

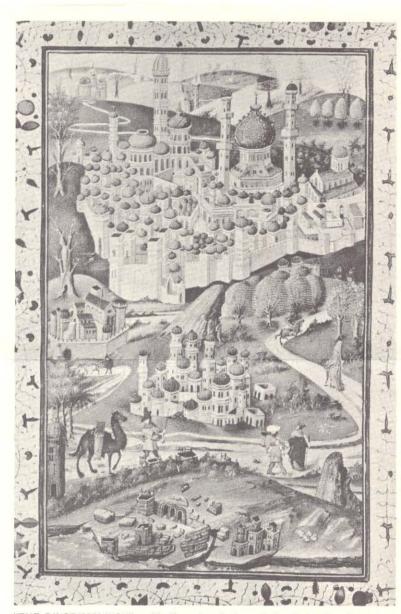
PUBLISHED BY AMERICANS FOR MIDDLE EAST UNDERSTANDING

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# Churches Plan for Dialogue, Refugees and Peace



"THE PILGRIMS' WAY", a Mediaeval painting of the Holy City, is one of eight Christmas card designs being offered by the Friends of Jerusalem to raise funds for war victims. For details of how to get an order form with color reproductions of this and other designs, see back page article on "JERUSALEM" Christmas Cards.

World Council, Quakers, Catholics Seek Solutions, Pledge Aid

The Central Committee of the World Council of Churches has appropriated \$20,000 for a consultation between Christians and followers of other faiths next March in Beirut, Lebanon. Two recent conferences, one in the Middle East, the other in the Middle West, have added grist for that mill.

In Nicosia, Cyprus, in October, at a conference of Mideastern churchmen co-sponsored by the World Council's DICARWS (Division of Inter-church Aid, Refugee and World Service) to face up to the needs of the Palestinian refugees, participants insisted that traditional relief, though still essential, is not enough. There must also be awareness of the Palestinian entity, and readiness to redress the wrong done to the Palestinian people when Israel was created in their homeland. Among the follow-up meetings to consider the implications of this challenge, one of the first is slated for the Church Center at the United Nations for all day November 7.

The previous month a two-week meeting of the World Council's Committee on the Church and the Jewish People concluded in Racine, Wis., after having spent considerable time listening to representatives of American Jewry which outnumbers Israel's Jews by some 3,000,000. Frank and open exchanges of views characterized the dialogues. Dr. Kurtis F. Naylor of the National Council of Churches posed the Christian dilemma as far as the Middle East is concerned.

"We carry a tremendous burden," he said. "We are a disappointment to our Arab friends (and there are several million Christians in that group) . . . and a real disappointment to our Jewish friends, too . . . If you meet the needs of one, you necessarily thwart the elemental needs of the other."

These judgments gain immediacy from recent major statements expressing Christian concern over

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#### 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, Cura-tor of Egyptian Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art; Dr. Helen C. Hilling, (sec.), Professor of Public Adminis-tration, N.Y.U.; L. Emmett Holt, Jr., M.D., Board Chairman of American Middle East Rehabilitation; Sister Blanche Marie of The College of St. Elizabeth; Msgr. John G. Nolan, President of the Pontifical Mission for Palestine; David C. Quinn, for-mer Asst. Attorney General, N.Y. State; Fr. Joseph L. Ryan, Jesuit missionary; 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 (LINK 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.

Program Director: Rev. John Sutton.

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## M.E.I. SPOTLIGHTS USSR

The Soviet Union in a Changing Middle East was the theme with which the Middle East Institute attracted some 500 top specialists to its 23rd Annual Conference at Georgetown University, October 10-11. The dinner speaker, Assistant Secretary of State Joseph J. Sisco, was frank but not optimistic in his talk and question-fielding. The conference, after being opened by Theodore L. Eliot, Jr., of The State Dept., and John C. Campbell of the Council on Foreign Relations, heard two plenary panel discussions. The one on Soviet Interests in the Area was led by Richard T. Davies of the State Dept., Prof. J. C. Hurewitz of Columbia and Stephen Rosenfeld of the Washington Post. Prof. T. W. Adams of Federal Executive Institute, Prof. Malcolm H. Kerr of UCLA and W. B. Smith of the State Dept. dealt with The USSR and Area Disputes.

## **BOOKS**

FURNACE OF THE LORD, Elisabeth Elliot. \$4.95. 129 pp. & 8 pp. photographs. Double-day and Co., Inc., Garden City, N.Y. Our price: \$2.90.

Mrs. Elliot is the widow of one of the five missionaries who were murdered in Ecuador 14 years ago, and the author of several volumes, including *The Savage My Kinsman*. She was sent by her former publisher, Harper and Row, to Jerusalem in the fall of 1967 to record her impressions in any form she chose. After a delay of eight months the manuscript was rejected for unspecified reasons. Evidently, this is not the sort of book that was expected. Nor is it—as the author informed the present reviewer—the sort of book she expected to write. She knew little about the Middle East, but understandably assumed that Israel's recent successes deserved nothing but praise. It was not long, however, before she felt compelled to ask some searching questions, and by the end of her 10-week visit she had not only come to grips with most of the basic issues, but was able to discuss them with a great deal of understanding and insight.

The most remarkable aspect of the book is the author's persistent attempt to understand the motivations of both Jews and Arabs—the joy of the feast of Simhat Torah, for example ("clearly the Jews had something here that the rest of us had missed"). The contemptuous reaction of one young Jewish girl who said of such demonstrations: "Who has time to keep the past alive?" And the plaintive reaction of an Arab: "They have turned our Holy City into a carnival." Although this is, for the most part, the personal report of a devout Christian about places and people of Jerusalem, it is obvious that she has also done some research. From the Jewish Quarterly, vol. 15, no. 3, she quotes, for example, this memorable statement by Samuel H. Dresner: "But what will happen if, when the world, in fear and trembling, puts its terrible questions to Israel, we have nothing to say?"

