U.S. M.E.

THE LINK

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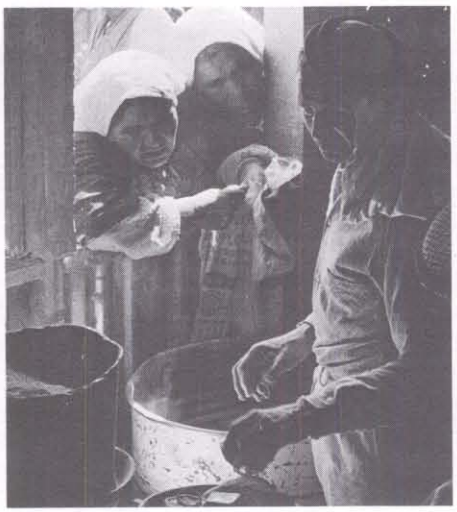
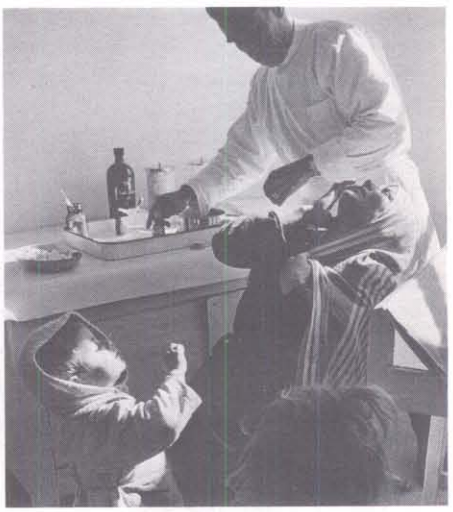
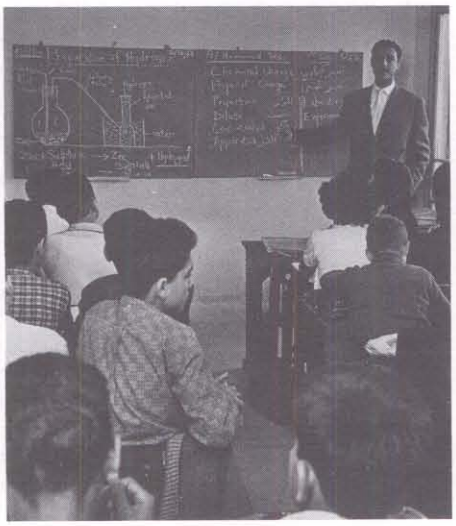
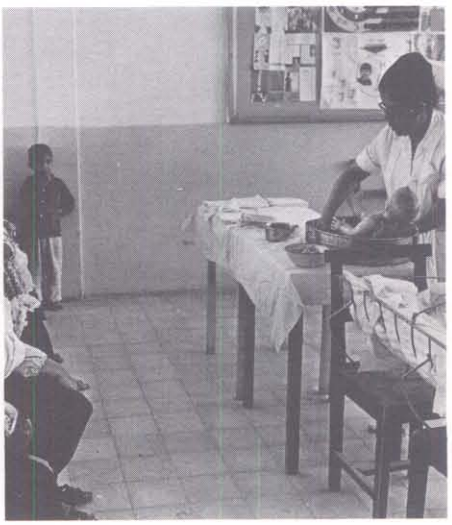
AT STAKE IN UNRWA'S 1971 BUDGET





Education, food distribution and medical care for 1,425,219 registered Palestinian refugees will have to be pared down "shatteringly," according to Commissioner-General Laurence Michelmore, if UNRWA's prospective $6,000,000 deficit for the coming year is not met. These pictures are part of LINK's contribution toward grasping the human dimensions of these statistics. Can you multiply these people in your mind sufficiently to realize what will happen if these limited services are further curtailed?





"HIS LAND"—A BEAUTIFUL, BAD FILM

"His Land" is the title of a film produced by World Wide Pictures, the film organization of Billy Graham, whose son served with support forces for Israel during the June, 1967, war. Through a portrayal of the glories of Israel, it tries to show the literal fulfillment of Old Testament and New Testament prophecies, the personal support of God for the State of Israel and the approaching end of the world. Based on questionable biblical scholarship, it is a sentimentalized oversimplification of a very critical contemporary human and religious problem.

