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Foreign Policy Report/Nixon gives Israel massive aid but reaps no Jewish political harvest * by Andrew J. Glass

The U.S. Jewish community remains cool to President Nixon, even though he has sent Israel massive military aid—more than seven times as much last year as ever was approved by President Johnson.

In 1971, U.S. arms sales to Israel reached \$600 million, including the last of 86 F-4 supersonic Phantom jets. In the peak Johnson year, Israel received only \$80 million in U.S. arms. **Commitment:** On Jan. 2, in a televised CBS interview, the President spoke of a "commitment in principle" to send more Phantoms to Israel to maintain the balance of power in the Middle East.

But Mr. Nixon has made no personal effort to translate these policies into political support from Jewish voters, who in 1968 opposed him on election day by a five-to-one margin.

The political estrangement between the President and the organized Jewish community has nothing to do with Israel.

The breach exists in part because the Jewish vote is traditionally more Democratic than Republican.

But it has been widened by the President's failure to nominate a Jew to the Supreme Court and, more broadly, by a failure in White House public relations.

The portfolio: Mr. Nixon has broken the long-standing White House custom of giving a Presidential staff member what is known in Jewish circles as "the portfolio." The man who holds the Jewish portfolio serves as a direct liaison between the President and U.S. Jewish leaders.

About This Issue

United States policy towards the Mideast—how it is determined and what forces influence it—is the subject of an article by journalist Andrew J. Glass which we're reprinting for our readers in this issue.

The article, "Nixon Gives Israel Massive Aid but Reaps No Jewish Political Harvest," recently appeared in the *National Journal*, a weekly magazine published in Washington. In it, Glass takes a hard, behind-the-scenes look at the intricacies of U.S. foreign policy—the role of the White House, the input of the Departments of State and Defense, the contributions made by Congress, lobbyists, and the embassies.

To foster an understanding of these forces which shape American Mideast policy was one of the principal goals of the Americans for Middle Eastern Understanding when it was founded in 1967. The Glass article complements this goal so well, we decided to expand this issue to 16 pages so that our readers can share it with us.

Many Americans have cautioned our government against a policy which would completely "wed" the United States with Israel at the expense of our relations with the Arab world. Many of us have become concerned at the discrepancy between our stated "even-handed" policy in the area and the actual manifestations of complete military, cultural and economic support for the Israelis at the expense of their Arab neighbors.

Naturally the vacuum which we have created on the Arab side has been more and more filled by a Soviet influence, a fact which only can be detrimental to the interest of this nation.

We believe it is important that American citizens understand the forces which have contributed to this one-sided foreign outlook and policy. Only in this way can they make their contributions as citizens and have their voices heard.

We have found this article to be an extraordinary and important piece of work. We believe our readers will agree. In addition, AMEU heartily recommends the *National Journal* to our readers and to libraries. It consistently offers resource materials which are not readily available elsewhere.

*"Foreign Policy Report/Nixon Gives Israel Massive Aid but Reaps no Jewish Political Harvest" is reprinted from the *National Journal*, 1730 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. *National Journal* reports weekly on the people and pressures that shape federal policy."

This practice has been followed in previous Administrations on the assumption that the State Department, with its flock of career Arabists (there is no such thing at the State Department as a career Zionist) is inherently biased against the Israeli position on Middle East policy as well as unmindful of the important campaign-financing role Jews tend to play in U.S. politics.

Before winning the Presidency, Mr. Nixon privately told a few of his Jewish friends that, if elected, he would factor the State Department's bias into the policy-making equation.

He has done so, in practice acting as his own staff man during Middle East crises.

But he also has dismayed influential U.S. Jews by dropping the portfolio and thus denying them ready access to the White House.

Embassy views: The new Nixon policy, however, is quietly welcomed at the Israeli embassy, which prefers not having to deal with a Jewish affairs liaison man in the White House.

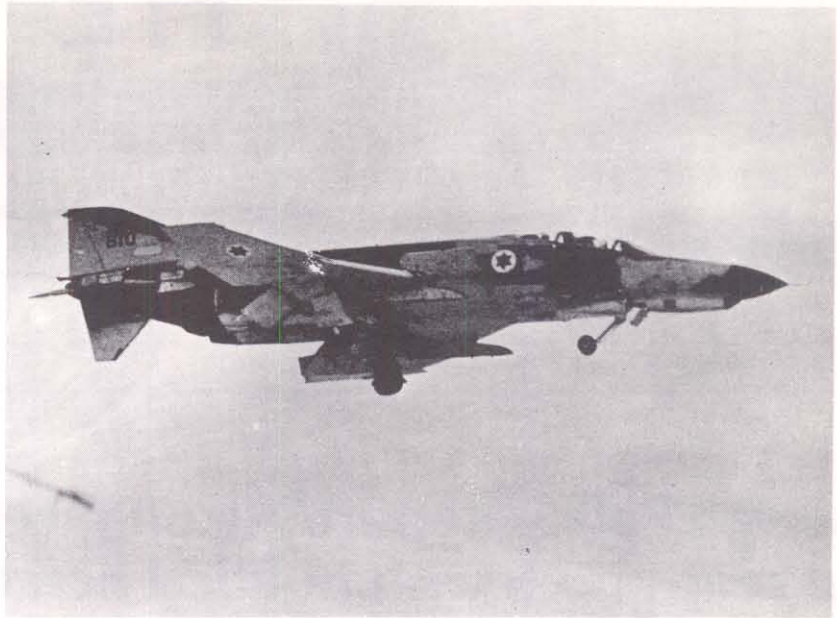
'no Zionist conspiracy, just damn good public relations'

As matters stand, the embassy is the only Jewish presence in Washington—Israeli or American—that has any real clout with topmost Administration councils.

During the Nixon era, the Israelis have found new and staunch friends in the White House, particularly among conservative non-Jews.

Israel—conscious that much of the antiwar sentiment during the Vietnam era has involved Jewish liberals—does not intend to rest her diplomacy on U.S. Jewish support.

Policy perspectives: Washington columnist Rowland Evans Jr., who often writes about Middle East issues, said: "I've found no Zionist conspiracy, just damn good public relations. They (the Israelis) have very fixed goals: To make American policy in the Middle East conform to Israeli policy in the Middle East."



Israeli Air Force F-4E Phantom II supersonic jet

But a former White House official said: "U.S. policy has never conformed to Israeli policy and it never will. The only question is how close our policy will be. And there is an awful lot of give and take on both sides."

Administration

Last Nov. 23, eight Senators went to see Secretary of State William P. Rogers to urge resumption of F-4 Phantom sales to Israel. Rogers said further sales would only ensnarl an already precarious peacemaking effort. He accused Israel of taking an "intransigent attitude."

One Senator in the bipartisan group was so incensed by Rogers' remarks that he threatened to go over his head and take the case for Phantom sales directly to President Nixon. "That's your privilege," Rogers responded, "but I'm sure the President will back me up."