One passage in particular reflects the spirit of the book. An Arab native of the city is reported as saying: "From now, I hope, I hope there be no more trouble. Arab and Jew be friend if there be big man from outside, from America, from someplace, but we do not want trouble." And the author comments: "Big man from outside—this was his hope. But it seemed to me a slim one so long as that big man cared more about his own image and property than he did about the truth. Who was to find the truth and where, if it was found, could it be told?" Mrs. Elliot has too much humility to force conclusions on the reader, but it is obvious that she has, in fact, discovered the central truth—that Israel's unilateral annexation of Jerusalem "plants depth charges which will be exploding for the next hundred years." — H.G.F.

THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM. Vol. I: Views of Jewish and Arab Students in Israel; Vol. 2: An ideological and Theological Critique of Zionism. Student World, a quarterly review published by the World Student Christian Federation. 75¢ each. Available from WSCF Office, 132 E. 54th St., New York, N.Y. 10022.

The WSCF has performed a signal service in publishing these two numbers of Student World, for in novel but very different ways they help to widen the

perspective of anyone interested in the Middle Eastern complexities.

The first volume contains eleven articles gathered by the WSCF team which worked with students in Israel from 1966 to 1968. The six articles by Jewish students are remarkable in showing the profound differences among Jews in Israel. However, as the team points out in its introduction, "at least by implication all the Jewish writers acknowledge that the existence of Israel as a political and territorial entity is neither dissolvable nor negotiable whatever be the course of her development as a society."

The articles by Israeli Arab students (and this is one of the first times we in the West have heard them speak) are unified in rejection of the "police state" rule which has replaced the military government in Arab areas, dismayed by the rending of the traditional social tissue of the Arab community, and interested in

a non-Zionist Jewish presence in the Arab world.

In the second volume the articles are directed against Western and specifically Western Christian support of Zionism and its product, Israel. Based on the general assumption that the "parameters and pride [of Zionism and Israel] are more often Western than Hebraic, more often Christian than Jewish," these articles attempt to understand Zionism and Israel not so much as Jewish products and realities, but as products and realities heavily influenced in ideological, theological and practical ways by the Christian West. The articles are therefore, and perhaps more importantly, a critique of the West.

A Lebanese writes on Palestine and the national liberation movements of the Third World, and a Palestinian discusses Israel's call for direct negotiation. An

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## POLITICAL SCIENCE REPORTS

The closing session of the American Political Science Association Convention in New York in September was devoted to "the Palestinians and the Future of Israel." Under the chairmanship of Prof. Malcolm Kerr of U.C.L.A., Prof. Don Peretz stressed the distinctive national character of Palestinians whose Diaspora (dispersal) has developed some of the same aspects of minority consciousness found among the Jews and Armenians. A "Palestine Arab Zionism" has also emerged. Professor Hisham Sharabi, a Palestinian, commented on the belief of al-Fatah that time is on their side; they refuseat least now-to contemplate any settlement with the Zionist leadership in Israel. Al-Fatah expects a war of attrition will bring non-Zionists to power in Israel.

Samuel Merlin represented another viewpoint. He questioned the sincerity of Arab demands for a secular Palestinian state in view of recent calls for a Holy War. His presentation was balanced, however: He questioned Israel's belief that the Arabs would come to the peace table if only Russia guit supporting them; he called for the creation of an Arab Palestinian state on both sides of the Jordan which would be linked with Israel and accompanied by a choice for Palestinian refugees of repatriation or compensation; and he urged both sides to reveal their negotiation positions rather than to "play poker". Merlin urged a solution embracing Israeli security needs and satisfaction of the Arabs' sense of justice. He remarked that Israel would rather deal with Nasser than face the issue of the Palestinians' existence and rights, while the Arabs preferred to fight Zionism rather than to consider the fact of Israel's existence.

In answer to questions, Peretz felt that younger Arabs on the West Bank were even more hostile to Israelis than were their elders. This bodes ill for reconciliation. There followed a discussion of whether or not liberal Israelis such as Uri Avnery were anywhere near the position of al-Fatah despite the reference by both to "de-Zionization" of Israel. All three speakers agreed that Israel's relations with the Palestinians were more important than relations with Egypt, Jordan and Syria. Palestine is claimed by two peoples; Arab-Israeli peace will most probably have to await Israeli-Palestinian peace. BOOKS (Continued from page 2)

American with wide Middle East experience discusses various conceptions of Zionism and outlines Christian responsibility under the rubric of "Intra-Semitism." A young French Protestant presents the difficulty for a Westerner, imbued as he is with Western values and practices, in a struggle in solidarity with the Palestinians against Zionism, which he analyzes as the crystallization of Western values and practices. A group of non-Zionist Israeli Jews discusses Zionism and anti-semitism. The WSCF team's theological conclusions after two years in Israel are included. As an appendix, part of the debate about Israel and the Palestinians currently raging among West German students is reproduced.—P.J.

MIDDLE EAST FOCUS: THE PERSIAN GULF. 220 pp. \$5.00. Princeton University Conference, New South Building, Princeton, N. J. 08540.