The film shows the magnificent Judean countryside and the lovely fields and orchards of Galilee in beautiful color sequences, while quotations are read from Ezekiel and Isaiah that imply that all this was wilderness brought to prosperity by returned Jews: "This land that was desolate has become like the garden of Eden"; "You, O mountains of Israel, shall shoot forth your branches, and yield your fruit to my people Israel." There is no word of the displacement of those people who in many cases planted these orchards and tilled these fields before they were forced to flee from invading armed forces. The Arab population is suggested chiefly by picturesque shots of nomadic Bedouin and crippled old beggars. The whole thrust of the film is to prove that God's love for ancient Israel is shown again in His love for the modern State of Israel, and that ancient Israel and the modern state are the same.

ISRAEL—GOD'S ACTION?

The magnificent universalism of the Hebrew prophets is constantly belied by implications that God's first love is for a special place and a special race. "You know what really impresses me about Israel?" says the interlocutor. "It's that, well, God really has a long memory. I mean, He just doesn't forget." And later, "God really loves Jerusalem!" At one point there is a condescending comment that "God has a plan for the Arabs too", but what that plan is, or how it relates to the occupation of Palestine by Israelis, is not explained. More specifically, there is no mention of God's plan for the church or for the Christians that have lived there since the first century, and are now to a great extent being displaced.

The political overtones, though muted, are very clear. The Israeli state is God's chosen state, and the former inhabitants of the land may be ignored as very minor in His planning. As was said by a Christian churchman in Jerusalem after viewing the film:

> "It seems that the sight of the State of Israel is meant to convince men that the Bible is true, simply because of events in the twentieth century corresponding to some selected passages in the prophetic books, interpreted as predictions of these events. This interpretation of prophecy is presented to those who see the film, not as the personal opinion of any man, but as the Word of God. . . . It is a very serious matter, a very terrible sin, that dubious private opinion should thus be proclaimed as a divine message."

DEEP CONCERN OF CHURCHMEN

It is not surprising that Israeli officials responsible for tourism in Israel should be interested in using the film to promote business, especially the expurgated version of the film usually shown in Israel or among Jewish groups in America. This version eleminates the Christian evangelistic appeal, and the rapt expression on the faces of young Israeli workers around an evening campfire as they listen openmouthed to the claims of an evangelist that they should believe in Christ.

At a showing of the film at the Inter-Church Center in New York City in October, the majority of church executives viewing it expressed deep concern that such a film is being shown so widely. There is danger that it may do serious harm in the churches through the misunderstandings and falsities that it conveys, both in the religious and in the political fields. As a churchman in California has written:

> "Neither the Bible, nor history, nor morality give the Zionists undisputed right to this piece of geography set at the crossroads of the Middle East. But the scenes in *His Land* are beautiful, the photography impressive, the actors convincing, and the music delightful. The medium is wonderful; only don't get taken in by the message."

—H. G. D., Jr.

LECTURE TOUR

Following Rev. Sutton's return from the Middle East, his lecture tour within the United States had a most successful start in Ohio where he gave stimulating talks to college classes and adult audiences at Defiance, Bowling Green and Genoa. The next state to be visited was North Carolina where he was enthusiastically received at Burlington, Chapel Hill, Durham and Greensboro. December was the month chosen for Mr. Sutton to lecture in New York State. Invitations have been received for him to be in Florida in January and in Southern states in February.

Mr. Sutton is eager to utilize all his time in each state and there are a few free days late in January for Florida and in February for the South, so let us hear from you! A tour is being arranged for the Midwest and Western states in March and we look forward to invitations. Mr. Sutton's services are, of course, without charge.

LINK EDITOR ABROAD

Rev. Humphrey Walz, editor of The Link is presently on a fact-finding tour of the Middle East where he is engaged in several research projects for AMEU. He spent Christmas in Bethlehem. Before and after that his itinerary includes many places rich in associations with the Holy Season; Iran, whence the Wise Men purportedly followed the Star; Egypt, where the Holy Family fled as refugees; Lebanon, which the adult Jesus included in His ministry of teaching and healing; and other of the Bible Lands.

On his way over and back he plans stop-overs in Geneva and Rome for consultation with world Church authorities on communications and on the Middle East.

TWO NEW BOOKS ADDED TO AMEU'S LIST

Palestine, A Search for Truth: Approaches to the Arab-Israeli Conflict, ed. by Alan R. Taylor and Richard N. Tetlie, 284 pp. Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C. $6.00. Our price $3.90.

Whose Land is Palestine? The Middle East Problem in Historical Perspective, by Frank H. Epp. 283 pp., 18 tables, 13 maps. William B. Eerdmans Co., Grand Rapids. $6.95. Our price $4.40.

