



Alfred M. Lilienthal

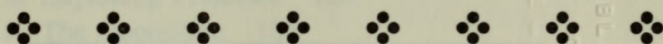
AUTHOR OF WHAT PRICE ISRAEL?

the
other
side
of the
coin

AN AMERICAN PERSPECTIVE
OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN

An American Perspective of the
Arab-Israeli Conflict



ALFRED M. LILIENTHAL

The Devin-Adair Company New York 1965

by Alfred M. Lilienthal

WHAT PRICE ISRAEL?

THERE GOES THE MIDDLE EAST

WHICH WAY TO WORLD GOVERNMENT?

ISRAEL'S FLAG IS NOT MINE

ISSUES AND CONFLICTS: STUDIES IN
TWENTIETH CENTURY AMERICAN
DIPLOMACY—*Contributor*

THE TURBULENT MIDDLE EAST
(A 16 mm. documentary film in color)

Acknowledgments

The author wishes to thank Time Inc. for permission to use extended quotations from former President Truman's *Memoirs*.

The author wishes to express deep appreciation to General E. L. M. Burns, Dr. John H. Davis, Father Ralph Gorman, Irwin T. Hermann, David Hinnawi, Jules Kagian, Richard Marquardt, William R. Mathews, Warren McKeever, Katharine E. Nagher, Virginia Reeves, and Ludwig Tamari for their constructive suggestions in the preparation of this volume.

Above all, the author is deeply indebted to the inspirational guidance of Dorothy Thompson, William Zukerman and Elmo Hutchison, who are no longer with us. The work they did helped hue a path upon which we have set our course.

Copyright © 1965 by Alfred M. Lilienthal

All rights reserved. No portion of this book may be reproduced in any form except by a reviewer, without permission in writing from the publishers, The Devin-Adair Co., 23 East 26th Street, New York, New York 10010

Canadian Agents: Abelard-Schuman Canada, Ltd.,
Toronto

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 65-13568
Manufactured in the United States of America.

Contents

Introduction	ix	1341982
1. Inside Zionism	3	
2. Operation Ingathering	29	
3. Nationalism versus Religion: The Shadow and the Substance	52	
4. Dual Loyalty	74	
5. Brainwashing: American Style	89	
6. <i>The New York Times</i> , et al	112	
7. Magazines, Radio & TV, Too	139	
8. Exploiting Prejudice	164	
9. The Opposition	185	
10. Israeli Anti-Semitism	212	
11. Where Goes the Middle East?	244	
12. Expediency First	271	
13. Policy or Politics?	286	
14. Justice and Peace: Toward a Settlement	331	
References	353	
Index	411	

I came to say a word and I shall say it now.
But if death prevents me, it will be said by To-
morrow, for Tomorrow never leaves a secret
in the book of Eternity.

I came to live in the glory of Love and the
light of Beauty, which are the reflections of
God. I am here, living, and I cannot be exiled
from the domain of life, for through my living
word I will live in death.

I came here to be for all and with all, and
what I do today in my own solitude will be
echoed Tomorrow by the multitude.

What I say now with one heart will be said
Tomorrow by Thousands of hearts.

THE VOICE OF THE MASTER
Kahlil Gibran

Introduction

THIS tale, which began some sixteen years ago, represents no spontaneous combustion. Long before the new white flag of Israel with its single blue six-pointed star had been hoisted in 1948 to a mast on the east coast of the Mediterranean Sea, I sensed a grave danger to faith and to country. I feared that the Judaism in which I had been reared was being shorn of its spiritual universalism and that the faith was being polluted by nationalistic chauvinism. The creation of a Zionist state in the heart of the Arab world, I felt, could only adversely affect the position of the United States and of the free world in the strategic Middle East.

Because of this feeling I wrote an article, "Israel's Flag Is Not Mine," for the *Reader's Digest*. Two major books and one study followed. Stressing this dual danger to my country and faith, I particularly addressed *What Price Israel?* to my co-religionists, but by no means excluded my Christian fellow countrymen. This was followed by *There Goes the Middle East*, which I wrote after three extensive tours of the area as an observer and correspondent (whose name could have been Kelly or Jones) who had been moved simply by the spirit of God to impart some of the knowledge he had acquired in his travels and to relate events that had taken place in the light in which he saw them.

While I labored under no illusions as to the storm that would descend upon me for writing so frankly on so sensitive a subject, it was my hope that the gravity of the problems I discussed and their profound consequences for the United States

and the free world, as well as for Jewry and Judaism, would win from readers a minimum of group emotionalism and a maximum of individual thought.

Yet every kind of explanation for my behavior was forthcoming. Certainly anyone who fought "his own" would not be doing it because he believed in it: "How much is Lilienthal making?" . . . "Of course, he's in the pay of the Arabs." . . . "Ah, he always was an anti-Zionist working for that American Council for Judaism bunch." . . . "The American Friends of the Middle East send him around the country—that Dorothy Thompson." . . . "The oil companies are making it worthwhile for him."

There were others who charged that my lectures and writings on the Middle East stirred up prejudice and inflamed the passions of bigots and hatemongers. This is the argument that has given the professional anti-anti-Semites the excuse to oppose relentlessly all critics of Jewish nationalism and to try to silence their opposition by depriving them of access to the lecture podium and to the other media of information.

Nonetheless, I have striven unceasingly to advance my deeply felt conviction that the long struggle for Jewish equality and emancipation ought not anywhere give way one whit to the belief in separatism and segregationism inherent in the concentrated efforts of organized Jewry on behalf of the new sovereign state of Israel. World leaders have overlooked principles of humanistic universalism and permitted the antics of a madman to obscure the validity of a sound philosophy. The slaughter by Hitler of some five to six million Jewish lives in a holocaust in which many millions of other innocent people died was not proof that it was unwise for Jews to integrate fully as nationals of the Jewish faith in the country of their choice.

It is possible to have the greatest admiration for many of the things that the Israelis have accomplished and still legitimately to raise these questions: At what cost to the Palestinian Arab refugees? At what price to the American national interest? At what danger to the long-range status of American

Jewry and to the present status of Jews around the world?

Although it has been ten years since *What Price Israel?* was first published, the average Jewish American has as yet refused to answer for himself the pertinent questions raised by the appearance of pan-Jewish nationalism. As a group, Jews have tended to react emotionally to the new state and to give it all-out financial, political and moral support. As individuals, however, they have usually avoided defining their relationship to this foreign state propagating a unique nationalism that insists Israel is the homeland not only for its own citizens but for Jews everywhere.

There has emerged, in fact, for the first time a modern democratic state that claims the rights of both church and state simultaneously and demands allegiance of all peoples everywhere who consider themselves Jews, whether they be observant practitioners or not. In reviving the political attitude of the late Third Reich, this pan-nationalism, demanding allegiance on the basis of an alleged common ethnic origin, has already dangerously complicated the lives of Jews everywhere, seriously affected the position of the free world in the Middle East and even damaged Judaism. The Soviet Union has taken advantage of the resultant decline in American prestige in a suspicious Arab world to establish itself for the first time as a power on the eastern Mediterranean shore. Tens of thousands of Jews in the Arab world have been "ingathered" to Israel to find themselves treated as second-class citizens, while the three million in Communist countries have become special objects of suspicion and possible persecution in those lands in which all competing loyalties and nationalities are suppressed.

It is all the more tragic that the area in which the Hebrew return has been realized is one of the most sensitive in the world, one that can sustain only a limited number of people (the inhabitants who have been in possession for 1800 years have had to be dispossessed) and one that is vital to the survival of the free world. An even greater tragedy for us in the United States is that many people who have serious doubts

about the course upon which Israelism has embarked and which the United States has partially underwritten, are too deeply frightened to say so.

This writer could never fully present the massive record of pressures, suppression and terrorization employed against these frightened Americans simply because the more submissive victims of Jewish nationalist pressure are usually too ashamed or too afraid to publicize their experience.

Speaking of the Fund for the Republic, Paul Hoffman once said that "restrictions on freedom of thought and many such controversial problems can best be acted on by an organization that has complete freedom." But neither the Fund for the Republic, the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Endowment, nor any of the other monolithic organizational giants that have investigated every phase of human historical, physiocological, psychocological and cultural relationships has had the courage to tackle the vast complex of problems under discussion in this volume.

Is this to be another instance of a fool rushing in where angels fear to tread? Will enough people read these lines of a well-intentioned crusader? Will the material in this book earn the fair consideration the subject matter deserves?

It will require a formidable effort to break through the wall built by suppression and indifference. My opposition is powerful and potent. And the mind of the average Jew is closed on this subject. To him Israel continues to be the sentimental ghetto to which his feelings, if not his body, fly. As for the Christian, he prefers to avoid so sensitive a discussion. If there is one compulsion more potent than fear, it is guilt.

However difficult it may be to combat an idea or a philosophy, it is near impossible to fight people themselves. The guilt felt by Christians in their desire to expiate for the persecution of Jews and that felt by Jews for having survived while millions of their brethren died is forever rekindled by a splendidly financed organization whose skill in the art of incessantly pricking the conscience remains unmatched. Fear and guilt, acting

upon Jew and Christian alike, work side by side in molding Israelism, the successor to Zionism.

In its broader aspects, this book is an attempt to grapple with a subject far bigger than Israel, Jews or even Americans. It is intended to stimulate thought on the problem most basic to the existence of man: his struggle for freedom, liberty and free expression. In our society today the luxury of freedom of thought exacts a price so dear that only a few are willing to pay it. In 1965 the free mind, which William Ellery Channing a century ago described as not being "content with a passive or hereditary faith and which opens itself to light whencesoever it may come," has become rare indeed.

If conformity is to replace individualism permanently as an American national characteristic, then indeed "the land of the free and the home of the brave" will have become a phrase of the past. And doubts as to which society would emerge victorious in the struggle between the Communist and the free systems will have been resolved: the free world must then inevitably fall. For, in this battle of warring ideologies, what we refer to as the American way of life is at a fatal disadvantage if it does not employ one of the great assets of its system, freedom of expression. The fusion of ideas and the sifting of diverse thinking through public opinion is the West's greatest weapon to offset the regimentation that permits the Communist world to muster total and immediate action.

It is controversy which brought our American Government into being and which ushered in vital reforms underlying our present day institutions. Lose the appreciation of controversy, and we depreciate one of the nation's great eternal values.

Life can be said to be a battle for perspective, a struggle to maintain a sense of values. The crusader must now and then descend from the clouds in order to see himself in the true proportions of the total picture of his time. Unless he does so, he will be unable to show others how to view things in the proper scale. It is a real temptation for any author to succumb to the prevailing mood of his time and depict complicated

situations in sweeping blacks and whites. It is all too easy to hang unmistakable labels of "hero" and "villain" on the personalities involved and to indulge in indiscriminate categorizing, heightened by cliché and slogans. Never has there been a more crying need for Virgil's "*mediocria via*," the dull but realistic "middle road."

While holding nothing back in this recital and sparing neither friend nor foe, I have tried not to permit personal experiences to dull the observer's vision nor instill too deep-seated a passion. If at times this book seems unduly critical of Israel and seems to ignore the well-known arguments in its favor, it is simply because the gigantic propaganda apparatus of Israel-World Zionism has created so extensive and so deeply ingrained a myth that it is now necessary to refute widely accepted theses, laying bare the picture as it really is. As I do so, the reader is earnestly requested to keep in mind the very real distinction between the government of Israel and the people of Israel.

These words come much more easily because, as I am writing them, I am looking out over the lonely, lovely moors of Nantucket. Here one cannot refrain from noting how almost completely devoid of deception and fickleness is nature, man's best and most constant friend. Here it is possible to gain the necessary perspective and to find solace in these lasting words of James Russell Lowell:

Truth forever on the scaffold
Wrong forever on the throne
Yet that scaffold sways the future
And behind the dim unknown,
Standeth God within the shadow,
Keeping watch above his own.

ALFRED M. LILIENTHAL

Nantucket, Mass.

Inside Zionism

"Things are different as they were
 Since milk masquerades as cream."

Gilbert & Sullivan—*Pirates*

The Other Side of the Coin

Remember—just as people exaggerating how much the few Jews, many of whom aren't even Zionist, exert such a tremendous influence on Jewish life in Israel? There aren't that many Jews, and they aren't that important. Come off it!"

This was the reaction of a prominent American businessman to the notion of how it happened that American foreign policy toward the Middle East had been shaped not in the American interest, but in the interest of the new Mediterranean state with the blue, six-pointed star. Never have I known both sides describing their views relating to the Jewish nation duty in the United States.

A secular political movement dedicated to the establishment of a Jewish state, Zionism grew out of the writings of Eastern European Jewry for emancipation. Moses Hitz and Leo Pinsker, the first Zionist distinguished, sought in their writings as tractarian religious tracts and the founding for individual freedom into a nationalistic political program. Pinsker's goal was a "land of our own," though not necessarily the Holy Land. Theodore Herzl, who wrote the famous *Judenstaat* ("The Jewish State"), immigrated to Basel in 1897 the first Zionist Congress, which called for "a legally secured Jewish home in Palestine."

The aim of the century found few supporters in Jewish state-

*Remember to which nations they refer will be found at the back of the book beginning on page 355.

1

Inside Zionism

"Things are seldom as they seem . . .
Skim milk masquerades as cream."

Gilbert & Sullivan—*Pinafore*

"**R** IDICULOUS—you are grossly exaggerating. How could the few Jews, many of whom aren't even Zionists, exert such a tremendous influence on behalf of Israel? There aren't that many Jews, and they aren't that important. Come off it!"

This was the reaction of a prominent American businessman to the recital of how it happened that American foreign policy toward the Middle East had been shaped not in the American interest, but in the interest of the new Mediterranean state with the blue, six-pointed star. Never have figures been more deceiving than those relating to the Zionist success story in the United States.

A secular political movement dedicated to the establishment of a Jewish state, Zionism grew out of the strivings of Eastern European Jewry for emancipation. Moses Hess and Leo Pinsker,¹ the first Zionist dialecticians, sought in their writings to transform religious hopes and the yearning for individual freedom into a nationalistic political program. Pinsker's goal was a "land of our own," though not necessarily the Holy Land. Theodor Herzl,² who wrote the famous *Judenstaat* ("The Jewish State"), convoked at Basel in 1897 the first Zionist Congress, which called for "a legally secured Jewish home in Palestine."

The turn of the century found few supporters of Jewish state-

¹ Footnotes to which numbers refer will be found at the back of the book beginning on page 353.

hood in the United States. Declaring Jews to be a "religious community," Reform Judaism stated its "unalterable opposition to political Zionism."³

Today there are some 5.5 million Jews in the United States, less than 3 per cent of the population, and among these only about 1.25 million belong to the various Zionist organizations.⁴ Hence only a minority of a minority has learned the meaning of good organization and the value of psychology.

Zionist thinking has permeated organized Jewry through various front and allied groups and a wide-flung apparatus. By emphasizing the necessity for Jewish unity, Zionists have not only gained ascendancy on the Jewish scene, but have invaded the Christian sphere. For just as all Jews are not Zionists, so all Zionists are not Jews. Christian Zionists have been an essential part of this closely knit, well-financed and efficiently run movement which, in its control of American public opinion and its domination of American media of information, has won for Israel the unique position that country occupies today.

Zionist sentiment has never been confined to Jewry. Encouraged by the example of Chaim Weizmann, who had fused Christian and Jewish elements of support to win the Balfour Declaration from the British government in 1917, Zionism in the United States has relied on American Christians for indispensable services. Basic psychology has been applied to achieve an admixture of support: the conscience of the disturbed Christian world, desirous of making amends for its role in perennial Jewish persecution; the liberal's sympathy for the underdog; the philanthropy of the rich; and the religious sentimentalism of Biblical literalists who viewed the establishment of Israel as a necessary precursor to the second coming of Jesus. These elements blended together molded inexorable support for Israel.

Often the religious zeal of Christian Zionists far outstrips the religiosity of Jewish Zionists, whose compulsion flows more from a nationalist basis. Some Christians accepted the claim that the Old Testament demands the "return" of present-day Jews from their "exile" to their "national home" in Palestine, thus conveying the impression that the modern state of Israel

is scriptural. These Christian Zionists are inspired by the desire, shared by all good Christians, to be considered tolerant and broad-minded. To many Christians, furthermore, the Islamic faith was a heathen, fanatical religion, and their support of Israel was a means of fighting Moslem-Arab unity. The bias against Moslems stemming from the centuries of conflict between Christianity and Islam and the "fairy tales"⁵ about the Crusades, combined with a profound ignorance of the modern history of Palestine, strengthened Christian fervor for the Zionist cause. Of Mark Sykes, one of the early most affluent Christian Zionists, it has been asserted that his "unconventional Catholicism, his modernist, nationalist Catholicism with a strong admixture of the Gothic revival made him such a strong proponent of Zionism."⁶

The "why shouldn't they have a home?" argument advanced by certain Christians has sometimes been motivated by the anti-Semitic hope that all Jews would soon depart for that home. Even active collaboration between Jewish nationalists and bigots was not a rarity. On May 15, 1948, the day Israel came into being, a popular joke ran something like this:

"I hear the Jews have established a state in Israel."

"Yes. That's good. Maybe now they'll give us back Atlantic City."

Few Christians are bold enough to express any unfavorable sentiment toward Israel which they might inwardly harbor. Aside from feeling uncomfortable about getting into a subject on which Jews are so emotional, the non-Jew does not see how it could be in his interest either to protest against Zionism or to say a nice word about the Arabs. Ignorant of the divisions behind the scene, he regards Zionism and Judaism as one and the same thing. The Christian has little reason to believe that all his Jewish acquaintances are anything but Zionists and pro-Israelis. So long as Jews are his friends, neighbors, business associates, customers and fellow club members, the Christian American is not going to risk endangering his personal relations with them for the benefit of some intangible good that he might conceivably do his country. This includes the fawning Christian

who goes all out for Israel, but down deep may harbor a smidgin of bigotry.

Then, of course, there are the politicians of all faiths who have constantly curried the so-called Jewish vote. The concentration of more than 74 per cent of American Jewry in 14 cities and 75 per cent in six states (New York, where Jews constitute 14.9 per cent of the population, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, and Ohio) with a total electoral vote of 178 constantly fascinates office seekers on national and local levels.

A Defense Department analysis of the Arab-Israeli conflict succinctly noted one of the primary reasons why no politician is willing even to suggest the discontinuance of all-out American support of Israel:

Whether we approve it or we do not, the fact is that between five and six million of us—and their average of affluence and influence is high—are Jews and to most of them, especially those who are politically active, the maintenance and growth of Israel as a national home where persecuted Jews from everywhere may find refuge is of transcendental importance. They support this new little state personally with almost incomparable generosity (at an average of \$250 for every American Jew), and they exercise themselves on its behalf politically. It would be a dangerous move for either of our major political parties, and one which experience indicates neither will make, to disavow American sponsorship of Israel.⁷

Supporters of Israel have never been content merely to bring pressure upon Christian lay and religious organizations. Early in the struggle for the establishment of a Jewish national state they recognized that the organized exploitation of Christian sympathy was necessary not only in order to gain official American backing for Zionist political goals but to further the mobilization of Jews to active support. The American Palestine Committee and its successor, the American Christian Palestine Committee, were activated for these purposes. In the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* of December, 1959,⁸ Samuel

Halperin noted how the Zionist Emergency Council and local Zionist groups provided the basic financial support for this Christian front, which soon, through 75 local chapters and a budget of \$150,000, was "crystallizing and properly channeling the sympathy of Christian America."⁹ An effective speakers' bureau dispatching lecturers across the country, supported by a monthly publication and other propaganda material, helped implant in Christian minds a picture of Israel as a "democratic little David taking on an evil Egyptian Goliath."¹⁰

In addition to the fact that Zionism and its allied forces can raise sizable funds on the shortest notice, these groups can, through perfect organization and an alert, ubiquitous intelligence service, crush any budding opposition in the Christian community. The fear of being labeled anti-Semitic is a pulverizing weapon. Supporters of Israel have themselves supplied compelling evidence of the intimate links between Jewish "religious" and nationalist groups in far-flung suppression operations.

In a "confidential, not for publication or attribution" memorandum to officers and executive directors of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, dated August 10, 1960, the Executive Director of the Synagogue Council of America, Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, summarized the organization's program "in interpreting to key leaders in the national Catholic and Protestant church federations the religious aspect of American Jewry's relationship to the people and the State of Israel." Referring to "this unpublicized chapter in Christian and Jewish relations," Rabbi Tanenbaum claimed the following accomplishments over a two-year period:

- (1) "Forced the adoption in December, 1958, by the National Council of Churches, representing 39 major Protestant denominations, of its first resolution acknowledging the *de facto* and *de jure* existence of the state of Israel and calling upon its 145,000 member churches and 900 local councils of churches to help safeguard the security of Israel and to assure its present frontiers." Another "un-

precedented resolution" called for "a full scale inquiry into the status and religious freedom of Jews in the Soviet Union."

- (2) Through "day-to-day contacts prevailed" upon the Council which had begun to disseminate documents* on the Arab refugees as part of their contribution to World Refugee Year, to distribute to all local councils and individual churches a memorandum, including a bibliography on the Middle East, prepared by the Synagogue Council "explaining the spiritual ties which link American Jews to the State of Israel and counteracting charges of dual loyalties." Exerted pressure simultaneously upon the Council to cease all efforts in behalf of the Arab refugees.
- (3) Blocked, through the efforts of Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman of Hartford, Connecticut, a resolution pending before the board of directors of the United States Committee for Refugees that called for a study of the Arab refugee question.
- (4) Won agreement from the National Council of Churches to table the Strong report growing out of the Beirut Conference on Refugees, which "reflected the anti-Israel and pro-Arab sympathies of the Foreign Missions within the National Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches," and charged Israel with primary responsibility for unrest in the Middle East owing to its obstinate refusal to repatriate Arab refugees.
- (5) Intervened and testified before the House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations committees in favor of maintaining the status quo for Mutual Security Act grants to Israel when these in April, 1959, were threatened with drastic reduction.¹¹
- (6) Protested use of UNESCO funds to help Arab teachers in refugee camps because they "taught their students

*Distributed through the Commission on Missionary Education of the National Council of Churches.

hatred of Israel." Won adoption of a resolution denying funds to any member nation that "exploits these funds to create tensions and animosities against each other."

- (7) Stimulated a "Human Relations project" in Catholic elementary and high schools which was conducted by a Jewish scholar with a background in Catholic theology "to help Catholic students achieve a better image of the Jew, his religion and his relationship to the State of Israel." Hundreds of copies of a children's book on Israel were distributed through the Catholic schools and libraries.
- (8) Brought about the delivery by Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg of a paper, "Judaism, Zionism and Israel," before both the world and national councils of churches, which was later published in book form as *The Zionist Idea*. Instituted the publication by the *Christian Century*,¹² leading Protestant weekly, of an article by Rabbi Hertzberg, which helped many Protestants understand the relationship of world Jewry to Israel. The essay "touched off a series of 'Letters to the Editor' which proved most helpful in stimulating Christian friends of Israel to record their support of the Jewish state." Tens of thousands of copies of the article were distributed to churches, synagogues, the White House, Congress and otherwise across the country.
- (9) Blocked a World Council of Churches plan to study the question of religious liberty in the state of Israel.
- (10) Persuaded Dr. E. T. Dahlberg, the president of the National Council of Churches, to include Israel in his tour of world refugee camps and had the Chief Rabbi of Israel and foreign ministry officials receive and talk to him.
- (11) Guided the National Council of Churches in preparing for distribution through the council educational material designed for "the average church member interpreting the Jewish community in the U. S., its relationship to Israel, etc." This was done in the spring-summer of 1960 in

the wake of the outbreak of the daubing of synagogues with swastikas.

In sending out this confidential memorandum the Synagogue Council attributed "much of the success of the program to the annual allocations received from various Jewish welfare funds and federations in the United States"—an admission that tax-free American dollars have been used to bring the cause of Israel before the most potent Christian religious groups.

Its ability to use individual Christians, as well as organizations, gave Zionism a power to which was added virtually unanimous support from every category of Jews: the nationalists, the uneasy "reluctant Jews," the orthodox religious Judaists, the romantic culturalists, the socially frustrated and hence, politically ambitious intelligentsia, and even the bigoted Jews who wanted an Israel because they felt there already were too many refugees in the United States. First cousins to this last category are the anti-anti-Zionists, who do not wish the subject of Israel, Arab and Jew discussed, publicly or otherwise. In the Christian circles in which they run such discussion might call attention to the fact that they are Jews.

One writer has described the wide Jewish support for Israel as a substitute for the ancient ghetto: "There is," he notes, "no physical ghetto in America to which the injured Jew can go for security of identity as a Jew. But there is Israel, the symbolic and sovereign ghetto where identity as a Jew is vicarious."¹³

During the critical days of the United Nations battle over Palestine, it was often the guilt-stricken non-religious Jews, the Zionists by religious delinquency, who contributed most to the advancement of partition. Men like Bernard Baruch and Herbert Bayard Swope lent themselves all the more to helping the Zionist cause at Lake Success.¹⁴

Further strength of the Israelist position has resulted from the increasing frequency of intermarriage between Christian and Jew. By strongly supporting the case for Israel, the Jew marrying out of his faith can show he still belongs to the clan, while the Christian partner to the marriage can thus attest to his

complete tolerance. Mrs. F., a devout Catholic, married the son of a small-town rabbi. In order to ease his guilt at having married a non-Jew and having permitted his children to be raised as Catholics, Mr. F. became devoutly Zionist. When Mrs. F., through her church connections, heard the story of the Arab refugees, it aroused her sympathy but she was deterred from taking action lest she seem bigoted in the eyes of her Jewish husband.

A source of Zionist strength that has not been fully appreciated is the political party link between Israel and the U. S. Every political party in Israel has its counterpart in this country, and these Zionist political parties in the United States perform as the U. S. branches of the Israeli factions. The principal ones are the General Zionists (or the Zionist Organization of America), the Mizrachi, the Labor Zionists, the Revisionists and the Progressive or Labor Zionists. The Israeli opposite numbers are the General Zionists (at times split into wings A and B), the Mizrachi, the Mapai, the Herut and the Mapam. At the meetings of the World Zionist Congress, each Israeli party works closely with its American counterpart for its own particular economic, political and social creed.

Until 1961, these political parties operating in the United States were directly allocated subsidies by the Jewish Agency from United Jewish Appeal funds. For their alleged "educational and cultural" work, tax-exempt funds had been then set aside by the Jewish Agency as subsidies as follows:

Mizrachi and Labor Mizrachi	\$750,000
General Zionist and Progressives	750,000
Agudat Israel	450,000
Herut	350,000

The Jewish Agency had excused the grants to these Israeli political parties on the grounds of the necessity of avoiding separate fund-raising campaigns in this country.

The vigorous attack by publicist-economist James P. Warburg in 1959¹⁵ against the mixture of philanthropic aid with

Israeli politics led to protests at this arrangement. At the instigation of the Treasury Department and the Internal Revenue Service, the Jewish Agency was reorganized in 1960.¹⁶ A separate American-controlled corporation was established. By receiving contributions through different channels and new book-keeping arrangements, the Israeli political parties in the United States still obtain their money, while apparently satisfying U. S. Treasury requirements for tax exemption.

The only real quarrel between Israeli Zionists and their American counterparts has revolved around the question of who is to rule whom. Those who have made the move to Israel feel—and with some justification—that they alone should decide the policies of Israel and should have the controlling voice in the world Zionist movement and its various organs, including the Jewish Agency, which link Israel and the Diaspora. The Zionists in America, however—and the non-Zionists, too—feel that since they supply the bulk of the money pouring into Israel and the political assistance of the United States, they should be paramount.

Both Zionist groups regard Jews as a people bound together by ties in which religion is only a minor link and Israel is the central reality. These two factions in world Zionism believe in the eventual liquidation of the Diaspora and the return of all Jews to Zion. They disagree only as to the timetable¹⁷ for this “home coming.” Their differences have been aggravated by the increasing cooperation between the Israeli faction and American non-Zionists, much to the distraction of American Zionists.

The Zionists have been alert in capturing every aspect of organized Jewish life: philanthropic, educational, cultural and political. The advertisements of the United Jewish Appeal continue to be replete with Zionist jargon cleverly tucked away in the sad accounts about Jewish refugees. It is almost impossible to discredit a charity drive which, under the caption “The Big Meal,” runs an appealing full-page picture of pathetic, hungry-looking children sitting down to “A solid meal—courtesy of you—the contributor to the United Jewish Appeal.”¹⁸

Where Zionists themselves have not taken control, their atti-

tude toward Israel has prevailed, and they share the leadership with equally ardent pro-Israeli non-Zionists. In the *Menorah Journal* Henry Hurwitz noted, "Whereas the true-blue Zionists continue to assert the existence of a Jewish nation or a Jewish people throughout the Diaspora, with its headquarters or center in the state of Israel, the non-Zionists deny this concept of the organic unity of Israel with Jewish Americans, but in fact give aid and comfort to all the Zionist organizations and to the government of Israel which have been endeavoring to implement this concept. To all practical intents and purposes, therefore, and despite their periodic protestations of ideological dissent, the non-Zionists serve as adjuncts to the Zionists."¹⁹ While most Americans do not understand Zionism, this has not prevented many Jewish organizations from weaving Zionist goals, doctrine and public statements into their daily agenda.

Reluctant to label themselves Zionist, new groups under many variations of "Friends of Israel" have appeared. It becomes more and more apparent that there is swiftly emerging in Jewish life a new philosophy, if not an integrated movement, which for lack of a better name might be called "Israelism." Although its adherents are not yet one organized whole, it increasingly makes more sense to talk in terms of Israelism and the Israelists, the broader body of pro-Israel support, than of Zionism and the Zionists. For while Zionism has become a dirty word to many, Israelism represents a safe niche for all supporters. As Zionists become more difficult to recruit, Israelists are born every moment. Followers can now attest their group loyalty in full security and comfort at home in the United States—a sort of vicarious Zionism.

Jewish nationalists, who are not members of one or the other of the Zionist groups, have resented the Ben Gurion declarations belaboring them for not coming to live in Israel. If Zionism has yet to find a *force majeure* whereby it could attract a major influx of Jewish American *émigrés* from the United States to Israel, the door for future action has been nevertheless left ajar. However much the non-Zionist Israelists privately take issue with ingathering statements directed toward them, out-

wardly they merely whisper, "Those Zionists do not speak for me," and continue to pour out millions to the United Jewish Appeal as organized Jewry moves ahead toward the realization of Israeli goals. While the American Zionists, Israeli Zionists and Israelists may quarrel bitterly among themselves,²⁰ little of this is reported in the general press, and they manage to close ranks quickly into a monolithic front. The ability of organized Jewry to present this appearance of Jewish unity is a *sine qua non* to the position Israel enjoys in the U. S. today.

The propaganda of Jewish nationalism is not confined to the Zionist movement. The Zionist talks Zionist doctrine but it is the non-Zionist who implements it as Jewish nationalism. This explains why so often the very practical-minded Ben-Gurion has preferred to deal with the Blausteins, Engels and Proskauers of the American Jewish Committee rather than with the leaders of outright Zionist parties, who lack the finesse to offset their emotionalism. In fact, those who speak familiarly in the classic terminology of the Diaspora (meaning dispersion) and the Galut (exile) to describe Jews who have not been "ingathered" into Israel are but a small minority of Jewish nationalists.

Zionism is but the activist, political arm of Jewish nationalism. Historical, anthropological, sociological, psychological, theological and philanthropic factors are constantly generating this nationalism and creating unwitting Jewish nationalists. Insofar as this nationalism serves to advance goals and objectives of the state of Israel, its followers are Israeli fellow travelers in the same sense that so many Americans have unwittingly been Communist fellow travelers. There is no intention here to equate Zionism, Jewish Nationalism or Israelism with communism, but rather to note the similar means by which significant numbers of the followers of these international movements are enlisted in the cause.

It was, however, only Hitler's genocide that won popular acceptance for the Zionist dream of a Jewish state. The movement's philosophy had previously failed abysmally to win adherents to its pan-nationalist ideology. Initial Zionist demands for the creation of a political Jewish nation were not linked

with the needs of refugees. The central tenets of their credo were the axiomatic conviction that anti-Semitism could not be erased from the earth and the equally axiomatic assumption that Jews could not live a normal life outside a state of their own. Zionist doctrine, as Moshe Menuhin, a former Zionist himself, explained, was from the outset "dedicated and ordained to redeem the Jewish homeland at any cost and make Palestine 'goyim rein' [clear of Gentiles, Arabs.]"²¹

In writing of the Russian Revolution, the first president of Israel, Chaim Weizmann, clearly indicated that Zionism was never to be confused with refugeeism:

Now, they say, the greatest stimulus for the Zionist movement has been removed. Russian Jewry is free . . . Nothing can be more superficial and nothing can be more wrong than that. We have never built our Zionist movement on the sufferings of our people in Russia or elsewhere. These sufferings were never the cause of Zionism. The fundamental cause of Zionism was, and is, the ineradicable nationalist strivings of Jewry to have a home of its own—a national center, a national home with a national Jewish life.²²

For a long time the real motivations of this political movement were elegantly concealed. Publicly, the word "home" was employed in pronouncements where "state" was understood. The colonization of Palestine, as one of their early leaders noted, involved enormous difficulties, and it was "inopportune to proclaim officially the re-establishment of the state as their goal."²³

In order to win British approval for even a watered-down Balfour Declaration and to placate the Arabs during World War I, Weizmann insisted on the gradual approach. "States," he said, "must be built up slowly, gradually, systematically and patiently. We therefore say that while a creation of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine is our final ideal—an ideal for which the whole of the Zionist Organization is working—the way to achieve it lies through a series of intermediary stages."²⁴

Where these Jewish statisticians had failed to win more than a minimal following behind the aim of "leading the Jewish people back to Palestine," as the Basel platform of the first World Congress had proclaimed in 1897, the emotional reaction in Hitler's aftermath wiped out the difference between home and state and merged the concept of refuge with nation. A solution for the Middle East Palestine question and a solution for the European refugee problem were linked together in a two-in-one bargain decision: Jewish statehood in Palestine for the refugees. Those Jews and Christians who had once proclaimed their opposition to Jewish nationhood still insisted they were "not Zionists, but what are you going to do about these people?" Many non-Zionists adopted the position that the creation of the Jewish state of Israel was the sole solution for the Jewish refugee problem created by Hitlerism.

Although Zionist leader Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver declared unequivocally in 1946 that "it should be clearly understood by everyone . . . that the rescue of a certain number of refugees, however vital and urgent, is not Zionism and that the clear purpose of Zionism was and is to give the Jewish people the status of a nation,"²⁵ emotional Jewish Americans would not face the facts. They gave all-out support to the establishment of a nationalist state with a definite political philosophy, but continued to view Palestine purely as a humanitarian refuge and haven. When the Zionists failed to win an acceptance of the word "state" in the Balfour Declaration and substituted "national home" for the Foreign Office's "asylum" or "refuge," confusion was inevitable. Sir Harold Nicolson, who participated in the drafting of the 1917 Declaration, wrote: "In the first draft of the Balfour Declaration the words 'asylum for the Jews' were used in place of the words 'National Home.' We believed that we were founding a refuge for the disabled and did not foresee that it would become a nest of hornets."²⁶

The Jewish nationalists transformed the limited concept of an asylum for certain Jews into a Jewish national home and then into a state which, according to their design, was to be for all Jews.

It is difficult to understand why non-Zionist Jews did not see through the true motivations of their nationalist-minded brethren, who were not content merely to belittle refugeeism, but openly demonstrated their contempt of rescue operations. Creaky ships were loaded with displaced persons and sent to Palestine in the certain knowledge that they would be turned back and that this very act would strengthen the Zionist moral argument "to which the gentile world could have no answer."²⁷ Wherever Zionism would be the gainer, the doors of Western countries were kept closed, refugees were deliberately delayed in camps, and rescue was sabotaged even to the point where lives were lost.

*Perfidy*²⁸ is the fully documented story of the sensational 1956 Kastner-Greenwald trial which "shook Israel and caused a Government to fall."²⁹ Ben Hecht's book describes the criminal libel suit brought against Malkiel Greenwald, who had charged Rudolf Kastner, a high-ranking Israeli official, of collaboration with Eichmann in 1944 in the slaughter of Hungary's one million Jews. The author, a well-known supporter of Jewish statehood in Palestine who had favored the cause of the extreme terrorist groups, the Irgun and the Stern Gang, alleged and offered proof that Israeli leaders aided the Nazi slaughter.

"Timorous Jewish lodge members in Zion, London and America . . . these Zionist leaders who let their six million kinsmen burn, choke, hang without protest, with indifference," is how Hecht describes the leaders of organized Jewry who, he claimed, knew in advance the timing, method and place of the impending annihilation, but refused to warn the victims. Many of the Hungarian Jews, according to Hecht, were but three miles from the Rumanian border and were guarded by a very small Nazi military contingent, but had no apprehensions as they were fed reassurances by the Zionist leader, Kastner, up to the very moment they were shipped to crematoria. Joel Brand, the readers are told, came out of the Hungarian hell as an intermediary from the Nazis with a barter deal of trucks for human lives, but Chaim Weizmann, the president-to-be of

Israel, refused to see him for weeks, and the deal became impossible.

Implicated in the trial in addition to Israel's first president were Prime Ministers Moshe Sharett and David Ben-Gurion, and other officials who still hold office. Hecht sees the motivation of these Zionist leaders in their concern for the creation of a political state "not the saving of Jewish lives." They were "mum on the slaughter and garrulous as geese on the needs of Zionism in Palestine." Had the masses in Palestine, he argued, known what was happening in Hungary, the Jewish Agency leaders would have fallen from power. Yet American Jewry, according to the author, supported Zionism blindly on the assumption that it was a rescue operation.

In the course of the trial Dr. Kastner's lawyer adduced an admission from Izzak Greenbaum, head of the Jewish Agency Rescue Committee: "If I am asked, 'Could you give from the U.J.A. moneys to rescue Jews?' I say, 'No,' and I say again, 'No.' In my opinion we have to resist that wave which puts the Zionist activities in a secondary line."³⁰ This substantiated the Richard Crossman observation: "The Zionists are terrific . . . their main preoccupation is not to save Jews alive out of Europe, but to get Jews into Palestine."³¹

American philanthropic organizations, likewise, have increasingly had to take a secondary position to the needs of Israel. HIAS (Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society), once independently active in bringing distressed Jews to the U.S., now tells inquirers that it will not give any information on how to bring people to the U.S. because it is "our duty to help people go to Israel"³² and not to emigrate from Israel.

The "ceaseless Zionist propaganda campaign" to move refugees to Palestine even under circumstances of terrifying danger had been "skillfully" carried on in the DP camps of Europe at the end of World War II, according to General Sir Frederick Morgan, British Senior Officer of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA):

The whole business was represented as being the spontaneous surge of a tortured and persecuted people toward their long-lost homeland. I fancy that, in reality, there were few among the travellers who, of their own free will, would have gone elsewhere than to the U.S.A. . . . from my post of observation I was able to perceive, as I fancy few others were, something of the immense driving force at the back of this whole migration. At my own Headquarters, among the staffs of the "Voluntary Agencies" was that of the American Joint Distribution Committee, so called, in effect an important element of the Zionist General Staff for Europe.³³

In her book *Eichmann in Jerusalem*,³⁴ Hannah Arendt not only verifies the intimate connection between Eichmann and Dr. Kastner that led to the saving of prominent Jewish Zionists in Hungary and paved the way for the subsequent slaughter of tens of thousands of other Jews, but links Zionism and Nazism even further.

In the early months of the Hitler regime the Zionists were the only Jews to associate with the German authorities, and they used their position to discredit anti-Zionists and assimilation Jews, according to Miss Arendt. Zionist leaders urged the adoption of the slogan, "Wear the yellow star with pride," because it meant the end of Jewish assimilationism and increased power for them. It was the hope of organized Jewry in Germany that the Nazi dissimulation with the Jews would lead to emigration to Palestine. The result was an agreement between the Jewish Agency for Palestine and Nazi authorities to assist in the Zionist plans for illegal immigration into the Holy Land. Even the Gestapo and the SS were helpful, for this to them was just another way of ridding Europe of the "hated Jews."

European Zionists before the announcement of the extermination program, the author notes, not only in Germany but elsewhere in Hitler occupied lands, were perfectly willing to cooperate with the Nazis so long as "suitable material" was provided for immigration to their embryo state. Jon Kimche, a Zionist himself, is quoted as observing that in the eyes of

Palestinian agents in Europe "the chief enemy prior to the extermination program was not those who made life impossible for Jews in the old country but those who barred access to the new homeland. The enemy was definitely Britain, not Germany." And he added, "Eichmann may go down in history as one of the arch murderers of the Jewish people, but he entered the lists as an active worker in the rescue of Jews from Europe."³⁵ The submissive meekness with which the Jews of Europe (save in Warsaw) went to their death can be explained only in terms of the overpowering obsession with Palestine on the part of the only leaders who were able to act to save them, but who simulated rescue while practicing statecraft.

Both before and after the war the Zionists were powerful enough to scuttle efforts to find havens for the oppressed outside of Palestine. The U.S. Secretary of the Interior was prevailed upon in the thirties to oppose the settlement of Jewish refugees as homesteaders in Alaska, and then pressure was exerted on the Australian government to abandon the "Kimberley" project for the settlement of Jewish refugees in Western Australia, which had been sponsored by the Freeland League and had won partial approval. The Freeland League in its publication later asked:

"Who can tell how many thousands of Jewish lives might have been saved from Hitler's claws if these anti-Jewish pressures exerted by Jews had not been effected? Who can tell how many thousands might have started a new life in Kimberley instead of ending their lives in Auschwitz.³⁶ Similarly, the pressure of the Zionist press in Holland and the calumnies of Zionist emissaries especially sent to Surinam, spelled doom to another rescue project."³⁷

From another source came other evidence of the true Zionist motives. Referring to then current reports of evidence at the Eichmann trial, Dr. Solomon Schonfeld, who had served as executive director of the Religious Emergency Council set up by Britain's Chief Rabbi to help victims of Nazism, wrote in a letter to the *Times* of London, "My experience in 1942-43 was wholly in favor of British readiness to help openly, construc-

tively and totally, and this readiness met with opposition from Zionist leaders who insisted on rescue to Palestine as the only acceptable form of help."³⁸ As a result of this Zionist attitude, a pending Parliamentary motion that called for the establishment of temporary refuge on British territory "for endangered Jews" but omitted any reference to Palestine was dropped even though it had won 277 backers.

In those emotional days prior to the partition of Palestine, one of the few who had seen through the Zionist policy of placing statehood first and refugees last had been the publisher of *The New York Times* who asked, "Why in God's name should the fate of all these unhappy people be subordinated to the single cry of statehood? I cannot rid myself of the feeling that the unfortunate Jews of Europe's DP camps are helpless hostages for whom statehood has been made the only ransom."³⁹

During a debate on "Arab-Israeli Relations and Israeli Refugee Policy" conducted at McGill University in 1961 between Israeli ambassador to Canada Yacov Herzog and historian Arnold Toynbee, Mr. Herzog charged that the humanitarian problem of Arab refugees "has been put into a totally political context of animosity and hatred" and that the Arab countries were using these displaced persons as a political pawn. Toynbee replied, "I do think that Israel is living in a glass house in drawing attention to this particular side of the Arab states' policy because I think many things can be said especially after the end of the war about Jewish refugees who were directed to Palestine for political not humanitarian reasons when they could have had better homes and better futures in Australia or in the North American continent. I think politics were played with the Jewish refugees just as they are now being played with the Arab refugees."

It was Morris Ernst, a civil-rights lawyer and well-known liberal, who drew attention to the "sabotage by Zionists" of a World War II plan of President Roosevelt to rescue 500,000 people from Hitler by providing a world-wide political asylum "because this would open other doors but Palestine." He quoted Roosevelt as saying that the projected rescue plan was dead:

"We can't put it over because the dominant local Jewish leadership of America won't stand for it."⁴⁰

"It's impossible. Why?" asked Ernst.

Roosevelt: "The Zionist movement knows that Palestine is and will be for some time a remittance society. They know that they can raise vast sums for Palestine by saying to donors, 'There is no other place this poor Jew can go,' but if there is a world political asylum for all people irrespective of race, creed or color they cannot raise their money. Then the people that do not want to give the money will have an excuse to say, 'What do you mean there is no place they can go but Palestine? They are the preferred wards of the world.'"⁴¹

Zionism won its blitzkrieg over Americans because it was permitted to affix the label "humanitarianism" on the power politics of Jewish nationalism. After World War II Americans too frequently bowed before slogans and labels as they surrendered personal thought to group jargon, individual responsibility to group emotionalism. They seemed to abhor nothing so much as the process of personal rationalizing. They accepted cleverly manufactured catchwords as self-evident truths which were not to be exposed to intellectual analysis. And no tragedy in the long history of Judaism could have been more appalling than the meekness with which the religious community that gave monotheism to a pagan world joined their Christian counterparts in yielding to the savage paganism of word fetishes.

The triumph of Zionism, culminating in the establishment of the state of Israel, could almost be summarized in one word: Hitler. It was the Nazi dictator who recruited more Zionists than any Zionist organization ever did. Without the crimes and bestial acts of the Nazi regime, this movement could not have succeeded in achieving its first goal, the creation of Israel, nor its second goal, the establishment of Israel as the focal center of Jewish life. Where Zionist dialecticians failed to arouse any enthusiasm for their ideology, Goering, Goebbels and Hitler succeeded. The eloquently and continuously repeated saga of

the six million Jewish victims of Nazism molded inexorable support from both Christians and Jews.

The humanitarian vestments in which Israelism was publicly garbed afforded full protection to its varied activities, and the fatal label "anti-Semite" was ever available. Christian would-be critics were speedily silenced with the smear word "anti-Semitism," and any latent Jewish opposition to Zionist nationalism was effectively throttled by the fear of being labeled treason to Jewry. Zionist strategy called for keeping alive simultaneously a lurking fear in Jews of anti-Semitism and an overpowering guilt feeling in Christians, epitomized succinctly by *Life* magazine's editorial reference to the "moral sentiment of their right to a homeland as compensation, if any there could be, for the unspeakable horrors inflicted upon them in other lands."⁴²

Zionism has had few money problems. Christians, unfamiliar with the methods used to pump forth these gigantic sums of money, are amazed at the size of Jewish giving to Israel. In the year 1964 the control that organized Jewry exercised over its membership was as great as in the medieval ghettos of Europe and in the mellots of the Ottoman Empire, when their rabbinical leadership exacted from them the required taxes for their own community and for their lord or liege. There was then no alternative but to pay up. Today, Jews in many places find themselves barred from clubs, golf clubs, synagogues and social centers if they resist the "philanthropic" assessment set for them. A tight communal rule with kangaroo courts has been established in Latin America. In the United States, control only a shade less totalitarian rules the Jewish communities.⁴³

The number-one factor, however, accounting for the remarkable success of the Israelist movement has been the unparalleled zeal and efficiency that its partisans have mustered. Well financed and well publicized, their varied day-in and day-out activities cover every single facet of community life.

In New York City on almost any given day there can be a U.J.A. drive meeting, a bond rally, a travel lecture on Israel, a meeting of the Anti-Defamation League exposing the latest

trend toward anti-Semitism, a council of rabbis reporting on the new spiritual gains in Israel, a personality recently returned from Israel aglow with enthusiasm or back from the Soviet Union aghast at "anti-Jewish discrimination." Speakers are sent to every type of organization, literature floods through the mails; full-page advertisements pour out the message. The 281 national Jewish organizations, the mere listing of which fills 23 pages of the *Jewish Year Book*,⁴⁴ and the 251 local Jewish federations, welfare funds and community councils, whose listing takes 12 pages, are continuously holding luncheons, dinners, receptions, teas, dances, benefits, theater parties, concerts, recitals, lectures, meetings and fund-raising rallies. And at none of these is an opportunity lost either to instill a valuable droplet of political propaganda or to awaken a dormant spark of Jewish consciousness. There is even an annual briefing conference at the United Nations at which delegates from nations friendly to Israel address the convenees on subjects of international interest. Where Jewish groups cannot go it alone, they make their point through the National Conference of Christians and Jews and its "Brotherhood" campaign.

There is a never-ending flow of American cinema, theatrical and sports stars, scientists, scholars, artists, journalists, industrialists and politicians visiting Israel. And in the reverse direction there have been brought to the U.S. from Israel "practically every member who ever sat in the Israeli cabinet, dozens of Knesset members, every self-respecting official above a certain rank, artists and thousands of students and trainees of every kind."⁴⁵

No person in public life or in the public eye remains immune from being honored by some Jewish organizations or other. Former President Herbert Hoover received the 1960 Humanitarian Award from the Jewish Theological Seminary of America at a Waldorf-Astoria banquet. Phil Rizutto, onetime New York Yankees star, was cited by the sports section of the United Jewish Appeal at the Plaza. A Waldorf-Astoria ball for the benefit of a cultural center in Israel draws as patrons, among others, Mrs. Wendell Willkie, Mrs. Ogden Reid, Spyros

Skouras, Stringfellow Barr, Dr. Howard Rusk, Davidson Taylor, Mrs. Oscar Hammerstein 2nd, and Mrs. John Dewey.⁴⁶

Through the totality of these and similar activities, anyone who means anything is put under obligation to organized Jewry. Campaign Judaism moves ahead. As one observer has noted, "quite apart from the merits of the case, such work has provided a satisfying outlet for the natural desire of men and women to identify themselves with a cause transcending their life routine, has given members of an affluent society the psychologically needed 'right' to enjoy their affluence by sharing it with others less fortunate and has perhaps helped to alleviate a faint sense of 'guilt' on the part of the American Jews because they had an easy time while their brethren in Europe and elsewhere suffered want and persecution."⁴⁷

The large city press carries the unending story of the day-to-day activities of the varied Zionist and and pro-Israeli organizations.⁴⁸ The wide news coverage and thoroughness of *The New York Times* has been a valuable aid to Zionism-Israelism. Even without the presence of pressures, it would be difficult for metropolitan newspapers in the large urban U.S. centers to ignore the plethora of activities selling Israel daily to the American public. It would be hard for the press not to report a certain amount of this, difficult for the public not to absorb more than a grain of the propaganda propagated, and unnatural for the Christian, as well as the Jewish, community not to be impressed by this display of power. Skilled writers pour forth human interest stories to the eagerly waiting press. Invariably each item contains its political smidgin arousing simultaneously sympathy for Israel and antagonism for the Arab. And there are some 218 Jewish periodicals published at regular intervals, in English or Yiddish, supplementing the American press.

In his autobiography Chaim Weizmann boasted of how he ensnared anti-nationalist Jews into creating the props of a separatist political movement of which they wanted no part: "Those wealthy Jews who could not wholly divorce themselves from a feeling of responsibility toward their people but, at the

same time, could not identify themselves with the hopes of the masses, were prepared with a sort of left-handed generosity on condition that their right hand did not know what their left hand was doing. To them the university-to-be in Jerusalem was philanthropy which did not compromise them; to us it was National Renaissance. They would give—with disclaimers. We would accept—with reservations.”⁴⁹ It was not until years later that Senator Fulbright and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee revealed the consequences to the American taxpayer of permitting contributions intended for philanthropy to be used for state building.

On May 23 and August 1, 1963, the Committee conducted hearings in Washington on the Zionist movement as part of an examination into activities of various agents of foreign principals, aimed at checking possible abuses of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Nearly three hundred printed pages of testimony, originally classified, brought to light “one of the most effective networks of foreign influence,” in the words of a weekly news magazine,⁵⁰ masked behind tax-free United Jewish Appeal dollars distributed through “conduits” (a term employed by Senator Fulbright) of the Jewish Agency, Jerusalem and the Jewish Agency’s American section, a registered foreign agent, in order to mold public opinion and to exert pressures. More than five million philanthropic dollars from philanthropic-minded Americans had been sent to Israel, then sent back to the United States and distributed to organizations and individuals seeking to influence public opinion in favor of Israel.

Publicly disclosed for the first time by a U.S. Government body was the highly complex process of passing funds among the three “Jewish Agencies”: The Jewish Agency for Israel, Jerusalem; The Jewish Agency for Israel, Inc.; The Jewish Agency—American Section, Inc. (registered agent); and through their appointees to many respectable organizations molding American opinion who often were not cognizant of the original source of the funds. More than 80 per cent of the budget of

the American Zionist Council, the co-ordinating body for nine major United States Zionist groups had been received for eight years from the Jewish Agency for Israel.

Among the many pertinent operations and activities thus financed with tax-free charity dollars were: the purchase and control of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency for distribution of "news" to Jewish publications; the establishment and maintenance of the Presidents' Conference of Jewish Organizations; the subsidization of the efforts of the Synagogue Council of America in its interpretation to Christian leaders of the relationship of American Jewry to Israel; organization work, seminars and travel "study" tours in Israel by the American Christian Palestine Committee; pressuring American newspapers into support and into attacking anti-Zionist groups; establishment of inter-university committees on Israel and setting up through contributions chairs of Hebrew culture at universities which had Middle East study programs; establishment of the Council on Middle Eastern Affairs.

This penetration by masked funds, as revealed by Senator Fulbright, touched almost every aspect of Jewish and Christian life. The detailed report by the Zionist Council's information department on the techniques used to influence public opinion in favor of a pro-Israeli foreign policy included "cultivation of editors," "placement of articles on Israel in some of America's leading magazines," arranging for radio and TV programs "sympathetic" to Israel, and subsidizing trips to Israel by "public opinion molders," especially Christian clergymen, academic people and representatives of mass communications media.⁵¹

For the first time unsuspecting contributors to the United Jewish Appeal learned that part of their contributions had been flowing through the American Zionist Council's lobby-funds pipeline, not only to work on congressmen and U.S. opinion, but to propagandize themselves into giving more to Israel. Senator Fulbright stated that "the device of using the American Zionist Council is a very thin way of insulating" it and other recipients from terms of the foreign agents act. Whereas the

Jewish Agency had registered, most of those who received the funds had not. "The Department of Justice and therefore the public," said the Senator, "was unaware of the public relations activities in the interests of Israel carried on within the United States by the Agency. And the Jewish Agency supported organizations and individuals without itemization of such financial support publicly in its Justice Department reports."⁵²

Herein lies the crux to this twentieth-century saga in state-making: The Zionists and Israelists know where they are going and nothing in the world is permitted to deter them from advancing their goals—no fears about arousing prejudice, no qualms about misusing power, no worries about the American national interest, no concerns for the future security of Jews in the U.S. Dedication and devotion drive the movement straight ahead according to plan and schedule. The direction of Zionism, aided and abetted by Jewish nationalism—and vice versa—is undeviating. What opposition has manifested itself in the United States from anti-Zionist Jews, Arab supporters and the Arabs themselves reminds one of those meandering streams that wander back and forth aimlessly before getting lost in some mountain crag. It is hard to tell where they are going or why. And, furthermore, who cares?

The reaction of America to certain Zionist plans for American citizens bears study.

2

Operation Ingathering

"In a world of wolves, one must be a fox."

Machiavelli

IN SOLEMN policy declarations David Ben-Gurion and his successor continue to enunciate the Zionist nationalist dogma that has been promulgated privately since the days of Herzl—that Jews everywhere are members of a collective Jewish nation and that this "Jewish people" must someday be gathered home to Eretz Israel. With the creation of the state what he and others once whispered privately they now stated openly, to the chagrin of non-Zionist Jews and to the anger of anti-Zionists. The retirement of Mr. Ben-Gurion in 1963 to the Negev changed nothing. The Israeli government under Levi Eshkol and the World Zionist Organization moved toward a goal of "conquering the communities of U.S. Jews."¹

In his address to the 25th World Zionist Congress in Jerusalem in December, 1960, in a speech delivered to members of the Association of American and Canadian Settlers in Israel in 1961, in a report to the Israeli Knesset of May, 1961, in an address at the opening of Hadassah's golden jubilee celebration in January, 1962, and in a talk before the American Jewish Congress Symposium in Jerusalem in June, 1962, the Israeli head of government in turn described as godless Jews who lived outside of Israel; called American Jews "ignorant of being what a Jew means—for more and more American Jews are being affiliated with a synagogue as a social more than a religious affair"³; upbraided American Zionists "who are reluctant to say they are not Americans and not part of the American homeland like other Americans"⁴; declared that Israel is the basis of

the whole existence of the Jewish communities everywhere, especially in the United States,⁵ and predicted that the "only things that could save Judaism in the United States were personal ties with Israel."⁶ With the flow of Jews to Israel dwindling, the Israeli Prime Minister admitted "we are short of manpower,"⁷ and he excoriated Zionists for sending "only money and good advice" instead of trained and competent Jewish immigrants from the West.

Organizations and individuals alike defended themselves from the Talmudic accusation of godlessness and took strong issue with Ben-Gurion. The Israeli Prime Minister was assailed by Dr. Goldmann as "endangering the position of Jews in every part of the world." Here and there, a fervent follower like the former president of the Zionist Organization of America, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, defended the Israeli leader. He charged *The New York Times* report of the two-hour-long address with "lifting a passage out of context containing a quotation from the Talmud, leaving the wrong impression. . . . Needless to say, that quotation [calling Jews godless] referring to the pagan Roman world is wholly inapplicable to the times in which we live."⁸

But Mr. Ben-Gurion purposely chose this passage because he wanted this Talmudic reference to apply to the present situation. Neither should his detractors have been surprised nor his followers apologetic. The Israeli Prime Minister was only reiterating what he had told a group of Americans in 1949: "Our goal is only at the beginning. It consists of bringing all Jews to Israel. We appeal to the parents to help us bring their children here. Even if they decline to help, we will bring the youth to Israel."⁹ To an American audience at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York City during his 1960 visit, Mr. Ben-Gurion said "come to Israel to live . . . and if, God forbid, it should be necessary, to fight with us."¹⁰

The measure of Ben-Gurion's disenchantment with American Zionists and the despair that led to his bold, forthright and dangerous pronouncements can be gauged by his ensuing explanation regarding the number of these American children he wanted.