On Dec. 30, word leaked out of the Administration of a decision in principle to resume Phantom sales, with negotiations on the number and delivery schedule to occur before the President confers with Soviet leaders in Moscow in May.

The Phantom developments underscore the complex and even devious course of decision making on the Middle East in the upper echelons of the Nixon Administration.

Major forces: Myer Feldman, a Washington lawyer versed in Jewish affairs, who served as deputy special counsel to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, identifies three major governmental forces exerted on the President in the formation of Middle East policy.

"The State Department," he said, "develops positions. As many as 17 names sign off on a policy paper before it goes to the White House. We used to call it 'The Blizzard from the State Department.'"

Rogers: 'Israel's intransigent attitude'

"The National Security Council receives the State Department's papers. On rare occasions, they make their own studies. But, usually, they temper the department's analysis with their own view of the global picture.

"The White House is most important of all. With every President from Franklin Roosevelt to Lyndon Johnson, someone has been assigned to have a political input. His role is to counterbalance what the Arabists (in the State Department) have to say."

Although this triple-tiered policy-making structure remains intact within the Nixon Administration, there have also been some significant departures. Thus:

'Secretary Rogers is playing a far more active role in Middle East Policy than any Secretary of State since John Foster Dulles'

• Secretary Rogers is playing a far more active and influential role in Middle East policy making than any Secretary of State since the late John Foster Dulles (1953-59). He put forward his own peace plan to settle the Arab-Israeli quarrel in December 1969 and subsequently has often given the Middle East top priority in his work.

'all Presidential messages to Jewish organizations were suspended'

• Joseph J. Sisco, assistant secretary of State (Near Eastern and South Asian affairs), also is pursuing a highly activist line, both in terms of his concept of what U.S. policy should be in the area and in terms of his own role in formulating it. Unlike Rogers, however, Sisco has managed to keep on good terms with influential American Jewish leaders.

• Henry A. Kissinger, assistant to the President for national security affairs and director of the National Security Council staff, has been a subdued actor in Middle East councils, in vivid contrast to his immediate predecessor, Walt W. Rostow. Kissinger's reticence on the Middle East has come in the face of—some officials say because of—his initiatives on most other crucial foreign policy issues. (Both Kissinger and Rostow are Jewish.)

• Mr. Nixon has decided against designating a member of his personal staff to coordinate political relations with the U.S. Jewish community and Middle East policy—the kind of role that Feldman once performed for President Kennedy and, later, Harry C. McPherson Jr. performed for President Johnson. (Feldman is Jewish; McPherson, now also a Washington lawyer, is not.)

Aside from normal channels, McPherson kept tabs on State Department thinking on the Middle East through his brother-in-law, Michael Sterner, a career Foreign Service officer who is now head of the department's Egyptian desk.)

White House: In a departure from past practices, Mr. Nixon acts, in a sense, as his own staff man on the Middle East. Thus, no one else was present on Dec. 2 when Mr. Nixon conferred for two hours in his Oval Office with Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir.

On some occasions, Leonard Garment, special consultant to the President, has handled Jewish problems for him. For example, during the state visit of French President Georges Pompidou in 1970, Garment tried (unsuccessfully) to prevent the Jewish War Veterans—angered over Mr. Pompidou's approval of the sale of

over the Pompidou affair that, for a time, all Presidential messages to Jewish organizations, normally a routine White House courtesy, were suspended.

"It's not his function to have an input," Feldman said of Garment. "He gets instructions from Mr. Nixon and attempts to sell that position to the Jewish community."

'policy toward Israel is made in the White House'

The Kissinger staff man on the Middle East is Harold H. Saunders, 41, a holdover from the Rostow period. Saunders acts as the liaison man to Sisco, but his own policy-making role is circumscribed. Saunders' relations with the Israelis and, at times, with Kissinger, have been strained. He joined the National Security Council staff in 1961 from the Central Intelligence Agency.

"Hal is almost completely out of it by now," a former White House aide said. "His role was very much greater in the previous (Johnson) Administration."

This official further observed that policy toward Israel is made predominantly in the White House and not in the State Department, adding:

"Sisco has a great deal of influence over the day-to-day formation of the American position. But I'm not at all sure Sisco's voice is decisive in the over-all strategic thinking. In any event, Presidential policies are decisive on Israel in all important respects."

An important link between the President and the Israeli embassy is Brig. Gen. Alexander M. Haig Jr., Kissinger's chief deputy and his liaison man to the Defense Department. Israeli Ambassador Yitzhak Rabin, a retired general, and Haig confer on strength of forces and Soviet military and diplomatic intentions in the area.



Leonard Garment

110 Mirage jet fighters to the revolutionary pro-Egyptian regime in Libya—from demonstrating at New York's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, where Mr. Pompidou was scheduled to speak.

Mr. Nixon unexpectedly flew to New York to join Mr. Pompidou as a gesture of goodwill to the French President. He was so angered by the rebuff to Garment from Jewish groups

'The White House, with Rogers' acquiescence has approved... a virtually open pipeline for arms to the Israelis'

Another direct military conduit to the Israelis, but outside the White House, is Lt. Gen. John W. Vogt, an Air Force officer who serves as director of the joint staff of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

In analyzing the Middle East policy-making process, an Administration official who sought anonymity said: "We have always felt that Kissinger didn't want to get involved, at least openly. In the beginning, that was because it might be criticized.

"But, equally important is the fact that Joe Sisco is a take-charge guy. If all State Department officials had the guts and presence that Joe Sisco has, the State Department wouldn't be in such a far-back seat around here. Sisco is willing to make decisions. I don't see how he ever came up through the system."

State Department: Despite the labyrinth of offices involved in Middle Eastern affairs, policy-making functions are concentrated at the top, in the work of Rogers and Sisco.

(One of Sisco's deputies, Alfred L. (Roy) Atherton Jr., has earned a reputation at the White House and on Capitol Hill for being thorough and fair-minded in analyzing Middle East problems.)

There have been several shifts in

tactics during the Nixon years in what has proven to be an elusive search for a Middle Eastern peace settlement.

Thus, there has been a multilateral Big Power approach, propounded by the French, a bilateral approach with the Russians, an attempt by Rogers and Sisco to serve as behind-the-scenes mediators, an effort to win a final or a limited agreement through

'Kissinger didn't want to get involved'

a mission headed by Gunnar V. Jarving, the Swedish Ambassador to the Soviet Union, and, most recently, an attempt to conclude an interim accord that would lead to the reopening of the Suez Canal with some pull-back of Israeli forces.

Through it all, the White House, with Rogers' acquiescence, has approved what one Administration official termed "a virtually open pipeline for arms to the Israelis." Aside from hesitation on the Phantoms, which have become a symbol in the struggle, the United States has sent the Israelis (on varying credit terms) a host of sophisticated electronic-detection systems and even defense-production facilities that allow them to make their own U.S.-designed weapons under license.

