military power is no longer in reality under our own complete control. For power and influence are no longer like Siamese twins in international affairs, and this is nowhere more obvious than in the Middle East.

Three fallacies handicap the development of these "enduring interests in common with the Arab states," Black indicated. The first, commonplace among the Arabs, is that Israel's policies are made in Washington and Washington's Mideast policies are made in Israel. The second, widespread in America, is that Arab policies are, or can be, made in Moscow. The third fallacy, "perhaps the most dangerous of all," is that a Russian-American entente could somehow impose a peace. In this latter connection, he nonetheless believes that "the two powers (can help) make possible negotiations between the aggrieved parties."

Facing the above fundamentals and fallacies openly could create an atmos-

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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 Subcommittee of the Presbytery of N.Y.C.; and Charles T. White (treas.), past Financial Executive, Near East Foundation and AID.

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## SYMPOSIUM IN OHIO

The Arab-American Association of Ohio State University hosted the Midwest Regional Symposium of the Organization of Arab Students in late November. OSU Professor Sidney Fisher spoke on "Arab-American Relations, Past and Present;" Dr. Ahmed Kamal Abu-El-Magd of the UAR on "Recent Events as a Factor in Arab-American Relations;" and Rev. A. Willard Jones, former executive of the Near East Christian Council Committee for Refugee Work on "The Refugee Problem and Arab-American Relations."

## Al-Harithi Paintings Shown

Iraqi artist Naziha al-Harithi, who has studied painting in Baghdad and London and has her M.A. from the University of Maryland, held a "one-man" show of her work in November and December at the Church Center for the United Nations, New York. The Action Committee on American-Arab Relations sponsored the exhibit.

# BOOKS

## DISCOUNTS AVAILABLE

(notes by H.G.F.)

We are continuing our previous offer to supply three books at 40% less than list price, plus costs of mailing and packing. In addition, two further titles, reviewed below, are now available: *United States Interests in the Middle East* may be purchased with the same discount. The special double issue of the still-pertinent 1967 *Middle East Forum* will be supplied free of charge, though we must request 25 cents to cover postage and handling. *You may use the accompanying "wallet" envelope for your order.*

**UNITED STATES INTERESTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.** Paperback, 132 pp. American Enterprises Institute for Public Policy Research.

Contrasting the favorable attitudes of Middle Easterners towards Americans, as reported by the King-Crane Commission in 1918, with the growing hostility that is felt today by the same people or their descendants, this volume examines the factors that explain the deterioration and the American interests that are adversely affected thereby. The causes of deterioration are primarily dealt with in the first section, "Political-Strategic Interests," by Ralph Magnus, and the last, "Conditions and Prospects for Tranquility in the Middle East," by George Lenczowski. Mr. Magnus mentions most of these causes, but perhaps a little reluctantly. Of the King-Crane Commission he notes—almost as an afterthought—that: "The Commission also expressed serious reservations regarding Zionist aspirations in Palestine" (it stated, in fact, that a Jewish State "could not be erected without the gravest trespass upon the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities"). Again he quotes Dulles, without comment, as having said that Nasser had "mortgaged Egypt's stockpile of cotton" in payment for arms purchased from Russia in 1955. But on page 60, in the section on "Economic Interests," one reads: "The common notion of a Soviet mortgage on Egyptian cotton is not supported by evidence"—and details are given for evidence to the contrary.

The sections on economic and cultural interests, the latter by Carl Leiden and Abdul Said, will probably be of greatest interest to our readers. On the subject of cultural relations, one statement seems particularly worth quoting: "There is . . . a certain tempo to the cultural conversations of peoples. When the rhythm of such conversations has been broken or interrupted, the gap in continuity is often greater than the time lost would suggest. Only a few years of total rejection can undo perhaps several generations of mutual effort at understanding."

**MIDDLE EAST FORUM, Vol. XLIII, nos. 2 and 3, 1967. 109 pages.**

This double issue of *Middle East Forum*, a quarterly published by the Alumni Association of the American University of Beirut, is almost entirely devoted to the Six-Day War, its causes and consequences, as seen by Arab intellectuals and by others—principally Americans—who have had long experience in Middle East Affairs. The only exception is the continuation of an article by A. L. Tibawi on the Sykes-Picot negotiations of 1916 and their effect on the Syrian-Palestinian area.

The issue opens with a statement by the Alumni Association expressing dismay over American foreign policy, and voicing the hope that America will not forfeit the goodwill that had been established by such men as Parsons and Fisk, Bird and Goodell, Eli Smith and Van Dyck, Jessup, Bliss, Dodge and Penrose: "That would be a betrayal not only of the Arab world, but also of the American heritage itself." In the succeeding articles Constantine Zuraik discusses Arab handicaps, particularly inadequate technology and morale. Albert Hourani sees the refugee problems as the central cause of hostility: "Israel cannot both drive the Arabs out and make peace with them. . . . In the long run it might be in Israel's interest to become a mixed state; only as such would it have a chance of being accepted by its neighbours." His conclusions are very similar to those of Israel's Uri Avneri, as reported in the last issue of the *Link*.

Frank Harris, an American businessman, looks at the question in terms of ownership and sees its solution as a matter of compensation; he points out, however, that such compensation would apply to 77% of Israel's territory, exclusive of 1967 conquests.