On a visit to the U.S. in May, 1951, he stated that he envisaged an influx of an additional four million Jews into Israel within the following ten years. But by May, 1961, this influx had reached a figure of only 800,000 and within the latter part of the decade had fallen to a trickle of 30,000 yearly. The bulk of the newcomers had come from the Arab countries and only the smallest handful from the United States.

Those who had been ingathered brought little wealth. Many were poor, aged and infirm, neither good pioneering nor good military material. Soon unrestricted immigration gave way to selective immigration, and the Jewish Agency "persuaded" only those Oriental Jews who were young, able-bodied and endowed with special professional skills to emigrate.

The future plans of Ben-Gurion and his partisans apparently directly depended on that predicted influx of four million Jews. For shortly after the 1949 Israeli elections Ben-Gurion had declared: "We must save the remnants in the Diaspora. We must also save their possessions. Without these two things, we shall not build this country."

But the Zionist-minded members of the American Jewish Congress attending a three-day symposium in Israel's capital in June, 1962, indicated they did not have the slightest desire to be "saved" by the Israeli Prime Minister or his colleagues. In a reply to Ben-Gurion and his minister of education, former ambassador to the U.S. Abba Eban, who had declared, "I frankly doubt your continued existence as Jews," Stanley H. Lowell, chairman of the Commission of Intergroup Relations and a vice president of the group sponsoring the meeting in Jerusalem, vehemently replied: "You are not the only answer to Jewish living, Jewish creativity and Jewish survival."¹¹

This symposium never resolved the question of whether emigration to Israel should be the highest goal of American Jewry, but there was unanimity among the 1,000 Jewish Israelis and Americans attending that there should be more frequent and longer visits by Americans to Israel and that Jewish-Hebrew education should be increased in the United States. (Fifteen hundred American youths were already earmarked for summer

work and study in Israel.)¹² Once again the objections by Zionists-Israelists to Ben-Gurion's statements seemed to ignore the seriousness of the basic philosophy time and again advanced by the Prime Minister: "You [Diaspora Jews] are only part-time Jews at best, for the few minutes that you pray every day. The houses you live in were not built by Jews. The bread you eat is not baked by Jews, and the roads on which you travel were not laid by Jews. Here in Israel our Jewishness is expressed in what we build, write and do. Here we do things as full Jews."¹³ In effect, the protests of the Diaspora Jews seemed to say: "Darn it—do not play this up so openly. We will help you, but do not treat us—certainly not publicly—as if we were Israelis." Clearly those marked for ingathering had refused the honor, preferring to do their more-than-bit for the homeland from their New York apartments and suburban ranch houses.

"Operation Ingathering" became codified with the Law of Return¹⁴ adopted by the Knesset (on July 5, 1950), and with the Nationality Act of 1952, which grants every Jew the right to come to Israel for permanent settlement and to acquire Israeli citizenship automatically. The emptying of Europe's Jewish refugee camps had brought to the new state a rush of 300,000 emigrants, mostly survivors of Hitler who had no other place to go. But the next wave, which according to the Zionist blueprint was to consist of voluntary *émigrés* from the United States and elsewhere, never did follow in the wake of this basic Israeli legislation. Jewish American do-gooders, enthusiastic sympathizers, all-out supporters, generous philanthropists and even political crusaders continued to carry on their work for "little Israel" from the United States, refusing to emigrate to the new democracy. As William Zukerman described it in the *Jewish Newsletter*:

No amount of raging and fuming on the part of the nationalists and particularly of Ben-Gurion made a dent on their decision to remain in their homes. Israel was to the American Jew a thing of pride, an ornament, even a new article of their religion for which they were willing to pay generously in money. But it was not to be their personal home,

nor the home of their children. This was the one great act of defiance of Western Jews against Israel which doomed "Ingathering" to ideological bankruptcy and material failure.¹⁵

Once the state had come into being, no Israeli leader was able to persuade the philanthropic Jews whom Weizmann had described as being willing to give "with disclaimers"¹⁶ to join in the final fruition of their gifts by emigrating to Israel. He could not persuade even the smallest number of his own American Zionists¹⁷ to make the move and avail themselves of the Law of Return, let alone those who had always supported Israel as philanthropy and refugeeism, but never as the culmination of Jewish nationhood involving themselves.

With his own American Zionists refusing to be "ingathered," the Israeli leader decided to make more frequent use of non-Zionist Israelists. These non-Zionists were a safe group with which to deal. Ostensibly they did not seek to interfere with his role inside Israel. They possessed a greater access to people in high office in Washington, to the press and to financial interests than did the self-conscious and obvious Zionists. When, in the hectic days prior to the 1947 partition, White House doors had been closed to Stephen S. Wise, it was the affluent, quiet, non-Zionist Eugene Meyer, owner of *The Washington Post*, who acted as intermediary between the White House and representatives of the state-to-be.

It was, therefore, to the non-Zionist American Jewish Committee and its president, Jacob Blaustein, that Ben-Gurion pledged non-interference in the internal affairs of "Jewish communities abroad." After each intemperate bid for emigration and what was alleged to have been an "infraction of the spirit of the agreement," the concordat¹⁸ was renewed.

Ben-Gurion's growing disenchantment with American Zionism stemmed from his sense of the increasing unpopularity of the movement. Most young people in the United States felt that the Zionist mission had been fulfilled with the establishment of Israel, and Zionism had never been popular with the sabras in Israel. There was a definite foreign connotation to the word

in the minds of both groups, and Jewish Americans in the U.S. found other ready avenues of affirming their fealty to Israel without taking on the opprobrious Zionist label.

The "I am not a Zionist but" approach to working for Israel was obviously far more popular among all age groups in the Diaspora. Ben-Gurion, with a sense of timing, could now safely insist that the Zionist organization was the "scaffolding of the State" and that the "time had come to take the scaffolding down." Inasmuch as the American Zionists were bankrupt so far as personal emigration was concerned, it was just a matter of time and method before the antiquated Zionist machinery would be replaced by something better serving the ends and interests of the state of Israel. The Israelis who followed the Ben-Gurion leadership¹⁹ pushed the subtler approach to American hearts.

The increasing reliance of the Israeli Premier upon non-Zionist leadership in the United States impelled the American Zionist forces to show their mettle. They pushed their efforts in the field of ingathering—not of themselves, but of others. More than ever a Zionist could appropriately be defined as a Jew who gave money to a second Jew to send a third Jew to Israel.

After President Kennedy's announcement of the Peace Corps, the president of the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) called upon young Jewish Americans to enlist in the new service, but "to give as their preference for placement the under-developed areas of Israel, such as the Negev, the Hills of Judea and Eastern Galilee." In this way the U.S. government at its own expense would be implementing on a small scale the ingathering to which American Zionists were not subscribing. "I am confident," wrote Dr. Samuel Margoshes in a Jewish publication,²⁰ "that this will make a strong appeal to American Jewish young men and women who, in joining the Peace Corps, will wish to select Israel as their preference to carry the American ideal of service into practice." The problem became academic, however, when Israel was not designated as a country to be covered under Peace Corps activities.

Intimately tied to efforts to bring newcomers to Israel are the United Jewish Appeal's annual "this year of crisis" fund-raising campaign in the United States and the Israel bond drive. The bond drive, inaugurated in 1951, has brought in almost \$1 million per week. The U.J.A., averaging an intake of \$70 million per year between 1957 and 1961, had set its goal for 1964 at \$105 million, the highest figure since the \$85 million raised in 1957 following the Suez crisis and the cry, "Rescue the Jews of Egypt." The Zionist ingathering goals were financed by these successful agencies and German reparations payments. But to succeed there had to be ingatherers. **1341982**

When Dr. Chaim Weizmann in November, 1917, won the Balfour Declaration from the Lloyd George government, the final draft of the British Foreign Minister contained this significant last sentence, which altered the draft submitted by the Zionist leader: "It being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice . . . the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." In commenting upon the Declaration, Dr. Weizmann noted that this alteration had been inserted to prevent "anti-Semites from seizing upon the Declaration as a weapon whereby to bring about the disenfranchisement of the Jews."²¹ The first president of Israel ought to have been concerned with pro-Semites, with the Israeli-American ingatherers whose intrepid handiwork has complicated dangerously the lives of more than half a million Jews still remaining in Arab countries, after having already beguiled more than that number from lands in which they had lived for centuries.

The impact of Zionism since 1948 has shattered the peaceful existence that Jews enjoyed among their Arab brethren for millennia. Zionist agents, by instilling fear of imminent persecution and by other propaganda weapons, have already drawn more than 700,000 Jews out of Iraq, Yemen, Syria, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. These Oriental Jews have been "enticed to come to Israel to develop the open spaces made vacant by the exiled Arabs," to use the words of Moshe Menuhin.²² And their immigration was accomplished not primarily

for the sake of the immigrants, but to meet Israeli needs for money, manpower and military strength.

What is known in the West as anti-Semitism has never existed in the Arab world. Moses and Abraham, as well as Jesus, are recognized as prophets in the Islamic faith. One of the holiest places in Islam is the rock in Jerusalem where Abraham was prepared to sacrifice his son, Isaac. The Koran refers to Jews as "People of the Book," and the followers of Islam have invariably referred to their Jewish neighbors as "the sons and daughters of our uncle," an allusion to the Old Testament story of Ishmael and Isaac.

Aside from the semantic absurdity of calling people anti-Semitic who are themselves Semites, anti-Semitism has been a product of the Western world, not of the Arab countries. There has been little discrimination against Jews as Jews, only an identification of Jews with the Israelis whom the Arabs oppose on political, not on religious, grounds. Dov Joseph, military governor of Israel's Jerusalem during the Arab-Israeli war, wrote in his account of the siege of that city: "I have never found among Moslems who made up the great majority of the Arabs of Palestine any trace of feeling against Jews comparable to anti-Semitism."²³

Jewish Life, the bimonthly publication of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, reached the same conclusion. An article by Gottfried Neuberger, who had visited Jewish communities in the Arab countries, had this to say:

The majority of the population of such countries as Egypt, Tunisia, and Morocco, where Jew and Moslem have long lived side by side, is intuitively friendly to Jews. This does not diminish the fact that these same Arabs are strongly hostile to Israel and are deeply suspicious of Israeli future aims and actions. Yet I feel that it is a basic fallacy and a grave error to equate this with "anti-Semitism."²⁴

Jews had from the beginning been allowed to organize themselves in autonomous communities within the Moslem states.²⁵ In Iraq where they had been brought by Nebuchadnezzar after

the destruction of the Kingdom of Judah (586 B.C.), they had found the "peace of the city" prophesied for them by Jeremiah.²⁶ Here their leaders served as counselors and advisers to sultans and pashas and gained civic and financial prestige. Here the Jewish community enjoyed economic and religious freedom continuously for centuries. Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Baghdad in 1170 A.D., found ten rabbinical schools and 238 synagogues in the land where the Babylonian Talmud had been written. The chief rabbi, he wrote, was held in high esteem, being regarded as a descendant of David.²⁷

Iraq, the land where, according to the Bible, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob lived, was in modern times home to over 125,000 Jews who attended more than sixty synagogues. Today fewer than 6,000 remain. Despite the opposition of Iraq's chief rabbi, Sassoon Kheddoury,²⁸ Zionist agents after the establishment of Israel produced trouble between Jews and Moslems, forcing the ensuing exodus. Jews who had been permitted by the Option Law of 1954 to leave for Israel, but were reluctant to emigrate, were stampeded into flight.

The tragedy of the Iraqi Jews, as reported by an eyewitness, Reuben David, a young Jewish Iraqi, set in when "the Zionists embarked upon a high pressure job of psychological warfare . . . The natural fears of the uncertainties of life in Iraq if they remained behind were shrewdly played upon."²⁹ Pamphlets entitled, "Don't Buy from Moslems," which were given out in synagogues, were obviously intended to fall into the hand of Moslems and cause anti-Jewish bitterness. Mr. David, who subsequently emigrated to the United States, further describes events in Iraq:

Zionist efforts to stampede the Jews of Iraq were based on the theory that both a push and a pull were needed. The push derived from persecution of Jews in Iraq—both real and fancied. The pull derived from the repeated Zionist proclamations of Israel as "the homeland" for all Jews . . . Somebody was certainly busy in Iraq to make sure the "push" was not neglected. There were stories in the newspapers of the bombings of places frequented by Jews, in-

cluding one synagogue. Yet such bombings never seemed to cause casualties or even much damage.

I read one day that Levy's, the Chevrolet and Buick dealer, had been bombed and that another Jewish establishment, where Cadillac and Hudson cars were sold, had also been the scene of an explosion. I personally visited both places to inspect the damage. There was none. In all the bombings there were no casualties reported.

It seems obvious to me that these bombings must have been done by the Zionists. I believe that all they wanted to do was frighten the Jews and make them believe the Moslems were taking action against them.

Although the bombings seem to have done little or no physical damage, they had an effect on Iraqi Jews generally. Enormous quantities of arms began to be found in Jewish homes and synagogues. The government concluded that the bombs which had done so little damage in the Jewish business establishments and cafés were part of the same stores of munitions found in Jewish homes and synagogues and that the same people were probably responsible.³⁰

Despite international movements of an anti-Semitic nature, the traditional Arab respect for freedom of religion has never ceased to include Jewish-Arab communities. In Egypt hundreds of Moslems and Christians traditionally joined their Jewish cousins in celebrating the Holy Day of Al-Anshaty, the annual commemoration of the birthday of the famous Jewish educator, scholar, physician and botanist who lived in the 12th century.³¹

When the body of an Arab soldier killed in the Palestine war was carried through the streets of Cairo in a massive public ceremony prior to interment as the symbolic unknown soldier, walking behind the casket, arm in arm with the Moslem and Coptic chieftains, was Haim Nahoum Effendi who served as Egypt's Grand Rabbi for 31 years. Beloved by his fellow Egyptians, Nahoum Effendi was a great Arabist and a member of the Arab Academy. During the July, 1956 crisis and the ensuing troubles over Suez, he exerted every effort to halt the

emigration of Jewish Egyptians. In reporting his death in November, 1960, the English Zionist publication *Jewish Observer and Middle East Review* wrote:

There is not the slightest bit of evidence available here of any outbreaks of anti-Semitism, even in 1956-57, which were any worse than similar disturbances in nearly every Western country at one time or another. After Suez young hoodlums apparently molested the homes of Jews living in the so-called "Coptic village" quarter, near the Ben Ezra Synagogue (the probable site of the Land of Goshen, and associated closely with much of Moses' life), and some of the 42 Jewish families who had lived there for centuries left and have not returned. However, there seems to be genuine "peaceful co-existence" between Moslems, Jews and Christians still living in the quarter.³²

No better summary of the attitude of *Moslems* toward *Jews* (and precise semantics are vital here) up to the advent of Zionism and particularly the creation of Israel can be given than that set forth in an address to the UN General Assembly by an Arab delegate:

We were on the best of terms with the Jews. We have liked them when they were hated everywhere. We have sheltered them when they were expelled everywhere. With us, they have built their lives, when theirs were destroyed everywhere. We have treated them with quality, dignity and fraternity, when they were persecuted everywhere. They have participated in our national life, when they were excommunicated everywhere. In the Arab homeland, they became ministers, members of Parliament, officials, industrialists, tradesmen and have engaged in all walks of life. We sang together, wept together. It was only after Zionism and Israel that all this human structure collapsed under the impact of the most flagrant ingratitude. The events of the last 40 years have brought Zionism in direct clash with the Arab world.³³

When in 1961 the announced refusal of the Rumanian government to permit further Jewish emigration killed a fund-

raising drive "to bring in the Jewish Rumanians," the United Jewish Appeal and the Zionists scoured the world in their search for new immigrants. Once again they turned to the Arab world and to the Middle East. Jews from such oriental countries as Tunisia and Iran became the objective. In Tunisia it was quite clear that whatever anti-Jewish feeling existed resulted largely from the close association of many Jews with pro-French sentiment. As had been the case in Morocco during the disturbing years prior to the final ascendancy of Sultan Mohammed V, Jews suspected of siding with the European overlord were attacked and in many instances violence was committed against their persons and property. But these actions were in no sense anti-Jewish, let alone anti-Semitic, but anti-European, just as in other parts of the Arab world. The association of Jews with Zionism had led to the unfortunate events leading to the ingathering of Jews from Iraq, Syria, Egypt and North Africa. In both Tunisia and Iran hard-working operatives recruited Jews for emigration to Israel. In Iran this drive for new Israelis was headed by the Joint Distribution Committee chief, who had been put in charge in the spring of 1958 after a training period in India.³⁴

The 1961 drive, however, placed emphasis on another North African country. The U.J.A. had raised its quota \$10 million from the \$62 million goal of 1960, and this time it was the Moroccan Jews who were specifically earmarked for return. "Save Morocco Jewry" became the slogan of the new drive. American Zionism received the cue from Menachem Begin, the leader of the Herut Party in Israel, who outlined a program for the mass evacuation of Moroccan Jews "lest we wait until the knife is at the throat. We cannot rely on a smile and a promise. One day they [the Moroccans] smile, the next day they burn a synagogue. We want the North African Jews to settle in Israel. We dare not consider the trouble of their absorption. Human lives are at stake."³⁵ The outline of the combined Israeli-U.S. campaign assumed shape as American Zionist leaders in press statements and pronouncements reiterated "the right of Jews to leave their countries in order to emigrate to Israel."

Since 1959 the government of Morocco had imposed restrictions on Jewish migration to Israel and refused to cooperate with the Zionists in their movement to bring about a mass emigration of Moroccan Jews. Some 90,000 to 100,000 had left for Israel and the Joint Distribution Committee (J.D.C.), an organ of the U.J.A. was stimulating emigration by propaganda particularly aimed at destitute Jews. Now that these Oriental Jews were to become the specific 1961 project of the U.J.A., the appropriate climate had to be created: the generous American givers had to view the 750,000 Moroccan Jews as the victims of a full-scale anti-Semitic campaign from which the "discriminated, persecuted and physically tortured" had to be "rescued" en masse by ship and plane.

An underground movement (reputedly under J.D.C. direction and financing) with U.J.A. funds was organized. The well-orchestrated propaganda campaign was launched with a headlined incident, the sinking of the *Pisces* off the Moroccan coast with the loss of 43 men, women and children. As the incidents involving the ships *Patria* (1940) and the *Exodus* (1947) had been used to fight British suppression of illegal immigration into Palestine, it was now similarly hoped the focus of world attention would shine on the illegal emigration from Morocco.

By this time the world had either become hardened or was otherwise concerned, so that the sinking of the *Pisces* did not win banner headlines. But starting with this incident the propaganda drums began to beat rhythmically: "Rescue the Moroccan Jews." In Tel Aviv Foreign Minister Golda Meir assailed the Moroccan government for making life unendurable for the Jews and pledged that "together with world Jewry, we shall do our utmost to change the existing situation."³⁶

On the occasion of the visit of President Nasser in Morocco, Zionist groups deliberately provoked arrest by having hordes of young Jews, wearing white caps with blue Mogen Davids (the six-pointed star incorporated in the Israeli flag), parade and shout against the U.A.R. chieftain. Governmental restrictions against illegal emigration were tightened, but U.J.A. advertisements boasted they were enabling escapes "with U.J.A.

funds in an Oriental version of the pre-state illegal immigration.”

As the publicity increased the government of Morocco attempted to bring its side of the story to the attention of the American public. This was one of the first endeavors of the new king, Hassan II, after he succeeded to the throne on the death of his father, King Mohammed V. The new monarch issued an official communiqué declaring that the Jewish communities were regarded as an integral part of the country with the same rights as the rest of the population, and representatives of these communities were in evidence at the coronation of the king. On the afternoon of Yom Kippur in September, 1961, Crown Prince Moulay Abdulla, accompanied by the Casablanca governor and officials from Rabat, made his ceremonial visit to the Talmud Torah School Synagogue, a rite of respect inaugurated by the late King Mohammed V when King Hassan was the crown prince. As usual, in the face of growing tensions, the Jewish community was split, with the hot-headed Zionists now seeking permission of the king to elect a central Jewish body with complete authority in all spheres of life, not merely welfare, religion and education. Such a self-imposed ghetto, invariably and historically, has worked in favor of the Zionists.

There had been no significant Jewish problem in Morocco. The Jews of Morocco had no reason either to seek self-ghettoization or to leave their ancestral homes. History casts some interesting light on the status of Moroccan Jewry, whose presence in the country goes back to the third century B.C.

Rom Landau in his book *Moroccan Drama*³⁷ notes that many thousands of Jews driven from their European homes, starting with the expulsion from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492, have found asylum in Morocco. He quotes Walter Harris, the famous London *Times* correspondent, as saying that these Jews were able at any time to gain access to the authorities and even to the sultans.

The same author goes on to say, “Of particular interest is the following decree published on February 5, 1864, by the Sultan Mohammed ben Abdallah:

It is our order that all Jews residing in Our Empire, regardless of the situation in which they were placed by the Almighty, should be treated by our governors, administrators, and other subjects, in conformance with strictest justice; and that before our legal courts, they should be on an equal basis with any other person, so that not even the slightest injustice may be done them nor any unmerited treatment accorded them. . . . Because such an injustice is an injustice in the heavens, and we cannot under any circumstances prejudice their rights. Our dignity is opposed with all its might to such proceedings. In Our eyes, all men have an equal right to ask for justice."

The author concludes with the following observation: "Morocco's attitude toward religious minorities has on the whole been of comparative tolerance. They have no such black blots as the Inquisition, the Saint Bartholomew Massacre, the burnings and beheadings of Protestants by Catholics and of Catholics by Protestants. In consequence it has become more appropriate to speak of 'Jewish Moroccans' than 'Moroccan Jews.' "

In 1086, forty thousand Jewish warriors joined the Moroccan troops entering Spain with Youssef ben Tachfine, and several thousand remained in southern Spain. In this period a great number of famous literary Jews were found in Andalusia, including Maimonides, Rebi Isaac Hacoheh, Sayed Alfassi, who wrote under the assumed name of Harif, Judah Halevi, and others. Since then, the rulers of Morocco have had Jewish doctors, advisers, cabinet ministers, attendants and chamberlains.

King Moulay Ismail, contemporary of Louis XIV, named Daniel Toledano³⁸ as a counselor to the court, sent his brother Joseph Toledano on a diplomatic mission to the Netherlands, and later sent another member of this family, Haim Toledano, as ambassador to Great Britain.

In 1764, Sidi Mohamed Ben Moulay Ismail decided to create the city of Es-Souira, now Mogador, and he called upon wealthy Jews to help in the financing. Levy, Corcos, Afriat, Bouganim, Ohana, Benhamou, Elmaleh and Attia were among the families who responded and were given the title of Toujjar es-Sultan

(Merchants of the King), responsible only to the sultan. Some years later, the city of Es-Souira, an important port city, had 20,000 inhabitants, of whom 12,000 were Jews.

During World War II, the late King Mohammed V protected Jewish Moroccans against the Vichy government's Nazi discriminatory laws, issuing a proclamation declaring that "Moroccan Jews are my subjects, and my duty is to protect them against any aggression." In 1946 M. René Cassin, president of the French Alliance Israélite, saluted the courage of the Sultan in a letter declaring that "the life and property of many thousands of Jews were saved thanks to the Sultan's courage and to the support he received from the entire Moslem community in Morocco."

King Mohammed in his first major speech from the throne after returning from exile stated: "It stands to reason that Moroccan Jews have the same rights and duties as other Moroccans." Jews served under King Mohammed and his successor Hassan in important posts as parliamentarians, civil servants, advisers and technicians. There are today Jewish officers in the army and in the police force, and Jews have even represented Morocco in the Arab "Olympic" games.³⁹

Nonetheless, Zionists' activity was injected in Morocco from the outside⁴⁰ during the period in which Mohammed V was in exile and was stepped up to co-ordinate with the 1961 U.J.A. drive. Overnight, pamphlets urging Jews to emigrate were methodically distributed in the cities of Casablanca, Mogador, Ajador, Fez, Safi and Mazajan.

Although the council of Jewish communities denounced the diffusion of material "aimed to divide and sow discord between the Moslem and Jewish populations," the Moroccan Moslem press reacted to the disturbed atmosphere and in unmistakable terms criticized the Zionist elements. The government, too, declared its firm determination to oppose Zionism as a national danger and to thwart efforts to emigrate to Israel "where the homes of a million Palestinian Arabs are occupied by the usurpers." Tempers flared, and the press campaign against Jewish Moroccan elements sometimes failed to indicate that it

was the Zionists among Jewish Moroccans who were their principal objective. Some newspapers⁴¹ developed a racist campaign. Incidents occurred in which members of the Jewish population were maltreated by the police. Circumstances were favorable for a stampede emigration from Morocco.

This sequence of events is similar to that which had occurred in Iraq and was later paralleled in Egypt after Israel's invasion of Sinai: The cycle where propaganda is spread and fear of persecution is inculcated, where distrust leads to distrust and Zionism seizes upon acts of reprisal and violence as evidence of anti-Semitism and where one stems from the other, had been set in motion, gravely endangering the Jewish community of Morocco. Eighty prominent Jewish Moroccans in a vigorous statement assailed

the subversive activities of Zionist instigators who, speculating on the deep aspiration of Jewish Moroccans to dignity, well-being and security, push those to emigrate, when Moslems and Jews must unite their efforts in order to achieve the national liberation and create in their country the conditions of a happy life, ensuring democracy, well-being and security for all. Anxious to defend our country against any calummy, we denounce the international campaign led against Morocco by imperialist hypocrites who try to create here a conflict in order to discredit our country and tear away the Jewish population from the national community.

Our stand here is not an act of compliance dominated by the desire to please anyone. It is derived from nationals who, long before independence, recognized Morocco as their only country and pledged their allegiance to it.

We also declare it our duty to denounce with the same energy any anti-Semitic demonstration. We declare that, on a strictly patriotic position, we defend our rights and liberties as nationals against any discrimination, convinced that this country is ours, and no one can deny us this right.⁴²

Whereas the Egyptian (in 1956-1957) and Iraqi (in 1949-1951) governments in the face of similar strategy had failed

to act forthrightly and in concert with indigenous loyal Jews, the Moroccan government and the leadership of its religious minority moved together. But though both the government and part of the Jewish community were willing to fight for the equality of all Moroccan subjects, the outcome remained very much in doubt. While the Zionists lost the first round, the triumph of universalism was short-lived. Fear and suspicion, purposely nurtured by a determined propaganda machine against the background of unrest and turmoil throughout the Arab world, particularly neighboring Algeria, have proved very hard to lick.

The war waged by the desperate Secret Army (OAS) in Algeria during the months just prior to the independence of that country played directly into the hands of the Israeli ingathering and American fund-raising efforts. In the panic and flight from the horrible spread of violence as independence approached, the exodus of Jews from Algeria was "even more precipitous than the flight of non-Jewish Europeans."⁴³ Where nearly 25 per cent of the latter had left by July 1, 1962, more than 50 per cent of the Jews had left the country. Most of the *émigrés* from the coastal cities, considering themselves Europeans although many of their ancestors had arrived in Algeria prior to the Arab conquest, had fled to France. But the Arabic-speaking Jews of the rural interior departed to Israel. And the stories in the U.S. press played up their exodus and their destination on every possible occasion to help along the fund-raising in the U.S.

It is not encouraging to note the general acquiescence of Americans, private citizens as well as policy-makers, in the face of this ingathering. It is unwholesome that not a single important American figure, either Christian or Jew, has had the courage to tell Israelists frankly: "This 'rescue' of Jews en masse is folly and madness. Sure, many are living in squalid poverty as compared to the standard of living in our country, but so are their Arab neighbors. The Arab awakening is just beginning, and our course is to assist these and other undeveloped countries achieve a better life, not make favorites of a certain few

by bringing these privileged ones to Israel with the contributions by which you assuage your own sense of guilt for not settling in Israel personally." That is what ought to be, but has never been said publicly.

It was at one of the initial Israeli cabinet meetings, on August 15, 1948, that Prime Minister Ben-Gurion stated: "Generations have not in vain suffered and struggled to see only 800,000 Jews in this country. It is the duty of the present generation to *redeem* [italics ours] the Jews in the Arab and European countries." Boldly and bluntly an article in *Davar*, the official organ of the Mapai, Israel's governing party, set forth one plan for achieving this redemption. This is what an article in the Prime Minister's own newspaper said: "I shall not be ashamed to confess that, if I had power, as I have the will, I would select a score of efficient young men—intelligent, decent, devoted to our ideal and burning with the desire to help redeem Jews—and I would send them to the countries where Jews are absorbed in sinful self-satisfaction. The task of these young men would be to disguise themselves as non-Jews, and plague Jews with anti-Semitic slogans, such as 'Bloody Jew,' 'Jews go to Palestine,' and similar intimacies! I can vouch that the results in terms of a considerable immigration to Israel from these countries would be ten thousand times larger than the results brought by thousands of emissaries who have been preaching for decades to deaf ears."⁴⁴

Gullible Americans, ever ready to sanctify a new appearance of the anti-Semitic label, would have been willing to applaud the "rescue" of Jewish Moroccans, as they had earlier the operations Ali Baba (exodus from Iraq), Magic Carpet (exodus from Yemen), and the unnamed Egyptian emigration. What is more reprehensible, the American taxpayer, through the tax exemption enjoyed by the U.J.A. was unwittingly encouraging the financing of an operation of *Israeli* foreign policy adversely affecting American relations with a nation with which the United States was striving to maintain friendship.

Few Americans have taken Ben-Gurion seriously in his plans for "ingathering," which would make possible the Israel from

the Nile to the Euphrates of which he and doctrinaire Zionists have always dreamed. Israelists wax indignant privately after some of the Israeli leader's remarks, reiterated by his successor Levi Eshkol and his heirs apparent, Moshe Dayan and Abba Eban, referring to their future, but do not deviate in the slightest in their full support of Israel. It was a rare event when someone as prominent as Edna Ferber took Mr. Ben-Gurion to task as she did in a letter to *The New York Times*⁴⁵ in which she declared his suggestions that it is the duty of Jews to come to dwell in Israel and to send their children to be educated there "not merely insolent and arrogant; they are the utterances of dictatorship."

The Arabs have long feared Israeli expansionism. Egypt's moderate General Mohamed Naguib early wrote:

If Israel wishes to live in peace with its Arab neighbors, it must call a halt to unrestricted immigration in preparation for military expansion in the future . . . I do not feel that we are being unreasonable in placing the burden of proof on Israel. Israel, after all, is the interloper . . . surely we have the right to demand that our new neighbor prove himself a good neighbor before we accept him as a member of our Community.⁴⁶

Apparently where Americans rarely heard, the Arabs never forgot Ben-Gurion's intonation to the first Knesset: "It is for mass immigration that the State was established, and it is by virtue of this alone that it will stand."⁴⁷ And eight years later the *Israel Government Year Book* carried a reiteration of this theme: "The State of Israel is only the beginning of the redemption, its survival and the fulfillment of its mission cannot be assured without the continuation of the ingathering of the exiles."⁴⁸ It is in this context that the Israeli diversion of the Jordan River waters takes on such serious proportions in Arab eyes.

To treat Israelist ingathering designs as mere whimsy overlooks the extent to which Israel's leadership has become committed to implementing this goal.⁴⁹ It is vital to them in their

struggle for hegemony over American Zionists (and Israelists, of course). Successful ingathering strengthens the argument that there is little room for returning Arabs and provides the manpower, as well as the impetus for the long planned expansionism, set forth in 1951 and repeated many times thereafter by Ben-Gurion: "To maintain the status quo will not do. We have set up a dynamic state bent upon . . . expansionism.⁵⁰ . . . Only now have we reached the beginning of independence in *a part* of our small country."⁵¹

The UN partition plan was accepted by the Zionist leadership in 1947 reluctantly and only as a stepping stone toward the re-creation of Eretz Israel, the state from the Nile to the Euphrates. Their attitude toward accepting a part of what they claimed was expressed by Mr. Ben-Gurion at the Zurich Zionist Conference in 1937 when the partition plan proposed by the Peel Commission was under discussion: "The Jewish state which is being proposed to us now, even if there will be made in the plan all indispensable and possible improvements, is not the Zionist goal. Within such an area as proposed it is impossible to solve the Jewish problem. But it may serve as a decisive step on the way to the realization of the greater Zionism. It will make it possible to raise in the shortest time an effective Jewish force that will bring us to our historical destination."

That this "historical destination" means far more than the present boundaries occupied by the state of Israel was made even clearer by the declaration of the Prime Minister on November 6, 1956, in a triumphal speech to the Knesset. Addressing himself to the Israeli armed forces advancing on Sinai, he declared: "You have brought us back to that exalted and decisive moment in our ancient history and to that place where the Law was given, and where our people were commanded to be a chosen people. Once again, we see before our eyes the eternal words of our scriptures and of the coming of our forefathers into the desert of Sinai."

These were hardly the words of a prime minister goaded into desperate measures of self-protective reprisals against

Egyptian raids, as the Israelis proclaimed. "They read more," as British author, Michael Ionides points out, "like the victorious revelation of a plan to territorial conquest long pondered and now completed."⁵² This policy of active expansionism is related to the ingathering philosophy of the Zionist movement and is reflected in the Security Council votes of censure against Israel following the 1951 aerial bombardment of the Syrian village el Hamma, the 1953 Kibya massacre, the attacks on Gaza in 1955 and at Tiberias in 1957, and the 1962 attack by the Sea of Galilee.⁵³ The U.N. would have added a sixth censure had the British and French not vetoed the Security Council resolution after the Suez conspiracy. And this, of course, does not include the many incidents such as those at Nahalin and Tulkarim, which drew the censure of the mixed armistice commissions but never reached the Security Council. This history of the record along the U.N. truce lines is rarely cited in the Western press, as it would reverse the popular image and lay bare the true meaning of Zionist expansionism.

The Biltmore program, enunciated in 1942 by Zionist and pro-Zionist groups, had demanded the whole of the land of Israel for the Jewish commonwealth. In referring to themselves as the State of Israel in 1948, Weizmann and other proclaimers of the Jewish state had left the door open to an implication of further expansion whereby the land of Israel and the state of Israel might eventually become co-extensive.

The Herut Party, under the leadership of Menachem Begin, who had succeeded to the mantle of the Revisionist leader, Jabotinsky, proclaimed the "Greater Israel" concept as its goal and emerged as the second most powerful political group in Israel. The *Israel Government Year Book* of 1955 boldly proclaimed that the "State was established in part of the former British Mandated territory (Eretz Israel) and it occupies most of historical Western Palestine . . . It is called the State of Israel because it is part of the Land of Israel and not merely a Jewish State. *The creation of the new State by no means derogates from the scope of historical Eretz Israel.*" (Author's italics.)

In 1965 there still remained outside of this state the territory occupied by the state of Jordan, by the Gaza military government and Sinai. In 1965 the Zionist program, implemented by Israelists, necessarily entailed continued pressuring of the Diaspora Jews into an acceptance of "Jewish nationality," thus stimulating further "ingathering of the exiles" and the ultimate territorial aggrandizement of the state of Israel. And these activities had already wrought a profound effect on the course that Judaism, mankind's oldest monotheistic faith, would assume.

3

Nationalism versus Religion: The Shadow and the Substance

"Lord, grant that I may seek rather
To comfort—than to be comforted;
To understand—than to be understood;
To love—than to be loved.

"For, it is by giving that we receive;
It is by self-forgetting that we find;
It is by forgiving that we are forgiven;
It is by dying that we awaken to the eternal life."

St. Francis of Assisi

THE QUESTION, "What is a Jew?" has perplexed Jewish friends and foes for millennia. The answer has become irrevocably intertwined with the more pertinent problem, "How can we keep the Middle East from going Communist?" and hence takes on real significance for every American.

Ask any Jew, old or young, to state his religious beliefs and the vast majority will be hard put to reply. "A way of life," rejoined a 13-year-old girl brought up in Reform Judaism. But further questioning about her concept of this way of life produced nothing more positive than an identity with other people, a feeling of differentness and of being chosen, and a special relationship to Israel. There is instilled above all, at home as in the religious school, a consciousness of *being* something rather than *believing* in something, a pride of being a Jew rather than believing in Judaism. From childhood it is to him a world of "we" and "they." There is an overpowering recognition of a racial-ethnic link, and only among the small minority even a flickering awareness of a spiritual relationship to God.

Of the varied forms of Judaism, Orthodoxy, more than its Reform and Conservative offspring, is most nearly a purely religious grouping. The religious rituals of this oldest form of Judaism require the literal observance of 613 Torah-prescribed commandments. To the ultraorthodox, the Neturei-Karta sect whose Israeli community lives near the gates of Jerusalem, the true state of Israel does not yet exist because the re-creation of the nation, according to the Law as literally interpreted, was to follow only upon the appearance of a God-sent Messiah.

Modern Judaism, apart from Orthodoxy with its regulated 2,500-year-old way of life, gathers unto itself followers moved by diverse reasons and compulsions: the wish to attend the synagogue on the High Holy Days; the feeling of obligation to support Jewish charities; the craving for the company of Jews, exclusively or more than others; the feeling of a special affinity to the Jewish race or nationality; the speaking of Yiddish and a love of "Jewish" cooking; the suffering from a feeling of inferiority based on belonging to an oppressed minority (often concealed under a feeling of superiority); and the belief that the world makes one a Jew, come what may.

The largest group probably consists of those who insist they are Jews because the world makes them Jews—a cult woven around the web of anti-Semitism. Henry Hurwitz has stated it thus: "Jews can hardly quit being Jews (short of death), since in the world's lexicon a Jew is one who is born a Jew or looks like a Jew, whether he is faithful to Judaism or not."¹ Whether the world, in fact, does make them Jews or not, many whose parents practiced the faith consider themselves, out of pride and stubbornness, bound to Judaism. "So long as it is considered a disadvantage to be a Jew, we will stick" is the attitude of some who have neither graced the inside of a synagogue in scores of years nor adhered to the moral precepts of the religion.

For other Jews their affiliation is far more a state of digestion or of language than of spirit. Their Jerusalem is likely to be located in any number of Seventh Avenue delicatessens renowned for matzoth balls, pastrami and herring.

Truly, there are those who seem to think that religious bonds are maintained through the consumption of certain foods that they love to eat or through the utterance of certain Yiddish or Jewish expressions, and the common appreciation of these "cultural" bonds helps strengthen the "we" feeling of the group against the "they" of the outside world.

Professor Leon Roth, former philosophy professor at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, was obliged to note during a lecture in London that "Judaism is not identical with *Yiddeshkeit*; there was no mention in Maimonides of gefilte fish. When the great philosophers were thinking about Judaism, they were thinking about the fundamentals of human life—God and the destiny of man. In a great deal of literature today these questions are never raised."²

Former premier of Israel and now executive chairman of the Jewish Agency, Moshe Sharett, said during the summer of 1961 that "a Jew is first of all someone who is conscious of being a Jew. Consciousness determines the sociological and political facts of life." Rather significantly, Mr. Sharett made no reference to religion, and the emphasis he placed on Jewish consciousness was in sharp contrast with Professor Roth's outlook.

To still others—and these are in the majority—being a Jew means two or three treks a year to the synagogue on the High Holy Days and perhaps attendance at a Passover ceremony.³ Between these holidays they feel little or no compulsion either to commune with their Judaic God or to adhere to the preachments of the Hebrew prophets. The togetherness and clannishness of the community is a substitute for religiosity in these intervals. Synagogues serve more and more as social, not religious, centers. Many individuals consider themselves members of the Judaic faith simply because they feel completely at home only with certain people who also consider themselves Jews.

Jewishness thus is substituted for Judaism by tens of thousands as their way of holding to "their faith." Where Jewishness as the sum total of activities in which Jews engage together may

be increasing, Judaism as the relationship to God and traditional religious teachings, according to sociologist Nathan Glazer, most certainly is not. Some who may be reluctant to identify themselves with activities on behalf of the Jewish national state, nevertheless, refuse to cut the umbilical cord with the "Jewish people." They refer to Jewish culture or Jewish tradition, however difficult it may be to define these phrases beyond a desire for group identification.

There are even some, calling themselves Jews, who not only will have no part of any kind of Jewish theology but are opposed to Zionism, to Jewish nationalism and to the concept of a Jewish people. It is difficult to see why, save through a desire for self-identification, they call themselves Jews. The late William Zukerman, who edited the *Jewish Newsletter*, and Victor Gollancz, the English publisher, fit into this category. The latter admires Jesus and Christianity, seeing in that faith an extension of the ethical Hebrew teachings. Reluctant to convert to Christianity, he long recognized the difficulty of defining what a Jew is. There is, Gollancz contends, "a Jewish way of looking at things and a Jewish flavor, but I would rather see the special flavor vanish than preserve separateness."⁴

The majority of Jewish Americans, apart from the vaguest commitment to ethical principles, find their religion consisting of an allegiance to the Jewish people and membership in a Jewish community whose center and principal *raison d'être* increasingly seem to be the state of Israel. But even though their religion has lost its real content, it remains the unifying symbol for Jewry.

At the outset Reform Judaism vigorously opposed Jewish statehood.⁵ When Henry Morgenthau, Sr., stated in his autobiography: "Zionism is the most stupendous fallacy in Jewish history. It is wrong in principle . . . it is unsound in its economics, fanatical in its politics and sterile in its spiritual ideals," both lay and religious leaders followed him. But, after the promulgation of the Balfour Declaration in 1917, which provided Zionism with the mandate for building Palestine as a home and

refuge, but specifically not as a state,⁶ the new religious movement began to succumb and after the advent of Hitler, lent itself to the desires of Jewish nationalism.

In Israel itself, religious observance is dominated by the state and its nationalism. The extent of religious chauvinism in theocratic Israel is illustrated by these regulations established by the religious parties,⁷ who through a series of successive coalition governments have controlled the Parliament, and by the official hierarchy of orthodox rabbis, who are under the aegis of the Ministry of Religion: a Jew may not marry a non-Jewess; a non-Jew may not marry a Jewess; there is no civil marriage in Israel, and those contracted abroad⁸ may be dissolved by the rabbinical court; the rabbinical courts have exclusive jurisdiction over Jews in all personal matters, and family relations are dealt with according to laws and rules which were formulated in the Middle, if not the Ancient, Ages. Israeli resentment against such control is reflected in this comment of one Zionist writer: "For the majority of the citizens of Israel freedom of religious practice necessarily entails freedom not to be controlled by laws they no longer accept."⁹

For a long time even such prominent Zionist leaders as Rabbi James Heller and Abba Hillel Silver were not allowed pulpits in Israel to participate in the practice of Reform Judaism. Israel's Chief Rabbi Herzog had decreed: "There is only one valid Judaism, namely that one which does not compromise the Law. Others have departed from the true path of our religion." Only reluctantly and in the fourteenth year of the state, after a bitter struggle, were Reform and Conservative Judaism granted limited permission to erect synagogues that were non-Orthodox. Non-Jewish congregations have occasionally been stoned by children and adults, while Jewish Israelis have been torn from their cars on the Sabbath by religious zealots of the Neturei Karta quarter. Seven major Jewish American groups felt compelled to appeal to Premier Levi Eshkol in March, 1964, in an attempt to halt legislation restricting missionary activity in Israel.¹⁰

This state of things in Israel is the result of the bargain reached between the rabbinate and the nationalists who, in order to rule with a bare eight per cent majority political coalition, turned over religious affairs to the religious parties. An Israeli has written: "The national religious party which combines raw nationalism with religious hypocrisy has been a permanent partner in successive Mapai governments. Its participation has been bought at a cheap price—by tossing into the ash heap the valueless stuff called 'freedom of conscience.'"¹¹ In Israel this struggle between the Orthodox and the secularists continues.

In the United States, where separation between religion and state is traditional, Jewish nationalism has assumed various religious forms to cloak its many activities. The Greater New York Committee for the Sale of Israel Bonds sponsored and widely publicized¹² the commemoration of Chanukah with a City Hall ceremony in which Mayor Robert F. Wagner and Robert Briscoe, Lord Mayor of Dublin, took part.

When, during the High Holy Days, 199 American and Canadian synagogues reverberated with the call to "buy Israel bonds," which were being sold in temples, the action was defended by the Synagogue Council of America with the argument that "Jewish liturgy has always had prayers for the reconstruction of the Holy Land. A concern for the Holy Land—not for the state of Israel—is a feature of Jewish worship . . . This appeal is not a political one. It is humanitarian."¹³

The anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism described these bond sales as a "desecration of Judaism's most solemn and spiritual days which should be devoted to each individual Jew's reflection and prayer—not to obtaining his commitment to the fiscal policies of or investment opportunities in a foreign state!" And the prophet Isaiah might have observed: "Behold, in the day of your fast, ye pursue your business."¹⁴

Rosh Hashanah observances have led to the publication of a spate of messages from Jewish American leaders. "Intensify financial support for Israel"; "aid coreligionists abroad"; "help meet needs of migrants to Israel by raising sights of U.J.A."; "increase support of the Israel Bond Drive"; "strengthen Jewish

cultural values in this country by endowing our Jewish educational program with a new sense of reality drawn from the fact of Israel's existence"; "new responsibilities and task for American Jews involving their own cultural survival and aiding our valiant brethren in Israel"—these were the "spiritual" messages published in *The New York Times* on the eve of one of the two most important Holy Days for twentieth-century Judaism.¹⁵

The newspaper accounts of the 1962 Passover holiday attempted even less to disguise the control that Jewish nationalism exercises over Judaism. In *The New York Times* accounts¹⁶ by special columnist Irving Spiegel the day before and the day after the holiday began, lengthy paragraphs in near-identical language noted the meaning of the Seder as a ceremonial meal opening the festival in commemoration of the "liberation of the ancient Israelites from Egyptian slavery." The "religious" messages set forth on this "holy day" cited the "duty from year to year to tell the story of the deliverance from Egypt" and the need for the moral and financial support of Israel. (The 1964 Passover message of the President of the N. Y. Board of Rabbis started with a reference to "Egypt and Pharoah, the symbols of economic exploitation and political bondage.")¹⁷

These were among the messages noted by *The Times*: Joseph Meyerhoff, chairman of the U.J.A., cited the sacrifices made by Israel in maintaining its "open-door immigration policy" and called for increased support by American Jews to aid that country; Rabbi Irving Miller and Dr. Miriam Freund, leaders of the American Zionist Council, asserted that Passover's joy "is marred by the knowledge" that the existence of Israel is "constantly threatened by hostile neighbors on all sides"; Rabbi Mordecai Kirshblum, president of the Religious Zionists, appealed for safeguarding of Israel "as a bastion of freedom in the Middle East"; Louis Caplan, head of the American Jewish Committee, assailed the Soviet Government's opposition to the baking of matzohs; Dewey D. Stone, chairman of the Jewish Agency for Israel, said that Passover's meaning of freedom and the right to worship "is again reflected in the current immigration to Israel."

Following the first night's feast, these additional messages filled the Spiegel column: Mrs. Rose L. Halprin, chairman of the American section of the Jewish Agency Executive, stated that "Israel's continuing ability to serve as a blessed refuge can be assured only if the Jewish people in the one world will rise to the great opportunity of rescue and give their whole-hearted support to the striving of large numbers of our people for freedom and a new life in Israel"; the Rev. Dr. Charles Wembly, president of the Rabbinical Council, decried the Soviet Union's ban on baking matzohs as a violation of elementary human rights of two and a half million Jews in Russia.

While Jewish culture has been used successfully as a means of promoting Jewish nationalism, from time to time artists, musicians and writers have rebelled. In rejecting an invitation to join an all-Jewish exhibition of art, sculptor Jacob Epstein stated: "I have never joined in all-Jewish exhibitions of art. Artists are of all races and climes, and to band together in racial groups is ridiculous. I am most often annoyed rather than flattered to be told that I am the best or foremost Jewish artist. Surely to be an artist is enough . . . Einstein said to me when I worked for him that it was only the Nazis who had made him conscious of his Jewish origin. This pernicious racialism in art should be forever banished."¹⁸

Similarly Professor Roth argued before a London audience that "philosophy as such could no more be Jewish than could physics or mathematics. There was no one characteristic common to all philosophies of Jewish origin. The fact, for instance, that Wittgenstein's grandmother was a Jewess had no bearing upon his philosophical ideas."¹⁹

Where the cultural appeal fails, the Jewish community has been a convenient instrument in advancing "religious" goals. According to a University of Chicago sociologist:

What makes the Jewish community composed as it is in our metropolitan centers of so many heterogeneous elements a community is its ability to act corporeally. It has a common set of attitudes and values based upon common traditions, similar experiences and common problems. In

spite of its geographical separateness, it is welded into a community because of conflict and pressure from without and collective action within. . . . The Jewish community is a cultural community. It is as near an approach to communal life as the modern city has to offer.²⁰

Jewish communal ties invariably come to life when any form of anti-Semitism is displayed. It is no exaggeration to state that Judaism for many has become a preoccupation with anti-Semitism rather than a worship of Jehovah. Whenever the clarion call of anti-Semitism is sounded, it reminds the sheep that they belong to the flock. Nothing else is nearly so effective, not even the coming of the High Holy Days. The continuous discussion of anti-Semitism in its multifold forms, particularly the Russian, serves as a "spiritual" hypodermic for those whose ties to Judaism rest on the negative grounds that the world makes them Jews.

While American Judaism, after a begrudging concession on the part of Orthodoxy, has permitted the development of other sects, only a single relationship to the state of Israel is tolerated: total fealty and full support short of pledging direct allegiance. Good Judaism, intones the rabbinate, requires all-out financial, political and moral support for Israel. The mesmerization of Jewish Americans to this point of view is near total.

But this apparently is not enough. To forestall any potential rebellion against the ruling clique, certain Zionist rabbis have continuously proposed that there be "one representative body speaking for American Judaism on matters affecting its interests and welfare in American life." Pressing this point, Rabbi Israel Goldstein of the influential New York Congregation B'nai Jeshurun prior to his emigration to Israel argued that it was an "unseemly spectacle when Jewish organizations sent their emissaries to Washington in connection with anti-Semitic incidents and Israel." He cited the examples of Jewish communities in Great Britain, France, Canada and Brazil where there is one representative spokesman for all Jewish affairs. This call for total unification (the presidents of 18 Israeli-

oriented Jewish groups were already acting in concert as a League of Presidents) was resisted by the non-Zionist American Jewish Committee which, jealous of its personal ties with the Israeli prime minister, did not wish to be squeezed out by any new consolidation.

This near-total submissiveness to authoritarianism is only symbolic of the extent to which Jewish nationalism—separatism in the guise of religion—has permeated the lives of Jews no matter how emancipated they may otherwise have become. The objective observer cannot help but be struck by the depth and strength of this feeling toward Israel, which some Jewish Americans excuse to the outside world as “our religion, of course!”

To regard these ties among people who call themselves Jews as primarily a religious relationship is dangerous oversimplification. Religion to the theologian is a set of metaphysical doctrines concerning the nature of the universe and the meaning of human life. In a less technical sense, religion involves man's attitude toward a controlling supernatural power that demands reverence and, usually, organized worship. But only a tiny facet of being a Jew involves this spiritual aspect. The composite concepts of race, people, nation, tribe, community and culture as well as religion have been merged together under the name of Judaism. But this is Jewish nationalism, often described by such adjectives as separate, distinct, different and chosen.

Even the choice of the word Israel as the name for the new state was no accident. It further linked religion and nation; for the word *Israel* (wrestles with God) is irrevocably bound to the prayers recited on all occasions in the synagogues of all Jewish sects.

Uri Avnery, the Israeli journalist, has pointed out in *Les Temps Modernes*, “Zionism took the religious faith, the prayer mantle, and made it into a flag—the present blue-white flag of Israel. It took the Star of David from the synagogue and the graveyard and made it into the national symbol. It took the menorah, the candlestick of religious cult, and made it into the official emblem of the State of Israel.” Religious, racial and

nationalistic elements were thus blended into a new theocratic state.

The very nature of the Jewish holy-day observances in the United States lent itself readily to the happy blending of faith and state. Aside from Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement, and possibly Rosh Hashanah, which opens a ten-day period of prayer and penitence and marks the Jewish New Year, all other Jewish holy days are simply commemorations of events in Hebraic-Judean-Israelite national history. Purim celebrates Esther's successful campaign against Haman; Succoth signifies the plentiful harvest; the Passover celebrates the exodus from Egypt under Moses' leadership; and the eight days of Chanukah, the Maccabean revolt against Antiochus, the Seleucid Syrian king. It is the national holiday rather than the spiritual holy day that is observed. From this standpoint the continued attempts via the bond drive to link Jewish holidays with the economic and political needs of Israel are by no means contrary to tradition. The symbols of present-day Jewish nationalism are only being given their due place in the religion beside those of past national history.

In contemporary Judaism the worship of the state of Israel and its symbols has been gradually and unfortunately crowding out the worship of the One God. It is, of course, far simpler to write out a check to the United Jewish Appeal than to take oneself to the synagogue. Between the paraphernalia of the ancient law and ritual and the insularity-exclusivism of modern nationalism, Judaic universalism has been almost crushed to death. No wonder that children know the story of the Maccabees²¹ while the prophecies of Isaiah are unknown to them, or that they are familiar with the glories of the ancient kingdom of Israel, while remaining ignorant of the heritage of Ezekiel.

Religion by defensive reaction has been bred by exclusivism: "The Christians have their Christmas. Why shouldn't we have Chanukah for our children?" That holiday commemorates, we are told, the "bravery of the Maccabean warriors of 165 B.C. when Jerusalem was recaptured and the new sacrificial altar in the temple dedicated." But there is little awareness that the

reign of the Maccabees as rulers of the second Jewish Commonwealth was characterized by fratricide, murder and treason—all remote from a Judaism which was not to be related to any particular geographical tract, which was to be isolated from temporal happenstance and whose Kingdom of God, approached through universalism, was never to be at the mercy of physical force.

The forebears of modern Jewish nationalists were the scribes Ezra and Nehemiah who, in their 538 B.C. return to Palestine from Babylonian captivity, brought with them exclusivism and separatism. They had been restored to their national home and thus the Biblical prophecy had been fulfilled. But after the destruction of the second Jewish Commonwealth in 70 A.D., the hope which had sustained these statists, epitomized in the words of the anonymous writer of the 137th Psalm, "By the rivers of Babylon there we sat down; yea we wept when we remembered Zion. How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land? If I forgot thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning . . ." still resounded down to future generations and kept alive the nation concept of Judaism.

The universalistic, spiritual side of the faith expounded by the Hebrew prophets Amos, Jeremiah, Micah, Hosea, the two Isaiahs and Elijah did not capture the followers that exclusive nationalism did. Judaism failed to accord to these exalted few the place Christianity gave to the apostles, and thus their universal teachings were lost to their followers. In offering the alternative role of integration and universality instead of separatism and statehood, Jeremiah could not vouchsafe the warmth of the tribal enclave embraced in chauvinistic nationalism. In contrast to the priests and the kings, the prophets were not the least interested in the restoration of political power. They were concerned with the injustices of their day, the remedy for which they believed could be found only in a universal God of Mercy, Justice and Righteousness. Their God demanded an undeviating code of moral values.

Jesus was in the line of these great Hebrew prophets. Jesus' reiterations of Jeremiah, Isaiah and Ezekiel went unheard

among nationalists preoccupied with the struggle for national freedom and racial solidarity. The Judean rabble in rejecting the offer of Pontius Pilate to release Jesus and in choosing Barabbas, the insurrectionist and murderer, did more than turn their back on the preacher from Nazareth. They pushed Judaism off the road of universalism and thus encouraged the building of a new faith around Jesus' preachments. Christianity, as a denationalization of the Hebrew ideal, was promulgated as a universal religion for gentiles.

In rejecting the apostles' view that the Messiah was Jesus and had appeared, the priests and statistes not only banished Jesus but also the universalism inherent in the utterances of their own Hebrew prophets. As Christianity spread, the Judeans—henceforth to be known as Jews—gave up proselytizing and made a racial hoard of God. The written law and nationhood became central for the "chosen" people. In the course of this development, the word "chosen" changed its meaning. Ejected from the nation-religion was the concept of being chosen for the special mission of bearing witness to the existence of the One God, the supreme Lawgiver, before all nations and men.

In a sense the Judeans and those who followed, the Jews, by substituting tribalism for universalism, became abject idolators of the new polytheism—nationalism. Their relationship to God was subordinated to their relationship toward one another. Dr. Martin Buber, the dean of Jewish philosophers, in a talk at the Hebrew University before the World Zionist Organization pointedly chided his listeners including Prime Minister Ben-Gurion: "A messianic idea without the yearning for the redemption of mankind and without the desire to take part in its realization is no longer identical with the messianic visions of the prophets of Israel, nor can that prophetic mission be identified with a messianic ideal emptied of belief in the coming of the Kingdom of God."²²

The personification of the deity in Jesus gave Christianity a spiritual warmth which formalistic and legalistic Judaism lacked. A "God with a face" is a Divine Being of immediate and intimate meaning to humans. But the parent faith pos-

essed their advantage of a direct approach to God without the need of an intercessor. Gradually, however, the "Jewish people" has become the intermediary between Yahweh and those who would worship him. The chosen people concept has tended to smother universality.

After the Decree of Toleration of Constantine in 313 A.D., Judaism found itself by law in a position inferior to the state-supported Christian church. Separatism was heightened as Jews were compelled to live in ghettos when they refused to accept the decrees of the church now backed by the Roman Empire. Though proselytizing had characterized early Judaistic monotheism, as the Roman nobility shed their paganism and embraced the moral law on the basis of creed rather than race or nationality, the universalist role passed to Christianity. Judaism now became a religion limited to one particular, restricted and segregated people.