Rogers—Nevertheless, Rogers has been unable to maintain good relations with either Mrs. Meir or Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban.

A Senator who was friendly with the Secretary when he was a Washington lawyer, said: "He's known around town as 'amiable Bill.' But he's a tiger with the Jews.

"This is the one issue he's been allowed to move on. I think he wants to outbid the Soviets with the Arabs. But, whatever his motives, I think he

would resign if he were openly rebuffed (by the White House) on his Middle East policy."

Rogers' tactics have led some Jewish leaders to reaffirm their conviction that the State Department has a built-in pro-Arab bias.

Thus, I. L. Kenen, executive vice chairman of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the umbrella group under which Jewish organizations lobby on behalf of Israel, said:

"We have felt from the very beginning that the State Department would be oriented away from the program we were seeking. There was the concern with the reaction within the Arab world. They always felt that if the Jewish state came into existence, there would be a polarization around a Soviet-Arab alliance. . . . Nothing has really changed since."

A Republican Senator who asked not to be quoted by name said: "Rogers wants the Rogers' plan. He wants his name on it. Rogers has staked his whole prestige—his place in history—on being able to achieve peace in the Middle East. So Rogers thinks he has to have considerable latitude, but they (the Israelis) can't see that at all."

Sisco—By contrast, Sisco has succeeded in maintaining fairly close ties with the Israelis, although there have



Joseph J. Sisco



William P. Rogers

been low points in the relationship. One such point came in July 1969 when, to the anger and astonishment of the Israelis, Sisco went to Moscow to confer on the Middle East with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko.

Sisco has his detractors at State, although none will discuss his criticism for attribution. One official who used to work with Sisco said: "He's two-

faced. He tells each side what it wants to hear. That's why he's known as 'Jumping Joe' in the department. I would say the best description of Sisco is 'policy by adrenalin.'"

Sisco told a reporter for *The New Yorker* recently: "Frankly, I've been what is known as a crisis manager—you know, floating around between the Arabs and the Israelis. For better or worse, I got most of the credit for negotiating singlehandedly the ceasefire (of Aug. 7, 1970) between the Israelis and the Egyptians. It's rare in

Sisco: 'He tells each side what it wants to hear'

this business—foreign affairs—to be able to point back to a specific achievement, but I feel in this case, I can."

A Republican Senator who came to Sisco's defense said: "Joe wants to be compatible with the President. His job is to keep the ball up in the air. Nixon has kept him on because he's highly competent, even though he (Nixon) knows he voted for (Hubert H.) Humphrey." (Sisco and Humphrey have been friendly for many years.)

Other agencies: "Most often, the Defense Department (and the Joint Chiefs of Staff) work through the State Department, which sets up various joint task forces on the Middle East," Feldman noted, recalling his previous staff experiences.

"You rarely hear from those guys directly at the White House level. There's a pro-Israeli bias in the Pentagon, but most of the time it militates against higher levels of military aid because the generals have always felt

CIA: 'In any conflict, Israel would triumph in a week'

that the Israelis can take care of themselves."

Another agency with considerable expertise on the Middle East is the Central Intelligence Agency. On most matters, particularly the movement of Russian personnel and arms into the Middle East, the CIA works closely with its Israeli counterpart.

(Shortly before the outbreak of war in 1967, a top CIA official told Sen. Charles H. Percy, R-Ill., that in any conflict Israel would triumph in a week. At the time, the State Department was being extremely guarded in its estimates of the outcome.)

Analysis: In summing up the confluence of forces affecting policy toward Israel in the Nixon Administration, a lawyer with ties to the Democratic Party and to the Jewish community said:

"The State Department has had more influence on this issue than in other Administrations. But, on crucial decisions, such as the Phantoms, it gets overruled. That's why I could easily make a case that Nixon has done more for Israel than any of his predecessors."

Congress

While decision making on the Middle East is centered in the White House, much of the lobbying effort on behalf of the Israeli cause is aimed at Capitol Hill.

Lobbyists tend to concentrate their efforts on Members of Congress and their staffs because they are more accessible to lobbyists than are senior White House or State Department officials and because the lobbyists hope the legislators will, in turn, lobby on their behalf with the appropriate officials.

Support: "Whenever we've put on the heat, I've never seen an immediate favorable response from the White House," a Republican Senator said.



I. L. Kenen

"But I think it's fair to say," he added, "that every time there's a move in Congress for Phantoms for Israel, they get them six months later. There's a lag while the political pressures build up."

Last October, 78 Senators cosponsored a resolution (S 177) urging resumption of Phantom sales to Israel.

Kenen, who coordinated the campaign for the cosponsors, cited three basic reasons why pro-Israeli appeals are able to muster wide support in Congress:

'every time there's a move in Congress for Phantoms for Israel, they get them six months later'

- Many Members have vocal, if sometimes numerically small, Jewish constituencies.

- Many liberals "are attracted to Israel as a 'showplace of democracy' amid reactionary (Arab) governments."

- Many conservatives "are attracted to Israel as a bulwark against Soviet communism amid radical (Arab) governments."

Twelve Senators who lead pro-Israeli causes: Brooke, Dole, Gurney, Jackson, Javits, Kennedy, McGee, Ribicoff, Scott, Symington, Talmadge, and Percy



Henry M. Jackson

House: A similar resolution on Phantoms in the House (HR 662) has attracted the signatures of 251 Members.

The most influential Members in promoting Israeli causes are Reps. Emanuel Celler, D-N.Y., chairman of the House Judiciary Committee and dean of the House, and Thomas E. Morgan, D-Pa., chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Celler is Jewish; Morgan is not.

(At one time, Ambassador Rabin considered selling the Israeli residence, situated in a hilly area west of Rock Creek Park, because Celler, 83, is unable to climb the steps and therefore cannot attend dinner parties there.)

Senate: In the more important foreign policy arena at the other end of the Capitol, within a wide circle of Israeli supporters, there is a core group of

12 Senators—they are the original sponsors of S 177—who normally take the lead in advocating pro-Israeli causes before the Senate.

They are Edward W. Brooke, R-Mass.; Robert Dole, R-Kan.; Edward J. Gurney, R-Fla.; Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash.; Jacob K. Javits, R-N.Y.; Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass.; Gale W. McGee, D-Wyo.; Abraham A. Ribicoff, D-Conn.; Hugh Scott, R-Pa.; Stuart Symington, D-Mo.; Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga., and Percy.

Of the 12, six are Democrats and six are Republicans. Two, Javits and Ribicoff, are Jews. Two, Kennedy and Jackson, are regarded as Democratic Presidential contenders, although only Jackson has announced his candidacy for the 1972 nomination.

Another twosome, Dole and Scott, hold leadership posts in the Republican Party.

Dole is chairman of the Republican National Committee and Scott is the Senate Minority Leader.