The two most interesting articles—to American readers, at any rate—deal

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## Black Bids . . . (Cont'd from page 1)

phere in which Arab entrepreneurs or governments could approach us confidently with their plans and projects. Black would give top priority to projects dealing with the future of the refugees. He would also have us use our influence in the World Bank "to make the Middle East its special concern for the next decade. I know Robert McNamara (present World Bank president) is engaged with this part of the world as anxiously and as deeply as I am."

David T. Mizrahi, in comment, points out that McNamara, who wants to reopen the Suez Canal promptly "without prejudice to any final settlement," met with President Nasser in Cairo last July and has planned a trip to Kuwait and down the Persian Gulf early this year. The World Bank has also just sent a mission to the United Arab Republic to study financing fertilizer projects. It has slated another mission for this month "to survey railway and irrigation projects."

Black noted that "economically and commercially the Arab world is very important to the United States and vital to all of Europe." But with his hopes he gave the warning that "war in the Middle East, far more than war in Vietnam, carries with it the horrible promise of World War II."

## Mid East Council Gives Year-End Summary

Nazareth-born lawyer Frank C. Sakran, Executive Secretary of the American Council on the Middle East (P.O. Box 19227, Washington, D.C. 20036) summarizes its recent activities as follows:

Published an Open Letter to the President in the Washington Post. Sponsored a meeting on Jerusalem at Georgetown University which was addressed by Bishop Dougherty, President of Seton Hall University, and by Dr. Edward Elson of the National Presbyterian Church of Washington, D.C.; Dr. Alan Taylor of The American University was moderator. Provided information on the Middle East crisis to the participants at the 1967 National Students Association Convention held at the University of Maryland; a display booth was set up and staffed and a speaker was provided for a panel discussion. Issued and distributed press releases and papers on Jerusalem and other pertinent subjects. Arranged for lectures and interviews on television.

Arranged for members, individually and in groups, to talk to members of Congress and to State Department officials on the Middle East Crisis. Reprinted and distributed articles appearing in newspapers and magazines. Sponsored a lecture by Dr. John Ruedy of Georgetown University at the University of Mississippi to correct erroneous information given in a speech by Under Secretary of State Eugene V. Rostow. Initiated a move for re-examination of the tax exemption granted the United Jewish Appeal pursuant to which several hundred million dollars of tax-free contributions were collected in 1967 for the 'Israel Emergency Fund.'

## MIDEAST GREETINGS FROM NORTHWEST



The above view of the church in Bethany, Occupied Jordan, is from one of three types of Christmas and New Year cards sold this past season by the Greater Seattle Committee to Aid the Arab Refugees. Other cards showed Azrac Castle and a church in Jordan. Inside, printed in red, were the Season's Greetings in English and Arabic. In case you missed the chance to buy a supply at 20¢, you may wish to keep the address in mind for next year: P.O. Box 1540, Wedgewood Station, Seattle, Wash. 98115.

## ANERA Gathers Refugee Experts in D.C. and N.Y.

American Near East Refugee Aid, Inc., with headquarters in Washington, D.C., was formed at the instigation of local groups working for the relief of the Palestinian refugees, who desired a national organization that would coordinate and extend their efforts. In November ANERA conducted a series of meetings in Washington to discuss its plan of action with representatives of several of these groups.

On the first day of the meetings Dr. Laurence Michelmore, Commissioner-General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), addressed 150 guests at a luncheon sponsored by ANERA. He emphasized the needs of the almost 75,000 refugees who are still located in tent camps on the cold Jordanian Plateau, while UNRWA's best housing and other facilities lie deserted on the Israeli-occupied West Bank.

John Davis, the President of ANERA, also addressed the guests, expressing the hope that ANERA might support educational programs which are threatened by cutbacks in UNRWA's budget. The other speakers were Talat El Ghussain, Ambassador of Kuwait, and James Sams, who was instrumental in organizing ANERA and is one of its directors.

Participants included: American Aid for Arab Refugees (Brooklyn), Robert Thabit; American Arab Relief Agency (Detroit), Karim Ajluni\*; American Friends of the Middle East (Washington, D. C.), Orin D. Parker\*; American Middle East Rehabilitation (New York), John Collins, Dr. Stanley Kerr, Mrs. Margaret Pennar; American Near East Refugee Aid, Inc. (Washing-

ton, D. C.), Miss Joyce Bouvier, Dr. John H. Davis\*, John P. Richardson; Americans for Middle East Understanding (New York), Dr. Henry Fischer\*; Arab Emergency Relief Committee (Washington, D. C.), Mrs. Violet Asha, Shukri Khoury, James F. Sams\*; Arab Relief Committee (Atlanta), Abdallah Najjar; Cleveland Middle East Foundation, Mrs. Mary Macron; Greater Seattle Committee to Aid the Arab Refugees, Jamil Razzak; The Holy Land Center (New York), Hugh Auchincloss\*, Mrs. Isabelle Bacon; Middle East Exhibits and Training (Washington, D. C.), Mrs. Alma Kerr; Musa Alami Foundation (New York), Kennett Love\*; Pal-Aid, International (Chicago), Ribhi Kalla; United American-Arab Appeal (Boston), Samuel Hassan\*; U.S. Omen (California), D. Joseph Asfour\*, Dr. Hadi Salem\*. Other ANERA Directors Present: Dr. Norman Burns, Bertram C. Cooper, David H. Finnie, Dr. Harry N. Howard, John W. Pendleton and the Hon. Evan M. Wilson.

