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A PROPHET SPEAKS IN ISRAEL

by Norton Mezvinsky

Within the past few years forty-year-old Dr. Israel Shahak has emerged as perhaps the leading human rights advocate in the state of Israel. For more than four years he has served as Chairman of the Israeli League for Human Rights, made up of Jewish and Arab Israeli citizens and affiliated with the International League for Human Rights.

Having come to Palestine as a youngster of twelve from a Nazi concentration camp in Poland, he went through the Israeli school system and received his Ph.D. in Chemistry from the Hebrew University. He is now a Senior Lecturer in Chemistry and a permanent member of the teaching faculty of the Hebrew University. In addition, he has, because of extensive laboratory research and published results, become an internationally recognized organic chemist.

But merely a chemist he has not remained. Increasingly since the end of the June 1967 war, Israel Shahak has engaged in political and human rights activities within Israeli society. His outspoken criticisms of Zionism and its assumptions, of many specific Israeli state policies, and of various Israeli leaders, together with his great efforts to help protect and defend the human rights of all people within Israel, have marked him as a most important Israeli political dissident. Israel Shahak bases much of his dissidence upon humanitarian, Spinozan and Jewish philosophical grounds. In style and tone, as well as in substance, he resembles a modernized Old Testament prophet.

One of Israel Shahak's major premises, based firmly on his understanding of the Hebrew Torah, is that a society should guarantee equal rights and freedoms for all people. The real test of a true liberal, he believes, is the extent to which that person is committed to

this principle. Jews, he argues, should, because of their historical experiences, be among those people most devoted to this principle. Unfortunately, however, many Jews, including most of those who make up the Israeli Establishment, are not so committed insofar as the state of Israel is concerned. These Jews—both inside and outside Israel—support Israeli policies that oppress and that deny basic human rights to nearly one million Arab inhabitants in the state.

The illustrative examples for this are numerous: Under the infamous Defense Regulations, taken over by the Israelis from the British, for instance, many thousands of Arabs have since 1948 been jailed and detained merely upon suspicion of the military authorities without actual charges brought or evidence presented against them in court. (More than five thousand Arabs are now in jail and/or detained in Israel under the Defense Regulations.) Probably not more than ten Israeli Jews have been jailed and/or detained under the Defense Regulations since the creation of the state. The Israeli government, furthermore, has unfairly confiscated almost ninety per cent of the land previously owned by Arabs in Israel, and has often, as was the case in Carmiel in the early 1960's, sold these confiscated lands only to Jews.

As documented by Israeli and non-Israeli sources, moreover, Israeli military and civil authorities have cruelly mistreated, even severely tortured, Arabs in Israel. Discrimination against Arabs in the fields of education and labor in the so-called Jewish state is gross. These and other examples make oppression and denial of human rights in Israel obvious. This obvious fact constitutes the major root of Israel Shahak's dissidence. More than anything else it triggers his passion and fury.

Dr. Shahak maintains that most Jews support or acquiesce in oppressive Israeli policies because of their undue devotion to the state. He reasons that such devotion is alien to Judaic theology and philosophy; it is "Jewish apostasy"; Jews should be devoted to God rather than to the idol of the modern state of Israel.

Israel Shahak has centered his fight for justice and human rights within the context of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights. Behind his aggressive leadership other Israelis have come together in the League and have involved themselves in a variety of activities dedicated to the principle of equal rights for all people. Many of these Israelis are members of other politically active organizations and/or specific political parties; they act politically from a variety of bases. For these people, however, the League under the leadership of Israel Shahak has become the major coordinating organization for human rights activity. Some league members are socialists of varying interpretations; some League members, on the other hand, including Israel Shahak, are not socialists. The League's active membership thus reflects numerous political theories that have equal rights as a common denominator.

The League activities fall into four major categories: 1) participating in demonstrations, 2) helping to provide legal aid for certain people, 3) writing, sending, and at times publishing letters and advertisements, 4) printing in Hebrew, Arabic, and English and distributing substantive material pertaining to human rights in Israel. Israel Shahak, in conjunction with friends in other nations, has in the last two years begun to expand contacts and to disseminate League material more widely outside Israel; he has also begun to write and to distribute outside of Israel his own additional in-depth coverage

of and comments upon certain happenings within Israel.

Much of the League's recently printed material deals with mistreatment of Arabs who have been arrested and with specifications of confiscation by Israeli authorities of lands previously owned by Arabs. The following three bulletins, printed by the League and distributed on October 29, 1972; December 10, 1972; and January 31, 1973 are representative:

The situation in Israeli prisons for Arabs

- 1) The prisoners in Be'er-Sheba prison (which is *only* for Arabs) were collectively punished, by depriving them of their undergarments.
- 2) The prison of Kefar-Yona (also for Arabs only) is considered to be the "tough" prison for those Arabs who "make trouble". During the last months a new method has been employed there: Starvation. The food rations of prisoners *were severely cut down*—much below the food rations in all other Israeli official prisons.

From the accounts we have received from prisoners' families, we hear that the prisoners are in a continual state of hunger.

The Case of Hadija Muhammad Abd El-Hadi and her husband Abd El-Haziz Abd El-Hadi

Mrs. Hadija Muhammad Abd El-Hadi, 25 years old, was, in November 1972, in the last month of her pregnancy. She was arrested on the 8th of November, together with her husband, Abd El-Aziz Abd El-Hadi. They were both brought to the notorious "interrogation office" in the "Russian Compound", Jerusalem. There, first the wife was "interrogated" alone, by being beaten on her face, and being threatened with the death of her unborn child, if she did not tell "all what she knows" about her husband. When this did not help, the husband was brought and beaten in front of his wife, and the wife in front of her husband.

They both refused to confess and said that they had done nothing. After further beatings Mrs. Hadija, who all the time refused to confess, was freed. Her husband remained in prison.

The land problems of the village of Um El-Fahem (The Triangle, Israel)

Um El-Fahem is a village of 14,000 inhabitants which was transferred to Israel under the Rhodes Agreement with Jordan (4 April 1949). The State of Israel had promised in those agree-

ments to honor the freedom and the property of the inhabitants.

Nevertheless, all the inhabitants of Um El-Fahem became "absent-present", and almost all their lands were confiscated.

The situation is as follows:

The inhabitants of Um El-Fahem used to own 146,000 dunams of land inside Israel.

Of this: — 100,000 dunams (of the best agricultural land) were confiscated and given to the "National Jewish Fund" (a discriminatory Jewish organization) which rented them to Jewish settlements.