Scott, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Symington, chairman of the Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs of Foreign Relations, are the two senior members of the group and usually act as spokesmen.

Eight of the 12 Senators participated in the acerbic Nov. 23 conference with Secretary of State Rogers, which Javits and Ribicoff set up. One of the participants said after the meeting that the presence of Dole and Scott in Rogers' office was "highly significant, since they might have been told (by the President) not to press

Rogers at this time and they would have heeded it."

Some aides who work on the staffs of the 12 Senators, with some additions and deletions, confer occasionally on Middle East issues.

A leader within this parallel and informal staff-level coalition is Morris Amitay, Ribicoff's legislative assistant and a former State Department officer.

Symington—As the ranking Democrat in the group, Symington continues to back the principle of giving more arms to the Israelis despite his opposition to what he contends are

'Scoop Jackson is the most influential spokesman for Israel'

overly large Defense Department budgets. (Kenen recalls that when Symington was Secretary of the Air Force (1947-50), he would refer to Israel as "an unsinkable aircraft carrier.")

The F-4 Phantoms that the Israelis seek are assembled at the McDonnell Douglas Corp. plant at the outskirts of St. Louis in Symington's home state. The F-4 assembly line would close this year if not for additional orders from the Israelis (and, perhaps, from the West Germans as well) because the U.S. Air Force is in the process of switching to a new production-model fighter, the F-15.



Abraham A. Ribicoff



Jacob K. Javits

Javits—With his New York constituency, his personal drive and his absorption in foreign affairs, Javits is one Senator whom the Administration feels should be consulted in any Middle East initiative.

There was also a time when the Israeli embassy would not make a move, large or small, without first checking with Javits. Now, however, Javits is approached only on major policy questions.

At times of crisis in the Middle East, Javits has been known to break a heavy schedule of appointments and confer for hours with Rabin and high Administration officials. One such meeting with Rabin, which took place when Soviet pilots were first detected flying combat missions along the Suez Canal, lasted more than three hours.

"I think I have a good position with both sides," Javits said. "I'm accepted as an independent thinker." (To Javits, "both sides," constitute the Americans and the Israelis; in Moscow, the Soviet government newspaper, *Izvestia*, refers to Javits as "the Senator from Tel Aviv.")

During the current congressional recess, Javits and Sen. John Sherman Cooper, R-Ky., toured Israel and conferred with Mrs. Meir.

Cooper journeyed on to Cairo to meet with Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat; Javits did not.

(On Nov. 23, Cooper was one of only 14 Senators to vote against a \$500-million appropriation for military credits for Israel, including \$250 million for Phantoms.)



Hugh Scott

Jackson—A lawyer with ties to the Israeli embassy said: "Scoop Jackson is the single most influential spokesman for Israel. Javits is discounted for

Javits: 'the Senator from Tel Aviv'

a variety of reasons. Ribicoff is influential within limits, but he doesn't occupy a strong place in the club. Jackson does."

Jackson has supported the concept of a Jewish state in Palestine since 1944, when he was serving in the House, representing fewer than 4,000 Jewish constituents.

Richard N. Perle, who is on the staff of the Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations of the Government Operations Committee, said Jackson sees parallels between the Jewish and his own (Jackson's) Norwegian background and also is attracted by what he sees as a strong sense of family tradition among Jews. (Jackson serves as chairman of the subcommittee. Perle is Jackson's key adviser on the Middle East.)

Under Jackson's management, in the Senate Armed Services Committee and on the Senate floor, the Senate, in 1970, approved, 87-7, a \$500-million appropriation for Israeli arms.



Robert Dole

Jackson steered the appropriation through the armed services panel over the opposition of both its chairman, Sen. John C. Stennis, D-Miss., and that of Sen. J. W. Fulbright, D-Ark., chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

(Stennis objected on procedural grounds, but Fulbright has been regarded by Israeli diplomats since the early 1950s as their chief antagonist and most implacable foe in the Senate.)

Jackson successfully tied the money for Israel to the Military Procurement Act of 1970 (84 Stat 905) because the normal conduit for such funds, the foreign-aid bill, was clogged by a filibuster, sparked by an antiwar amendment sponsored by Cooper and Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho.

Once the President signed the \$500-million appropriation into law, Jackson used his leverage as a high-ranking member of the Armed Services Committee to get the Defense Department to allow Israel to repay the money on far easier credit terms than normally are applied. (Customary terms for military sales require repayment within 10 years at prevailing U.S. commercial interest rates.)

1971 action: In late November 1971, Jackson pushed through a new \$500-million military appropriation for Israel by a vote of 82-14. Jackson acted when it appeared that the then-beleaguered foreign aid bill would fail to pass.

'Fulbright has been regarded by Israeli diplomats since the early 1950's as their chief antagonist and most implacable foe'

As it turned out, the conference report on foreign aid (S 2819-20) passed the Senate Dec. 17, on the eve of adjournment. The measure contained a \$400-million authorization for military credit sales, of which \$300 million is specifically set aside for Israel.

Moving on another front within the foreign-aid bill, the Israelis also had asked for \$200 million in "supporting assistance," arguing that heavy defense expenditures had put a severe strain on their foreign exchange holdings.

In recent years, the Administration has viewed supporting assistance solely as a device to prop up the budgets of the Republic of Vietnam and, to a lesser extent, that of Cambodia. Consequently, the Israeli request was opposed throughout the executive branch.

Nevertheless, Javits succeeded in inserting an \$85-million authorization for Israel in the Senate version of the foreign-aid bill while it was before the Foreign Relations Committee.

Earlier, while the bill was still pending in the House, John A. Hannah, administrator of the Agency for International Development, privately

told Rep. Otto E. Passman, D-La., chairman of the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the House Appropriations Committee, that AID would impound a supporting assistance appropriation for Israel if Congress voted one.

On Nov. 11, while the aid bill was tied up in the Senate, Jackson moved to counter this threat. He wrote Rogers, seeking "your assurances that these funds will be expended for their stated purpose, as and when appropriated."

'Most Senators have a kind of knee-jerk pro-Israeli reaction'

Jackson sought a commitment in writing but Rogers, in a telephone call, balked. Yet, with the aid bill in danger, Rogers felt he had to go along.

Thereupon, Rogers, Jackson and Scott agreed that Scott would announce on the Senate floor that the Administration was committed to releasing the money.

(Subsequently, at Fulbright's behest, a House-Senate conference trimmed Israel's share to \$50 million.)

Counterbalance: "Most Senators have a kind of knee-jerk pro-Israeli reaction," said John P. Richardson, executive director and secretary of American Near East Refugee Aid Inc., and a partisan of the Arab cause in the Middle East.

"Take Humphrey, for example," Richardson said.

"He won't even discuss the Middle East with his staff. It's a self-contained channel."

Nevertheless, a minority of Senators has been sympathetic to the Arab viewpoint and more or less antagonistic to the Israeli one. It includes Fulbright, Allen J. Ellender, D-La., chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., and Henry Bellmon, D-Okla., whom pro-Israeli lobbyists refer to as "the oil Senator."

