

# THE LINK

PUBLISHED BY AMERICANS FOR MIDDLE EAST UNDERSTANDING

Room 538, 475 Riverside Drive, N.Y., N.Y. 10027

Volume 7, Number 1

January/February, 1974

## Arab Oil and the "Zionist Connection"

by Jack Forsyth

"We may have to stand up to the United States over the nature of our borders," Israel's Gen. Moshe Dayan told his Tel Aviv audience. "It will not be easy, but we will not accept Washington dictates. Even South Vietnam didn't accept dictation from Washington, and we are not South Vietnam!" Then, referring to the American Diaspora, the Israeli defense minister added: "If we have to, we will mobilize the Jewish community." The scene was an Israeli Bar Association meeting, Nov. 23, 1973.

It was a remarkable moment. Seldom had an Israeli official of cabinet rank so bluntly revealed the usually well-concealed linkage between the Israeli government and its chief foreign benefactor, the American Jewish community. This "Zionist Connection" has traditionally been a secret affair only uneasily shared with outsiders.

These days, however, those who would wield the Zionist Connection do so more openly. During the last months of the 1972 American presidential campaign, for example, Israel's ambassador to Washington, Gen. Yitzhak Rabin, vigorously stumped Jewish groups for the re-election of President Nixon. Rabin's intrusion into American politics was a clear violation of the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation between this country and Israel. The 1954 treaty specifically denies Israel the right "to engage in political activities" in the United States. But no matter. Rabin easily survived his "indiscretion." Indeed, Rabin made it seem almost natural that an Israeli ambassador should join in the American democratic process.

Thus it was that the Israeli defense minister's threat to "mobilize the Jewish community" last November passed almost unnoticed in the United

States, despite its bearing on the Geneva peace talks. Although the Associated Press reported it from Tel Aviv, Dayan's comments were buried in a "Mideast Roundup" put out from the AP's head office in New York City.

### Strategy for "Disaster"

Too bad. Too bad for the AP for demonstrating such dull, imperceptive news judgment. Too bad for the news-consuming American public, who deserve to be better informed. Too bad for the American Jewish community, which at least ought to want to know when it is about to be manipulated. And too bad for every American, regardless of his religion or politics, who may not agree exactly with how General Dayan and Israel's other leaders would pursue "peace" in the Middle East.

The reason it's "too bad" is because General Dayan's strategy, which became Israel's strategy, has turned out to be a disaster. The October War, and the application of the Arab oil weapon that followed the war, are both developments that Dayan promised would never happen. Their occurrence, which destroyed three years of Israeli policy development, should alert the United States, and most importantly its American Jewish community, to the dangers of responding uncritically to the Zionist Connection.

It was in 1970 that General Dayan began to put together Israel's first definitive strategy concerning the Arabs and the Middle East. For three years Israel had drifted in indecision following the 1967 Six-Day War. The Israeli government was split over what to do about the conquered Arab territories, and every major Israeli politician had his own "map" tucked in his pocket that defined where the new borders ought to be drawn. American vagueness about the necessity of returning

all the Arab territory acted to reinforce Israel's emotional inclination to keep them.

If the Arabs had possessed collectively the political maturity and cleverness to sit down with Israel immediately after the 1967 war, they might have negotiated the return of almost all their territory. But the Arabs were not capable of doing that, just as the Israelis were not capable later of deciding just what territories they should hand back. As long as the Arabs laid down preconditions to a peace conference that required the return of everything — a logical result of their overwhelming support at the United Nations — then Israel could continue to refuse such preconditions and to put off indefinitely the politically onerous task of deciding on the country's new borders.

### Rogers Plan Fizzles

This was the dynamics of the Arab-Israeli no-war, no-peace stalemate until Dayan killed any lingering hopes for a peace settlement with his new strategy. The American peace initiative undertaken by then Secretary of State William P. Rogers in December 1969 succeeded in stopping Egypt's "war of attrition" against Israel along the Suez Canal. But clumsy American diplomacy concerning the terms of the August 1970 cease-fire allowed Dayan eventually to neutralize the U.S. peace effort.

The Rogers Plan, as it became known, specified that Israel should withdraw from all Egypt's Sinai Peninsula and from most of Jordan's West Bank, in exchange for Arab recognition and peace. But Dayan had a different plan. Israel's minimum security requirements, he argued, called for retention of some two-thirds of the Sinai, all of Syria's Golan Heights, and a permanent, Israeli-controlled *cordon*



Wide World Photos

Gen. Moshe Dayan

"Even South Vietnam didn't accept dictation from Washington"

sanitaire along the Jordan River. The fate of the West Bank was left unclear.