— 17,000 dunams were made "fire-zones" of the Israeli army to which entrance of Arabs is prohibited.

— 12,000 dunams, near the entrance to the village, which used to be the "commons" of Um El-Fahem — and as such were "written down" in the name of the Ottoman Sultan, and then in the name of the British High Commissioner — were also confiscated by the Israeli Land Authority and given to the "Jewish National Fund", which promptly began to plant a forest over them.

— The remaining 17,000 dunams are either the built-over area of the village itself, or scattered mountain areas unfit for agriculture. Apart from kitchen-gardens, there is no place for agriculture in Um El-Fahem, and the majority of its inhabitants work as labourers in the Jewish towns — mainly in Tel-Aviv and Haifa.

However the confiscated lands hem the village so closely that there is *literally no place to build new buildings*, either for the new families or for public use.

1. Request of the local council for return of 15 (fifteen !) dunams of its own land, for building schools and a clinic was denied.
2. Permissions for building new houses are denied systematically.
3. Request for land (which was championed by the "Advisor on Arab Affairs" to the Prime Minister) for industrial buildings was denied.
4. Request for some water (from wells in the stolen lands !), in order to cultivate better the plots between the village houses, was denied.

* * *

Israel Shahak presents even wider coverage in his supplemental material. He deals with a variety of topics, presents excerpts from and culls synopses of the Israeli-Hebrew press, and offers for serious consideration his personal, incisive commentaries. His range of topics to date has covered among other things: land confisca-

tion, numerous forms of oppression and of discrimination towards people in Israel, Meir Kahane and the Jewish Defense League in Israel, Moshe Dayan and his smuggling of antiquities, the United Jewish Appeal and the Jewish National Fund, Israel's relations with South Vietnam, Golda Meir's connections and deals with the Nixon administration, the status of Jordanian law in the West Bank, Arab workers in the conquered territories, new immigrants, the debts of Israel, racism, the Black Panthers, dissident Israeli youth, the military budget, the Arabs in East Jerusalem, the situation in the Gaza Strip, and the attempt of the Labor Party in Israel to take over the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights.

A typical Israel Shahak commentary, following a discussion of forms of Jewish racism in Israel, appeared in his December 15, 1972, bulletin:

"And a few final words on this topic I want to address to those of my readers who are Jews, like myself. It pains me very much that such great part of my people are in what I can only describe as a state of apostasy. Instead of worshipping God and only God, instead of following and being true to the idea of Justice, instead of remembering the saying of Hillel the Elder: 'Do not do to others what is hateful to yourself' — they are not only doing the reverse, not only taking refuge in the most crude tribalism and worship of force, but literally cutting the branch on which they are sitting. I should make it clear that for me this last consideration is not the most important. I do what I do, for I consider it my duty to say the truth and to strive for equal justice for all human beings. But since, obviously, for the majority of fellow-Jews, who worship the material State of Israel like our ancestors worshipped the Golden Calf and Baal, this consideration is not important, therefore, I say to them: By your hypocrisy and double-thinking, by your condoning and supporting racism and oppression, you are bringing a calamity on your own heads. Everything that is done to Palestinian-Arabs, with your encouragement and support *today*, will be done to yourselves *to-morrow*."

* * *

Those readers interested in acquiring full texts of materials put out by the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights and by Israel Shahak should write to:

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The Search for a Middle Ground in the Middle East

A program for the study of the Israeli-Arab Crisis

Instructions For Group Use

This program is designed for group use. It is best if each participant has his own copy, but adaptations may be made by the leader. You may want to spend several meetings on the topic (the leader and the group must decide where to stop each time) or you may try to do it all in one session.

Ask the participants to mark TRUE and FALSE to the 40 questions in the ATTITUDE EVALUATOR. If you do not have enough copies you will have to reproduce this so that there is an ATTITUDE EVALUATOR for each individual. Tabulation of the score from these questions will provide the member with an estimate of his predilections. You will find an answer SCORE SHEET for the ATTITUDE EVALUATOR included for your use. Follow the instructions and compute your score. Cut out the name tag which is found on Page 9, and write your score with your name on the FRONT of the tag.

The leader may now distribute the CRITICAL FACTORS. One to each person in each group of twelve, or two to people in groups of six. Please be sure to have all the *critical factors* represented in each group. Allow time for the silent reading of the CRITICAL FACTORS. The objective of the group discussion is to lower one's point score through *greater understanding*. Here is how it works.

If your score is 26 PRO . . . (Israeli or Palestinian) you can lower it by (1) acknowledging the validity of an opposing position, or (2) by conceding that some statements ascribed to your predilection are too extreme. Those who begin with low scores may act as arbiters for other members of the group. Under no circumstances should one abandon an honestly held viewpoint because of social pressure. As the discussion progresses and your mind changes (you could go to a higher score if you began very low) put the points (attached to the page with the Name Tag) down on the table when ever you hear something you think is valid and pick up others if you desire. You may pick up and put down whenever you hear something you feel is true. You are *not obliged* to tell anyone why you are doing or thinking what you are. The purpose of the CRITICAL FACTORS is to jolt your mental process.

The discussion might begin this way: "Well, obviously question three in the ATTITUDE EVALUATOR has to be TRUE (or FALSE)." Now the fat is in the fire. When the time for group discussion has come to an end the participants should turn their name tags over and fill out the necessary information on the BACK of the name tag. Following a general discussion such as this, everyone ought to be ready for dessert and coffee.

CONSTRUCTIVE AGGRESSION: A PERSPECTIVE

The Middle East in crisis appears to be as much a certainty of 20th-century life as death and taxes. After living and teaching in Tehran and Beirut for eight years, I realize more than ever how little we Americans actually understand the basic causes and immediate issues of the situation. Mindful of the fact that there can be constructive aggression* as well as the more familiar destructive aggression, I am presenting here a highly personal and, I hope, "aggressively constructive" approach to exploring the basic issues of the Israeli-Arab confrontation.

Instructions for the use of this guide—which may well serve as program material for a study group, as subject matter for a single meeting of a group, or as food for thought for the individual reader—appear on this page.

The statements used herein come from observations by knowledgeable members of the various communities, and every attempt has been made to avoid drawing conclusions that would be unacceptable to enlightened members of the involved parties. My intention is to cut through barriers—with no desire to hurt but, rather, with a hope to open the pathway to the necessary healing, painful though it may be.