In the 1900 years since the fall of Jerusalem, with the exception of approximately the last 175 years, Jewish life has been characterized by ghetto existence in which group rights were recognized by the state within a medieval corporate entity. In Eastern Europe during the past three centuries, Jews not only have lived as a separate nationality and as an ethnic group with an acute sense of nationhood, but have voted as Jews for other Jews to represent them in government. In this way of life religion and nationality were conjoined. Usually these Jews spoke their own language and lived in a mental ghetto "to balance the physical ghetto around them."²³ The deep roots of present-day Jewish nationalism were firmly implanted in the religious ritual during the ghetto centuries and remain ingrained even after most twentieth-century Jews have thrown away the ritual.

The conjoining of religion and nationality had perfectly suited the needs of the rabbinate, the rulers of the ghetto. One student of Jewish history has noted that these ghettos were "little Jewish counterparts of the despotisms, the tyrannies and the reaction which prevailed over medieval feudal Europe." But these walled enclaves resulted not only from the persecution of non-

Christians in the wake of the union of church and state, but from the encouragement and acceleration given to the development of segregation.

The ghetto leaders arranged their contractual terms with the church-state for their closed corporation and ruled their own. Jewish courts had all civil jurisdiction; rabbinic law governed all business, synagogue life, dance, dress and morals. The Jew wasted little thought on the outside world as he immersed himself in Talmudic detail.

Where intolerance did not erect ghetto walls, nationalist-minded Jewish leaders still strove for total segregation. A Jewish "deputation" approached the rulers of the city of Speyer in 1084 requesting that a ghetto be set up.²⁴ The fifteenth-century laws governing ghetto life in Portugal were adopted at the request of a nationwide Jewish deputation. No less renowned a scholar—a nationalist himself—than Professor Salo Baron has noted in his history of Jewry that "Talmudic rabbis insisted upon separatism on practical as well as ritualistic grounds."²⁵

To many Jews the ghetto seemed desirable. In Verona and Mantua the erection of the ghetto wall was annually commemorated in a Purim-like festival. Throughout medieval times and subsequently, the rabbis and administrators of Jewish affairs opposed equalization for their Jewish constituents. Judaism, they feared, would suffer from any freedom given to Jews and from new duties devolving on them as citizens. The inbred rabbinical devotion to the Talmud and its minutiae led them to freeze the Jewish status and turn their back toward liberalization even as the Renaissance and Protestant Reformation were taking place. It was only after the French and American revolutions that Jewish emancipation was permitted, and the ghetto walls disintegrated. But the ghetto mentality remained latent in the new life and even in the New World.

Reform Judaism sought full liberation and moved courageously toward recapturing the spirit of universalism. Carrying on in the vein of two later-day Moseses, Maimonides and Mendelssohn, Reform leadership would not concede that anything but the world was the Jewish homeland²⁶ and called attention

once more to the ancient struggle between the conflicting Jewish ideologies: nation versus faith—chosen people versus universality—segregation versus integration.

But the rise of Nazism dealt a heavy blow to integrationists. The seeds of Jewish nationalism had been so deeply sown that the liberated Jews of the West permitted the Hitler tragedy to bring to the surface attitudes, thoughts and philosophies in which religion and nationality were once more conjoined. Exclusivism seemed to have gained a final triumph over universalism. Judaism which the prophets, through their development of the concept of justice and the moral law, had transformed from a tribalism into a universal creed had shrunk back into a nationalist rite under the impact of Zionism and the emergence of the Israeli state.

With the appearance of Israel as a sovereign state it became more imperative for each Jewish American to look carefully within himself and meticulously to separate metaphysical practices related to the worship of God from nationalist activities related to a foreign state. It is strange how easily the average Jewish American could recognize the blatant Zionist tactics which he abhorred and from which he was quick to divorce himself with "I am not a Zionist," but he was often unable to discern where his own more subtle Israelism was leading him. And the tremendous initial success of Israel tended to blind him all the more.

The political element that has been added to the spiritual precepts of American Judaism raises a fundamental question: Are the many activities involved in this relationship entitled to enjoy the normal protective immunity afforded religion, in the pure sense of the word, in this country where freedom of worship is a basic tenet and absolutely protected by the laws of the land? This communal grouping to which a religious label has been attached might find toleration under normal circumstances, but its close relationship to a foreign state naturally brought it under closer scrutiny and increased demands to look behind the label and determine its role in sensitive world politics.

While no one of the major monotheistic religions possesses a

monopoly on sham, when the Christian or Moslem worshipper falsely dons the spiritual garb he puts on no other vestments. He is a simple Tartuffe. But where a Jew dons a facade of religion, he puts on vestments of another nationalism.

Today the Jewish religious ceremony, in which contact with God should be central, is often used to rekindle tribal loyalties, vouchsafing the acceptance of anything and everything for Israel. Blinded by their persistence in being considered Jews so long as it is a disadvantage to be one, by the massive power wielded by Zionism and by the strange but indispensable support of their Christian neighbors, Jewish Americans often are completely unaware of the direction in which their leadership is taking them. They neither accept nor reject the Jewish nationalist appeal against assimilation, but remain rooted in separatist communities to which almost unconsciously they have become affixed.²⁷

The historic dichotomy of the Jew whereby he lived for centuries in many lands as both a religious group and as a nation within a nation perhaps accounts for the inability to sense the grave danger. In the first half of this century, when the Eastern European Jew found his way across the ocean, he brought with him to the land of his emancipation his nation complex. By being a Jew rather than by believing in Judaism he easily, almost unconsciously, acquired through his ties to the state of Israel another nationality in addition to that of the nation in which he lived. His aged duality had been revived.

In his past, religious ties were intimately linked with political status. And this past continued to cast its shadow on the Jewish American, supplying apparent precedents for separatist, multi-cultural activities which twentieth-century nation-state concepts do not condone. An American receives his rights under the Constitution of the United States as an individual human being, not by virtue of his membership in groups or collectivities.²⁸ The Constitution, in turn, requires a citizen's undivided political and legal national attachment to the United States government. There is but a qualified recognition of dual nationality, strictly

limited to certain cases which would not encompass the Zionist-Israeli nationality.²⁹

So the Jew's dichotomous nature, originally rooted in circumstances beyond his control, today stems from his voluntary association with Israel. The word "Jew" was coming to denote simultaneously a member of a religion scattered over the entire world and a particular racial-national-communal-ethnic group bound closely to the fortunes of a foreign state. In the guise of religious duty, the political problems of Israel were made to appear the political responsibility of Jews in the Diaspora. The policies and politics of a foreign state were thus being underwritten by the nationals of another country.

The gradual transformation of Judaism into a nationality was being accomplished. Jewish nationalism had been the *sine qua non* in implementing the Zionist dream of a state in Palestine, and the concept of "the Jewish people" as part of a body politic, which possesses a system of rights in and obligations to a national home, namely the state of Israel, was serving as the chief instrumentality for implanting the idea of Jewish nationhood within the United States.

This entity, "the Jewish people" (in official Israel government and Zionist organization declarations the term is invariably followed by a verb in singular form) has won increasing acceptance and even legal status. "A national home for *the Jewish people*" in the 1917 Balfour Declaration and "the historic connection of *the Jewish people* with Palestine" (author's italics) in the 1922 preamble of the League of Nations covenant were derived³⁰ from the Basel program of the first Zionist Congress in 1897 and were the forerunners to the careful and purposeful wording used in the declaration of the establishment of the state of Israel on May 14, 1948:

We appeal to the Jewish people throughout the Diaspora to rally round the Jews of Eretz Israel in the tasks of immigration and upbuilding and to stand by them in the great struggle for the realization of the age old dream—the redemption of Israel.³¹

In boldly asserting that the object of the Jewish state has been the preservation of the Jewish people, which was imperiled by emancipation and assimilation,³² Dr. Nahum Goldmann, president of the World Zionist Organization, clearly indicated the wide range that Israeli-Zionist activities would assume. This harmonized perfectly with the official declaration of Prime Minister Ben-Gurion in the *Israel Government Year Book 1952*:

The State of Israel is a part of the Middle East only in geography, which is, in the main, a static element. From the more decisive standpoints of dynamism, creation and growth, Israel is a part of world Jewry.³³

The Law of Return that same year codified this "Jewish people" concept:

The State of Israel considers itself as the creation of the Jewish people.³⁴

The embodiment of the entity, the Jewish people, into international law was accomplished through the Eichmann trial:

In the light of the recognition by the United Nations of the right of *the Jewish people* [author's italics] to establish their State and in the light of the recognition of the established Jewish State by the family of nations, the connection between the Jewish people and the State of Israel constitutes an integral part of the laws of nations.³⁵

The judgment which concluded this flamboyantly publicized trial, witnessed via television by tens of millions around the globe, further referred to the "sovereign state of the Jewish people"³⁶ and to "the legal link"³⁷ between, among others, Jewish Americans and Israel. The Israeli judiciary had in effect ruled that "the Jewish people is an entity entitled to separate national existence and to the organization of its life within the framework of the state" of Israel.³⁸ The state of Israel has sent formal notes to the U.S. and 20 other governments on behalf of Jewish citizens of these countries. Foreign Minister Golda

Meir has publicly proclaimed the intention to "intervene in all affairs of Jews no matter what their citizenship," and she added: "If the Jews of the world are embarrassed by such actions, they will have to be embarrassed."³⁹

The idea of a distinct Jewish national entity within the United States has met with little opposition save from the small American Council for Judaism. The government in Washington acquiesced completely to the encroachments of Israel in speaking and acting in the name of "the Jewish people." At the time of the swastika-brandishing incidents around the world, the United States accepted without question an Israeli note protesting the infringement of the rights of Jews who were citizens of other countries.⁴⁰ As its own part in the Eichmann affair, the United States, during the U.N. Security Council case brought by Argentina against Israel, helped placate its sister American republic and cooperated in carrying the "lessons" of the ensuing trial throughout the breadth of the land.

The State Department reacted to the pan-nationalism of Israel codified in the Law of Return and the Nationality Law by making different rules for Jews traveling to the Middle East than for non-Jews. A special regulation, applicable to Jewish citizens only, required specific action to avoid loss of American nationality. The group kinship to Israel, which Jewry has accepted, created for Jews a different legal relationship to the state of Israel from that of Christians. Boycott,⁴¹ discrimination and distinction have followed from the alleged nationality unity between Israel and non-Israeli Jews.

The capture of the Judaic faith by nationalists has wrought a reaction around the world. The viewpoint of *The Economist* that "paradoxically, the establishment of the state of Israel has weakened Judaism as a religion"⁴² is shared by an English observer who comments: "I must confess I find it rather difficult to understand how the Diaspora Jew today can repeat at Passover the time-honored prayer 'Next year in Jerusalem' when, if he is sincere, all he has to do is board plane or ship and go there."⁴³

New studies, revealing the loss of Jewish identity and the

soaring rate of inter-marriage, are cited in a May 5, 1964 full-length *Look* magazine article, "The Vanishing American Jew," in which leaders of the Jewish Board of Rabbis express the grave fear of the threat to "Jewish survival." The National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago, after querying 35,000 graduates of 135 colleges, found that 13 per cent of the Jewish students reported no religious faith whatsoever and 60 per cent said they practiced their religion very little or not. Jewish observance has been found in similar survey to be as low as 5 per cent. Seventy per cent of the children of mixed marriages, which in the "third generation" Americans was reaching a 37 per cent level, were not being raised as Jews, according to sociologist Erich Rosenthal.

Jews in the Soviet Union have been reliably reported to be deserting the faith in large numbers.⁴⁴ Zionist leadership has itself called attention to "a loss of faith and a tendency toward assimilation of Jewish identity"⁴⁵ on the part of the highly integrated Jews in Scandinavia. From Jewish quarters in Arab North Africa has come the suggestion that those who wish to practice the worship of Yahweh and still remain loyal citizens of the country in which they live take the name Mussawi, or the followers of Moses, to avoid the present ambiguity in the term "Jew." In the United States adherents of Judaism might appropriately prefer to be identified as Judaists, followers of a faith, rather than as Jews, with the dualistic connotation of both religion and state.

When Ben-Gurion, in an effort to spur the immigration of Jewish Americans, warned that Judaism in the United States and other countries faced the danger of extinction,⁴⁶ his remark applied to the Judaism in which Jewishness, exclusivism and nationalism pervade, but not to the Judaism of the spirit whose roots go deep and contain everlasting vitality. Where Judaism can be purified of its ethnic-nationalist ingredient, desegregated from its ghetto, and return to the ancient path of proselytizing, a bright future awaits it, because it presents, as Dr. Toynbee has pointed out, "monotheism in its original form and not in the derivative forms in which it is presented in Chris-

tianity and Islam." And he added: "If the doors to Judaism were thrown open, multitudes would come to drink at the fountainhead . . . the great spiritual treasures of Judaism, in their original form, would at last become one of the common spiritual possessions of the whole human race."⁴⁷

For Judaism as a religious faith there have been and will be few problems in the United States; for Judaism as a national commitment the road ahead is certain to be difficult. The corresponding allegiances to religion and to state have become so confused that it would require the Hebrew wisdom of a Jesus for Jewry to be able to apply the spirit of his answer to the Pharisees: "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's."⁴⁸

They are not Zionists and would voluntarily deny the claim that they are part of a world-wide Jewish nation resembling in behavior, many Jewish conduct themselves, nonetheless, as if they were part of that nation and that possess the national identity.

Some justify this by saying: "I was never in favor of the state, but it is their nation and we must have a place for home-law Jews to go." And, supported by their rationalization, they contribute money to the fund of the Jewish National Fund, and often participate personally in Jewish efforts to advance the interests of Israel. This they do with little thought of how it affects the interests of the United States.

"Whether this business with Israel be labeled 'religious duty,' 'cultural affinity,' 'Jewish heritage,' or even 'loyal American support of the only democracy in the backward Middle East,' it all comes to this: Jewish Americans, who are conditioned from birth by family upbringing, education and propaganda, have perceived the nationalistic inherent in their religious background to be in the top and take command. Just as church and state in Israel have been inseparably joined but the American situation was divided as when a conference of American Orthodox rabbis meeting in Jerusalem during the summer of 1961, the present theocratic system in Israel has come to say as a

4

Dual Loyalty

“To the Jew as a man—everything; to Jews as a nation—nothing.”

Count Stanislas Clermont-Tonnerre
To the French Assembly Oct. 12, 1789

AMERICANS who would unhesitatingly declare they are not Zionists and would vehemently deny the dogma that they are part of a world-wide Jewish nation reassembling in Palestine, now Israel, conduct themselves, nonetheless, as if they were part of that nation and thus possess two national identities.

Some justify this by saying: “I was never in favor of the state, but it is there now, and we must have a place for homeless Jews to go.” And, supported by this rationalization, they contribute money to the limit of their means, lend moral support, and often participate personally in political action to advance the interests of Israel. This they do with little thought of how it affects the interests of the United States.

Whether this oneness with Israel be labeled “religious duty,” “cultural affinity,”¹ “Jewish heritage” or even “loyal American support of the only democracy in the backward Middle East,” it all comes to this: Jewish Americans, who are conditioned from birth by family upbringing, education and propaganda, have permitted the nationalism inherent in their dichotomous background to rise to the top and take command. Just as church and state in Israel have been so inseparably joined that Mr. Ben-Gurion was quoted as telling a conference of American Orthodox rabbis, meeting in Jerusalem during the summer of 1961, “the present theocratic system in Israel has come to stay as a

permanent institution,"² in the United States the Judaic faith and Jewish nationalism have been so linked that what has been represented as Judaism on the national and international scene is in reality this new nationalism, Israelism.

When Palestine was partitioned to create the state of Israel, Jewish Americans were also split in two. The Jew had been conditioned for this inevitable division ever since he was first told, "Be sure, now, you marry a nice Jewish girl." It was then that the seeds for the political dichotomy were so deeply and carefully sown. Deep in his heart the average Jew in the United States finds divorcing himself from all-out support of Israel as difficult a chore as becoming a willing traitor to the land in which he lives. This emotional love of Israel is reflected everywhere, from the burning desire of so many to go there and see the new state to the widespread defense of everything that state does.

The *verboden* placed on criticism of the state of Israel by the threat of spiritual damnation and social ostracism has helped to conceal this unnatural relationship between nationals of one state and a foreign nation state. But the plain truth is that, as a group, American Jewry in its relationship to Israel has conducted itself as with a dual loyalty.

In an official statement before the creation of Israel, the Jewish Agency warned against dismissing "the problem of dual loyalty lightly merely by saying it does not exist" and foresaw the "inevitability of the clashes of Israel with the needs and demands of other countries to which Jews owe loyalty."³ As a natural corollary to his assertion that the "state of Israel was designed for the redemption of the Jewish nation," Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, in addressing the Zionist Action Committee in Jerusalem, added: "Zionists in other countries ought to have the courage to stand up for the state [of Israel] even if their governments are against it."

Where attempts to make U.S. policy conform to the needs of a Jewish state have failed, organized Jewry has, in fact, sided against the United States. It was not Americanism that motivated, during the post-World War II struggle in Palestine, a

boycott of British-made goods at the very moment the U.S. was spending hundreds of millions to help place our closest ally in a better dollar position. This was Israelism. It was not Americanism that moved certain Jewish organizations to cause the picketing of the U.A.R. steamship *Cleopatra*, vitally endangering American shipping interests. This was Israelism. And so it has been on innumerable other occasions when Jews of the United States have assumed political responsibility for the problems of Israel, although the interests of Israel and the United States are far from identical.

Israeli political leaders and their American supporters have persuaded the Jews of the Diaspora that they are threatened when Israel is threatened and that Israel's crises are their crises. Many nationalist-minded rabbis did not hesitate to indicate in their sermons that they viewed the important Kennedy-Khrushchev 1961 meetings in Vienna less as a chance for solving East-West differences than as the occasion on which President Kennedy had to "challenge the Soviet Union" to join with us "in insisting on a formal renunciation of Arab belligerency against Israel."⁴

However much they might personally disavow Zionism, they were implementing Zionist dogma as defined by Ben-Gurion: "The basis of Zionism is neither friendship nor sympathy but the love of Israel, of the state of Israel . . . It must be an unconditional love. There must be a complete solidarity with the state and the people of Israel."⁵ When a Ben-Gurion message to a bond drive rally called for the strengthening of the links between Israel and world Jewry, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the board of governors of the Israel Bond Organization, in noting two significant events that Jewry would shortly be celebrating (i.e., the centenary of the birth of Theodor Herzl and the thirteenth birthday of the state of Israel), replied: "The Jews of the world and particularly the Jews of the United States have opted for a relationship of direct and active participation in and of steadfast loyalty to Israel."⁶ The Cleveland rabbi demanded a complete partnership in the common enterprise of rebuilding the Jewish national home. This theme has been re-

peated many times, as recently as the spring of 1962, when Israeli ex-Prime Minister Moshe Sharett in addressing the London B'nai B'rith hit at those "who gloried in the existence of Israel without accepting responsibility for its continuance" and stated: "You are all co-responsible for Israel."⁷

This partnership between the state of Israel and world Jewry living outside could prove unfortunate and dangerous. If the partnership fell into international disrepute or was caught engaging in nefarious practices, it would be mighty difficult for one of the partners to plead innocence on the grounds that he did not know how the business was being conducted.

One of the primary aims behind the provocative "ingathering" taunts of the Israeli prime minister has been to prick subtly the conscience of non-emigrating Jews so as to assure alternative action: an all-out, unyielding stand in their own particular country on behalf of Israel. The sole acceptable alternative to Jewish-American immigration to Israel is American partnership and American dollars.

It is not only in the United States, but in England as well, that so many Jews have conducted themselves as if endowed with two nationalities and dual, if not conflicting, loyalties. Jon Kimche, editor of the *Jewish Observer and Middle East Review*, has made the suggestion that "those Jews who wish to be wholly identified with Israel while continuing to live outside in the Diaspora should take Israeli nationality." This intrepid Zionist stated that this would mean "normalization" for Jews, suggesting that others might retain "an emotional and even an organizational link with the Mother Country" while being "citizens of their country of residence."⁸

Further light on what British Zionists consider a "normal" relationship was given by Richard H. S. Crossman, Laborite parliamentarian and confidant of Chaim Weizmann. In a lecture reported to the *Jewish Observer and Middle East Review*,⁹ the Christian Zionist leader vigorously denied that as a result of living in England Weizmann had become "agonizingly divided between his prime loyalty to Jewry and his secondary loyalty to the country whose passport he was proud to bear."

This charge against Dr. Weizmann was refuted by Mr. Crossman in this singular manner: "The attraction of Dr. Weizmann for the British was precisely that he was the most Jewish Jew we had met. He impressed us because he was not Western, because he was not assimilated, because he was utterly proud to be a Russian Jew from the Pale, because he had no feeling of dual loyalty, because he knew only *one patriotism, the love of a country that did not yet exist.*" (Author's italics.)

The British tradition of freedom of expression and the distinctive character of the British government, in which the multi-nation concept of the Commonwealth governs, may account for such broad tolerance toward duality of loyalties in that country. This is more true where it involves a colonial outpost or at least a former colonial outpost. For loyalty to Israel by Englishmen might be considered by some in the same light as the feeling of Englishmen for Australia or New Zealand. Was it not possible that Israel might fulfill the dream of the colonial builders by some day joining the British Commonwealth?¹⁰ This theme has been reiterated on several occasions by Anglo-Zionists.

In contrast to Great Britain and the Commonwealth, the United States has supposedly been built on the melting-pot concept and a single political loyalty. Under our Constitution "nationhood and statehood have been conjoined," as Dorothy Thompson once noted. The contention often advanced, and sometimes disputed, that the American social structure is based on an acceptance of cultural pluralism scarcely justifies political relationships to foreign states in the guise of culture or religion.

The conflict between the melting-pot concept and cultural pluralism, as Dr. Joseph S. Roucek¹¹ has explained it, is one of how to reconcile claims of cultural pluralism with the rights of American people to protect their interests against frequently proclaimed minority rights, especially those of a political nature which are frequently antagonistic, if not dangerous, to the enunciated policies of the United States. To date both the unusual political protection accorded Israelism through big name support and the exceedingly poor case the Arabs have made

for themselves may have tended to obscure the significance of this group separatism. It is true that in the United States a number of people may be able to achieve a separate group identity merely by believing they belong together; but when group thought and group action run counter to the mores and interests of America, Amercian tolerance inevitably becomes strained until a danger point is reached. The question today is: "How far will Zionism and Israelism be allowed to separate Americans of Jewish faith into a special collective whose fate is outside and beyond the American fate?"

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, president of the World Zionist Organization, told a gathering that "all Israel diplomats are to remain in permanent contact with Zionist organizations of the countries to which they are assigned, and it is incumbent on visiting Israel government officials to work with local Zionist organizations in contact with local Jewish communities, to assure maximum benefits to the local community and to the Zionist movement from their visits."¹²

Walter Eytan, permanent undersecretary of the Foreign Office in Israel, has written and then proclaimed: "It is a commonplace of our Foreign Services that every Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary has a dual function: he is Minister Plenipotentiary to the country to which he is accredited and Envoy Extraordinary to its Jews."¹³ This echoed what Mr. Ben-Gurion had earlier written:

Even those Jews who have rejected the choice of *aliya* [emigration], which the Declaration of Independence offered them, view the State as a national possession of *their own*. When a Jew in America or South Africa speaks of "our Government" to his fellow-Jews, he usually means the Government of Israel, while the Jewish public in various countries view the Israeli Ambassadors as their own representatives.¹⁴

Zionist agencies in the U.S. are committed formally by a treaty arrangement with the Israeli Parliament to do in this country what Israel itself "neither can nor may do" (the words of Prime

Minister Ben-Gurion in the *Israel Government Year Book*, October 1952.)¹⁵

Although freedom of opinion is guaranteed by the American way of life, it is questionable whether this includes the right to become an overseas arm of a foreign government, consecrated to the task of enlisting fellow Americans in support of the aims of a foreign country. Cultural pluralism is tolerated, but not political pluralism. George Washington warned against "the insidious wiles of foreign influences. I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens, the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government." It is no exaggeration to state that "card-carrying" Zionists and members of those groups that are the American counterparts of Israeli political parties are international extensions of the state of Israel and have in fact, if not in name, become agents of a foreign government. This was significantly pointed up by the Fulbright hearings.

The present world system of nation states is a repudiation of tribal sovereignties that attempt to break through international frontiers. This system should preclude any American's being saddled with rights from, and with corollary duties and obligations to a foreign state which, whether called humanitarian, religious, communal, brotherly or racial, still result in a dual nationality and suggest, at the very least, a latent dual loyalty. Likewise, if the existence of Israel creates special rights or special status for Jewish Americans, this then is a negation of the protective guarantee in the Balfour Declaration to non-Zionist Jews in the world.

When the spiritual leader of a New York City synagogue referred in a sermon to the controversy in Jewish circles as to whether a Jew's primary allegiance should be to Israel or to the United States, few could quarrel with his assertion that "a man belonged to God before he belonged to a Government." But Rabbi Judah Cahn's statement, in 1961, that "I am first a Jew and then an American," like the late Rabbi Stephen S. Wise's famous utterance, "I have been an American 63-64ths of

my life, but I have been a Jew for 4,000 years,"¹⁶ was related to a discussion of Jewish nationalism, now centered in Israel. Both rabbis apparently attempted to pass off their deep loyalty to Israel as "Jews," which they dared not directly spell out, as religious ties to God as "Judaists."¹⁷

The incessant calls on American Jews to migrate to Israel, to send their children there, to become an army of pioneers to help build the socio-economic structure of Israel,¹⁸ to maintain the close relationship that American Jews have toward Israel. ("our understanding, our financial and moral support, our religious and cultural ties"¹⁹), not to "relax in their determination to stand by Israel,"²⁰ to support U.J.A. to bring political pressures to bear—these all suggest a relationship abnormal and at the same time dangerous. *Life Magazine*, in a 1961 editorial entitled "Crisis in Zionism," warned, "To make Israel a political cause is or should be to live in Israel. American Zionism has too often flourished in the perilous murk between philanthropy and politics."²¹

Despite other differences, Ben-Gurion and Nahum Goldmann are in accord as to the duties and responsibilities of Diaspora Jewry toward Israel. Goldmann's blunt interdiction: "Jews have to overcome the conscious or unconscious fear of so-called double loyalty . . ." ²² He later stated, "American Jews must have the courage to openly declare that they entertain a double loyalty, one to the land in which they live and one to Israel. Jews should not succumb to patriotic talk that they owe allegiance only to the land in which they live . . . They should live not only as patriots of the country of their domicile, but also as patriots of Israel . . ." ²³

While there has been no open declaration of double loyalty, Jewish Americans by deeds have qualified as Israeli patriots. A relationship like that of American Jewry to the state of Israel exists nowhere else between people of one national state and a foreign state, unless it be in the ties uniting Diaspora Communists to the Soviet Union. The link between Jewish Americans and the new Mediterranean state was articulated in bold

advertisements of the U.J.A. calling for aid in facilitating immigration and chiding Americans for not doing as much as Israelis:

THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL have put up at least two dollars for every dollar that Americans have raised through the United Jewish Appeal, to bring and integrate a million Jews into Israel since statehood. That represents an enormous burden. But in all the years I have been going to Israel, I have never heard anybody, from the highest official to the average citizen, from old settler to the newest immigrant, say, "Let's stop the immigration because we can't afford it." Yes, Israel's people are doing their part in meeting the costs of today's new immigration. And we must do ours!²⁴

When U.J.A. assessed American Jewry with an increase to \$95 million for 1962, including \$35 million for increased immigration to Israel, there was no reluctance to talk publicly of "*our* need for 18,000 new housing units . . . redouble your efforts so that *our* share in this great humanitarian program will more adequately reflect the full responsibility and economic resources of the world's largest Jewish community."²⁵ (Author's italics.)

It is by no means unusual for the local charitable needs of Jewish communities around the country to be subordinated to the needs of Israel. In Corpus Christi, Texas, a bitter fight was waged early in 1962 to halt this Israeli priority over American institutions, but the local charities were forced, under threat of a separate fund campaign, to accept a sharp budgetary reduction so as to permit the U.J.A. to harvest the major portion. The Jewish Community Council of Corpus Christi charged: "Murder of a community by U.J.A.," and its founding leader commented: ". . . Must I now pay for this satisfaction [of helping Jews in Israel and Europe] by destroying something which I know to be of equal importance in the succor and sustenance of Jews the world over; namely, the Jews of this, my country, but more specifically, these Jews of my city?"²⁶

When Dublin's Lord Mayor Robert Briscoe came to the U.S. in February, 1962, his fund-raising activities for the U.J.A.

prevented him from participating in a St. Patrick's Day parade in New York City. Nor could Irish Americans have felt too good, either, when the band at a New Jersey reception for the Jewish Lord Mayor played the U.S. national anthem, then the Israeli and then, and only then, Ireland's.

The failure to appreciate that Israel is as much a foreign state as Italy or Sweden has led Jews into pitfalls that others, not afflicted with the aged duality, would more easily have seen. Dual loyalties do not necessarily involve the conscious process of choice: "*This* is in the interests of the United States; *that* is in the interests of Israel, and I choose *that*." Such, obviously, is the rare case. Far more common is the unconscious choosing of *that* without any consideration of *this*.

A conversation overheard between a couple leaving for a trip to Israel and Europe: "No, I did not buy Italian lira. We can pick them up in Tel Aviv. Israel needs the dollars." (The U.S. struggling against a serious gold outflow also needs the dollars.) Like the Biblical Joseph, Jewish nationalism wears a coat of many colors, so that it cannot be analyzed solely in terms of conscious, formal allegiance to Israel. There are subtler forms of allegiance than the waving of a flag, the singing of an anthem or the taking of an oath.

The special relationship that exists between Israel and most Jewish Americans, save the less than one per cent of anti-Zionists who have specifically denied that these ties cover them, has been built up with little malice aforethought. A common defense of the phenomenon runs: "The Irish are free to display their special passions for Ireland. Why, then, should we not be as free to feel the same way about Israel?" The analogy between the feeling of many Jewish Americans and the one-day exuberant enthusiasm for Eire that the shamrock-wearing Irishman affects on St. Patrick's Day or the sentimental affection that an Italian or a Frenchman holds for his country of origin fails. The Irish are unmistakably a nation, and Judaism claims to be a religion. The American Irish left Eire only recently, while the Jews left Roman Palestine two millennia ago and have

come to America not from Israel but from every country in Europe.

The vast difference in the nature and degree of the two feelings is clear. No Irish government has ever dared demand from Irish Americans one one-hundredth of the allegiance the Israeli government demands from Jewish Americans as a matter of course, or claimed one one-hundredth of the sovereignty over "Diaspora Irish" the Israeli government has stipulated over Diaspora Jews under Israel's constitutional legislation.

The creation of Israel permitted Jews, as Arthur Koestler pointed out, "to do what they could not do before, to discard the knapsack and go their own way with the nation whose life and culture they share without reservations or split loyalties."²⁷ The logical alternative to Mr. Koestler's advice would be emigration to Israel. This is a choice Jews ought make.

But another possible course exists. According to R. J. Marquardt, overseas Chinese living in Indonesia may opt for either Chinese or Indonesian citizenship, but may not hold dual citizenship.²⁸ It would not be a bad idea, he notes, to give American Israelists the same right of choice. Then, if they opted for Israel, they would be living in the U.S. not as citizens, but as aliens, and any pressure group they formed would speak for Israeli citizens living in the U.S. without a vote.

Israeli nationalism is the national sentiment of people who live within the borders of Israel. But Jewish nationalism knows no borders and is as abnormal and incomprehensible as Israeli nationalism is natural and understandable for its citizens. Identity with a Jewish national state outside the United States must be measured in terms of loyalty and its effect on the American national interest. Identity with a highly organized Jewish community or quasi-Jewish nation inside the country has the effect of further dividing Americans into "we" and "they." The direct and necessary consequence of either of these identifications when heightened is, of course, prejudice or anti-Semitism. Those who would blind themselves to this truth can only take refuge in the dogmatic Zionist philosophy that anti-

Semitism is, after all, endemic to Jewish life everywhere outside of Israel.

What is needed is a bit of soul searching. The reasons behind perennial Jewish persecution have not always been the same. Religion is the cause classically attributed, but the motivation for the bigotry may have changed. It is time for the Jew to ask himself why he is so often the handy scapegoat—why he, invariably has been the victim. If the root of his persecution is no longer religious, then might it not originate in his insistence on being both a nation and religion at the same time?²⁹ Through the ages of their persecution, the Jews have acted as a state within a state—first because they had to be, then because they banded together in the hope of being constituted some day as a nation in the Holy Land and finally by their group identification with that established nation. In the latent nationalism within him may lie the root of much of the trouble the Jew has faced. The state of Israel is a symptom of this nationalistic feeling rather than a cause and could serve as the answer to the so-called Jewish problem only if every last Jew throughout the world could and would go there.

Jewish leadership in this country, if it were realistic and enlightened, would recognize the passionate wish and the overwhelming sentiment among Jews to remain in the United States and would declare: "Remember always: We are Americans. Period. Full stop. Not American Jews or even Jewish Americans. Americans of the Jewish faith, perhaps, but not hyphenates. Too many qualifying adjectives signifying religion, race and ethnic origin have been tacked on to the word American. Our nation is finding it exceedingly difficult to survive as a loose conglomerate of minorities. Let us set an example by helping to plug the hole that has permitted the American melting pot to leak." An advocacy of such a virile Americanism, rooted in faith in this country, would provide better insurance than support of a foreign state in the fear that "come another Hitler, I want a place to go."

Following the 1791 Edict of Emancipation by the French Chamber of Deputies endowing Jewish citizens, for the first

time, with full and equal rights, Berr Isaac-Berr wrote a remarkable and significant letter on September 28 of that year to his coreligionists (then numbering 60,000):

We must then, dear brethren, strongly bear this truth in our minds: that, till such a time as we work a change in our manner, our habits, in short, our whole education, we cannot expect to be placed by the esteem of our fellow citizens in any of those situations in which we can give signal proof of that glowing patriotism so long cherished in our bosoms. *We must divest ourselves entirely of the narrow spirit of corporation and congregation in all civil and political matters not immediately connected with our spiritual laws.*" (Author's italics).

Let us examine with attention what remains to be done on our part and how we may be able to show in some measure our grateful sense. The name of active citizen which we have just obtained is without a doubt the most precious title a man can possess in a free empire, but this title alone is not sufficient. We should possess also the necessary qualifications to fulfill the duties annexed to it. We ourselves know how very deficient we are in that respect . . .³⁰

Jewish Danes have achieved in this country the needed universalistic approach that Isaac-Berr wished for his French coreligionists. In response to Premier Ben-Gurion's visit to Denmark in the fall of 1962 and his plea for youth "to go to Israel," Otto Levysohn, chairman of Copenhagen's Jewish community replied:

We Danish Jews could never want a happier place to live than Denmark. We have no inferiority complex but rather feel ourselves a proper part of the Danish people. We are first Danish and then Jewish, and this has never involved us in any conflicts.³¹

Chief Rabbi Phil Marcus Melchoir added this comment:

We Danish Jews don't usually air our patriotism. Why on earth should we shout "hurrah" more loudly than all other

Danes? But we take an opportunity like this to state that no one, however big he may be or from wherever he may come, has the right or is able to change even one jot of what for 150 years has been the status of Danish Jews under which there has been established a relationship in Denmark of which we are all just as happy on the Christian side as on the Jewish side. There is one thing in particular which I want to point out. If Premier Ben-Gurion really claimed that in order to be a Jew every minute of one's life, one has to live in Israel, then according to my view, two questions arise. The first is whether to be a Jew every minute is of imperative necessity and whether Jewishness and being a general human being did not equate each other so completely that one at the same time could be Jewish and a human being in other places than in the few square kilometers which form the territory of Israel.³²

The Government of the United States, demanding an undivided and exclusive loyalty, requires new citizens to take an oath: "I absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any prince, potentate, state or sovereignty." Yet Zionist leader, Rabbi Irving Miller exhorts an audience: "You speak of ideology. To attack your own (U.S.) government, to fly the Jewish flag at all meetings as though you were a citizen of Israel is also an ideology."³³

The action committee of the World Zionist Organization, whose chairman, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, campaigned widely in Israel during the 1961 elections while maintaining his American citizenship, has time and again unequivocally demanded the allegiance of the Jews of the world to the flag of Israel: "Israel's flag is our flag. We must see to it that the Zionist flag which has begun to fly above the state of Israel is hoisted aloft over the entire Jewish people until we achieve the completion of the ingathering of the exiles."³⁴

If the flag with the blue six-pointed star does not actually fly over the homes of Jews in the United States, the image of Israel has been so deeply ingrained in a multitude of hearts that a figurative flag has long since been hoisted. As the United States and the free world struggle in a grim battle for survival,

this emotional attachment of Jewish Americans to Israel has vastly complicated the efforts of our policymakers to win friends and to keep allies. When the undivided love and support of all Americans is so desperately needed, there is little room for even an invisible foreign flag.

5

Brainwashing: American Style

"I believe that the community is already in the process of dissolution when each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy, where nonconformity with the accepted creed, political as well as religious, is a mark of disaffection, where denunciation without specification takes the place of evidence, where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent, where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists to win or lose."

Chief Judge Learned Hand

IT WAS the Korean War that brought into the American lexicon the word brainwashing. But the Chinese and Russian Communists today possess no exclusive market in this fine art. While our advanced technocracy may have permitted us to develop a more subtle style, the process of brainwashing is very much in vogue in the United States, and the American version already has claimed an enormous number of victims.

Perhaps "victims" is an inappropriate word because of the degree to which Americans have been accomplices in their own brainwashing. The prevalent almost pathological passion to conform has simplified the process. There are few countries in which people live under more overpowering compulsions than in the United States. As the philosopher George Santayana said, "You must wave, you must shout, you must push with the irresistible crowd, otherwise you will feel like a traitor, a soulless outcast, a deserted ship high and dry upon the shore." Fear in the post-World War II era has intensified this passion to go along with the crowd.

When the first bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, people shrugged their shoulders and sublimated a corroding fear deep in their minds. With the subsequent development of the new

weapon and the eruption of warfare in Korea, this fright increased. The shock of just eluding Hitler only to confront Stalin, and then the bomb, was too much for man's nervous system. It required no Sigmund Freud to analyze the subsequent flight from reality and analytical thinking.

The "brave new world" soothed itself beneath the rays of television. Rich and poor alike took to the new plaything, even in homes that still used outhouses. The machine offered an ideal substitute for thought. Entertainment became the goal; quiz shows, westerns and murder mysteries seemed the very quintessence of a new culture. The same people who had grumbled during the war at standing in line to meet a rationing shortage now queued up for hours to see a program telecast. In trying to keep up with their new competition, the radio and the press doled out the same kind of escapism. When Senator Thomas Dodd (Democrat, Conn.) tried to bring to public attention the increasing emphasis on crime, violence and sex, he was sharply rebuked by television network heads,¹ over no one's protest.

Increasingly centralized control over the channels of mass communication has helped usher in an age of conformity in which controversy and independent thinking are avoided and certain *idées fixes* more solidly ingrained. Repugnance toward thinking has become matched by suspicion of originality and resentment of challenge.

If one controlled the media of information in 1964, one could, contrary to Lincoln, fool all of the people all of the time. Under the impact of the advertising world and its allied equivalents, the shadow has been accepted for the substance. The influence of the label and the slogan is infinite and the unadorned cliché² parades forth shamelessly unchallenged. Conformity and fear have already transformed America into a nation of sheep long before "1984." If George Orwell's "Big Brother" pervades the iron-curtain countries, more than his shadow already looms on the scene of what we like to call the free world.

Nothing was more sad, if not frightening, than the sight of Cornell undergraduates, at what was once the most popular and

noisiest bar in Ithaca, silently straining their necks to glimpse a World War II film on television. Where once the babble of youthful voices in fervent conversation competed with the happy singing of the more alcoholically exuberant, the harsh drone of the television now held sway. And imagine hearing this in an elevator of a large office building, ascending to work:

"Gee, that was a great television show last night, wasn't it?" And six men from various parts of the city promptly express their enthusiasm for a TV show that needed no identification as to channel or time to elicit their comment. They all had listened to the same program.

To facilitate the corrosion, few are finicky about how their livings are earned, and the ethics of the market place prevail. When General Eisenhower returned to Abilene, (Kansas), on May 1, 1962, to dedicate the new \$3 million Eisenhower Library, the former President alluded to the moral decline taking place in the United States and to a new standard of values. He could have cited many more pertinent examples than the "twist which has replaced the minuet" or modern art, "which looks like a piece of canvas over which a broken-down lizzie loaded with paint has been driven,"³ supplanting Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci.

What Americans had lost was perspective and a reliable set of values. In such a vacuum decadence flourished. The Golden Calf which Moses had ordered destroyed was firmly enthroned in the homes and hearts of countless Americans. While New York City lacked enough policemen to protect the populace against hoods and murderers, twenty-three officers zealously guarded from screaming teen-agers Pat Boone, Bobbie Darin and Cookie Byrnes, the new gods of American youth, as they emerged from the Ziegfeld Theatre after a Manhattan telecast. Three years later it required fifty foot-patrolmen, ten mounted men and two policewomen to keep order in a gaggle of giggling girls outside the Hammerstein Theatre and the Plaza Hotel where police barriers were needed to separate the four Beatles from their admirers.

Thirty-eight respectable, law-abiding, middle-class Queens (New York City) citizens watched a killer stalk his young woman victim in a parking lot in Kew Gardens over a half-hour period without one of them making a call to the Police Department that might have saved her life.⁴ And the explanation offered for not taking this simple act of humanity within the privacy of their own homes was: "I didn't want to get involved."

The moral decline sensed by former President Eisenhower, which found expression in his words "Only America, only America can ever hurt us," was a re-echo of Franklin D. Roosevelt's earlier "All we have to fear is fear itself." In this kind of world honest doubts, objective inquiry, critical examination are all blacked out. Brainwashing, of course, does not permit such old-fashioned virtues. It turns the world into rival camps of good and evil, into black and white, with no gray in between.

Misinformation becomes the order of the day. As Artemus Ward once quipped: "'Tain't people's ignorance that does the harm; 'tis their knowin' so much that ain't so." And to no area in the world is this more applicable than to the Middle East.

The capture of world public opinion, one of their first goals, was soon achieved by Zionists. Control of the press and other media of information was indispensable to the plans of Jewish nationalism. For, had public opinion been adequately and impartially informed, it is doubtful whether Zionism would ever have succeeded in the United States or in Britain, its original stronghold. But the big city press, television networks and radio national outlets did not have to be captured. Like the pretty girl in a small town who dresses up and poses herself on a bench on Main Street and then is picked up, they were there for the taking.

As if the American libido for conformity had not been enough, pressures both potential and real loomed in the background. It was a question not only of a powerful, organized group wishing the Arabs to be misunderstood, but of the Arabs themselves doing little to prevent misunderstanding. One commentator on the American scene, a strong Zionist himself, noted, "The American press in reporting the Middle East is strongly

pro-Jewish, because in America there has been no strong public demand for a full presentation of the Arab point of view."⁵ The Christian desire to make some amends for the persecution of European Jewry and to ease Jewish-Christian relations swept away any obstacle to the fullest compliance with Zionist demands for news coverage.

Supplementing the plethora of stories praising Israel and damning the Arabs were endless items exposing the latest examples of alleged anti-Jewish bigotry. An atmosphere was created in which it was only natural for the American, with his reverence for the underdog,⁶ to accept Zionist propaganda as gospel.

In the early stages of the struggle for the Holy Land, before the 1947 partition of Palestine, it was a fear of possible economic recriminations including the loss of Jewish advertising and circulation that prompted one-sided press coverage. Later this fear was supplemented by a feeling of a community of interest between the United States and the new Israeli state. The press increasingly developed fewer compunctions about slanting the news when such reporting favored the "tiny bastion of democracy in the Middle East."⁷ While Israel was made to appear solely as a force for progress and liberation, the Arab world was depicted at the other end of the pendulum. A leading New York advertising man revealed how sharp this contrast was when he wrote: "To say that the Arabs are thought of, as you have, in terms of 'pyramids, camels, dancing girls and possibly oil' is relatively sophisticated. I think the popular image here is more one of lice-ridden nomadic savages."

The image of the Arab world was being created by purposeful and false stereotyping, while Israel was built up in the American imagination with the unsurpassed skill of the combined operations of Hollywood and Madison Avenue. About this little Mediterranean country more fables have been written than are contained in Scheherazade and Mother Goose together; the web of myth-information has been fully spun. Whatever latent misgivings Americans might have entertained were peremptorily snuffed out by the book and film *Exodus* and

the Eichmann trial. The brainwashing of the American public reached its greatest effectiveness with these super productions.

Leon Uris' popular novel, published by Doubleday in 1958, had a hard-cover and paperback sale reaching into the millions. There was scarcely a bookstore in Europe that did not have copies of the book on display, often translated into the local language. It is hardly an exaggeration to state, however sad a commentary it may be, that few books since the Bible have had a wider influence and more overwhelming success than *Exodus* has enjoyed.

The publishers described the book as a "historical novel." As late as June, 1961, Quentin Reynolds was referring to *Exodus* as a historical document."⁸ To set off portions of the book as a reliable account of history and not fiction, a different type face was employed. Yehiel Aronowicz, around whom the character of the Captain of the *Exodus* was supposedly constructed, was taking his degree in business administration at Columbia University shortly after the novel was published and had this to say about the Uris story: "The novel is neither history nor literature. Israelis were pretty disappointed in the book to put it lightly."⁹ The publishing house of the Israeli government had refused to publish it "because if it is to be read as history, it is inaccurate; if it is to be read as literature, it is vulgar." This prevented the book neither from receiving unprecedented ballyhoo nor from winning extraordinary readership, which helped both to build sympathy for Israel at a time when it was on the wane and to block the Arab case from winning adequate consideration by the American public.

Exodus has been referred to by one of its critics as "simply a Jewish western."¹⁰ In the course of his more than 600-page novel, Uris has not hesitated to introduce long "chunks" of background material, covering the history of Zionism from Herzl through the events surrounding the U.N. partition struggle up to the present day. The interweaving of these portions of swift, exciting, vivid writing with the general plot has immeasurably strengthened the intended impression that this is history and helped conceal the blatant bias. The history of

the Palestine mandate was portrayed as the simple story of a promise granted by Great Britain and the subsequent refusal to honor the pledge. Every Arab was made out to be a villain and every Jewish Palestinian a hero. Out of the mouths of the Jewish heroes constantly pour Biblical quotations; from the Arab throats, guttural and stupid remarks. This ought to have destroyed its historical competency, but this was not the case. The American public read it as a novel and reacted to it as history, and it strengthened their pro-Israeli leanings immeasurably. This was as true in Christian as it was in Jewish circles.

Perhaps the best explanation for the overwhelming success of *Exodus*, according to a Zionist reviewer, was its "exceptional ability to tell its readers what they want to believe, in simple, easily graspable terms."¹¹ The reviewer further noted: "*Exodus* thus affords the instance of a novel without high artistic merit effectively offering solace and pride to the Jew." As *Israel Horizons* reported, "Much of what appears in *Exodus* is no better or worse than is to be found in any standard Zionist history."¹²

In still another review the book was said to "fall back on a heterogeneous collection of attitudes, sentiments, idealizations, exaggerations and out-and-out myths about Israel which have been current in Western countries. The book is perhaps the ultimate crystallization of the Western fantasy about Israel—a 'never, never land.'"¹³ The reviewer, Joel Blocker, continued: "The checkered development of Zionist ideology is almost completely disregarded; all that is most distinctive and individual about Zionism is omitted in order not to disturb the image . . . 'Israel's youth volunteered to spend their entire lives in border villages!' This last statement is one of the grosser distortions in *Exodus*."

Uris has the habit of using from history what he wishes and discarding the rest. In depicting the British as just as heinous as the Arabs, he argues that the British promised the Jews that Palestine would be theirs again. This alleged British promise hinged, says this writer, on the Balfour Declaration, which he describes as "the Magna Charta of the Jewish people."¹⁴ Only that portion of the Balfour Declaration which suited his objec-

tive was quoted by Uris, who omitted the saving clauses delimiting the grant which had been inserted in the 1917 British foreign policy statement to protect the civil and religious rights of the Arabs and the political status of Jews living outside the area.

The grossest historical falsifications in *Exodus* can be found in that portion in Chapter One, Book IV, which begins on page 455 in this way:

AUTUMN 1947

UNITED NATIONS

FLUSHING MEADOW, NEW YORK

The six-thousand-year-old case for the Jewish people was placed before the conscience of man.

One typically sweeping distortion refers to "the Arab-Muslim bloc of eleven nations who had sat out World War II and declared war against Germany in the last minute to qualify for the United Nations membership. The Yishuv (Israel) which had contributed so richly to the Allied cause had no vote."¹⁵

But this liberty taken with history was relatively inconsequential. Although the United States had been in the forefront of the battle to bring about the partition of Palestine and had introduced (jointly with the Soviet Union) the United Nations partition resolution; although the United States, its President, the Congress and people highly connected in the Administration had brought every conceivable kind of pressure to bear on small nations who were hesitating to support the U.S. position; although twenty-six pro-Zionist U.S. Senators, not unmindful of the "Jewish vote" had drafted a telegram to thirteen of the undecided U.N. delegations which caused five of these to change their votes to Yes and seven others to change their votes from Nay to abstention (only Greece, tied to Egypt by an old and close relationship, refused to budge); although the full support, official and non-official, of the U.S. government, of all segments of private industry and every element of American wealth and affluence was thrown behind the partition resolution,¹⁶ this is what author Uris has to say: "The position of

the United States was the most disheartening setback Israel suffered. The President, the press and people were sympathetic, but international politics put the United States officially into an equivocal position. To support partition meant splitting the cornerstone of the Western world by breaking Anglo-American solidarity."¹⁷

Britain is described in the book as "causing the Commonwealth countries to abstain from voting and applying pressure to those smaller European countries who were tied to her economically."¹⁸ The truth was that no one during the United Nations fight over partition worked harder for the Zionist cause than did Herbert V. Evatt of Australia, Carl Berendsen of New Zealand, Jan Smuts of South Africa and Lester Pearson of Canada.

Uris describes "Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg bowing before British pressure."¹⁹ Of these countries, only Luxembourg was ever in doubt, and soon American prestige brought that small country into line.

The extent to which the author has falsified history can be seen in this passage: "Finally in November of the Autumn of 1947, the miracle of Lake Success began to unfold. First came a cautiously-worded statement from the United States in favor of the 'principle' of partition. Then came a move that rocked the world. After outlawing Zionism for over two decades, the Soviet Union made one of its startling reversals and announced itself as favoring partition. The news was released after a secret caucus of the Slavic bloc."²⁰ In fact, the United States and the Soviet Union had jointly introduced the partition resolution and had been competing with each other to see who could do more for the Jewish Agency and the Zionists, a rivalry that continued right down to the race to be the first to recognize the new state on May 14th of the following year. This Uris twist and the representation of Britain as bitterly opposing the partition resolution (whereas in fact she scarcely deviated from her position of abstaining in the vote at the U.N. and of commencing the removal of her troops from the formerly mandated territory) were intended to strengthen the Uris portrait

of a "little Israel" struggling against the villainous Arabs and the equally villainous English, while the fun-loving Americans stood by not caring.

When Greece, refusing to bow to U.S. senatorial pressures, voted against partition, the author reported that "the Greeks had bowed to Egyptian blackmail."²¹ Here is how *Exodus* described the French voting: "When France, the first of the big powers, reluctant France, had its turn, Parodi [the French ambassador] came to his feet slowly. An abstention by France could prove disastrous. Had Blum and the French people succeeded? 'The Republic of France votes for partition,' Parodi said in a voice filled with satisfaction."²² In the recital there was no reference to the long talk that had taken place between White House adviser Bernard Baruch and Ambassador Parodi of France. The French needed little reminder of the importance of interim Marshall Plan aid to their future plans.²³

Exodus reports falsely that the Chilean representatives resigned in protest at orders received from the Foreign Office in Santiago that they abstain, and even more dishonestly presented was the story of the Philippine vote: "For a breathless second, the world stood still. Romulo had been called away from Flushing Meadow. The alternate stood up: 'The Philippines vote for partition.'"²⁴ The book did not relate why General Carlos Romulo had been called away. Only a few days before in the course of the debate the Philippine leader, who was to become the president of the General Assembly, announced his vote against partition and had passionately defended the "primordial rights of the people to determine their political future and to preserve the territorial integrity of their native land. We cannot believe that the United Nations would sanction a solution on the problem of Palestine that would turn us back on the road to the dangerous principles of racial exclusiveness and to the archaic documents of theocratic governments. The problem of the displaced European Jews is susceptible of a solution other than through the establishment of an independent Jewish state in Palestine."²⁵

This had been the reaction of the Philippine leader to the

partition proposal and to initial pressures. But no pressures were more cynical than those now exerted on Romulo both in New York and in Washington and on President Roxas in Manila. Alternate Chief Representative Ambassador Elizalde informed his president by phone that Washington was determined on partition and that, in his opinion, it would be foolish for the Philippines to vote against a policy so ardently desired by the U.S. Administration at a time when seven bills were pending in the U.S. Congress in which the Islands had a tremendous stake. The Ambassador and President Roxas agreed—this was all subsequently reported in a lengthy cable from the U.S. Ambassador in Manila to the State Department—that the Philippines must not risk the antagonism of the United States when support could be gained so easily by a proper vote on Palestine. At this juncture, the joint senatorial telegram was received. General Romulo, to save face, was recalled and was already on a ship bound for home when his alternate delegate Ambassador Elizalde voted in favor of partition.

After a description of the “historical scene” at the United Nations after the partition vote, *Exodus* recited at length alleged bloodthirsty reactions from various Arab quarters against the U.N. decision, including an out-of-context statement of a much later date credited to King Saud of Saudi Arabia.

Other gross liberties taken with history in this renowned book included the allegation that the establishment of Israel was the fulfillment of Biblical promise; that Britain promised Israel only to Jews and then failed to deliver; and that Jews have been basically at home only amongst Jews. This latter point, so inherent to all Zionist thinking, was rehashed several times throughout the novel.

The author in referring to the 1940 sinking of the *Patria*, another refugee transport, did not reveal that it had been Zionists themselves who blew up the ship with its 1,800 passengers within sight of land and caused the drowning of more than 250 persons in order to arouse anti-British sentiment. At the time of the incident these deaths were attributed to the British, and it was not until ten years later that the responsi-

bility for this disaster was placed at the door of the Zionist Haganah general staff. David Flinker, Israeli correspondent of the New York *Morning Journal*, described what happened:

. . . It was then that the Haganah General Staff took a decision at which their leaders shuddered. The decision was not to permit the *Patria* to leave Jaffa. The English must be given to understand that Jews could not be driven away from their own country. The *Patria* must be blown up. The decision was conveyed to Haganah members on the *Patria* and in the hush of night, preparations had begun for the execution of the tragic act. On Sunday, November 26, 1940, the passengers were informed by the English that they were being returned to sea. The Jews remained silent, save for a whisper from man to man to go 'up the deck, all up the deck.' Apparently, the signal did not reach everybody, for many hundreds remained below—never to see light again. Suddenly an explosion was heard and a panic ensued . . . It was a hellish scene; people jumped into the water, children were tossed into the waves; agonizing cries tore the heavens. The number of victims was officially placed at 276. The survivors were permitted by the High Commissioner to land.²⁶

The heroes of the film *Exodus* were not ashamed to say that they, too, were willing to sacrifice human lives in order to show "the world we will not accept a solution that bars us from Palestine."

But the *pièce de résistance* in distortion concerns the ship *Exodus* itself. Shortly after the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) had arrived in Palestine in the spring of 1947 to conduct hearings as to what form of government should succeed the mandate being surrendered by the British, the case of the S.S. *Exodus* '47 blacked out all other Palestine news. From the moment this old (renamed) Chesapeake Bay excursion boat had sailed from the French port of Sète, there was no question of what would happen. She carried illegal immigrants who would be intercepted by the British. But the Jewish nationalists had sagely mounted the props, brought in the players and solicited a world audience. If any-

one was ultimately surprised, it can only have been the refugees whose miseries were being exploited. They, at least, were really hoping to gain a haven.

As in the previous instances of the *Patria* and the *Struma* (in 1942), British law required the detention of illegal immigrants. But the *Exodus* passengers were not simply interned in Cyprus (the established routine for most previous cases of the kind). They were bodily removed from the boat to three British transports after a three-hour battle in which three persons were killed and 217 injured. There was no movie house in the United States that did not carry a newsreel shot of these distraught faces on "that long voyage home." The haven offered by the French government was refused by the refugees, whom the British finally landed at Hamburg, not before a few swastikas had been painted over the Union Jack and a hunger strike had made additional front-page headlines.

These were the facts that made the propaganda headlines in 1947, not a ridiculous capitulation of the entire British Royal Navy to a handful of determined Jewish refugees as depicted in the book and the movie years later. The trip of the real *Exodus* paid immediate dividends in intense anglophobia (as, to a lesser degree, did the voyage of the fictionalized ship). Swastikas were painted on British consulates in New York City and elsewhere. The garroted bodies of two British sergeants were found hanging near Nathania (named after one of its benefactors, the American philanthropist Nathan Straus). A reign of blood and terror was ushered in against the British in the Holy Land which led Dr. Judah L. Magnes, then president of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, to renew his plea for a binational state and to refer to "Zionist totalitarianism," which was trying "to bring the entire Jewish people under its influence by force and violence. I have not yet seen the dissidents called by their rightful name: killers, brutalized men and women." "All Jews in America," he added, "share in the guilt, even those not in accord with the activities of this new pagan leadership but who sit at ease with folded hands. If we raise the alarm, we do so with muffled voices. If our voices be raised,

it is because of anxiety for the national discipline, not for anxiety concerning discipline for the spirit of Israel and the timeless values of Israel's tradition."²⁷

This was the reaction of a wise and great Jewish Palestinian to the sequence of events surrounding *Exodus*, quite in contrast to that held by Jewish Americans of today, whose unqualified support of the Uris novel and film has helped to immortalize the brutalizations of the period.