After the cease-fire, Israel agreed to participate in "proximity" peace talks with the Arabs at the United Nations, under the auspices of the U.N.'s Special Representative for the Middle East, Gunnar V. Jarring. But Dayan, unhappy over the U.S. diplomatic pressure on Israel, seized the opportunity to cite technical violations of the cease-fire by Egypt to scuttle the peace talks. (Egypt had moved Soviet-made anti-aircraft missiles into a standstill zone west of the canal after the cease-fire began.) Dayan overcame opponents within the Israeli cabinet, such as Deputy Prime Minister Yigal Allon, Foreign Minister Abba Eban, and even Golda Meir, the prime minister, by threatening to resign if Israel did not withdraw from the peace talks. Israel then did so, saying it would only return when Egypt removed the missiles, which Egypt would not do. So ended the American peace initiative of 1970.

Dayan then began to legitimize Israel's growing inclination to keep the "new territories," as they were called, by successfully repudiating the value of any diplomatic settlement with the Arabs. According to the Dayan strategy, a treaty with the Arabs would be worthless because no Arab government was capable of guaranteeing the peace. Only by keeping the Arab land, Dayan stressed to both Israelis and

Americans, could Israel count on "a generation of peace."

### "The Secret of the Game"

How Israel sold the United States this approach was reported in the Israeli daily newspaper *Haaretz* last March 7 in a remarkably candid article headlined, "The Fathers of Success: Israel Has Succeeded in Finding the Most Appropriate Line in its Relations with Washington." The basis of the Dayan plan, *Haaretz* reported, was threefold: (1) Israel could do its own fighting; all it needed from the United States was armaments, not soldiers. (2) A militarily strong Israel would make the Arabs despair of a military solution, thus preserving the peace and preventing the possibility of a Big-Power confrontation in the Middle East. (3) Israel could best serve American interests in the Middle East — mainly the oil flow — by protecting the conservative Arab regimes (the oildoms of the Persian Gulf) from the Arab radicals, such as Egypt and Syria. As the *Haaretz* article put it, "We explained that the Israeli army, with its real and not just relative power, presents a first line of defense for American interests in the Mediterranean area."

"To sum up," the article went on, "what we did was to succeed in intertwining some of our interests with some American interests. . . . We suddenly realized that the State Department is not the place where 'the buck stops.' We realized that Rogers can advance programs, but that it is possible to reject these and not bring the world to an end. In short, we discovered, thanks in no small measure to Rabin and his assistants, the secret of the game played between the different branches of the Administration. We realized that parallel contact can be made with the President. We suddenly discovered that Congress can be subtly maneuvered so that we can acquire grants and can fulfill other pressuring needs. We found that we could better use a President to get initiatives benefitting us through Congress, than to attempt these initiatives in other ways that might not get the necessary votes of the Democratic majority. We suddenly discovered that we not only have contributors in the United States, but that we can exert strong and influential pressure and help to benefit individuals in elections. This time we succeeded in part in mobilizing our power (not officially, of course) to help Nixon in the election."

Hard evidence demonstrating Nixon Administration acceptance of the Israeli "line" is hard to come by. But as the 1972 presidential election year approached and spun itself out along the various campaign trails, it took little political acumen to observe the death and burial of the Rogers Plan. Democratic presidential aspirants competed in the Florida primary "as if their real ambition was to sit in the Knesset in Jerusalem," *The New York Times* reported. The race for Jewish campaign contributions was fierce, and Nixonites staged a number of successful raids into traditional Democratic Jewish preserves. Among the 95 largest contributors to the Nixon campaign were 19 Jewish financial, business and industrial figures, *Jewish Week* reported last October. Between Jan. 1, 1971, and April 7, 1972, these 19 contributors raised \$1,799,051.

As Israel's Ambassador Rabin made clear, the Israeli government wanted President Nixon to be re-elected. The reason was obvious. Not only had the White House quietly dropped its views on Israeli withdrawal, but the Nixon Administration had also funneled more military and financial aid into Israel than all the previous U.S. administrations combined.

### Israel's Washington Lobby

The Zionist Connection's most visible representative in Washington, however, is not the Israeli ambassador, but



Wide World Photos

William P. Rogers

It took little political acumen to observe the death and burial of the Rogers Plan.



Isaiah L. (Si) Kenen

"I rarely go to the Hill"

Isaiah L. (Si) Kenen, executive director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). Kenen at one time worked for Israel's Jewish Agency. Because of a Senate investigation into Israeli-directed Zionist activities in the United States in 1963, Kenen quit and registered as a domestic lobbyist. In recent years, Kenen has become an institution on Capitol Hill, passing the word to eager legislators on how best to serve Israeli interests. A *National Journal* report on the Israeli lobby gives this example: Pennsylvania's Hugh Scott, the Senate Minority Leader, once asked an aide to prepare a statement for him on the Mideast. After reading the draft, Scott told the aide, "This looks like what we need. But just in case, why don't you check it out with Si?"