In preparing this guide I have drawn heavily on my years of teaching in the Middle East, first in Tehran where many of my students came from wealthy Jewish families who had left Iraq for Iran in 1948, and later in Beirut where a large number of my students were from wealthy Palestinian families (some refugees and others from families still resident in Israel and occupied territory). Several of my students in Iran had left to serve in the Israeli Army in 1967. Two of my most delightful and intelligent students at the Beirut College for Women on the other hand, sold raffle tickets (in 1970) to help arm *El Fatah*.

*Constructive forms of aggression include cutting through barriers to initiate a relationship; confronting another without intent to hurt but with intent to penetrate into his consciousness; warding off powers that threaten one's integrity; actualizing one's own self and one's own ideas in hostile environments; overcoming the barriers to healing. (Rollo May, *Power and Innocence*.)

Evaluate Your Position On The Middle East Crisis

Radical? Moderate? Pro? Anti?

Answer the following 40 questions T (True) or F (False) according to your best judgment or guess, and then turn to the Evaluation Work Sheet and find out what you are.

-Most of the former Arab land inside Israel was bought and paid for by the Jews. (a)
-Arab freedom fighters have forced Israel to become an armed camp with limited amounts of personal freedom for the individual. (z)
-The Palestinian people have been betrayed by all Arab governments and the United Nations, therefore they must look to themselves and to violence for help in their cause. (y)
-The United Nations General Assembly is a pro-Arab arena reflecting an anti-Israel position in almost all matters. (c)
-There can be no peace in the Middle East without Arab recognition of Israel. (a)
-80% of Israel's total area and more than two-thirds of its cultivable land belonged to Arab refugees who are being prevented from returning to their property. (x)
-The Israeli willingness to work and live on the land has made it possible for the desert to bloom. (a)
-The Arab nations have settled a vast number of refugees, integrating them into their national life. (w)
-While Arab wages have risen inside Israel, the cost of living has almost completely erased the value of the advance. (w)
-Fair employment practices are carefully maintained for all people within Israel. (b)
-There can be no peace in the Middle East without Israel withdrawal from the occupied territories. (w)
-If the Palestinians believe in Arab nationalism they should be able to find a home anywhere in the Arab world. (b)
-The Jews, in the process of settling in Israel, are in fact returning to their traditional land as promised to them by God. (c)
-The Israelis falsely accuse the Arabs of Nazi affiliations during WW II and use anti-Semitism as a tool of international propaganda. (z)
-In employment, marriage, education, religion, citizenship and civil rights, the government of Israel discriminates against non-Jews. (x)
-The true aim of the Arabs and the anti-Zionists is to drive Israel into the Sea. (d)
-The 300,000 Moslem and Christian Arabs who are Israeli citizens are full citizens. (b)
-Any person who contributes money to Israel is a combatant and should expect counter-insurgent reprisals such as the receipt of letter-bombs. (z)
-During the 1967 war the very existence of the Jewish people was in jeopardy. (c)
-Israeli's next military target is the Litani river valley in Lebanon which is the real reason for the so-called attacks on the guerilla bases in the area. (y)
-The main obstacle to peace in the Middle East has been the intransigence of the Arab nations. (b)
-Israel wants peace and the Arabs want war. (d)
-The compensation being offered by the State of Israel for land confiscated after 1948 represents only a token of its real value. (x)
-Islam shows a basic hostility to Judaism going back to the teaching of Mohammad and the Koran, reflecting the Jewish refusal to join his religion. (d)
-The true cause of the Middle East crisis is that it represents the last phase of Western imperialism during which the Jews were encouraged to build a colony for themselves in the Arab world. (z)
-Americans do not understand that a Jewish state is an absolute necessity for the continued life of the religion in the 20th century. (d)
-The low incidence of sabotage in Israel shows the growing Israeli-Arab harmony in occupied territories. (a)
-No country in the world exhibits so pervasive a system of linkages between its military establishment and civilian agencies of its economy and social life as does Israel (c)
-Israel is determined to not only annex Jerusalem but to incorporate most of the land taken in 1967 in disregard of U.N. Security Council Resolution 242. (y)
-The Arabs who did not flee Palestine in 1948 have been living under a complex of legal restrictions. Their movements within and out of security zones are regulated by the military. (w)
-Israel is a religious state favoring the western (Ashkenazim) Jews over all other people. (y)
-After the Arabs fled from their lands in 1948, many of the Jews who were driven from Arab countries came to Israel, balancing the score. (b)
-Arab grown fruits and vegetables are often unclean because they are grown in human manure. (a)
-The Anti-Defamation League, originally designed to weed out anti-Semitism, now attempts to control all matters in the United States unfavorable to Israel's health. (y)
-The economic progress for Arabs in Israel has been exceptional and far beyond their hopes in the Arab world. (c)
-In 1970 the International Red Cross condemned Israel for its treatment of its subject population. (w)
-In 1956 and in 1967 Israel initiated a preventive war. (c)
-The main obstacle to peace in the Middle East has been the intransigence of the Israelis. (x)
-Many of those Arab refugees who have not been fully integrated into local life in Syria, Jordan and Lebanon are manifesting their desire to maintain Palestinian national integrity. (x)
-Most people who say that they are anti-Zionist are in fact anti-Semitic. (c)

Critical Factor I: Judaism

Judaism is a world religion with adherents of varied racial stocks among all nations, with major and minor divisions roughly paralleling those of Christendom. Its major tenets, as summarized by the Jewish Arab scholar Maimonides (A.D. 1135-1204), are: existence of God, who is creator of all things, indivisible, incorporeal, eternal, omniscient, with foreknowledge and whom, alone, man is obligated to worship and serve; existence of prophesy, and the superiority of the prophecy of Moses above all others; immutability of the Torah (law); reward and punishment according to one's deeds; coming of the Messiah; resurrection of the dead.* Strict Jews still observe the Sabbath, major festivals, and certain social and dietary regulations.

The State of Israel has never legally defined a Jew, but it does guarantee full citizenship, under the right to settle in Israel, to all Jews throughout the world. Many Jewish people conceived of themselves as an actual nation long before the foundation of modern Israel. Latterly Israel has assumed the responsibility to speak on behalf of all

Jews and to protect the rights of Jews in Diaspora (outside Israel). Many Jews who do not identify themselves with the specifically religious traditions of Judaism do affiliate ethnically with the nationality epitomized in the new State whereas some Orthodox Jews refuse to acknowledge Israel because of its secularity. Other Jews regard the nationality as only that of a land they live in.