"Hatfield is the exception that proves the rule," Richardson said.

"Hatfield would have something in the *Congressional Record* every week that reflected the Arab line," said David A. Brody, a Capitol Hill lobbyist for B'nai B'rith. "But he seems to have slowed down considerably in 1971." (Hatfield's term expires in 1973; he expects to face strong Democratic opposition.)

Democratic candidates: Several aspirants for the Democratic Presidential nomination, most of whom now serve in the Senate, met privately with Mrs. Meir during her 10-day U.S. visit in December.

Jackson, Humphrey and New York Mayor John V. Lindsay, D, made the fact of the meeting (although not the substance) public; Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine, did not. (Mrs. Meir also agreed to confer with Sen. George S. McGovern, D-S.D., but a conflict in their schedules prevented the meeting.)

Humphrey's chief adviser on Israeli affairs, as well as on many non-Jewish political matters, is Max M. Kampel-

'Humphrey won't even discuss the Middle East with his staff'



Stuart Symington



J. W. Fulbright

man, a partner in the Washington law firm of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Kampelman.

"There are an awful lot of people who talk to Muskie about Israel," said Peter R. Rosenblatt, who helped advance Muskie's first and only trip to Israel in January 1971. "But," Rosenblatt added, "whom he listens to is another matter."

Muskie's chief advisers on the Middle East, aside from his own staff, are W. Averell Harriman, whose last government service was as U.S. representative at the Paris peace talks (1968-69); Paul C. Warnke, a former assistant secretary of Defense for international security affairs (1967-69), and Lucius D. Battle, former assistant secretary of State for Near East and South Asian affairs (1967-68).

Warnke is a partner in the Washington law firm of Clifford, Warnke, Glass, McIlwain & Finney, whose chief partner, Clark M. Clifford, served as Secretary of Defense (1968-69) in the Johnson Administration.

Clifford negotiated U.S. recognition of Israel, over State Department objections, in 1948, while serving as counsel to President Harry S. Truman. Clifford is also a lifelong friend of Symington's and, currently, a principal adviser to Muskie.

Battle is vice president for corporate relations of Communications Satellite Corp. (Comsat) and, in that capacity, its chief lobbyist on Capitol Hill. Battle said in an interview that despite his briefing of Muskie on the Middle East, his options are open as to whom he will support for President in 1972.

'Hatfield would have something in the Congressional Record every week that reflected the Arab line'



Mark O. Hatfield

(UJA contributions are tax-deductible because they do not go directly to the Israeli government but are funneled through The Jewish Agency, a semi-official body which meets much of Israel's public housing, welfare, health and education costs.)

The 'Jewish' role: Rabin has said that he does not favor "The Jewish Agency system" and in that sense, he is regarded by U.S. Jewish leaders as one of a new breed of Israelis who have moved away from traditional Zionist concepts.

Instead, during his frequent trips in the United States, he has sought to find new allies for his country, particularly among non-Jews in the South and Midwest.

"I find that Rabin is extremely cautious in getting involved with American Jewish opinion," a Washington lawyer, who knows him well, said.

U.S. constituency—Nonetheless, the Israeli embassy maintains a symbiotic relationship with U.S. Jewish organizations.

Another lawyer with ties to the embassy said, "There's no other embassy in Washington that has quite the same ready-made allies within the United States. I think we may have seen something like it before World War II with the British embassy.

The Israelis: 'no other embassy in Washington has quite the same ready-made allies within the United States'

"But those of English descent in this country are not organized the way the Jews are because they are a majority. The Jews, with their communal organizations, are in a much better position to utilize the full weight of their numbers.

"This is why over the years I have seen the attitudes that are subtly expressed by (Israeli embassy) staff members conveyed with electric rapidity throughout the Jewish community."

Feldman observed: "The Israeli embassy is unlike any other embassy in that it has a constituency in the United States as well as in Israel. The (U.S.) government has to take into account the views of Jews who have emotional ties with the Jewish state. When it talks to the embassy, the government knows it is also talking to a political force in the United States."

"They are accredited not only to the U.S. government but also, in a sense, to the American Jewish community," Kenen said.

White House usage—Such ties have been used by the White House for its own purposes. Thus, during the 1970 Pompidou visit, Garment asked the embassy to put pressure on U.S. Jewish leaders to head off demonstrations.

'if we can't have Jackson, we'll take Nixon'

Garment called Shlomo Argov, then minister and the embassy's second-ranking officer and now Israel's Ambassador to Mexico. Argov called the New York consulate which, in turn, contacted influential Jews.

Bar to political activity—A U.S.-Israeli treaty signed in 1952 specifically bars the Israeli government from engaging in political activity in the United States.

"The Israeli government must obviously refrain from any political action," said Kenen, who himself keeps at arm's length from the embassy, even though he is the leading pro-Israeli lobbyist in Washington. "I think the moment they get into politics, they are in trouble," Kenen added.

"We never refuse an invitation from a Jewish audience," said Shaul Ben-

'Speaking before small groups, Rabin has said no U. S. President has done more for Israel than Richard Nixon'

Haim, the embassy's press counselor. "But do we represent them? I would say definitely not, just as they cannot represent us."

Rabin: In speaking before small groups, Jewish and non-Jewish, Rabin has said that no U.S. President has done more for Israel than Richard Nixon.

While Israeli diplomats never try to influence Presidential politics, they



Yitzhak Rabin

are willing to talk about it, if only on a highly guarded basis.

One of them said: "The word in Jerusalem is we would prefer Jackson, but if we can't have Jackson, we'll take Nixon."

"The Ambassador plays things very closely to the vest," a long-time friend of Rabin said. "Inside Israel, he's regarded as an apologist for the United States while here he's regarded as a very tough and unyielding spokesman for Israel. It's a difficult political dilemma for him personally."

"Rabin is brilliant," another friend said. "But he thinks like the general that he is. I once heard him say at a dinner party that the United States should have pushed the Russians much harder than it did when it had a nuclear monopoly."

Dinner parties are very much part of Rabin's schedule. Usually, between 15 and 20 guests are invited, in sharp contrast to the large and often lavish parties staged by Arab embassies in Washington.

The guest list at dinner is not predictable: sometimes it will include an "Arabist" from the State Department, who, during the working day, normally opposes pro-Israeli policies within Administration councils.

The Israeli embassy held three cocktail parties in 1971 and only one of them was at Rabin's home.

According to present plans, Rabin will complete his tour of duty after the 1972 elections and will be succeeded as Ambassador by Gen. Aharon Yariv, now director of Israeli military intelligence.

Self-sufficiency: David Ginsburg, a partner with Feldman in the Washington law firm of Ginsburg, Feldman & Bress, represented the embassy as its counsel from Israel's founding as a state in 1948 until 1969.