"I rarely go to the Hill," Kenen told the *Congressional Quarterly* last fall for a *CQ* special report titled "The Israeli Lobby: Instant Votes When Needed." Explained Kenen, "There is so much support for Israel that I don't have to." Kenen's AIPAC has a staff of 17 full-time employees. When an issue comes up in Congress, says Kenen, "we will send out a notice to the leadership of the American Jewish community letting them know what developments are occurring. They in turn will do what they can." According to Sen. J. W. Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and no friend of the Israeli lobby, Israel can count on 75 to 80 votes "on anything . . . (they) are interested in in the Senate." During the October War Kenen's staffers mounted a 36-hour telephone "blitz"

that quickly produced Senate and House resolutions calling on the United States to transfer "Phantom aircraft and other equipment in the quantities needed by Israel to repel aggressors." The White House then requested \$2.2 billion in grants and credits for Israel.

"AIPAC," reports *CQ*, "spends a considerable portion of its time counteracting propaganda from the 'petrodipomatic complex,' defined by Kenen as 'a coalition of oil lobbyists, diplomats, and educators with cultural and theological interests in the Arab world.' The oil industry lobby, states a committee bulletin, is currently exploiting the 'energy crisis' as a pretext to reduce American support for Israel."

Up until the October War, the Israeli government contended that the impending American energy crisis did not, in fact, exist. This was the litany Gad Ranon, the Israeli embassy's press attache in Washington, carefully repeated to every journalist who would listen. Academics with Zionist sympathies, such as M.I.T.'s Morris A. Adelman, ridiculed those who were trying to warn the Nixon Administration and the country at large about the coming shortage. (See Adelman's "Is the Oil Shortage Real?", *Foreign Policy*, Winter 1972-73). Government energy specialists, such as the State Department's James E. Akins, found the White House unreceptive to their attempts to link the Arab-Israeli conflict to the nation's increasing reliance on Persian Gulf oil. Akins' views became so unpopular at the White House, where he served as a special energy adviser, that he was shipped out to Saudi Arabia last year as the new American ambassador there.

### The Oil Companies Speak

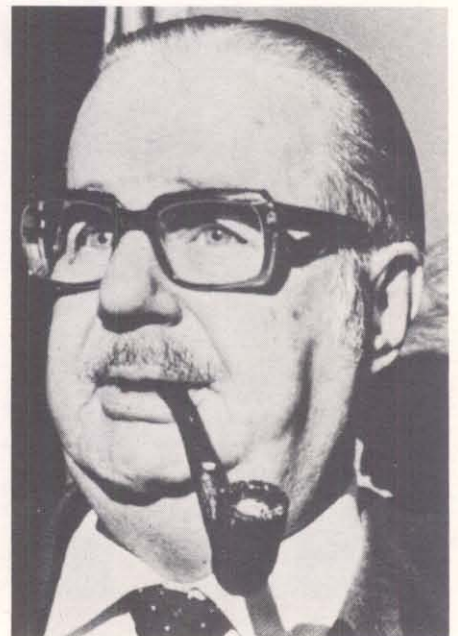
Why President Nixon and his national security adviser, Henry A. Kissinger, seemingly ignored the mounting energy crisis may someday be explained. But the unreal atmosphere that gripped Washington during the spring and summer of last year, aggravated as it was by the Watergate scandals, helped to prompt several American oil companies with Mideast interests to break their traditional public silence about U.S. Mideast policy. The first was Mobil Oil Co., which published a quarter-page ad in *The New York Times* last June 21 titled, "The U.S. stake in Middle East peace."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The *New York Times* provides its own example of how "highly charged" the Mideast oil issue was. Although Mobil had

Standard Oil of California (Socal) followed with a letter to employees and shareholders on July 26 signed by Socal's chairman of the board, Otto N. Miller. And on Sept. 18 Texaco's board chairman, Maurice F. Granville, broached the subject in a talk to members of the Independent Natural Gas Association of America meeting in Scottsdale, Ariz. All three companies are co-owners of the Arabian American Oil Co. (Aramco), along with Exxon Corporation, and, as of 1972, the Saudi Arabian government itself. Aramco currently holds title to roughly one-third of the Free World's proven oil reserves.