Two Jewish sociologists define a Zionist position thus: Israel is the national home of the Jewish people, their cultural center, the only place where they can live a normal life. Jews throughout the world share a common destiny. They have an obligation to live in Israel, and their emigration from Israel should be condemned.**

*Cf. R. . Zwi Werblowsky, "Judaism," *Concise Encyclopaedia of Living Faiths*, ed. R. C. Zaehner (London, 1959).

**Cf. F. S. Shervov and P. Ritterband, "Analysis of Migration Israel," *Jewish Social Studies* (1970), p. 218.

Critical Factor II: The Covenant with Abraham

Considerable differences of opinion emerge on the Abrahamic Covenant of the 20th century B.C. when people discuss the Middle East problem of the 20th century A.D.: The Bible tells us "Abram passed through the land to the place at Shechem, to the oak of Moreh. At that time the Canaanites were in the land. Then the Lord appeared to Abram and said, 'To your descendants I will give this land.' So he built there an altar to the Lord, who had appeared to him" (Gen. 12:6-7, R.S.V.)

The Bible also tells us that later, in the days of the prophet Ezekiel, the Lord revoked his promises to Israel because the Israelites had engaged in the same sins that had previously cost the Canaanites—the earlier inhabitants of the area—the land (Ezek. 33:23-29). Saying that a new covenant—one of the heart—would be necessary to establish the people of God in the post-exilic period, Jeremiah emphasized that God had an equal concern for all inhabitants of Palestine (Jer. 12:14-17). But the question remains: Who are the "descendants" of Abraham? Jews of any ethnic stock throughout the world? The numerous

Middle Eastern peoples* who claim him as their physical ancestor? Christians who consider themselves spiritual heirs of Abraham?

Further, can an ancient religious event be cited to justify a political activity of the 20th century? To ascribe a political value to a Divine promise creates a "static" God and hence requires a literal interpretation of all biblical laws and actions. And it raises more questions: What sin did the Arabs (Muslim and Christian) commit which caused them to lose the land? Does God act in this fashion?

Modern Christians have been torn between rejoicing with their Jewish friends in the establishment of the new Israel, and the sorrowing at the fact that its creation displaced other inhabitants of the Holy Land.

*Cf. J. M. Fennelly, "An Air for Abram's Lute, on a Theme from an Heir for Abram's Land," *Study Guide to United Presbyterian Report on Peoples and Conflict in the Middle East* (Philadelphia, 1973).

Critical Factor III: Anti-Semitism and the State of Israel

Anti-semitism is abhorrent to the sensitive Christian. Jews who are devoted to the cause of Israel—on emotional, ethnic, political, and religious grounds—see the ugly specter of anti-semitism beneath criticisms of Israel by non-Jews.

And yet it was an important factor in the creation of modern Israel. Theodor Herzl, founder of Zionism and the spiritual father of Israel, made declared anti-semitism an aspect of non-Jew's character. None the less, he saw in it the advantage of requiring Jews to show how it might be a benefit because it necessitates banding together, thus strengthening their "Jewishness" and restricting the much-feared "assimilation" into other cultures. Thus anti-semitism, although hated by Jews since it threatens their freedom, has been co-opted as a grain of sand to make a pearl. At the same time, a dangerously thin space has been accorded to those who wish to stand between the contending forces. One is labeled pro-Israeli or anti-Semitic. Some form of middle ground must be established so that we may begin to discuss the issues with integrity.

Nineteenth-century western Judaism accepted the concept of all men as equal citizens of the modern geographical state, in contrast to the earlier view that man was primarily a member of a religious community. The East did not experience this change of attitude.

In the latter half of the 20th century, many western Jews consider dual nationality a necessity for survival in the religio-nationalistic secular western society. "Christian" America must be convinced, it is stressed, of the need for a Jewish Israel as a fact of Jewish life. However, few people in Israel or in the American Diaspora wish to face the question: In an encounter of disparate aims between America and Israel, to whom will final fealty be given? The belief of the Israeli government that in such a crisis American Jewry would choose America over Israel has a strong effect on Israeli policy and allows the American Jewish community, ultimately, enormous influence in the Mediterranean. It is a source of popular irritation in Israel.

Critical Factor IV: Arab and Muslim

The Arabs, a diverse people united by a common language, are an hegemony of many cultures, religions and racial stocks. The vast majority of Arabs are Muslim, but within the highly prized unity of Islam is room for a great variety of belief. Two great Muslim nations that are not Arab (and in fact are often anti-Arab) are the Persians of Iran and the people of Turkey.

Arabs, like Europeans, while being "brothers" have often been at war with each other. In Cairo, for instance, the people are more Egyptian than Arab, and they ally themselves with or against the Palestinians according to their own best interests. Syrians and Jordanians have much in common, but Syria considers the Hashemite Kingdom a spurious European encroachment upon its rightful territory. The arbitrary boundaries established by European governments following World War I have never been genuinely accepted in the Middle East. King Hussein's family, leaders of the Arab revolt against the Turks in 1914, were not native to the Jordan River's east bank, but as a reward were given a territory to rule which fitted British strategy. Sociologically, Palestine and Lebanon

form a unit, but the delicate balance of religion (theoretically 51% Christian and 49% Muslim) within the Lebanese government precludes a union with the mostly Muslim Palestinians.

Islam accepts the unique revelation from the one God as given by Muhammad (as given earlier to Jews by Moses, to Christians by Jesus). Culturally, eastern Jews, Muslims, and Christians are indistinguishable, although Jews and Christians have maintained their individuality within the Islamic society. In the search for middle ground, it is essential to maintain (against Arab protests) a distinction between Arab, Muslim, and nationalistic goals. The first two are invoked by all, but the third is the true source of energy. The Syrian support for the Palestinians when they were fighting King Hussein's Bedouin army (in September 1970), while Lebanon watched in fear and Israel stood mobilized to aid the King if his American arms were insufficient—until Cairo entered as the ultimate arbitrator is a superb illustration. *Rapprochement* is possible.

Critical Factor V: Holocaust and the Land

The Holocaust of World War II convinced many European Jews that only a Jewish nation would preserve Jewish rights in a highly nationalistic age. Christian Europe had created states to the benefit of the economic and social progress of the ethnic majority. Similar benefits, it was argued, would be accorded Jews only in a Jewish state.

It was the same logic that had established Liberia in Africa for emancipated Blacks. It had a great appeal among the Jews of eastern Europe, but less (except emotionally) to American Jews who were being assimilated into the economic and social fabric of American life with only limited restrictions. The desire for a "land of our

own" for cultural and economic development was wedded to the religious sentiment for the ancient land, and the two were fused into one by the horror of the Nazi Holocaust, creating modern Zionism.