Middle East Institute Discusses:

"Violence and Dialogue in the Middle East: The Palestine Entity and other Case Studies"

The Middle East Institute now has 'in the works' the publication of a résumé of its recent conference on "Violence and Dialogue." The situations in Cyprus, North Africa and among the Kurds each had a two-hour panel at the conference, but the major focus was on the far more complex developments over Palestine. The résumé will give full details, as in past years, but our condensed report below may serve as an interim summary:

Kurds and Arabs

Whether Iraqi, Turkish, Iranian, Syrian or Russian, Kurds view themselves as part of a Kurdish nation consisting of about eight to ten million people with a common language, culture and history. For the past nine years, the Iraqi Kurds, part of the third largest Kurdish grouping (second only to those in Turkey and Iran), have had periods of open warfare with the Iraqi government. Agreements and truces were reached during those years, most notably the 12-point program announced by former Prime Minister Bazzaz in 1966. But not until March 11, 1970, was an agreement achieved which included as a basic ingredient of peace the recognition by the Iraqi government of the Kurdish aim of self-government,—of a Kurdish as well as an Arab nation with the Iraqi state.

President Bakr's government most likely signed the agreement so that the country's resources could be directed toward the important area of the Gulf, with the final push for settlement probably coming from the Soviets. The Kurdish leader, Mulla Mustafa Barazani, was probably also weary of war and wanted Kurdish resources directed toward development instead. How long an agreement can last between the Arab, leftist, Baathist government and the conservative, tribal forces of Barazani, however, remains an open question. The government has taken some steps to implement the agreement and it remains as a blueprint for further Arab-Kurdish dialogue. Yet the implementation is incomplete and Kurdish leaders are disappointed in what appears to them as a lack of government good faith in the agreement's provisions. The July refusal of the Kurdish party, the KDP, to nominate a Kurdish Vice President, as provided for in the agreement, testifies to their belief that, once appointed he would be without power in the government.

Greek and Turkish Cypriots

Since the independence of Cyprus in 1960, a peaceful, acceptable settlement and an end to suffering has been sought but without success. Cyprus has seen the frightening results of non-communication in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Hence, the two parties are at least talking to each other—although they sometimes doubt that they have anything to say to one another and what dialogue there has been has failed to produce a lasting settlement. However, it is agreed that continuance of the current inaction is less risky than that of violent activity.

Both parties reject *enosis* (union with a mainland power) and *taksim* (partition) and agree that Cypriot nationalism should be built up. But this will take a great deal of time because, although Turkish and Greek Cyriots may feel attached to their island, they will never be completely de-Turkified or de-Hellenized. Each party insists on preserving its own cultural identity. The Turks especially, as the minority, are afraid of becoming second-class citizens. Both groups feel more loyalty to their respective 'anchor lands'—but hopefully the day will come when the people of Cyprus think of themselves first as Cypriots, second as Turks or Greeks.

A unifying Cypriot nationalism, often discussed, would seem desirable. This big philosophical concept is more important than the details, which can be worked out if the two parties do indeed sincerely desire this. However, the Cypriots do not seem to be able to solve the problem themselves, nor are they capable of fighting it out for themselves. This raises the question of outside help and the UN is suggested as the most acceptable mediator. The two parties do not want more foreign intervention than is absolutely necessary, so the UN must not be a crutch, but must accomplish its purpose and get out.

Another step to build Cypriot nationalism would be the integration of all schools where Cypriot children would learn Cypriot history and read Cypriot literature, instead of studying Turkish or Greek history and literature. Cyprus could, in fact, become a bridge of friendship between Turkey and Greece to resolve their old animosity and create a strong Balkan pact.

North African Arabs and Non-Arabs

Ethnic identification within the non-Arab communities of North Africa cannot, as a single factor, explain the various Berber uprisings of Algeria or the Southern Sudanese struggle for autonomy. Distinct linguistic and cultural differences do exist between non-Arabs and their Arab neighbors. But, upon closer examination, a sense of political or economic grievance may more fully account for these movements.

The Moroccan Berbers have particularly learned of their separateness from the French. Yet this probably played less a part than economic frustration when, in 1955, the Algerian-Moroccan border was closed to Riff Mountain laborers and the Berbers joined the Moroccan army to resist. In the case of the Berbers of Algeria, their geographical fragmentation and ability to adopt the culture of the French colonizers have served to prevent any great cohesion of Berber consciousness. The Kabils have often found themselves included in positions of administrative leadership and recognize that the existence of Algeria is essential for their economic survival.