The language employed in all three statements was, by any standards, mild. The Mobil ad cautioned that it was "time now for the world to insist on a settlement in the Middle East." Socal called for "understanding on our part of the aspirations of the Arab people, and more positive support of their efforts toward peace in the Middle East." And Texaco counseled, "To dismiss without some concern the viewpoint of those (Arabs) who feel wronged is to neglect a significant aspect of the nation's energy policy."

been placing weekly ads on the Times' "op-ed" page (the page opposite the editorial page) for several years, *The Times* moved this particular Mobil ad to another page. The reason for the shift, a *Times* spokesman later explained, was that the ad was "a little bit too political in tone for appearing on the op-ed page."



Wide World Photos

Senator Hugh Scott

"Just in case, why don't you check it out with Si?"

What followed, however, was a surge of emotionalism. Mobil says its ad generated "some 700" responses, nearly all negative, in which "a substantial number either returned credit cards or threatened to cease patronizing us." Texaco admitted to "a fair amount of reaction from the Jewish community," but would not elaborate. It was the Socal letter that attracted the most vociferous denunciations.

"Now it's out in the open," *The Jewish Press* of New York City headlined on Aug. 10, "U.S. OIL COMPANIES SUPPORT ARABS." The Israel lobby's Kenen called the Miller letter "a brazen and outrageous attempt by Standard Oil of California to mobilize a pro-Arab lobby." Edward Sanders, president of the Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles, said he was "shocked and dismayed." Jacob Stein, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, which coordinates pro-Israeli activities in the United States, called the letter "a bald surrender to the oil pressures being applied against the United States by Arab countries." Zev Yaroslavsky, director of the Southern California Council for Soviet Jewry, said the letter's purpose was to induce Americans "to exchange Jewish blood for Arab oil." Rabbi Israel Miller, president of the American Zionist Federation, telegraphed Socal's Miller to express "the deep sense of outrage and resentment of the Zionist movement in the United



Wide World Photos

Otto N. Miller

"... a peace agreement fair and equitable to all states in the area ..."

States at your ill-conceived, uninformed, and misguided letter. . . ." And so on.

### "Selling Out Israel"

To help Americans find the right words in this nationally directed campaign against Socal, the American Jewish Congress organized a telephonic, tape-recorded hot line. If someone dialed 321-8389 in Cleveland, for example, they heard this message: "This is the American Jewish Congress hot line. By this time all of you are aware that the Standard Oil Company of California has joined the Mobil Oil Company in attempting to shore up the Arab position by using American corporate pressure. It is your responsibility to respond to this kind of pressure which is inimical to us as American Jews and certainly to the state of Israel. We therefore urge all American Jewish Congress members to write individual letters to Mr. O. N. Miller . . . protesting the company's distortion of the Mideastern oil situation. . . . If you are short on ideas about what to tell Chairman Miller, you might point out that the oil shortage would exist whether or not there was an Israel and not simply because the oil-producing countries are getting wary of taking in too many worthless American dollars and are thinking about keeping the oil in the ground for a little longer until the day when the dollar is worth more or they can get more dollars for their oil. . . ."

Socal's West Coast offices were inundated. Some 4,000 credit cards were turned in, although a Socal spokesman says this amounted to "less than a fraction of 1 per cent of the total number of credit cards issued" — more than 10 million. Nevertheless, the Miller letter became "an incident." Newspaper wrote editorials: "Standard's Big Goof," opined one California daily, the *San Jose Mercury-News*. And politicians felt obliged to muddy the waters even further. "We cannot solve our fuel crisis by selling out Israel," said Sen. John V. Tunney, a California Democrat. California's other U.S. senator, Alan Cranston, also a Democrat, wrote Socal saying he interpreted Miller's letter to mean "the United States should withdraw its support of Israel."

American oil company executives are not so naive as to think they can publicly advocate even a moderately pro-Arab position without raising the hackles of many Jews. As *Time* magazine put it in a major story on Ameri-



Wide World Photos

Rabbi Israel Miller

a "deep sense of outrage and resentment"

can Jewry two years ago, "To be a Jew was to commit oneself to Israel." So why did these oil companies "go public" with their unsurprising views when they did?

"We did it," says a Socal spokesman, "because we felt the Arab side of the issue had never been adequately represented in the public media, and that in the spirit of fair play and in the best interests of this country it was essential that the public have a greater understanding of this issue. There was no intention to urge anyone to take sides to the detriment of Israel. It was simply to help people realize that this just isn't a cut-and-dried issue. There are two sides to the argument, and the only way it is ever going to be settled is when this is recognized and an equitable compromise solution is reached. That's the philosophy of it. It wasn't a devious sort of thing at all."

### How the Zionists Goofed

A Mobil spokesman offers this: "The reason we ran the ad was to avoid what's happened. In retrospect, the ad seems almost prophetic. It predicted the Arab oil embargo by saying that political considerations may become the critical factor for Saudi Arabia. It warned of the possibility of another Mideast war. And it called for a settlement that will bring justice and security to *all* the states in the region. And this is the kind of settlement that Kissinger is now trying to negotiate."