The primary difficulty with the common goal resulting from this fusion of needs is that the land which the Jews sought to colonize was inhabited by another people. Alternate areas of the world were offered to fulfill the Jewish desire for a geographical nation, but these seemed always beyond practical consideration because the new nation needed the symbol of "return" to the ancient land to provide unity of purpose among its otherwise diverse people.

Critical Factor VI: Jerusalem and the Shrines

Jerusalem, a holy city for three religions, is a conglomerate of shrines and memorials, physical expressions of spiritual value that have never existed independent of political concerns. Relegated to the category of objects for the devotion of faithful pilgrims in normal times, in periods of tension shrines and what they symbolize provide the "unequivocal cause" for violent action. The most secular of men will fight and die for "religious rights" which they daily ignore.

Jerusalem furnishes the Jews with two major shrines: the Wailing Wall, which is a vestige of the ruins of Solomon's Temple; and Jerusalem itself, regarded as a symbol of the sanctity of Jewish nationalism and a demonstrable sign of the strength of political Zionism.

Old Jerusalem as a city is also a large spread-out Christian shrine, predominately Orthodox in character. The Holy Sepulcher Church is host to five Eastern rites

and the Latins, and is the site of devotion for hundreds of thousands of visitors.

Jerusalem has within it a major Muslim shrine: the famous al Aqsa Mosque built by Caliph 'Umar from the ruins of the Herodian Temple, near the spot where, tradition states, the Prophet Muhammad ascended into heaven for his night visit to Paradise.

At the present time the Israeli authorities are striving to preserve the integrity of all shrines while they restructure the population so as to guarantee a resident Jewish presence in the area. The Muslim and Christian presence in the old city is becoming that of the visitor, not the resident. The Mosque and the churches of Ramleh remain inviolate after 25 years of Israeli rule, safe but empty, and boarded up, because the *people* have been forced to leave.

Critical Factor VII: New York and Tel Aviv

The two major centers of modern Jewry—Israel and New York representing the “homeland” and the “Diaspora”—live side by side in harmony and in tension. For the past twenty-five years, formation of the homeland has absorbed both Israelis and Diaspora Jewry, but the still unresolved culture crisis is apparent—observable, for instance, through language. In Israel the official language is Hebrew, and other Jewish tongues (e.g., Ladino and Yiddish) are discouraged, for the sake of unity. But in the Diaspora, wherein Hebrew is often a “foreign” language, the Yiddish arts are flourishing with renewed vigor. Culturally unwilling to emigrate, the American Jew (some 5 million strong in the metropolitan New York Diaspora) seeks to “keep the promise” to Israel by guaranteeing

American support for Israel, contributing financially to Israel, buying a house there (which he doesn't live in), sending his children to kibbutz for the summer, and purchasing Israeli-made goods.

As might be expected, New York and Tel Aviv are beginning to separate from each other. Because of the diaspora-homeland dichotomy and the tender feelings just behind the solid phalanx of the unquestioning support of Israel, the American Jewish community has for the moment lost objectivity and rational evaluation of the Middle East crisis. In discussions concerning the socio-religious issues facing modern Judaism, one must remain careful to make a distinction between nation, people, ethnic feeling, culture, and state.

Critical Factor VIII: Civil Rights and the Recognition of People

Israel's right to exist and Palestinian legal rights are the immediate factors defying peace in the Middle East. Until Arabs recognize Israel (or Israel disappears) and Israel recognizes Palestinian legal rights (or Palestinians disappear) peace cannot come.

Some Israeli Arabs, with valid receipts and deeds for property, may apply through the Israel Justice Ministry for indemnity upon relinquishment of all claim to the land.

Arab governments cannot give diplomatic recognition to Israel without subverting Palestinian legal rights in “occupied territory.” International law (UN) is maintained as long as recognition is withheld.

Israel, which of necessity operates outside international law, claims the UN is “unfriendly” to her.

The U.S. State Department is working for a *quid pro quo* that will relax tension without jeopardizing international law.

Israel wants to freeze the legal situation and so create a *de facto* legality to its own benefit. But Israel also knows she must have access to Arab markets for her own economic prosperity.

While the international status of Israel is frozen because of the current hostility, the civil rights of Arabs in Israel are also frozen under the Emergency Regulations established by the British (1933-39), and condemned by the Hebrew Lawyers' Union in February 1946 (*sic*) as follows:

The powers given to the ruling authority in the emergency regulations deny the inhabitants of Palestine their basic human rights. These regulations undermine the foundation of law and justice, they constitute a serious danger to individual freedom, they institute a regime of arbitrariness without any judicial supervision.*

In most parts of metropolitan Israel no Arab can remain overnight in the city without a pass. The primary right of *habeas corpus* has been rescinded in regard to Arabs under the Emergency Regulations which were designed to maintain law and order when the British Colonial Office was faced by intransigent natives.

*Cf. H. Holzman, *The Security Laws in the Occupied Territories* (Tel Aviv), p. 77.

Critical Factor IX: Palestinians

There has always been a Jewish presence in Palestine, but the residents of the “promised land” at the time of the creation of Israel were largely Arab Muslims and Christians. With only an amorphous consciousness of “national” identity, with no history of self-government, these Palestinians looked to established Arab governments for assistance when they found themselves in conflict with the new State of Israel.

Duplicity on the part of the Arab governments (and of their various western supporters) left the Palestinians undefended and created a climate of fear which induced many of them to flee in panic before the advancing Israeli troops. Such flight was to the benefit of settler-conscious Israel and was encouraged by them. As Israeli/Arab hostility grew, many Jews fled Arab lands to the new State of Israel, leaving a weakened Jewish population inside Arab borders.

Since 1967 the Palestinians have developed an identity and a personal independence as the persecuted people of the Middle East. Among the most vocal and highly educated of Arab peoples (because of the British mandate education system), Palestinians have become a danger to everyone because they have abandoned conservative principles and are demanding a complete social revolution in the entire Arab world. Arab governments are privately hostile to Palestinians because they wish to protect themselves as a corrupt incumbent bureaucracy, but are publicly forced to praise them and espouse the socialist causes. The Palestinian peace plan for the Middle East calls for a total revolution, with terrorism a necessary tool and the destruction of all puppet Arab governments, followed by a massive social reform. They would then join hands with the Israeli socialists and establish a secular state with equal opportunity for all.