"We are still counsel for them," Ginsburg said. "But they do a very good job on their own and the level of activity has dropped markedly."

Today, the Israelis run their own show, no longer relying on U.S. consultants such as Ginsburg and Robert R. Nathan, an expert on the economies of developing nations, who for many years served as the embassy's chief economic consultant.

The Israeli staff has grown until there are now 26 diplomatic representatives (within a staff of 75) working at the Israeli's yellow-brick chancery at 1621 22nd St., NW, in Washington's embassy-row area.

'For more subtle dealings with influential editors and columnists there are more discreet arrangements'

Israel also maintains consulates in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Houston, San Francisco, Boston and Atlanta.

Press relations: The Israeli embassy does not issue press releases, but it is nonetheless highly media-oriented.

(From time to time, the embassy will prepare a "pink sheet," representing its government's views on Middle East issues. It is distributed to a mailing list of 12,000. The last "pink sheet" to be issued dealt with the terms of the Soviet-Egyptian Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation of May 1971.)

Non-stop process—"We have a six-to-one favorable ratio in editorials," said Ben-Haim, who is on leave as a diplomatic correspondent for *Maariv*, a Tel Aviv newspaper, while serving as the embassy's spokesman. "Most of the stuff that appears is unsolicited," he said.

"Whenever we have something to say, we arrange for the Ambassador to speak to the Overseas Writers," Ben-Haim added. (The Overseas Writers

**Israelis: 'we have
a 6-1 favorable
ratio in
editorials'**

have a rule that speakers at their luncheons never are quoted; in any subsequent news account, the information may be used only as background material.)

During Mrs. Meir's December visit, she held a Washington press conference and also appeared on "Meet the Press" (NBC-TV).

In addition, she gave an off-the-record lunch for selected Washington columnists and bureau chiefs and met privately with the editors of *The New*



David A. Brody

York Times, The Washington Post, Newsweek and Time.

She also attended an off-the-record lunch hosted for her by the American Broadcasting Co., to which ABC invited the chief executive officers of the other television networks, as well as other top officers of newspapers, magazines and large corporations.

Ben-Haim said he operates "a continuous non-stop information process, in which we try to explain ourselves on a day-to-day basis."

Subtleties—For more subtle dealings with influential editors and columnists, there are more discreet arrangements.

Once a high-level Israeli diplomat was asked by a mutual friend whether he would like to meet Joseph Kraft, a syndicated Washington columnist. The diplomat turned the offer down, politely explaining that Kraft "is being handled by someone else."

"The network is all-embracing," said Rowland Evans Jr., who writes a column with his partner, Robert D. Novak.

(Evans interviewed Mrs. Meir in her most recent appearance, Dec. 5, on "Meet the Press"; after the program

went off the air, they argued in the studio for another half-hour.)

"When we write what is perceived to be an anti-Israeli column," Evans said, "we get mail from all over the country with the same points and phrasing. There's a consistent pattern."

Although, on occasion, the embassy has sought to foster new stories in efforts to put pressure on the Administration, the process is a two-sided one.

A Defense Department official once told William M. Beecher, military affairs correspondent of *The New York Times*, that the United States would provide extensive new security guarantees to Israel in return for Israeli cooperation in peace talks.

"The first time we heard about these new guarantees was when we read about them in *The Times*," an Israeli official said. He added, "Beecher was fed a line."

Congressional liaison: The embassy

**'When we write . . .
an anti-Israeli
column we get
mail from all
over the country'**

has direct links to key people on Capitol Hill. Amos Eiran, a young diplomat who has worked in Histadrut, the Israeli labor movement, is assigned to Congress.

Eiran follows legislation of interest to the Israeli embassy but tactfully remains in the background. His activities are, for the most part, independent of Kenen's and other pro-Israel lobbyists.

Influence: The Israelis also seek to monitor and to counteract what they

call "Arab propaganda" efforts in the United States.

But the accent is on the positive. "We have lost the automatic sympathy of Americans," Ben-Haim said. "We are trying to reverse that trend."

What Ben-Haim called a "tiny, tiny number" of official U.S. visitors have gone to Israel as guests of the government.

Among those who have taken such expense-paid, one-week trips is Transportation Secretary John A. Volpe, who went to Israel as a guest of the government while he was Governor of Massachusetts.

Outside pressures

"American Jews' reaction to Israel is a natural one," said David Brody of B'nai B'rith. "They don't need guidance or direction from Jewish organizations."

Relationships: Nevertheless, a host of Jewish groups attempt, on a wide or narrow basis, to mobilize their members and coordinate their efforts in Washington whenever they feel that Israel's interests are endangered.

'many times

Senators want

to go too far'

There never has been any question of the willingness of the U.S. Jewish community to approach its friends on Capitol Hill and in the Administration on behalf of Israel. The question has been, rather, whether such intervention does any good, and, on that score, there are wide differences of opinion.

Speaking to this point, a Republican Senator who asked not be quoted by name said:

"I think they (organized Jewish groups) are effective with some Senators who otherwise might not take a strong position. For example, you find a lot of Senators from states that have no appreciable Jewish constituency. And yet you find them coming out strongly here. In that group, as you know, there are people of little ideas, imagination and creativity and if they are not prodded to do something, they won't do it."

'We have lost the automatic sympathy of Americans. We are trying to reverse that trend'—Ben Haim

Nevertheless, Kenen, the man who coordinates all the prodding, said: "I also have spent time trying to hold back Congressmen to prevent them from doing things that would exacerbate relations (between the United States and the Arab countries). Many times, people in the Senate want to go too far."

In any event, relationships between most Capitol Hill offices and the mainstream of organized U.S. Jewry remain exceedingly warm.

Few days pass when a House or Senate office does not send out a cordial letter, solicited or unsolicited, ghostwritten or not, congratulating a local Jewish organization for winning a civic award or passing an anniversary.

And few days pass without an invitation from a Jewish group to a Member of Congress to address them, sometimes for a handsome fee. (Javits donates all such fees to the United Jewish Appeal.)

"They provide a lot of speaking opportunities for candidates," a Muskie campaign aide observed.



Hyman H. Bookbinder

Spectrum: The American Jewish Congress, the Jewish War Veterans, the National Council of Jewish Women and the National Jewish Welfare Board maintain offices in Washington. But their effect on Middle East policy making is not significant.

David Brody and Herman Edelsberg, international director of the Anti-Defamation League, an offshoot of B'nai B'rith, are involved in Israeli issues on a more regular basis, although they prefer to subordinate their roles to Kenen's.

AJC: Hyman H. Bookbinder, Washington representative of the American Jewish Committee, is also a member of Kenen's umbrella organization.

But Bookbinder pursues a more independent course, at times seeking to act as a buffer between the State Department and the Israeli government.