Wide World Photos

### President Nixon

For Israel, the supreme irony may turn out to be its support of President Nixon's reelection.

If recent events are proving the oil companies right, then they are also proving the oil companies' Zionist critics wrong. This time, it seems, the Zionist Connection backfired. Si Kenen, the Israel lobbyist, was wrong when he wrote in his weekly Near East Report last Sept. 26 that, "Despite its manifest irrelevance, they (the three oil companies) have linked the energy crisis with the Arab-Israel conflict, as the Arab states demand." The U.S. oil situation is intrinsically linked to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and last October the Arabs finally proved it. Arnold Forster, general counsel of B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League, also was wrong when he protested the Socal incident in a letter to *The New York Times* last Aug. 10. Forster asserted that "Israel is irrelevant to America's oil problems: If the Jewish state did not exist, we would be facing the same oil squeeze." Forster went on to say that "the United States has a sufficient supply of crude oil today." Forster's day ended more abruptly than he reckoned.

Not all Jewish leaders, of course, reacted so critically to the oil company statements. After the Socal letter went out, for example, Richard M. Kaplan, chairman of San Francisco's Jewish Community Relations Council, wrote Miller asking for a "clarification." Kaplan said he didn't believe Socal "meant to imply in its letter that peace and stability in the Middle East can be established by ignoring the existence of Israel, its legitimate interests in the area, and its desire for peace. "How-

ever," said Kaplan, "in its present form, your letter has given that impression to many people."

Miller replied the same day, Aug. 6, assuring Kaplan that it was "simply not true" that his letter implied anything contrary to "the existence of Israel or its legitimate interests." Miller answered that the "essential point" of his letter was that "a peace agreement, fair and equitable to all states in the area, consistent with their independence and sovereign integrity, is essential to the national interests." This "clarification," which was widely reported, nevertheless failed to deter the gathering Zionist protest.

### Israel's "Bold, New Concept"

How so much of the American Jewish Establishment misconstrued the nation's oil situation is hard to comprehend, but for its uncritical acceptance of the view from Tel Aviv. Israel's overriding concern, according to the Dayan strategy, was the indefinite occupation of the Arab territories conquered in 1967, regardless of what the Arabs might do, or how this would affect the United States, Western Europe, or the NATO alliance. It was a strategy that appeared feasible as long as the Arabs remained disunited and militarily cowed, and as long as the United States maintained its military/economic support of Israel without pressuring Israel to come to terms with the Arabs. And so last August with these conditions apparently secure, Israel's ruling Labor party formally adopted the Dayan strategy by approving a policy of expansion in the "new territories" in preparation for national elections. The policy called for stepped-up colonization and the right of individuals and private companies to buy land in the conquered areas. The elections, originally set for Oct. 31, were delayed to Dec. 31 because of the October War. Significantly, after the war the Labor party dropped its expansionist platform plank.

The reason the American Jewish community erupted as it did over the seemingly mild statements of the oil companies goes beyond the usual Jewish sensibilities concerning Israel. More was at stake, and top Zionist leaders both in this country and Israel knew it. The oil companies had decided to join the battle and openly contest Israel's "creeping annexation" of the Arab territories. This was the hidden agenda that triggered the Zionist Connection.

Israel was in the process of developing a bold new concept of its future role in the Middle East. The region would enjoy a *Pax Judaica*, financed in part by the United States, that would blend American and Israeli interests. Last July 20 General Rabin, only recently returned from his ambassadorship in Washington, told a group of retired Israeli generals that: "The Americans had given us weapons so that we should use them when necessary." Rabin was speaking in the context of the energy crisis. "An awareness is growing and crystallizing in the U.S.A.," he went on, "that in an extreme case it is permitted to the civilized world to take control by force of its oil sources." Rabin implied that Israel could serve as America's military proxy to control the oilfields of the Persian Gulf.

For Israel, the supreme irony may turn out to be its support of President Nixon's re-election. The Zionist Connection was useful in opening American Jewish money sources for the President's campaign that traditionally finance Democratic candidates. To Israel and its American supporters, Nixon had appeared to acquiesce on the issue of the conquered Arab territories. But the October War has changed all that. The Nixon-Kissinger strategy now is committed to achieving an Israeli withdrawal, and the reason can be seen by observing any American gas station on a weekend. And this is why General Dayan is talking



Wide World Photos

### Gen. Yitzhak Rabin

"The Americans had given us weapons so that we should use them . . ."

about "mobilizing the Jewish community" in the United States yet again.