\*ANERA Directors.

ANERA convened another conference in New York in mid-December to introduce itself to, and discover the programs of, organizations — mostly church-related — with projects in the Middle East. Invited were:

Joel Montague of CARE; Chaplain James Patterson of Lutheran World Relief; Msgr. John Nolan of Catholic Near East Welfare, Henry Passmore of the American Friends Service Committee, Dr. Daniel Bliss of AMER, Dr. Harry Dorman for Church Word Service, Vern Preheim of the Mennonite Central Committee, Dr. Norris Wilson of the U.S. Committee for Refugees, Dr. Laurence Michelmore of UNRWA, and representatives of the YMCA and the Orthodox and Uniate churches.

## FOCUS ON JERUSALEM

Mideast magazine has put out a special Jerusalem issue. It includes Jewish, Christian and Muslim articles on "What Jerusalem Means to My Faith" by Pinchas Peli, Willard Oxtoby and Mohammed Rauf. In addition to related maps, pictures and chronology it has political analyses by Don Peretz, Michael Hudson and Byron Leary. 50¢ from AFME, 1605 New Hampshire Ave., Washington, D.C. 20009.

# Young Israelis, Arab & Jew, Peer Into Future

In an effort to bring fresh insights into stalemated Middle East tensions, a World Student Christian Federation (WSCF) team has collected a series of unpublished articles by Jewish and Arab students in Israel. The eleven manuscripts were reviewed in New York Dec. 2 by Merrill Miller, a 31-year-old New Testament student currently in a joint doctoral program at Union Theological Seminary and Columbia University.

Miller—one of four young adults on the WSCF Frontier Study and Service project based in Israel from June 1966 to June 1968—summarized and introduced the papers at the Inter-church Center, New York, to a group of American Jews and Christians invited by the University Christian Movement's newly formed Committee for Mid-East Concerns. The purpose of the study, he said, was to cast new light on the Arab-Israeli conflict out of the experience of Israeli students, both Arab and Jew, whose futures are most intimately affected by tensions in the area, but whose opinions are generally heard least.

The WSCF team submitted questionnaires to six Jewish and five Arab students from a wide spectrum of religious and ideological persuasions. Then comments on Zionism, nationalism, and the interrelation of the Arab-Israeli conflict and Israeli society were solicited in the form of spontaneous essays on such topics as "Annexation of the Occupied Territories as a Solution to the Arab-Israeli Conflict," "The Arab Student in the Hebrew University," and "The Influence of the Israeli-Arab Conflict on the Identity of the Arab Community (in Israel)."

The essays, ranging from 2,000 to 6,500 words, delve deeply into problems students in Israel face, their reflections on the situation in the Middle East, and the kinds of solutions they see as practicable for permanent peace.

The WSCF team, Miller reported, has prepared introductions to the Jewish and Arab articles, a general preface, and a conclusion discussing their theological implications.

Mr. Miller was cautious about drawing specific conclusions from the articles. In his introduction to the Jewish articles he writes: "One will seek in vain here for what might be called an Israeli consensus. This is the case with one exception: at least by implication

all the Jewish writers acknowledge that the existence of Israel as a political and territorial entity is not dissolvable or negotiable, whatever be the course of her development as a society. This is less the expression of a political or national ideology than the irreducible sense of having grown up here in an environment of national independence and of national building."

The Arab articles, he said, are somewhat more homogeneous, in that they all refuse to accept Israel's rationalization of steps she has taken to provide national security — land seizure and travel restrictions on Arab Israelis.

Mr. Miller is now looking for an appropriate outlet for the essays—one, he said, which will enable them to contribute "a new level of openness" to a discussion where the protagonists and their supporters on both sides so often use material such as this to advance their own ends. He said the articles could be uniquely valuable, if used with sensitivity.

## RUTH KNOWLES ON NEW LECTURE TOUR

Mrs. Ruth Sheldon Knowles, third-generation Oklahoma petroleum expert, returned in December from another six-weeks trip to the Middle East, including Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Kuwait, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia. She'll be telling her findings on her 1969 lecture tour of colleges from coast to coast.

In an interview with Peggy Johnson she has reported her latest impressions of great strides ahead in the Arab world. At the same time she is distressed by the deterioration of Arab-American relations since her last visit in 1965.

"I'm going to try and give the American students and the American people the facts about the Arab world," she promises, adding: "There has not been a balance of information."

That lack of balance is not Mrs. Knowles' fault! Operating from her base at 220 East 63rd St., New York, she has produced helpful articles for *Readers Digest*, *U. S. News and World Report*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Fortune*, *Nation's Business* and the *Atlantic*. She also authored the McGraw-Hill best-seller: *The Greatest Gamblers: The Epic of American Oil Exploration*, and is writing another, *The Innovators*.