(The AJC has long had an individualistic stamp among Jewish organizations. Founded in 1906 "to protect

*Jewish groups
provide a lot of
speaking
opportunities
for candidates*

the lives and rights of Jews" in Czarist Russia, the AJC has declined to join the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, to which all other groups belong. (Over the years, its prime back-

ers have been wealthier Jews, such as the late Mayer Sulzberger and Cyrus Adler, both of *The New York Times* publishing family, each of whom served as AJC president, for a total of 17 years. Currently, Max M. Fisher is chairman of the AJC's national executive council, the second-highest post in the organization.)

Bookbinder, a former assistant director (1964-67) of the Office of Economic Opportunity, also held the post of special assistant to Humphrey from 1965 to 1967, while Humphrey was Vice President.

Last November, Bookbinder went to Israel with Philip E. Hoffman, AJC president, and Bertram H. Gold, AJC executive vice president, where they conferred with Mrs. Meir and Foreign Minister Eban. They urged the Israeli leaders to tone down their pressure tactics, aimed at securing the release of Phantoms by the Administration.

Upon returning to Washington, the AJC group conferred with Rodger P. Davies, a deputy assistant secretary under Joseph Sisco and, as such, one of the State Department's leading "Arabists."

**'a specialty of
representing
Washington
columnists
and editors'**

Bookbinder said: "We have no major conflicts (with the Israelis) in terms of policy. But there are differences over points of emphasis. When things happen in Israel that are wrong, we make our views known. We tell them what we think is wrong and weak in their position."

On the other hand, the AJC leaders, in their meetings with Davies and other State Department officials, stressed that they had found no significant divergence of opinion on major security issues among Israeli leaders, both in and out of the government.

These reports were meant to dispel the impression of the State Department that the Israelis are secretly divided on what terms they should consider withdrawing from Arab-held territories.

**'Among the
strongest
of Israel's
supporters in
this country
are the
conservative
elements'**

(Throughout the discussions within the topmost councils of the Nixon Administration on the question of whether to sell additional Phantoms to Israel, the State Department, in opposing the sale, stressed in its policy papers to the National Security Council that the Israelis were divided.)

(There is a joke going around the State Department that if you have two Jews, you have three political parties and five opinions.)

Non-Jewish groups: Israel's position has won favor with militantly anti-Communist organizations, such as the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Reflecting on this relatively recent development, a Washington lawyer with close ties to the Israeli embassy said: "There's no doubt that among the strongest of Israel's supporters in the country today... are the conservative elements. The *Human Events* crowd backs them. That's one of the reasons why the Nixon Administra-

tion has been as friendly as it has to the Israelis."

Feldman: Strategically placed individuals, as well as organizations, play influential roles in transmitting pro-Israeli policies to decision makers in Washington. One such individual, with no organizational portfolio, is Myer Feldman.

Although Feldman has been out of government service for seven years, he is still deeply involved in trying to affect policy. He said he sees his role as:

- conferring on a regular basis with members of the Israeli government on issues of concern to them in the United States;

- intervening with "people in Congress, when I am asked to, sometimes by people in Israel, more often by leaders of the American Jewish community";

- getting pro-Israeli ideas across to influential newspaper columnists; (Feldman, among other pursuits, has made something of a speciality of representing Washington columnists and editors in his law practice.)

- advising Democratic candidates for office on Middle East issues, particularly McGovern, whom he likes, and Kennedy, whom he would want to see, he said, emerge as the party's Presidential nominee in 1972.

"I'm in a favorable position because I know so many people," Feldman said.

Analysis: In the view of several analysts, including Bookbinder, neither would-be pressure groups nor influential individuals are at the nub of the strongly pro-Israeli mood in Congress.

As Bookbinder put it: "The reason you can get 78 Senators (to sponsor the resolution on Phantoms) just like that is that Israeli interests and American interests happen to coincide at this point in time and will possibly continue to do so for a long time to come."

***State Department: 'If you have two
Jews, you have three political parties
and five opinions.'***

Assessment

The Israelis, who for years had relied on Zionist ties as the bedrock of their political support in the United States, now feel they must look farther afield for new friends to support their aims in the Middle East.

The rising tide of Soviet influence in the Arab world has provided them with that opportunity.

Friends won and lost: In discussing such new alliances, Rabin once said that "all of these people are responding to anti-communism."

On another occasion, talking only half in jest, the Ambassador said: "When I speak on a university campus, I have no trouble with anyone except the Arabs and the Jews." Rabin was referring to New Left Jews who oppose current Israeli policies.

One recently formed organization, The Committee on New Alternatives in the Middle East, is "committed to seek out reconciliation, peace and justice" between Arabs and Jews. "We will not undertake to make dogmatic judgments nor to present one-sided answers to the complicated and often contradictory questions posed in the Middle East," the committee said in its statement of purpose.

This group has attracted several leading Jewish scholars to its steering panel, including Noam Chomsky, professor of linguistics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a writer on antiwar topics.

A Jewish lawyer in Washington

'the short-term alliance (with conservatives) has had impact on this administration'

who is disturbed by this trend said: "I don't think any far-sighted observer could fail to recognize that, in the long run, Israel's interests lie with, and are better protected by, the liberals in this country. Yet the short-term alliance (with conservatives) has had some impact on this Administration."

The lawyer, who travels to Israel often, added: "I find that power groups in Israel would be willing to

'For American Jews, Israel is not a foreign policy issue, but a domestic issue'

deal with any political group in the United States, based simply on one criterion: support for Israel."

(During Mrs. Meir's state visit in September 1969, much of her California schedule was handled by Gov. Ronald Reagan, R.)

U.S. Jews: For his part, Rabin recognizes that Jewish ethnic consciousness is on the rise in the United States, as it is among other ethnic minorities.

But he and other Israelis question whether there has been an increase in Jewish political influence.

As one highly placed Israeli put it bluntly: "The Republicans have written them off and the Democrats take them for granted."

Rabbi Richard G. Hersh, director of the Religious Action Center, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, a Washington-based adjunct of U.S. Reform Judaism, believes that the U.S. Jewish community is losing political power for purposes of vested political interests.

At a June 1971 seminar, held at a convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, Hersh said:

"Because of the shift and accompanying socio-economic phenomena, the Jewish influence is diluted and the traditional alliances with other minorities and with labor are coming apart."

Hersh further contends that U.S. Jewish interests and U.S. Jewish pressures are of minimal influence in the determination of U.S. foreign policy; a conclusion that is privately shared, if never openly stated, by some Israeli political leaders.

As Hersh put it at the June seminar: "A congressional resolution on Soviet Jewry is as easy to obtain as it is insignificant in political effect. Most Congressmen are willing to subscribe to a statement which will demonstrate concern for Jews to their Jewish constituents as long as there is no operative clause."

Yet the problem for Hersh and other U.S. Jewish leaders is to find a meaningful political role to play—since, as Hersh also notes, "For American Jews, Israel is not a foreign-

policy issue, but a domestic issue."