### A Reason to Care

Whether American Jewry — in all its institutional, religious, and cultural variety — can shake loose from some of the emotionalism that has characterized its relationship with Israel now remains to be tested. The stakes are becoming clear for all to see. There are, of course, reasons for the oil shortage that have nothing to do with the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Nixon Administration erred in delaying too long to ease import restrictions, and the oil industry erred in failing to appreciate just how fast demand was rising, for two. But at least half of the current shortage arises from actions taken by the Arab oil producing countries since the October War. In late November, for example, Mobil announced it was closing a refinery in East Chicago, Ind., as of Dec. 31 because of the lack of crude oil.

Call it Arab "blackmail" if you will, but the oil shortage, which is affecting Western Europe and Japan far more severely than the United States, is forcing Americans to examine the equities of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Until now few Americans have had a reason to care about the Middle East, but the energy crisis now gives everyone a reason.

A new national mood is forming that may be less tolerant of this country's traditional "connection" to Israel, and the emotional excesses it sometimes produces. The more this connection is seen to move the country in a direction that turns out to be detrimental to the national interest, the more it will be resented. Such resentments could engender perceived — if not actual — anti-Semitism, a development that would be tragic for all America. ■

### Bir Zeit College

#### Temporarily Closed By Israeli Military Governor

On December 15th at 5:00 p.m., Bir Zeit College, located in the village of Bir Zeit, 30 kilometers south of Jerusalem, was ordered by the local Israeli military governor to suspend all operations and evacuate the campus. The order was to take effect at 6:00 p.m., in one hour after issuance, causing considerable hardship to boarding students coming from as far

away as Gaza. Only the President of the College, his family and one other family were permitted to remain on the campus.

No official reasons for closure were supplied the College in the order of the Military Governor. However, press and radio reports mention specifics such as a demonstration by students and some faculty members protesting the expulsion of eight Palestinian Arab leaders from the West Bank by Israeli authorities. A general charge was made that the College has been the focal point of an "irritating and inciting atmosphere" among the Palestinian Arab population.

On December 20th the Board of Trustees of Bir Zeit College issued a statement addressing themselves to the press and radio reports of reasons for the closure order. For example, the Trustees pointed out that the demonstration mentioned was not organized by the College administration and did not take place on the College Campus.

In summary, the Trustees stated that:

"Bir Zeit College is a private institution that was established in 1924, and has continued to function normally ever since despite the difficult conditions prevailing in the area. It is the first and only well-established accredited academic institution of higher education in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. It receives support from reputable international philanthropic organizations and commands great respect in the area and abroad. The College serves as a center of enlightenment in the area, and devotes itself to its educational message without involving itself in political matters. The allegations that the College serves as a center of agitation and subversive activity and that it has an "irritating and inciting atmosphere" are certainly vague, arbitrary and unfounded."

Little publicity was given in the United States press to the action of the Israeli Military Governor in closing Bir Zeit College. Outside of the *Christian Science Monitor* (December 31, 1973) and the *Christian Century* (January 2-9, 1974) little if any mention appeared in the U.S. media.

The closure order came at a crucial time in the life of the College. Plans for expansion to a full four-year program had been set into motion, and construction of a new campus had been proposed. Funding of the first phase of construction had been assured through grants to the World Council

of Churches from German churches, Great Britain, Scandinavia and the United States, from the Protestant Episcopal Church and the United Church of Christ.

The *Christian Science Monitor* reported that prominent persons and leaders on the West Bank had petitioned the Israeli Military Governor, as well as the UNESCO office in Jerusalem and foreign diplomatic missions calling for re-opening of the college.

Just as suddenly as the closure order had been delivered, on December 30, 1973, the order was lifted. On January 8, 1974, Bir Zeit College resumed full operation and can now proceed with its present academic work as well as plans for expansion and construction of its new campus.

### Film Review

**JERUSALEM: PROPHETS OR PARATROOPERS** — Written and directed by Peter Sturken. Produced by Tito Howard, 16 mm, sound, color, 26 minutes.

Some films impart a feeling of buoyancy and happy optimism. The footage of JERUSALEM does not, nor does it try to do so. The realities of the problems of today's Jerusalem are not camouflaged. The viewer will smile several times during the frames, but the over-all effect is disappointment, not at the film but at the tragedies of the city and its people and non people. Prophets or Paratroopers? This film traces the conflicts in the history of the city of the prophets to the tensions of the present and finally suggests a compromise solution which would neutralize the need to train more paratroopers.

The greatest value of the film is its presentation of feelings and the reasons for the feelings of the various inhabitants and former inhabitants of the city. Bulldozers level Arab homes, and high rise apartments are built seemingly to form new city walls.

An Israeli Government supporter describes the action as "slum clearance". A former resident sees the incidents as racist and unjust. A Christian clergyman tells of ignored formal protests for the confiscation of church properties.