## "MOSCOW EYES PERSIAN GULF"—SMOLANSKY

Russian foreign policy aims at preserving Moscow's position as a super-power by undercutting the influence of any adversaries in neutral areas, Professor O. M. Smolansky of Lehigh University told Princeton's two-day conference on the Persian Gulf.

In the Middle East as a whole, he noted, the Kremlin, taking advantage of Western disunity of purpose, has been building a reputation for "non-imperialist, no-strings-attached" aid. It hopes thereby to gain strategic military position, freer access to the rest of the world, and control of rich sources of oil.

As to the Persian Gulf in particular: With the British planning to abandon their bases East of Suez in 1971, Russian policy-makers face new decisions on how to achieve their purposes. They've been restrained, so far, in the face of opportunities for sabotaging the proposed Federation of Arabian Amirates or stirring up antagonisms between Iran and the Arabs over Bahrayn and its oil.

Not without hope, Smolansky raises the question as to whether the Kremlin may have learned that upsetting the status quo is not always to its advantage, and that it needs a new strategy designed to promote stability. Even so, it can hardly be expected to cease "chipping away" at Western positions.

## "U. S. Must Foster Mideast Peace"—Glubb

On his transcontinental lecture tour, Sir John Glubb has been urging the U. S. to "improve its relations with the Arab nations in order to work for peace in the Middle East."

During his 28 years in the Arab world (where he was known as Glubb Pasha), there had been no noticeable Russian involvement. The U. S. has done much to change all that, and continues to do so. For instance, "as a result of the Six-Day War, Russia offered Jordan aid, Jordan refused it, then the United States cut off its aid to Jordan!"

"Twenty years ago," he asserts, "the U. S. could have solved the Mideast's problems alone and easily . . . Today the U. S. should approach Russia, admit that things are reaching the kindling point, and ask that Russia join the United States in working to tone the cold war down. Regardless of Russia's reaction, such a move would improve America's status in the Arab world."

## Interfaith Group Hears Contrasting Views

The Interfaith Committee on Middle East Peace and Development invited four speakers to give their *Perspectives and Priorities in The Middle East* at a recent two-hour meeting at the Church Center at the U.N. To open up a lively discussion, Dr. Harry Dorman of the National Council of Churches, Dr. Carl Soule of the Methodist Office at the U.N. and Rabbi Solomon Bernards of the Anti-Defamation League each gave succinct 6-minute springboard papers. Flu kept Mr. Mia Adjali of Algeria from being the fourth speaker.

Dorman listed the following pre-suppositions: The Arab-Israeli dilemma is basically one of human needs. The needs of Jews for security and of Palestinian Arabs for justice are in conflict. Neither's need can be completely satisfied without sacrificing the other's. Yet the needs of both must be partially met in a way to permit coexistence, with Arabs and Israelis accepting each other. There are moderates on both sides who can, and must, be brought together to this end.

Soule, expressing trust in the group's ability both to speak the truth and to associate in love, declared his reservations about Israel, doubting the bearing on it of God's promises to Abraham, and questioning the founding of a state based on part or all of a single religion. He was saddened by the elimination of so many of the original inhabitants and felt a gesture of full citizenship for Arabs in Israel or of allowing a considerable number of Arab refugees to return home would contribute to a conciliatory atmosphere.

For Bernards, the overriding considerations in the Arab-Israeli crisis were: The world shall no longer tolerate threats to annihilate Jews. For Jews, there's an indissoluble bond between faith, land and people. If there is recognition that Jews are in Israel as of right and not of sufferance, all problems — economic, political, religious and communicational — can be solved. Jews in America and elsewhere

can not be frightened out of their devotion to Israel by impugning their patriotism.

## DHAHRAN AMERICANS CABLE NIXON

673 Americans working in the Arabian Gulf area have collected \$373 and used it to send a cablegram from Dhahran to Richard M. Nixon to press for a sound and honorable U. S. policy toward the Middle East. \$265 went for cabling all those signatures—from Adams to Zeigler! From the text itself (which consumed the remaining \$108!) we've culled the following extracts:

The practical effects of current U. S. foreign policy toward the Arab-Israeli dispute . . . have been the continued encroachment of Russia into the Middle East to the great detriment of U. S. strategic and economic interests and mounting paralysis of American influence in obtaining a just settlement of the conflict.

As American citizens, some of whom have worked and lived in the Middle East for over 20 years, we are keenly aware of the continued erosion of vital U. S. interests in the Middle East during those years; that erosion is almost wholly attributable to the support which successive American administrations, except that of Eisenhower and Nixon, have given to Israel, mainly for domestic political purposes, to the detriment of both U. S. interests in this area and the long-term interests of the Israelis and Arabs themselves.

We sincerely hope that you will adopt a more realistic approach in order to reverse a rapidly deteriorating situation and which would permit the U. S. to use its good offices to help effect a settlement of this potentially extremely dangerous conflict to the mutual advantage of Israeli and Arab interests and thereby to vital U. S. interests in this area. Such an approach was exemplified by the stand which the Eisenhower and Nixon administration took in 1956.

It is further hoped that . . . your administration will do everything possible to encourage Israel to accept the November 22 Resolution as the Arab States have already done; that is the only presently feasible basis for Middle East peace, not further arming of Israel which already holds a military and strategic position far superior to that of June, 1967. . . . It was Israeli confidence in such superiority which led her to initiate the pre-emptive war of June, 1967.