Critical Factor X: Economic Progress

Israel has most of the semblances of a modern western state. The nation's economic growth has been among the world's highest in the post-World War II period, but the local economy has not accounted for this outstanding record; rather, in the period 1948-68 there was a 7½ billion dollar import surplus (i.e., foreign economic aid).

The rapid industrial development of Israel and its policy of massive encouragement to immigrants have created a serious labor problem. Skilled and semi-skilled western immigrants receive greater benefits than do the unskilled workers from the eastern Jewish community. The middle-class Arab has found it increasingly difficult inside Israel, because a large portion of the economic sector is state-owned and preferential employment is given to citizens whose loyalty is beyond question. Unskilled labor is provided by resident Arabs and day laborers who come from Gaza and the West Bank. Unskilled eastern Jews seek better positions but are in need of education and industrial training before they qualify. Training pro-

grams are in operation, but it is far less expensive to settle a highly trained immigrant than to educate orientals to meet western standards.

Unskilled Arab workmen in Israel have experienced an enormous growth in cash income, but a 200% rise in the cost of living has negated the benefit. Cash compensation being offered to some Arabs for land lost in 1948 does not properly recognize the inflation which has afflicted the country.

The industrially underdeveloped Arab world can exist well without Israel. Its economic growth can be financed by oil profits (and a slow rate of growth tends to ensure the political privileges of a limited ruling class). This scheme is expensive for the West and disastrous for Israel, which needs a massive market in a politically stable Arab world if it is to free itself of reliance on western economic aid.

Radical Middle Eastern socialist forces threaten the entire structure.

Critical Factor XI: Refugees

Middle Eastern refugees comprise three major groups: Jews who fled Europe after the Holocaust, Jews from the Arab world who fled persecution following the foundation of Israel in 1948, and Palestinians who fled in the face of Israeli settlement. These groups contain both rich and poor, educated and illiterate.

Many skilled Jews (from both groups) and Palestinians who had the necessary wealth went to the U.S.A. Whereas numerous trained Palestinians found employment in the surrounding Arab lands, a large number of the eastern Jews found shelter and prosperity in Israel, Iran and South and East Africa. In the Middle East the refugees are separated, but in other parts of the world they live and work side by side. These refugees are not always vocal about the "cause," since they are intent upon assimilation into their new land. There are a vast number of Palestinian refugees living in the U.S.A. as American citizens. New York City also currently houses upward of 100,000 Israeli citizens (many of whom are using that passport as a bridge

to U.S. citizenship) who chose life in the Diaspora over that homeland.

The refugees who at the heart cause the crisis are none of these, but rather, those who have refused to be assimilated. Encouraged by the hope that they might one day return to their homes, they have developed a "refugee culture" which lives in the twilight zone between assimilation and national distinctiveness.

The refugee problem is that of a genuine culture which has evolved to protect the rights of the Palestinian poor while they seek a rapprochement with the Israelis and the Arab governments. Financial, educational, and medical aid to these Palestinian poor, while spoken of in humanitarian terms, is maintained by the knowledge that the termination of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency program would set loose one million revolutionists who would destroy all existing Arab governments while engulfing Israel in the flames.

Critical Factor XII: Terrorism

Terrorism is deplorable because it involves innocent individuals in situations of unwarranted danger. The terrorist, through his actions, informs the uninvolved citizen of his involvement in a social crisis which he otherwise would ignore. Terrorism can be ended only by resolving the issues through which it festers. Palestinian terrorists have informed the world Jewish community of its moral culpability. Diaspora Judaism and Israel alike share the responsibility, the Palestinians say. If Diaspora Judaism refuses to accept moral culpability, then it must make a clear separation between religion and nationalism.

Terrorism has not been a one-sided issue in the Middle East. It was practiced by the Jews before 1940 against the British and the Palestinians. Indeed, it was heroic in the film *Exodus*. Terrorism has had two major effects on Israeli life: It has created a vast system of check-points and identity passes which subjects all Palestinians to close

scrutiny and surveillance, creating a security-conscious state. (When 1/3 of a nation's population are regarded as potential saboteurs one must either establish a police state or realign the distribution of power). It has also drawn the Arab community closer together and pushed it toward the radical left. Dr. George Habash of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine is a representative figure. A medical student at the American University of Beirut, he was home for summer vacation in 1948 to participate in the grim exodus of Arabs from his home village of Lydda (now the site of Lod International Airport) and from neighboring Ramleh. He then served for several years as a medical doctor among the refugees in Amman, Jordan, before becoming politically radicalized. Habash and his Arab nationalists are the ones who captured and destroyed the Jumbo Jets without a loss of life, but with the destruction of millions of dollars of property.

Evaluation Work Sheet:

Mark the number *TRUE* in the following categories:

(a) (b) (c) (d) (w) (x) (y) (z)

Now multiply these totals by the factors listed below and write the sum in the space provided.

x1 x2 x3 x4 x1 x2 x3 x4

Add these and write the total for a-d.

Add these and write the total for w-z.

Pro Israeli

Pro-Palestinian

Total.....

Total.....

Subtract the smaller sum from the larger one and evaluate yourself on the following basis:

- 40-50 *Violently radical*—Jewish Defense League member.
- 40-30 *Committed to a Cause*—Ashkenazi Israeli, UJA Bond Salesman, Herzl Foundation.
- 30-20 *Strongly Partisan*—American Jewish Committee.
- 20-10 *Partisan but open*—Not a member of anything but . . . and yet . . .!
- 10- 0 *Moderate* . . . but slightly pro-Israeli.
- 0-10 *Moderate* . . . but slightly pro-Palestinian.
- 10-20 *Partisan but open*—Not a member of anything but . . . and yet . . .!
- 20-30 *Strongly Partisan*—Fifth of June Society.
- 30-40 *Committed to a Cause*—Member of Fateh, Palestinian Liberation Organization.
- 40-50 *Violently radical*—Black September, Popular Democratic Front for Liberation of Palestine.

Let the Moderate beware! He might think himself thus because out of ignorance he marked all the answers in the quiz FALSE, or left too many blanks!

Neither ignorance or lack of committment can allow you to describe yourself as a genuine moderate.