In pre-war Germany Nazi officials marked a Jewish store and the owner is forced out of business. Jews were murdered, others fled but they became determined and incensed. Israeli soldiers mark a Palestinian store and it is burned down. Palestinian villagers are massacred; other Palestinians flee

their homes in terror but vow some day to return. Vows and feelings, natural companions, are combined in a telling manner to give the viewer an opportunity to understand the present agonies and hopes of Jerusalem.

The film has its minor flaws. There are moments when the 26-minute time limitation is felt. Occasionally, one suspects that its transition and helpful explanation may have been sacrificed for brevity. However, JERUSALEM is dignified, responsible, well narrated and well conceived. Technically, its audio and video are very good but perhaps not quite excellent. The film is highly conducive to a lively discussion to follow its showing and its length allows time for such follow-up.

There is not a comparable, recent short film on Jerusalem, no post October 1973 film which successfully makes an honest effort to show the several sides of the problems and issues. AMEU recommends JERUSALEM: PROPHETS OR PARATROOPERS.

A copy may be rented for \$5.00 plus return postage by contacting the Middle East Affairs Council, 4005 47th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016 (Telephone (202) 244 0953).

Tom Gregory

## Book Review

**THE BROKEN SWORD OF JUSTICE; AMERICA, ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINE TRAGEDY, by Margaret Arakie, 195pp. Quartet Books, London. £2.50 (hardback) and £1.50 (paperback).**

Margaret Arakie has had a long association with the work of the United Nations in Palestine and with the Palestinian Arabs. In the year before partition she was on the staff of the U.N. Special Committee on Palestine; in the following year she was back with Count Bernadotte; and later she spent many years with UNRWA, finally as Special Assistant to the Commissioner-General.

Her concern for the Palestinian people has led her to this study of American policy. She acknowledges that the United States has been overwhelmingly the most generous supporter of UNRWA with contributions totalling 525 million dollars up to the end of 1972. But this figure, impressive as it is, appears in a different light when set against the 36,000 million dollars of "economic aid from the U.S. Government and dollar transfers from private sources" during the first twenty years of Israel's existence. The special

relationship reflected in this massive support has, as she says, "gone far beyond the links that the United States once had with Great Britain." It was "one of the most unusual relationships between two sovereign states in history, though few could have foreseen that it would endure as American policy for nearly a quarter of a century, despite its harmfulness to United States interests and its disregard of all considerations of justice and humanity towards the Arab population of Palestine."

The story is one of steady growth, checked to some extent only in the Eisenhower years, in the extent of the American commitment to Israel. Traditionally the Jewish vote has gone largely to the Democrats, and according to this writer Nixon received only 20 per cent of it in 1968. Nevertheless he has "done more for Israel than any previous President, at least so far as arms supplies were concerned." It might be added that his Presidency has also seen the clearest demonstration of the impotence of the State Department to contend with pro-Israeli pressures on the White House and on Congress.

Candidates and Administrations have felt compelled to conduct a kind of leapfrog race. And the relentless pressure to which they have yielded seems also to have anaesthetised the American critical faculty. If this book had not already gone to press it might have drawn attention to a recent and remarkable example of this. Mr. Otto Miller, the Chairman of the Standard Oil Company of California, concerned by the imminent and inevitable growth in the dependence of the American economy on the Middle East for its energy requirements, sent a circular letter to the Company's employees and shareholders, urging that the United States should improve its relations with the Arabs. This unsurprising deduction was pounced upon by the Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles (said to represent 500 organizations), whose President described Mr. Miller's letter as calling for "an unwarranted and irresponsible interference with stated American policy objectives in the Middle East", and went on to say that it "raises serious ethical and moral questions as to the utilisation of a vast, profit-making organization to influence American foreign policy." Considering that Mr. Miller was voicing a concern for direct and tangible American interests, and that the lobby represented by his critic has for a quarter of a century been tirelessly interfering with

American foreign policy to the benefit if not at the behest of a foreign Government, this is a bizarre line of argument. But nobody seems to have expressed surprise. Nothing could better illustrate the "unusual" relationship between the United States and Israel.

It is a little disappointing that Margaret Arakie has felt obliged to devote a good deal of her limited space to narrating the general history of the Arab-Israel conflict. She would have made more impact if she had left herself room to deal with her main theme in greater depth. Even so, she has made a valuable contribution and one which is remarkable for its restrained tone and fastidious avoidance of rhetoric or abuse.

Harold Beeley

(Reprinted from MEI.)