Whereas everybody uses the term "Middle East" without an agreed definition, everyone familiar with Southwest Asia knows precisely what the "Gulf" is but cannot agree on a name for it. Nevertheless, whether you call it "Arabian" or "Persian" or whatever, there is general agreement that the Gulf is an extremely important area. Thus it was very timely for Princeton University to choose the Gulf as the topic for its 20th Annual Near East Conference. It drew an unexpectedly large attendance of professionals and specialists from business, governments and the universities who found the quality of the presentations and discussion, reproduced in this volume, extraordinarily high. The conference touched on every conceivable aspect of Gulf affairs-strategic, military, political, economic and social. Several speakers commented on the extensive but not widely recognized economic and social progress made in recent years, particularly in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iran. A consensus emerged that with the impending withdrawal of British forces from the area in 1971 the prospects for peaceful progress depend largely on close harmony between the two major littoral powers -Saudi Arabia and Iran. (Perhaps it was a propitious omen that while the proceedings were under way the conference received advance word of the signing of an agreement between these two governments regulating the offshore boundaries between them.)

Considerable attention was given to the threat of Communist encroachment. What should American reactions to such encroachment be? It was recognized on all sides that the United States must develop a policy for encouraging useful progress towards stability. As William Brewer of the State Department pointed out, "Significant United States economic and commercial interests with the Gulf will clearly continue in the future." Brewer also dwelt at some length on the development of American private educational and medical contacts going back almost 100 years. In a bit of semantic by-play about the significance of the oil resources of the region to the United States and the Free World, the question came down to whether oil is "vital" or just "highly important"! Yet there seemed to be no material dissent from the view of Edward Symonds of the First National City Bank, who stated that "by 1980, we estimate that the Middle East will still be accounting for half the world's oil supply." In sum, the conference proceedings provide an excellent introduction to American political, economic, and strategic stakes in the Middle East and the Gulf area in particular. Much credit is due to Princeton for arranging the conference and publishing the proceedings so promptly, at a time when the challenge to American interests is a matter of serious concern.

AMERICA AND THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD, 1776-1882, by James A. Field, Jr. 465 pages. \$13.50. Princeton University Press, 1969.

Professor Field brings thorough scholarship to the story of American interests in the Mediterranean (especially the eastern part) over the first century of our history. While missionaries, traders and others are by no means neglected, this ambitious work is perhaps most original in its exploitation of the U.S. Navy archives. The Sixth Fleet, it appears, has origins with the Founding Fathers: "As far back as 1796 President Washington had urged a permanent protecting force for America's Mediterranean commerce; at the end of the Tripolitan War, Jefferson had written that the United States would 'ever' be obliged to keep a squadron in that sea" (p. 104). Such a squadron was formed after the War of 1812, and it was present throughout most of the 19th century. It never fought, but it played a significant role in protecting our traders; helping with the negotiations leading up to the treaty with Turkey of 1830; coming to the assistance of the missionaries and curbing piracy.

While the Navy was constantly in evidence, it operated without any clear or consistent policy mandate from Washington. Much more persistent and penetrating were the purely private American commitments in the Middle East. Here was the heaviest foreign involvement of the American missionary establishment,

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## UNESCO Receives Data on Jerusalem Cultural Property

A report on how well the government of Israel is preserving the cultural property of Jerusalem was submitted in mid-October to the Executive Board of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), for consideration under the Treaty on the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Case of Armed Conflict. (Israel, the United Arab Republic and the Syrian Arab Republic are all parties to the Convention). The plusses, minuses and deferred judgments on the report card have been hard for news writers to interpret with balance. Hence the following rather full analysis:

The 30-man UNESCO Executive Board had, last May, expressed its concern over Jerusalem and asked that UNESCO's Director-General should endeavor to see that the Israeli occupation authorities preserved all the sites. buildings and other cultural properties particularly in the old city. The Convention also states that "in the event of armed conflict, any member state occupying the territory of another state should refrain from carrying out archaelogical excavations in the occupied territory." It adds that "In the event of chance finds being made . . . the occupying power should take all possible measures to protect these finds which should be handed over on the termination of hostilities to the competent authorities of the territory previously occupied . . ."

In April, 1969, the Government of Israel agreed to the Director-General's sending to Jerusalem Mr. De Angeles D'Ossat, Director of the School of Advanced Studies in the Restoration of Monuments in the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Rome and former Director-General of Antiquities and Fine Arts, in the Italian Ministry of Education. In addition, Dr. H. J. Reinink, Commissioner-General for Cultural Property surveyed the area.

## Some of their findings include the following:

- 1. They regretted the demolition of a group of houses known as the Abu Saud houses, abutting on the Western Wall of the Temple Haram-esh-Sharif, near the part of the Wall known as the Wailing Wall.
- 2. Regarding the demolition of old buildings in the South-Western part of the Old City and more especially in the Old Jewish quarter, Mr. D'Ossat reported: "to my mind, the pulling down of a whole district, even if not among the most famous or the most striking, seriously damages the compact appearance of the Old City, which was huddled within its walls, forming a close fabric of small buildings in vivid and delightful contrast with the nearby open spaces and the monu-

mental but untrammelled lines of the Haram. Now, with this dreary and formless artificial space before our eyes, and in the absence of any definite plans for its future lay-out, we can only echo the protests made."

3. The transfer of the Dead Sea Scrolls from the Palestine Archeological Museum to the Israel Museum in Jerusalem was, they hoped, only temporary. As to the Palestine Archeological Museum itself, according to Mr. D'Ossat, "only minor measures have been taken and changes carried out there, which may be described as active conservation." The Israelis have, however, provided for the restoration and improved the laboratories and depositories for the scrolls.