The incalculable harm he might be causing to the position of Jewish Americans in the United States did not stop Mr. Uris from reiterating this basic Zionist dogma: "Jew-baiting is an incurable disease. Under certain democratic conditions, it may not flourish well. Under other conditions, the germ may even appear to die. But it never does die, even in the most ideal climate."²⁸ As the American Council for Judaism noted in their commentary: "This book is not a book of hope but of despair, not of assertion but of resignation."²⁹

The movie version of the book, produced by United Artists, claimed to be based on a combination of fiction and fact. The faults of the book have exaggerated and highlighted by the camera; for the movie, if possible, contains even more blatant propaganda. The characters are mere vehicles for expressions of attitudes. Peter Lawford in the role of a bigoted British officer has been made so crudely anti-Semitic that any semblance of reality is instantaneously eradicated. The movie abounds in such clichés as "Israel must be ours so every Jew on earth can feel like a human being." Or, "3200 years ago is when we Jews came here. I am a Jew, and this is my country." And as the "Jewish" flag is raised on board the ship as it enters the harbor, the Israeli national anthem, the *Hatikvah*, is lustily sung by the triumphant refugees who but seconds before were sprawled on the decks dying of hunger.

Yet, though the characters are cardboard and the dialogue wooden and stilted, the viewers—particularly those in the large American cities—ate up every word. Those who were Jews were emotionally keyed up and accepted everything that appeared on the screen as truth. They identified themselves with the film's

homeless wanderers who were finding a haven and were being rescued from the anti-Semitic British and the bloodthirsty Arabs. The impact of continuous nationalist propaganda made them and the fictitious movie characters one people.

In commenting on audience reaction in Canada a reviewer stated: "Most Winnipeg Jewish readers reacted as though *Exodus* were an official policy of the State of Israel; as though they were personally responsible for the content of commercial films; as though no views other than adulation were permitted for *Exodus*. We think the subject is open to discussion."³⁰

The film was not even subtle in its attempts to link Arab opposition to the Israeli state with Nazism. The Arab representative of the Grand Mufti, sent to lead the Arab counter-attacks against the victorious Jews, was the personification of a Nazi, and he referred boastingly to his "Arab storm troopers." A swastika is seen near the body of the one "good" Arab, who paid with his life for his friendship with Ben Canaan, the film's hero.

The language placed in the mouths of the "historical" cinema figures was leveled at high school, if not grammar school, age. This had its advantages: many of the New York City and the suburban Jewish Sunday schools had special benefit performances to which the children were taken from their religious pursuits to view the film in which the blowing up of the King David Hotel³¹ and the assassination of innocent people were portrayed as great accomplishments of the new state.

In addition to being a propaganda vehicle justifying the establishment of the state of Israel, the film attempts to reply to recent criticism of the callous treatment of the Arab refugees. Jewish sound trucks are shown appearing in the cities blaring in loud terms: "We implore you to remain in your homes"—the implication being that the Palestinian Arabs left against the wishes of the victorious Israelis, only at the behest of their own leaders, and not in fear of the advancing Israeli army.

This film ends with a reminder to the audience of the alleged Israeli willingness "to live peacefully and hopefully with their friends and neighbors" and closes with an editorial note: "Can-

not the Arab and Jew share in a peaceful life in this land they shared in death?"

Whatever little there remained to complete the brainwashing of the American public was left to the trial of Adolph Eichmann.

The capture in June, 1960 of Nazi criminal Adolf Eichmann by Israeli security agents within Argentine territory and his "transfer" to Israel led to the most publicized trial in world history since the Sanhedrin brought its accusations against Jesus. From the moment his seizure was made known, closely followed by the Argentine complaint against Israel for violation of her sovereignty, through the ensuing trial and execution, Eichmann was never off the front pages.

The United Nations, under the leadership of the United States, speedily brushed aside the legal problems posed by the kidnapping of Hitler's henchman. The gravity of the crimes with which Eichmann was charged was held to condone the unlawful apprehension that brought him under Israeli jurisdiction. A flood of Hitler terror stories was let loose. An endless spate of publicity exploited every possible propaganda use of the man accused of the murder of six million Jews. Memories of old and of years of new anti-Semitic brutalities were awakened. Never was there a more fecund opportunity daily to prick the Christian conscience. And no one failed in carrying out his role to the fullest. Even the presiding justice of the Israeli court that sat in judgment of Eichmann was forced at one point to rebuke Attorney General Gideon Hausner for the vivid but seemingly irrelevant testimony on Nazi atrocities.³²

For eleven months during the preparation for the trial, the buildup proceeded meticulously and carefully. The first news photo of the captured Nazi permitted by the Israeli government appeared on March 9, 1961, showing Eichmann facing a Haifa judge with the Israeli six-pointed flag in the background: "Eichmann before Israeli Justice." From then on the competition was intense as to who would carry more about the case and who would describe it most sordidly. By the time the trial opened on April 11th, the press had been flooded with books,

articles, stories, movies and even plays all reliving the Nazi tragedy and the abominations suffered by Jews.

The *New York Herald Tribune*, on April 4, began a series of six articles as a prelude to the trial. "Return to the Scene in '61—The Most Monstrous Crime." The front page of the New York morning paper was emblazoned with a large swastika. Crack newspaper columnists vied with each other as they revisited the camps ("to put the case into human focus") and interviewed survivors. Bob Considine's account in the *New York Journal-American* story on April 4 was headlined: "Survivor Tells of Eichmann Dachau Hell."

The day the trial opened world newspapers were dominated by the story from the Jerusalem courtroom. High black bold type pushed other world developments to the rear pages as many columns were devoted to the indictment charging Eichmann with responsibility in the extermination program the Nazis had called "the final solution to the Jewish question."

The French press gave particularly full coverage to the trial. As the *American Jewish Year Book* noted: "The major French newspapers sent their best reporters. Joseph Kessel's articles in *France-Soir* were notable not only for their evocative power, but also for the deep emotion of that noted French reporter, who never forgot that he was himself a Jew and a brother of the victims whose story was told in the long months of the trial."³³

Television carried daily the story of the trial taking place in *Beit Haam*—House of the People—as past horrors were relived innumerable times. On April 8th NBC featured a debate: "Does Eichmann's Trial Serve the Cause of International Justice?" Chet Huntley the following day emphasized the guilt of our civilization in permitting the Nazi crimes to occur. NBC the same day began a two-part program on the trial, featuring documentary films of the Nazi camps and interviews with Israeli officials. A special ABC network program detailed the mood of Israel on the eve of the trial, while the same network in yet another show, "The Other Adolf," the next day also featured captured Nazi films. On the 12th of that month CBS showed

German films, and on the 14th ABC's "Bell and Howell Close-up" featured a discussion of the trial by a former concentration-camp inmate.

Other network shows included the appearance of Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice Michael A. Musmanno prior to testifying in Jerusalem (NBC, April 6); "Eyewitness to History" (CBS, April 14); "Moral Issues," with representatives of three major faiths (NBC, April 23); interview with newsmen and Israeli citizens (NBC, May 9 and August 18).

Local telecasts in New York City set out to examine the significance of the trial to Jews in Israel and in the United States. CBS,³⁴ through interviews with residents of Israel and Jewish organization representatives, examined the trial's meaning and, as *The New York Times* noted, included much footage "which had no direct bearing on the Eichmann case,"³⁵ but which suited the propaganda needs of Israel. Quentin Reynolds reviewed the history of concentration camps (April 9, WNEW-TV), "Youth Forum" discussed the moral issues of the trial (June 4 and 11, WNBC-TV), and a panel of religious editors did likewise (June 14, WABC-TV).

Although only one filming of the proceedings was permitted, with the help of tapes flown in daily from Jerusalem the networks reported the trial in exceptional detail. During the entire trial the American Broadcasting Company presented one-hour summaries prepared by Quincy Howe and other leading correspondents over 60 stations across the country, while its New York City outlet presented commercially sponsored half-hour summaries five evenings a week. Few persons anywhere needed to be convinced of the guilt of the war criminal. Americans seemed to relish every moment of the trial, while the Germans could not wait until the trial was over, and mankind indulged in a global catharsis.

A body of horror literature, detailing brutal German war-time crimes, filled the book stores.³⁶

Of course, the film industry joined the parade. Allied Artists rushed through *Operation Eichmann* to coincide with the opening of the trial. A European documentary on Hitler and his

times, *Mein Kampf*, was widely distributed throughout the United States by Columbia Pictures. It is no wonder that a Gallup poll taken that May revealed that 87 per cent of the American public "had heard or read about the Eichmann trial—an exceptionally large percentage for a public issue."³⁷

The trial gave the Israeli government the tremendous opportunity to justify the existence of its state by reminding not only the world, but its own citizens of the dark past, thus simultaneously awakening Jewishness in the world Jewish community and engendering sympathy in others. The long broadcasts in Israel were intended to refresh the memories of the older folk who were trying to forget what had happened and to stir fires in those of tender years who had said of the Nazi terrors, "I did not feel it, I only heard about it." The hardened native-born Sabras were being educated to feel a comity with Jews elsewhere, a feeling foreign to these Israelis who had not shared in any saga of Jewish persecution and discrimination.³⁸ Sabras were thus being Zionized³⁹ by the mammoth show, even as were millions all over the world.

In the mass hysteria over Eichmann, who could or would possibly want to say a word on behalf of the accused? Here and there a few moralists, notably a Columbia Law School professor and an American general, expressed their opposition to the trial and to its violation of international law, which others were willing to dismiss as a legal technicality. In a debate in the *Sunday New York Times Magazine*, General Telford Taylor, chief prosecutor at the Nuremberg war-crimes trials, argued that the Eichmann trial would neither promote a healthy growth of international law nor advance the cause of humanity but would be a step backward,⁴⁰ while Premier Ben-Gurion vigorously defended the trial, declaring, "Only a Jewish state can try him; from a moral point of view Israel is the only inheritor [of the murdered Jews]."⁴¹

In three subsequent issues of the *Sunday Times* overwhelming support for the Ben-Gurion position was voiced in the published letters from readers. Little attention was wasted on the breach of international morality in the kidnaping of Eichmann

by Israeli agents or on the dangerous precedents to the law of nations which the trial of Eichmann was establishing. The punishment of actions perpetrated before Israel existed, actions committed outside the boundaries of Israel and against people, none of whom were Israeli citizens at the time of the trial, were condoned. The very 1950 Israeli law under which Eichmann was arraigned violated a long-accepted international legal tradition against *ex post facto* legislation by permitting punishment for crimes committed prior to its promulgation.

In her documented history of the trial, of the cast of lawyers, judges and witnesses, and of the background to the largest mass murder in history, Hannah Arendt supplies facts and information not permitted to appear elsewhere. She sees error in certain aspects of the trial and its climate, which shrouded the proceedings with what has been described as "a concentration camp sentimentalism." She notes that the purpose of the trial was not to judge the guilt or innocence of the accused, but "to show the Israelis what it meant to live amongst non-Jews and to convince them that only in Israel could they be safe and live an honorable life." The facts for which Eichmann was eventually to hang had all been established long before the trial started.

The trial was a show, as *Davar*, the official organ of Ben-Gurion's Mapai party, phrased it, "to let world opinion know that not only Nazi Germany was responsible for the destruction of six million Jews of Europe. We want the world to know and to be ashamed." Prosecutor Hausner himself intoned: "It is not an individual that is in the dock on this historic trial and not the Nazi regime alone, but anti-Semitism throughout history." This, Miss Arendt noted, opened up the floodgates to irrelevant emotional testimony and to propaganda making "a mockery of the trial and a fiasco of justice," however much the accused may have deserved to hang.

From the outset it was obvious that the fate of Eichmann was the least important aspect of the trial. The right of Israel to try Eichmann, unchallenged by the international community after the Security Council had disposed of the Argentine complaint

against the kidnaping, constituted the greatest triumph for Jewish nationalism since the victory at Flushing Meadow had brought Israel into existence. Foreign Minister Golda Meir had been reported in the London *Jewish Chronicle* as stating: "Israel is determined not to yield the right to speak on any Jewish subject."⁴²

The claimed prerogative of Israel to speak in the name of Jews everywhere was broadened by the trial and decision in the Eichmann case to include the right to act for and represent "the Jewish people" anywhere. Through the state of Israel's right to try the Nazi executioner the dogma that Jewis belonged to a homeless ethnic-racial national entity, to an inchoate nation with its situs in Palestine prior to 1948 and after that date to the state of Israel, had been considerably substantiated. And the judgment of the Israeli court trying Eichmann pointedly declared: "The connection between the state of Israel and the Jewish people needs no explanation . . . this is the sovereign state of the Jewish people."

In the right of the Israeli state, which had been established by the trial, to punish criminals for crimes against "the Jewish people," Israel has been handed the potential weapon of invoking the principle of self-defense whenever and wherever there is any attack on a person or persons held by Israeli authority to be part of that "Jewish people." The Zionist-Israeli concept of a "Jewish nationality" linked through "the Jewish people" to the state of Israel has triumphed.

In an editorial, "The Faces of the Dead," *The New York Times* raised a question: "The nameless and faceless dead have received the blessing of remembrance and are again alive, vivid as a scream in the night, in the minds of men . . . How long before this resurrection ends?"⁴³ Organized Jewry's answer was "Never." Eichmann had been captured in June, 1960. The trial did not open until nearly eleven months later, on April 11, and lasted until August 14, when the court adjourned until December 11. The death judgment was read by Justice Landau on December 15, 1961; the appeal was heard by Israel's Supreme Court in March, 1962. The death penalty was confirmed

on the 29th of May, and Eichmann's execution took place two days later when no reprieve was forthcoming.

But his death did not end the affair. The resurrection continues. In films, books, plays, newspapers, magazines, on radio and television, the spotlight is still being cast on the Eichmann-Nazi guilt. The film *Judgment at Nuremberg* was to be followed by the *Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*. *The Wall* and *Mila 18*⁴⁴ would be followed by a continued succession of books on the same theme.

The press and television never stopped the process of pricking the Christian conscience. *The Diary of Anne Frank*,⁴⁵ a top hit in literary, theatrical and film versions, both in the United States and abroad, was resurrected by sensational speculation over those guilty of the celebrated World War II betrayal in Holland. Six months after the Eichmann hanging the *Saturday Evening Post* devoted its front cover to promoting the first of a series of articles by Gideon Hausner, attorney general of Israel: "*Eichmann and His Trial—by His Prosecutor*. The full story of the Nazi who murdered six million Jews. How the gruesome evidence was collected against him and how he was convicted."⁴⁶

This was even as the *New York World-Telegram and The Sun* commenced to serialize *Cast a Giant Shadow*,⁴⁷ the story of Mickey Marcus, West Point graduate killed during the Arab-Israeli war. Hausner was later widely quoted in the American press in violent criticism of Hannah Arendt's book.

The spotlight on Eichmann had scarcely retreated when the prolonged Frankfurt trial of the Auschwitz camp killers hit the headlines,⁴⁸ the Warsaw Ghetto Exhibit, commemorating the heroic stand of the Polish Jewish community, began a lengthy tour of the United States and Rolf Hochhuth's play *The Deputy* arrived on the world scene. The theatrical page commentary on this dramatization, indicting the alleged silence of Pope Pius XII in the face of Jewish exterminations by the Nazis, pointed up "not simply how great was the Pope's failure not to speak, but also how many others share in the guilt."⁴⁹

Just how important this never ending process is to organized Jewry as a *modus operandi* for priming the pump, as Jews became less and less eager to donate to Israel, was evidenced by the 1962 edition of the *American Jewish Year Book*: 138 pages, nearly one quarter of the book, turned over to the Eichmann indictment, trial and judgment in an annual devoted to a "record of events and trends in American and world Jewish life."

6

The New York Times, et al.

"Because Freedom is for everybody or nobody, Because every man is entitled to hold an opinion and voice it. Or soon nobody is. Because they cannot intimidate one man without making all men a little bit afraid!"

Henry Denker—*A Case of Libel*

AS THE urge to conform, Christian guilt-feeling and fear were brainwashing the American public, the same factors were accelerating Zionist-Israelist influence with information media. Magazines and newspapers, news stories and editorial columns, television and radio were almost exclusively presenting the Jewish nationalist point of view. And the role in this process played by *The New York Times* was unique.

While Jewish nationalism is propagated by all the New York press, through free, abundant news coverage and good placement of advertising space, it is the *Times* alone that has national and international influence. The most influential paper in the world, the Ochs-Sulzberger publication has a daily and Sunday circulation outside New York City which is exceeded by few papers. The circulation of its international edition is constantly increasing, and the *Times* news service is carried by 72 papers in the U.S., Canada and overseas. No newspaper has made Americans as conscious of the vast world that exists beyond their borders. It is unfortunate that in performing this vital function of reporting to its readers, the *Times* has on occasion chosen to impose a definite viewpoint. It is my task to show this other, darker side of their coin.

When a reporter or editor of a smaller city paper has had a chance to visit the Middle East and personally survey the complicated area, an objective presentation filters through to the people. But few such papers are in the financial position to

send a reporter of their own to the Middle East, and hence they must rely on the news services, foreign bureaus and networks. While the Associated Press, United Press International News Service, Reuters and other Western news agencies have their own correspondents in the Middle East, there has been tremendous world reliance on *The New York Times* dispatches, particularly by American newspapers. The extent of this was noted in a survey published by the International Press Institute at Zurich.¹ One editor reported to the survey (informants' names were withheld to encourage them to speak freely), "We feel that one paper of record is essential in America, and this field is pretty adequately covered by *The New York Times*."

In April, 1956, Senator Estes Kefauver was beating the drums for the presidential nomination and thought it advantageous to play up the Zionist-Israeli theme. The Committee for Security and Justice in the Middle East issued a press statement attacking the Tennessean for jeopardizing the American national interest and for interjecting domestic politics into a serious foreign policy discussion. Although the roster of the committee bore the names of fifteen prominent educators, four former ambassadors and several outstanding clergymen and writers,² *The New York Times* carried only eight lines on the story. In that same issue, April 23, 1956, there was room for lengthy coverage of the following: a front-page story headed "Ben-Gurion Criticizes Eisenhower's Refusal to Send Israel Arms"; on page 2, a picture of Israeli children emerging from an underground shelter in the Gaza strip area with this caption: "They Were Evacuated from Their Nursery Minutes before It Was Struck by a Mortar Shell"; on page 4, a picture of Robert W. Sarnoff accepting for his father, Brigadier General David Sarnoff, the Amity Award of the New Jersey regent of the American Jewish Congress, with a full story; and on page 10 of the same issue, an account of the annual convention of the Brooklyn Jewish Community Council.

The Zionists have been favored not only by the widest press coverage of their activities, but also by what has and has not been allowed to appear on the Arabs, particularly the attacks

directed against Nasser. The Egyptian leader has been alternately depicted as the Hitler or the Stalin of the Nile, depending on whichever label best suited the ideological climate of the moment.³ Nasser has invariably been portrayed as the leader of that brand of Arab nationalism "which sought to conquer Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq . . . to oust Chamoun, Hussein, Nuri and the Hashemite regime, all friends of the West, to crush Israel and turn these countries into Communist satellites under Russian dictatorship."⁴

During the press coverage of the *Cleopatra* case, Harry Hershfield deviated from his accustomed light anecdotes to describe Nasser as the "Cairo dictator whose followers are willing slaves to his every utterance. His word is his bondage." The popular *New York Mirror* columnist further embarked into foreign affairs to note: "In violation of international law in the Suez, Nasser is strangling legitimate shipping in the hope of destroying Israel. Now must David do an encore on Goliath? Egypt is applying gangsterism to U.S. shipping. What's happened to the Americans who once said to the Barbary pirates: 'Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute?'"⁵

In his columns appearing in *The New York Times* and other city papers as paid ads, A. N. Spanel, chairman of the International Latex Corporation, waged his own personal war against Nasser in behalf of French-Israeli interests. Depicting Nasser as the "pocket-edition Hitler on the Nile" or referring to the Nasser-Khrushchev axis, this businessman accused the U.A.R. leader of opening up the Mediterranean to Communist influence.

One of the chief Zionist stratagems for furthering the popular concept of "democratic" Israel was to stick this Communist label on Nasser. The extreme xenophobia of the Egyptian leader and his widespread nationalization of foreign business in a move toward "Arab socialism" made it easy to depict Nasser as a Kremlin stooge rather than as an alert neutralist taking what he could from whomever he could. The *Sunday Times Magazine* in illustrating an article "Poland? Yugoslavia? Why Help Communists?" used a photograph showing Khrushchev and Tito and standing between them, smiling, Nasser—a picture ob-

viously chosen to help place the Communist label on the U.A.R. leader.⁶ Shortly after his return to Cairo from his visit to Moscow in June, 1958, the Syrian Communist party attacked Nasser, who retaliated in kind. When Khrushchev then went before the 21st World Communist Congress, he bitterly assailed Nasser. But such shifts in the fluid relationship between Nasser and Khrushchev received scant coverage in the American press.

When Premier Khrushchev visited Cairo in May, 1964, for the elaborate celebration marking the completion of the first stage of the Aswan Dam, the big city press once again strove by every device to link the United Arab Republic to Communism. *The New York Times* did the unprecedented: two nearly identical pictures of Nasser and Khrushchev riding together in an automobile in a welcoming parade appeared in the same Sunday *Times*. One photo on the front page, showing the leaders in Cairo and a young girl on the hood of the car, bore the caption "Spirited Welcome," while an Alexandria picture with the caption "Egypt Welcome" appeared on page one of the News of the Week in Review, which normally is put to bed in New York at the time Khrushchev was setting foot on Egyptian soil.

The *Herald Tribune's* May 11 front page carried a two column head, "K Calls British Barbarians as Egypt Cheers". (The Soviet Leader had accused Britain of "barbarous air attacks on peaceful villages in Yemen".) And the other New York papers competed in headlines to emphasize Russian support of Arabs in their antagonism toward Israel.

Yet when the Soviet Union resumed the testing of nuclear weapons on September 1, 1961, by exploding a device over Soviet Asia, President Nasser had denounced the Soviet decision at the Belgrade conference of the non-aligned countries. He was the first to do so, but the editorial columns of *The New York Times*, always so quick to tear into the Egyptian leader, were silent.⁷ And not a word of his speech appeared in the Sunday *Times's* News of the Week in Review for September 3, 1961, which dealt with both the conference of the neutrals and

U.S.S.R. atomic testing. The editor of *Life International Magazine* reported that Nehru alone spoke out at once against Russian testing.⁸ In its summary of the news events of the week that same Sunday, the *New York Herald-Tribune* completely ignored President Nasser's denunciation of the testing resumption, reporting that he "had no immediate comment on the renewal."

On June 7, 1961, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, which uses the international news service of *The New York Times*, picked up and carried a lengthy *Times* dispatch from Israel about the Eichmann trial by Homer Bigart. This recited the maudlin deceptions employed by the Nazi butchers to calm doomed Jews arriving at the Treblinka death camp and described the horrible extermination of some 750,000 Jews. A second *New York Times* foreign-news story had been filed that same day by its Cairo correspondent, Dana Adams Schmidt, under the lead: "The United Arab Republic Is Talking Back to the Soviet Union," explaining how the U.A.R. government-owned press had responded to an attack by the Soviet Union with a counterblast with "the tone of a declaration of independence." *The New York Times* did carry this story, but not so the *Plain Dealer*, the leading paper in the home-town stronghold of Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, although seven months earlier in an editorial this same Ohio paper had described President Nasser as a Khrushchev "cutthroat" and "stooge." This attack, incidentally, coincided with the visit to the United States of the U.A.R. President when he had spearheaded at the United Nations General Assembly an Afro-Asian resolution supporting Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold and thereby helping to inflict a major defeat on the Soviet Union.

If it was not the charge of communism, it was the cry of anti-Semitism that was leveled against Nasser and the Arabs, good Semites themselves. In January 1958, the *New York Journal-American* initiated a series of articles exposing the Arab Information Center's "hate drive against Israel." The alleged \$700,000 slush fund available to the Center's office was linked to the "new turn in the Communist party line," and to "several notori-

ous anti-Semites who have begun to favor the Arab case in their literature." These articles far outsmear the previous efforts of their evening competitor, the *New York Post*. In these articles written by Guy Richards and Jeffrey Roche, many hypotheses, but not a shred of evidence, were produced to support the charge that the Arabs in the U.S. were planning "a bolder, more violent campaign spearheaded by anti-Semitic propaganda and reminiscent of Hitler's Nazi technique . . . intemperate attacks on Jewry and material antagonistic to Jewry in general." While an objective press evaluation of this Arab Information Center could certainly have revealed futile, wasteful, confused and ineffectual operations, an exposé, along these lines, would have obliterated the image of the "big bad wolf" and blotted out the issue of anti-Semitism.

An equally unfounded series of articles in the *New York Daily News* "linked" President Nasser to the blowing up of synagogues by bigots in Atlanta, Georgia. These constituted a further reflection on the caliber of New York journalism.

For the sake of circulation the big city press was poisoning the atmosphere in which the State Department was trying to build closer ties with leaders of this critically important area. Few opportunities were lost to attack Nasser, belittle Saud or humiliate Hussein. During Hussein's 1959 visit his politeness to a starlet at a Hollywood party in his honor was turned into a blazing romance by a studio publicity agent, and the ultimate "royal rejection" of the young lady was headlined as an example of Arab anti-Semitism when it was revealed that the starlet was Jewish.⁹

When King Saud came to the U.S. for treatment in December, 1961, he was the target of innumerable nasty digs about his "collection of wives" and his "harem installed in his suite at the hospital."¹⁰ The United Press International story carried throughout the country often bore the headline: "Saud in Hospital—Four Wives at Hand."¹¹

The sacred place accorded the word Israel by the city and cable desks of *The New York Times* could be no better illus-

trated than by a story involving a young, extremely orthodox Jew who had returned from Israel to his native New York completely disillusioned with what he had seen in the new state. He wanted to write a book on his bitter experiences, and he approached the American Council for Judaism for assistance because of its known anti-Zionist stand. They were unimpressed with the ardent but obviously inexperienced youth. Still determined, the would-be writer (who had on paper nothing but alternative titles) decided that he would try to raise money for his book on Israel by setting up a publishing company. He was convinced that the circulation of a three-page, neatly mimeographed prospectus offering 100,000 shares in an American Israel Publishing Co., Inc. at \$3 each to the public would bring in the needed funds without even an outline for a manuscript in hand.¹²

The enterprising young man obtained desk space in an office with a Fifth Avenue address and telephone answering service. This, plus the neatly mimeographed, three-page outline (without a single name, prominent or otherwise, other than his own on the prospectus) headed "American-Israel Publishing Co., Inc., 507 Fifth Avenue, MU 2-2444," was all he had. Under his own name he sent to the New York papers an announcement of the formation of the American-Israel Publishing Company. Two days later, a three-paragraph story on the new publishing company appeared prominently on the book page of *The New York Times*.¹³ Such is the magic wielded by the word Israel.

Two months later, while the new "publishing company" was still in the same embryonic state, the "publisher's" grandfather died. Normally his passing would scarcely have merited note on the obituary page of the *Times*, yet three paragraphs appeared under the caption "American-Israel Publishing Company Chairman Dies."¹⁴

The New York Times' editorial-page vendetta against President Nasser has not relaxed under the guidance of John B. Oakes. New issues on which to attack Nasser, and through him the Arabs, take the place of older ones rendered obsolete by

altered international situations. But invariably American interests are spelled out in terms of those of Israel.

When the Israeli armed forces in February of 1955 were sent on an offensive mission against Gaza in which 40 Egyptians were killed and which led to a strong censure by the Mixed Armistice Commission, *The New York Times* editorially chastized Israel not for her international immorality, but for her bad judgment ("mistake" was the word used), warning that alienation of world opinion and unification of the Arab states could result from such a course.¹⁵ When, however, the United Arab Republic banned the Cairo appearance of an American theater company led by Helen Hayes because the players were going first to Tel Aviv, *The New York Times* in a long editorial not only criticized the Egyptian leader for his action against Miss Hayes, but took another swipe at his policy toward Israel: "On the same pretext Nasser refuses to allow Israeli ships or cargoes to pass through the international artery called the Suez Canal."¹⁶ While no one would claim that the barring of Miss Hayes was in good taste, all the Arab countries have a well-known policy of refusing admission to any traveler who has first visited Israel.¹⁷ The State Department, in charge of scheduling this good-will theatrical group, could easily have arranged its itinerary so as not to conflict with this established Arab policy. The *Times* editorial took no notice of the dereliction on the part of Washington.

The *Times* has lost few opportunities to intervene editorially against Nasser or, conversely, for Ben-Gurion. Following the union between Egypt and Syria in 1958, a series of *Times* editorials, including those of February 3 entitled "A New Arab State," of February 4 entitled "Nasser's Grand Design," and of February 7 entitled "Nasser's Democracy," displayed little tolerance for the forces at work in the Middle East and an obvious bias. While the paper's editorials were openly accusing Nasser of annexing Syria, its Middle East correspondent, Sam Pope Brewer, was reporting from the area that Syria, not Egypt, was the chief progenitor of the United Arab Republic. While the editorial page saw a deep-seated Soviet plot in the

union, a Brewer piece from the field was headlined "Union with Egypt Perils Syria's Reds."¹⁸ At a time when there had been an exchange of threats between Israel and Egypt the editorial page carried this advice: "The question keeps rising as to whether a person who talks as irresponsibly as President Nasser is a worthy representative of his people, a good subject for international credit or a guarantee of a \$40-million loan to the Suez Canal."¹⁹ Yet on the occasion of Ben-Gurion's 1961 visit to the United States, this editorial eulogy appeared in the wake of the Israeli leader's repeated ingathering pleas:

New York will have as a welcome guest this week the remarkable leader of a remarkable nation, Premier David Ben-Gurion of Israel. Under his guidance, Israel has surmounted incredible difficulties and made great strides in developing its resources for the benefits of its people in a democratic political climate.

Although Premier Ben-Gurion's latest controversy with the Zionists has received much publicity lately, he is well aware that Israel's chief needs are the achievement of real peace with its Arab neighbors and the general relaxation of tensions in the Middle East. The Premier's visit here will undoubtedly see him trying to make progress toward these desirable ends.²⁰

During the discussion before the United Nations, of the Kuwait crisis later that same summer, a *Times* editorial adopted a tepid view toward the independence of Kuwait and her possible appearance as "another Arab state," and then detoured to note that "President Nasser did not interrupt the movement of British ships of war through what he considers his private waterway, the Suez Canal."²¹

Even in editorials covering other areas, no opportunity had been lost to attack Nasser. On the occasion of Secretary Rusk's 1963 visit to Karachi for a meeting of the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), early in May *The New York Times* declared that Iran saw a "threat in the expansion of the United Arab Republic under the leadership of President Nasser, whose

pressures against Israel are causing alarm there and elsewhere.”²² The *Baltimore Sun* directly after the Syrian March coup had warned: “If the Arab nations could combine, Israel would be in dire danger.”²³ When *The Washington Post* did the most unusual by praising Nasser for paying off his commitments to the Suez Canal Company’s stockholders, almost half of the laudatory editorial was devoted to the U.A.R.’s refusal to grant free passage through the canal to Israeli shipping.²⁴

Although C. L. Sulzberger in his editorial page column had devoted three articles in late March and April of 1961²⁵ to President Nasser and had even implied that some measure of improved climate might be gained by inviting the U.A.R. leader to Washington, the tone of these articles was nonetheless in strong contrast to the tone of the articles that started the following July 29 dealing with Ben-Gurion. Where the former is referred to in a caption as “The Man Behind the Mask,” the latter is “Isaiah in the Nuclear Epoch.”

Nasser is depicted as being obsessed by Israel: “He is . . . with considerable charm and magnetism, but his face can grow suddenly hard when he talks about things he dislikes—such as Israel.” On the other hand, the Israeli Prime Minister is shown as obsessed by nothing more than being a Hebrew prophet in quest of peace and the fulfillment of the biblical forecast that “on that day they shall beat their swords into plowshares.” Ben-Gurion, the *Times* writer would have us believe, “is stubborn only in his belief that this will come about.” In the articles on Nasser, the Arabs’ contention that Israel constitutes a threat to security is characterized as bitterness for which the writer can offer no explanation. In the Ben-Gurion account we are told that the realization of the Israeli leader’s dreams will make Israel a powerful industrial state and that this is the reason “its quarreling neighbors hate and fear it.” While the *Times* columnist can find no ground on which to criticize Ben-Gurion, the Nasser “mania” against Israel is described as including “the pretense that Israel has no legal right to try Eichmann.”

The columns sent back from Cairo left readers mystified at Nasser's seeming antagonism toward the U.S. and his corresponding trust of the U.S.S.R. (Sulzberger quotes a poem of A. E. Housman, "*Demise of an Imperceptive Youth*," to wit: "The grizzly bear is huge and wild / He has devoured the infant child. / The infant child is not aware / It has been eaten by the bear.")

At the same time the writer points with sympathy to the Israeli disappointment at not receiving from the U.S. either a mutual security pact or antiaircraft missiles, which Ben-Gurion had sought to obtain during his 1961 talks with President Kennedy in New York. This may lead, he writes, to another Israeli "preventive war, if the Arabs continue to get arms from the Soviet Union." Mr. Sulzberger unmistakably supports the Israeli quest for antiaircraft missiles and leaves little doubt in the reader's mind as to how he would view an Israeli attack should Israel not receive these weapons from the United States.

And yet Mr. Sulzberger is undoubtedly one of the more restrained and "objective" writers reporting on the Middle East scene, particularly among the New York City columnists. The deadly competition of the six New York City dailies (*Times*, *Herald Tribune*, *World-Telegram*, *Daily News*, *Journal-American* and *Post*) to stay alive no doubt greatly intensified their efforts to out-pro-Israel one another. When Hearst's *Mirror* died, the struggle for survival spotlighted the *Tribune*, which increased its already numerous articles, reports and editorials favorable to Israel.

Fighting what seems to be a losing battle, even despite the Whitney millions, this newspaper continues to try to outdo the *Times* in promoting Jewish nationalism. For two days, on pages one and two, an Israeli six-pointed star coupled with large, prominent announcements sought readership for a forthcoming series of four articles on "How America Affects Judaism."²⁶ An earlier attempt, in June, 1961, to increase Jewish readership had featured a series of front-page articles on the "Status of American Jews in Israel," even though there had been fewer than 10,000 who had accepted the Ben-Gurion definition of a

good Zionist by "returning" to Israel.²⁷ This mean front-page coverage for a situation dealing with less than one-half of one per cent of the population of Israel, a "phenomenon" involving less than one-fifth of one per cent of Jewish Americans. (The front page subhead read: "Amerikayim Finding a Satisfying Life in Israel").

Daily, the New York City papers vied with one another in trying to see who could more encourage Jews to think as Jews and to become more conscious of Jewishness in the secular sense. When Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion came to New York City in late May, 1961, all other news was subordinated to this visit. Morning and afternoon papers differed only as to the size of the front-page type greeting the prime minister of Israel. On May 30th the *Herald Tribune* carried a three-column special photograph with the caption "His Vision—a Flowering Middle East," based on his appearance that day not in New York, but in Philadelphia.

On the day following Ben-Gurion's meeting with the President the paper ran a three-column news photo of the two leaders and a six-column caption: "Kennedy and Ben-Gurion Huddle on Israeli Fear; Fruitful Talk." The President, who had departed that evening for his historic conferences in Europe, received a single-column lead: "Off to Paris." Other New York papers were not far behind in their publicity, with the moderate *World-Telegram* on this occasion joining in with an editorial of welcome to the world Zionist chieftain. *The New York Times* gave the President a single-column caption: "President Calls Peace His Mission as He Begins Trip"; but "Kennedy and Ben-Gurion Hold Fruitful Talk Here" received a bolder, two-column caption.

The New York Times of June 2nd, covering the story of Ben-Gurion's last day in New York, carried a montage of four pictures of the Israeli prime minister with former President Truman, Ambassador Stevenson, Governor Rockefeller and Eleanor Roosevelt.²⁸ Both leading morning papers headlined a Ben-Gurion report that "large measures of agreement" had been reached with President Kennedy on the Arab refugees.

The Sunday *Times* Magazine section scarcely needs a Ben-Gurion visit as an excuse to publicize the Israeli leader. Staff writer Gertrude Samuels penned an ecstatic illustrated feature, "Israel at 13, B-G at 75."²⁹ Ben-Gurion was commissioned to do a piece, "Ben-Gurion Examines the Buddhist Faith," following his visit to Burma as a guest of U Nu.³⁰ And then, to compete with front-page articles by Ben-Gurion that appeared in four installments in the *Herald Tribune*,³¹ the *Times* ran in its Magazine section still another B-G authored piece: "The Vision of Isaiah for Our Times."³²

The talented Miss Samuels, upon returning from one of her many visits to Israel, had a showing of photographs she had taken in the new state. *The New York Times* on a Sunday found room to draw attention to the exhibit under the heading: "Camera Notes—Portrait of Israel at the Lecia Gallery."³³ The first sentence of the account read: "The story of the rise of the Israeli nation is told in a series of pictures that occasionally approach the status of symbol and have been collectively entitled 'Portrait of Israel, a Coming of Age.'"

Miss Samuels also turned her hand to books. When any book extolling Ben-Gurion appears, it automatically merits a review in the daily *Times* and sometimes in the Sunday edition as well. Charles Poore, reviewing Miss Samuels' *BG, Fighter of Goliaths, The Story of David Ben-Gurion*, one of many books about the Israeli prime minister, projects, as C. L. Sulzberger did in his *Times* articles, the portrait of Mr. Ben-Gurion as a man of peace, dedicated to the traditions of the Old Testament.³⁴

The Sunday *Times* Book Review section's critiques of books on the Middle East are usually written by a small group of Israel devotees: Dana Adams Schmidt of the *Times*, Dr. Jacob Hurewitz of Columbia, Hal Lehrman (sometime consultant to the U.J.A. of its auxiliaries) and Walter Z. Laqueur. If a book critical of Israel or its leadership finds a publisher—Hedley V. Cooke had to have his book *Israel: A Blessing and a Curse* published in Britain when he could find no American publisher—there follows a struggle to have it reviewed.³⁵

Even when there did not happen to be any Israeli prime minister visiting the United States, Irving Spiegel was nevertheless certain to produce Israelist copy prominently placed in the *Times*. Assigned to report on Jewish organizational activities, he daily assured the fullest coverage, particularly when fund-raising drives were involved. The *Times* went all out to help the U.J.A. and the Israel bond drive, both by what it published and by what it kept out of print. At a time when the drive was lagging, a Spiegel story gave prominent space³⁶ to a background article in which Dr. Israel Goldstein, who had helped inaugurate the United Jewish Appeal forty years earlier, called attention to the fact that despite the more than \$900 million that had been raised to meet the needs of Israel's newcomers, "the transition camps have not been liquidated, there is a lack of adequate housing and farming equipment for the immigrants and neglect of the children because of inadequate centers for these youngsters."

When a veteran correspondent and a long-standing member of the Overseas Press Club wrote critically about the new Israeli censorship laws which barred reporting of any news about immigration of Jews to Israel under penalty of a fifteen-year jail term, his article appeared only under anonymous authorship in the *Overseas Press Bulletin*.³⁷ This change in the Israeli penal code had followed an abrupt suspension of the flow of immigrants to Israel from Rumania, a fact which Israeli and Zionist leaders were trying to keep secret so as to permit the U.J.A. to continue to raise money on the basis that Rumanian emigrants were coming to Israel. *The New York Times* and other newspapers maintained a rigid silence on this important development.

When Dr. Medhi Ben Aboud, the Moroccan ambassador to the United States and a distinguished scholar, went before a meeting of the Institute of Human Relations of the American Jewish Committee in March 1961, to declare "there had been no Jewish problem in Morocco in the past and we do not have a Jewish problem in Morocco today," there was not a single word in the *Times* or other New York papers the next day.

Although the fact that an Arab diplomat addressed an important Jewish audience in New York was in itself newsworthy, the carefully prepared page-and-a-half press release distributed by the Moroccan mission to the United Nations drew a complete blank. The U.J.A. fund-raising drive, with its slogan "Rescue the Moroccan Jews," was in progress.³⁸

When Albion Ross, a *Times* reporter who had spent a great deal of time in the Middle East, covered a 1956 press conference at which an important statement was released by Harvard Professor of Philosophy W. E. Hocking, Barnard's former Dean Virginia Gildersleeve and other prominent figures, relative to the forthcoming national political campaign, wire services carried the story, which was picked up by many papers across the country. Not a line appeared in the *Times*. A phone call to Mr. Ross revealed this: "Yes, it was a good story—at least I thought so and I filed a lengthy piece. The city editor, however, promptly handed it back to me, saying, 'We don't want this. You can keep it. We are not going to use any of it.'"

When a story critical of Israel or of Zionism did manage to work its way into the press, explanatory material extraneous to the story was often added to lessen the sting of the attack. When *The New York Times* carried the account of the attack on the political use of U.J.A. funds by James P. Warburg, the following material was tacked onto the story, as if by way of rebuttal: "The United Jewish Appeal conducts annual campaigns to meet Jewish *needs the world over* [author's italics] with particular emphasis on Israel. Its beneficiaries are the Joint Distribution Committee which carries out programs amongst *distressed Jews* outside of Israel and also conducts a *special program in Israel for the aged and ill*; the United Israel Appeal which transmits the funds to the Jewish Agency to carrying out programs of *rehabilitation and settlement amongst newcomers to Israel* and the New York Association for new Americans which aids newcomers to this country."³⁹

My italics indicate how carefully words were chosen to show that funds for Israel were devoted purely to humanitarian pur-

poses and thus to clear the U.J.A. of serious charges leveled by a respected economist of known liberal leanings.

When Dr. Elmer Berger charged that Israel and the Zionist movement were exploiting the Eichmann trial, the small, inconspicuously placed story in *The New York Times* contained this additional explanatory paragraph: "The Council [American Council for Judaism], which is anti-Zionist, claims a membership of 20,000. The American Zionist Council, the representative body of all Zionist groups in this country, reports an overall membership of more than 700,000."⁴⁰ This kind of background material is rarely inserted in short news items, let alone in reports of complex foreign news developments. The authoritative International Press Institute Survey had strongly criticized the American press for its very failure to report the background of the news where it was often so vital to any real understanding. What the *Times* in fact was doing was to implement its editorial policy by carefully choosing stories to which they would tack on explanations and qualifications, or even contradicting stories. On the occasion of King Hussein's 1964 state visit, the Jordanian ruler addressed a luncheon meeting in Washington of the Citizen's Committee on American Policy in the Middle East. The *Times* account, briefly reported on page one, was continued on an inside page under the heading: "Hussein Exhorts U.S. on Palestine." Right next to it on page 14 in perfect juxtaposition was a picture and story: "Eshkol Stresses Threats by Arabs." And the only other story on page 14 was headed: "Zionist Bids the U.S. Spur Mideast Peace."⁴¹

Letters to the editor, particularly those appearing in *The New York Times* with its large national readership, likewise play a role in molding public opinion. The prestige of *The New York Times* imprints manifests itself in the wide use of reprints of these letters by publicists. For every single letter that has appeared critical of Zionism and Israel, there have been at least ten attacking anti-Zionism and the Arabs.⁴² Letters written by Arabs themselves appear occasionally, particularly when the Arab mode of expression is self-defeating. But the views of Americans who support the Arabs are seldom printed.

A letter from Professor William Ernest Hocking, shedding much light on the origins of the Arab refugee question, was rejected by the *Times*. It appeared later in the *New York Herald Tribune*, where it was promptly answered by several critical letters, including one from Daniel Poling, the editor of the *Christian Herald Magazine*, and a four-column spread on the editorial page by Jacob Javits, then Attorney General of New York.

Where editorials, letters to the editor and daily news columns leave off molding favorable public opinion for Israel, the Sunday News of the Week in Review of the *Times*, regarded around the country as a kind of news bible, has picked up.

When an Israeli attack against Syria at the Sea of Galilee in December, 1955, led to a United Nations Security Council hearing, the *Times Review*, as in other instances of Israeli attacks, reported the facts as a two-sided affair and pictured the Israeli aggression as a justifiable reprisal. After chiding the United Nations for "having little control of the situation," and the Russians for continuing to encourage the Arabs by offering arms to Syria, the *Times* noted statements from London on "the need for Arab-Israel peace negotiations" and added this comment: "At all costs the West wants to avoid a war in the Middle East. Accordingly, Washington may offer the Israelis the weapons they feel they need to match the Arab strength with the condition that Israel must avoid any more truce violations. But what the West can do to induce the Arabs to keep the peace is uncertain."⁴³ The *Times* thus strongly implied that it was the Arabs who had breached the peace and that Israel needed arms only to match Arab strength. The Security Council reached quite a different conclusion the following week when its members unanimously named Israel as the aggressor.

While *The New York Times* on December 25 was still finding justifications for the Ben-Gurion-directed assault at the Sea of Galilee, the independent Israeli newspaper *Haaretz* had already branded the assault as "bringing Israel dangerously close to dictatorship by the Chief of Government." This AP story, datelined Tel Aviv, December 16, and tucked away obscurely

in the *Times*, alleged that Mr. Ben-Gurion, who was premier, defense minister and acting foreign minister, had not consulted any other member of the Cabinet prior to the Sunday night operations against Syrian positions dominating the Eastern shores of Galilee. The Israeli editorial accused the Premier of unconstitutional procedures, charging that Israeli law stipulates that all Cabinet members bear a collective responsibility. This was one of several occasions on which the *Times* was being even more Israeli than the Israelis themselves.

Six years later there was a similar outbreak of hostilities on the Sea of Galilee, which brought Syria and Israel once again before the Security Council.⁴⁴ U.S. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson in strong language criticized Israel before the Council for reverting to a policy of retaliatory raids, which, as he noted, the Israeli representative evidently foresaw on March 8 and were carried out ten days later: "This policy contributed to the rapid rise of tensions in the Middle East during 1955 and 1956, and it can no more be countenanced today than it was then."⁴⁵

Major General Carl Carlsson von Horn, head of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), reported that no Syrian fortified post existed to harass Israeli fishing boats and to provoke the March 16 attack as the Israeli delegate to the UN had claimed. Although this U.N. report left the Sunday *Times* with little material on which to base its customary balancing of the guilt of the parties, on Sunday, April 8, the following appeared appended to a discussion of the latest coup in Syria: "The Israelis had made the raid after a series of incidents in which Israeli fishing boats and police boats had been harassed on the Sea of Galilee." General von Horn's findings had in no way indicated that the raid had come as a reprisal to any harassment of Israelis. The UN observers were said not to have been in a position to state which side fired first in previous incidents of March 8, 15 and 16, prior to the fighting on the night of March 16-17.⁴⁶ The answers of General von Horn to questions by members of the Security Council revealed that elements of military and paramilitary Israeli forces had been observed in the demilitarized zone, that

Israel had boycotted proceedings of the Israel-Syrian Mixed Armistice Commission since June, 1951, and that Israel had put serious obstacles in the way of effective truce supervision by refusing to permit either boat observations by UN observers on Lake Tiberias or UNTSO aircraft to land on the nearby Rosh Pina-Mahanayim airfield.

Where *The New York Times* did report on its front page⁴⁷ the findings of General von Horn that there was no evidence of a Syrian fortified post either "existing or destroyed" to justify the Israeli attack, the *New York Herald Tribune* buried away an article on page 6: "UN Blow to Israel: Find No Gun Posts on Syrian Side."⁴⁸ The *Tribune* had earlier headlined a first-page account when the conflict was first called to the attention of the Security Council: "New Syrian Attacks."⁴⁹ Where the chief of UNTSO had given specific examples of how Israel had been obstructing the operations of his observers, the *Herald Tribune* reported: "He also cited instances of lack of cooperation by both the Israelis and the Syrians."⁵⁰

In the face of General von Horn's unmistakable refutation of the Israeli allegation that the reprisal raid was justified, the *Times* editorial the next day still talked of "conflicting charges of aggression" and called upon the Security Council to render a decision according "to the basic cause, the refusal of the Arab states to make peace with Israel."⁵¹ Once again the equal guilt treatment of the editorial writer: "There has been Syrian provocation; there has been Israeli retaliation. Both sides have violated the Armistice Agreement." In the exact tone and with language similar to their editorial of March 4, 1955, after the Israeli onslaught on Gaza, the *Times* again warned Israel, not against her international immorality, but that she had "more to gain from strict compliance with the armistice agreement than from appearing too aggressive, even in self-defense."

When it became apparent that France would veto any resolution that would directly condemn her staunch ally, Israel, for this latest reprisal attack, a milder U.S.-British sponsored resolution was adopted by a 10-0 vote, declaring the Israeli attack of March 16 to be a violation of the January 19, 1956 Security

Council resolution that had condemned armistice breaches by Israel even if they occurred in retaliation for attacks. While this was a clear rebuke of Israel, the front page of *The New York Times* the following day, and particularly the News Summary and Index, attempted again to convey the impression of equal guilt on both sides.⁵² Under "The Major Events of the Day" this appeared: "France was the only member to abstain when the United Nations Security Council voted to reaffirm a 1956 resolution that condemned Israel for reprisal raids against Syria. This was an indirect reprimand for an Israeli raid last month. *However the resolution contained an implied rebuke to Syria also.*"⁵³ (Author's italics.)

In the interim between these two serious Galilee incidents of 1956 and 1962 came the 1960 border incident in which the Syrian village of Tawafiq was destroyed by the Israelis. This is the way in which the staff committee of the Senate Foreign relations Committee in its study on Middle East foreign policy discussed this raid:

The incident that occurred last January in the demilitarized zone between Israel and Syria was the most serious clash since the Sinai expedition in 1956. The Syrians claim that the Israelis fired on Arab peasants who were farming the area in accordance with their rights under the trade-truce agreements. The Israelis protested that the Syrians disguised soldiers as farmers and sent them into the zone to set up armed redoubts. The fighting occurred in the neighborhood of a village called Tawafiq.

The circumstances surrounding this incident are extremely complicated. However, the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization for the area issued a report from Jerusalem dated February 16, 1960. This report appears as Appendix 3 to this study. It has been reprinted in order to show that despite the relative calm and present aversion of both parties to war, the situation is highly abnormal with the Tawafiq incident one of the inevitable consequences.⁵⁴

As in the *Times* coverage of the Galilee incidents, this recital in the main body of the study was calculatingly worded to con-

vey the unmistakable impression that both sides were equally guilty and that the Israelis were not guilty of aggression. One has to turn to the tiny print of the Appendix at the rear and wade through thirty-four pages of the long report of the Chief of Staff and there⁵⁵ note that the UN Israel-Syrian Mixed Armistice Commission on February 16, 1960, voted in favor of the two Syrian draft resolutions. One then turns to the still smaller print of Annex 4 to Appendix 3, and only there one finds the resolution adopted at the 79th Emergency Meeting of the Mixed Armistice Commission which "condemns Israel for this hostile act."⁵⁶

While making no reference in the body of their study to this condemnation of Israel by the UN Chief of Staff for "this premeditated attack," the Senate rapporteurs ended their discussion of the Tawafiq incident as follows: "It has been said that the Israelis finally razed the village of Tawafiq in order to sober Nasser in his moment of triumph over the *Inge Toft*, the Danish freighter which Israel allowed to be unloaded at Port Said. Israel's ships have been denied the use of the Suez Canal for many years. Although the United Nations and its Secretary-General, supported by Western diplomacy, have tried to persuade Nasser to end the boycott, he broadened it instead in 1959 to cover Israeli cargoes as well."⁵⁷ This reportage invoked Israeli argumentation, nowhere mentioned in the findings of the Truce Supervision Organization, to make the Israeli attack appear justifiable, an impression that was doubly strengthened by the omission of the United Nations condemnation.⁵⁸

The intransigency and public relations shortsightedness of the Arabs have made it doubly easy for the press to convey the idea of the Israeli willingness and the Arab reluctance to cooperate in efforts towards peace.⁵⁹ When a Jordanian sentry in the early morning darkness challenged a figure climbing over the barbed wire and through the minefield in the no-man's land that lies between the new Jerusalem in Israel and the old city in Jordan, and the figure swung something toward the sentry, he fired and shot what turned out to be a woman carrying a religious banner. The *Times* headline, taking no account of the circumstances,

tersely read, "Jordanian Sentry Kills Woman Carrying Banner to Mount Zion."⁶⁰

Despite Pope Paul's wish that his unprecedented pilgrimage was "to be a voyage of prayer and humility, a purely religious act completely extraneous to any kind of political or temporal consideration," the press engaged in all types of speculation pushing Israeli peace aims.⁶¹ The reportage further strengthened the image of "good, little" Israel and the "big, bad" Arab states. Where His Holiness had talked of going "to Palestine," Israel and Jordan were substituted in that order.⁶²

Few papers of a large metropolitan area had ever matched the forthrightness and perspicacity displayed by the Scripps-Howard *New York World-Telegram and The Sun* when its editorial page declared: "Both American political parties bear heavy responsibilities for the decline of American influence in the Middle East. The United States cannot regain its prestige until both our political parties prove they will not try to outbid each other for the pro-Israeli vote in the forthcoming elections as they did in 1948."⁶³

Although such objectivity and concise observation appeared on the paper's editorial page, this did not stop its headline writers or columnists on other pages from trying to out-slant rivals in appealing to its pro-Israel readership. During the outrages of violence perpetrated by the secret army in Algiers (OAS), two European youngsters of Jewish extraction were murdered in one of the first acts of reprisal by Moslems. This act was perpetrated against them as *Europeans* but a four-column headline in bold caps screamed, "Two Jewish Boys Slain in Algiers—Hunt Arab Maid."⁶⁴

The New York Times cable desk has been known to exercise rigid censorship over reports covering skirmishes along the Arab-Israeli frontiers, delaying publication until they had become outdated and had lost their news value or using only portions of the cabled contents so as to impart a meaning quite different from that intended by the dispatcher of the news. This occurred so frequently to stories submitted on the Arab refugees

that Kennett Love requested a transfer to another area of reporting for the *Times*.

Other liberties in the name of news reporting have been taken. Often a wire service dispatch, reported in one of the earlier editions of the *Times*, will be altered, both the heading and the story, so as to impart quite a different story.⁶⁵

The New York press has had a profound influence in molding public opinion. Shortly after the end of the 114-day newspaper strike in 1962-63, Israelists opened a strong propaganda offensive against the United Arab Republic to make up for the many lines of publicity lost during the news blackout. Among other things, their fund-raising was lagging. German scientists and technicians working in the United Arab Republic rocket program became the first target. The Israeli government charged them with developing weapons of destruction and requested the West German government to halt these activities of her citizens abroad.⁶⁶ In a letter to President Kennedy, pro-Zionist senators urged that the United States use its good offices in Europe to discourage this activity of Germans in the U.A.R.⁶⁷

In Switzerland two Israeli agents, Otto Joklik and Josef Bengal, were arrested and held for trial on suspicion of threatening the life of a daughter of a German scientist, Dr. Paul Goerke, employed in the United Arab Republic.⁶⁸ An attempt was made on the life of Dr. Hans Kleinwachter, another scientist. A bomb, placed in a gift parcel, exploded killing scientist Michael Khouri and five others with him. Another package addressed to a West German scientist working in Cairo blew up when opened, blinding his German secretary.

While little appeared in the American press about these incidents, save accounts of the arrest of the agents, wide publicity continued to be given to Israeli charges against the German rocket scientists, which newspapers and magazines picked up as a revival of the Nazi threat to the Jewish world. Nor was any mention made of the role played by German scientists in the United States and in France. In fact, German scientists were at work in forty other countries besides the U.A.R. In Israel itself foreign scientists were making material contributions

in atomic research and other related fields. Israel's atomic reactor, built with the aid of the United States, has been secretly operating in the desert south of Beersheba until its existence was disclosed in December, 1960.⁶⁹

Israelists in Congress expressed the fear that the arms spiral in the Middle East had been complicated by the presence of West German scientists. *The New York Times* featured on page one the "Israeli Crisis Debate" in the Knesset over the German scientists working for the Cairo government.⁷⁰ In a letter to Under Secretary of State W. Averell Harriman, Congressman Leonard Farbstein demanded that the State Department both seek the withdrawal by the West German government of its scientists from the Middle East and request the discontinuance by the U.A.R. of what he described as "preparations for war."⁷¹

Hanson Baldwin in *The New York Times* wrote: "War threatens the little kingdom of Jordan and once again Israel is experiencing a perennial nightmare of military encirclement."⁷² This piece noted that the U.S. Hawk anti-aircraft missile system, effective against aircraft from low levels to between 35,000 and 40,000 feet, was being supplied to Israel, "but will probably not be fully operational until next year."

Editorials in *The New York Times*, including that of April 24, entitled "Shadows Over the Middle East" built up the danger further. A front-page story in *The New York Times* (April 24) stated: "Israel Is Seeking Tougher U.S. Line. Wants Nasser Put On Notice Aggression Will Be Met—Mid-East Upset Feared." On April 29, in a 8-column headline clear across page two, the *World-Telegram* carried a Jerusalem story dated April 29: "Israel Is 15, and the Arab Threat Grows More Acute: Stronger U.A.R. Feared."