Violence, then, in North Africa has been avoided to the degree that the Berbers have found employment within their respective countries and have not looked to a unified political movement to bring about change. As many rivalries exist within Berber society as between Berber and Arab. No single party or leader has as yet been able to coalesce these factions.

The other extreme has occurred in Southern Sudan where the participants of the Independence Movement are not separated by mountains or plains

and have joined in a drive for complete autonomy. Unlike the Berbers, they were not trained as bi-lingual teachers or administrators to work within the larger Sudanese society. Instead, a policy of indirect rule by the tribes was substituted. A separate administrative system evolved and the Southern Sudanese refused to pay allegiance to the government of Sudan. Racially linked to the tribes in the Congo and Kenya to the south and religiously distinct from the Muslims in North Sudan, a real sense of grievance has formulated over the years. There seems little room for dialogue as long as these elements of discontent continue.

The Palestine Entity

Full opportunity was given to Zionist and pro-Palestinian representatives to air their views. However, the orientation of the second session on "The Palestine Entity" was not toward Israel or Palestinian partisanship. The emphasis was on practical and practicable solutions. Much of the discussion centered on what the U.S., the U.N., "we," and "others" can say or do to help move the opponents toward reconciliation.

Much of the problem, it was felt, grew out of a general refusal to see the Palestinian resistance movement as a serious effort. Indeed, the Palestinians themselves may have been startled by its success. Palestinian organizations had been able to act irresponsibly because they were protected by Arab governments, who, in turn, had assumed that they would act ineffectively. Because other Arab leaders had acted as spokesmen for the Palestinian cause, it had been assumed by Israel and the international community that it was not necessary to consult with the Palestinians themselves in any solution of Middle East tensions.

The panelists felt that we have reached a second stage in the development of the Palestinian Entity discussion. On the one hand, Israel has realized that Palestinian, and not Arab nationalism, is the real issue; it is beginning to recognize the necessity of dealing with the Palestinians if it hopes to achieve a stable peace. The Arab states, on the other hand, are re-evaluating the strength of the Palestinian movement; they are now insisting that the Palestinians themselves must negotiate their future.

As for the rest of the world community, it was felt that its best stance was to affirm the existence of the Palestinian people and their right to a sovereign state, to encourage Israel to deal with representatives of the Palestinian people, to applaud all steps toward conciliation, and to offer whatever insurance necessary to persuade both sides that compromise now is a small price to pay for future stability.

Violence and Dialogue

The above themes were dealt with only after Dr. Alan Horton's keynote address and a panel on violence and the answers to it had created an emphasis of positive concern. Recognition of the conditions that make violence "possible, desirable or inevitable" gave incentive to dialogue, "a matter of the human ego," for promoting peace.

Many have been led to violence through *frustration* and despair. They have broken violently through "walls of hopelessness" in what has been, for them, a psychologically regenerative experience. Violence has provided for many an escape from *humiliation.* Some Palestinians, humiliated in a world which has referred to them as "refugees," or treated them as non-existent, have turned to violence as a way of compelling recognition. The implications of this are that there will be no progress toward dialogue until the Palestinians are recognized, thereby becoming a part of the solution. Violence, too, has been a way of dealing with a personal *identity crisis,* as students, guerillas and Third World ideologues confront the problem of developing new values in changing societies.

Education cannot in itself turn men from violence—for many advocates of violence are educated men, whose intellects have brought them to violence. One of these is Frantz Fanon, whose ideology of regenerative violence has been popular from FLN to Black Panthers, to guerillas—all of whom have been "ignored men, outside the walls" of Western societies which have colonized and sought to change the identity of Third World man. For the Algerian masses Fanon had sought self-conscious rejection of the "progress" which France had brought, and resistance as a step in the development of an identity of "knowing, living, moving." "You kill to bring life," Fanon suggested. Such Third World ideologies of violence were viewed by one panelist as having been produced by the West which must look for new alternatives if Fanon's implicit *through death alone can there be dialogue* is not to find fuller international expression.

Turning to the question of violence and dialogue in the Arab-Israel impasse, another similarly stressed the international origins of the violence which has characterized the dispute between Arab and Jewish nationalists. "The irony of history is that the violence that was turned against them by others (such as Western anti-Semitism, and Turkish repression) they turned against each other." The conflict has been marked by a history of missed opportunities to achieve dialogue, while advocates of non-violence and compromise have been ostracized in both communities.