The report noted that a good many monuments and buildings both secular and religious in character were in need of maintenance and even restoration. "To leave them in their present state would be, sooner or later, to condemn them," the report warned, and noted that Israel authorities have taken or are taking measures which, in their view, come under the heading of "active conservation".

#### Anxieties and Aspirations

Paying tribute to measures that the Mayor of Jerusalem has already taken in improving conservation and adopting protective measures to protect the Holy City, the report nevertheless noted with regret that the continued refusal of the Muslim community to cooperate with the Israel authorities or to accept financial or technical assistance from them for the protection of cultural property was not insuring the preservation of Muslim cultural property as it should be. The disparity between the "enterprising spirit" on the one hand, and "the reserve, not to say passivity" on the other . . . "intensifies the threat that overshadows the equilibrium and harmony of the necessary work of conservation", the report warned.

In addition, the observers noted that buildings were not bearing the emblem which would identify them as cultural property to be protected by the Convention.

The Director-General of UNESCO, Rene Maheu, has offered UNESCO's assistance in two areas: Technical assistance to the two parties to maintain the highest standards of protecting the cultural property, and the provision to the world's public of objective information so that a "great wave of mutual understanding and respect between the cultures which have their histotrical roots there" could be created. The Executive Board of UNESCO has just authorized the Director-General to take the necessary action.

# DID SILENCE MEAN INDIFFERENCE?

While the interfaith conferences of the summer and fall have been varied in content, one common element keeps being reported: the feeling expressed by many Jews that their gentile neighbors are indifferent to their safety. The fact that Christians in particular in May, 1967, were "silent when Israel was in danger of genocide from the Arabs" is given as special grounds for that feeling.

A fairly wide gentile response is, "We didn't know there was such a danger." Why not? "Well, our informed leaders didn't report it as such." But how about the verbal Arab threats, in print and on the air? Weren't they a clear indication of murderous intent and deadly capability?

We raised this last question with Howard Koch, Jr., who is briefly in New York preparing the final details of a study on Arab-Israeli tensions for the Hoover Institution on War and Peace. Out of his research files Dr. Koch dug some interesting documentation:

From Walter Laqueur he quoted General Haim Herzog as having assured his fellow Israelis on June 1, 1967, that, "Knowing the facts, I can say that if I had a choice between sitting in an Egyptian aircraft sent to bomb Tel Aviv and sitting in a house in Tel Aviv, then I would prefer for the good of my health to sit in Tel Aviv."

According to Kimche and Bawly, General Earle Wheeler, Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, reported on May 25 that "he had no information of any Egyptian intention to attack; . . . if anything, it was the Israeli

army that was pressing to begin hostilites. And he repeated that in the Pentagon's view Israel had nothing to fear. Her army was in their estimation, far superior to that of Egypt." In fact, CIA head Richard Helms then believed that an Israeli intiative in the air against the Arabs would result in Israeli victory in three or four days.

Israeli General Rabin later conceded: "I do not believe that Nasser wanted war. The two divisions he sent into Sinai on May 14 would not have been enough to unleash an offensive against Israel. He knew it and we knew it."

# THE PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO KNOW?

A mimeographed letter from The Citizens Committee to Tell It Like It Is, Inc., Box 2276, Baltimore, Md. 21203, reached us with the statement that: "We have reason to believe that the (Gene) Burns show on WCBM radio, and the one scheduled in August on WMET-TV, were abruptly terminated by the money pressures applied by a small, but financially strong, segment of the advertising and commercial communities."

Our inquiries elicited the following claims: The Gene Burns daily, 3-hour talk-and-phone-in show, on WCBM, had been rated as Baltimore's most popular radio program by all three major rating systems. Last January, after calls concerning the Israeli raid on the Beirut Airport, one sponsor suggested a Burns trip to Israel for firsthand observations. The trip was arranged by WCBM and Metromedia management for February, but also called for Burns' visit to adjacent countries. His observations, as reported on his return, were contrary to what had been expected by the sponsor. After an on-the-air blow-up between Burns and the sponsor, pressures on the station, direct at first and then through its advertising income, resulted in his departure from the Baltimore airwaves in March. Similar pressures apparently forced last minute cancellation of his WMET-TV premiere in August and seem to be preventing his employment with other outlets.

A member of the Citizens Committee asked us whether this was a national, or merely a local, phenomenon. If you have any clear evidence, pro or con, please contact the Citizens Committee direct.

## BOOKS (Continued from page 3)

which eventually developed into an equally heavy educational and philanthropic investment. By 1895 there were 435 schools and some 20,000 students, with hundreds of Americans actively involved. "The educational system created in these years forms a remarkable monument to American disinterested benevolence . . . Much of this work was lasting . . . With all allowance for the human tendency to rationalization and self-deception, this seems a magnificent record, and one for which any historical parallel is difficult to discover." (p. 358). In spelling out the continuity of American interests in the Middle East, Professor Field provides much more: the brisk trade in American arms, for example. He reminds us of the millenialists who attempted to colonize Palestine at midcentury; the lively export trade in kerosene as early as 1868; the Americanmade rolling stock on the original Jaffa-Jerusalem railroad; the former Confederate and Union officers who took charge of the Egyptian army at the Khedive's request in the 1870's; and the laundry set up by the Rev. Cyrus Hamlin at the Bosphorus to serve grateful British troops during the Crimean War, with the proceeds devoted to the education of the Armenian minority in Constantinople.