The unanimous November 22, 1967 U. N. Security Council resolution on the Arab-Israeli conflict, referred to in the cable, declares that "a just and lasting peace" requires withdrawal of Is-

raeli 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.

## Rauf and Cragg Discuss Zulm and The Cross

The Muslim-Christian Dialogue Group gathers regularly in New York to share insights into the nature of man and his relationships with God and fellow-man. At its December meeting at Interchurch Center the theme was "Sin As a Barrier to These Relationships."

Dr. M. A. Rauf of the Islamic Center explained the Qur'anic word *Zulm*. This term applies to injustice of action or inaction. Sometimes its emphasis is on injuries done to others, but in over 200 verses of the Qur'an it conveys the idea of disobedience to the divine law. In its general use there are strong overtones emphasizing the hurt to one's own soul as an inevitable by-product.

Dr. Kenneth Cragg, author of *The Call of the Minaret* and *Sandals at the Mosque*, responded by indicating that *Zulm* is one of the Qur'an's many terms and themes which point in the direction of the "Christian measure of the wrongness of the world." Christians see in man, including themselves, "an inherent quality of self-centeredness, of defiance of the good, of distortion in our egotism. Even our goodnesses are beset by pride, our law-abiding turns to censure of the 'outsider,' our righteousnesses into 'self righteousness,' and our virtue into 'respectability.'"

As a Christian, Cragg sees all these factors as part of that "sin of the world" in which we are all involved and which culminates in the will to crucify Jesus. The Cross thus discloses us to ourselves as we are. At the same time it makes us aware, especially in Christ's prayer, "Father, forgive them," of the indestructible divine love available—if we will but open to it—to displace our own wrongness and humanity's.

## WESTERN ISLAMIC ART AT METROPOLITAN MUSEUM

**Western Islamic Art**, the current special exhibit in the Islamic galleries of New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, will run through February. It explores a fascinating aspect of Islamic art—that of the **Maghrib**—one of the most important yet least studied areas of art history. Early Muslim geographers and historians understood the **Maghrib**—"The West"—as encompassing North Africa (west of Egypt), Spain, and southern Italy. Egypt and Syria are also included in the exhibit's survey, for Syria was perhaps the most direct source for the intellectual as well as the material development of western Islam; and Egypt, in certain periods, was altogether within the cultural **Maghrib**. Every object in the exhibit is from the Museum's own collection, and will be permanently installed in the new Islamic galleries due to open during the Museum's centennial celebration.

The Egypto-Arabic wood panel of the Fatimid Period (XI Century) on your right is in the exhibition.



# Rabbi Berger Back from Tour of Arab Lands

Dr. Elmer Berger, former executive vice president of the American Council for Judaism, has returned with his wife, Ruth, a lawyer, from their two-month tour of Arab countries begun in early November. Among their stack of clippings are three feature articles from the Beirut *Daily Star* giving high points of the American rabbi's lectures and interviews over there:

## "First De-Escalate Emotions"

"It isn't my business to propose the form a solution (for the Arab-Israeli conflict) might take," the initial article quotes him as saying, "but I think at first there will have to be a gradual de-escalation of emotions on both sides, then perhaps some sort of U.N. presence between the two sides."

As contributions toward this end, he noted, "a number of Arab delegates at the U.N. have gone so far as to invite Israel to say what it means by 'secure and recognized boundaries,' and I know there are people on both sides who would like a respectable settlement. It's rather generally recognized in the U.N. that the Arabs are reconciled to the existence of some kind of a 'State of Israel'".

## "Tell More about Palestine"

The second feature, bearing the headline, *Berger Urges Arabs to Tell West More about Palestine*, indicated

the bases on which they could expect more receptive listeners than in the past: Among American youth there is disaffection for the Establishment, including distrust for the "power centers of communication" which have been "unfriendly . . . to an equitable presentation of the Palestine case." The Six-Day war shocked pacifists and the "young left" by its revelation of Israeli militarism. And the American public is becoming more disenchanted over "the barely concealed damage done to America by the support of Zionist interests in the Middle East."

A major problem, he noted, lies in the contrast between the Israeli zeal for press cultivation and "the Arab assumption that in a just cause the facts would speak for themselves." He urged them to be candid about their "underdeveloped aspects," low-keyed in describing "the Arab World's undeniable progress," and strong in their identification with the aspirations of humans the world over — liberty, dignity and self-determination."

## Zionism and Anti-Semitism

Berger's thumbnail history of Zionism, "from its idealistic beginnings when Ahad Ha'am could publicly deplore the death of a young Arab in a street riot as the staining of Palestine with innocent blood and warn against

'sacrificing the prophets of a national revival on its own altar,'" fills the third feature. The transition to political, nationalistic Zionism he attributed largely to Herzl who, noting the anti-Semitism of the Dreyfus case, and down-rating the ultimately victorious Gentile defenders of Dreyfus, the Jew, felt that Jewish safety demanded Jewish political control of a given territory. Since then, whenever anti-Semitism has begun to wane, Zionists have found it profitable to foster it, or fear of it, within strategic limitations.