Contributing to the failure of dialogue has been the belief of each community that righteousness is totally on its side. Failure to recognize the humanity of one's opponent has contributed to the escalation of violence. The Palestinian idea is now similar to that of the early Zionists "a land without a people for a people without a land." The question of removing the people is secondary in both cases. Each side must recognize that, however desirable its goal (such as the achievement of a democratic, secular State in Palestine), progress and justice require a slow and patient search which recognizes the humanity of one's opponent and distinguishes between the guilty and the guiltless.

Participants

The presenters of these views were, in order of their appearance, Parker T. Hart, Alan W. Horton, Canon Michael Hamilton, D. W. Lockard, John Richardson, Paul C. Warnke, Roger Fisher, Simha Flapan, Emile A. Nakhleh, Mark Ethridge, Calvin H. Plimpton.

Membership of the Specialist Panels included: Philip H. Stoddard; Elias Georgiades; Kerum K. Key; Harry J. Psomiades; Halil Ibrahim Salih; Talcott W. Seelye; Ernest McCarus; Grant V. Clanahan; Shafiq Quazzaz; Dana Adams Schmidt; James J. Blake; Mansour Khalid; Charles A. Micaud; John Waterbury.

What each speaker said, and his or her authority to say it, will be in the official résumé which may be ordered from The Middle East Institute, 1761 N Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. In the past, such résumés have been available at $1.00 each.

Differing Religious Perspectives Aired

Catholic, Jewish, Muslim and Protestant views on the current situation in Palestine will appear as part of the "round-up" volume being prepared by the Association of Arab-American University Graduates.

This portion will be based on tapes of the panel on "Religious Perspectives on Israel and the Middle East" at that association's recent annual convention on the Northwestern University campus. At it, Professor Elaine Hagopian of Simmons College, as moderator, introduced Rabbi Elmer Berger, Professor Isma'il Faruqi, Father Joseph Ryan and the Reverend L. Humphrey Walz. Mr. Edmund Hanauer of Babson College was the discussant.

Judaism

Dr. Berger, executive of Jewish Alternatives to Zionism, stated:

> "The central religious and theological question for Jews in the context of 'the state of Israel and the Palestine conflict' is the meaning of the term 'Jewish people.' Zionism claims the term means a political-nationality entity, identified by a religious criterion. This political-nationality entity is also claimed to have a *functional* system of nationality rights in, and obligations to, what Zionism calls 'the Jewish state.' Only 'Jewish people' who are nationals of the State of Israel can enjoy first-class citizenship there. And 'Jewish people' who are citizens of other countries are entitled automatically to this Israeli citizenship immediately upon transferring their residence to the state.
>
> "There is no precedent in Judaism or Jewish theology for such a discriminatory political sovereignty. The central core of the Biblical 'people of Israel' or 'children of Israel' is the Covenant with God. The Covenant was interpreted by different people in different ages and places to mean different things. But there is no valid religious or theological interpretation which makes a discriminatory nationality concept consistent with Judaism. Whether or not the promise of redemption and the Messianic vision meant a physical return to "the land" is a debatable question and, in theory, the answer depends upon denominational differences in Judaism. In fact, except in the most trivial numbers, the majority of Jews have never implemented the belief, even in the denominations which have professed it. Even among the most Orthodox where the idea of a physical return is strongest, the redemption was to come at the hand of God and as an integral part of the universal Messianic age. The redeemed Zion was to be for "all peoples' who would voluntarily acknowledge that from such a Zion there came forth the law of God.
>
> "The present State of Israel, despite its pretenses, is a secularly created political entity in which many of the basics of life are regulated by a religiously discriminatory nationality base. It is obvious not only that such a state cannot be sanctioned by an authentic religious or theological tradition of Judaism, but any genuine application of Judaism's Prophetic universalism must condemn a state so conceived."

Islam

Dr. Faruqi of Temple University saw the establishment of the State of Israel as an attempt to answer a very real problem: the persecution of the Jews in Europe for various reasons mostly related to distortions of Christianity and to the bankruptcy of Western thought.

Islam responds to the problem differently, he insisted. It does not reject any religion. It does not accept racism. It believes in humanity and the rights of people to their land and property. It believes in the defense of the persecuted, and it was appalled by the Nazi genocide of Jews. In line with these beliefs, he declared, Islam cannot accept the establishment of any State, Jewish or Gentile, which carries out such policies or rejects the idea of equal rights for all peoples.