These and many others laid the basis for America's present interests in the Middle East. With a lack of official interest in Washington, these Americans did their duty as they saw it, avoided quarrels, tried to do business for a fair return, proclaimed their ideals and principles, came to the relief of the oppressed, and brought a vision of the New World to many who had known it only by hearsay. And the rewards were significant. The combination of private concern and official disinterest enhanced the reputation of our country in an extraordinary way. "There is scarcely a native," wrote an American from Egypt in 1882, "but knows from his Arabic paper that the United States are their friend, that we are not here to plunder and oppress but to aid and encourage." (p. 425). If any Cairo paper is reflecting this sort of sentiment today, I don't know about it. "Our ancestors," Field points out, "knew more about, and were more concerned with, the merchant marine, the peacetime employment of the Navy, and the missionary effort than we" (p. 456). Surely the continuity of our interest in the

with, the merchant marine, the peacetime employment of the Navy, and the missionary effort than we" (p. 456). Surely the continuity of our interests in the Middle East over almost two centuries, and the solid relationships that have grown up with the people of the area over that time, deserve to be more widely known today, when relations appear so tenuous. Professor Field's work is thus both timely and welcome.—(Condensed, with permission, from *The Middle East Journal*).

RELIGION IN THE MIDDLE EAST, edited by A. J. Arberry. Vol. 1: Judaism and Christianity, 595 pp.; vol. 2: Islam, 750 pp. \$22.50. Cambridge University Press.

Ethical monotheism — recognition of one God, righteous and compassionate — was born in the Middle East. Its three major expressions — Judaism, Christianity and Islam — are still inescapable parts of its conditioning. Professor Arberry and his competent, readable essayists have, therefore, rendered a valuable service to mutual understanding by showing similarities that can be stressed, differences that must be appreciated and interplay that can be fruitful.

Among the differences that must be grasped, for instance, are Islam's centuries of practice of inseparability of religion and government, with consequent difficulties of adjustment to Western secularism. Then there's the Jewish emphasis on the actual — and the Christian stress on the universal, ideal — Jerusalem. Yet, even where there are conflicting interpretations of, for instance, Palestine as a Holy Land, the producers of this set of volumes have shown how, historically and ideologically, a harmonious living together may be developed.

They don't present this as a simple matter. They show the ramifications of the subdivisions of each group. Nor do they minimize the complications stemming from the identification of much modern Judaism and Christianity with the West. Yet they find enough in common to encourage greater mutual trust, respectful dialogue and fruitful cooperation. Hence, in pressing on through these encyclopedic pages, one feels that one is not merely engaged in a study but sharing in a pilgrimage. — L.H.W.

SUEZ, THE TWICE FOUGHT WAR, by Kennett Love. 640 pp. \$10.00. McGraw-Hill, N.Y. This account by the former New York Times correspondent is not just another book about the Suez crisis. It is a source of insight into many facets of the Middle East today.

Suez, Love says, is not only an "intricate drama of great mien, bold action, pride, prejudice and guile," but also clearly demonstrates that "democratic leaders can be as dangerously wrong as dictators when they act in secret upon secret (or inadequate) information." This thesis Love illustrates with carefully selected quotations drawn from interviews, published works or original documents. Often

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this takes the form of a well chosen and memorable anecdote which reveals motives, background of decision or details generally unknown. For example: In Love's description of Hussein's dismissal of General Glubb, he describes how this event was misinterpreted by Nasser as a British move. Nasser, in conversation with Selwyn Lloyd, thus appeared sarcastic and unsympathetic to British feelings. Eden, on the other hand, believed the dismissal to be evidence of an Egyptian plot and reacts in anger. The account of his telephone conversation with Nutting, in which Eden shouts: "I want him destroyed, don't you understand!" is shown to set the scene for the mounting crisis which led to war.

Those who look to a well informed and alert public to redress the balance will take little comfort in the account in which Love tells how news is managed, suppressed or actually misinterpreted. He relates how Nasser, in an interview with him, made bold, conciliatory statements to improve Egyptian relations with the West. This interview, duly cabled to New York, went unprinted. When at last excerpts from it finally got into print, it was edited in such a way as to falsify Nasser's true intent-making it appear that, while Israel wanted peace, Nasser threatened war. Thus, Love says, was lost one of the last opportunities for real peace.

The book contains a revealing treatment of other events which no serious student will want to overlook. It is enhanced by numerous maps and charts and an index prepared by Roberta Blacke. Copious notes and bibliography will add to its value as a resource for advanced study. — J.S.

THE MIDDLE EAST: A Selected Bibliography of Recent Works, 1960-69. Prepared by Harry N. Howard. 51 pages. \$1.00. The Middle East Institute, 1761 N St., Washington,

This selective guide to some 400 volumes, with a thumbnail review of each, will enable the student of the area quickly to select those books which bear most directly on his special interests. The listing comprises 24 categories, from the geographical, historical, religious, artistic, economic, social and cultural to classifications by country. For those specialists who wish to dig even deeper, Dr. Howard has included sections of other "Useful Bibliographies," "General Surveys" and "Convenient Documentary Collections." His supplementary "The Middle East in Paperback" appeared in last Summer's issue of The Middle East Journal published at the same address - L.H.W.

THE DECADENCE OF JUDAISM IN OUR TIME, by Moshe Menuhin. Second impression, with postscript. 589 pp. Paperback edition \$5.00. The Institute of Palestine Studies, Beirut, Lebanon.