Arabs, he indicated, should carefully distinguish between Jews and Zionists. They should present their case for Palestine "on a legal, political and rational basis, not on a religious or ethnic one."

## "Few Americans Are Informed"—Gallup

The widely-quoted July 24 *New York Times* report of a Gallup Poll on the Middle East situation requires a supplement, we've learned. According to Gallup, 1537 individuals were interviewed "in order to see how well-informed the American people are about the situation, and to see what they think should be done in case of a full-scale war in the Middle East." The *Times* covered the response to the second point, noting that 62% thought another full-scale war was likely to occur within five years, and 61% did not want us to get involved in any fighting.

But the first point, which is of particular interest to Americans for Middle East Understanding, was completely passed over. The answers, we find, revealed that few Americans are informed about the situation. Only a small proportion, for example, mention as causes the present difficulty over ownership of land or the recognition of Israel as a nation. 4 in 10 could offer no explanation of the conflict.

Here, by permission of the American Institute of Public Opinion, is the first question and tabulation of the findings:

**What do you regard as the MAIN cause of trouble between the Israelis and Arabs?**

Ancient enmity . . . . .	22%
Territorial rights . . . . .	16
Arabs claim Jews have	
taken their land . . . . .	5
Communism . . . . .	4
Economic causes . . . . .	4
Political causes . . . . .	3
Miscellaneous . . . . .	10
No opinion . . . . .	41
	105%*

\*Adds to more than 100 per cent because of multiple responses.

## Confusion Cleared on 2 "Friends of Jerusalem"

After the *New York Times* hit the newsstands with the report that "The Friends of Jerusalem" had co-sponsored Rabbi Elmer Berger's lectures in Beirut, Lebanon, inquirers kept Mr. Gottfried Newburger's phone at 545 Fifth Ave., New York, extra busy. He's the top executive of the almost identically named "Friends of Jerusalem," which is Jewish, whereas the Lebanese group is made up of Christians who raise funds for churchmen suffering from the Israeli occupation of the West Bank of Jordan.

Mr. Newburger's organization, he patiently explained, is anti-Zionist but differs from the American Council for Judaism in being Orthodox, pacifist and international. It rejects "contemporary Zionism . . . which has substituted modern secular nationalism for the divine covenant." It sees Zionism as "a perversion of the true nature of the Jewish people and a most dangerous development in Jewish history. . . . The name of Israel tends to spread utter confusion . . . (for it is) the his-

toric designation of the Jewish people . . . (and often the State of Israel's) policies and actions are diametrically opposed to Jewish tradition, Jewish religious (Torah) laws and the real interests of the Jewish people."

"The name 'Friends of Jerusalem' derives," a leaflet of Newburger's explains, "from the fact that the foremost leaders in the fight against Zionism are to be found in the Holy City . . . (There) the members of the (Jewish) Neturei Karta . . . have been forbidden by their spiritual leaders to visit the holiest Jewish site, the Western wall of Jerusalem, because of the circumstances under which it was conquered by the Israeli armed forces . . . The Neturei Karta in Jerusalem have always rejected Israeli citizenship, they have never participated in the Israeli government nor have they ever voted in any Israeli election." They look upon the Torah-guided life as "the only guarantee for survival of the Jewish people."

## German Jewish Group Spurns Zionism

"As German Jews we know only too well the horrible end of a system of utter moral corruption," writes Hans Popper of Munich to fellow-Jews in America. Popper is president of the *Sammlung Anti-Zionistischer Juden* (Association of Anti-Zionist Jews) of the Federal Republic of Germany.

His circular letter proceeds to urge wider Jewish denunciation of "the crimes of the Zionist-Israel structure against humanity." Otherwise, "when the truth of the Arab-Israel conflict emerges, all Jews will be asked to answer the charges that they supported these Zionist crimes and betrayed the ethical and moral heritages in Judaism, by remaining silent in the face of Zionist-Israeli aggressions against a peaceful Arab populace; that they acquiesced in wholesale land robbery, mass murder, expulsion of a people from their national land, and napalm bombing of civilians."

## MIDDLE EAST EXHIBITS

As noted elsewhere, in our report on the ANERA conference, one of the organizations represented there was Middle East Exhibits and Training (MEET). Like AMEU and AFME, which were represented by ANERA directors, MEET is not primarily concerned with refugee relief, but is interested in paving the way for better understanding and closer cultural ties with the Arab World, as the Koran admonishes: "We have created you Peoples and Nations to know one another . . ." MEET attempts to foster such understanding by promoting the crafts of the Middle East and North Africa through exhibits and training.