Catholicism

Father Ryan of the Cambridge Institute for Social Studies reported:

> "While certain American Protestant denominations have had a long and close association with the Arab Middle East, American Catholics of the Latin rite have had comparatively little. This lack of experience by Catholics in the U.S. is one of the most fundamental factors explaining what seems, to Arab-Americans and to many others, to be a certain apathy toward Arabs if not a pro-Zionist bias on the part of members and leaders of the American Catholic Church.
>
> "American Protestants do not have anything comparable to the Catholic Bishops' Secretariat for Catholic-Jewish Relations, located at Seton Hall University, New Jersey, whose pro-Zionist director is often identified with the Secretariat even when he is not speaking in the name of the Bishops. "Nor do U.S. Protestants have anything comparable to the pro-Zionist Institute for Judeo-Christian Studies, which is also located at Seton Hall University; this Institute is not an official organ of the Catholic Bishops but its activity may appear to represent the Catholic attitude on the Arab-Israeli conflict.
>
> "Unfortunately the Catholic Church in the U.S. does not have in its office of ecumenical and interreligious affairs any special secretariat devoted to the development of relations of Catholics with Muslins or with any other non-Christians except Jews.
>
> "In recent years the Catholic press, especially the non-diocesan publications such as *America, Commonweal,* the *National Catholic Reporter* and *The Lamp,* have carried significant articles sympathetic to Palestinians."

Protestantism

LINK editor Humphrey Walz, as an observer at the convention, was called on to replace his fellow-Presbyterian, Professor Willard Oxtoby, who had been scheduled. He centered his talk around his ordination vow to accept the Bible as the "only infallible rule of faith and practice."

The Bible is only that when, to use his Presbyterian expression, it is "considered under the scope of the whole." Piecemeal extracts, often selected to re-enforce previously held convictions, can lead to interpretations and actions of a nature lower than the highest Biblical ethics.

Thus, for instance, the divine promise of The Land to Abraham's descendants, must not be dealt with in isolation to imply that this promise was unconditional and to Jews only. The Bible elsewhere refers to Abraham as "the father of *many* nations" and calls those who live in his spirit of faith his spiritual descendants and "heirs of the promise." The Bible also expects Abraham's descendants, however conceived, so to use The Land as to bring blessing to *"all* nations." Otherwise retribution will follow.

A clear knowledge of current events is also essential if the Bible is to be a source of sound guidance in major matters. A Jew who, a few decades back, really believed that Palestine was a "land without a people awaiting a people without a land," changed his attitude toward the Zionist program when he learned that there were already *many* people—Palestinians—residing there. This led him to conclude, "Then we'd be doing a wrong, if, by crowding in, we were to crowd them out." And every other decision—in or out of Palestine—requires knowledge of the facts if the Bible is used for all its worth.

BOOK REVIEW

WHOSE LAND IS PALESTINE? THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE by Frank H. Epp. 283 pp., 18 tables, 13 maps. $6.95. Wm. B. Eerdmans Co., Grand Rapids. (Our price $4.40)

A dozen claims to Palestine in as many chapters are surveyed in this handbook to the Palestine problem. Addressing North American Christians, the author (himself a Mennonite) contends that Western policies in the Middle East derive from "a historical view that is too short and a theological stance that is too narrow." This contention is basic to the historical-theological orientation he provides. The orientation is essentially sound, touching central problems and parties of the conflict and including cogent documentation. Concluding with a plea for prophetic biblical interpretation that will avoid the usual extremes of preaching and shooting and lead Christians to "getting involved in politics" and "cross-bearing" or "peace-making" in world problems, the book is neither a history nor a theological treatise, but rather a Christian, historical appraisal of the Near Eastern tragedy of our time.

The central question about Palestine is simply stated: How can the incompatible claims of Palestinians and Israelis for the same parcel of land be satisfied? How can security for Jews be combined with justice for Arabs? Epp's answer is that "Justice and security for all the peoples who are in Palestine and who have a right to return cannot lie in the rule of one group over the other, but rather in equal participation of all in the government of the total area. Jews can and will find their security if they share their sovereignty, and Arabs can and will find the highest form of justice if, as they return from the desert, they lay down their arms and abandon the notion of pushing the Jews into the sea."

This proposal for a Palestinian bi-national state composed of Jews who wish to stay and Arabs who wish to return is not new. Set against its historical background, however, the proposal deserves widespread, renewed consideration. —J.H.M.

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 the U.S. policy toward that area.