## IN BRIEF

### Musa Alami Foundation of Jericho

News from the Musa Alami Foundation includes the announcement of a gift to the Arab Development Society of fifty thousand pounds sterling from His Majesty King Hussein of Jordan. The King's gift is the first significant Arab investment in the occupied territories. It recognizes Musa's leadership on the West Bank and his determination to stay there. It also recognizes the need for international capital by many Palestinians to withstand the pressures from Israelis to leave.

Thirty boys are each currently receiving \$1,000 grants from AID for the fiscal year 1973-74. This amount covers their total living expenses, as well as "tuition", and is the second year of such a grant to the Society. With the return of the school master, who had not been allowed back by the Israelis into the occupied territory until now, the farm school is in a strong position to increase enrollment back to the pre-1967 total of 200 boys if funds can be found.

### AMEU Has a Gift for You

When the *Aramco World Magazine*, arrives, all work in "538" stops while each of us looks at the beautiful pictures and makes plans to read every word as soon as possible. No magazine that we know offers more to attract and delight one who is interested in the Middle East. It is something we

## IN BRIEF

(continued from previous page)

have long wanted to share with each reader of *The Link*.

AMEU is happy to announce that we will be given enough copies of the January/February and March/April 1974 issues to distribute one of each to you. We will be sending the first soon. Then, if you want to subscribe, return the card which will be enclosed with the magazines and your name will be added to *Aramco World's* list of free subscriptions.

### Share Your Slides

There is a need to develop a library of slides on Middle Eastern themes. AMEU has a very limited selection now. It would be helpful if our friends would give us copies of their choicest slides, carefully labeled. We will file them in our office, in the hope that we can build them into sets to be loaned (free of charge) to those who wish to illustrate lectures.

### Travel Deepens Understanding

Each new outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East calls for a renewed and greater effort to create an understanding of the peoples of the area—their culture, their hopes, their goals. AMEU's spring and summer tours (April 13-17 and July 17-31) provide an excellent opportunity. Inquiries about the spring tour should be made promptly so that arrangements can be completed in time.

Those traveling with other groups or agencies are encouraged to call upon AMEU for free background material. Many have told us that this

material has helped to enrich their experience in the Middle East.

### A Directory of Speakers

From time to time Americans for Middle East Understanding has had opportunities to recommend speakers for radio and TV and for live gatherings.

We are revising and updating our speakers' file in order to respond more effectively to these requests. Our new records for each speaker will include a photograph; biographical information, particularly including present activities and positions; subject areas of special competence and interest; and situations of favorable utilization (group discussion, lecture, debate, interview by a sympathizer, interview by an antagonist, etc.).

If you would like to be included in our speakers' directory, or if you would like to suggest someone, please write us and include the photograph and information mentioned above.

### Americans for Justice in the Middle East

Americans for Justice in the Middle East publish *The Middle East Newsletter*, a bimonthly reportorial review of the Arab-Israeli conflict presented from the perspective of Americans living in the Arab world and focusing on the Palestinians. A double issue (32 pages) on the October 6, 1973 war is now available. Also available is a bound collection of volumes I-V (1967-1972), with indices, for \$14 (air mail). Back issues and single copies are also available for \$.50 each. TO RECEIVE THE NEWSLETTER: Mail name and address to AJME, P. O. Box 4841, Beirut, LEBANON.

IF YOU WISH TO JOIN AJME: Indicate citizenship and category of

### THE LINK

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

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

John V. Chapple, former CARE director, Gaza Strip Project;

John H. Davis, former Commissioner General of UNRWA, International Consultant;

Harry G. Dorman, Jr., former Director, Middle East and Europe Department, National Council of Churches;

Henry G. Fischer, Curator in Egyptology, Metropolitan Museum of Art. (v.p.);

Helen C. Hilling, Professor of Public Administration, N.Y.U.—(treas.);

Carl Max Kortepeter, Assoc. Prof. Middle East History, NYU (sec.).

John G. Nolan, National Secretary, Catholic Near East Welfare Association;

David C. Quinn, former Asst. Attorney General, N.Y. State;

Joseph L. Ryan, S.J., St. Joseph's University, Beirut;

Jack B. Sunderland, President of American Independent Oil Company—(pres.);

L. Humphrey Walz, Communications Consultant, United Presbyterian Synod of N.Y.;

Charles T. White, former Financial Executive, Near East Foundation and AID;

John M. Sutton, Executive Director;

Mrs. E. Kelly, Administrative Assistant;

Miss H. Cassile, Travel Consultant.

All correspondence should be addressed to Room 538, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027.

participation—Member or Subscribing Non-Member—at least \$10 or Lebanese £30 annually; students can become members by donating \$5 or Lebanese £15 per year. Checks should be made out to "Americans for Justice in the Middle East."



Americans for  
Middle East Understanding, Inc.  
Room 538, 475 Riverside Drive  
New York, N.Y. 10027