A typical exhibit is "Introducing Arab Life," consisting of paintings and other artifacts made by children of the area. This exhibit for young people was requested by the Detroit Children's Museum and opened there in September. Other exhibits that are currently available feature Arab motifs—calligraphic, geometric and arabesque—and Arab crafts, showing their use in contemporary interior design. For the last there is a rental fee of \$25.00; the other two are provided gratis, and in each case the exhibitor guarantees freight payment to the next recipient of the loan. Mrs. Alma Kerr has directed the organization since 1961. Its address is 1761 N Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

## BOOKS (Continued from page 2)

with U.S. policies in the Middle East. One is by James Sams, the second by Ray Cleveland. Mr. Cleveland deplores the idea that Americans, with their ideals of freedom and democracy, should place so-called "political realities" above the rights of Palestinians, dispersed as they may be. He also deplores the use of United Jewish Appeal funds (more than \$5 million from 1955 to 1962) to influence American opinion in favor of Israel, as revealed by hearings held by the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee in 1963. While these hearings dealt a death blow to a series of myths, says Mr. Cleveland, other myths survive; he discusses, in turn, the theory that Israel should be considered a bastion of American-style democracy; that the sole cause of hostility in the Near East stems from Arab irredentism, and the "thesis of attrition by Arab social reform." Of the last he says: "As much as one would like to believe in eventual acquiescence, to do so seems to postulate that Arabs do not have the same human reactions as Americans or Europeans."

## AVAILABLE FROM PUBLISHER

**THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT**, by Malcolm H. Kerr. 63 pages. Foreign Policy Association.

If you want to do more to waken America to what is at stake in the Middle East, by all means order *at least five copies* of this 85¢ "Headline Series" booklet from the Foreign Policy Association, 345 East 46th St., New York, N.Y. 10017. Give one each—with your own comments—to your newspaper editor, your pastor, your congressman and your senator. Keep the fifth for your own reference. Neither you nor they will find it comfortable reading. Yet its plain presentation of basic facts should help you and them reduce the present threat of unlimited catastrophe. The smaller type below permits our limited space to provide a fuller foretaste of this important analysis:

Prof. Kerr declares "we must abandon hope for the time being of finding a full solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and concentrate on merely minimizing the damage done to American interests by the June 1967 war and its aftermath." He sees the U.S. as a potential initiator of peace moves, but reluctant to take advantage of opportunities to do so.

"The 50 years' crisis over occupancy and self-determination in Palestine cannot be ended without the aid of far more sustained attention, fresh thinking, political courage, priority of importance, willingness to run risks and patience than any American Administration is likely to devote to it," he says. Even if the crisis of 1967 can be overcome (and the author sees no ground for optimism) "the overwhelming likelihood is that whatever success UN diplomacy has and whatever contribution the United States brings to it in easing the Middle East crisis will be a modest patchwork affair," Kerr believes.

Discussing the role of the two major powers in the Middle East, the author points out that both in the eyes of Moscow and Washington, it is influence in the Arab world, not in Israel, that is the long-term prize in the game. The Arab states represent tangible political assets on the international chessboard: expansive and strategically located territory, large population, 14 votes in the UN and over half the world's known oil reserves. By contrast, the author feels, Israel's only tangible asset is its command of local military superiority.

He notes that Israel's democratic life lends added strength to the American commitment to its security, and this commitment has become an irrevocable political reality. "This does not make the commitment a diplomatic

asset," Professor Kerr believes. "In assuming it, the U.S. has accepted a permanent handicap in dealing with Israel's much more important neighbors," he says.

Tracing U.S. involvement in Arab-Israeli affairs, the author states that in his view "the moral and diplomatic support given by President Truman to Israel at the time of its founding was based on one-sided and short-sighted considerations." . . . "It had the effect, intentionally or not, of making a permanent moral commitment from the U.S. government to American partisans of Israel, and through them, to Israel itself. . . . It meant, in practice, that although American presidents might sometimes oppose individual Israeli actions, when it came to fundamental questions affecting the character of the Israeli state, such as the fate of the refugees, no American president was in a strong position to call Israel's basic policies into question."

"If we are to think about overall solutions," the author says, "our central need is to find some basis on which to gain Arab acceptance of Israel's place in the Middle East." It is not certain that this could be accomplished under any circumstances, he admits, "but if any hope of it exists, it seems clear to this writer that it must lie in Israel's acknowledgment that the claim of the Jews to the land cannot be an exclusive one, and that the demand of Palestinian Arabs for the right of repatriation . . . is legitimate in principle." "What this would presumably mean in practice," he continues, "is that a minor fraction of the refugees would actually return and become Israeli citizens, while the majority accepted compensation and settled elsewhere."

We'd very much like to see this book's highlights made into an educational filmstrip.

## Studies War News Coverage

Samir Zaitoun, a graduate student at the University of Missouri School of Journalism, is doing his thesis on "The News Coverage and Editorial Attitudes of Four American Newspapers in The 1967 Middle East War." It will help him, in evaluating what was printed and omitted at the time, if you can send copies of news releases related to that war (and the tensions immediately preceding it) to him at 707 K University Village, Columbia, Mo., 65201.

## JORDAN DECORATES HOLT

At the Holy Family Church in New York, where the Vatican's U. N. observer has his headquarters, the 20th anniversary luncheon of Americans for Middle East Rehabilitation announced Palestine refugee scholarships in memory of K. S. Twitchell and E. J. Audeh. Highlight of the occasion was the presentation, by Jordanian Minister Plenipotentiary Miss Laurice Hlass, of the Royal Order of Independence, in behalf of King Hussein, to Dr. L. Emmett Holt, Jr., chairman of AMER's Board of Directors.