Impact on campaign: The notion that the Middle East is a domestic political issue, rather than a foreign-policy issue, holds no weight with President Nixon and other members of the National Security Council.

'The President is unlikely to face stiff opposition from organized U. S. Jewry'

But so long as the shipment of planes and other instruments of war continues to flow to Israel at a high level—and there is every indication that it will—the President is unlikely to face stiff opposition from organized U.S. Jewry, even though most of its leaders are Democrats.

This is apt to be reflected most clearly in political campaign financing. As one Jewish financier in New York put it privately: "I'm planning to contribute to the Democratic (Presidential) campaign, but maybe I won't give as much as I would have if Nixon was wrong on Israel."

On the other hand, most corporation-generated political contributions, including those of the Middle East oil companies, go to the Republicans.

Myer Feldman said: "Oil money, you know, has always been more important in a Presidential campaign than Jewish money. But I'd say it's pretty much of a Mexican standoff (between the Arabs and the Israelis). Each side is sandbagging the other. There are equally good arguments on both sides and each President must weigh them and decide."

The Menuhin Tapes

A Jewish Anti-Zionist View of Mid-East Conflict

by Bill Gottlieb

"Why should we persecute, exile and occupy the homes and lands of the Arabs who were kind to Jews all through history? For more than a thousand years the Arabs were the only people who welcomed Jews in their midst when they fled from one place of persecution to another and finally landed in Arab places like Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria and Palestine."

This poignant question and observation is raised by Moshe Menuhin in recent talks with British correspondent, Colin D. Edwards. These interviews have been taped in a 10-cassette series dealing with the Arab-Israel dispute.

Mr. Menuhin, a Hebrew scholar, author, historian and a long-time active member of the American Council for Judaism, has been a fearless anti-Zionist commentator on Middle Eastern affairs. With Rabbi Elmer Berger, he has been a founder of American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism.

SON'S BUDDING GENIUS

The budding genius of his son, Yehudi, motivated Mr. Menuhin to devote most of his time to the development of Yehudi's musical career. When that was secure, Moshe Menuhin turned to writing in an effort to defend the ethical principles of Prophetic Judaism against what he deems the "takeover" of Judaism and its institutions, for false "un-Jewish" ends by Zionist political nationalists.

The cassette series begins with Moshe Menuhin's birth into an Orthodox Jewish family in Czarist Russia in 1893, during the infamous pogroms, and proceeds through later boyhood in Palestine, then still under Ottoman Turkish rule. It then describes his coming to America and the further experiences with Zionists that shaped his philosophy.

MOVE TO PALESTINE

Cassette no. 2 tells how Moshe's mother brought him to Palestine in 1904 as a boy of 11, to be raised by his grandparents. He stresses repeatedly that the Arabs were decent, friendly people who were kind to him, and he recalls a moving episode in substantiation.

At about age 15, Moshe had a front buck tooth that was not only ugly, but consistently cracked his lip. He went to an Arab dentist named Zacharin, who advised him that the buck tooth, along with 15 other teeth, was infected and was stunting his growth. The Arab dentist extracted the buck tooth and treated the others over an extended period.

A MOVING EXPERIENCE

When Moshe offered to pay him out of his meager earnings the dentist refused the money, saying: "I don't want to be paid by you. I am paid by my conscience. When you grow up try to get rid of this hatred for Arabs. Remember there was one good Arab, and there are thousands of them here."

This was Mr. Menuhin's way of repudiating persistent warnings—which he reports in the cassette — of earlier Zionists in Palestine not to buy from Arabs or use their services.

Mr. Menuhin notes that though he was taught in school to hate Arabs, he did not "swallow this Zionist propaganda." He makes the significant point that there "were only about 35,000 Jews in Palestine at that time as against 600,000 peaceful, hard-working, unsophisticated Arabs". The

Arabs could have wiped out the Jewish colonists at any time, he notes, had there been any such organized plan. Arab bedouins, who lived a hard and destitute life, sometimes attacked Jewish settlements in search of water and food. But these "were not anti-Jewish acts because the bedouins also raided Arab villages."

The high quality of these recordings, together with the obvious compassion and warmth, the humor, the colorful Yiddish and Hebrew phrases, the first hand examples of Zionist exploitation of the Arabs in old Palestine, make this series a delight to listen to.

TEN TAPES AVAILABLE

Each of the ten cassettes, which are just under 60 minutes long, covers a different aspect of the Middle East problem. Typical titles include: "Jews Who Did Not Keep Silent,"—"Jews and the U.S.S.R."—and "The Six-Day War and its Aftermath."

For complete details on costs and titles of the Menuhin tapes, readers may write to: The Center for Cassette Studies, 8110 Webb Avenue, North Hollywood, California 91605.

Mr. Gottlieb was for ten years Public Relations Director of the American Council for Judaism.

Aid refugee education



An ideal project for individuals, church groups, or civic organizations is sponsoring an educational program for a Palestinian refugee child.

The project, sponsored by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) consists of a \$50 contribution per year for six years.

The contribution goes directly to the elementary school education of a Palestine refugee boy or girl.

The sponsoring individual or group will receive a photograph of its specific child and information about his or her progress.

For further information write: Miss Anne Kallesis, UNRWA Liaison Officer, United Nations Building, New York.

MIDDLE EAST ROUNDUP

Radio show available

A 15-minute, weekly radio program, "Arab Press Review", is now available for use across the country.

The programs, which cost \$2.50 per week, present a survey of press opinion gleaned from editorials and articles in prominent Arab newspapers and magazines.

The Broadcasting Foundation of America, an educational institution, distributes the programs to American stations.

The Arab American Association in Columbus, Ohio, reports that the Ohio State University radio station, WOSU, ordered the series following phone calls and letters from its members which requested the airing of the weekly program.

Other groups wishing to have the program broadcast are urged to contact their local stations. The tapes may be ordered from The Broadcasting Foundation of America, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, New York 10017.

Lebanese committee set

Following the recent Israeli aggression into South Lebanon, an ad hoc committee of concerned Americans has

been organized in Washington, D.C., "to support the territorial integrity of Lebanon."

The committee intends to coordinate and cooperate with other groups interested in the Lebanese situation.

Members of the committee include Father Seeley Beggiani, James Silman, Hussein Kanaan, Helen Haje, Soosan Maloof, Phyllis Kotite, and Violete Asha.

Questions and request for information should be addressed to: Ad Hoc Committee, 7700 Hemlock, Bethesda, Maryland.

Help for Jerusalem clinic

Since its founding in 1925, the Spafford Children's Center in Jerusalem has ministered to more than a million and a half mothers and children.

Its principal activities include a clinic for sick children and instruction for mothers in basic child care, sanitation, and feeding.

The Center depends entirely on voluntary contributions for its support, and its needs under present trying conditions are greater than ever.

Contributions, which are tax-exempt, may be sent to the American Colony Charities Association, PO Box 602, New York, N.Y. 10021.

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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