It is published by A.M.E.U. (Americans for Middle East Understanding, Inc.) whose directors are:

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BOOK REVIEWS (Cont.)

PALESTINE, A SEARCH FOR TRUTH: APPROACHES TO THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT, edited by Alan R. Taylor and Richard N. Tetlie, 284 pp. Public Affairs Press, Washington D.C. $6.00. (Our price $3.90)

Since this newly-published compilation of essays is one of the latest additions to AMEU's list of books offered at discount prices, our readers will be particularly interested to know how it compares with our earlier selections. It is similar, both in content and point of view, to Madjia Khadduri's *Arab-Israeli Impasse;* six of the 15 authors of the earlier compilation are also represented among the 24 essays of the new volume. But only two contributions are duplicated (no. 14, by Albert Hourani, no. 17, by John Badeau), and only two others are to be found elsewhere; no. 17, by Badeau, is Chapter Two of his *American Approach to the Arab World* and no. 12 is the concluding chapter of Maxime Rodinson's *Israel and the Arabs*. The excerpt from Rodinson is nonetheless to be commended; isolated in this manner, it has extraordinary impact, and one may hope that it will stimulate further interest in the book from which it is taken.

The outstanding value of the Taylor-Tetlie compilation lies in its emphasis on the three principal aspects of Zionism, all of which are recognized—either affirmatively or negatively—in the Balfour Declaration of 1917: "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people"; (2) the effect of this on "the civil and religious rights of other non-Jewish communities in Palestine"; and (3) its effect on "the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country". Nine of the 21 authors are themselves Jewish, and their statements are, on the whole, the most compelling. For those readers who wish to go more thoroughly into the Jewish critiques of Zionism, there is Michael Seltzer's excellent compilation of essays (two of them, by Hans Kohn and Morris Cohen, are included by Taylor and Tetlie, nos. 3 and 6); this is a Macmillan paperback, *Zionism Reconsidered,* priced at $1.95. And there is also Moshe Menuhin's *Decadence of Judaism in our Time,* which is on the AMEU book list, and cannot be recommended too highly.

The Jewish statements are tellingly supported by two British journalists, Erskine Childers and E. C. Hodgkin, who describe the fate of the Palestinians in 1948 and 1967. One only wishes that the testimony of their colleague Michael Adams had been added (*Chaos and Rebirth: The Arab Outlook,* B.B.C. London, pp. 26-49) as well as some of the correspondence in the *Spectator* that followed Childers' articles on the Palestinian Exodus (reprints available from AMEU on request).

Another article that ably complements the Jewish contributions is Harry Howard's "Conflicts of Interest"; he discusses, among other things, the effects of the pressure and propaganda contrived by the Zionist apparatus which—as he and others point out—is "now clearly shown to be inseparably linked with the Jewish Agency, duly registered as the agent of the foreign principal" (p. 217 [and n. 1]; the Senate Foreign Relations Hearings that brought this matter into the open are also dealt with on pp. 109-110, 215, 230 [and n. 49], 231, 247).

More than half the articles have been written, or updated, since the hostilities of 1967, and one only rarely has the feeling that the others are not as timely as when they first appeared. It might have been useful, however, to put the original date of publication at the head of each piece, even though this information is given in an introductory section identifying the authors. And, in view of the fact that certain topics are dealt with recurrently, an index would also have been welcome—or at least a few judicious cross-references. With this sort of assistance it would be easier to realize, for example, that Herzl's *Diaries* on the one hand counseled, "so build your state that the stranger will feel contented among you" (p. 30), and on the other hand gave advice on "expropriation [of land] and the removal of the poor"—i.e. the native Palestinian population (p. 11); similarly, while Herzl's *Altneuland* is remarkably broad-minded in welcoming others, including Arabs (pp. 30-31, 278), equally remarkable breadth is displayed in defining the territory of the proposed state, which extends all the way to the Euphrates and includes Beirut and the Lebanon range (p. 281). To take another case, the misleading claim that the Palestinians occupied their homeland from the Seventh Century onward (pp. 126, 226) is belied by Professor Rodinson, who rightly points out that the native population had far deeper roots than that. They were not replaced by the Seventh Century conquerors from Arabia, but simply Arabized (p. 133). Finally, the Balfour Declaration is frequently discussed or quoted in part (pp. 3-4, 43-46, 80, 101, 102-105, 115-117, 159, 202, 208-212, 242-244, 261, 264, 279) and it is useful to know that the complete text is given by Elmer Berger on p. 208.