The celebration of the fifteenth birthday of the small Mediterranean state lent more fuel to the fire. A speech by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver was headlined in the *Times*: "U.S. Asked to Aid Israel Security. Dr. Silver Cites Mid-East Peril."⁷³ On April 30, "New Jets Shown at Fete in Israel. Air, Land and Sea Displays Mark Nation's Fifteenth Year." Again on April 30: "City Hails Israel on Fifteenth Birthday. Mayor Issues

Proclamation Urging Brotherhood." One week later, on May 8, Mr. Ben-Gurion celebrated the fifteenth anniversary with a special program on CBS-TV entitled "Israel: It Is No Fable," which became a source of subsequent quotations in support of the Israeli demand for security protection.

Well into May, the New York press was still marking the Israeli birthday. The *New York World-Telegram and The Sun* of May 14 carried an article: "Arab Hostility Called Fact of Life for Israel." On May 18 the *New York Herald Tribune* carried a picture story announcing the Religious Zionists of America plan for a six-month program observing the fifteenth anniversary of the state of Israel.

On May 1, 1963, the United Jewish Appeal launched a six-week, \$39.5 million emergency drive "needed because relief and rescue requirements are outrunning the availability of funds."⁷⁴ This appeal followed the Arab unity meetings in Cairo.

The U.J.A. had declared an emergency . . . the American press quickly responded. In a plethora of stories the *Times*, *Herald Tribune*, *Journal-American* and even the *World-Telegram* labored to make Nasser's unity moves an anathema to their readers. On May 6 the *New York Journal-American* carried in its first edition a story headlined, "Arab Threats Put U.S. on the Spot; Eye Israel Defense Pact" under the dateline Washington, indicating that the Kennedy Administration might soon be put on the spot. One hour later the next edition carried a story, also out of Washington, headlined, "We'll Aid Israel if Arabs Attack," says JFK assistant."⁷⁵

When the President, at his news conference on May 8, indicated that he did not believe that the situation in the Middle East had brought about a shift in the balance of power, *The New York Times* nevertheless headlined, "President Cautions Against Aggression in the Middle East," on page one, with the story continued on page 13 under the caption "Kennedy Warns on Middle East."⁷⁶ The President indicated that should there be any aggression, he would go to the United Nations and take other necessary action, but the calm tenor of his remarks was at variance with the atmosphere Israelists had been trying to

create. Only two days before the *Times* had featured a story under the caption "Ben-Gurion Sure Israel Is Target—Rebukes Britain for Finding No Arab Plot to Attack."

In an editorial entitled "Keeping Peace in the Middle East," two days after the presidential news conference, the *Times* declared:

The threat of new conflict in the Middle East is real. The vow to annihilate Israel has become an Arab shibboleth to test a "true" Arab and is the main unifying force among the divergent Arab States. It is incorporated in the recent proclamation of the United Arab Republic and Nasser's efforts to arm himself with *Soviet weapons* some built by *German scientists* lends sinister weight to such threats . . . understandably enough Israel has become alarmed.⁷⁷ (Author's italics.)

On the one hand, the projected Arab federal state was portrayed as an anti-Israel Goliath, while on the other, each minor Arab difference was blown up into headlines as a new Nasser setback.⁷⁸ The *Herald Tribune* boldly proclaimed: "U.A.R. Woes—Iraq Bombs Kurds,"⁷⁹ as the *Sunday Times* gleefully noted new troubles for Nasser's Union and featured a biting cartoon from the anti-U.A.R. *Aux Ecoutes*.⁸⁰ This was all calculated to strengthen continued efforts in Congress by the Israelist bloc to shut off economic aid to the U.A.R., which had been premised on Nasser's prime position in the area.

The Magazine Section of the *Sunday Times* carried a two-page picture story, "Nasserism Stirs Up the Middle East." Under one picture appeared this caption:

A Cairo parade shows off a *German* designed missile . . . a rocket Al Kahir (The Conqueror) has a range of about 400 miles. Egyptian's arms include *Soviet-bloc* tanks, jets, fighters and bombers . . . In recent months Nasser, bulwarked by *Soviet* bloc arms and by jets and missiles built in Egypt with the aid of *German* engineers has renewed his drive for Arab confederation with himself at its head. (Author's italics.)⁸¹

A map of the United Arab Republic bore this caption:

The ambition of Egypt's President Nasser to head an Arab confederation created tensions throughout the Middle East. His prime targets are Syria and Iraq. Last weekend Nasserite pressure brought cabinet upheavals in both countries.

A photo of King Hussein speaking to Bedouin leaders carried this observation: "A Nasserite take-over in Jordan might well bring Israeli retaliation." And dominating the display of seven pictures and a map was the more than one half page photo of an Israeli sentry, bearing this comment:

A soldier keeps watch along the border. Israelis regard Nasser who still talks of "driving them into the sea" as their deadliest enemy and fear encirclement by an Arab federation under his control. The United States, which is implicitly committed to assist Israel in case of attack, has provided her with defensive ground-to-air missiles.

7

Magazines, Radio & TV, Too

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter and to argue
freely according to conscience, above all liberties."

Milton

NATIONAL magazines and periodicals have also played a major role in bringing but one side of the story to the public. These magazines have invariably avoided articles on the Middle East except those replete with glowing accounts of the conquest of the desert by Israeli immigrants. The human aspects of the Arab refugee story contained too many political overtones to be told in magazines containing advertising, and background stories on Arab leaders were barred as "controversial."

The February, 1955, issue of *Holiday* (Curtis Publishing Company) contained an article on world travel entitled, "Land of the Bible," authored by Joan Comay, wife of the Israeli ambassador to Canada. This piece was featured on the cover of the magazine and given the widest promotion. From the lead caption ("A mother who lived in Jerusalem through the fear and hunger of war and siege tells her own story of the dramatic rebirth of Israel") to the end, this interesting and well-written article was pure propaganda disguised as a travel article. The title of the article itself was misleading because, with three notable exceptions, all of the principal holy places are not on the Israeli but the Jordanian side of Jerusalem. (During Pope Paul's January, 1964, visit the press coverage generally likewise misled the public as to where the holy places were located.)

In the December, 1960 issue of the same magazine the front cover was emblazoned with a special promotion sticker in vivid

orange: "Israel's David Ben-Gurion." The article, by a Jewish Englishman, Maurice Edelman, far exceeded in hero worship anything the state of Israel itself had put in print. The caption introducing the article stated: "More than any other person David Ben-Gurion symbolizes the tough little State of Israel. His life is a summary of the turmoil and good fortune of this heatedly discussed and criticized and applauded country . . . By his personal magnetism and his eloquence as a small nation's impassioned spokesman, he takes his place in *Holiday's* 'Portrait Gallery of the World's Leaders.'" Only two months before, at the luncheon table at the beautiful mountain residence of U.S. Ambassador Robert McClintock in Yarzi near Beirut (Lebanon), Arnold Ehrlich, the associate editor of *Holiday*, had indicated that they were not planning to include the story of Nasser's life in the Portrait Gallery, because the editors were "unable to get together a reliable, worth-while piece on the so-controversial U.A.R. chieftain."

In June, 1961, even as the State Department sought to move closer to President Nasser, *Harper's* magazine, the citadel of liberalism, published an article entitled "Nasser's Other Voice." This was the caption: "Though few Americans have ever heard of him, Ahmed Said may be the world's most influential broadcaster . . . a dove-voiced demagogue, who can call fifty million Arabs to riot and murder."¹ The article ends with a reference to the broadcaster's "vast audience, all potential residents of the far-flung United Arab Republic of which Nasser dreams." And even national fashion magazines were not averse to taking a crack at Nasser. *Town and Country*, in its "Panorama" column, stated: "What the world once lovingly knew as Egypt will continue to disrupt the Middle East, harass its neighbors and deport itself pompously."²

Look Magazine³ carried a supposedly "balanced" article,⁴ containing two reports, one datelined Jerusalem, Israel, and the other Cairo, Egypt. The title of the article was "Arab versus Jew," (implying that it is the Arab who is the aggressor). The story from Jerusalem which begins the article, written by Chester Morrison, *Look* staff writer, starts off with the heading:

"Israel in Crisis—beleaguered by Arabs on every side—blocked and boycotted by its neighbors, this tiny nation is fighting for its very life." An illustration showing an Israeli airplane with soldiers around it bears this caption: "Israel's Air Force, though outclassed by Egypt's recently shot down one hostile plane which had invaded Israeli skies and turned back three others." A map of the area is explained thus: "Encircled by unfriendly Arab nations, little Israel is a patchwork country whose restless borders are forever in turmoil." A David Ben-Gurion photo bears this caption: "David Ben-Gurion's aureole of white hair is as familiar a symbol of Israel as Dwight D. Eisenhower's big, broad grin is of the United States." A larger picture shows soldiers in commando outfits and bears these words: "Everyone in Israel, men and women alike, is an active or potential soldier. The army, though short on weapons, is sturdy and strong, ready for any emergency."

The article on Israel also contained other photos: (1) a soldier and a watchdog in the darkness of night: "Eternal vigilance is the price Israel is paying to protect its 600 miles of frontier from Arab marauders. Even the dogs of Israel must help with patrolling"; (2) a picture of the desert and some workers on machinery: "Southern desert of Israel was a wasteland through all centuries of Arab occupation, but now it is a fertile garden of farming communities"; (3) picture of a woman holding a child in front of barbed wire: "A Jewish woman can see her hostile Jordanian neighbors across a frontier that has been crackling with gunfire as long as her children can remember"; (4) the final picture of the Israeli report showing a pathetic-looking child in front of some soft drinks: "In a divided city, youngsters soon learn to stay on their side of the line."

The Arab side of the story, written by William Atwood, *Look* national-affairs editor, datelined Cairo, has this heading: "Arabs Aroused—They believe that the Israelis are trying to provoke them into a premature war which might develop into another Korea." This statement of fact was in contrast to the propaganda declarations contained in the Israeli report captions. A

grim picture of inadequate housing with some old Arabs in the foreground and pile up bricks bears this caption: "Housing for Egyptian peasants and workers, long neglected by King Farouk, is being pushed vigorously by new regime in an effort to raise living standards." Though there were many beautiful new and modern apartment dwellings in Cairo where people wore Western garb, these people had been chosen for the photo to provide a contrast to the "progressive Israelis" shown previously in the article.

The next picture also shows peasants: "Irrigation and land distribution program initiated by the Egyptian Government is giving many farmers the opportunity to own land for the first time." Again, a picture of a woman in a typical fellahin-type black dress with a basket on her head: "Hatred of Israel is strongest amongst a million Arab refugees like these in the Jordanian camp whose homes were seized by Jews." A picture of three Arab Legionnaires bears this caption: "Jordan's crack Arab Legion, trained by British, poses a new threat to Israel since King Hussein replaced Sir John Glubb and other key officers with Jordanians." Then a picture of Nasser with his mouth wide open and his eyes filled with hatred: "Egypt's strong-man Gamal Abdel Nasser became hero of Arabs by making Soviet arms deal." There follows a picture of an Israeli border patrol frisking Arabs "who often wander across the jagged armistice line from neighboring Jordan." The next picture bears this caption: "Refugees are helping to build roads and airports which may be vital to Arab States if war breaks out." This shows one dirty refugee, badly clad, chopping some stones while two others are sitting around. The one photo likely to draw a little sympathy, that of a small, smiling Egyptian girl, had this caption. "Schools like this one are part of the modernization program of Egypt's leaders who insist they desire peace, not war." (Note the implication in the use of the word "insist.")

Where the story on Israel was replete with sympathy, pleading that "Israel needs only 25 American Sabre jet planes and 25 American heavy tanks—maybe \$20 million worth of weapons.

And Israel will pay for them, not at the give-away prices Egypt pays for Communist weapons, but at the going price in the American market. Israel will pay the going price despite its pinched economy, caused by boycott and blockade. Israel does not want or need the same quantity of weapons that the Reds have given Egypt," the Arab report exposed Arab intransigency in this portrayal of Nasser: "His attitude towards Israel is rooted in his hatred of the Western world whose influence he wants to eradicate completely from the Arab world. His anti-Western attitude has finally got him into bed with Russia, and he is getting from the Communists a strength of arms that no Arab nation ever had before."

The context of the two reports and the jointly written conclusion; "Last Chance for Peace," almost suggested that the authors had been given some advance information of the Israeli intention to attack the Arabs five months hence and that they were presenting an apologia for the 1956 assault on Sinai which the United Nations was to condemn as naked aggression.

The *Atlantic Monthly* likewise had a contribution to make to the theme of "impartiality" and "balance." In October 1961, the magazine carried a 21-page piece, "The Arabs of Palestine," authored by Martha Gellhorn, the well-known writer and a former wife of Ernest Hemingway. Miss Gellhorn adroitly belittles the plight of the refugees and suggests that these Palestinians interested only in "revenge and return" were being held in the refugee camps in order to give Nasser more propaganda with which to belabor Israel and as a "justification of war." The Gaza strip is painted as a tropical "green paradise" populated by indigenous residents who are prospering through the presence of the soldiers of the United Nations Emergency Force and by refugees who themselves are a healthy, happy lot, for the most part living better than ever before. Through carefully selected interviews (often with extremists), the author paints the refugees as "Jew-hating," rabidly anti-American Nasserites who could have been neither as rich in Palestine as they claimed, nor as miserable in Gaza as they were making out. Here is the typical dialogue:

"What do you do?" I asked the fat young husband.

"Nothing."

"What would you like to do?"

"Be a soldier and fight Jews."

This oratory pleased the public very much.

"Do you like Nasser?" I asked politely.

Wide smiles. General joy.

"We do. Certainly. Oh, of course. He will unite us and make us strong. He is our leader."⁵

Miss Gellhorn attributes her coolness toward the Palestinian refugees to her lack of a "blanket empathy." "It is hard," she notes, "to sorrow for those who only sorrow over themselves. It is difficult to pity the pitiless." She declares that they are neither victims of injustice nor guiltless. Nasser's *Egypt Liberation* is equated to Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.⁶ In completing her denigration of the Arab case for Palestine, the authoress states: "Hitler and his followers committed such barbarous crimes against the Jews as all Christendom and *all Islam, barbarous too*, had never inflicted in the centuries of the Jewish dispersion."⁷ (Author's italics.)

In contrast to Miss Gellhorn's reaction to her tour of refugee camps, author Philip Wylie described his visit to a camp in Lebanon in this way:

We inspected the U.N. dining facilities, which were the meagerest imaginable. A meal a day there, basic, measured, monotonous. Added calories doled to the old, the ill and the very young; less to the able bodies. This is the science of dietitians: to keep millions as close to starving as strong bodies will bear—for economy's sake, the U.N.'s till. There were not fat refugees, no plump ones and no happy ones. Israel, and the United Nations, too, had promised to compensate them for lost homes, property, farms, groves and places of business. But they had no compensation, just this subsistence at a level of hardship that would be intolerable to most Western people.

I stood in my slopped shoes shaking with hate of myself—and of you, yes, *you*. For who do we think we are that claim to have brains, talk of our bleeding hearts and relate ourselves even to God? We *men*, that let men live like this?

You answer, not to me, damn you! And not your infamous God. Let me hear you answer *yourself* once.⁸

When New Yorker Henry Moyer toured the camps, this was his reaction:

I visited the largest and the worst Arab refugee camps in Lebanon and Jordan, and nothing I have ever seen in Hong Kong or India or elsewhere compares to the frightful conditions of Camp Wavell and Camp Gouraud near Baalbek in Lebanon. Sanitation is practically nonexistent. Overcrowding is unbelievable. Children and flies are being produced in fantastic numbers. When you leave these camps, you can't wait to wash and put drops in your eyes. No one can tell me Arabs want to remain here. I just do not believe it.⁹

Having devoted so lengthy an article as Miss Gellhorn's to the Arabs and their refugees, *Atlantic Monthly* felt compelled to balance its coverage by running a special supplement devoted solely to Israel.¹⁰ The special edition was advertised in advance as follows: "Coming in the November *Atlantic* . . . A Special Supplement on ISRAEL. Israel today is a dynamic society in an electric, everchanging state of development. Nearly everything that goes on there makes exciting reading . . ."

This November, 1961 supplement of 64 pages included articles on Art, Literature, Music, Poetry, Medicine, Agriculture, the Army¹¹ and Politics, written by various Israelists and Israelis including Abba Eban, Jon Kimche, Walter Lowdermilk and Mr. Ben-Gurion. Although the *Atlantic* usually sells for 60 cents, this issue was priced at one dollar. The piece by the Prime Minister, "The Kingdom of the Spirit," subsequently drew a brief commentary in the January letters column from the president of the American Council for Judaism, but the Israeli leader's many historical interpretations went otherwise unchallenged.

In another step toward ending "profitless publishing,"¹² the Curtis Publishing Company made a determined effort to please potential metropolitan circulation. Harold H. Martin, *Saturday*

Evening Post editor, was sent on a quick trip to the Middle East. In "The Seething Arab World"¹³ and three lengthy sequels he showed how quickly and thoroughly he had grasped the intricate problems of the area on his two-month initial tour.

Weaving a fabric of truths, half-truths and clichés (the March 24th cover boldly headlined: ARAB REFUGEES—Ring of Hate Around Israel), Martin exposed lurid aspects of Arab life and politics. Ferocious nomadic Bedouin Arab guards were portrayed on another cover (January 20th) as typical of the Arabs.

With Cato-like monotony Martin depicts an Arab obsession to destroy Israel. But he writes: "Israel is there, 2-million strong. She will remain there because the Western nations, who nursed her through her infant years will not let her be destroyed. The Arab nations know this to be true, and the anger and frustration born of this knowledge color their attitudes toward the West." Beautiful color pictures of refugees bear a caption boldly covering the page: "THE REFUGEES ARE HEALTHIER THAN THE RANK AND FILE OF ARABS."

To inject the all-powerful anti-Semitic element into his articles, the *Post* writer reports that the "Arab's hatred of the Jews is implacable and unwavering," thus purposefully equating political hostility to Zionism with religious bigotry toward Jews. In three separate letters, sent to the magazine in September, October and December before the publication of the articles, the Public Relations Department of the American Council for Judaism had pointed out the essential differences between these animosities and had noted the centuries-long history in which Oriental Jews lived peacefully in the Arab world. The *Post* summarily rejected the Council contentions as "intramural distinctions" and refused any coverage for the question of Zionism.

In publishing subsequently a twelve-line letter to the editor from the Council, the *Post* added this editorial explanation:

Rabbi Berger's organization has some 20,000 members, while the U.S. affiliates of the World Zionist Organization have 750,000. Most of the United States' 5,500,000 Jews are not members of either group, but are enthusiastically friendly to Israel.¹⁴

In the adjoining column a heavily censored and cut version of a letter from a protesting Iraqi diplomat was followed by writer Martin's refutation deploring the Arabs' inability "to bring themselves to accept the *fait accompli* of the establishment of the State of Israel."

The widest propaganda use was made of both the *Atlantic Monthly* article and the *Saturday Evening Post* series. The Council on Middle Eastern Affairs distributed large quantities of reprints of the Gellhorn article, and daily *The New York Times* carried eye-catching advertisements calling attention to the Martin articles. "You'll read how these refugees have been forced into exile—not by Israel, but by their own leaders."¹⁵ Over the radio a voice declaring "I am an Arab in Bethlehem" dramatized the *Post* articles.

The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, which is one of the oldest and most influential foreign-policy study and discussion groups in the country, claims to be objective, neutral and noncontroversial. Its publications have a wide influence among public opinion molders. In January, 1957, shortly after the U.S. intervention at the United Nations and Russian threats had halted the British-French-Israeli invasion of Sinai, the Council published a 16-page pamphlet entitled *There Is an Answer to the Middle East Question*, written by John Scott, of *Time* Magazine (a small reproduction of the famous weekly news magazine's cover was emblazoned on the title page of the pamphlet). A foreword by the Council's executive director indicated that the writer's thoughts had first been expressed in a speech to the Chicago Library of International Relations and later expanded specifically for publication by the Council.

In the pamphlet Mr. Scott called for assumption by the United States of the responsibilities for leadership in the Middle East "or perhaps some Arab strongman like the current Gamal Abdel Nasser will surely try to do it. The results might be catastrophic and at best would be unpleasant." While suggesting de-emphasis of Britain's role in the area, the *Time* writer's language unmistakably invoked the need for a new, special, U.S. soft type of imperialism.

A committee of users, a modification of the by-then-rejected Dulles plan, and an Egyptian canal authority were suggested to control the Suez Canal. Scott doubted that "the Egyptians can operate the Canal satisfactorily, and they do not have the capital (or the credit) to make the improvements immediately needed to stave off obsolescence; nor have they inspired the Canal's heavy users with confidence that the Canal will be kept open to all." Should the Egyptians prove "stubborn," this *Time* writer suggested that the presence of U.N. troops in the Suez Canal Zone at the time might lead to a forthright acceptance; or "they might be swayed by a proposal in the UN General Assembly to create an International Waterways Authority under the UN which would buy land from the Israelis, and put through a pipeline, or perhaps dig a new canal to handle all ships at lower tolls—leaving the Egyptians to weep in their ditch with unrestricted sovereignty."

This Middle East "expert" also called for the union of Iraq and Jordan under the Hashemite rule of King Feisal, which "would leave an unemployed Hashemite King (Hussein) to be pensioned off," and advocated "putting teeth in the Baghdad Pact by U.S. membership." Praising the Eisenhower Doctrine as "providing an umbrella of military security over the area, which is salutary and necessary," Mr. Scott called for negotiations between Israel and the new Iraq-Jordan to settle the frontiers with Israel. He was for telling the Arabs and Israelis: "This is what you have. The world will help you, with money, with technical skills. But you must stop this silly quarreling, stop arming yourselves against each other, live together in peace and cooperation, and get to work."

The Council not only lent its name but supplied the means for the widest circulation of this pamphlet. It is unnecessary to call the reader's attention to the crass ignorance of Arab nationalism shown by this expert. No one could have been proven more wrong about Nasser, Egyptian competency to run the Suez Canal and ability to obtain the needed credit for improving the Canal, or about events in Iraq. The purpose of this summary has been not to debunk *Time* or its writer, but to illus-

trate how still another type of publication implements its credo of "impartiality" in covering Middle East affairs.

The flyleaf of the pamphlet contains this statement by the publishers: "The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, 116 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago 3, Illinois, has published this pamphlet solely in the interests of bringing *all points* (author's italics) of view on the Middle Eastern situation to public attention. It assumes no responsibility for opinions contained in the publication." And on the back cover of the pamphlet under the caption: "Additional Reading on the Middle East" are listed the following seven additional pamphlets (and their respective prices), which one is encouraged to order from the Council's pamphlet center: "Report on the Middle East," *Current History*, 1956; "Perspective of the Arab World," *Atlantic Monthly*, 1956; "Portrait of Israel—Myth and Reality," Hal Lehrman; Public Affairs Pamphlet, 1956: "Israel's Border and Security Problems"; Major-General Moshe Dayan, Reprint from *Foreign Affairs*, 1955; "Facts and Figures on the Arab World," Arab Information Office, 1956; "Egypt and the West," E. V. Lawrence, American Institute of International Information, 1956.

The articles in *Current History* and *Atlantic Monthly*, liberal publications, were both anti-Arab and Zionist slanted. Mr. Lehrman has long been on the payroll of both the American Jewish Committee, an Israelist organization, and the Joint Distribution Committee, an affiliate of the United Jewish Appeal. The Israeli chief of staff authored one of these reference pieces. The Lawrence article takes a neutral stand.

Of the seven items on the suggested reading list, then, five were pro-Israel, one was pro-Arab and one was neutral. This, according to one of the most important and reputedly objective national organizations,¹⁶ was "presenting all points of views."¹⁷ Doubtless there were some who could justify this bibliographical imbalance as an effort to offset the Scott article declaration that the Israelis "must be persuaded to give iron-clad and convincing guaranties that they will never seek to enlarge their territories at the expense of their Arab neighbors."

Time magazine's account¹⁸ of the McGill University debate between Dr. Toynbee and Ambassador Herzog, not dealing in any way with spiritual Judaism but with Arab-Israeli political relations and particularly the treatment of the Arab refugee problem, was nonetheless inserted in the Religion section. This immediately placed at a disadvantage the blunt remarks of the British historian, purposely calculated, according to his statement, "to give the Jewish people a bit of a shock treatment."

Whereas Ambassador Herzog had alluded simply to "the Balfour Declaration, the League of Nations and the United Nations" as upholding the Jewish right to Palestine, *Time* in a prominent footnote spelled out what it believed the Israeli diplomat must have had in mind by supplying particular dates and specific actions and in this way strengthened the argumentation that international sanction had been accorded the establishment of the Israeli state: "The 1917 Balfour Declaration, the 1923 League of Nations Mandate to Britain, the 1947 UN decision . . ."¹⁹

After a paragraph dealing with the Toynbee moral comparison between the Nazi treatment of Jews and the Israeli treatment of Arab refugees, *Time* concluded the piece by dragging into the account a statement patently solicited to demolish the English historian's viewpoint: "Commented Protestant Theologian Reinhold Niebuhr: 'As I wrote three or four years ago, I can't escape the feeling that, in spite of his best efforts at objectivity, Toynbee has a deep-set prejudice against the Jews.' " Dr. Niebuhr has been an outspoken Zionist, a member of the American Christian Palestine Committee and has assiduously advanced the Jewish nationalist viewpoint in his writings.

Advertising has been another medium for spreading myth-information. It need not be a paid advertisement of the U.J.A. or a "public service ad" by Spanel's International Latex Corporation, but a simple printed announcement of a television show. In the spring of 1961 WCBS-TV in New York advertised its showing of "The Saving Remnant," starring well-known character actress Aline MacMahon, "a stirring account of a 45-year struggle against oppression and want by the Joint

Distribution Committee, member agency of the United Jewish Appeal." This program was to be based on an adaptation by Pulitzer Prize winner Herbert Agar, and was produced as a public service by the Public Affairs Department of CBS News. The Sunday television section, advertising the program, carried not a picture of the actress but, under the bold caption "The Saving Remnant," an appealing picture of a group of children, ostensibly Jewish European orphans.

When the same network, CBS, sent a corps of cameramen and news commentator Winston Burdette to Kuwait, they were warmly welcomed and permitted to photograph everywhere. Among the more important reforms instituted by Abdullah al Sabbagh al Salem, the ruler of Kuwait, has been the establishment of one of the finest modern school systems in the world with every possible up-to-date convenience, including a central kitchen that puts out more hot lunches for students than can be found elsewhere around the globe. Nothing could have had a greater appeal to an American video audience than a picture of attractive Kuwaiti children dressed in their school uniforms, taking their noonday meal, followed by their naps in neatly aligned cots. There was extensive shooting at these kindergartens in Kuwait, but when the film was shown in New York and across the country, it featured the cadillacs and large diamond ring of Deputy Ruler Sheikh Abdullah Mubarak (since exiled from the country) and all else to confirm the one-sided, over-simplified picture of "oil-rich, luxurious-living Arabs." There were no shots of smiling children on the screen, no advertising of little faces that day in the Sunday television section.

Radio and television networks, centered in New York City, have allowed fear of advertising losses to spike their transmitters. Visitors returning from Israel, authors writing on Israel, humanitarians pleading for Israel invariably are provided with the means of reaching listeners and viewers. But conversely, visitors, authors and humanitarians returning from the Arab states run into the usual excuse, "Oh, that is controversial" and are denied access to the programs.

When network CBS for the first time aired both sides of the Middle East conflict, Howard K. Smith made what was considered an objective presentation of the Nasser story. But Edward R. Murrow made the strongest possible case for the Israeli side. Similarly, when Eric Sevareid and Howard K. Smith later went to Cairo to interview Nasser on the occasion of the anniversary of the Egyptian revolution, Smith's reportage was without bias, while Sevareid's was an angry questioning, with pro-Israel barbs, of the Egyptian leader.

On December 10, 1960, CBS broadcast a special one-hour television network show entitled "Rescue with Yul Brynner," in which the internationally known movie actor reported on his visits to different refugee camps throughout the world. The program was sponsored by Philip Morris, Inc. After most sympathetically covering in words and pictures the story of the Hungarian and other of the world's 15 million refugees, the telecast carried Brynner and Edward R. Murrow, as his co-reporter, to the Mandelbaum Gate dividing Arab Jerusalem from Israeli Jerusalem. And for the first time political "analysis" was injected into the full surge of sympathy the viewer had heretofore been feeling toward the refugees shown on his screen.

Murrow supplied his own interpretation of what caused the Arab refugee problem:

In 1948, Israel, another nation of refugees, was trying to achieve independence. A United Nations resolution ordered the partition of what had been Palestine into two nations—one Arab, one Jewish. The Israelis agreed—the Arabs protested and promised to fight until death to prevent it. The war that followed ended with the Ralph Bunche truce agreement, and Israel was recognized by the United Nations by a vote of thirty-seven to twelve, with nine nations abstaining. Most of the Arabs who fled the war never returned. Thousands still live in Israeli villages, but three-quarters of a million stayed in the neighboring Arab lands. But the Arab countries either unable, or some say, unwilling, to absorb them into their populations kept them in refugee camps, near the border.²⁰

After Brynner very briefly showed the horrible living conditions in a refugee camp in Jordan, Murrow was quick to point to the "difference between the way Jordan has absorbed a refugee community of over 600,000 and Egypt has contained its refugees in U.N. camps." "This," he announced, "is a U.N. school in Gaza, and the education is worth listening to":

Teacher: "I am looking for a sentence on 'foreign.'"

First Girl: "We have to unite against foreign domination."

Teacher: "Good! What's the meaning of 'provide with'?"

Second Girl: "The rations which UNRWA provides us with are not enough."

Teacher: "Good! Sit down. Who can give me a sentence on 'restore'?"

Third Girl: "It is our right, as Palestinians, to restore our homeland."²¹

Murrow then added this analysis: "Some observers say that the Arab leaders refuse to absorb the refugees into their towns and cities because they wish to keep the issue alive, politically, and keep the pressure on Israel. One of the most hopeful signs, however, is the position of Jordan's harassed and able young ruler—King Hussein."²²

Murrow here interjected out-of-context interviews he and Brynner had with King Hussein, President Nasser and Foreign Minister Golda Meir of Israel. By skillful editing and interweaving of selected portions of what had obviously been lengthier interviews, Israel was absolved of any responsibility for the Arab refugees and at the same time King Hussein was made to appear more opposed to Nasser than to the Israeli neglect of the refugees:

Brynner: "Your Majesty, how would you compare the refugee situation in your kingdom with, let us say, Gaza?"

Hussein: "Well, I would say that as far as the refugee situation is concerned in Jordan—in this country we have shared the blow. We are all one people. We are all one family; whereas, we feel in Gaza that there is a rash number of refugees that feel that they are refugees and are

living behind barbed wire. That is the basic difference. I think it is quite great."

Brynnr: "What do you see as the solution to the refugee problem?"

Hussein: "This problem is unfortunately part of the Palestine problem that is still hanging about and awaiting solution. And I feel that the United Nations and the whole world, as well as the Arab countries, themselves, have a great responsibility of solving this problem in a just manner, I hope, not in the very distant future. The most important aspect of it is to keep the refugees or the people—keep their spirits high and restore to them their dignity whether they choose to remain outside their country or return to it."²³

King Hussein seemed to be exculpating Israel of any blame for the Palestine problem and the refugees. And if this thought had not been perfectly conveyed by selection and juxtaposition of royal words, Mr. Murrow added the following comment: "Jordan's approach is not that of the United Arab Republic and the other Middle East countries and President Nasser considers Hussein an enemy and a puppet of Israel. There is a body of world opinion, parts of the Afro-Asian bloc, that puts most of the blame on Israel—first, for creating the problem—now, for not giving Palestine back to the Arabs or for not making financial reparations to the Arabs."²⁴

After introducing President Nasser through unsympathetic pictures containing military movements which strongly suggested totalitarianism, Mr. Murrow asked the Arab leader for his views on the refugees:

Nasser: "Well, you know, the United Nations Resolution of 1948 was about refugees, and the United Nations decided that the refugees must have the right to return to their country, or must have the right to have compensation if they liked. This is our point of view which was declared and it is clear."²⁵

This was all the nationwide audience heard from Mr. Nasser. A lengthy interview with Israel's Golda Meir then followed. The Israeli foreign minister, in twice the time allotted to King

Hussein and President Nasser together, was led along skillfully by the questioning of Murrow to prove that the entire responsibility for the Arab refugees rests with either the Arab States or the refugees themselves. This program, which was intended as a television exposition depicting the human problem of refugees, was piously brought to an end with actor Yul Brynner singing a song adopted from Jesus' parable of the loaves and fishes.

On its religious broadcasts CBS has also afforded many Zionists the opportunity to present political viewpoints. On February 4, 1962, "Way to Go" featured an interview with Dr. Samuel L. Blumenfield, an official of the American Zionist Council, who spoke on the Hebrew language in terms of Israel's national interests. The teaching of Hebrew is one of the major Zionist activities designed to link Jews of the world to Israel. Similarly, Dr. Mordecai Kaplan, on the same program on February 25, 1962, espoused the reconstructionist brand of Zionism of which he is the foremost exponent. And these were the second appearances of these distinguished Zionists on a CBS religious program.

In addition, the following Zionists advanced one or another aspect of their nationalist philosophy over CBS facilities: Dr. Abraham Heller, a lifelong Zionist; Rabbi Alan Steinbach; Rabbi Solomon Sharfman; Rabbi Harry Halpern; Rabbi Charles E. Shulman; Rabbi Israel Goldstein; Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg; and Dov Joseph (the former governor of Jerusalem and an executive of the Zionist Jewish Agency).

In the spring of 1962 Attorney General Robert Kennedy addressed the annual luncheon meeting of the Associated Press, held at the Waldorf-Astoria. Mr. Kennedy stressed the grave need of sending qualified lecturers abroad to correct the unfortunate misinformation extant as to the United States and her goals, which was permitting the Soviet Union's propaganda machine to distort our position. Even as he pleaded for this type of corrective action to sway the cold war, which in the Attorney General's opinion we seemed to be losing, an important television station was putting the final touches on a

program which, in the eyes of the vital Middle East, was to broaden the misconceptions of the United States abroad. Rarely have so many half-truths, innuendoes, distortions and slantings been put together as in the 30-minute "historical" documentary *Years of Destiny*, prepared by the Israeli Zionist group the Keren Hayesod (The Jewish National Fund), and presented by station WPIX in New York to a large audience as a public service.

The program carried the viewers through the story of Theodor Herzl's call for a Jewish state (there was no mention of his dying a broken man because he was willing, but the World Zionist Congress was not, to accept the British offer to establish the state in Uganda), the early Jewish settlements in Palestine (no hint was given of the existence of Christian and Moslem Arab communities which then constituted some 93 per cent of the total Holy Land population), the Balfour Declaration (omitted was any reference either to the safeguarding clauses protecting the rights of Arab communities and of the non-Zionist Jews, or to the prior, contradicting British promises to the Arabs), the rise of Hitler (grossly exaggerating the role of the Jewish Brigade in the defeat of the Nazi leader); and the victorious establishment of Israel with the subsequent ingathering of Jews from Arab countries (charging that they had been driven from their homes, to end at last their existence as "second-class Arab citizens").

This commentary on the show appeared in the TV section of *The New York Daily News* two days later: "A pictorially splendid 30-minute history of the rebirth of Israel, underscoring the life of the prophet of the Jewish state, Theodore Herzl . . . The spirit and dedication of the people who founded the nation was appropriately inspirational for this Passover season."²⁶

New York television station WNTA on a question-and-answer show discussed the Middle East, including the Eichmann case and other relevant problems.²⁷ The program was "At Your Beck and Call," with Mike Wallace acting as moderator. The panel consisted of a doctor whose field was the study of cancer, an author whose concern was with Latin America, a journalist

who had spent time in the Middle East and in North Africa, and a rabbi who had served as president of the American Jewish Congress. The journalist had from time to time been on the payroll of the United Jewish Appeal, and the rabbi had long been completely committed to the Zionist cause, while the other two "experts" were completely disinterested and unknowledgeable. This kind of two against two was considered in New York to be an impartial presentation of the issues.

The same lack of impartiality was observed in an NBC telecast of a discussion on the Eichmann trial.²⁸ Three Zionists with slightly varying positions aired their views on a program paradoxically enough called "*The Open Mind*." The past-president of Hadassah, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, R. H. S. Crossman, prominent Zionist Laborite member of Parliament from England, and Nahum Goldmann, president of the World Zionist Organization (The Jewish Agency), set forth views in which their only differences were the degrees of passion with which they alternately hallowed the pioneering accomplishments of Israel and assailed the anti-Zionism of the American Council for Judaism. On a subsequent program on the Eichmann case, the Council's executive vice president, Dr. Elmer Berger, appeared. After hearing several Zionist-minded spokesmen air their views at length, Dr. Berger was given less than two minutes to present the Council position.

It was not only on the networks and in the larger cities that but one side was countenanced. Early in 1962 when Harvey Sheldon of WUPY-FM, a small Lynn, Massachusetts, station, scheduled an anti-Zionist to appear on an interview program, he found himself the object of intense pressures and the center of a controversy. Sheldon had initially invited a Zionist to debate the question of Israel, but the New England Zionist Council head declined the invitation, thinking this would lead to a cancellation of the projected program. It was only then that Sheldon invited the anti-Zionist, Rabbi Elmer Berger, to appear alone. These things then happened:

The Zionist Council of New England, Lynn auxiliaries of Hadassah and B'nai B'rith, the Jewish Community Center of

Lynn, the Greater Lynn Jewish Federation, and individual rabbis launched a campaign to force Mr. Sheldon to drop the program. According to Mr. Sheldon, the station's sponsors were threatened with loss of business unless the program was halted; Rabbi Samuel Zaitchek, who married the Sheldons, threatened "repercussions," warning that it would be "harmful to a young man who had just started a new business in the area," and a leader of the Jewish Community Center hinted at "excommunication." Sheldon refused to heed the warnings and the program, much to the liking of the listeners, was broadcast. The station soon thereafter changed hands.

It is only the exceptional instance where pressures, or the mere threat thereof, have failed to bring about the desired end result. The head of the American Zionist Council wrote a strong letter upbraiding Father Ralph Gorman, editor of the *Sign Magazine* for his favorable editorial on the book *What Price Israel?*, and demanded a printed retraction. Father Gorman replied to Rabbi Irving Miller in this manner:

I received your letter of April 29th regarding my editorial. I think that most of the questions you raised are answered in the book under discussion. To me the book relates history and not the rewriting of history. I lived in Palestine from 1925 until 1928. At that time there were only a few Jewish colonies scattered here and there. The country was an Arab country. While the natives were a backward people, they were a peaceful, homeloving people and they were the owners of the land. I was in Palestine in April of 1953. I need hardly tell you the great change that has taken place. An alien people, one that had not occupied the land for nearly 2,000 years, a people who once owned the land, have taken over a large part of it and that the best part. The people who owned the land and cultivated it are now living in concentration camps scattered over the Near East. To find a comparable outrage, you would have to go back to the Nazi persecution of the Jews. And yet, the Zionists seem to have as little consciousness of this outrage as Hitler had when he persecuted the Jews. I consider the above to be history and not a rewriting of history.²⁹

But for every editor and radio manager who resisted the pressures of Jewish nationalism, there were hundreds who were too frightened and were willing to permit organized Jewry to set their news and editorial policy.

In the plethora of biblical films spawned by Hollywood, all of which combined Sybaritic splendor, religious chauvinism and sex woven about the least smattering of biblical data, the Arab invariably was made out to be the villain, the Jew the underdog. In fact, since the earliest De Mille productions, any battling between the "good men" and the "bad men" in a foreign locale inevitably saw the rascals garbed in Arab clothes. *The Ten Commandments* was a natural for Hollywood: the ancient Egyptians were portrayed driving the Hebrews into the sea with more than a slight parallel drawn for the viewers to the present-day Arab-Israeli struggle. Ironically, the Nasser government had made available the needed civilian and military manpower, not to mention the locale, which made possible this mammoth anti-Egyptian film.

In the *King of Kings*, referred to as the "flop of flops" by one reviewer,³⁰ King Herod was portrayed as an Arab, not as the Judean king, Barabbas as a sort of Jewish George Washington, while Judas was depicted sympathetically as a bewildered Benedict Arnold. In the enactment of the crucifixion of Jesus, seen lurking in the background were figures made out to the viewer unmistakably as Arabs.

Critic Moira Walsh writing in *America*, the Jesuit weekly, anathematized Hollywood's biblical epics as unedifying and even antireligious and called the *King of Kings* "the culmination of a gigantic fraud perpetrated by the film industry on the movie-going public."³¹

The theater, too, has taken similar liberties with history, governed invariably by a feeling for the box office. In *Ross*, the Terence Rattigan play about Lawrence of Arabia, which opened in London and then came to New York, support for the Jewish state is attributed to the English desert romanticist: "Lawrence thinks the idea of a Jewish state is a good one." In his *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* Lawrence indicated his reaction

to the British betrayal of Arab rights when he referred to "the revolt that had begun on false pretenses . . . Had I been an honorable adviser," he bitterly noted, "I would have sent my men home and not let them risk their lives for such stuff."³² In an exchange of correspondence, the playwright admitted that it was a home and not a state which Lawrence had endorsed, but the producer refused to change the lines over so minor a point which he said "won sympathy for the hero from a New York audience by showing that he was not anti-Semitic."³³

In his book *The Innocent Ambassador*,³⁴ Philip Wylie inadvertently and dramatically revealed the extent to which the publishing world is afraid to express itself on one or the other of the many aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In the narrative Wylie, accompanied by "Doc" and "Rex Johnson, editor of Nationwide Publishing Company," visit a large refugee camp in a village outside Beirut. Shocked by "hovels with dirt floors and walls made of anything available," Wylie describes the scene as a "hobo jungle on a city dump and the people wore rags hoboese would discard." The mayor of "Slimeville," as the author refers to the Arab leader of the camp (the mukhtar), accuses the members of the United Nations of not keeping their word and rhetorically asks, "Why have we been here for five years?" Wylie and Johnson both attempt to answer the accusation of the excitable Arab who in his vehemence has made a personal charge against them. They claim they did not know that "any Arabs were still living in exile."

The mukhtar angrily blurts out: "'Of course you did not know. Your American press—your whole country—is under the thumb of Zion . . . Show a picture of us on your TV . . .'

"'That,' Wylie said, 'is hooie.'

"'Then—why don't you know?'

"Another Arab shouted, 'Yes, Mr. Johnson, Mister Big Publishing Man. *Why?*'

"Rex fixed his steady blue eyes on the tight-packed mob; it leaned toward us, an arm-length away. Rex, with a quizzical, half-apologetic smile, 'I'm like Mr. Wylie. I didn't realize your

problem had gone unsolved. But I can assure you this idea that Jews control the American press is ridiculous.'

" 'Prove it,' someone muttered. 'When you return, publish our story!'

" 'I daresay Mr. Wylie might write it, and I'm sure we will publish it.' "

Wylie claimed that he often had spoken out against the "building of an Israel in a land that had been Arab so long" and did keep his promise to report the plight of the refugees, the description of which indicated the extent to which he had been moved by the ghastly sight of the camps. But neither the righteous indignation of Wylie nor of "Rex Johnson" refuted the charge of the Zionist press control.

The book is a non-fiction recital of a trip around the world which Wylie and his wife took in 1956. All names, quotations and incidents are related in detail until this point where the author and his wife arrive in Beirut. There, the non-fiction suddenly gives way to fiction. "Doc," whom the Wylies are visiting in the Lebanese capital, is in fact John Fistere of *Time* and *Life*, at that time on leave serving as a public relations officer with the United Nations Relief Works Agency (UNRWA). Doc's boss, who arrives in Beirut for a visit while the Wylies are there, goes under the name of "Rex Johnson, editor of Nationwide Publishing Company." In reality he is Roy Larsen, publisher of *Time* magazine.

This fictional use of names and careful hiding of the identity of two important *Time-Life* officials in a non-fiction recital of conditions in an Arab refugee camp is the best gauge for judging the truth to the charge of absolute fear-control over Middle East reporting by the media of information.

And publishing houses were equally influenced. For two years Dr. Hedley V. Cooke endeavored on his own unsuccessfully to find an American publisher for his book, *Israel: A Blessing and a Curse*, based on three and a half years experience in that country. In June, 1959 he found a British publisher, Stevens, who sought intensively to locate an American publishing outlet or distributor. Even after the book had been pub-

lished in England and had received excellent reviews in such newspapers and periodicals as *The Times* (London), *The Scotsman*, *Punch*, *The Jewish Chronicle*, *The Spectator* and *International Affairs*, this quest proved fruitless.

Admiration for the book was expressed, but also regret that it would be impossible to handle this "load of dynamite." Why? In answer to this question one major publisher explained that "the very last thing the American book market wanted was an objective book on Israel." Another publisher, himself Jewish, declared that life would be impossible for him were he to take on this book.

When a direct mail campaign in the United States from London was initiated, review copies were sent to appropriate newspapers, magazines and journals in the states. Not a single newspaper or magazine with general circulation ever printed a review of the book.

The mind-molders of tomorrow have never forgotten the Nazi-Communist preachments that once you have captured the minds of youngsters, you have gone a long way toward molding the future society of a country. In *Every Week*, "Today's Newspaper for Informed Young Citizens," distributed in the grade schools throughout the country, there appeared a discussion headlined "Refugees: Their Plight Is World's Problem." After describing the refugee problem as a global one and setting forth the estimate of Dag Hammarskjold that there are 15 million refugees, the article described the refugees in Israel in this manner:

Over a million displaced Arabs live in the Arab lands bordering Israel. They were uprooted from their homes in the Holy Land by the Palestine war of 1948. About 600,000 are in Jordan; 132,000 in Lebanon; 250,000 in the Gaza Strip and 112,000 in the Syrian section of the United Arab Republic. They barely subsist on food hand-outs from the UN, 90% of which come from Great Britain and the United States. The attitude of Arab Governments and refugee leaders have so far prevented any land reform or resettlement program for the benefit of the Arab refugees.

Tiny Israel has already taken in over a million Jewish refugees. It is unable to take in any hostile Arabs. Several thousands of friendly Arabs stayed behind in the 1948 migration and now live in Israel as citizens of the Jewish Republic.³⁵

To strengthen its "objective" description, this paper, while portraying most sympathetic pictures of refugees elsewhere in the world to arouse the feelings of the readers, printed no pictures of any Arab refugees in this two-page report. There was, however, a map, graphing the location of the Arab refugees, which contained this caption:

Middle East Camps. Over a million Arab refugees are huddled in camps in Arab lands encircling Israel. All efforts by the UN to arrange for their resettlement have ended in frustration. The refugees are pawns in an Arab-Israeli dispute dating back to 1948. Arab government and refugee leaders refuse to deal with Israel or even to consider a plan for resettlement. At one time, Israel offered to resettle 100,000 Arabs but the offer was turned down. The refugees live in a miserable existence. They refuse to work or to plant trees for fear of losing their UN doles.

Such slanted oversimplifications are going into the hands of young school children³⁶ who will form tomorrow's public opinion in the United States. In this way future generations are being carefully prepared to become exact replicas of their fathers in the emerging conformist society.

8

Exploiting Prejudice

"Majority-minority relationships in the American society are a two-way street. A minority has every right to stand for and demand protection of its rights. But a minority has, in my judgment, no right to use its political, economic or financial power in furtherance of ends which run counter to the best interests of the majority."

James P. Warburg

THE STATE of Israel, Jewish nationalism, Jewish leaders and Jewish organizations are today inviolate from censure. The emotional reaction engendered by Nazi genocide has given rise to an eleventh Commandment: "Thou shalt not be anti-Semitic."

There is a corollary twelfth Commandment: "Thou shalt be anti-anti-Semitic." In their zeal to adhere strictly to this commandment, the anti-anti-Semites have followed the lead of organized Jewry in refusing to make the basic distinction between those who are against Zionism-Israelism because they dislike its political precepts and those who are against Jews because they dislike Jews. The handiest device for disposing of any opposition to accepted ideas is to affix the anti-Semitic label to the dissenter. Many "liberals" hurl this label around as loosely as certain "conservatives" use the word "Commie."

A tyranny not simply of a minority, but of a minority of a minority, has accounted for this reign of intimidation against any and all who would speak out against Israelism. The branding as anti-Semites of many well-intentioned people in the U.S. and England whose opposition was not to Jews but to political Zionism compelled Michael Ionides to write in the preface to his book which analyzed the 1958 Iraqi revolution:

A great deal of what I have written about the place of Zionism and Israel in the story will be unfamiliar to British

and Western readers and unwelcome to many. But Israel is a sovereign, independent State taking her part in world affairs like any other. Israel and the Zionists must expect, like any other State or movement, to have their political activities noted and discussed openly. They have no right to expect that either Gentiles or Jews will continue indefinitely to shrink from political criticism of Zionist political activities for fear of being accused of anti-Semitism.¹

"When in doubt, charge the other guy with anti-Semitism" seems to have become the accepted axiom of the day. Often what a Jew might say without drawing this most noxious of labels, a non-Jew could not dare utter. When Prime Minister Ben-Gurion issued the first of a series of strong pronouncements on "ingathering of the exiles," the pro-Zionist Jewish *Daily Forward*, not averse to a little labeling itself, wrote: "It makes a bad impression and grates on the ears to learn from Ben-Gurion's speech at the W.Z.O. Congress that American Jews are 'foreigners' and 'aliens' in their own country. It is more than certain that if this had been said by a non-Jew there would have been a chorus of protest against such statements, and they would have been described as signs of anti-Semitism, not only by Jews but also by non-Jews."²

But Jews who are not prime ministers can be labeled anti-Semites, although it may be slightly more difficult to make the label stick than when applied to a non-Jew. During the summer of 1961 while writing the first portion this book in Nantucket, I encountered examples of this. At a cocktail party a matronly woman, whom I had just met, came up to me and fairly hissed: "I hear you are an Arab lover." (This was said in such a manner as to connote the Nazi's "*Judenknecht*" or the racist's "nigger-lover.")

My reply was: "If by that, you mean do I think the Arab Palestinians have been unjustly treated, the answer is a most decided 'yes.'"

She replied: "Oh, I was in Jordan, and the things those horrible Arabs did to us." And she enumerated some "frightful

experiences," the run-of-the-mill mishaps that often befall foreigners traveling abroad.

As she was leaving, she (a Jewess herself) whispered to me: "Don't think that I like Jews any better than you do."

When I arrived that same summer at another party, my hostess, who had borrowed a copy of *There Goes the Middle East*, whisked me to the bar for a drink, and then bluntly, almost in an accusing tone, said: "Alfred, I've heard some shocking things. You're not an anti-Semite, are you? I must know the truth."

These words of greeting from a lovely hostess took me by surprise, and it was difficult to control my temper.

"Where did you hear this? From a Zionist?" I asked.

"No—none of my friends are Zionists. I am not a Zionist, but the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has a report to that effect on you," she stated.

The roster of renegades who at one time or another have stood strong against the tide of nationalism and found themselves victims of a smear campaign is an illustrious one drawn from top educational, clerical, literary, political and journalistic circles: Norman Thomas, Yale's Millar Burrows, Senator Ralph Flanders,³ Harvard's William Ernest Hocking, Dean Virginia Gildersleeve, Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, Morris Ernst, Howard K. Smith, Vincent Sheehan, Senator J. William Fulbright, Ambassador Henry A. Byroade, Dr. Harry Gideonse, Arthur Garfield Hayes, Willie Snow Ethridge, Professor Arnold Toynbee and Dorothy Thompson, to mention just a few.

To be classed in this group ought to have been an honor for any American, but many others were prevailed upon by the Zionist-Israeli propaganda machine to remain silent. "Anti-Semite" branding caused some to recant. For the reluctance of the average non-Jew to be associated with anything that smacks of bigotry against Jews runs very deep. This psychological weapon was most ably wielded by Zionists and by non-Zionist alike.

One American who could never have her mind changed once she discovered for herself what she felt to be the truth

was the late Dorothy Thompson. At first her leadership in the country's moral mobilization against Nazism naturally led her to espouse the Zionist cause. When she saw, as William Zukerman wrote⁴ in a tribute to this great journalist, "that Zionism which had started out as a liberal and humanitarian relief movement, was turning into a reactionary aggressive chauvinistic movement of the same character as other European nationalisms which she had been fighting throughout her journalistic career," Miss Thompson left the group and devoted her energies to relieving the plight of the Palestinian Arab refugees. A bitter campaign of character assassination was waged against her, even to the point of attributing her new viewpoint to the influence of her "anti-Semitic" husband, the late highly respected sculptor Maxim Kopf.

At the height of the relentless propaganda and pressure directed against this distinguished writer, which ultimately resulted in certain newspapers dropping her famous "On the Record" column, she wrote a memorable letter, entitled "On Creating Anti-Semites" to the editor of the *Jewish Newsletter*:

Really I think continual emphasis should be put upon the extreme damage to the Jewish community of branding people like myself as anti-Semitic. It is a little beneath the dignity of anyone with my record to deny such charges in public, so they just tend to make anti-Semitism more respectable than it otherwise might be . . . For rightly or wrongly, a great many people in this country respect me highly and, if it is publicized that I am an anti-Semite, anti-Semitism becomes thereby a little more respectable.

. . . In the same way the State of Israel has got to learn to live in the same atmosphere of free criticism which every other state in the world must endure. If the editors of this country's press are forced to suppress critical views because of organized pressures, both in the form of masses of letters to the editor, and pressures on the business side of the paper's organization, the net effect—and I know what I am talking about—is to foment a very ugly resentment, the worse because it finds no outlet. There are many subjects on which writers in this country are, because of these pressures, becoming craven and mealy-mouthed. But

people don't like to be craven and mealy-mouthed; every time one yields to such pressure, one is filled with self-contempt, and this self-contempt works itself out in resentment of those who caused it.

I often think that race relations were actually much better in this country when we took good-natured flings at the characteristics of various national groups in our midst. People actually don't like paragons, and any group that tries to arrogate to itself all the virtues and admit none of the vices of the common run of humanity does not thereby make itself more lovable.

In short, I am sure that the anti-anti-Semitism, like anti-anti-Negroism, can reach a point where it has exactly the opposite effect from the one which is striven for. The anti-anti-Semitism campaign, for instance, has reached the point where a great many non-Jews are becoming excessively bored.⁵

American supporters of the state of Israel also lashed out at Professor Arnold J. Toynbee. Their campaign had its roots in Dr. Toynbee's *A Study of History*. In Volume VIII the historian charged that "the Jews had even less excuse in A.D. 1948 for evicting Palestinian Arabs from their homes than Nebuchadnezzar and Titus and Hadrian and the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition had had for uprooting, persecuting and exterminating Jews in Palestine and elsewhere at diverse times in the past."⁶

While admitting the disparity in numbers between Jewish victims of the Nazis and the Arab victims of Zionists, the British historian equated the violation of moral principles by Israeli nationalists with that of German nationalists.⁷ To Professor Toynbee's statement that "degrees of sin and tragedy were not determined by the number of souls concerned,"⁸ the Zionist cry of anti-Semitism was reiterated. A book entitled *The Professor and the Fossil*,⁹ widely distributed in Jewish circles, was devoted in its entirety to destroying this moral equation and other theses about Jews or Judaism advanced by Dr. Toynbee.

Dr. Toynbee again made world headlines when he engaged in his debate with Ambassador Herzog. The youthful Herzog,

son of the late Chief Rabbi of Israel, was angered by a Toynbee lecture at McGill University in which the Professor questioned the Jewish right to Palestine. A challenge was issued by the Ambassador and promptly accepted by the professor. Toynbee reiterated the comparison which he had made in *A Study of History*: "It is impossible to be wicked more than 100 per cent. For example, I don't have to kill more than one man to be a murderer. I don't believe any person of Jewish faith can ever escape from his conscience or indeed wishes to . . . I leave you with your own consciences, and with these Arab refugees, who now number more than 900,000. Jewish people have suffered murder, robbery, expulsion, from their homes for 2,500 years. The more experience one has of these things, the more moral duty there is to resist the temptation to work it off."

As if this had not already earned for him the dubious distinction of being referred to as the twentieth-century Haman (the villain in the Book of Esther), Dr. Toynbee soon qualified by other public pronouncements. Before the seventeenth annual conference of the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism held in Philadelphia, Dr. Toynbee drew another historic parallel. "Zionism and anti-Semitism," the historian alleged, "are expressions of an identical point of view. The assumption underlying both ideologies is that it is impossible for Jews and non-Jews to grow together into a single community, and that therefore a physical separation is the only practical way out . . .

"The watchword of anti-Semitism is 'back to medieval apartheid,' the watchword of Zionism is 'back to the medieval ghetto.' All the far-flung ghettos in the world are to be gathered into one patch of soil in Palestine to create a single consolidated ghetto there."¹⁰

While Dr. Clarence Pickett, executive director emeritus of the American Friends Service Committee, was quick to declare: "For the life of me, I cannot see how Dr. Toynbee would be classed as anti-Semitic," mob instinct drove the Jewish community and its allies, the "liberals," into a bitter campaign di-

rected against Dr. Toynbee: "Distorted statements . . . shocking example of defamation . . . deep-set prejudice against Jews."

The Jewish community requires little encouragement to adopt a prominent figure into its own racial cult: "I hear that so-and-so [Greta Garbo or any other prominent person] is Jewish," goes the typical rumor. In a similar way, and usually with as little basis, remarks of this sort arise: "Did you know that so-and-so is anti-Semitic?"

When *America* issued an editorial warning "To Our Jewish Friends" in the wake of the "unrelenting pressure tactics of a small but overly vocal segment"¹¹ during the public debate over the outlawing of the 22-word Regents' prayer, this national Catholic weekly review was widely accused of stirring up anti-Semitism.