## HOLY LAND CENTER FORUMS

The Holy Land Center, 225 East 49th Street, N.Y., continues its public programs on Wednesdays at 7:30 p.m. as follows: *JANUARY: 8th*, "The American University of Beirut," by J. D. Graziano of AUB; *15th*, "Christian Aid to Arab Refugees," by Livingston Lomas of Church World Service; *22nd*, "The Host Family Program," by Mrs. Diane Cook, advisor to Mayor Lindsay and the U. S. Ambassador to the U.N.; *29th*, a report by Edwin M. Luidens, Raymond E. Maxwell and Rodney A. Sundberg of the National Council of Churches' Deputation to the Holy Land (at N. Y. Theological Seminary, 235 East 49th St.). *FEBRUARY: 5th*, "The Impact of Oil on the Middle East," by Wm. F. Todd of ARAMCO; *13th* (a *Thursday*, with N.Y.U. Arab Student Assn., at Loeb Student Center, Washington Sq. S. at La Guardia Pl.), a report on the Arab world by Rabbi Elmer Berger; *19th*, Fayez Sayegh film, *Palestine in Turmoil*; *26th*, "Western Islamic Art" by Don Aanawi of the Metropolitan Museum.

## Nolan Returns from Bethlehem

Msgr. John G. Nolan, just back from spending Christmas with Christian families in Bethlehem, promises to write up his observations for the next LINK.

## AVAILABLE AT YOUR BOOKSTORE (notes by J.V.C.)

**THE DIARY OF THE SINAI CAMPAIGN**, by Major-General Moshe Dayan. Schocken Books, Paperback edition, New York, 1967.

This book by the Israeli best known in the United States today is the one sided, aggressive account one should expect from the commander of the Israeli forces during the 1956 Sinai campaign. It is interesting primarily for its attitude and for what it ignores. In General Dayan's opinion the Arabs are all unpleasant aggressors and Israel is the puny but game underdog seeking only to live in peace. He does not mention the numerous large "reprisal" raids which Israel launched into Arab territory, killing more than twice as many Arabs as the Fedayeen had killed Israelis (See Burns, *Between Arab and Israeli*, p. 174), and the matter of Arab refugees he belittles. In the realm of international politics this candid book reveals almost the entire 1956 story of how Israel was invited to attack Egypt so that France and England would have the excuse to take over the Suez Canal. This revelation is not pin-pointed, for the author was too delighted with taking advantage of the opportunity to consider its implications beyond his own assessment, but it is there. The book is honest, almost innocent, in its one sided simplicity, but it is appalling that this man, so touted as a hero today, thinks with so small a scope. Interesting by itself, the book is fascinating when read in conjunction with Anthony Nutting's *No End of a Lesson*.

**NO END OF A LESSON**, by Anthony Nutting, Clarkson N. Potter, Inc. New York, 1967.

The author, protégé of Anthony Eden, was Minister of State for Foreign Affairs in the government headed by Eden at the time of the Suez War of 1956. He was privy both to Eden's personal opinion about developments in the Middle East and to the secret political negotiations which made them explosive. He was present when the French suggested in a private meeting that Britain and France cooperate to occupy the Suez Canal by "inviting" Israel to attack Egypt. Once Israel had occupied Sinai then England and France would request both Egypt and Israel to withdraw their forces from the canal zone so the French and English could occupy the canal zone in order to protect it. Such a withdrawal, of course, would cost the Israelis nothing, for the canal was far from their borders, whereas it would cost the Egyptians a great deal since it was well within Egyptian territory. The French suggestion gained Eden's support and the two great powers cooperated with Israel in the attack upon Egypt. Collusion had been suspected since the first days of the Suez War itself, but it could not be proved until the publication of this book. It is a sad story of international policy swayed by personal emotions, and it is a sobering counterpoint to General Dayan's *Diary of the Sinai Campaign*, written from way down at the opposite end of the scale.

**ZION RECONSIDERED**, by Jakob J. Petuchowski, Twayne Publishers, Inc. New York, 1966.

The author, Professor of Rabbis at the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, served during 1963/64 as the Director of Jewish Studies of the Hebrew Union College in Jerusalem, Israel. His short, thoughtful book refutes the emotional assumption that the modern political state of Israel is the fulfillment of Scriptural prophecy and suggests that it is instead the product of 19th century theories of Jewish nationalism; theories which were rejected out of hand when they first appeared by both Orthodox and Reformed congregations. Rabbi Petuchowski points out that the Eastern European Jews who were kept in ghettos turned toward secular nationalism—Zionism—as modern thought challenged their traditional ways without granting them legal emancipation. When western European anti-Semitism assumed terrifying proportions, the Western European Jew was also driven to Zionism. The result is Israel.

Rabbi Petuchowski refuses to accept that these secular trends, which continue to guide Israel today, should influence Jewish worship or dominate Jewish life in the United States. He shows how religion in Israel today, far from being a cohesive factor, is one of the most divisive elements in the country. While recognizing Israel's impressive achievements for the European Jew, he points out as well that these achievements were largely won at the expense of the Jews in Muslim countries: Jews who have been persecuted and in many cases induced to emigrate from the lands of their birth because of Arab reactions to Zionist achievements. This is a thought-provoking book which all Americans, and American Jews in particular, would do well to read before continuing to emotionally endorse the opinions Israel directs to this country in the guise of unimpeachable facts.