When the original version of this book was published, in 1965, the Intermountain Jewish News castigated the author in these terms: "The Jews have a word for it, Meshoumed, one who abandons his Jewish faith to proselyte against his own people." My reaction is quite opposite. Moshe Menuhin's devotion to Jewish faith and his pride in Jewish contributions to civilization are the driving force behind his indictment, not of his people, but of a political program—Zionism. Can Zionism and Judaism be separated? Menuhin insists that they must be, if Judaism is to retain its spiritual value; otherwise it becomes an anachronistic fusion of religion and politics in which God is replaced by man, and individual conscience is subordinated to nationalism. "It is," he says, "the immortal spirit of dauntless moral independence that we revere in the prophets, not the old political independence fought over endlessly, sometimes in self-defense, and sometimes in offensive wars to carve out more territory, to rule over more slaves, to be richer at the expense of neighbors."

And Menuhin is by no means alone in proclaiming this message. He cites, for example, Ahad Ha-'Am (Asher Ginzberg), who saw in the "return to Zion" a revival of spiritual values, but said of the First Zionist Congress in 1897: "Who knows whether this was not the last sign of a dying people?" Ahad Ha-'Am had warned in 1891 that the Jewish settlers must meet the native Arab population with friendliness and respect: "Yet what do our brethren do in Palestine? Just the very opposite! . . . They treat the Arabs with hostility and cruelty, deprive them of their rights, offend them without cause, and even boast of these deeds, and nobody among us opposes this despicable and dangerous inclination." He quotes Judah Magnes, who abandoned secular nationalism soon after he emigrated to Palestine in 1922 and later declared, "Will the Jews here in their efforts to create a political organism become devotees of brute force and militarism . . .? We seem to have thought of everything except the Arabs." He cites Einstein, who in 1938 spoke against the creation of a Jewish State because he feared "the inner damage Judaism will sustain." And he cites Martin Buber, who in 1958 said: "I believed that this nationalism [Zionism] would not go the way of

INTERCOM Has New Publisher

The Center for War/Peace Studies, 218 East 18th St., New York, N.Y. 10003, has taken over from the Foreign Policy Association the responsibilicy for issuing the \$6.00-a-year quarterly Intercom. Of particular value is its \$1.50 directory of "U.S. Voluntary Organizations and World Affairs. While the listing omits many Mideastoriented groups, including our own, we believe that this is less the fault of the publisher than of the organizations themselves. For its next issuance, therefore, we've submitted the necessary data about A.M.E.U.

## ARAB-AMERICAN ALUMNI

Wayne State University's Conference Center in Detroit will house the Second Annual Convention of the Association of Arab-American Graduates, Inc., on December 5-7. With banquets and entertainment to provide changes of pace, it will devote its major concentration to the theme of "The Palestinian Revolution: Its International, Social and Technical Dimensions."

Dr. Hisham Sharabi of Georgetown U. will be the chairman, Dr. Fred J. Khouri of Villanova the discussant, on the panel on "The International Dimensions of the Palestine Revolution." Panelists, each presenting a different phase, will be Dr. M. Cherif Sharabi of the DePaul U. College of Law, attorney Abdeen Jabara of Detroit, Dr. Sameer Anabtawi of Vanderbilt U. and Dr. W. T. Mallison of the George Washington U. School of Law.

Mr. Jabara will chair the discussion of "The Technical Components of the Palestine Revolution" after papers by Dr. Ragaei El-Mallakh of the U. of Colorado, Hasan Sherif of the U. of California, Dr. Nadim Bitar of the U. of Toledo and Dr. Rashid Bashshur of

the U. of Michigan.

"Palestine in Captivity" will be chaired by Dr. Elias Shoufani of Georgetown U. and David Waines of the McGill U. Institute of Islamic Studies, John Culhane of Newsweek, Dr. Emile A. Nakhleh of Mount St. Mary's College and artist Kamal Boullata of Washington, D.C., are to present papers, with Dr. Naseer Aruri of Southeastern Mass. U. as discussant.

The Panel on "The Future of the Palestine Resistance Movement", with Dr. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod of Northwestern U. as its chairman, has booked Dr. Barbara Aswad of Wayne State U, Mr. Hatem Hussaini of Smith College

and author Ania Francos of Paris as panelists. Mr. Tarig Ali of London will sound the keynote. Mr. Clovis Maksoud, Lebanese expert on the Third World, will be the banquet speaker. For further details of the organization, its history, objectives and convention plans you may write Miss Elaine C. Hagopian, Secretary, P.O. Box 46, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.

### DIALOGUES CONTINUE

The four-page article on "Dialogues with Muslims" in the October issue of The Lamp, a Christian Unity magazine published by the Friars of The Atonement, Garrison, New York 10524, opened with the Universal Jewish Encyclopaedia's statement that, "Political events and religious prejudice have conspired to produce an unfair picture in Western minds of the role of Islam in human progress." It comments that, "this is the more tragic, in these days that cry out for interfaith harmony, since Islam—the faith of half a billion Muslims-is closer to Judaism and Christianity than is any other world religion".

Among those mentioned as seeking to bridge the gap is the New York Muslim-Christian Dialogue Group. We've just received their schedule of impending topics and dates. If you wish to participate on a regular basis, you may learn details from either Rev. Harold Vogelaar, 622 Interchurch Center, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027, or Dr. Muhammad Abdul Rauf, the Islamic Center, 1 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10023. The next four projected meetings, all of which are slated for 2-4 p.m., will discuss the following themes:

November 26: The relationship of Islam and Christianity to Judaism with particular focus on LAW."

January 28: "Human suffering and God's justice—a Christian and a Muslim point of view."

February 25: "Mysticism in Islam and Christianity and its impact on modern times."

March 25: "Dar es-Salaam"—"Thy Kingdom Come."