But if the reader has to do some very thoughtful digesting in order to extract the utmost that this book has to offer, he will have no difficulty whatever in perceiving the central message: that Zionism is presently the chief obstacle to peace in the Middle East. If it were abandoned, a great many problems would remain to be settled, but it would be far easier for the Israeli and Arabs to work them out. Relieved of Zionist pressure, the United States would also be in a better position to offer effective assistance to this end.

—H.G.F.

THE MIDDLE EAST YESTERDAY AND TODAY, edited by David Miller and Clark D. Moore, 364 pp. Bantam paperback. $0.95

Well organized, well edited and helpfully indexed, this series of excerpts attempts to cover a formidable array of subjects dealing with the Arab Middle East. There are sections on Geography, Anthropology, History (in two parts, A.D. 600-1850 and 1850 to the present), and "Current Economic and Social Problems". Much of the excerpted material is first rate, although the introductory piece, a series of half truths that are supposed to explain the Arab character, makes a rather poor start. Rather predictably, however,

some real difficulties occur at those points where Israel comes into the picture or, to a lesser extent, the United States.

Israelis such as Walter Laqueur and Nadav Safran provide statements on the Palestine conflict and Mirza Khan has the last word on the Arab refugees. In the context of alleged Arab savagery he says *"One hundred and eighty thousand Arabs live in Israel today* [1956], *but in all the areas that came under Arab occupation not a single Jew survived"* [italics his]. The implication is that they were butchered, but, as Walid Khalidi wrote in the *Spectator* in 1961, the fraction of Palestine that remained under Arab occupation was not inhabited by Jews with the exception of Jerusalem. Altogether there were fewer than 2000; the civilians were immediately handed over to the Zionist authorities and 350 combatants were returned when the armistice was signed.

When it comes to relations with America, the presentation is almost as faulty. Again and again one misses any consecutive account of the events leading up to the U. S. refusal of financing for the Aswan Dam. There is no mention of the Lavon Affair—an Israeli attempt to rupture Egypt's relations with the U. S.—or the part that that incident played in bringing Ben Gurion back to the Israeli cabinet as Minister of War, or his devastating attack on the Egyptians in the Gaza strip shortly thereafter, on Feb. 28, 1955. Nor any mention of the fact that Nasser sought a significant buildup of arms only after that event, or that he initially attempted to obtain them from the West. Eric Johnston, for example, simply says that the dam project "qualified for Western financial assistance until Nasser short-circuited the deal by turning to the East" (p. 288); the same sequence of events is similarly ignored by Laqueur (p. 226), Rondot (p. 248-250) and Murphy (pp. 240-241). Murphy's explanation of the refusal of American aid is somewhat at variance with that of Humphrey Trevelyan, who played an active rôle in the negotiations; see his *The Middle East in Revolution,* Chap. 5.

Thus, while this book will undoubtedly increase understanding of the Arab World in some areas, the areas of understanding make the blind spots all the more conspicuous.

—H.G.F.

A PALESTINE ENTITY? by Don Peretz, Evan M. Wilson, and Richard Ward (Special Study Number One, The Middle East Institute, 1761 N Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. Price $1.75)

Under the leadership of its new President, Ambassador Parker T. Hart, the Middle East Institute has launched a series of programs and approaches dealing with more topical and "political" aspects of the Middle East, particularly the Palestine issue. The study entitled "A Palestine Entity?" is the first of a series of monograph-length publications, and it is encouraging that the subject is the longer-term future of Palestine and its immediate neighbors. The study is not intended as advocacy; rather, it is meant to span the range of possible future alternatives and to cite the assets and liabilities of each. Don Peretz authored sections dealing with the historical background and political alternatives for Palestine; Evan M. Wilson provided a section dealing with the role of Jerusalem; and Richard J. Ward provided a section exploring the economic ramifications of the several proposals.

The wide range of alternatives proposed, with their concomitant drawbacks for one party or the other, is indicative of the early and tentative nature of the debate about the future of Palestine. Despite the authors' statement that their survey recommends no particular formula, the preponderance of analysis revolves around a situation in which Palestinian Arabs would have a high degree of sovereignty in the West Bank (and very likely Gaza as well), with some access to Jerusalem. Of the greatest importance, however, is the growing awareness that the current impasse is ultimately intolerable and that the Palestinian Arabs have successfully re-inserted themselves in the Palestine equation as a major party. Palestine is in a dynamic state, and evolution/revolution in the situation may profoundly alter these first important contributions to the dialogue.

—J.P.R.

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