Sporadic outbreaks of anti-Semitism in the United States have been used to promote the case for Jewish nationalism. After the 1958 bombings of synagogues in Atlanta and Peoria, the Zionist press and Jewish organizations exaggerated, distorted and exploited the incidents, hoping to bolster Israel's population and to help the U.J.A. campaign. Israeli papers wrote: "There is no other way for American Jews but mass-immigration to Israel¹² . . . no country can protect Jews against anti-Semitic outbursts."¹³

Attempts to link Nasser to these acts of bigotry committed by a few irresponsible crackpots and teen-age delinquents helped feed the fires of Jewish chauvinism, ever striving to force Western society to accept the charge of endemic anti-Semitism and thus to justify further the existence of an Israel.

The 1960 rash of synagogue vandalism and swastika-painting in Europe and the Americas was similarly exploited to work up hysteria among Jews. Significantly, not a synagogue in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq or North Africa—that is, in the Arab world—was desecrated, while an Israeli youth was caught in the act of branding a Tel Aviv temple.¹⁴ But this did not even cast a shadow on the popularly accepted myth of Arab anti-Semitism. There were too many dedicated individuals and organizations to permit this to happen, and none was more tire-

less, painstaking and effectual in its efforts than the Anti-Defamation League, which in its avowed task of fighting "the causes and effects of prejudice" has uniquely served the Israeli cause.

The League's studies and books,¹⁵ authored by such writers as Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein, widely promoted by Walter Winchell¹⁶ and extensively advertised, carried forward the device of anti-Semite labeling. During the struggle over Palestine prior to partition, Kermit Roosevelt, Dean Virginia Gildersleeve (Barnard), Millar Burrows (Yale Divinity School), Peter Marshall (chaplain of the U.S. Senate), Dr. Bayard Dodge (one-time president of the American University in Beirut), to mention but a few, had been vilified for hinting that the Arabs might have a case.¹⁷ Thereafter, not only was the Arab opposition to Israel and Zionism equated with bigotry against Jews, but Christian-American would-be critics of the new state were menaced by the anti-Semite label, which soon was applied to anti-Zionist Jews as well. The mere presence of the Anti-Defamation League, an offspring of the 120-year-old B'nai B'rith, bred a sensitivity powerful enough to stifle latent opposition to the Zionist-Israelist program and to smother public debate on every aspect of Jewish activity. Lectures were canceled at the behest of the League, and items kept out of the press.

The bigotry it ostensibly opposed was encouraged by the tactics of this organization. Dr. David Riesman of Harvard University wrote in the *Jewish Newsletter*, "The Zionists can muster not merely the threat of the Jewish vote and the no less important Jewish financial and organizational skills, but also the blackmail of attacking anyone who opposes their political aims for Israel as anti-Semitic."¹⁸

Conversely, the best defense against the charge of anti-Semitism was to prove friendship for Israel. In his unsuccessful bid for the Senate against Herbert Lehman, John Foster Dulles was supposed to have answered accusations of bigotry by siding with Israel against the internationalization of Jerusalem, but the late Mr. Dulles balked at this proposed method of rebuttal.¹⁹ The answer to the charges of prejudice raised against

the Nixon-Lodge ticket in the political heat of the 1960 campaign was simply "Vice President Nixon has long been a friend of Israel."²⁰

It is singularly curious that nowhere in the massive attack on prejudice and bigotry waged by the Anti-Defamation League has it been hinted that monolithic approach to Zionism and Middle East foreign policy might in itself be the most important harbinger of what anti-Semitism does exist. As William Zukerman wrote on March 21, 1960 in the *Jewish Newsletter*, "nothing is more convincing proof of anti-Semitism to the American nationalist Jews than the mere suggestion that there might be some remote relationship of cause and effect between a possible rise of anti-Jewish sentiment in the United States and the vulgarity and ostentation of the huge fund-raising campaigns for Israel, the aggressiveness of the organized political pressure groups; or the promotion of militant Jewish worldwide nationalism as an ideology for American Jews in direct opposition to the American political system." For writing that "it is a sign of mediocrity in people when they herd together," Boris Pasternak, the Russian author of *Dr. Zhivago*, was immediately stigmatized by organized Jewry as an anti-Semite (or anti-Semitic Jew).²¹ The B'nai B'rith was quick to protest the activity in Argentina of the Tacuara, a neo-Nazi movement espousing anti-Semitic violence, but never thought of linking the kidnaping of Eichmann from Argentina to any resurgent bigotry.

On the other side of the Atlantic there were zealous Britishers who, too, were not averse to exploiting prejudice. Probably the most prolific Anglo-Saxon proponent of Zionism since World War II has been the energetic member of Parliament Richard H. S. Crossman. A member of the 1945 Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry which looked into the future of Palestine, and a close friend of Chaim Weizmann, Crossman has gone far in speeches, articles, books, in personal contacts and on the floor of the House of Commons to advance the Israelist cause. On visits to the United States, he invariably has made himself available for radio-television stints to advance his pet cause. (In

October, 1964, Crossman was designated Minister of Housing and Local Government in the new Labor Cabinet.)

In *A Nation Reborn*,²² which traces the roles of Weizmann, Ernest Bevin and Ben-Gurion in the story of Israel, Crossman assiduously peppers his account with charges of anti-Semitism (sometimes referred to an "anti-Jewish bias") against Arabists in the Colonial Office, diplomats in the Foreign Office, the British army, the Palestine police and other villains in the piece. The author handles the late British Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin with dexterity and innuendo. "Many Americans and Israelis believe that in his Palestine policy Ernest Bevin was motivated by anti-Semitism. From personal experience I can say that this is untrue of his attitude in 1945." But then, without saying so directly, he proceeds to show that it was true of his post '45 attitude.

Throughout this interesting volume the Labor parliamentary indulges in a basic presumption which colors his writings as it has that of an equally forthright American historian, Dr. J. C. Hurewitz of Columbia.²³ Both Israeli sympathizers blandly accept the assumption of Jewish nationalism that the Jews are a nation, the legal successors to the Hebrew-Israelite-Judean peoples who once lived in Palestine, and hence have a legal and moral right to create their political state in Palestine. The principal basis for this contention in the Crossman work is the allegation of continued anti-Semitism, substantiating a Weizmann thesis:

Anti-Semitism is a bacillus which every Gentile carries with him wherever he goes and however often he denies it. Like other bacilli, it may remain quiescent and harmless for years. But once the right conditions are created, the bacilli multiply, and the epidemic breaks out. The condition for an outbreak of overt anti-Semitism in any nation is that the number of Jews should rise beyond the safety level of that particular nation. Hence the only radical cure for anti-Semitism is the creation of the Jewish State.²⁴

Apparently at their first meeting Weizmann asked Crossman whether he was anti-Semitic. The Laborite's frank (how hon-

est?) answer, "Of course," sustained the Weizmann philosophy and sealed their deep friendship.²⁵

Prime Minister Clement Attlee and Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin persisted, we are told by Crossman, in treating the Jews of Palestine as a religious group on a par with the Christians and the Moslems and in withholding from the Jews as a religious community the right of national self-determination which they sought to give to the Arabs of Palestine. Crossman's remark to Bevin was simply: "But, Ernie, I've seen it for myself. The Palestine Jews have grown into a nation, and if you refuse them partition, they will fight for their lives." To which Bevin retorted: "No. There's only a Jewish religion, not a Jewish nation. And if those Jews in Palestine aren't religious, they ought not call themselves Jews."²⁶

Crossman angrily dismissed the concern of both Attlee and Bevin for the British national interest. After the report of the Anglo-American Committee had been rejected, the Prime Minister told his youthful Laborite colleague, "I am disappointed in you, Dick. The report is grossly unfair." Crossman responded, "Unfair to the Jews or to the Arabs?"

To this the Prime Minister replied crossly, "No, unfair to Britain, of course. You've let us down by giving way to the Jews and Americans."²⁷

Then author Crossman proceeds to accuse the late Mr. Bevin of overt anti-Semitism for his refusal to go along with the Weizmann-Truman plan for establishing a Jewish State. The concern of a foreign minister for the national interests of his country, reflected in Bevin's insistence that there was more than the Arab and Zionist points of view to be considered in the Palestine question, is depicted as pure prejudice.

Even if Weizmann and Crossman were correct in their contention that there is a little anti-Semitism in everyone, it was hard to justify on this basis bestowing upon Israel a reverence and an immunity above and beyond the law applied to other states. The reason could be found only in a deep-seated emotional phenomenon, common to Christian and Jew alike. As Howard K. Smith pointed out in a radio broadcast from Am-

man,²⁸ the American public was forming its judgment of the Middle East conflict on the basis of Christian-Jewish relations rather than on the relative merits of the Arab and Israeli cases. And Israelist groups were determined to insure that this emotional process of reasoning continued. The atmosphere in which the day-to-day happenings of the Middle East were judged was being prejudiced in favor of the Israeli cause by the incessant spate of stories, articles and recitals of Jewish persecution.

Endlessly the big city press carried prominently displayed recitals of persecution of Jews in the Soviet Union or Iron Curtain countries, commemoration of concentration camp anniversaries, findings of discrimination against Jewish doctors, trends toward discrimination in industry, etc. All of the stories contained grains of truth, but intermixed were hypotheses, innuendoes and contrived causative links. The slightest of anti-Semitic incidents was invariably blown up into grave danger, and even the story "Report Eichmann Raps Anti-Semitism"²⁹ was employed to remind the Christian anew of his past guilt and the Jew of his perennial persecution as anti-anti-Semitism was elevated to the dignity of a faith. And the annual Passover Seder with the Haggadah (prayer guide) brought up to the moment to point a more telling emphasis to Egyptian perfidy supplies religious sanctification.

Had a visitor suddenly been dropped into New York from another planet, he might have believed the year to be 1944 and not 1964: "Historian Terms Hitler a Result of Centuries of Hatred for Jews" (February 18); "Germans Review Career of Hitler" (February 29); "Genocide Is Declared Hitler's Aim in Poland" (same page, same date). These were actual *New York Times* headlines.

Through adroit public relations made possible by the ever-friendly media of information, any incident anywhere in the world in which a Jew or Jews were victimized was presented to the public as anti-Semitism. Where there were other victims in a mass tragedy, the fate of the Jews was singled out as evidence of persecution of Jews as Jews. The cry was raised when Jewish Moroccans were killed in the city of Pettitjean during the

struggle of Morocco to gain independence, as it was when Jewish Algerians were shot during Algeria's war of freedom. These Jews had fallen as Europeans, as supporters of France, and not as Jews. Whenever possible, the sweeping analogy to the anti-Semitism of Hitler was invoked. The spotlight even played up the purge of a traitorous Hans Eisler and a murderous Anna Pauker, both of whom most incidentally happened to be Jews.

A distorted historical picture, showing Jews as the sole sufferers while the rest of the world presumably basked in happiness, was continuously presented. As Rabbi Richard E. Singer of the Highland Park (Illinois) Lakeside Congregation for Reform Judaism, phrased it:

Jews have suffered, and Christians have suffered. Mankind has suffered. There is no group with a monopoly on suffering, and no human beings which have experienced hate and hostility more than any other. I must say, however, that it is my impression that Jewish history has been taught with a whine and whimper rather than with a straight-forward acknowledgment that man practices his inhumanity on his fellow human beings . . . Out of this peculiar emphasis on suffering there has developed a new attitude of vicarious suffering—a feeling among numbers of Jews today that because other Jews have suffered and died they, the living, are somehow entitled to special consideration.³⁰

The remotest implication of bias was built into booming headlines of fact; atypical examples of prejudice were made to appear typical; a good back-page story was expanded into several front-page features. When the Reverend George French Kemsell, Jr., of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Scarsdale, New York, condemned in a sermon (January, 1961) the barring of Jewish escorts for debutantes going to a coming-out ball at the Scarsdale Golf Club, three lengthy stories appeared in *The New York Times* within ten days, two on the front page.³¹

When the winner of the Freshman First Honor Prize in a letter to the *Daily Princetonian* dared question the appropri-

ateness of bringing the Warsaw Ghetto Exhibit to the University and pointed to "the martyr-image of *6 Million Dead* as the primary theme of the Jewish drive toward Gentile acceptance," a raging controversy ensued on this ivy-college campus. Princeton's President stigmatized the letter as "blind prejudice,"³² and *The New York Times*³³ promptly picked up the president's letter from the college paper.

An English businessman, Lord Mancroft, was forced to resign his position on the London Advisory Board of the Norwich Union Insurance Company, allegedly as a result of Arab pressures. The Norwich Union, with worldwide interests, claimed that his presence on the board jeopardized their business prospects in Arab countries. With the assistance of the press and particularly of *The New York Times*, this became an international *cause célèbre*. The *Times*³⁴ carried banner headlines: "Arabs Force Peer Off British Board—Baron from Jewish Family Quits Insurance Post." One had to read well into the article to learn that Lord Mancroft held a directorship in the Great Universal Stores, Ltd., one of Britain's largest merchandising agencies, which is controlled by Sir Isaac Wolfson, the leading British Zionist. The latter not only had poured millions into the Israeli cause, but also had important business holdings in the state of Israel. Lord Mancroft was also chairman of the Global Tours, Ltd., a travel agency that only a week previously had announced the acquisition of a controlling interest in Charles S. Robinson of Manchester, a firm carrying on substantial operations in Israel.

Whereas this director's business ties in Israel involved a conflict of interests with the company's wider commercial interests in the Arab world, the facts of the case were presented as a "senseless and evil discrimination against a Jew." The original commentary of the *London Evening Standard* was prominently repeated by *The New York Times*, whose management well knew that the antagonism of the Arab world toward Israel was political not religious and that anti-Semitism was a Western, not a Middle Eastern, disease. Yet its news columns continued

for a ten-day period³⁵ to point up this story as another instance of bigotry against Jews.

The Mancroft case ballyhoo had barely died down when a new whipping boy was found. Included in a *Times* story out of Hollywood on December 17, which appeared on page 50, was a brief mention that a half-hour film on President Johnson had been completed by the USIA and that censorship had been exercised. The story said, "To indicate the harmonious relationship of different faiths in the United States, there was a shot of Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jewish clergymen. The rabbi was ordered deleted because of possible Arab objections."

Next morning the front page of the paper exploded with a bold-type headline, all in capitals, "OMISSION OF SCENE WITH RABBI IN USIA FILM RAISES PROTEST." The story quoted at length protests from Senator Keating and Congressman Celler, both from New York, and a score of Jewish organizations. The general tenor was expressed in the statement of the president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

In an attempt to placate the Arab nations whose loyalty to the United States is doubtful, the USIA has not only offended the Jews of this country but has violated the trust that all Americans have in the Government by letting the pressure of foreign governments influence democratic ideals. The Central Conference protests strongly this new and abhorrent concession to Arab blackmail.³⁶

The next day the real facts appeared in the rear of the *Times* (page 34). The sequence showing a rabbi, a Catholic priest and a Protestant minister had never been filmed and consequently never deleted. This scene had been discussed in the talking stage of the script, and the idea had been dropped in favor of another treatment. The article, while again repeating³⁷ the charge of Arab pressures and federal submission thereto, included an admission by Senator Javits that USIA films showing synagogue services for President Kennedy had been viewed in Cairo, Dhahran, Beirut and other Arab cities.

Not to be outdone by the morning papers, the *New York World-Telegram and The Sun*, which had given three-quarter-inch front-page headlines to its own story of the Arab boycott³⁸ broke a new story: "JEWS CHARGE BIAS IN TOP U.S. UTILITIES."³⁹ "It was learned today," stated the article on Saturday that the president of the American Jewish Committee would make this charge in a report to be released on Sunday for Monday papers.

One day one organization reports on Soviet anti-Semitism, the next day another Jewish organization quarrels with the interpretation given of Russian "anti-Semitism." When the chairman of the executive council of the Zionist Organization of America asserted that the arrest and imprisonment of Jewish leaders in the Soviet Union was the result of the government's "open policy of anti-Semitism,"⁴⁰ the president of the same organization declared that "if there is anti-Jewish discrimination, it stems from other sources, most probably a misconception of what constitutes Jewish nationality or Judaism combined with a political aversion for Israel."⁴¹ The Soviets replied with a letter from a diplomatic representative in Washington, which was then refuted by Yiddishists, which in turn was answered in a letter to the editor by a group of Russian scientists, etc., etc. The publication in the Ukraine of an anti-Jewish book was widely denounced by Communist spokesmen and by Tass, the official U.S.S.R. press agency.⁴² An appeal addressed to Khrushchev in December, 1963, by Bertrand Russell and eleven prominent persons became a page-three story in mid February.⁴³ Back and forth the controversy raged in *The New York Times* over the question of Jewish persecution in the Soviet Union ("Most Jews in Moscow Are Short of Matzohs" is a March 28, 1964 *Times* headline). When a letter from a group of Russian intellectuals appears, an answer, a rebuttal, a refutation and a new slant is made possible. The polemic is never permitted to die.

The New York Times (and this newspaper, because of the special coverage given to Jewish organizations, was the chief medium for spreading the saga of Soviet anti-Semitism) carried

early in 1962 a front-page story by Irving Spiegel headlined "Soviet Said to Add Curb on Jews."⁴⁴ Special taxes assessed against clergymen had been quadrupled and made retroactive for two years. Careful study of the article in full, which very few busy readers bother to undertake, revealed that it was not a curb directed against Jews, but against all religions. The headline carried a false implication. The evidence of prejudice centered around the dismissal of the director of the Yeshiva in Moscow, who was replaced with a new director, and the fact that only one Jewish seminary was left in the Soviet Union. But no evidence was adduced that the directorship change was based on prejudice directed only against Jews and their faith. As a student of Soviet Affairs wrote:

Whenever the Soviet Union launched an internal campaign against Jewish institutions, it was paralleled by similar action against Moslem institutions. When during Stalin's final years (1948-53) Jewish intellectuals in western Russia were purged for "bourgeois nationalism" Moslem intellectuals were purged for identical reasons.

When Yiddish institutions were shut down, Uzbek writers were admonished for "tainting the Uzbek language with Arabic and Turkish elements," and when Jews were castigated for recalling Ukrainian collaboration with the Nazis, Kazakh historians were censured for insufficient appreciation for their "voluntary affiliation with the Czarist empire."⁴⁵

Where the Western world continued to give complete freedom to the many facets of Jewish activity in the name of freedom of religion, the Soviet Union suppressed these activities to advance the concept of national exclusiveness and to achieve the single-mindedness and single purposefulness of state authoritarianism. There was also the possibility, which Mr. Spiegel did not suggest in his story, that Judaism as a spiritual force might no longer have any meaning to Jewish Russians. Only four days⁴⁶ previously it had been revealed that Judaism in Scandinavia, where there is no antagonism and only the friendliest ties with the

government, was rapidly losing ground, leading to the closing of Jewish seminaries and religious schools. Subsequently, leaders of the Russian Jewish community themselves indicated the synagogues were being used by Zionists to convey political information to members of the Israeli diplomatic corps and warned that there should be no talking during services to "foreign diplomats."⁴⁷

Ever since the rupture of Israeli-U.S.S.R. relations in 1952, proponents of Israel have seized upon the Russian treatment of Jews behind the Iron Curtain as an important propaganda weapon with which to resist any change in United States foreign policy. Just as the Communist trials in Czechoslovakia (December, 1952), in which nine Jews, including Rudolf Slansky and Vladimir Clementis, were executed, and the subsequent Russian indictment of the Jewish doctors, were exploited by Israelists as evidence of a new wave of anti-Semitism, so new charges of Soviet anti-Semitism were similarly used. One extremely well-informed Washington correspondent noted that "to espouse at this time U.S. action which will be less pro-Israel will immediately draw the charge of being pro-Communist." The anti-Sovietism of Israelists, which was shared by all Americans, gave their stand the appearance of great patriotism.

When Khrushchev visited the United States in the fall of 1959, organized Jewry capitalized on his stay in this country to propagate further the picture of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. Former Senator Lehman and Senator Javits joined voices in a bipartisan chorus of, "Let our people go," as the Zionist propaganda machine depicted Jews behind the Iron Curtain as the sole victims of Soviet evil and Soviet genocide.

The politically minded Senator and ex-Senator denounced the violation of Jewish Russian rights to carry on Yiddish schools and publications as genocide.⁴⁸ William Zukerman in the *Jewish Newsletter* pointedly noted that Jewish Russians perhaps wished to integrate into the cultural pattern surrounding them, so as to avoid being stigmatized as allies of Israel and traitors to their socialist government.

While in the Soviet Union on a U.S. government mission to advance trade relations, Senator Javits did not hesitate to interject in his official talks the question of Russian anti-Semitism.⁴⁹ Raising this issue certainly could not have helped to advance the ostensible purpose of his government-paid trip, but it did feed Jewish nationalism the kind of propaganda fodder on which Jewish separatism and the state of Israel were both growing fat.

Israel, in her role as protector of Jewish rights everywhere, picked up the theme and expressed through Foreign Minister Golda Meir "deep worry over the arrest of Jews in the Soviet" and the refusal "of their right to leave in order to join their families or people in Israel."⁵⁰ Mission after mission of rabbis, whether traveling under their own auspices or those of one of the Israelist organizations, invariably returned from the Soviet Union to bemoan the fate of Iron Curtain Jews and to lend full support to Mrs. Meir's plaint, without the slightest semblance of a mandate from the alleged victims to demand "out" for them.

Second only to the debate revolving around alleged Soviet anti-Semitism has been the continuous storm over alleged Arab bigotry, particularly on the question of Saudi Arabian discrimination, discussed in the next chapter.

The long arm of organized U.S. Jewry even reaches into Europe in the relentless effort to keep the issue of anti-Semitism before the Christian conscience. Under joint Roman Catholic and Jewish sponsorship, special courses in religious and racial group relations have been established at the Pro Deo University in Rome. The funds for a Chair of Tolerance at this Catholic-sponsored university for social studies were given by the American Jewish Committee. Using the theme of worldwide inter-religious cooperation, the courses will study "anti-Semitism as the international prototype of group hostility."⁵¹

The tyranny wrought through this weapon of anti-Semitism cannot be exaggerated. Just how much it means to organized Jewry in all its ramifications is reflected in a statement of Dr. Nahum Goldmann, at a conference in Geneva:

A Jewish leader [Dr. Goldmann] warned today that a current decline of overt anti-Semitism might constitute a new danger to Jewish survival . . . the disappearance of "anti-Semitism in its classic meaning," while beneficial to the political and material situation of Jewish communities, has had "a very negative effect on our internal life."⁵²

Ian Gilmour, writing in the British magazine *The Spectator*, has noted:

Since the basis of Zionism is that Jewish assimilation in other countries is in the long run impossible and that anti-Semitism and persecution are bound to break out sooner or later, Zionism has almost a vested interest in racial discrimination. The Israelis mount "rescue operations" to save allegedly threatened Jews in other countries . . . In the Arab countries, Jewish difficulties and emigration to Israel were the result not of anti-Semitism, but of Zionist activities and the existence of the State of Israel. Zionism aggravated the disease that it professed to cure.⁵³

This was a re-echo of the thought earlier expressed by Dr. Judah Magnes, the first president of the Hebrew University: "We had always thought that Zionism would diminish anti-Semitism in the world. We are witness to the opposite."⁵⁴

The extent of this vested interest in prejudice was revealed by Theodor Herzl when he wrote: "Anti-Semitism has grown and continues to grow—and so do I."⁵⁵ The father of Zionism predicted that "the governments of all countries scourged by anti-Semitism will be keenly interested in assisting us to obtain the sovereignty we want."⁵⁶ Popular support in the Diaspora was easily enlisted by depicting the nascent Jewish state as a kind of insurance policy in case of a recurrence of anti-Semitism. Consequently Zionists have never cared how much anti-Semitism their own separatist activities might generate. This has been so much grist for their mills. As Crossman expressed it, "Who achieved that majority vote at Lake Success? Not the terrorists of the Irgun or the soldiers of the Haganah, but the aged leader of international Jewry [Weizmann] who could still

sham and magic the Gentile world into recognizing its debt to her people."⁵⁷

The failure of the powerful and wealthy Jewish American community to launch one objective scholarly study of the causes of anti-Semitism is significant. Neither the religious nor the lay leaders of the many Jewish organizations wish to lose this potent weapon. Remove prejudice and you lose adherents to the faith. Make strides toward eliminating bigotry and funds for Jewish nationalist activities dry up. Hence, no scientific attack on the problem of anti-Semitism. This is the conspiracy between the rabbinate, Jewish nationalists and other leaders of organized Jewry to keep the problems of prejudice alive. The Christian of America, afraid to do otherwise, readily goes along, and if he carries any prejudice in his own heart (the endemic anti-Semitism to which Weizmann and Crossman alluded), he is all the readier to accept the anti-Semitic label affixed to the acts of others.

The few Americans who might be acquainted with the facts about the Middle East are compelled to silence by an inner compulsion of guilt. And the incessant harking back to Nazism at the instigation of Jewish nationalist forces continues to divert the West from concentrating full attention on the battles ahead for survival.

It is becoming apparent that until the word anti-Semitism is taken completely out of the Middle East discussion and neutralized, the area can never be seen in its true perspective and the free world will continue to lose ground there. For the contrivance of equating criticism of Israel or of her policies with anti-Semitism has blacked out an area of legitimate foreign policy debate and blotted out any effective opposition in the United States to the Israelist movement.

9

The Opposition

"We shall see how the counsels of prudence and restraint may become the prime agents of mortal danger, how the middle course adopted from desires for safety and a quiet life may be found to lead directly to the bull's eye of disaster."

—Sir Winston Churchill

IT IS NOT only Zionist-Israelist strength that has carried the day for Jewish nationalism, but the abysmal weakness of the opposition to its program. The 20-year-old American Council for Judaism, the only Jewish anti-Zionist organization, has been steadily losing membership since the state of Israel came into being. The Council, whose members refer to themselves as Americans of the Jewish faith, preaches that Judaism and Zionism are not one and the same, that the Judaic religion and Israeli nationalism must be separated and that the Zionists in their attempts to influence political action cannot speak for all Jews. While many Jewish Americans will subscribe to Council precepts, exceedingly few will join the organization and still fewer admit their adherence. Death has considerably thinned the ranks of those who, since 1943, have been bold enough to be counted as dissenters, and new recruits have failed to take their places.

It does require unusual courage to hold fast against the going tide in Jewish communal life. In failing to make membership a more attractive proposition, the Council has not encouraged resistance. Save for its annual meetings, the publicity subsequent thereto and its publications, it has not been aggressive enough in implementing its ideology. Not only have members been unable to find the means of dramatizing their cause, but they have also failed to devise methods of striking back against their detractors. The member's badge of "dishonor" is in vivid contrast to the glory showered on the Israelists by their organiza-

tions. The result is that the very persons, who may in the privacy of their homes repudiate Zionist fundamentals, will publicly fall in line with Zionist appeals and wind up belittling, if not attacking, the Council. Economist James P. Warburg, while bitterly attacking U.J.A. fund raising techniques in his 1959 address, specifically declared that "I have even less in common with those American Jews whose anxiety to prove their Americanism and to protect their comfortable status makes them into rabid anti-Zionists."¹ Anti-Zionism has not been made a popular cause.

Where the Zionist customarily states his case in bold language, the Council often pussyfoots, fearful of being accused of fostering anti-Semitism or of being called anti-Semitic. The dual-loyalty question, which might have been tellingly exploited, has been but gingerly advanced.² The timidity that characterized the Council stand on other issues marked its treatment of a scholarly study by San Francisco attorney Moses Lasky dissecting the political control of the United Jewish Appeal and pointing out the road for challenging the tax-deductible status of contributions to the U.J.A. The study was passed around by hand and never made available for general publication. It was not until more than two years after its appearance in another publication³ that the Council would publish the excellent, hard-hitting "Credo of an American Jew," written by Lessing Rosenwald, the Council's first president and leading patron.

One reason for the Council's continued vacillation is the infiltration of its ranks by Zionist thinking, if not by Zionists themselves. The kind of mushy communal thinking basic to Jewish nationalism, which can attack Zionist leadership and still condone Zionist "philanthropy," has often been invoked in Council circles.⁴ Anti-Zionism has been so modulated to avoid a feared reaction from organized Jewry that it is not unusual to hear Council members mouth the clichés of their bitterest foes and employ Zionist terminology to keep the Council *status quo* or kill some new projected idea.

The "non-Zionist" Israelists of the American Jewish Committee have swayed many a Council deliberation.⁵ When the

Zionists in 1947 went before the United Nations during the Palestine debate and used the international forum to proclaim to the world their demands for a state in the name of all Jews, the Council's case was kept within the fold. Fearful lest they should seem to emulate the pressure tactics of the nationalists, which they were condemning, the anti-Zionists limited their opposition to partition to a single lengthy memorandum submitted to the Department of State for transmission to the United Nations. The memo soon disappeared amongst the thousands of pieces of paper presented to the international organization, if, indeed, it ever was forwarded. Even during this intense battle, President Rosenwald would make no exception to the announced policy that Jews, as Jews, ought never pressure the government as a separate body politic. While partitionists pressed their case vigorously, Mr. Rosenwald and his colleagues failed effectively to advertise and publicize their position.

While the Council was working in ever so "correct" a manner through State Department channels to prevent partition, the Zionist Jewish Agency was winning public and UN support by proclaiming that all Jews demanded the creation of the state as the only solution to the Palestine question. The anti-Zionist tactic of maintaining a virtual public silence helped both to substantiate this argument and to encourage Christians to feel that, through the creation of Israel, sins committed against Jewry could be fully expiated. Ambassadors of such wavering countries as Argentina, Colombia, Peru and Norway, who in private conversation indicated a reluctance to support partition, were waiting for a manifestation of real Jewish opposition to Zionism to justify a negative vote. This, however, was never to be forthcoming. The Council was content with passing papers to Secretary of State Marshall, and so the masterful presentation of Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, spokesman for the Jewish Agency, carried the day by default.

Since Israel came into being, the Council, always acting in the idealistically proper manner, has continued to endeavor

unsuccessfully to halt the almost perfectly organized Zionist-Israelist machine. The Jewish nationalists continue to speak in the name of all Jews, even as new Council memoranda are privately circulated among State Department officials and as Council publicity ineffectively tries to remind the world that all Jews are not Zionists. As Israel and its U.S. agents strove to strengthen the partnership between the new state and Jewish Americans, the Council sought in vain to release Americans of Jewish faith from Zionist ties. The involuntary association of all Jews with Israel was formally protested, again in a lengthy memorandum to the Department of State and again without success. The Council's eleven-page letter to Secretary of State Christian Herter in 1959 protesting the infringement of the right of Jewish Americans to an undivided loyalty and to freedom from involuntary identity with Israel evoked the briefest reply from the State Department's Acting Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs.⁶ He wrote that the "U.S. government does not condone the involuntary identification of its citizens with a foreign state." The Council has persisted in sending written protests. The State Department has continued to acknowledge the petitions while doing nothing. The state of Israel has continued to identify Jewish American citizens with its state and bind them to Israeli foreign policy. (It remained to be seen how much the declaration of May 7, 1964 by the State Department that it "recognizes no political or legal relationship between the State of Israel and American Jews" would effect the continued activity of the Israel-World Zionist apparatus.)⁷

What Christopher Sykes in his book *Two Studies in Virtue*⁸ has to say regarding the failure of British anti-Zionists in their first important battle against the Balfour Declaration is most reminiscent of later Council attempts to stem the tide in favor of partition:

Nevertheless, for all their great strength and influence, the anti-Zionists were defeated in a very short time. One reason was that though, contrary to what Zionists believe, they probably represented a majority opinion of Jews in

England, this opinion was unheroic and unsuited to a time of war, and so not one that people liked to admit as their own.

Another was that with the exception of a few people such as Edwin Montague, anti-Zionists did not hold their convictions with the same passion as their opponents did . . . Another reason why they failed was that they conducted their campaign carelessly . . .

Instead of taking a stand on any of the issues through which the Zionist apparatus kept itself constantly before the public, the council monotonously hit the same note, even to the bizarre extent of entering a debate over "humane slaughter" legislation, in regard to kosher killing of animals. Executive Vice President Elmer Berger took to the air in a radio debate on the Barry Gray show⁹ just to oppose Zionists who were trying to speak in the name of all Jews even on this question. While the Council was raising parochial doubts as to the *right* of the Zionists to speak for all on such relatively minor matters, the Zionists *were*, in fact, continuing to usurp the voice of all Jews on every issue that counted.

The situation demanded Council action as a counter pressure group and the use of strong battle tactics. Zionism versus anti-Zionism was too parochial an issue to arouse Christians, who insisted that this was "none of our business, and we feel the same selfconsciousness that one feels when a friend airs his family problems," to use the words of a prominent young writer.¹⁰ Council leadership has never learned how to handle the metamorphosis of the Palestine problem from a purely internecine Jewish question into a major United States foreign policy and cold war issue with an impact on all Americans. The ever-present specter of anti-Semitism has bred caution, keeping the problem within the family circle. The simple reiteration that "all Jews are not Zionists" has made little headway against the militancy of a Zionism that translates its aims into the day-by-day events in the Middle East. Therefore, the valid principles

and sound ideology of the Council are yet to be given a fair hearing and to be judged by Jewish Americans.

Executive Vice President Dr. Berger, the guiding spirit of the American Council for Judaism, through his close connections with the American Friends of the Middle East and other groups sympathetic to the Arab cause was in a position to build a dynamic and effective anti-Zionist front. In a brilliant defense of his organization's alleged negative outlook, Dr. Berger once drew an analogy between the Council and the American movement for the abolition of slavery. What he apparently overlooked in subsequent practice was the development of the counterpart to the abolition movement's ability to dramatize its ideals and focus national attention on its beliefs. How far would the antislavery movement have succeeded without the militancy of a John Brown raid?

For a long time a struggle has been waged between two wings in the Council, and the ultraconservative, "do nothing" faction has prevailed over those who favored more forthright action. On opportunities to take a bold stand before the American public on an issue that could interest both Christians and Jews, the fear of being tagged with a pro-Arab label has also restrained the Council.¹¹

Further evidence of the infiltration of the Council by Jewish nationalist sentiment has been provided by the organization's emulation of the opposition. When the Council inaugurated a philanthropic fund of its own, it embarked upon what editor William Zukerman once referred to as "campaign Judaism."¹² By going into the fund-raising business, the Council hoped to undermine Zionist attacks by proving that its members were just as concerned about the welfare of their fellow Jews as were the nationalists.¹³ But by maneuvering the Council into this defensive position and thus diverting its efforts from the hard task of exposing the true meaning of Zionist-Jewish nationalism, the Zionists won again. It was increasingly evident that Council members wished the impossible: they would like to oppose Jewish nationalism and not be unpopular, to stand against

Zionism and not be vilified, to criticize Israel and not be crucified.

With Israel a fact, it was increasingly difficult to separate Jews from Zionists. And the majority of Americans felt that the state's existence completely ended the Zionist question. Either one was for Israel or, if against Israel, for the Arabs. It never occurred to most that the Middle East might have a value to the U.S. as a strategic area and^a that this value might conflict with their personal predilections toward Israel. If the American Council for Judaism were to remain confined to in-fighting with Jewish circles, the future held little prospect of victory toward enlightening those considered to be "imprisoned coreligionists." Where it has succeeded in persuading Christians that all Jews are not Zionists and has thus encouraged courageous Americans to run the risk of the anti-Semitic label, the Council has made its most invaluable contribution on the national scene.

Christian opposition to Zionism in the United States has been even more pitiful. If the smear "anti-Jewish" did not stifle their voices, the charge "pro-Arab" was certain to pulverize anti-Zionist protests. The efforts of organizations established to inform the American public about political, cultural or spiritual aspects of the Arab world have been timid and inefficient, and tinged here and there by venality and corruption. Whereas the many Zionist groups are well versed in the art of public relations, American so-called pro-Arab groups have scarcely been capable of creating a favorable image, let alone an impact.

Cultural and educational groups, abstaining from anything that suggested controversy lest Zionist attacks should affect their own fund-raising drives, watered down their programs to near nothingness. The behavior of those interested in Israel was in marked contrast to that of those absorbed with the Arab states. While it was not unusual to hear Zionist dogma emanate from such nonsectarian institutions of higher learning as Brandeis or New York University, universities where institutes of Middle East studies have been established, such as Princeton, Harvard and Columbia, unmistakably frowned on the slightest admixture of the political with the cultural. Where professors of

Bible Study at the Jewish Theological Seminary freely indulged in politics using their academic background to advance Israelism, by such means as a letter to *The New York Times*, which linked the Dulles "capitulation on Suez" to the Panama crisis,¹⁴ and by appearances at U.J.A. and Bond Drives, the long-haired Arabists excused their absence from the Palestine fray by dubbing themselves "objective" scholars and contented themselves with lengthy tomes on Islamic philosophy.

Under the auspices of the Middle East Center at Harvard, an unobjective book, *The Idea of a Jewish State*, was written by Ben Halpern, a long-time member of the Zionist movement and writer for such publications as *The Jewish Frontier*, *Mid-Stream*, and *Commentary*. The book, the first of a two-volume study, was given the authority that a Harvard imprint commands, including a review in the *Sunday New York Times*. This was "balanced" by the Center's publication of a book on the agricultural policy of Mohammed Ali.¹⁵ Whereas Harvard published *The Opening of South Lebanon 1788-1840*, the exposition of "the complex pattern of the Arab-Israeli conflict"¹⁶ was set forth in a volume *The United States and Israel* (1963) written by Brandeis University graduate Nadav Safran, who was born in Egypt, defected, joined a Kibbutz and fought in the Israeli army during the Suez war. Similarly, Columbia's courses in their Near and Middle East Institute emphasize the Arabic language and Jewish nationalist history.

When Israel was the subject of a course or a book at these Middle East Centers, the treatment was all inclusive, embracing the political, propaganda and other aspects. When it came to the Arab States, the label "controversy" barred discussion of the pros and cons of Zionism. Those chosen to teach or write on Israel were skilled propagandists. To teach or write on the Arab side were carefully selected linguists and specialists with little or no interest in the current area embroilments.

The generous contributions of American oil companies (the first volume in the Harvard Center's Middle Eastern series dealt with Middle East oil ¹⁷) to Middle East centers were, as re-

vealed by the Fulbright hearings, supplemented by grants of U.J.A. funds funneled by the Jewish Agency through a conduit, the Hebrew Culture Foundation.¹⁸ These Middle East centers continue to turn out non-topical scholarly studies dealing with the Arab world and shun even lectures on the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Princeton, allegedly a stronghold of Arabism, is a small college town with a population of some 35,000. The tiny public library located across Nassau Street from the University's famed Firestone Library, provided an excellent instrument for brain-washing.

The catalogue showed that the library contained virtually every well-known pro-Zionist author who has written on Israel and Palestine. There were nine books on history and politics, seven were authored by Arthur Koestler, James G. McDonald, James W. Parker, Bartley Crum, Robert St. John and Sumner Welles. The eighth was from the pen of a lesser-known author, written in 1939, but with the same sympathies, and the ninth was a neutral compositum¹⁹ of conflicting views of three authors, W. R. Polk, David M. Stamler and Edmund Asfour.

Carefully tucked away amongst the four books catalogued as General and Description-Travel were the books of ardent Christian Zionists Pierre von Paasen and Quentin Reynolds. Under the title *Israel* was a wide variety of books ranging from travel to novels, history and politics. Of these twenty-three books, authored by Americans and Israelis, not one single one could be said to present even a middle position in its coverage of the Holy Land struggle. They included two biographies of Ben-Gurion; Leon Uris' *Exodus* and *Exodus Revisited*; Israeli authors Netanel Larch, Joseph Dov and authoress Yael Dayan; the dialectic pleadings of American Zionist leaders, Rabbis Irving Miller and A. M. Heller; the intellectual Zionist approach of Maurice Hindus; the English and French pro-Zionist approach represented by R. H. K. Crossman and Robert Henriques; and Thomas Sugrue's work of fiction, *Watch in the Morning*, containing a dedication to the state of Israel and

these words on the flyleaf: "Not since the American Revolution had the world seen a drama comparable to the birth of Israel."

Among the Middle East and Arab history volumes were the well-known works of Princeton's Professor Philip Hitti, and the strongly anti-Arab book on oil by Dr. Benjamin Shwadran, Secretary of the Council on Middle Eastern Affairs, subsidized by the American Zionist Council through Jewish Agency grants. The sole book in the entire library which could be called pro-Arab was Dr. Fayez Sayegh's book on Arab nationalism.

A conversation with the librarian was most revealing: "We have a most active Jewish community here, with a very strong Hadassah organization. They carry on several programs in which they cooperate in our work. They are very kind and generous in their gifts of books. Whoever has heard of Arab or pro-Arab groups doing this? Just this morning we were presented with a copy of the new Anti-Defamation League study on anti-Semitism, *Some of My Best Friends*."

The book was only being published the following week, and a copy had not been available in Doubleday's Grand Central store two days previously. Yet, across the street from the very building which housed Princeton's famed Arabists buried in ancient manuscripts, Zionist propaganda was on the march. This same helpful librarian confided that she had some doubts herself "on the whole Israel affair, but my daughter has a Jewish roommate, and we have many Jewish friends. We dare not discuss this question. Our Jewish friends are too emotional, and we would not antagonize them for anything in the world."

While the Arabists were restraining their ardor for the cause to their tiny library cubicles, Zionist-Jewish nationalists were spreading dogma on the campuses across the country and in the cities, too. The Institute for Mediterranean Affairs, the American Association for Middle East Studies and the Council on Middle Eastern Affairs, among other groups, subsidized research and published books geared to mass taste and studies for the attention of interested educators and government officials,

and even initiated courses at universities, all furthering their prime aim that Israel stay on the map.

The Middle East Institute in Washington, D.C., organized to spread scholarly knowledge of the Arab world, is closely bound to the State Department and therefore subject to the same pressures. The Institute has assiduously sought to avoid any aspect of controversy and partisanship. Their once respected scholarly magazine, *The Middle East Journal*, has become increasingly dull, losing caste and readership. The annual two-day meetings, to which scholars and Middle East devotees had yearly looked forward, became increasingly less interesting and on occasion took a perverse turn. At the conference following the Suez crisis and the Sinai war, the speakers' panel was almost exclusively drawn from pro-Israel and pro-British sources. Two years later, after the sharp words of an undiplomatic Arab diplomat had given offense to "certain persons," a ban was imposed on discussion of the Arab-Israel problem and the Zionist question, and also on Arab spokesmen. Zionists were able to report that, after they had brought pressure on the Institute through the publication of a critical magazine article, "the following year Israel was treated with more respect and Israel's case given a fair hearing."²⁰

These annual affairs were badly organized and, at best, received only scant notice in the press. The first announcement of the 1961 meeting, the fifteenth sponsored by the institute, was not sent out until three weeks before the date of the meeting, and half of the speakers were listed as tentative. Twelve days later a poorly mimeographed and barely legible listing still announced the tentative nature of many of the scheduled speakers. The prominent figures listed never did appear.

The Council on Islamic Affairs, which sought "to bring Arabs and their coreligionists together in friendly surroundings with American businessmen,"²¹ and has for twelve years at irregular intervals held luncheon meetings in New York City, has served little purpose. Run for a number of years from the State De-

partment in Washington by an ambitious career employee while nominally headed by a former ambassador (with pro-French and pro-Israel wife),²² the Council, which is disdainful of publicity neither published material nor acted to focus attention on the religion of Islam, a faith about which the American public and its leaders are generally uninformed. Under the leadership of Hugh Auchincloss the organization continued to make no impact, though an occasional ambassador or two attended the luncheons "to keep in touch," while its very existence provided an excuse for not organizing a healthy and effective American pro-Arab group.

While the growing American-Israel Society was being used to great advantage in behalf of Israel, the ineffectual American Egyptian Society disbanded.²³ Where the American-Israel Chamber of Commerce and Industry had little difficulty in building a strong and affluent membership from well over 300 American businesses, the Arab-American Association for Commerce and Industry found all kinds of obstacles in the recruitment of members. Though the Association was dedicated to the promoting of trade ties with the Arab world and barred political activity of any kind, American companies were reluctant to join an organization that had "Arab" in its name. Every conceivable argument was needed to calm their fears that such membership might result in a loss of some domestic business. And this group eschewed even the slightest hint of political action, although many of the member companies were subjected as members of the American-Israel Chamber to political bombardment and supported the construction of an American-Israel pavilion at the New York World's Fair which waged war on Jordan's controversial mural.²⁴

The American people, if shown the way, have invariably opened their hearts and pocketbooks to any cause involving displaced persons. Yet entrusted with the easiest Middle East product to sell in the United States, American Middle East Relief never got off the ground. Granted that the case of their charges, the Arab refugees, was fraught with tricky politics,

the plight of the more than one million Palestinians who had lost their homes with the creation of Israel could still have been made appealing. Badly lacking in leadership, this relief organization failed to arouse any real sympathy for the objects of their charity, and their efforts in raising funds and collecting clothing and supplies were singularly devoid of any humanitarian impact.

The Citizens Committee on American Policy in the Near East, which came into being in 1963, was not likely to be any more effectual than its predecessor, the Committee for Security and Justice in the Middle East. These political action groups were given minimal support from oil and other American company interests in the area, and the political leadership to bring a valid point-of-view before the public was lacking.

The American Friends of the Middle East, better known as AFME, organized in 1951, has had for its objective, as set forth in its first annual report, "A major effort to get the truth about the Middle East before the American public and to get the truth about America before the Middle East countries." Through 1963, AFME had spent close to 8 million dollars, and its budget, one year, reached as high as 1.3 million.

The organization occupied comfortable headquarters, first in New York City and more recently in Washington. They opened branch offices in the United States and eight country headquarters in various parts of the Middle East, North Africa and South East Asia²⁵ with overseas headquarters in Cairo. The principal functions of the organization are to advise Arab students coming to the United States; to assist Americans who visit the area; and to remind Arab leaders and their governments that the United States is their friend.

With the passage of time, AFME has devoted itself more and more to non-controversial cultural and educational pursuits, including assistance to young Arabs through an extensive job training program, and has steadily withdrawn from the political arena to please larger corporate contributors and influential Washington supporters.

The American oil companies, who have a multi-billion-dollar stake in the area, have supported to varying degrees these non-Zionist groups. Their own vacillating, overly cautious attitude toward Zionism is reflected in the performance of these organizations. Fearful of domestic pressures often reflected by the return of credit cards, yet mindful of the attitude toward Israel of the Arab governments on whose lands they operate successful oil concessions directly or through subsidiaries, these major oil companies do little in the States for the Arab cause beyond giving lip service. So efficient and forthright elsewhere, the oil giants have failed to take measures—or even to permit their subsidiaries to do so—in protection of their own interests.

During the June, 1961 Iraq-Kuwaiti crisis, Mohamed Hasanein Heikal, influential editor of *Al-Ahram* and frequent spokesman for President Nasser, denounced the squandering of Arab oil revenues by oil sheikhs in terms of a slogan coined by the Egyptian leader, "Arab oil for the Arabs." Abdul Aziz Fekini, an influential writer in the semi-official Cairo daily, *al-Gumhouriya*, linked the Kuwaiti crisis to the greater struggle between imperialism and Zionism on the one hand and forces of nationalism on the other. Western oil interests were an excuse, he noted, for the military intervention of Britain in sending troops to the support of the ruler of Kuwait. In explaining his thesis, writer Fakini quotes a telling portion from a book by John Campbell of the Council on Foreign Relations, *Defense of the Middle East*, in which the importance of Middle East oil is evaluated:

The continued flow of Middle East oil is essential to the security and economic well-being of Western Europe and hence of the West as a whole. American policy should therefore aim to prevent Middle East oil from falling under Soviet control, or from being cut off from the West by local rulers. American policy-makers should not wait until the West is faced with the choice of either losing Middle East oil or using force against the states of the Middle East. The use of force would ruin all hope of keeping the Middle East as part of the free world. The basic task there-

fore, is to prevent the development of crises which may lead some Middle East Governments to feel that the only way out lies in nationalization or the destruction of pipelines. The prevention of such crises is best achieved through the establishment of satisfactory political and economic relations between the Western Governments and oil companies on the one hand, and the Middle East Governments and peoples on the other.²⁶

As Arab outbursts against imperialism and Zionism intermixed with veiled threats of nationalizing oil interests steadily mounted, the oil companies insisted on pretending that their refusal to take the anti-Zionist cause more seriously was not related to their increasing difficulties and so they continued to do little. As a matter of fact, in the face of a definite Arab trend toward state socialism, some of the larger companies even came to regard Nasser as their chief threat, and hence their interests and those of Israel coincided as both strove for the maintenance of the status quo.

The Arabian-American Oil Company (Aramco), is a wholly owned subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey, Standard of California, The Texas Company and Socony Mobil.²⁷ It is not difficult to imagine the frustrations and neuroses developed in the offspring company which has four parents with conflicting and separate interests. To each of the giant parents the little child means something else—some varying percentage of its total income—and all four feared that antagonizing Zionism could mean a possible loss of income from the domestic market. The best interests of the child necessarily suffered.²⁸

If the Aramco management operating in the field had been free to seek the good will of the peoples and the governments of the area in which they lived and carried on their operations, there is little question that they would have developed a more forthright attitude on the problem of Zionism resulting in effectual action. But, as a result of smears directed toward the parent companies and their consequent fears of economic pressures and losses, action has been negligible. It became impossible for the operating company to carry out certain of its own ideas with-

out being called on the carpet by one of the parents. Suggestions for strong action, which would have unmistakably indicated to the Arab world a genuine interest in their political problems, was often set aside by the Aramco executive committee, made up of representatives of the parent companies.

Whatever interest the operating subsidiaries have had in advancing the Arab case has also been tempered by the same international oil ties between American and British companies that have affected American foreign policy for the Middle East. Jersey and Socony, 40 per cent owners of Aramco, have an interest in the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC) complicating their interest in the claim of the Saudi government to the Buraimi Oasis, which has been under British control. While Standard of California and The Texas Company, the other two Aramco parents, stood to gain from a Saudi victory in this long, hotly contested fight over oil rights in Buraimi, what Jersey and Socony could gain from a victory for Aramco they would lose through their participation in the British company. Indeed, Aramco employees responsible for distributing maps showing the Buraimi Oasis as part of Aramco's holdings were severely admonished by the parent companies.

Paradoxically, the oil world was getting a name for anti-Zionism without even slightly playing the game or reaping its benefits in the Arab world. The cry of "oil interests" had been used to smear anyone who spoke up either for the Arabs or against the Zionists during the battle over partition and subsequently.

Bartley C. Crum, a Republican member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, in a Cleveland speech delivered in the wake of the temporary U.S. reversal on partition (the U.S. briefly in the spring of 1948 supported a temporary trusteeship for Palestine instead of the establishment of a state) declared: "There is one man in Washington who has the power to decide whether there is to be a Jewish state in Palestine for all of us—in his own way—without reference to the honor and integrity of our nation, without reference to the peace or destruction

of our world. That man is the Secretary of Defense, Mr. James Forrestal." Crum continued, "Upon what meat does our Caesar feed that he has grown so great?" The answer is that Mr. Forrestal has found a new diet that even a Caesar might envy. It is oil—Arabian oil."²⁹

Crum challenged Forrestal's right as a public official "to spearhead the oil lobby." His role "raises suspicions that these companies are being served by the most important single office in our government outside of the President's." This dramatic speech had a tremendous effect around the nation and inspired the "tormenting persecuting columns" by Drew Pearson and Walter Winchell, aggravating the Secretary of Defense's illness, which led to his subsequent suicide.³⁰

Crum hit at Forrestal's Wall Street connections (Dillion, Reed) and accused the secretary of obtaining large loans for Standard Oil of California and The Texas Company: "Both of these companies are heavily involved in oil operations in the Middle East, particularly in Saudi Arabia and Bahrein. Does not justice require that the Secretary of Defense instantly and unhesitatingly remove himself from anything connected with the Palestine issue, in which the oil companies in the U.S. have an unconcealed interest? Far from removing himself, Forrestal is in a position to determine whether your boy and my boy should live or die."³¹

Observers who closely followed the Palestine question during those days of 1947 when the fate of the partition resolution hung in balance, agree that had Aramco and other oil interests been able to act forthrightly, the issue might possibly have been decided quite differently at Lake Success that November. Instead, the chief Aramco representative ran around Lake Success (New York and Washington, too), making his way surreptitiously from office to office with an air of secrecy and simulated mystery, like Sidney Greenstreet in a Hollywood thriller. Such conduct made the oil industry an easy target for the adverse Zionist propaganda which considerably helped the partitionists in the close issue being decided at the United Nations.

Whatever skeletons the oil industry had in its closet which inclined it to utmost caution, they were not of Middle East origin. The case of Captain Torkild Rieber, who had been forced to resign from his post as chairman of The Texas Company when he was charged with giving or lending a company Cadillac to a German (Nazi) consular official in New York, was repeatedly cited by top oil executives as they begged off any activity that smacked of politics. Their open personal disengagement, however, did not relax one iota the antagonism toward them of Zionism-Jewish nationalism and its varied agencies. Their fear-dictated policy of "hands-off-this-issue" only lent itself to further charges and accusations.

Oil was linked to the anti-Zionist efforts of Arabs, the Middle East Institute, AFME and, on occasion, even to those of the American Council for Judaism. In April, 1956, a Chicago Zionist rabbi delivered a sermon, copies of which were widely distributed throughout the country, in which he charged:

The American Council has raised the issues of dual loyalties and has more than intimated that Zionists are more loyal to Israel than to America . . . this has given the bigots a field day. The giant Arab propaganda machinery, well-oiled by Aramco, is making great use of this charge. In fact the ACJ has helped the Arab to believe that they can cut the threat of Israel by starting a great prairie fire of anti-Semitism in America.³²

Starting early in 1957 when King Saud came to the United States at the invitation of President Eisenhower, the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League accused Aramco of yielding to Saudi bias by not sending Jews as employees to Saudi Arabia and criticized the United States government for not permitting soldiers of Jewish faith to be stationed at the Dhahran Air Field leased by the U.S. Strategic Air Command. The well-publicized allegations of discrimination against Jews in employment both at home and in Saudi Arabia culminated in legal action before the New York State Commission Against Discrimination. In its

July, 1961, reiteration of these charges, the American Jewish Committee accused the Defense Department of discriminating against Jewish soldiers³³ and also of countenancing restrictions on Christian worship at Dhahran, a charge that reliable Christian sources have continuously denied.³⁴ Far more serious than their failure to join the anti-Zionist fight was the reluctance of the oil companies to defend themselves, their subsidiaries and the Arab governments, in whose territories they held concessions, from the false charge of anti-Semitism.

Had the Arabs themselves possessed a scintilla of public-relations sense, the half-hearted ineffectualness of groups and individuals whose sympathies were on their side and whose interests coincided with theirs could have been overcome and these forces readily galvanized. But, unfortunately, the concept of public relations is something entirely foreign to the personality and psychology of the Arab.

The Arabs lack of unity is, of course, their biggest handicap. They have been structurally fragmented, divided into countries, religions and sects within which tribal and family units create further decentralization. More than geographically separated, the Arabs, unlike the Jews, do not have the semblance of a single people. The peoples of the 13 Arab states have had varying experiences and possess different traditions. Even the common denominator of language varies in the spoken form in each region, and, while Islam overwhelmingly predominates in these countries where Arabic is spoken, the people are pulled apart by competing sects, without the unifying force of a common saga of persecution that has pressed their strong Middle East foes, the Zionists, the Israelists and the Jews, into one compact unit. Arab unity remains a future hope, Arab individualism a stark reality.

The inability to work together, either country with country or individual with individual, has hamstrung Arab efforts at home, and this weakness has been inherited by Arabs emigrating to the United States, somehow rubbing off even on Americans claiming to be protagonists of their cause. Where they do not completely assimilate, the Arabs in the United States,

most of whom are of Lebanese extraction, fragment themselves according to the country from which they came, if not the town or province.

Of all the fragmented the divided Arab nations, the foremost is little Lebanon. The French constitutional multiparty system is reflected in Lebanon's confessionalist Parliament, to which the representatives are chosen not on the basis of political parties but of the sects they represent. By unwritten law the president must be Maronite, the prime minister Sunni Moslem and the speaker Shiite. The 1958 revolution, which tore the country apart for five months, settled none of the real issues but merely reinstituted the shaky governmental balance established between Christian and Moslem based on an outdated census.³⁵

There are close to 400,000 Lebanese and Syrian Americans in this country, with a scattering of Americans of other Arab extraction, but Arab Americans in the United States are as badly divided in their politics and thinking as the governments and peoples back home. The majority of them live in large communities, such as Brooklyn, Detroit, Boston, Chicago and Los Angeles and its environs. Just as so many Jews coming out of the ghettos of Eastern Europe unfortunately carried with them to their new homes their ghetto mentality and inbred sensitivity, so the Arab carried with his vestiges of attitudes developed under colonial exploitation.

Whereas the Jews in America developed a powerful community, the Arab Americans developed a minimum of communal strength. Some sought and gained complete integration. Intent on being considered 100 per cent American, they wanted no identification with the old country and cared nothing about Arab nationalism. Others, like most of the Maronites of Brooklyn or Detroit, preferred the narrow insularity of associating with only Lebanese Maronites. Many believe that the best thing that has happened to Palestine was that the "Jews took over," because, as one explained to me in Michigan during a lecture visit, "we hate the Moslems." Often they go out of their way

to deny vehemently that they are in any way Arab³⁶ ("Our ancestry was Phoenician," they say).

The Syrian-Lebanese clubs that one encounters in many parts of the United States are full of fratricidal jealousies and bickering. While Zionists maintain a façade of unity, behind which the many Jewish differences are concealed from the non-Jewish world, Arab Americans have never learned this trick. They are all, like so many of the Arabs who officially represent their countries here, too intent on leading the fight, not on helping the cause. All insist on being generals. As in their mother country, their hatreds and distrusts are more powerful than the elements uniting them. The most common area of agreement which the leaders of these clubs have found is their love of Arab food and poker.