Looking out on our world as it has become, with all its ambiguity, its incompleteness and brokenness, its marvel and majesty, but above all the multireligious consciousness of its people, what are the *fundamental* hopes, the dreams and expectations our respective faiths hold for us in regard to this world and eternity?

BOOKS (Continued from page 6)

all the others—beginning with a great hope and then deteriorating, decaying, becoming collective egoism even daring, like Mussolini, to call itself a sacro egoismo, as if a collective egoism could be more sacred than the egoism of any individual . . The majority of the Jewish people preferred to learn from Hitler rather than from us . . . Hitler showed that history does not go the way of the spirit, but the way of power . . ."

It must not be thought, however, that this book is a series of jeremiads. Part I is an orderly and informative history of Palestine in terms of the ancient Jewish kingdoms, the development of Zionism, the evolution of Israel, and the Arab-Israeli confrontation. Part II deals equally methodically with the history of the Diaspora, the role of Jews in the Near East, Europe and America, and the impact of Zionism on their life and ideals. Part III is a 90-page addition to the original edition, which covers developments since 1965, including the Six Day War, the retreat of the American Council for Judaism, and the formation of Rabbi Berger's new group, Jewish Alternatives to Zionism. All three sections contain a wealth of information, much of which is not available in other surveys of the current Middle East impasse. Moshe Menuhin speaks with authority, for he came of the East European Jewish tradition from which Zionism was born, and was brought up in Jerusalem in the Orthodox home of his grandfather. On his grandfather's death the young Menuhin went to the Gymnasia Herzlia from 1909 through 1913 and was a first graduate of that "Nursery where 'Jewish' political nationalism had its rebirth after the demise of its Founding Father, Dr. Herzl." In 1913, refusing the scholarships offered by the Gymnasia, he came to America to support himself "and be independent."

Informative as it is, the special value of the book derives from the spirit that pervades it, a saeva indignatio worthy of Dean Swift. Like Swift, Menuhin evidently believes that "religion, being the best of things, its corruptions are likely to be the worst," His religion is based on the precepts of Hillel: "What is hateful to thyself do not do to your fellow men. This is the whole 'law', all else is exposition . . . Judge not thy neighbor until thou art in his place." Although he does not explicitly compare these words with Luke 6:31, 37, he does assume that Jesus heard Hillel preach, and recommends that "as the whole world rises above the bestiality of the past dark ages [of persecution in the name of Jesus], we Jews are bound to enroll Joshua of Nazareth in the Hall of Fame of our great prophets . . ." At a time when so much that is written about the Holy Land is nationalistic and divisive, Menuhin reaffirms a faith that is truly ecu-

menical. - H.G.F.

## TRUTH IN ADVERTISING?

We frequently see ads, allegedly signed by respectable Americans, dealing in partisan fashion with Middle Eastern matters. How truly do they reflect the real views of the presumed signers? Though the correspondence below, just brought to our attention by a new Link reader, took place last summer, the doubts it raises will remain with us for some time. In response to an ad which appeared in various newspapers, a disturbed voter wrote his Congressman:

Your letter to me of 1 May under your signature suggested "that our own best interests are not served by taking a strong stance in favor of either side in the Middle East dispute." You spoke favorably of the four-power consultations on the Mid-East. Accordingly, I was shocked to see your name among the many Representatives supporting A Declaration on the 21st anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel in the New York Times of 11 May 1969. That declaration looks with disfavor upon the four-power talks and is about the most strongly biased statement in favor of the State of Israel I have ever seen anywhere.

Do you realize that your signature to that statement flies in the face of one of the basic principles of U. S. policy, a principle that from my perspective it would be immoral to violate? That principle is perhaps best stated in the Charter of the Organization of American States:

"The territory of a State is inviolable; it may not be the object, even temporarily, of military occupation or of other measures of force taken by another State, directly or indirectly, on any grounds whatever. No territorial acquisitions or special advantages obtained either by force or by other means of coercion shall be recognized."

This same principle is recognized in the United Nations charter and in other U. S. obligations. Yet you insist the State of Israel has the right to sit on occupied territory, opposing "all pressures upon Israel to withdraw prematurely and unconditionally from any of the territories which Israel now administers."

His Congressman replied:

I received and read with careful interest your recent letter. I can understand your amazement.

If memory serves me right a member of my staff told me I had been phoned and invited to join in a birthday greeting to the State of Israel. I said I would be glad to and forgot the matter.

I did not agree to be part of any policy statement. I did not agree to any newspaper ad. I remain entirely convinced of my earlier statement "that our own best interests are not served by taking a strong stance in favor of either side in the Middle East dispute." To do so is asking for trouble and we have enough of that already.

How many other Congressmen, one asks, were similarly misrepresented in that ad? How reliable are kindred ads bearing the names of clergymen, college professors and others?

Churches Plan (Continued from page 1) the Mideast crisis and suggesting immediate practical action to reduce the level of violence.

## Quakers Ask Buffer, Arms Ban

Just before the opening of the current session of the U.N. General Assembly early in September, Quakers in the United States, Canada and Britain delivered a brief appeal to Secretary General U Thant and to the U.N. Ambassadors from the U.S., France, Russia and Britain, urging that U.N. emergency peace-keeping forces be assigned to hold suitable demilitarized buffer zones between Arabs and Israelis, under U.N. supervision, and that the Big Four initiate an arms embargo in the area to prevent further escalation of the conflict.

### WCC Stresses Rights and Needs of All

Late in August, the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches, meeting in Canterbury, England, affirmed its support of the position taken by that body in August 1967, recognizing the responsibility of the Great Powers to create a political climate and external circumstances conducive to peace negotiations based on the U.N. Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967.