Score name tag front

Score name tag back

HELLO

GOODBY

My name is:

My name is:

My score is:

My score changed:

(points)

PRO

(Palestinian)
or
(Israeli)

(plus or minus)

(number of points)

Cut out — Score Points — Cut out

Palestinian Palestinian Palestinian Palestinian Palestinian

Israeli Israeli Israeli Israeli Israeli

Cut out

Fold

Cut out

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Additional bibliography is unlimited. Well-informed Arab and Jewish friends alike urge recommending the long-time best seller by Collins and Lapierre, *O Jerusalem* (I know a number of people mentioned in the book) with the admonition that it glorifies the Israeli victory too much.

The famous Quaker Report, *A Search for Peace in the Middle East*, is not without faults (it does not really face the problem of violence) but is a conscientious and conciliatory guide. I do not recommend the present form of the preliminary Presbyterian report as a source of Middle Eastern information; its thrust to reconcile American Christians and Jews, while important in itself, has been allowed to overshadow the issues overseas; the Task Force that produced it plans to have an ampler draft for submission in May, 1974.

One of the best books I have read of the recent group to be published is both blatantly anti-Israeli, starkly honest about the Arab government intrigues, duplicity, and confusion leading up to the June War in 1967. It was written by an American Jew who was converted to Islam before becoming editor of the English language newspaper in Arab Jerusalem, Jordan, up until June 1967 when the paper ceased to exist. *The Fall of Jerusalem* is by Abdullah Schleifer, Monthly Review Press, 1972.

Maxime Rodinson's *Israel and the Arabs* is now in Penguin Paperback.

The Theodor Herzl Foundation publishes *Midstream: A Monthly Jewish Review* which sets forth the "pure" Zionist position. The *Journal of Palestinian Studies* is a worthwhile publication for those who want to see the "pure" Palestinian position. Popular articles appear in the mass circulation journal *Commentary*, although the *Journal of Jewish Social Studies* has much more scholarly material.

Professor Norton Mezvinsky provides an interesting service as editor of *KNOW* (11 Fales Street, Hartford, Connecticut 06105) which sends out six-eight pages of translations from the Hebrew Language Press in Israel. General comments from the international press are gathered by James and Deborah Fine (Room 610, 475 Riverside Drive, NYC 10027) in *The Middle East News Review*.

* * *

There are no simple answers to the EVALUATION QUESTIONS on page 6 which were designed to be ambiguous. The CRITICAL FACTORS are not explicitly related to the EVALUATION QUESTIONS, leaving the concerned reader to explore independently the issues. One temptation in the preparation of this topic was to expand and proliferate rather than to edit and simplify. In formulating the CRITICAL FACTORS I am not in complete agreement with some of the generalizations and details which I found it necessary to set forth. The search is for a *middle ground*. The program seeks to initiate a conversation, not to provide a solution. Reconciliation demands a knowledgeable starting point. Hopefully this is a step in that direction. Zero score is not the Truth. It is only an arbitrary point in the discussion. The author does not assume to know the TRUTH which may lie 10-20 points on one side of the division.

Additional copies of this program are available at bulk prices for group use by writing to Americans For Middle East Understanding, Room 538, 475 Riverside Drive, New York City, N. Y. 10027.



The Reverend Dr. James M. Fennelly, Ph.D. is missionary-in-residence for the Synod of New York of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. In September of 1972 he returned from the Middle East, and promptly turned yellow with hepatitis, which he claims he contracted in Nazareth. *Can any thing good come out of Nazareth?*

He was Chaplain and teacher of Religion at the Community School in Tehran, Iran, from 1962-1965, after which he went to England, accepting the Research Studentship in Theology at the University of Manchester. He successfully defended his Ph.D. Thesis on the afternoon of June 5, 1967, after assuring all standing out in the hall that there would be no war in the Middle East. During 1968-1969 he studied Persian and began to teach in the Mehr School of the Evangelical Church in Iran. He and his wife lived on the "street of religious minorities" down from the Fire Temple, around the corner from the Synagogue and across from the Evangelical Church. In 1969 he became Assistant Professor of Religion at the Beirut College for Women in Lebanon. He also taught Church History at the Near East School of Theology. He has traveled extensively in the Middle East, and has lived several times in remote villages while engaged in archaeological research in association with expeditions sponsored by various American Universities. He has begun to teach Comparative Religion at Adelphi University on Long Island, N. Y.

Book Review:**A TALE OF TWO HAMLETS**

Berem and Iqrit; by Edwin M. Wright, 16 pp. Northeast Ohio Committee on Middle East Understanding (NOCMEU), 1973. Free.

Gentile minorities in Israel are an embarrassing obstacle to all who are working to transform the Holy Land of three faiths into a ghetto for one ethnic group. Native Palestinian Christians are among those who have consequently suffered both popular indignities and official discrimination.

Reporting on his visit to the Arab areas conquered in 1948-9, John Cogley (later to become religion editor of the *N.Y. Times*) wrote from the Jewish state:

"In a word, it seems that the same kind of fanaticism and almost psychotic ill-will that are turned into anti-Semitic channels in the U.S. are manifested in anti-Christian outbursts over here.

"More serious because it is more official is the periodic destruction of Christian Arab villages by Israeli military authorities." (*Commonweal*, Jan. 22, 1954)

Among the villages he described were Berem (Kafr-Biram) and Iqrit (Ikret). Berem was destroyed, its parish church pillaged, the debris sold for junk. Iqrit's people were evacuated from their homes by military order.

"They were promised that they would be permitted to return in only a few weeks. A couple of years passed while these Arab Catholics — themselves Israeli citizens — waited in their bare, comfortless temporary quarters. Finally they took the matter to the highest court of the land and were given a court order permitting them to return to their homes. That was shortly before Christmas, 1951. But before they could move back to their homes, Israeli airplanes dropped bombs on their abandoned town, destroying everything.

"Whether from malice or not no one can say, but the date chosen for the destruction of the wholly Christian village was December 25th. . . . The 'Christmas present' of 1951 will long be bitterly remembered by Israel's Christians."

Those events are, indeed, still remembered. But the bitterness has been somewhat assuaged by the support the uprooted villagers have latterly received from Law Dean Rubenstein of Tel Aviv, "prominent Jewish intellectuals, demonstrative youth, the daily newspaper *Ha'aretz*" and others. This is just one of the many insights one gains from Edwin Wright's *A Tale of*

Two Hamlets, which brings the Berem-Iqrit story up to date.

Especially heartwarming is his account of how that support suddenly became newsworthy in the summer of 1972, rallying behind Archbishop Raya's movement to establish the right of Israeli Christians to return to their homes. There were, expectably, attendant problems. For instance:

"When (Raya) announced services would be held in the abandoned Iqrit church, the police moved in and arrested the worshippers for 'trespassing'."