The Organization of Arab Students, boasting a membership of close to 6,000 in 88 American universities and colleges, has been accused by the Zionist organizations of spreading Arab propaganda and anti-Semitism. Through attacks similar in pattern to those directed against other Arab groups, the Zionists often use this student organization as a straw man for raising funds and for new publicity.³⁷ For the enthusiasm and energy of the young Arabs in the U.S. occasionally backfires against their cause. Often they do not know how to present their beliefs so as to overcome the image of fanaticism that has been built up in the minds of many of their fellow students. Their literature is likely to be crude and verbose, sometimes unreadable to outsiders. In the young Arab, egotism is strongly mixed with individualism, making the final product very often difficult to understand for the average, neutral-minded student. The funds expended on their own transportation to their yearly convention junkets, which rarely win even modest press reports, could be used to greater advantage for good public relations counsel. With proper guidance the efforts of these warm, likeable young Arab representatives could be transformed into effective spokesmen for their area on the American scene.

Where Jewish organizations manipulate important people,

whether Jewish or non-Jewish, to suit their own political ends, contrariwise it is prominent Arab Americans who use the Arab groups to advance their own personal welfare. Danny Thomas, the television star of Lebanese extraction, first created an organization, American-Lebanese-Syrian Associated Charities or ALSAC, as a sort of Lebanese United Jewish Appeal. He then conveniently turned its full energies toward raising funds for St. Jude Hospital, the letters ALSAC now standing for Aiding Leukemia-Stricken American Children. Those who had been affiliated with an ethnic group for unified action on behalf of many charities were thus brought into support of this pet charity of Mr. Thomas', however worthwhile though it may be.

While the star was calling for this group's support on the basis that its members were of Lebanese and Syrian origin, he did nothing to support the Lebanese-Arab case. The television star himself had won his initial spurs as the "wailing Syrian." The Jews loved his wailing, which was not unlike their own orthodox chanting, and they adopted him as a favorite. As Syria moved closer to the Arab group in the nationalist shiftings and hovered close to the Communist camp in 1956-57, the wailing Syrian became the wailing Lebanese. The word Lebanon in the U.S. was far less tainted with Arab nationalism and less identified with Moslems. As "Uncle Tannous" became more familiar to television audiences, Danny continued to speak Arabic and bring his fans Arab songs and dances, which he passed off as Lebanese, quite in the same manner as Israelis pass off, as their own, cultural traits and characteristics indigenous to Palestinian Arabs and to other Arab countries from which the Oriental Jews have been "ingathered." (For example, the celebrated Israeli native dance, the hora, is no more than a combination of a Yemenite Arab dance and the debbke, the Lebanese dance.)

In 1961 the Jewish Theatrical Guild tendered Mr. Thomas a lavish affair at which famous TV and stage personalities were present, some of them leading opponents of the Arab world and such strong supporters of Zionism as Justice William O. Douglas of the United States Supreme Court; Milton Berle, radio-TV

star; and Henry J. Kaiser, whose company long ago was placed on the Arab boycott list.

In the course of the many speeches lauding Mr. Thomas, one of the spokesmen said, "To think that a Jew would be here, lauding an Arab cripples' hospital." To which Mr. Thomas quickly replied, "I am a Lebanese and not an Arab, and my country is not at war with yours."

Yet Arabs continued their hero worship of Danny Thomas, who continued to take pokes at the Arab political cause and to help on every possible occasion to advance Israel's case in the United States. Neither Danny nor other of their ethnic luminaries, including a congressman,³⁸ a Metropolitan Opera star,³⁹ and the head of the Civil Aeronautics Board,⁴⁰ were inveigled into entering the fray on the Arab's side. It never occurred to the Arab strategists, who ought to have inherited some bargaining ability, to say simply, "As you seek our support on the basis that you and I are Arabs, then you ought to do something about the Arab problems in the U.S."

Under the leadership of their many heroes, these Americans of Arab descent, who are most closely attached to the Middle East, could effectively use their unique position to serve both their country and their mother country by explaining the Arab point of view to their fellow Americans and promoting a better understanding of the Palestine problem. Instead, as noted by Dr. Sam Salem of Case Institute, one of the younger and more alert of their number, "Arabs have failed a most urgent responsibility owed to the U.S."⁴¹ On the same occasion when King Saud informed guests at a dinner tendered him by the Lebanese-Syrian community during his Boston convalescence in January, 1962, that "as Arabs we are one country and one people," another speaker was Elias F. Shamon, the honorary counsel of Lebanon. Only a few weeks earlier he had pointedly declared that he was no Arab but a Lebanese and would not defend Arab nationalism.

The Arab Americans get little effective leadership. The Arab representative coming to the U.S. no doubt starts off with two

strikes against him.⁴² The endless internecine warfare at home undermines the dignity of his position. The continued charge of anti-Semitism leveled against him and his activities helps keep an image of bigotry alive, almost relegating the Arab in the minds of many Americans to the limbo of the crackpot. Innumerable personal indignities suffered by those sent to live in New York City further widen the breach between the Arab and the people amongst whom he lives.

Arab League representatives wrestled against great odds in this country. The appropriations for their U.S. office, never realistically sufficient, were soon cut, making it difficult to maintain the proper kind of personnel, quantitatively or qualitatively.

Then, too, the Arab temperament is completely foreign to the requisites of a successful information program in a foreign country, particularly the U.S. with its strong Zionist orientation. The situation called for anonymity and team play, which is completely foreign to the Arab temperament.

His persistent use of language replete with exaggerations has greatly handicapped his cause. The Arab's supersensitivity to criticism and his hyper-suspicious nature blind him to any realization of his own weaknesses, which he chooses to interpret only as Zionist strength. Though a particular Arab otherwise possesses a high degree of flexibility, we often find that when retreat involves changing a strong position, there is "no compromise with his pride." The Arab can more easily change identity or allegiance than give one inch in this direction. Like the Far Easterners, he can never lose face and will rarely, therefore, risk a negative answer.

The Arab, so capable of making an exceedingly fine initial impression, often falls down when it comes to long-range relationships. Someone at a luncheon will take out a notebook and volunteer: "Yes, I'll send you a copy of that letter. Give me your address." As Dr. Sania Hamady noted, this Arab never really intended to send the letter, or if he did, it then became a case of "out of sight, out of mind."⁴³ To the Arab the word is supposed to stand in place of the deed. This is part of the

reason why the Arab temperament is so difficult for the Western mind to fathom.

While he has few peers in the charm and hospitality he is able to command, the Arab is often unable to tell who are his friends and who his enemies because of his over-reliance on the veneer rather than the substance. By excelling the Arab in the fine art of flattering the Eastern mind, many of his best enemies, to the astonishment of his sincere friends, have succeeded in posing as friends and in infiltrating the ranks.

If the Arab's desert heritage has made him develop his own particular brand of individualism, his rich and beautiful language has otherwise victimized him.⁴⁴ He is so accustomed to engaging in hyperboles and to losing himself in the exquisite feeling of the spoken language that often he becomes completely hypnotized by the sound of his own words, forgetting the point he is trying to make. After he has finished expressing eloquently and at great length his intention to do something, he often feels that it is as good as done and that, therefore, it does not actually have to be done. This is comparable to the scene in Gilbert and Sullivan's *Mikado* where Ko-Ko, the Lord High Executioner, tries to talk his way out of punishment for not having executed a victim in honor of the emperor, as ordered. When the emperor commanded an execution, Ko-Ko reasoned, it was as good as done, since his word was law, and therefore, once the command was given, the deed itself was not necessary.

To stand up and be counted publicly as a friend of the Arabs thus entails carrying a heavy cross, while all kinds of honors are heaped upon a person espousing an "Israel First" line. New York University in June, 1961, awarded an Honorary Doctorate of Law to Dr. Israel Goldstein. According to the citation published in *The New York Times*, the rabbi was being awarded the doctorate because as "an ardent lifelong Zionist, he has lived to see the age-old prayer of Israel for a national homeland come to indefeasible fruition, and he can well rejoice that his own assiduous part in that consummation will forever adorn the annals of history."⁴⁵

One can match this honorary degree with the badge of indifference, if not hostility, that an espousal of the Arab position brings. In contrast to a position of respect for associating with the Israelist movement is a sticky feeling of discomfort and controversy.

The Arabs do such a feeble job of buoying up the morale of people who might espouse their side in the Arab-Israeli controversy that few champions will come forth in their behalf. In the present climate of America, who is willing to do so, even for the sake of business, always a primary motivation for many? The Arabs are far too remote for the moral issues to stir the American conscience to action. In the face of extreme Jewish emotionalism on the subject, intervention in behalf of the Arabs for the sake of patriotic interests entails too great a risk. And the Arabs sent to this country have been generally unable to ingratiate themselves with enough Americans who would undertake that much of a burden.

Even where an American possesses some vague feeling that an injustice has been committed in the Middle East, he does not feel deeply enough about the Arab case to take action. What sympathy may have been aroused in him toward the Arab refugees has too often been quickly dissipated at the hands of the Arabs whom he encounters. He cannot have much respect for the Arab case when he notes the lack of support for homeland causes among Americans of Arab background and compares it with the record of American Israelists. For the Lebanese and Syrian Americans, because of business connections, give far bigger contributions to the United Jewish Appeal, than they donate out of conviction to the appeals for the Arab refugees. Everyone is far too busy in trying to keep a roof over his head in the 1965 world to become involved in so unpopular a controversy.

The Arabs themselves have expressed in one of their many wonderful maxims how frustrating a task befriending the Arab cause can be: *Adowwon akel khairon min Sadiken jahel*—a wise enemy is worth more than an ignorant friend—or, as the

Tammany warrior, Alfred E. Smith, once said: "God save me from my friends. I can take care of my enemies."

Wilton Wynn, in his book on Nasser, pointed out that "Arab nationalists like to see themselves as they will be," while the world looks at them as they are, which leads to "undignified positions, both ridiculous and irritating on both sides."⁴⁶ For this reason alone, the Arabs would do well to go out and hire the most skilled public relations counsel in the world. However alien it may be to their unbridled individualism to have someone speak for them, it would help avoid those impossible situations they have created by equating propaganda suitable for domestic consumption with appropriate persuasion techniques abroad, propaganda that is so often* now alienating friends and bringing solace to enemies.⁴⁷

Otherwise, to the infinite sorrow of their friends and the intense delight of their enemies, the Arabs may be unwittingly driving sympathizers into the hands of the Zionists in the same manner that U.S. foreign policy for the Middle East may be driving the Arabs into the hands of the Communist world.

*The failure to provide American pressmen with English translations for speeches made in Arabic once again created a poor image for President Nasser in December, 1964, when he was quoted as telling the U. S. "to go jump in the lake." As in the earlier instance of his "May you choke in your own anger," (July, 1956) inaccurate translations by American press representatives misled the American public.

10

Israeli Anti-Semitism

"A dog has looked at you,
You answer for its glance,
A child has clutched your hand,
You answer for its touch,
A host of men moves about you,
You answer for their need."

Martin Buber

AND YE SHALL love the stranger, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt, and as one of the citizens shall be unto you the stranger that sojourneth in your midst, ye shall love him as thyself."¹

This Biblical command from the Book of Leviticus has been ignored by the Israeli government. If the Arabs, who are themselves almost pure Semites,² can be accused of anti-Semitism because of their intense and unrelenting opposition to Zionism and to Israel, the shoe of bigotry fits much more appropriately on the Israeli foot. The 180,000 Arabs who remained and did not flee the new state upon its establishment in 1948 and the 700,000 Jewish Arabs who emigrated to Israel from Yemen, Iraq, Egypt and the North African countries have, to use the popular parlance, been the victims of anti-Semitism. They have, as a Jewish writer reported, "been subjected to a series of discriminations and persecution which would shock the civilized world, if they were fully known."³

While Israel is almost universally regarded as the shining example of "democracy" in the Middle East, Israel's 1952 Nationality Act codified discrimination into law and made the Arabs second-class citizens. Under this legislation, all Jews in Israel automatically became citizens of the state, but not one of the more than 240,000 Arabs now in the country could gain

citizenship without first proving that he had been a Palestinian citizen before May 14, 1948 and that he had lived in Israel continuously since the establishment of the state, or that he had re-entered Israel legally after its establishment.

To become a naturalized Israeli citizen, the Arab had to fulfill six requirements, including providing documentary proof of residence in Israel (for three of the five years preceding the application) and of knowledge of the Hebrew language. A Jew, from no matter where in the world, is exempt from these requirements. The Law of Return endowed him with the automatic and unqualified right to return to Israel for permanent settlement. Under this law, a Jew may become a citizen of Israel after one minute in the land, a status that may be denied to an Arab although his forefathers have been there for a thousand years. The state of Israel in this way created two classes of residents, Jews and non-Jews, with differing legal rights. The Zionists' thesis that theirs was a Jewish state that belonged to the "Jewish people" was thus implemented.

The Arabs who are citizens of Israel are treated differently from the Jewish settlers. Many of them have been removed from villages along the borders in the interest of security and paid but a nominal compensation for their property. Those permitted to remain in their villages have been subjected to strict regulation and to military rule. They are under curfew restrictions, confined to certain areas. With no access to civilian justice, these Arabs are subject to courts-martial. Arabs in Israel have been restricted in their comings and goings and must carry special passes to move about the country, and they are given distinctive identity cards, different from those held by Jews. By the end of September, 1960, 250,000 acres of Arab-owned land had been expropriated by the state of Israel.⁴

The official Israeli explanation for military rule over Arab Israelis is the necessity of security: "Arab States still threaten Israel with war, and Arab villages are situated near Israel's borders." But Arabs need permits when they go away from the border or even visit Jewish settlements, and Jews cannot enter Arab villages without written permits from the Governor.

A motion by the extreme right and left wing opposition parties in the Israeli Parliament calling for abolition of discriminatory military rule was defeated by the Mapai and its religious allies in a 59-55 vote on February 20, 1962.

What relaxations of the military rule were permitted were characterized by *The Times*⁵ of London as "not amounting to much . . . it is the principle of military rule that has been challenged rather than details of its application." Zionist organizations in the U.S. have been very sensitive to the charge brought in UN debates of discrimination against the Arabs of Israel, even bringing certain Arabs to the U.S. to make appearances on radio-TV and to hold press conferences putting the lie to these allegations.⁶

The *Times* in the same article noted that military rule was not the sole handicap under which Arabs in Israel live: "A greater source of complaint for the younger generation is the lack of adequate higher education and still more the shortage of jobs when education is complete. Except in teaching, there is still not the scope for Arabs in public service that their number or abilities warrant . . . they are worse off in commerce and industry."

National economic and social disabilities also remain unaltered. Arab students attend university only after being granted travel permits limiting them to one route and forbidding them to stop off on the way or to stir from Jerusalem, except with the express written permission of the military governor in their place of residence. Jewish doctors are barred from residing in Arab communities where they are employed at government health centers. This leaves such villages without medical care after sundown. Every Arab or Druze working in Tel Aviv or Haifa, even if he be a veteran, must commute daily from his village to the city, where he may spend the night only with a special permit from the military governor, who is free to act completely at his discretion.⁷

Many Israelis were shocked by a letter appearing in the *Jerusalem Post* of February 3, 1964 written by Dr. Peter Ben

who attributed the death of 24 Arab children in a measles epidemic to the fact that most Arab villages have no regular doctors at all. The eminent Israeli doctor accused the Israeli Ministry of Health of negligence in treating the Arab minorities whom he referred to as "the country's 20 per cent of uninsured citizens."

Military governors have control over labor relations, awarding of building and business permits and marriage certificates, appointment of teachers, municipal council members and religious officials. These military rulers have been known to force Arabs to sell to Jewish purchasers from a near-by settlement by refusing the villager permission to go to town to sell his property. Permission is required alike to look for work or to obtain medical help. Arab children have been known to die in the arms of their mothers while waiting in the corridor of the governor for a permit to see a doctor.

In calling for an end to military rule, former Minister of Justice Pinhas Rosen said, "We must turn the Arabs of Israel into citizens with equal rights in compliance with the principles of a really democratic state."⁸ But inasmuch as the military administration is a factor in bringing pressures on Arab populations at election time, it is not likely that the ruling Mapai party would consent to a change.⁹

The life of Arab Israelis has been marred by other serious discriminatory actions taken against them by the state. Most of the Arab farmer-peasants lost their land during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war. In the wake of the armed forces, nearby kibbutzim seized additional farmland from Arab villages. Under the 1950 Absentees Property Law absolute power to declare any person or property absentee was vested in the Custodian of Absentee Property Land, and other property of absentees was confiscatable. Considered as "absentee" was that Arab who "left his place of residence and went" (for any duration of time whatever, even for days or hours) "to another place which was at that time held by forces that tried to hinder the establishment of the State of Israel." Through this legislation, 30,000 who became refugees and fled from one part of Israel to another

during the fighting were declared absentees and lost their property. Half of the Arab inhabitants of Kafr 'Elut remained in their village, but the other half took refuge in Nazareth. All were declared absentees, and those who remained in their homes were required to make payment to the Custodian for use of their own lands.

Under the Land Acquisition Law of 1953, cash compensation to Arabs who owned land in Israel and who remained behind but had moved or been moved elsewhere was based on the 1950 value, which ranged between 15 and 25 Israeli pounds per dunum, or quarter acre, rather than the 1953 value, which was somewhere between 250 and 350 Israeli pounds per dunum. The pound had depreciated from \$2.80 in 1950 to \$1.00 at the time of the new legislation. The Tel Aviv newspaper *Haaretz* protested: "There is no reason to legalize the fact that certain farms exploited the victory of the state and seized for their own benefit the lands of their neighbors."¹⁰

In 1961 Moshe Dayan, Minister of Agriculture, introduced in the Knesset the Agricultural Lands Consolidation Law, the alleged aim of which was to consolidate scattered land parcels in Galilee and permit the establishment of twenty new Jewish settlements there. Commenting in *Ner*,¹¹ Dr. Shimeon Shereshevsky declared that the purpose of the law was to bring about the same result as the 1953 legislation under which "innumerable acts of injustice were perpetrated against those whose lands were thus 'acquired,' including the land values fixed for them, compensations which have not been paid in many cases to this day." This Israeli further noted "the bad and insulting attitude toward the Arab landowners, whose lands and those of their ancestors, were confiscated, 'quite simply because Jewish kibbutzim and moshavim¹² wanted to increase their holdings.'" In the words of *Haaretz*, "Under the right of expropriation more and more land was being added to one section of the population at the expense of another which happens to be weaker."¹³

An ingenious use of other laws has helped in the grab of Arab lands. Under the right given to the Minister of Defense an area can be declared a "security zone," and Arab cultivators

are not permitted to enter. Under the cultivation-of-wastelands ordinance the government is authorized to take over land that is not cultivated. Since the declaration of a security zone results in the area's not being cultivated, it can then be taken over by government and given to Jewish settlers, who are permitted to enter and cultivate. By these and similar means some 12,500,-000 dunums, 60 per cent of the land of Arab Israelis who have never left Israel, has been confiscated.

Dr. Shereshevsky alleged that the Israeli government is concerned with only one thing, "to remove the Arab rural settlers from their homes and uproot them from their lands, so as to force them to leave Galilee and the Triangle and go elsewhere, to the large cities such as Haifa, where they would live, in the slums, as proletarians deprived of hope."

During the Mandate the Jewish Agency, the Keren Kayemet, the Keren Hayesod, the Histadrut and almost all Jewish private and public institutions¹⁴ made it a rule that no Arab be employed. Near civil war and bloodshed ensued when certain Jewish owners of orange groves tried to hire the cheaper and sometimes better-trained Arab laborers for their groves. One Israeli journalist has noted "the fight for 'Jewish labor' led to the successful setting up of a separate Jewish economy from which the Arabs were virtually excluded."¹⁵

The monolithic Histadrut, whose official name is General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine and which controls most of Israel's economic life and owns most of its heavy industry, did not accept Arab members into its ranks until 1959. While Jewish youngsters were being given every educational facility, Arab pupils suffered poor study conditions in their schools, a shortage of good textbooks and a paucity of qualified teachers.

Ner,¹⁶ which is the organ of the Ihud, a small organization of the followers of the late Dr. Judah Magnes who are still striving for Arab-Israel friendship, casts further light on Israel's treatment of its Arab citizens. A report on Arab villages notes an account published by the Buenos Aires Yiddish daily, *Die Iddische Zertung*, which describes a visit of one of their writers

to the Israel Arab villages of Jaljuly, Tagiba and Bag'a al-Gharbiya. "Another primitive village with narrow alleys, miserable mud huts—you can sense the poverty from the way the people behave in the street" is the way the Argentine journalist Abraham Zalk described the latter village. After a brief call on a wealthy Jewish landlord who lived "in a palatial residence at the end of this miserable village," the Argentine journalist noted the deep contrast:

"On the one hand, the dirty alleys and miserable houses, on the other, the luxurious palace of the 'socialist' bourgeois, Farid Hamdan. And there was another contrast. On the one hand the misery and the neglect in the Arab villages with their lazy and phlegmatic inhabitants and on the other, the beautiful blooming Jewish kibbutzim with their agile pioneers, full of energy and idealism."

In commenting upon this reportage, *Ner* writer Ben Shlomo notes the similarity between the Jewish writer's description of Israel's Arab population to the manner in which

South Africans have been speaking about South African slums and South Americans about the native Indians, and that is how we Jews have been described in the Diaspora when Gentiles saw the miserable dwellings of the "dirty Jews" in little towns of Eastern Europe with the filth and starving children in their streets. And this is how we ourselves talk when we go through slums inhabited by our own brethren, the Oriental Jews, in the ma'barot [reception centers] and the immigrant camps. It is nothing more than the attitude of the upper classes, sated and smug, the "white man," looking down with contempt at the backward, the miserable and the oppressed. Such a man does not think of asking why.

In the Diaspora we used to find a thousand explanations for our miserable condition: we blamed non-Jewish society, the Government and its officials, the policy of prejudice and discrimination against us, the wickedness of the non-Jewish rulers, the ghetto in which we were incarcerated and all the obstacles and difficulties that had been placed in the way of our economic and cultural develop-

ment. How we knew how to shout, to arouse pity about our wretched faith!

And here where we are, in the country that we have built up, the State that we have established with no one to stop us from organizing our life in it along all the principles of social and human justice which we have demanded for ourselves, have we stood the test? Are we not following in the very footsteps of those who oppressed us and humiliated us? And what is worse, is it not terrible that our senses have become so dulled that we no longer sense the evil that is being done to others whether they be Jews or not? How can a Jewish writer describe the wretched conditions of Israeli citizens without revolting, without accusing, without asking whence it comes and who is responsible? For him, "they" alone ought to be blamed for they are "lazy and phlegmatic."

The *Ner* writer then proceeds to analyze the cause for the contrast which the Argentine Yiddish writer "so proudly and complacently" pointed out:

This contrast is racial and communal discrimination in the Jewish State. He pretends to know nothing about the military government, which ropes off the Arabs in certain districts and imposes on them laws of its own. He ignores the looting of Arab lands, the discrimination on the labor market, the restrictions on movement. He sees the clinics and the schools—raised partly with the villagers' own funds—but he does not say that the Government grants immeasurably higher grants to the neighboring Jewish settlements, though they be much smaller, as if the Government interests and welfare of its citizens, "without distinction of race, religion or nationality" as our Declaration of Independence states—but only to its Jewish population. He demands gratitude to the Jewish government from its Arab citizens. Has anyone demanded this of our Jewish population? Does not this attitude in itself betray deeply-ingrained prejudice?

A few hours after the Israeli army began its march into Sinai on October 29, 1956 a curfew from 5 P.M. to 6 A.M. was imposed on Kafr Kassim and other villages of the Little

Triangle in Israel. This curfew advance of one hour was transmitted at 4:45 P.M. to the mukhtar (mayor) of the village, who informed the responsible officer in charge that a large number of villagers were working in the fields and could not be notified of the change. This officer assured the mukhtar that the "frontier force will look after them."¹⁷ Forty-nine villagers returning after 5 P.M., including fourteen women and small children in the arms of their mothers, were mowed down by machine guns as they came in from the field. These facts were suppressed for a long time, and when the border policemen were finally brought to trial, the proceedings lasted more than two years. The evidence confirmed that Major Shmuel Malinski, battalion commander of the border police, gave the orders and told the soldiers: "I do not want any softheartedness." When asked what should be done about women and children, the major answered: "May Allah have mercy on their souls."

Light sentences were passed by the Israeli High Court: one officer received 17 years, another 15 years, three were acquitted and five constables received sentences of 7 years. All were set free one year later by government amnesty. Yet even this leniency was the slightest advance toward justice compared to the treatment of the murderers of Count Folke Bernadotte, the first UN Conciliator, who was assassinated in Israel in 1948. U.S. Ambassador Stanton Griffis, who served in the area at the time, convinced that the identity of the assassins was well known to the Israeli government, commented in his memoirs: "The murder of Bernadotte will remain forever a black and disgraceful mark on the early history of Israel."¹⁸

In September, 1961, anti-government demonstrations broke out in Nazareth, Haifa and other Arab-populated parts of Israel and continued for five days after the shooting of five Arab youths who had attempted to cross into the Egyptian-held Gaza Strip and were apprehended by the Israeli border patrol. Two thousand high-school students were in the forefront of the troubles in the city where Jesus had spent his childhood. The square near the Virgin Mary's Well reverberated with the cries of thousands shouting, "Down with Ben-Gurion and his gov-

ernment of murderers," "Long live Nasser" and "May Israel be destroyed." The disturbances spread to Acre, where Arabs and Jews engaged in severe open clashes for the first time in Israel. In all, some eight towns and villages joined in the protests against the deaths of the five youths, the oldest of whom was 17. The seriousness of the incidents was such that the discontent of the Arab minority in Israel was brought forcibly, via page one of *The New York Times*, to the attention of a surprised American public, which heretofore had been subjected to a series of news reports detailing the well-being of this Arab community in Israel. The account by correspondent Lawrence Fellows closed on this note: "The bitterest pill for the Arabs by far is the military government. Perhaps 180,000 of the 220,000 Arabs in Israel live under army rule. They are under curfew restrictions and are confined to certain areas . . . In addition, they are not given access to civilian courts under ordinary circumstances but are subject instead to courts-martial."¹⁹

In Tel Aviv, simultaneously with these Arab riots against the government, Yemenite Jews marched through the streets wearing black armbands in a protest against discrimination "they contend is practiced against them by the lighter-skinned Jews of the country."²⁰

The widespread rioting by the Arab minority in Israel in September, 1961, has resulted in verified evidence of the long-festering resentment against the state and a serious loss of confidence in the government by young Arab intellectuals. Since the inception of Israel more than 1,800 young Arabs, 70 per cent of whom were under 20 years of age, have either escaped across the border or been caught attempting to cross over.²¹ Jewish sources report that Arab secondary-school graduates believe they have no future in the country and point to serious examples of discrimination and bias. Stories like this have been multifold:

My brother is an architect. But no Jew employs him to build anything. Once when a motion picture theater was to be built near Haifa, my brother submitted a bid which

was better and lower than that submitted by five other Jewish architects. But he was turned down by the Jewish owners. "How can we be sure you won't build the cinema so that it would fall down on our heads one day and kill all Jews inside?"—they asked him. "We can't trust an Arab to build our theater. It's better to pay a Jew more and be sure of him . . ." ²²

The unemployment situation facing young Arabs became increasingly serious. A 24-year-old Christian leader in the "Little Triangle" sector said, "Most of them are unemployed because jobs in government, public and private institutions are closed to them. The proportion of Arabs in the civil service is far lower than the eleven per cent to which we would be entitled on the basis of our share in Israel's population—and don't forget that you considered even such a quota anti-Semitic when it was applied to Jews in the Diaspora." ²³

The adviser on Arab affairs in the prime minister's office, Uri Lubrani, told a lecture audience, "It might perhaps be better if there were no Arab students. If they remained hewers of wood, it might perhaps be easier to handle them, but there are some things which you cannot have." ²⁴

Other complaints cited the shortage of textbooks, laboratories, libraries and equipment and the scarcity of trained teachers in Arab schools. Inability to obtain jobs upon graduation from secondary school discouraged Arab students from applying themselves to their studies.

Most of the Jewish industrial enterprises, plants and work shops employ no Arabs. ²⁵ The Arab minority in Israel has been made to feel not only its inferior numerical status, but its position as an "enemy" within the country. It is difficult to reconcile this treatment with the Declaration of Independence of Israel, published on the 15th of May, 1948, where these words appear: "We call upon the sons of the Arab people dwelling in Israel to keep the peace and to play their part in building the State on the basis of full and equal citizenship . . . The State of Israel will maintain complete equality of social and political rights for all its citizens, without distinction of creed, race or sex."

Leaders of the *Ihud* seeking a constructive solution for discrimination in Israel have called for the creation of an organization like the "Anti-Defamation League . . . to oppose discrimination, not only in South Africa or in other parts of the world but also—and especially—in Israel."²⁶

Virtually nothing of this story of discrimination against the Arabs of Israel had been carried by the American media of information. The thousands of Christian and Jewish Americans who visit Israel rarely bother to go beyond the conducted tour, or turn a blind eye to what is going on in Israel's intercommunal and interracial relationships.

Israel's treatment of her Arab citizens led Norman Thomas to declare: "An Arab, without too much exaggeration, can complain that the Jews are practicing Hitlerism in reverse. Arabs have been made second-class citizens."²⁷ Because of the generally advanced economic and industrial development of Israel, the standard of living and health of the Arab minority there perhaps is better than that of many Arabs in neighboring countries, but this does not mitigate their second-class status. This treatment raises the question of the intent behind Israeli actions. Is this discrimination intended to dissuade Arab refugees from agitating for a return? Or is the purpose to force some of the remaining 240,000 Arabs to leave and thus enable Israel to take over still more property for "ingathered" newcomers?

Application of the yardstick set down by Chaim Weizmann, Israel's first president, that "the world will judge the Jewish State by what it will do with the Arabs,"²⁸ should include not only the treatment accorded the Arabs in Israel and the Arab refugees in exile, but also the Oriental Jews "ingathered" from Arab countries.

The Oriental Jews who after 1948 were persuaded to emigrate to Israel soon found themselves the victims of bigotry. Though they eventually constituted more than 50 per cent of Israel's total population, they were looked down on as an inferior group by the dominant Western and East European Jews. The backward Yemenite Jew who found sleeping in a bed a

novel experience was quickly labeled with usual clichés of prejudice, such as “childlish,” “shiftless,” “dirty” and “unwilling to work.” The Iraqis, most of whom entered Israel in 1950 and 1951 in the wake of Operation Ali Baba (as the exodus from Iraq was called), and who, after the Poles and Rumanians, constitute the largest Israeli ethnic group, complained bitterly from the outset about discrimination. In July, 1951, these Iraqi Jews staged a mass demonstration in Tel Aviv against “race discrimination in the Jewish State, the first of its kind.”²⁹ Other unpleasant outbursts followed, to the point where Prime Minister Ben-Gurion felt compelled to assail publicly “Israeli anti-Semitism.”

Whenever assaults took place on dark streets, Tel Aviv papers almost automatically reported, “The assault is thought to have been committed by a North African,” referring to the latest dark-skinned Jewish immigrants from Morocco, Tunisia and Algiers.

A group of 130 Indian Jews in November, 1951, sought repatriation to India from Israel where, they claimed, they were being forced to do the lowest kind of labor and were called “black” by the rest of the populace.³⁰ Some even insisted they were permitted only black bread. Speaking for this group of Indians, Isaac Joseph, an insurance salesman, said, “In India there is no discrimination. In Israel we are Easterners and apparently inferior.”

The Bene (Bnei) Israel sect,³¹ or the Brown Jews from Bombay, Rangoon and Calcutta have most recently found themselves the objects of discrimination in Israel. Up to 1934 certain other Jewish communities in India had refused to give them equal rights since the Bene Israel differed in observance of some Orthodox customs, in particular the levirate marriage and ritual bath. Just when the remnants of Indian discrimination had been obliterated after a long court fight, 7,000 of the Bene Israel emigrated to Israel, where they found themselves once again the objects of prejudice. Israel’s rabbinate at first banned marriage³² between Indian-born Jews of this sect and other communities. When this stigma was removed, these par-

ticular Jews were still required to prove the purity of their forebears before marrying out of their community.

During the spring and summer of 1961, a small church in Jerusalem was intermittently stoned by Orthodox fanatics, a situation brought to the attention of its readers by *Newsweek*.³³ Members of the ultra-Orthodox sect, the Neturei Karta, were accused of this attack on a new church which had recently appeared in their neighborhood.

But religious bigotry has long manifested itself variously within Israel. Moslem shrines have been defaced. On Good Friday, 1954, the Christian cemetery in Haifa was desecrated, and 73 crosses were destroyed. Among the churches destroyed since 1948 have been those at Damoun, Sehmata and Kafr Ber'im. Monseigneur Hakim, Archbishop of the Greek Catholic community in Israel, declared on a visit to Rome: "It is neither a campaign nor defamation when the Catholic press throughout the world expresses indignation over the destruction of churches and villages in Israel."³⁴

Even Jews themselves were not immune from attack by religious zealots. The kidnapping late in 1959 of 10-year-old Yosef Schumacher by his uncle, allegedly "to save his soul" because the youngster was not receiving the proper strict religious upbringing, received international attention for two and a half years and led to a charge by the chief of the Israeli security services that fanatics abroad were trying to subvert the state of Israel. Other immigrant children were smuggled from the reception center by zealots,³⁵ from ghettolike enclaves in Jerusalem's Mea Shearim and B'nai Brak near Tel Aviv, in an effort to force the government to provide a more stringently Jewish environment for the youngsters.

Meanwhile, the ruling Orthodox religious parties, controlling by government dicta all religious and personal affairs, did their best, with the help of the Rabbinical Council of America, to keep out the Conservative and Reform faiths. Modern Judaism was decried as a "divisive influence," and it was not until April 14, 1962, that the first Reform Jewish synagogue was opened in Israel.³⁶ The following October a suit was brought by

the Union of Progressive Judaism alleging that the local government of Kefar Shmaryahn had permitted Orthodox Jews to hold holiday services in the village hall, but had discriminated against Reform Jews. The High Court ordered the City Council to grant equal privileges to the Reform group.³⁷

The increasing differences between Oriental and European Jews, however, remained unresolved by any court. A serious race riot broke forth on July 9, 1959 in the Wadi Salib, a slum district of the port city of Haifa. The battle between "Black Jews" from Arab countries and "White Jews" from Europe lasted four days and resulted in the wounding of eleven Israeli policemen, the arrest of 32 rioters and considerable property damage. Violent incidents occurred subsequently in Migdal Haemek and suburbs of Tel Aviv. There was also a second clash between the police and Wadi Salib residents on July 31.

The disturbances had started when the police, trying to break up a drunken brawl between several Moroccan Jews, shot and wounded one Moroccan. A cry went up that the "Ashkenazi (European) police had killed a Moroccan Jew." Thus incited, the mob started to break shop windows, turn over automobiles and throw stones at the police. And the animosity spread to other segments of the 250,000 North African Jews in Israel.

While the American and Jewish press gave the scantest notice to these events, the Israeli newspapers called the riots "a dangerous new manifestation in Israel life." The press ascribed the outbreaks to the deep feeling among Arab Jews that they were being discriminated against and treated as inferiors. A spokesman for 35,000 organized Jews substantiated these charges of prejudice. His list of specifics gave examples of discrimination in housing, employment and business opportunities. He noted that thousands of young Arab Jews, who had been in the country since 1948, still lived in slums, while newly arrived European Jews were given new apartments.

In Israel, where open criticism of the government is not stilled by fear of being called an anti-Semite, Michael Asof had

this to say in the newspaper *Davar*: "Don't tell me that the state has not enough money to build houses for everyone and to give work to everyone. No economist will convince me that a state which could build such luxurious buildings as the University of Jerusalem, the Weizmann Institute in Rehovoth, the Cultural Building and the Sokolow House in Tel Aviv; that a state in which a considerable section of the people live in mad luxury—that such a state has no money to build houses for the poor."³⁸

While the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in the United States was trying to minimize the riots and to disprove allegations of official discrimination in housing and settlement, lest the U.J.A. drive be adversely affected, the Israeli correspondent of the New York Zionist paper (*Tog-Journal*) had the courage to write:

. . . There are also subjective reasons for the bitterness which prevails among the Oriental immigrants. So long as there are Jews in Israel who live in slums, the palaces of the Party headquarters should not have been built and the bosses of the parties of the Left and of the Right should not have been supplied with Cadillacs and luxurious villas. With the millions spent on these, thousands of modest houses could have been built for the immigrants from Morocco.

The immigrants see the luxury, and they feel their misery more keenly. They do not know that this luxury is enjoyed only by a few people, and they hold all "Rosenbergs," as they call the European Jews, responsible, although the bulk of the European Jews work hard and can hardly eke out a living.³⁹

A special commission appointed by the Knesset to investigate the 1959 riots also reported a widespread feeling of discrimination among North African Jews,⁴⁰ but denied a policy of deliberate discrimination by state institutions. The report noted that most North African immigrants had been brought to Israel without their own leaders and intelligentsia and generally

did not have skills useful in Israel. These families were large, and this aggravated the problem of housing them. The committee expressed "its regret that numerous and various sections of the settled Israel public still have many prejudices."

The B'nai B'rith set up a scholarship plan for secondary-school education of non-European immigrants, who are admittedly barred from secondary-school education for financial reasons. Only 7 per cent of Oriental Jews are represented in Israeli institutions of higher learning.⁴¹ Considering the number of Oriental immigrants living in transit camps (maabarots) and in the slums of Haifa and Tel Aviv, it is almost inconceivable that none of the countless Jewish Americans who visit Israel have come in contact with this situation.

The plight of the Orientals has had other repercussions. It has undoubtedly been one of the strongest factors motivating Ben-Gurion's continual near-frenzied demands for American emigration to Israel. In the face of the total absence of enthusiasm on the part of Jewish Americans or Europeans to migrate to the new state, Israel, needing a larger population, has had to "ingather" the Oriental Jews and has by that very fact become increasingly Levantized. A visiting member of the Israeli Knesset told a New York audience late in 1963 that the integration of Oriental Jews in Israel posed the most serious problem confronting his nation. "The whole pattern of Israel's civilization," developed by the intellectual elite of Eastern European and Western Jews, was threatened, he said, by "extinction because of this heavy influx" from Asian and African countries.⁴²

Jon Kimche, editor of the most important Zionist publication in England, *The Jewish Observer and Middle East Review*, explained the new state's dilemma in a leading editorial:

This [the race riots] is a reflection on the Israeli authorities and on the Israeli public—and particularly on the Western "friends of Israel" who have a grave responsibility for this situation. For, at the bottom of it all there is a simple fact that the Israeli leaders had to build a new

society in Israel with the poorest and most backward Jews comprising a majority of the immigrants. The skilled, educated, professional and business Jews of the West stayed in the United States, in the Argentine, in Canada, in Great Britain and in France. It has been said before by Mr. Ben-Gurion, but this fundamental situation has now received an added urgency by this week's and last week's riots. Israel cannot become a balanced, educated, scientifically-minded modern society unless the influx from the Oriental countries is leavened by a commensurate qualitative influx of new immigrants from the West.⁴³

While pursuing the quest for this "qualitative influx from the West," Israel continues to keep its doors shut to the now more than one million one hundred thousand refugee Palestinian Arabs.⁴⁴ Many of these have passed their sixteenth winter in the desolate, demoralizing surroundings of organized camps, sustained on a UN subsidy of seven cents per day. The United Nations monthly ration for a family of four, consisting of flour, bean meal, sugar, rice and margarine, keeps the refugees alive, but hardly fosters good health or a rational approach to life. And the future of the UNRWA (United Nations Relief Works Agency), which has been administering relief, has been subject in an annual debate to the whims of the international organization. Started in 1949, the life of UNRWA has been successively extended by resolutions of the General Assembly in 1952, 1954, 1959 and 1962.⁴⁵

The Arab refugees in and out of these camps are interested in only one thing—going back home. It is their plight which, above all, has given the Communists the opening wedge into the Middle East. These refugees deeply hate the West, and the United States in particular, because they feel that so much has been done for Israel at their expense. Members of an entirely new generation, knowing no other life than that of an organized refugee camp, have been brought up to hate and constantly remember that they once lived not far away in homes now occupied by someone else. In the Gaza Strip many can see their former homes from their miserable camp sites.

Into Gaza, completely cut off from its hinterland by the partition, and into the narrow strip of surrounding territory, have poured 214,000 refugees. They joined an indigenous population of some 85,000 whose means of livelihood depended on the hinterland, now part of Israel. The latter, called "economic" refugees because they had not been displaced from their homes, were hungrier than the refugees who found themselves in United Nations camps.

Gaza is mostly coastal dunes and desert with limited grain fields and citrus groves and no industries. As part of the Mandate, Gaza was economically integrated into Palestine until 1948. It served as a port for the desert between Egypt and Palestine and as an important frontier station, with warehouses storing the wheat and barley of Beersheba. Gaza was a center of administration and marketing for the people going out to work in other parts of Palestine. But gone now were the markets for such products as they could still produce, and lost were the lands they either owned or worked.

Gaza had once been one of the six administrative districts of Palestine, divided into subdistricts of Gaza and Beersheba. All but 14,900 acres of the Gaza subdistrict of 274,500 acres were owned by Arabs, and in Gaza and Beersheba together there were almost $3\frac{1}{2}$ million acres (3,418,750) of which all but 77,390 were Arab owned. Now the ownership ratio is exactly reversed, with the Arabs possessing only some 75,000 acres. The Gaza people found it impossible to sustain themselves on less than 3 per cent of the land they originally worked. Not having been displaced, they were not entitled to UN succor. So they lived off the proceeds of their worldly possessions, which they had to barter with the refugees for UN rations.

The exact number of Arab refugees from Palestine has been a disputed issue. As of June 30, 1963, there were some 1,210,170 refugees registered with UNRWA, of whom 866,369 were registered for full rations.⁴⁶

The refugee geographical distribution in June, 1963, was as follows:

	<i>Refugees in Camps</i>	<i>Total Number of Refugees</i>
Jordan	207,817	654,092
Gaza	176,080	279,156
Lebanon	65,527	149,983
Syria	20,858	126,939

About 64 per cent of the refugees are in the age group 1-25 years. Some 428,321 are 15 years of age or under, and 12 per cent are 50 years or above. Approximately 30,000 reach maturity annually. Some 252,000 names have been deleted from UNRWA rolls, and 38.9 per cent of the refugee population still live in the 57 refugee centers operated by UNRWA. Some 35,386 had been added to the registered population in the last year.

Jordan finds it impossible economically to absorb in employment these hordes of refugees, who constitute one-third of the entire country's population. Lebanon, with its limited economic potential (relying for survival on services and tourism) and its theoretically even division between Moslems and Christians in government, can do little for the refugees, who are 94 per cent Moslem. In the Gaza Strip, where the refugees constitute approximately 70 per cent of the total population, the economic rehabilitation of these unfortunates must await a general political settlement between Israel and the Arab states.

Even were the Palestinian refugees and Arab national leaders agreed on a resettlement program, it is problematic whether these Arab states, wrestling as they have been against poverty and underdevelopment possess the ability to absorb 1.1 million displaced persons.⁴⁷ The influx would be comparable to an additional 3 million persons brought into France, 3½ million persons to the United Kingdom and 10 million persons to the United States.

Another point of contention over the refugees has been the charge that the Arab governments have done little to help their suffering brethren. The U.S. has contributed 70 per cent, or \$250 million, toward the total UNRWA expenditures during

the 1950-1961 period. The contribution of the United Kingdom, France and Canada was \$29 million.⁴⁸ The U. A. R. ranged fifth as a contributor to the budget and, according to observers, no one has provided as much hope to the refugees as President Nasser.⁴⁹ The Arab host governments contributed \$6.5 million to UNRWA, while other Arab governments contributed an additional \$1 million. In addition, the host governments have contributed more than \$30 million in various goods and services, continuing at a present rate of \$5 million per year. The Israeli contribution has been about \$256,547.

Because of financial restrictions and the opposition of both the refugees and the Arab states, no large-scale resettlement projects have been provided by UNRWA. The economic problem of the refugees would still remain even if the political aspects were somehow agreeably solved. Meanwhile, UNRWA goes forward with a shelter program to provide better housing, a health program to help the sick and a vocational training program aimed at training up to 2,000 youths per year.

The Israeli contention that the Arab host governments could resettle the refugees outside Palestine, where, in the words of the 1960 Democratic Party platform plank, "these is room and opportunity for them," has been refuted by the chief of UNRWA. Dr. John H. Davis warned bluntly against "facile assumptions that it rests with the host governments to solve the problem . . . the simple truth is that the jobs . . . do not exist today with the host countries."⁵⁰ Likewise, as Dr. Davis reported, it is impossible to create jobs in the Arab counties among their own rapidly expanding populations for refugees who are almost all unskilled and uneducated peasants.

The Israeli charge that the Palestinian refugees are being kept in camps as "political pawns to strengthen the Arab case," is based on a misconception of inter-Arab relationships. If certain Arab leaders have encouraged the intransigency of the refugees, they were merely taking a page out of history, calling to mind how the survivors of Hitler's concentration camps were used as political pawns for the creation of a Zionist state.⁵¹ But

the advice "Let the Arab states take the lead in resettling the refugees" arises from misinformation. It is the Palestinian Arab refugees themselves who refuse to move, and no Arab leader can alter their resolve. The Moslems, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the refugees, believe that Allah will in His own good time restore them to their homes. Perhaps, they reason, He is punishing them for past sins, "but Allah is great and forgiving and will not desert them."⁵² Their love of home and land is so strong that they endure the hardships of their present existence with the supreme belief that tomorrow He will restore them to their lands. Besides, the suggestion of resettlement comes up against cold economic facts: none of the Arab states has enough of that magic combination, land-water-capital, to undertake the vast resettlement task needed.

Certainly the Arabs do not possess the same feeling of unity that Jews throughout the world have developed. Their centuries under foreign domination have developed a heightened individualism rather than a consciousness of having to help other Arabs. Henry Labouisse, former director of UNRWA, pointed out in one of his annual reports to the United Nations that it has not been sufficiently understood that a Palestinian Arab refugee in an Arab state is in exactly the same position as any other refugee from one country living in another.

Even American togetherness would be strained by the facts of this case. Let us suppose that a group of Mexicans sought refuge and were permitted to settle in a portion of Texas in which their forebears had once dwelt. After thirty years in which their numbers increased, these refugees then wished to set up a state of their own in that part of Texas in which they had settled. Suppose the newcomers then said to the native Texans, "You have forty nine other states as well as other parts of this state in which to live; all we want is this one small portion to which we are sentimentally attached." It is not difficult to imagine what the attitude of Texans would be—and they have not been rooted in their land for fifteen centuries—or what the attitude of the other 49 states would be to the claims of the Mexicans.

Despite the Israelist control of the media of mass communication the existence of the Arab refugee problem has filtered through to the attention of some Americans. This has been manifested in Zionist propaganda designed to place responsibility for the refugees at other doors. First, the line taken was that there were no refugees; then, it was all an Arab exaggeration; and, finally, the argument has been advanced that the Arabs fled at the instigation of their own leaders who deliberately incited them into panic.

On the contrary, the available evidence from BBC and U.S. monitoring reports⁵³ shows that repeated orders by Arab civilian and military leaders were stay put and not leave. These and other records reveal that it was really Jewish Agency, Haganah and Irgun broadcasts that first advised and then helped incite the Arab panic and flight. In late March, 1948, the Irgun radio warned urban Arabs that typhus, cholera and similar diseases would break out heavily among them in "April and May." Two weeks later, on April 9th, 250 Arab women and children were brutally murdered in the small village of Deir Yassin by the Irgun, an atrocity described by Arthur Koestler as a "blood bath, the psychologically decisive factor in this spectacular exodus."⁵⁴

Terrorization via sound truck and radio followed this massacre. Mrs. Bertha Spofford Vester, who runs the American Colony Hotel and an American hospital for Arabs in Jerusalem, in her book⁵⁵ reported the warnings in Arabic from van and radio: "Unless you leave your homes, the fate of Deir Yassin will be your fate." Meyer Levin in *Jerusalem Embattled* wrote of exhortations to the Arabs: "The road to Jericho is still open. Fly from Jerusalem before you are all killed." Moshe Sharett in a letter to UN Conciliator Count Folke Bernadotte referred to "a mass exodus, mostly spontaneous, a cataclysmic phenomenon which according to the experience of other countries changes the course of history." In his report Count Bernadotte stated: "The exodus of Palestinian Arabs resulted from panic created by fighting in their communities, by remorse concerning real or alleged acts of terrorism, or expulsion." Mena-

chem Begin, the Irgun leader, himself boasted of the panic created by his attacks on Arab villages, leading to the exodus.⁵⁶

Dr. William Ernest Hocking in an article, "On the Observance of an Anniversary"⁵⁷ supplied further details of the Arab panic and terror that resulted in the flight of more than 300,000 prior to the outbreak of the Arab-Israel armed conflict, which simplified the Zionist task of making more room available for the Jews about to be "ingathered" from Europe and the Arab world. ("A miraculous simplification"⁵⁸ was Chaim Weizmann's reference to this Arab exodus.) A policy of deliberate terrorism "adopted by the Zionist forces in an attempt to cow the Arabs into submission and break their will to further resistance"⁵⁹ precipitated the mass Arab flight, not the orders of the Arab Higher Committee, as Israelists contend. Those who had not been incited by leave by Zionist propaganda fled at the bayonet point of the victorious Israeli Army to supplement the tide of those who "were made to leave by deceit, lying and false promises," to use the words of one witness to the flight who described the manner by which "we, Jews, forced the Arabs to leave cities and villages."⁶⁰

However, the causes that impelled Arab flight would be of little more than academic concern were it not for the vigorous defense raised by the apologists for Israel to the mounting criticism. Whatever the reasons for the mass exodus, the rights of the Arab refugees to their land and property left behind have remained inviolate. Starting with the General Assembly in 1948,⁶¹ the United Nations has passed successive resolutions upholding the rights of the refugees to return to their homes, or to be compensated. The 1963 resolution was passed by 82 to 1 with 14 abstentions.

In the absence of any means of implementing these resolutions, the Israelis have remained in full possession of the land, buildings, facilities and other property belonging to the refugee Arab Palestinians. Without the expropriation of Arab property it is doubtful, as *The Christian Century* pointed out, whether Israel could have taken in her new immigrants, half of them penniless Jews from the Arab countries. More than 80 per cent

of Israel's total land area and more than two-thirds of the state's cultivatable area is land abandoned by the Arab refugees. One third of Israel's Jewish population is living on absentee property, and nearly one-third of the new immigrants are settled in urban areas abandoned by Arabs. The amount of Israel's cultivatable abandoned Arab property is nearly two and a half times the total area of Jewish-owned property at the end of the Mandate.⁶² Nearly all olive groves and 10,000 shops, businesses and stores inside Israel today were once Arab. Half of all the citrus groves in the new state once belonged to Arabs. In 1954 it was estimated that a quarter of the buildings then in use in Israel was Arab property.⁶³

Very few Jews or Christians realize that so much Israeli progress has been achieved at the expense of Arab suffering. Private American aid for the refugees has been severely handicapped by the inability to carry a direct appeal for the refugees to the American public. The political implications involved in this humanitarian problem, combined with a sincere desire to avoid stirring up anti-Semitism, has kept the charitable campaign efforts of such organizations as Church World Service, the American Middle East Relief and the Catholic Near East Welfare Association at a stage-whisper level.

In the United States a kind word or even an expression of sympathy for the Arab refugees has been construed as heretical by the "loyal-to-Israel" camp which has dominated the American political scene. Thus American hearts, otherwise so willingly penetrable by appeals of every kind, have remained obdurate to an appeal for these homeless people.

The late Rabbi Norman Salit, former president of the Synagogue Council of America, though up to that time an undeviating Zionist, could not silence his conscience. He wrote a strong letter denouncing the continued refusal of Israel to evict Jewish occupants from the properties owned by Arabs who had become refugees, or to save Arabs from still further encroachment by expanding Jewish settlements. According to his widow, this letter was written in 1958, but "my husband refrained

from mailing it to you [the *National Jewish Post*] at the time because he did not wish Israel to suffer any repercussions since the U.J.A. and the drive for Bonds for Israel were about to be launched.”⁶⁴

With the death of the rabbi, his widow permitted the publication of the three-year-old letter in which Rabbi Salit charged that the Arab victims not only were deprived of the use of their property, but also were unable to sell it because of squatter incumbrances. All this, the rabbi declared “is an outright violation of a flat Biblical injunction. If justice is to be respected and to prevail it must be even-headed; there cannot be two standards of equity . . .”

The historian Dr. Oscar Handlin was not reticent to note in a public address that since earliest history Jews had been alive to the plight of the downtrodden and homeless peoples. But the Harvard professor now detected a loss in the Jewish moral outlook as reflected in their apathy to the Arab refugee plight. There were few others who dared publicly repeat this sentiment in the United States, but in Israel one small, collective voice continued to kindle the Jewish conscience. It was that of the followers of Dr. Judah Magnes, who had served as president of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem until his death and had resigned his post with the Joint Distribution Committee, of the United Jewish Appeal subsidiary, in a strong protest: “How can I be officially connected with a welfare organization that can so easily dismiss such a great and urgent problem?” The *Ihud* whose members were ever mindful that its name meant “brotherhood,” continued its efforts to arouse Israeli action in behalf of the Arab refugees.

Proposals of the UN Conciliation Commission for Palestine (made up of representatives of the U.S., France and Turkey) to the effect that Israel agree to the repatriation of a specified number of refugees were several times rejected by the Israeli government. The Conciliation Commission was refused any rights over Arab property, which was vested absolutely by Israeli law in the hands of the Custodian of Absentee Property,

despite the 1950 UN resolution requiring protection of the rights, property and interests of the refugees.⁶⁵ Four million dunum, of which two and a half million were cultivatable, remained in the hands of the Custodian with one modification: 25,000 acres were cleared for 5,000 Arab families in 100 villages. No portion of the yearly income which the Custodian received from Arab absentee-owned property, the total value of which has been a subject of bitter dispute, had accrued to the benefit of any Arabs, in or out of Israel.⁶⁶ Afro-Asian resolutions to enlarge the Conciliation Commission and to step up the idemnification assessment of refugee real property failed twice in 1961 to gain the necessary 43 votes in the General Assembly after passage by the Special Political Committee.

In October, 1961, the voice of the *Ihud* was raised in protest against the rejection by Foreign Minister Golda Meir of a proposal that Israel grant, in principle, to the Arab refugees a free choice between repatriation and compensation. "This attitude," said *Ihud's* central committee, "contradicts all that the civilized world has come to accept out of humanitarian considerations, as well as the Declaration of Rights of Man and the decisions of the General Assembly of the United Nations. No country in the world denies in principle the right of a refugee to return to his homeland. It is difficult to understand how a Jewish state could oppose the principle of free choice for refugees who have been forced to leave their homeland."⁶⁷

The debate in the Knesset on foreign policy found all factions of the government solidly opposed to the *Ihud* proposal that Israel declare herself ready to take back a certain number of the Palestinian Arab refugees. To bolster the Foreign Minister's contention that "the only possible solution to the refugee problem is their resettlement in Arab countries,"⁶⁸ the transfer-of-populations argument was advanced to this effect: "A few hundred thousand Arabs have left this country, their place has been taken by a few hundred thousand Jews from the Arab countries—the accounts are balanced, and the Arabs have no right to demand that Israel take in Arab refugees."

The *Ihud* responded to this line of reasoning in its publication:

Our Government's attitude has been that not a single refugee shall be taken back, either before or after a peace treaty; they will all have to remain in the Arab countries . . . It is afflicting to hear the words "transfer of populations" out of the mouth of Jews, particularly during the Eichmann Trial—for this was one of the devices by which our persecutors sought to get rid of us. The word has a ring of coercion, of a decision imposed on the victims against their consent. This is what was done in 1922 to the Greeks of Turkey; this is what was done in 1945 to the Germans in Czechoslovakia and, more recently, to Hindus and Moslems in Pakistan and India. All these transfers were regarded by the world at large as cruel deeds that contravened human rights and feelings. We Jews were always among the first to oppose them. In every international arena, a refugee's right to return to his homeland was consistently vindicated, and if a debate ever did spring up, it was over such questions as whether all the refugees must return and no assistance might be given to them if they refused (the Soviet stand) or whether they were to be assisted and rehabilitated even if, for various reasons, they were not prepared to go back (the Western stand). Even the Jews of Germany have not given up their right to return to Germany if they wish—which the German Government does not deny, and an ever-increasing number of them are exercising it. It is a moral enormity for the Jewish people, and the Government of Israel as the representatives of part of this people, to imprint a stamp of approval or of legality on such "transfer of populations," even retroactively.

In vain will the Government attempt to evade the legal, just, fair and humane solution of the refugee problem for which not only the Arab states but all the world's nations are clamoring. We will have to understand that slick formulas will not work here either, that they can only prejudice world opinion against us. The tenets that the civilized world has come to accept must be honored whether or not they suit us. The right of every refugee to choose between repatriation and resettlement or rehabilitation is one of

these tenets. We must accept it in principle and do our best, through negotiations and joint practical endeavor, to suit it to today's special conditions so as to prevent it from endangering our existence or world peace.⁶⁹

The United States and the United Nations have appeared powerless to find any solution to the problem of the refugees. The Israelis have been consistent in their opposition to repatriation, though momentarily, in 1949, they offered to repatriate 100,000 Arab refugees, reserving the right to relocate them in specific areas. The Conciliation Commission considered this qualification unsatisfactory, and the offer was later withdrawn.

The United States has offered continuously since the New York speech of Secretary Dulles in August, 1955 before the Council on Foreign Relations, to help Israel with a loan to cover the compensation of the refugees. But the Arabs have rested on their option to choose between repatriation and compensation and have been as unyielding in this respect as Israel has been in her opposition to repatriation.