The Canterbury statement further called for: effective international guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity of all nations in the area; the obligation of the Great Powers to help redress any injustices to Palestinians resulting from the creation of the State of Israel; the responsibility of the W.C.C. to continue serving the needs of the nearly 2,000,000 Arab and one-half million Jewish refugees in the Mideast; and concern that basic human rights of all people in the area be observed. It also recommended the initiation of appropriately sponsored discussions among Christians, Jews and Moslems as to the guardianship of holy places and the status of Jerusalem and its population.

#### Catholics Delineate Roots of Tension

In a more detailed statement, released on September 4th, the Department of International Affairs of the U.S. (Roman) Catholic Conference noted that intrusion of the major powers into the Middle East has been one of the most "pervasive" factors contributing to the increase of tensions between Arabs and Israelis. In the spirit of the Quaker appeal, it called for the major powers, notably the U.S. and

U.S.S.R., to "consider the implications" of their presence in the region and to seek arms reduction agreements. It suggested, however, that a distinction be made between policies of foreign governments that contribute to development, peace and stability, and those which tend to prolong or extend the existing animosities.

The Conference indicated that it considers the source of Mideast tensions to be less religious than political in nature. Conflicting claims of Israeli and Arab nationalism, rivalry between revolutionary and monarchical governments, tensions between secular modernizing forces and traditional religious attitudes, conflict between military and civilian elements in some countries, the economic gulf between "haves" and "have-nots", the attraction of abundant oil reserves within the Middle East, and the presence of both U.S. and Soviet naval forces in the Mediterranean, have all tended to heighten and prolong the antagonism between Israelis and Arabs.

### Relief and Development

The Catholic Committee's statement specifically urged generous financial support of UNRWA, establishment of a U.N. Resettlement Fund to assist refugees, and increased participation by the U.S. in programs for economic and social development throughout the Middle East.

All three church groups have been actively engaged for many years in relief programs for refugees and in other projects to benefit the people of the area. They work effectively with other voluntary agencies in the region in support of UNRWA's work for the Palestinian refugees, and speak from a background of long experience in and familiarity with the history and problems of the Middle East.

### CHURCH PROPAGANDA?

'A frequently constructive and conciliatory Jewish body is creating a credibility gap for itself by publishing, and widely publicizing, a statement on *Propaganda in The Church*. "In this campaign," it declares, "the Arabs and their supporters employ . . . religious anti-Semitism—from sophisticated theological arguments to Nazi slurs and mediaeval superstitions like the blood libel. Substantial headway has been made, especially among Protestant leaders . . . Clergymen, mostly Protestant, have set up national and local organizations to lobby before Congress

and to sway public opinion through film showings, pamphlets and letter-tothe-editor campaigns. Perhaps the bestknown such group is Americans for Middle East Understanding (New York) —a citizens organization headed by a Presbyerian minister . . ."

Actually, A. M. E. U., which was 100% lay-established, is headed by a Catholic layman! It has never lobbied before Congress, shown films, published pamphlets or conducted letter-to-theeditor campaigns! Knowing how errorfilled those charges against A.M.E.U. are, we assume that the talk about "religious anti-Semitism", whether theological, Nazi or mediaeval, is equally remote from reality. In any case, A.M.E.U. dissociates itself from any attempts to spread hatred, unrest or prejudice against any Semites, including Arabs, Aramaeans, Assyrians, Babylonians, Chaldeans, Jews, Phoenicians or whatever other peoples your dictionary may list as Semitic.

## "JERUSALEM" Christmas Cards

The Friends of Jerusalem Society in Beirut has again prepared some most attractive Christmas cards to help support its work for victims of the 1967 June War. Provided with choice of Arabic, English or French text, the cards cater to almost every taste. Eight designs, all from the Arab world, include stained glass, an icon, classical manuscript illuminations, calligraphy, modern art and a very touching crayon drawing by a child in a refugee camp. In past years these greetings had to be ordered for air mail shipment from Beirut. This year is easier. The following people have generous supplies in the U.S. and Canada. Write the one nearest you for an order form complete with full-color reproductions of each card:

American Aid for Arab Refugees, Inc., P.O. Box 67, Fort Hamilton Station, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11209: American Arabic Association, (AMARA) P.O. Box 18217, Boston, Mass. 02118; American Near East Refugee Aid, Inc. (ANERA), 900 Woodward Building, 733 15th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005; ANERA-Seattle Chapter, P.O. Box 15401, Wedgwood Station, Seattle, Wash. 98115; Mrs. Katherine Bayoud, 7729 Meadow Park Dr., Dallas, Texas 75230; The Holy Land Center, Inc., 225 East 49th St., New York, N.Y. 10017; Dr. A. A. Kuri, 250 S. Chestnut Street, Ravenna, Ohio 44266; Mr. & Mrs. Mamoun Sukkar, Louisiana State University Station, Box 16838, Baton Rouge, La. 70803; United American Arab Appeal, 575 Ridge Road, Wilbraham, Mass. 01095; U. S. OMEN, 708 Ellis Street, San Francisco, Cal. 94109; Mr. Spear Sayegh, U.S. OMEN, 2035 Vista, Sierre Madre, Cal. 91024; Mr. Isam Qubain, U.S. OMEN, 105-B Avenue E, Redondo Beach, Cal. 90277; Dr. & Mrs. J. Malcolm McCallum, 406 Lakeview Dr., Enid Okla. 73701; Canadian Arab Federation, P.O. Box 416, Staton K. Toronto, Ontario, Canada.