Other approaches were similarly stifled. Finally, however, "with the advice of his Jewish supporters," the archbishop "organized a mass march to Jerusalem to present 'the petition to return' to Mrs. Golda Meir." Her reaction was to label this a Communist effort, acquiescence in which would set a dangerous precedent, with "Zionist values" bound to suffer. Wright summarizes the events that followed thus:

"With many Israeli Jews giving support to the request of the villagers of Berem and Iqrit, Prime Minister Meir finally agreed to allow the Israeli Cabinet to review the case — but only on the condition that the decision of the Cabinet must be irrevocable and final. So, on the eve of the Cabinet meeting the last week in July, 1972, the two communities addressed a long appeal to Mrs. Meir.

"They recalled how hospitably they had greeted the Israeli army in November, 1948; that in illegal violation of the promises made by the government of Israel they had been evicted from their homes; that the Israeli Supreme Court had vindicated their right to return but they had been prevented from so doing; that their sons had served in the Israeli army and police and some had been killed in the service; that many Israelis recognized the justice of their plea and had testified to their loyalty.

"The issue could therefore not be one of security. What was at stake was the honor of the State of Israel in its promises. They believed the Cabinet would recognize the justice of their case. On July 23, 1972, their letter of appeal was, however, supported by only four members of the Cabinet. The rest voted with Mrs. Meir who argued that

the return of land now occupied by Jews was an erosion of the Zionist ideal. But the Cabinet decision was to prohibit the right of Return for these two Christian communities forever!! . . .

"Discouraged by twenty-five years of such discrimination as is illustrated in the Berem-Iqrit incident and disillusioned with empty promises, Palestinian Christians see no hopeful future in Israel and are migrating to other lands where they hope to find equality."

This final outcome Wright sees as thoroughly in line with the intentions of Theodor Herzl, father of modern nationalist Zionism. In his *Diaries*, Herzl had stressed the necessity of forcing the "miserable inhabitants" out of Palestine in order to create a *goyimrein* (gentile free) Jewish Fatherland. The one bright spot, as in the days of Elijah (whom King Ahab called, "you troubler of Israel"), is the considerable evidence that even today there may be "7000 in Israel" who have not bowed to Baal (I Kings 18:17; 19:18).

Dr. Wright's long educational, military and diplomatic record in, and researches on, the Middle East led to his receiving the State Department's Superior Merit Award in 1964. His documentation for this booklet (which covers many significant matters not touched on in this review) is impeccable, and he has double-checked his conclusions with many other authorities. I find the tailpiece especially revealing:

"Months before publication, the original manuscript for this booklet was submitted to the Israeli Embassy with a request for comments on its accuracy. As we go to press, we have received no corrections from that source."

You may order *A Tale of Two Hamlets* from NOCMEU, Box 16904, Cleveland, Ohio 44116. No price is charged, but it would be considerate if you were to enclose a dollar bill to cover printing and postage for several copies. —L. Humphrey Walz

Seminar

RELIGION, NATIONALISM AND THE MIDDLE EAST is the theme for a three-day seminar at Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, August 20-23. For details, write *Link*.

Middle East International

Middle East International is a well written, accurate monthly magazine covering fascinating and important aspects of the Middle East in today's world. Published in England, it is too little known in the U.S.A. We have therefore asked its editors to send copies of its current issue to randomly selected 20% of *Link* readers. If you are one of the fortunate recipients, you are sure to find it stimulating and useful—sufficiently, we trust, to lead you to subscribe. If you have *not* received a sample copy, simply write to M.E. International, P.O. Box 128, New Canaan, Connecticut 06840, saying you're a *Link* reader who'd like one.

IN BRIEF

Several very active groups were omitted from the list of active organizations given in the November/December 1972 *Link*. Once more readers are strongly urged to write to any one or more of these groups for inquiries on membership, subscription and/or additional information. A more comprehensive listing of groups with varying degrees of interest in Middle Eastern affairs is being updated regularly and may be obtained by writing directly to *The Link*. Readers and friends are kindly requested to communicate to this newsletter any information they may have on the activities of groups operating in their area. This will enable us to put more people in touch with each other.

Some Active Groups and Organizations

American Friends of the M.E., 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Wash-

ington, D.C. 20036. (Note address correction.)

Durham-Chapel Hill Friends of the M.E., 1107 Watts Street, Durham, N.C. 27701.

The Holy Land Center, Inc., in temporary quarters at 9 Sniffen Court, New York, N.Y. 10016. Permanent address will be announced later. (The Holy Land Center announces that their annual Christmas party earned \$900 which will be devoted to aid to Palestinian refugee children.)

M.E. Fellowship of Southern California, 4832 Cochran Street, Santa Susana, California 93063.

M.E. Foundation, 185 Roundtoft Drive, Salt Lake City, Utah 84103.

Journals, Magazines and Newsletters

The Arab Tribune
302 East Central Avenue
Toledo, Ohio 43608

Published quarterly in
Toledo and Beirut.

International news
magazine, official voice
of the International Arab
Federation.

Tours

AMEU is assisting in the preparation of four special interest tours.

For more information about special opportunities for travel to the Middle East, please write AMEU's Travel Consultant, Miss Helen Cassile, Room 538, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027.

Lecture Tours

Father Joseph L. Ryan, noted educator, lecturer and Middle East expert will be returning to the States from the Middle East this fall. He will be available for lectures in October and November. Those interested in having Father Ryan visit their community are asked to write to John Cummings, P. O. Box 25, Tufts University Station, Medford, Massachusetts 02153, for full information.

New Book

THE FALL OF JERUSALEM by Abdullah Schleifer. 247 pages. \$3.45 paperback. Monthly Review Press. New York, New York, 1972. Our price, \$2.50.

Of this book, Lew Scudder, writing in *The Middle East Newsletter*, says "Schleifer operates with a fund of knowledge and experience such as few men can or ever bother to acquire. The width and depth of his information gives his composition a very forceful kind of three-dimensional validity. Knowledge is blended smoothly with Schleifer's political maturity to yield an almost surrealistically sharp depiction of events preceding, leading into and through the fall of Jerusalem."

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THE LINK

aims at maintaining contacts among Americans who believe that friendship with the people of the Middle East is essential to world peace, who would contribute to this goal by spreading understanding of the history, values, religions, culture and economic conditions of the Middle East, and who would—in this context—press for greater fairness, consistency and integrity in U.S. policy toward that area.



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