In their demand for implementation of this option, the refugees have had the complete support of the Arab world. The problem, as Henry R. Labouisse reported to the General Assembly late in 1957, lies "in the realm of politics and in deep-seated emotion." The UNRWA director went on to note that the refugees "bitterly oppose anything which has even the semblance of permanent settlement elsewhere. Officials of the host governments openly support the refugees and oppose the large-scale resettlement projects. On the other hand, in the matter of repatriation and compensation, the Government of Israel has taken no affirmative action."⁷⁰ The report of Dr. Davis, his successor, six years later, declared that "the problem remains as intractable as ever. In the past year no definite progress has been made toward a settlement, no significant effect has been given to paragraph II of General Assembly Resolution 194 (III), nor has there been any sign that the feelings and emotions of the peoples directly concerned are growing any less intense. The whole issue of Palestine continues to complicate seriously

almost every aspect of progress in the Middle East, as well as the relationship which this region has with the outside world.”⁷¹

As the refugees continued to subsist in their miserable exile, Israel and her American supporters continued to uphold the policy of no return for any Arab refugees and no compensation for confiscated homes, lands and property unless the Arabs were willing to make peace on the basis of the territorial *status quo*. The Arabs maintained their point of view that a solution to the refugee problem must come first, while the Israelis argued that a general settlement of all differences had priority.

The full force of Israelist influence meanwhile has been directed in the United States to a gigantic effort to prevent any action aimed at exerting pressure on Israel to right this injustice. How this has succeeded has been graphically described by William Zukerman in the *Jewish Newsletter*:

To this observer, nothing demonstrates more sharply the terribly uncanny power of modern propaganda to control minds, sway emotions and brutalize people than the Zionist propaganda on the Arab refugees during the last decade. It literally succeeded in turning black into white; a big blatant lie into a truth; a grave social injustice into an act of justice glorified by thousands. It has turned clever people with more than average intelligence into starry-eyed fools, believing everything they are told; and has converted kindly and gentle men and women with a strong sense of mercy into callous fanatics, insensible to the suffering of any people except their own. In no other way can this writer explain the many paradoxes which the Arab refugee problem has created in Jewish life.⁷²

Far from questioning the “ingathering” of Jews from everywhere in the Diaspora to fill the homes and to occupy the land of the Palestinian Arabs who had fled, American Jews aided and abetted by their Christian friends, willingly dipped into their pockets and financed a mass billion-dollar emigration of Jews from everywhere into Israel. While the world was supposed to understand perfectly the claim of Zionists that they were unable to forget Zion after nearly two thousand years, the Arabs

were, after a few years, told to forget their homeland, which they and their forefathers had occupied for millennia. Arab refugees who had passed their entire life in Palestine were arrested, if not shot, as infiltrates, while Jewish immigrants who had lived thousands of miles away and might never have seen Palestine were welcomed as pioneering heroes.

Dr. Joseph E. Johnson, President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, was designated in 1961 as Special Representative of the Palestine Conciliation Commission to find an answer to the refugee problem. While his report to the Commission that November in calling for a "step by step" approach toward a refugee settlement exuded general optimism and he continued his quest into 1962, his proposals were acceptable to neither side, and a solution remained as ephemeral as the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee Staff depicted in their 1960 pronouncements:

This inability even to narrow the distance between the issue of the Arab refugees and a settlement of the issue represents a dangerous and frustrating failure. The problem worsens with time. What began as a grievous misfortune for the Palestinian Arabs has become unrelieved tragedy for an unknown number. For them, bitterness and frustration have turned to despair. Inevitably, a great number have become "irreclaimables." And with little, or nothing, to live for themselves, they see their children similarly stifled, growing up in a vacuum.⁷³

Israeli policy toward the Palestinian Arabs does have parallels in the similar barbarisms committed by other states, but it represents a most tragic lapse in the historic moral and ethical standards of Judaism. The gravity of the injustice has begun to dawn on and smite the conscience of Jews reared in the spiritual Judaism of Amos, who cried "Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto me, O Children of Israel."⁷⁴ This passage, often cited by liberal rabbis to support their views on the civil rights problem in the U.S., is never applied to the Arab refugee plight.⁷⁵ As Nathan Chofshi of Herzlia, one of the pioneer

Jewish settlers in Palestine, has written: "We came and turned the native Arabs into tragic refugees. And still we dare to slander and malign them, to besmirch their name. Instead of being deeply ashamed of what we did and trying to undo some of the evil committed . . . we justify our terrible acts and even attempt to glorify them."⁷⁶

In Jerusalem the late editor of *Ner*, Rabbi Benjamin wrote these final words which epitomize the moral argument involved in this unhappy refugee problem:

In the end we must come out publicly with the truth: that we have no moral right whatever to oppose the return of the Arab refugees to their land . . . that until we have begun to redeem our sin against the Arab refugees, we have no right to continue the Ingathering of the Exiles. We have no right to demand that American Jews leave their country to which they have become attached, and settle in a land that has been stolen from others, while the owners of it are homeless and miserable.

We had no right to occupy the house of an Arab if we had not paid for it at its value. The same goes for fields, gardens, stores, workshops. We had no right to build a settlement and to realize the ideal of Zionism with other people's property. To do this is robbery. I am surprised that Rabbi Herzog and all those who speak in the name of Jewish ethics and who always quote the Ten Commandments should consent to such a state of affairs. Political conquest cannot abolish private property.⁷⁷

Only the remarkable strength that Jewish nationalism can muster supplies any explanation for the silence of world public opinion in the face of these facts about Israel.

11

Where Goes The Middle East?

"Is life, then, a dream and delusion,
where shall the dreamer awake?
Is the world seen like shadows on water,
and what if the mirror break?
Shall it pass a camp that is struck, as a
tent that is gathered and gone
From the sands that were lamp-lit at eve
and at morning are level and lone?"

Sir Alfred Comyn Lyall

THE MIDDLE EAST, at the juncture of Europe, Asia and Africa, has been the historic crossroad for the invading armies of the past. In this strategic area live 62 million Arabs of nine nations¹ intimately related to 26 million of their equally nationalistic-minded brethren in North Africa and to their 250 million Moslem coreligionists throughout the world. Not only does the region link three continents, it stretches along the underbelly of the Soviet Union. In addition, the region contains more than 70 per cent of the known crude oil reserves, the world's largest oil bank.

The Soviet envelopment of Europe has always presupposed a conquest or, at the least, a neutralization of the Middle East. The Kremlin has had its long-range sights on the area. Expansion toward the warm-water ports of the Mediterranean and of the Persian Gulf was always the ambition of Czar Peter the Great, Catherine II and their successors. In this respect, the Socialist Soviet Union does not differ from Imperial Russia.

From the time of the repudiation by the revolutionary regime in 1917 of the secret Sykes-Picot agreement under which the British and French had planned to divide the Ottoman Arab colonies, the Soviet Union has been slowly prying open the doors of Mecca to "communism." In the 1940 agreement be-

tween the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, Foreign Minister Molotov wrested from Von Ribbentrop the assignment to the U.S.S.R. of a sphere of influence "south of Batum and Baku in the general direction of the Persian Gulf, as the center of aspirations of the Soviet Union."

The rejection by the Western powers at the end of World War II of the ancient Soviet claim to a direct share in the control of the Turkish straits led to an attempted Red coup with the assistance of the Iranian Tudeh party in Azerbaijan. The 1946 move failed, but the Soviet Union never relinquished her desire and her strategy to push southward over to Azerbaijan or down the Caspian Sea to Teheran. Thus she could win wealthy oil lands and at the same time bring about a further disintegration of what was once the Baghdad treaty link of the Western alliances, now CENTO.² But, as a Lebanese ambassador to the United States expressed it, "the threat of Russian expansion into the Middle East left no perceptible impact upon the Arabs and did not by consequence form part of their historical experience."³ This has come about in part due to the grand design of the Russians "in operating through Arab nationalist forces to oust all traces of Western control and influence," while subordinating, for the strategy of the moment, the promotion of native Communist movements.⁴

The Arabs, an overwhelming majority of whom embrace the Islamic faith, on the other hand, hold bitter memories of Western colonialism, suppression and exploitation on the part of the European powers and of their servile puppets. At the end of World War I the Arabs, newly liberated from Ottoman rule, overwhelmingly indicated that they favored a U.S. mandate to govern them during the interim period prior to complete freedom. This was revealed in the report of the King-Crane Commission, finally issued to the public in 1922,⁵ at a time when the American Congress had retreated into isolationism. In subsequent years through wide American support of Middle Eastern eleemosynary institutions, including schools, hospitals and churches, and varied assistance, as well as business ties, a favorable image of the United States grew among the people of the

area, even as Britain and France continued increasingly to lose favor. This was during the period between the two World Wars when the entire Arab world was under virtual Western European occupation and control.

But the U.S. role in the establishment of Israel and the subsequent support given to the new state quickly dissipated this accumulated reservoir of good will. A former ambassador who had served in the Middle East testified before a Congressional committee, "The Arabs feel that we have set up, helped to set up and are responsible for setting up a hostile state on Arab territory."⁶ The 1948 creation of the state of Israel, the 1956 British-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt and the 1958 U.S.-U.K. military interventions had brought the West's prestige to a new low point. And the antagonistic attitude toward neutralism of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles wiped out what gains might otherwise have accrued to the American position as a result of the Eisenhower stand on Suez.

The mood of the area was reflected in the overturn of pro-West regimes in the Sudan and Turkey and in the revolutions, which had strong anti-West overtones, in Egypt, Iraq and Lebanon, not to mention the continued instability in Syria and turbulence in Jordan. No one could visit the Arab world and talk with the average Arab of any class without noting the rising tide of xenophobia, the bitter hatred of the Western powers and the resentment against the United States—symptoms which the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee recognized in its 1960 study on the Middle East. Obviously one of the vital goals of the Kennedy Administration was to improve the position of the U.S. in the area and to halt the decided drift from the West toward the Communist camp. The U.S. could not do much to end the instability that stemmed from the area's internecine rivalries and new social forces, but the development of an American policy could be a real factor in determining the external direction which the continuing evolution would take.

Upon his return in late December, 1960, from a tour of the Middle East, Senator Frank Moss of Utah, a confidant of the incoming President, talked about strengthening economic ties

between the U.A.R. and the United States as a step toward answering the Soviet economic penetration of the area. Soviet technicians and engineers, Russian and satellite businessmen were playing an ever greater role in the life of the Arab world. The Kremlin was responsible for increasing amounts of arms going into both the United Arab Republic and Iraq. Russia and her satellites were building factories in Syria and in Iraq. The Aswan High Dam, slowly but surely, was becoming a reality. Whether this would answer Egypt's continuing grave need for more irrigable land remained questionable, but the dam was likely to become a living symbol to the Arabs of what the Soviet Union had tried to do for her Arab friends and of what the United States had failed to do because of pressure, indecision and "Western deviousness." The building of the dam by the East could not help but strengthen an Arab watchword: "Never trust the West."⁷

Premier Khrushchev told a group of visiting U.S. Congressmen in 1955: "We value trade least for economic reasons and most for political purposes." The Soviet Union had until then devoted its energies toward developing up-to-date techniques for producing raw materials, fuel, and equipment for those sectors of industry deemed most important for internal economic growth. The Russian attitude toward international trade at this time was basically passive. But in the middle of the decade the U.S.S.R. began its drive for external economic power. As Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges told a meeting of important businessmen in New York City, "since that time, its volume of trade has grown more rapidly than either its domestic production or total world trade."⁸ Soviet exports grew from 3 per cent of total world trade in 1950 to 5 per cent in 1960, a 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent gain. Meanwhile, the U.S. share of world trade remained relatively stable.

A great deal of Soviet and satellite trade effort was directed toward the Arab Middle East, those emerging nations near the borders of the U.S.S.R. Not unlike other underdeveloped Afro-Asian nations struggling to narrow the income gap between

themselves and the more economically advanced, Arab states welcomed avowedly unconditional assistance in the form of low-interest credits and technical know-how. Under the terms of the Soviet-Iraq Economic Assistance Agreement a number of new Soviet-sponsored industrial activities in Iraq had commenced, including the building of a woolen-textile factory with a productive capacity of three million square yards of woollens per year and employing over 1,000 workers, technicians and engineers. Red China, under a revised trade agreement of November 15, 1961 was buying 65,000 tons of dates from Iraq, about one-quarter of the total yearly export.

Spurred by the visit of a new trade delegation to Baghdad, Czechoslovakia, too, was engaging in efforts to increase her take of Iraqi dates and to decrease thereby the imbalance of trade between the two countries. The Bulgarians were likewise making their contribution to Iraq's development through assistance in irrigation projects and light industry, as well as bartering of machinery, timber, textiles and chemicals for Iraq's oil products, asphalt, barley and cotton.

Red China was continuing her construction of highways in Yemen, while she had already become by the first half of 1961 the principal buyer of Syrian cotton. A \$22 million credit for industrial expansion bolstered the Damascus regime in the spring of 1964. Lebanon, ever anxious to trade with one and all, had, even before the end of year 1961, entered into a new trade agreement with Czechoslovakia whereby Prague would send consumer goods and engineering products in exchange for fruit, tobacco and other agricultural products, expanding the trade between the two countries to more than \$7.5 million annually.

While technically still outlawed in Arab countries save for a dissident group operating legally in Iraq, the Communist party by the summer of 1962 was starting to move increasingly in the open. The November 30, 1961 veto of Kuwait's admission to the United Nations had opened new doors to the Soviet Union, as more than 1,000 Communist-bloc technicians continued to

direct a growing network of manufacturing, trading, transportation and other economic projects in Iraq.

Being able to tailor economic policies to political goals rather than economic necessity, the Soviet Union could establish credit lines with the underdeveloped countries and barter agreements, trading machinery and other manufactured goods for cotton, rubber and sugar, among other commodities. A market for replacement parts established by these manufactured goods necessitated the presence of Soviet technicians in their customer's countries. Such technicians of course were active Kremlin agents.

To answer the new challenge of our Peace Corps and our continuing billions of dollars in economic-military aid, the Soviet Union stepped up her program for winning friends and influencing uncommitted peoples. By the end of 1961 the Communist bloc was committed to an increase in the size and importance of its assistance programs to better than one million dollars per year (including Red China's 10 per cent contribution). Russia and the satellite countries were sending 8,500 technicians abroad.⁹

In Iraq, U.S. exports dropped in the 1955 to 1961 period, while those of the Soviet bloc increased by 727 per cent and went ahead of their Western rival. This trend was only slightly halted in 1962-1963.

In 1955 Sino-Soviet bloc exports to Egypt amounted to 35.8 million. By 1961 they had increased 364 per cent of \$166.2 million. During that same period, U.S. exports to the United Arab Republic increased 95 per cent to \$162.7 million. At one time the U.S. exported more than twice as much to Egypt as the Soviet bloc, but by 1961 it had fallen behind. The Soviet Union share of Egyptian foreign trade had been only 2 per cent in 1954, but a decade later had risen to more than 15 per cent.¹⁰ In exchange for Egyptian cotton and rice, the Soviets exported 200 different items to the UAR and were committed to increasing yearly imports of ready-made and semi-processed Egyptian goods as well as raw materials. In addition to building the Aswan Dam, the Soviet Union was helping in many other in-

dustrial efforts and were supplying important amounts of equipment including \$50 million of rolling stock for the Helwan steel works.

Ben Bella's 1964 visit to Moscow was rewarded with a \$127 million economic aid loan supplementing an earlier \$100 million in purchasing credits.

On the political propaganda front, the Soviet Union continued to exploit the unresolved Arab-Israel conflict to the Kremlin's great advantage. The capture by the Communists of the word "imperialism" and their use of it as a rallying cry for Afro-Asian peoples had an effect on the jargon employed in the Arab-Israeli dispute. The support, friendship and favoritism manifested toward Israel by a United States already deeply committed to uphold Britain and France, the two great Arab *bêtes noires*, under alliances aimed against communism in Europe and around the globe, was viewed as but another species of imperialism. In Arab eyes, while the two old colonial powers had been pushed out, Israel remained in the Middle East as the new imperialist arm of a U.S.-led Western world.¹¹ Being pro-West was increasingly becoming the noxious equivalent of being pro-Israel.

The suspicion existed in the Arab world that the West, as in 1956, might once more unleash Israel and this time egg it on further—a fear heightened by the continual "ingathering" calls of David Ben-Gurion. As they watched the flow of immigration to Israel, the Arabs reasoned that Israel was bound to expand and was certain to receive the help of the United States and her European allies. This made reliance on the Soviet Union's friendship, as well as on her economic, military and diplomatic aid, a prime Arab necessity in order to assure themselves top strength against possible future Israeli action. And nothing could have been more pleasing to the Kremlin than a line-up with Israel on the side of the United States and the Arab nations on the side of the U.S.S.R.

Of course, the Israelis and their supporters in the United States were also striving to achieve this same line-up. No opportunity was lost by Zionist intriguers to undermine Arab rela-

tions with the United States and to prevent an Arab-U.S. rapprochement. The famed Lavon affair, which shook Israel to the roots in 1960 and led to a political crisis, the ensuing resignation of the Ben Gurion government and the 1961 elections, revealed to extent to which this objective had been pursued.

After the Egyptian revolution of 1952, relations between the United States and Egypt steadily improved. Cultural and economic agreements between Egypt and other Arab states and the U.S. were being discussed, and it was sincerely hoped that the United States would aid the projected Aswan Dam development program. By 1954, Ambassador Byroade's personal friendship with President Nasser seemed likely to produce results. A U.S. aid program of \$50 million had been started.

This situation was viewed in high Israeli quarters as a grave threat to the continued flow of American dollars into Israel from public, if not private, sources. A direct severance of relations between Egypt and the U.S. was deemed desirable. An Israeli espionage ring was sent to Egypt to bomb official United States offices and, if necessary, to attack American personnel working there so as to destroy Egyptian-U.S. and, eventually, Arab-U.S. relations. The creation of simulated anti-British incidents was calculated to induce the British to maintain their Suez garrison.¹² Several bomb incidents involving U.S. installations in Egypt followed.

Small bombs shaped like books and secreted in book covers were brought into the U.S.I.A. libraries in both Alexandria and Cairo. Fishskin bags filled with acid were placed on top of nitroglycerin bombs. It took several hours for the acid to eat through the bag and ignite the bomb. The book bombs were placed in the shelves of the library just before closing hours. Several hours later a blast would occur, shattering glass and shelves and setting fire to books and furniture. Similar bombs were placed in the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Theatre on Sharia Fuad el Awal and in other American-owned business buildings. In December, two young Jewish Egyptian boys carrying identical bombs were caught as they were about to enter U.S. installations. Upon their confessions, a sabotage gang was rounded up of six other

Jews.¹³ Five others were implicated in the plot. The conspirators, who received sentences ranging from 15 years to life, were the objects in the U.S. of multifold sympathetic editorials and articles. Nothing appeared in print¹⁴ at the time to combat the image of another Nasser conspiracy to unite his country against Israel.

In 1960 an investigation in Israel called attention to the forgery of an important document in what had been announced as a "security mishap" that precipitated the resignation of Pinhas Lavon as Minister of Defense in 1955. Lavon had been at odds with others in the Ministry of Defense, including Deputy Minister Shimon Peres and General Moshe Dayan, who had been seeking some excuse to force his resignation. The forgery placed the legal responsibility for this unsuccessful sabotage attempt at Lavon's door, even though he, at the time, had called it "a stupid and immoral act."

From the outset Lavon had denounced the document as a forgery and had pressed for an investigation, using all his influence as the Secretary-General of the Histadrut, the powerful Israeli labor union. But Prime Minister Ben-Gurion fought the reopening of the Lavon case on the grounds that Israel's three-year statute of limitations now barred a rehearing. However, late in 1960 the Cabinet ordered an investigation, which, under the direction of Attorney General Gideon Hausner, revealed clearly that Lavon's signature had, in fact, been forged by a high-ranking officer in the ministry, that Lavon had never ordered this sabotage operation and that false testimony had been given in an earlier inquiry. Israel's Ministry of Defense, presided over by General Moshe Dayan and Brigadier Abraham Givli, proved to be involved.

With the introduction of new evidence, Mr. Lavon demanded an acquittal. The army used military censorship as an excuse "to cover up its own blunders,"¹⁵ and to control every printed word from October, 1960, when the affair first erupted. But the Cabinet crisis and the resignation of the prime minister, coupled with the elections of 1961 in which the Lavon affair was one of the issues, brought the case to prominence. The first published

reports in the United States incorrectly indicated that the affair concerned an Israeli military mishap connected with the 1955 attack on Gaza.¹⁶ As late as December 29, 1960, the *Times* referred to the affair only as "a disastrous adventure in 1954," but editor William Zukerman first brought the true facts to light in his publication. Americans, however, still paid scant attention to the disclosure of this Israeli attempt to sabotage U.S.-Arab relations, and the already abnormal ties between Israel and the United States continued to grow stronger. Little wonder that the Arab, with his tendency to exaggeration, was quick to attribute some Zionist motivation to any U.S. move to maintain a modicum of friendship with the Arab world.

However much the individual Arab might like the individual American with whom he came in personal contact, he continued to hate Uncle Sam, encouraged, of course, by clever Soviet propaganda. No amount of amicable words uttered in Washington to be repeated in Arab capitals by highly respected American ambassadors, not even presidential letters, were likely to change the Arab view of the U.S. government as a partner in Israeli expansionism as long as the United States permitted U.J.A. funds for bringing immigrants into Israel to remain tax deductible and otherwise encouraged the vast Jewish nationalist publicity campaigns during which Washington officialdom competed with state and local politicians in stoking the propaganda fires. Israel—which had started as a "national home,"¹⁷ which had then become by UN dictate a sovereign state of a prescribed size and soon by war had increased its area of control by 32 per cent—with such a friend could easily be envisioned pushing forward its boundaries to receive new immigrants until the dream of an empire from the "Nile to the Euphrates" was realized. And the conquest of the Negev through diverted Jordan waters was visualized as a giant step in this direction.

In Arab thinking the question of Israeli "ingathering" and consequent expansionism was linked to the plight of the Palestinian Arab refugees. The Arab countries were not only fearful of the Israeli expansion that could result from large-scale immigration, but also aware that as more Jewish immigrants

poured into the country, the chance for a resettlement of any considerable number of Arab refugees decreased.

That Mr. Ben-Gurion was vigorously pursuing his ingathering drive to attain a population of five million for Israel as soon as possible was evident from this statement to a large group of U.J.A. members on the day following his spring, 1961 meeting with President Kennedy in New York. "Israel expects to receive a very large number of immigrant Jews from Moslem countries and a country which I cannot name," said Mr. Ben-Gurion. The unnamed country, according to reporters, was the Soviet Union.

Even if this was in fact only talk calculated to feed the fund-raising drives in the United States, such statements injured American interests abroad. New York was more strongly identified as the base for achieving additional Israeli expansionism.

In announcing the refusal of the Saudi Arabian government to renew the lease giving the U.S. Strategic Air Command certain rights in the use of the Dhahran air base (Baku, a major Soviet oil center on the Caspian, is but 1,000 flying miles away), Finance Minister Prince Talal linked this action to the continued financial support given to Israel through the U.J.A.¹⁸ Even as King Saud, who had been in the United States for nearly three months undergoing medical treatment, was meeting in Washington with President Kennedy to discuss the question of some form of continued U.S. presence at the Dhahran air base in Saudi Arabia, the AID (Agency for International Development) was announcing the approval of a \$10 million development loan for Israel. And the more the United States supported its ward, Israel, the more the Arabs turned to the Soviet Union, if only on the basis of an old Arab proverb: "The enemy of my enemy is my friend."

To Nasser, as one prominent columnist reported, "foreign policy is less important than internal policy . . . His attitude toward other nations is measured more in terms of their policies toward Israel than toward the U.A.R. itself."¹⁹ When United States officials or the American press praise Israel, "Nasser's reaction is bitter. It is even more bitter when, as recently, we helped Israel with a loan."²⁰

The unresolved Arab-Israel conflict was, of course, only one factor that made the Middle East as turbulent and the Arab world as divided in 1962 as they had ever been. Iraq was threatening or claiming Kuwait as Moscow-trained Kurdish leader Mullah Mustafa al-Barzani directed a serious revolt in northern Iraq against the government of Abdel Karim Kassem. By early 1963, after two years of warfare largely ignored by the outside world, the Kurds held virtually all of 25,000 square miles of mountainous Iraqi Kurdistan, save a handful of garrisoned towns. Radio Cairo was alternately threatening Jordan and Saudi Arabia, forgetting for the moment its bitterness toward Baghdad. Nasser's editor-spokesman, Hassanein Heikal, had pinned responsibility for the successful Syrian uprising against the U.A.R. on King Saud, and the ensuing press vendetta between Riyadh and Cairo hit new lows in journalism. The struggle over Yemen added to the feud. Syria, between coups and countercoups, anxiously waited to see what would happen next as the struggle for control of the army shifted from an anti-Nasser to a more neutral faction and then again to a group hostile toward the U.A.R. Nasser's graceful withdrawal from the Syrian-Egyptian Union by not resorting to force at first kept the door open to his adherents, but hopes for a rapprochement soon faded.

Syria, Iraq, Jordan and the U.A.R. alternately cast covetous eyes toward Lebanon, where the delicate balance between Christian and Moslem was being precariously maintained in the face of an attempted coup by the PPS (Partie Populaire Syrienne),²¹ a plot in which the government of Jordan was said to have been implicated. In fact, to the independent and ultrasectarian-minded Lebanese, it seemed that all Arab states were threatening their freedom. Tunisia and Morocco were bitterly divided over the Sahara and Mauritania.

Cairo was never as apprehensive about Iraqi threats to Kuwaiti independence as about British-supported Kuwaiti efforts to protect that independence. Algeria, even before gaining complete independence, was rent by civil warfare among the victorious leaders. Before Ben Bella could celebrate his first anni-

versary in power, the Algerian leader was seriously and publicly quarreling with Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia. His closer ties with Nasser did not please his next-door neighbor. Jordan, Syria and Saudi Arabia moved closer together and then apart. Arab fratricide reached a new intensity with the death of Yemen's Imam Ahmed and the army revolution, led by pro-Nasser officers, which unseated his successor Prince Mohammed al-Badr. Yemen's UN representative, Prince Seif al-Islam al-Hassan, uncle of the deposed Imam, claimed the throne and rushed to Saudi Arabia where he won the support of King Saud. Soon Saudi units, allegedly supported by troops from Jordan, were fighting in pitched battles against the Yemen revolutionary forces which controlled the seat of government.

The revolutionary forces of Brigadier Abdullah al Sallal gradually gained control of the country, but the civil war continued with Nasser lined up behind Sallal, and Jordan and Saudi Arabia supporting the deposed al-Badr, who had reappeared after being believed assassinated. To strengthen his shaky kingdom, Saud called his brother, Crown Prince Feisal, from the United Nations in New York to take over the post of prime minister. From the safety of Cairo five Saudi princes, brothers of the king, defected and, under the leadership of Prince Talal, vowed to overthrow the Saudi regime. Once again the most turbulent area in the world was showing its chaotic nature. The ultimate recognition by the U.S. of Sallal's republican government late in December, 1962, brought down on Washington's head angry cries from the two Middle East monarchs (Hussein complained that the U.S. "was undercutting its friends"), and a mild thank you from Sallal. The civil war meanwhile continued and the heralded *Pax Americana* remained only a hope until United Nations Security Council action restored some semblance of order.

The year 1963 brought to the Middle East revolution, violence and a momentary step forward toward Arab unity. On February 8th the government of Abdel Karim Kassem was overthrown in a swift two-day revolt led by Abd al-Salaam Aref, who had been Kassem's partner in the 1958 coup against the

royal Hashemite regime, but had split with the "sole leader" over the question of relations with the United Arab Republic. Bombed into submission, Kassem and his cousin, Colonel Fadhil Mahdawi, who had served as the notorious president of the People's Court, and two Communist aides-de-camp were summarily executed and their bodies shown on television. Violence erupted in Mosul, Basra and sections of Baghdad as Communist elements were hunted out and eliminated. The Aref government negotiated a cease fire with Mustafa Barzani, leader of the Kurdish rebels, ending for the time being this two-year-old uprising in the north.

Ties between Cairo and Baghdad were swiftly re-established, as both Jordan and Syria increased vigilance on their borders. One month later Syrian army officers revolted in the early hours of the morning. The eighth Syrian coup in 14 years brought into power a Revolutionary Command Council, more sympathetic to the governments of Iraq and the United Arab Republic. The language used in the Damascus announcement of the coup and the music played were similar to those that had been heard on Radio Baghdad.

Salah Bitar, veteran leader, emerged as head of the new government. Iraq and Syria were now both ruled by a coalition of Nasserite army officers and politicians of the Baath (Renaissance) party, which had long promoted the ideal of "al-Wahda al-Arabiya," Arab oneness.

A preliminary exchange of missions led to full-scale unity talks in Cairo by the three governments. After twelve days of hammering out points of disagreement, a federated, tripartite United Arab Republic was announced on April 17th. Not since the day when Jewish Palestine celebrated the establishment of Israel had such emotionalism swept over a Middle Eastern land. Support came from throughout the Arab world. Algeria and Yemen wanted to join. Pro-Nasser demonstrations filled the streets of Lebanon and Kuwait. In Jordan Nasserite forces boldly attempted to take over the government, and the short-lived government of pro-West Samir Rifai gave way to the rule of Sherif Hussein ben Nasser, a cousin of the king.

The manifesto signed by President Nasser, Prime Minister Ahmed Hassan el Bakr of Iraq and General Lovay Attassi of Syria was merely a set of principles for the projected new federation. The big job of converting the union on paper into a working union still lay ahead, and the usual obstacles that Arab factionalism inevitably creates were yet to be overcome. Plebiscites were scheduled to follow within five months of the signing of the manifesto, and the new state was to come into being twenty-five months later. While the Cairo negotiations revealed a determination to move more slowly and build deeper roots than in past union attempts, much was undetermined and many things were certain to happen in the interim before unity would become a fact.

In the United States the move toward Arab unity brought a swift reaction. Israelists interpreted the steps toward Arab federation as a threat to the balance of power in the Middle East. Israel and her friends saw in Arab unity the loss of the advantage of being surrounded by divided, disunited Arab states rather than one strong federated Arab country. Zionists called for Kennedy-Khrushchev talks to discuss steps to guarantee the security of Israel in the face of Arab moves. The press portrayed the Arab moves as a step toward a new frontal attack on Israel.

Public commotion in the United States mounted. Twelve U.S. senators assailed the continuation of economic aid to Nasser. Senators Humphrey and Javits accused the Soviet Union of "pouring guns, tanks, planes and ships into Egypt to re-equip Nasser's armies and stir up the Arabs, because of Israel's commitment to the West."²² The following day Senate Republican Leader Everett M. Dirksen added his thundering voice to the bipartisan expression of fear of possible Arab aggression against Israel.

The Russians quickly adopted a new party line in the Middle East. Not since prior to 1955, when they had emerged as an important power in the area, had the Soviet Union received so serious a setback as that wrought by the changes in Iraq and Syria. Their new strategy took the form of outright support for the Kurds, led by Barzani. While the new Aref-Bakr govern-

ment had promised the Kurdish rebels "national rights on the basis of governmental decentralization," the Soviets were encouraging the Kurds to demand immediate autonomy. The truce between the Baghdad government and the Kurds was broken, and new fighting broke out. This not only posed a threat to the Iraqi government but implied the greater threat of a possible Soviet-backed Kurdish independent state to include portions of Turkey and Iran as well as Iraq. As Soviet support of the Kurdish rebels became more pronounced, the Iraqi government complained to the UN Security Council.²³

The celebration of Israel's fifteenth anniversary, observed on different dates in Jerusalem and Washington because of the Hebrew calendar, provided another occasion for attacks on the enlarged U.A.R. Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, who telecast for one hour over CBS, was widely quoted as "being certain that the Arabs are contemplating an attack."²⁴ The New York press reverberated with the Israelist theme that Arab unity was aimed solely at attacking Israel and that the United States was obliged to intervene to protect Israel.

Myer Feldman, Deputy Special Counsel to President Kennedy, declared that "the United States does not intend to sit on the side lines as the Arab nations of the Middle East move against Israel." At a press conference, the President was asked whether he considered the recent developments in the Middle East as having shifted the balance of power. He replied: "I do not think the balance has been changed in recent days. There are political changes in the Middle East which do not show a precise pattern and on which we are unable to make any final judgment."²⁵

Israelist fears of an Arab federation turned out to be premature, for the details left unresolved by the April Cairo talks proved to be near-insurmountable obstacles to unity. Differences between Nasser and his adherents and the Baath party, which controlled the governments of Syria and Iraq, increased. Both factions espoused the same goals: independence from foreign domination and Arab unity. But basic ideological differences which underlay the breakup of the 1958 Syrian-Egyptian Union

gave rise to this new Arab power struggle. Salah Bitar and Michael Aflaq of Syria and Ali Saleh al-Saadi of Iraq, the Baathist leaders, demanded collective leadership, free speech and a multiparty "democratic" system.

Several military coups and countercoups in Syria resulted in the ousting of Nasserite officers, and the Baath party emerged in sole control of the country. In Iraq, too, the Baath party strengthened its position vis-à-vis Nasserite nationalists. The Iraqi-Syrian bloc came under heavy attack from Cairo's propaganda machine, and hopes for unity faded. As Nasser continued to reiterate his demand for a single nationalist front in each country representing all views as a prerequisite for unity, Damascus and Baghdad stuck to their position: "Union with Nasser, but not with Nasserites," and the Baathists stamped out all vestiges of Nasserite representation in their governments.

The Middle East scene remained fluid during the fall of 1963. The breach between the Baath party and Nasser remained unhealed. Iraq and Syria announced the unification of their military forces. Saudi Arabia and the U.A.R. both expressed determination to hold onto their positions in Yemen. While Baathists fervently hoped that the Yemen adventure would spell the downfall of Nasser, the U.A.R. was counting on the Kurdish war to diminish the momentum of the Baathists. Jordan, with the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and a more conciliatory attitude toward Nasser, veered away from the West toward nonalignment. Even as Algeria and Morocco engaged in border warfare, Cairo found itself threatened by isolation from other Arab countries. Iraq, in one period of four days, underwent three major changes in leadership in the struggle among Nasserites, Baathists and moderates. These moves left outsiders bewildered.

Then the picture changed swiftly. President Aref of Iraq, in a double coup, ousted both extreme Baathist wings and established, on November 18, a military regime with moderate Socialists and conservative religious leaders in control. Aref, always personally well disposed toward Nasser, moved toward

friendlier ties with the U.A.R., as Baathist remnants rallied to the banners of Syrian Premier General Amin el-Hafez.

The crisis over the impending Israeli diversion of Jordan River waters caused further changes in the Arab world. The December meeting in Cairo of the Arab chiefs of staff emphasized the seriousness of Israel's ten-year-old river project, soon to reach fruition in a network of 50 miles of pipeline, 25 miles of open canal and four tunnels, as well as pumping stations and a power plant. In sharp contrast to this Israeli achievement had been continuing Arab inertia in counteracting the project, which Arabs assailed as a plan "to settle three million immigrants and to set up 120 military resettlement posts along the Negev-Sinai border." As hotheads in Syria mouthed warnings of war, Nasser on December 23 used a Port Said Victory Day rally, celebrating the seventh anniversary of the evacuation of British and French troops who had attacked the Suez Canal in 1956, to issue a call for a meeting of all heads of Arab states. This proposal for an Arab summit meeting was widely interpreted as a reflection of Cairo's view that the Arabs could not afford to take on Israel again, unless and until they were prepared and united.²⁶

Nasser's proposal was speedily accepted by eleven of the other twelve Arab League countries. Saudi Arabia, where the contest between King Saud and Crown Prince Feisal made it difficult for either to go to Cairo, was the last to announce its participation. (Saud attended, but shortly thereafter was deprived of all power in the country).

From January 13 to January 17, 1964, Cairo's Nile Hilton Hotel housed a unique and distinguished assemblage composed of three kings, one emir, seven presidents, one prime minister and one crown prince (the latter two representing respectively the ill President Chehab of Lebanon and the ailing King Idris of Libya).

Each delegation was allocated a separate floor with private suites, reception rooms, offices and dining rooms. The business meetings were held in the Arab League headquarters next door.

The five-day conference achieved miraculous unity, but details of the Arab plan to halt Israel from diverting the waters

of the Jordan were not at first divulged beyond disclosure of the establishment of a Joint Arab Military Command (with the U.A.R.'s General Abdel Hakim Amer as chief). Subsequently Arab countermeasures to construct a dam in the Hasbani River in Lebanon, to build the Baniyas-Yarmouk Canal in Syria and to pump additional water through the East Ghor Canal in Jordan were announced. The chiefs of state planned to meet again in Alexandria in the summer of 1964 and to convene at least once a year thereafter.

Unparalleled and unpredicted harmony prevailed. Out of the conference came the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the U.A.R. and Jordan, and the U.A.R. and Saudi Arabia. The year-and-a-half propaganda warfare Cairo and Ryadh had been waging against each other was called off, and some progress was reported on a settlement of the most difficult problem, Yemen, where the struggle between the republican regime of President Sallal and royalist mountain tribes supporting Imam al-Badr continued to drag on. Nasser's differences with Bourguiba had earlier been resolved. Ben Bella and King Hassan reached an agreement to settle their border disputes. The Kurdish rebels renewed their negotiations with the Aref government in Baghdad.

All Arab family relations, save those between the U.A.R. and Syria, had vastly improved. Damascus continued to hold out against the new Cairo-Baghdad axis.* When President Nasser the following month, at a public celebration of Unity Day,²⁷ noted Anglo-American support of Israel and asked Libya to eliminate British and American military bases on her soil because of a possible attack from there, King Idris promptly re-

*As the end of 1964 approached, plans for economic integration and eventual political federation between the U.A.R. and Iraq moved ahead. The Alexandria summit meeting had brought about a Cairo-Saudi pact to settle the Yemen dispute. Implementation of this agreement, however, proved more difficult. The elevation of Prince Feisal to the throne in November in place of the ailing King Saud spurred peace efforts as Royalists and Republicans agreed upon a cease fire and sought to form a Yemeni coalition government. Meanwhile, the Syrian government floundered from crisis to crisis.

plied with an announcement that the leases on these foreign bases, including Wheelus Air Force Base near Tripoli, would not be renewed upon expiration.²⁸

Opposition to Israel had again proved to be the one thing that could bring the Arabs together. The internecine Arab battle for supremacy had tended to shroud Arab unanimity on this subject. The Middle East correspondent²⁹ for *The Scotsman* analyzed the causes of the mistrust felt there toward the United States in this way:

Western observers often express puzzlement at the depth of anti-American feeling developing here, since the U.S. has no record of direct imperialist rule in the Middle East and, furthermore, stood firmly by Egypt during the supreme crisis of Suez. The source of the trouble is the persistent misunderstanding of Middle Eastern conflicts in high circles in America. First and foremost comes America's support for Israel, which is both substantial and more vocal than support from any other source. This, alone, may cause a fatal obstacle to Arab-American understanding for years to come.³⁰

Emile Bustani, the late Lebanese industrialist and member of Parliament put it, "Had it not been for Israel, we Arabs would not have felt the need for a single new weapon; and had it not been for the American preferential treatment of Israel, we would not have been introduced to a single new Russian face."

Both Arab leaders and the Arab press were immediately aware of the continued acts of partiality toward Israel by American officialdom, which refused to take into consideration the importance of what a leading Beirut editorial writer called "the psychological Palestine factor."³¹ When the halls of Congress reverberated with the bid of a politician for the "Jewish vote," the tactic rebounded across the ocean and sea to the Arab world.

One day Senator Jacob K. Javits called on the United States to help correct an "arms imbalance" confronting Israel because of the Soviet Union's "huge shipments of modern arms to the United Arab Republic and Iraq." The next day the other New

York senator, Kenneth B. Keating, not satisfied with the unsuccessful attempt to bar the seating of the United Arab Republic at the Security Council, protested the sale of rockets by the United States to the Nasser government. Shortly thereafter the leading Beirut English daily, *The Daily Star*, commented:

The arguments of Senator Keating might appeal to the American public but in this part of the world they are looked upon with surprise. Japan, Italy and Sweden are producing rockets, yet we do not remember Senator Keating expressing concern here. Why then is he now campaigning to prevent the UAR from getting such equipment?

Is it because he hears that the UAR will use them, if truly converted into military weapons, as a means of defense against Israel?³² . . . Israel has already obtained such weapons and is in fact ahead of the United Arab Republic inasmuch as it had already successfully launched a rocket. And we did not hear any cry of alarm raised at the time that these rockets might eventually be used against the Arab countries.

And what makes the issue more puzzling—but apparently not to Senator Keating—is that the United States is contributing towards furnishing Israel with equipment to aid it in developing the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Yet the wisdom of such a grant is not being questioned. Isn't it just possible that Israel might develop atomic energy for other than the announced peaceful uses?³³

It is indeed regrettable that many responsible men in Washington still look with suspicion at any action on behalf of the Arab countries while ignoring the true intentions of Israel.³⁴

For years the United States had refused to develop a foreign policy of its own for the Middle East, preferring to rely on the British. Freed at last by the swift course of events from the handicapping necessity of following London's lead, the U.S. instead hung an Israeli albatross around its neck. The State Department, under the influence of the executive and legislative branches of the government, adopted a new restrictive guidepost, one which was equally heedless of the American

national interest: "Take no step that Israel will dislike or that the Israelists will resent."

It was not difficult to understand why President Nasser had become convinced that the U.S. could never change its policy of intimate orientation to Israel and hence could never assume the role of a disinterested third-party mediator in the Arab-Israeli conflict. On a "Meet the Press" interview from Cairo in 1960 Nasser commented about a proposed meeting between himself and Ben-Gurion which the U.S. favored, "How do you meet with a man with whom you have no trust?" The U.A.R. chief-tain reminded his interviewers that 48 hours after a previous Ben-Gurion offer to meet with him, the Israeli army had launched the brutal attack against Gaza.³⁵ While Nasser was impressed by the American people and appreciative of personal courtesies extended to him, his fall 1960 visit to New York City for the General Assembly did not alter his basic viewpoint. In a filmed CBS interview from his summer residence at Mamura, outside Alexandria, Mr. Nasser again referred to the bitterness of his country at the partiality shown Israel by the United States in its foreign policy.³⁶ At this time (August, 1961) a war of words had been flourishing for six months between Moscow's *Pravda* and Cairo's *Al Gumhouriya*, and, though the second Nasser-Khrushchev honeymoon had been broken off as violently as the earlier 1958 one, there was still little movement of the U.A.R. toward the West.

Even as the United States was seeking friends at the United Nations for a common stand against the Russians on Berlin and Cuba, the double abnormality constituted by the relationship of Jewish Americans to the people and to the state of Israel and by that of the United States government to the government of Israel was barring the Arabs from anything more than a formal diplomatic friendship with the West. Nasser and his fellow Arab leaders, despite their own personal quarrels, would continue to resist American efforts to have them settle their differences with Israel so long as American policy continued along the same road of partiality toward Israel.

To the Arab, neutralism meant not being "dominated by anybody but just going on trading and living their own lives." Where John Foster Dulles as Secretary of State had fought the concept that governments could be neutralist and at the same time be considered friendly to the United States, his successors, Christian Herter and Dean Rusk, rejected any further attempts to impose a pro-Western policy upon nations wishing nonalignment. The Iraqi revolution and subsequent events had at least helped reverse the State Department's past dogma regarding neutralism and removed one obstacle to better American-Arab relations.

Even with the attempted Russian squeeze on Kassem and then on the successor Aref government in Iraq and Moscow's violent verbal onslaughts against Nasser, the threat of communism could not possibly appear as distant to the Arabs as it had previously. But for the Arab the danger of aggressive Zionism remained nearer and more real. His ancient proverb, "the dead donkey has no fear of the hyena," guided his thinking.

The ability of the Soviet Union to exploit to its advantage situations resulting more often from U.S. and Western foreign policy errors than from its own design had brought the Soviets into the area as a power for the first time. As General E. L. M. Burns, who formerly headed the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, expressed it, "since 1955, the game has been going the Russian way, assisted by the Suez Canal blunder of Great Britain and France, and the vacillating foreign policy of the United States in the area trying to hunt with the Arab hounds while ensuring that no harm comes to the Israel hare."³⁷

The drift of the Arab countries toward the Soviet camp had not yet yielded any Soviet satellites in the Arab world, thanks more to peculiar national Arab characteristics than to any Western strategy. The strong theism in their Islamic faith and their Bedouin heritage of individualism make the Arabs a difficult people to be led or captured. The same intense individualism that bedeviled all attempts at building one strong, unified Arab community was their greatest defense against any take-over by the Soviet Union. But the protection offered by

the shield of Islam against the alien message of communism could in the end prove to be no more of a barrier than Christianity has been in the past.

Rebuffed by the swift changes in Baghdad and Damascus, the Soviet Union could find comfort in developments elsewhere in the area: renewed diplomatic relations with Jordan, long considered virtually an Anglo-American fief and the anticipated transfer to its control of important Russian Orthodox Church property; a new trade agreement with Yemen; the flow of Russian technicians into Yemen and the construction of a huge airport there with special access to East Africa, for which the Yemen government had little need; and the continuation of the Russian-supported Kurdish revolt in northern Iraq.

When Premier Khrushchev set foot for the first time on African soil on May 9, 1964 to receive a tumultuous reception from U.A.R. crowds in Alexandria and Cairo, he could not help but be pleased by the occasion of the celebration which had brought him on a sixteen-day visit to the land of the Pharaohs: the completion of the first stage of the Aswan High Dam. This "symbol of Russia-in-Africa"³⁸ was certain to plague the West as well as Red China, whose Premier, Chou en-lai, had received a far less enthusiastic Egyptian welcome five months earlier. In the contest between Moscow and Peking Chinese rhetoric and ideology was scarcely likely to match Soviet material support.

It must not be thought that the American position vis-à-vis the Arab states and Israel was handicapping Uncle Sam only in the Arab world. It was stultifying the American national interest in regions reached by the call from the Muezzin and far beyond. The Belgrade conference of twenty-five nonaligned countries,³⁹ held in early September 1961, reiterated the position on Palestine taken by the Bandung (1955) and the Casablanca (1960) conferences. This Belgrade meeting, to which President Kennedy sent a letter stating it was "encouraging when responsible world leaders join together to consider the problems that beset mankind,"⁴⁰ called for the "full restoration

of all the rights of the Arab people of Palestine in conformity with the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations."

Israel's reservoir of good will in the Afro-Asian world had been tested. Israeli public opinion was shocked by these references to Israel at this conference.⁴¹ While U Nu, the Burmese prime minister and strong friend of Ben-Gurion, was able to block any resolution directly condemning Israel, President Nasser, as one of the three co-sponsors of the conference, saw his Palestine position confirmed and an increase in his personal prestige so that even *The New York Times* gave him slight praise for "what Western observers here termed a responsible attitude" on the Congo.⁴²

The resumption by the Soviet Union of nuclear tests deeply "shocked" the Belgrade conferees and constituted a decided Russian setback, particularly in the Arab world, at a time when the U.S. position in neutralist circles was at a low. The United States abstention on the unanimously voted resolution on the Bizerte question (1961 Special Session of the UN), coming on top of the abstention on the vote to end colonial rule in the world (1960 UN General Assembly), and the U.S. vote at the same session against granting Algeria the right of self-determination had made American efforts to win friends in Africa and Asia through foreign aid or the Peace Corps appear ludicrous.

Between the Russian bloc with its 305 million souls and the Chinese Communist bloc of 696 million and the nearly 600 million in North America and Western Europe, lie the Asian peoples numbering 682 million, African nations of 240 million and 200 million Latins. The cold war is little more than the bitter struggle to win support of these one billion 100 million peoples not aligned to either camp.

The Soviet resumption of testing had afforded American diplomacy one of those golden opportunities, as when, in a football game, the opposition fumbles after pushing the home team back to the two-yard line. But would the U.S. be allowed to pick up the ball and run forward? To what extent would its obsession with Israel cause the U.S. to hesitate and thus con-

tribute to losing the game—uncommitted Africa and Asia—to the Soviet Union?

This still remains a tormenting question. Special Presidential Adviser on Foreign Affairs Chester Bowles had declared to a Hadassah convention in Pittsburgh (Pa.) that the "paramount aim" of American foreign policy in the Middle East is "to help all nations of the area maintain their independence from Soviet aggressive design."⁴³

As Senator Fulbright pointed out to his colleagues in the Senate, two major events led to the Communist entry into the Middle East: arms given by the Soviet Union to Egypt and the withdrawal of the U.S. offer to help build the Aswan Dam.⁴⁴ Israel was deeply involved in both these events.

The Soviet policy on the atom and the Sino-Russian quarrel had provided the United States with more time to alter their posture toward the Middle East. The Communist ideological conflict and the increased competitive activities of Red China in the area created additional problems as well as new opportunities. Would the Department of State, which had failed miserably once before, try again to persuade Israel to transform itself from an expanding state built around a world movement with its center in the Middle East into a normal national state, and in so doing reduce the potential threat of Zionist expansionism in Arab eyes? Or was this to remain a dead letter? Ambassador Henry Byroade, who as Assistant Secretary of State had attempted to put the question of Israeli immigration into its larger and true perspective, had paid for his boldness by being removed from Cairo and eventually "exiled" to Kabul, Afghanistan.⁴⁵ Each of his successors had been carefully selected to make certain that there was nothing in his record or in his outlook that could possibly give offense to the ruling Israelist cabal.⁴⁶

Dr. Arnold Toynbee wrote:

. . . I believe that the Arabs are going to succeed in completing the achievement of Arab independence and unity sooner or later, by one means or another . . . the open question, as I see it, is whether the Arabs are going to attain their acceptable objective—and most of their objec-

tives (though perhaps not all) do seem to me to be acceptable—with the good will and assistance of the West, or whether they are going to attain the same objectives . . . in the teeth of Western opposition, thanks to Russia's support. The answer that is going to be given to this open question matters less to the Arabs than its matters to Russia and the West. The Arabs, I guess, are going to win most of what they want either way. But the way in which they win it will decide whether they join our camp or Russia's camp: and in the competition between the West and Russia, this might prove to be one of the decisive events, whichever way it falls out.⁴⁷

If the White House would do nothing to reverse the "Israel First" edict of the politicians, it would simply be a question of time before our policy of "impartial but pro-Israel" would drive Nasser and Arab nationalist countries to a fixed counterposition of "neutral but pro-Soviet."

12

Expediency First

"I shall no longer ask myself if this or that is expedient, but only if it is right. I shall do this, not because I am noble or unselfish, but because life slips away, and because I need for the rest of my journey a star that will not play false to me . . . a compass that will not lie . . . I do it because I am no longer able to aspire to the highest with one part of myself and deny it with another."

Alan Paton—*Cry The Beloved Country*.

THE REASONS for the partiality shown the state of Israel by American foreign policy molders lie deep in the American political system. Our system of representative government has been profoundly affected by the growing influence of minority pressure groups¹ whose strength invariably increases as presidential elections approach. The efforts of ethnic, religious and minority pressure groups which, relative to Middle East problems, find invaluable allies in public officials obsessed with the "Jewish vote," have made it impossible to formulate or conduct foreign policy in the American national interest. And the electoral college system has greatly facilitated the bargaining position of national lobbies established by these groups because of their potential ability to swing a bloc vote in a hotly contested state to one candidate or another. This potential is the lifeblood of the "Jewish" lobby.

None of the many powerful political lobbies in Washington is better entrenched than the brokers of the "Jewish vote." The Zionist-Jewish nationalists have managed to frighten the politicians with the mythical unity attributed to the Jewish people. The professional politician is too busy or too cowardly to call the bluff of the "professional Jew," and the individual Jew will not take the Zionist to task for usurping his voice and peddling

his vote. Hence the happy alliance, dating back to World War I, between the supine American politicians and the Zionists which has created U.S. pro-Israel policy.

The Balfour Declaration, issued at a time when the Allied military position was serious,² called for the "establishment in Palestine of a Jewish national home." This phraseology, in which the words "home" rather than "state" and "a" rather than "the" were purposely used in contrast to previous drafts; the safeguarding clauses inserted into the document as a protection to the Arabs of Palestine ("nothing shall be done to prejudice the civil³ and religious rights of the non-Jewish communities") and to Jews elsewhere in the world; and the British pledges at the time to the Arabs—all these could be explained only by viewing the Balfour Declaration as a conditional credit rather than as a blank check. The ambiguities latent in the 67-word British foreign policy statement were, however, resolved by political pressures and forces mounted in the United States and in Britain.

Postwar isolationism, following upon the crushing defeat of Wilsonian idealism, cut off any active American participation in international politics and thus served the ends of the Zionist lobby. The gap created by the absence of policy was filled with a spate of resolutions supporting the ever-increasing Jewish nationalist appetite. Although the United States refrained from becoming associated in any way with the League of Nations and was therefore not a party to the British Mandate established over Palestine by the League in 1922, the 76th Congress that same year sanctioned the idea of a national Jewish home, and by special treaty the U.S. recognized the British Mandate.

In a routine manner congressional and state legislative declarations continued to advocate the establishment first of a Jewish national home and then of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. While the British were pursuing their pro-Zionist tactics for reasons of empire encouraged by biblical fundamentalism and Christian guilt, the principal motive behind American actions in the Middle East was political. The essential differences between home and state, between haven and sovereignty, were

glossed over in the United States as politician and lobbyist worked hand in hand to mold inexorable support for Zionist aspirations.

Starting with the joint resolution of June 30, 1922, successive Congresses supported Zionist aims. In 1944 the Wright-Compton Palestine Resolution, calling for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth, was introduced but shelved when Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson wrote House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Sol Bloom that "such action would be prejudicial to the successful prosecution of the war" by vastly complicating the picture in the Middle East. In 1945 a new Congress, however, did enact a resolution that endorsed the free entry of Jews into Palestine "to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish National Home." By substituting "the" for "a," Congress had in fact broadened the obligation contained in both the Balfour Declaration and the League Mandate.

In 1944, under the impact of the Zionists' Biltmore Program,⁴ the Democratic party platform spoke of "a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth," while the Republican party used the phrase "a free and democratic commonwealth" in Palestine. In the ensuing campaign Governor Dewey indicated that the kind of commonwealth the party envisioned was a Jewish one.

Zionist supporters viewed the first draft of the 1948 Republican plank on the Middle East as "saying less than a New Year's greeting card," and so the resolutions committee rewrote the resolution, making it suitable to the most ardent Jewish nationalist. The Democrats did not hesitate to appeal to the Zionists from the start by offering financial aid for Israel and repeal of the U.S. arms embargo. The Truman Administration constantly reminded the electorate just who had been the best friend of "the Jewish people." In the course of the campaign that year, Dewey and Truman competed as to which party could do more to help Israel settle its problems in the Middle East on Israeli terms.

U.S. policy could not be swerved from this course of domestic expediency even by the tireless efforts of James V. Forrestal, who endeavored to win an agreement from both parties to take the Middle East out of politics. All that the first Secretary of Defense gained for his troubles was vilification.⁵ Whatever effort American diplomats were making in the Middle East to assure the Arabs of good U.S. intentions and to maintain the reservoir of good will that had been built by American educational-eleemosynary institutions and American abstinence from imperialism was offset by the politicians at home.

Domestic politics in election years invariably watered down any statesmanlike concern for the national interest. President Roosevelt, who was interested in refugeeism, not statehood, for oppressed Jewry, had been reluctant to accept the nationalist phrase "Jewish commonwealth" and to bow to the Zionist insistence that "home," as used in the Declaration, was synonymous with "state."⁶ The wartime executive had been in communication with the Saudi Arabian monarch, Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud, since May, 1943. The King had written the White House explaining that his silence following the Biltmore program's demand for statehood was motivated only by a concern not to embarrass the Allied war effort by increasing Arab-Zionist antagonisms at the time. The King, the father of the present ruler, asked for assurances that he would receive advance notification of any affirmative steps to be taken in respect to Palestine.⁷ Roosevelt promised that "no decision altering the basic situation of Palestine should be reached without fully consulting with both Jews and Arabs."⁸ This communication of May 26, 1943, from F.D.R. to the King was not released publicly until 1945, following the historic Mediterranean meeting between the two leaders aboard the U.S.S. *Quincy*, when the President again assured the Arab monarch that he would never sanction any American move "hostile to the Arab people and would make no change in its basic policy without full and prior consultation with both Jews and Arabs."⁹

This promise was confirmed in a letter, written on April 5, 1945, only a week before the President died in which he re-

iterated his intent to assure fair treatment for the Arabs. Later, President Truman rejected the suggestion of his secretary of state, James F. Byrnes, that the White House release and re-affirm the text of the Roosevelt commitments to Ibn Saud. Instead, seven months after it had been written, the letter alone was released by the secretary with no presidential comment.

Political concern for the outcome of the 1944 election, however, had wiped out Roosevelt's statesmanlike reluctance to broaden American commitments to Zionism and Jewish statehood. Seventy five per cent of American Jewry lived in 14 cities concentrated in the states with the largest electoral vote, and 42 per cent were residents of New York City, the key to the Empire State with its 45 electoral votes.¹⁰ Even as the free world struggled for survival, the President momentarily subordinated his responsibility for the U.S. position on the world scene to the needs of the politicians; both his message to the Zionist Organization of American and the Democratic platform were couched in the unmistakable Jewish nationalist lingo of "a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

Even New York's Congressman Sol Bloom, who normally bowed willingly to the Zionists,¹¹ was made to understand by the lobbyists that he had jeopardized his political future in expressing some doubt that the only solution to the refugee problem lay in Jewish statehood and in consenting to the War Department's wish that consideration of the 1944 Palestine Resolution be postponed.¹²

The Zionists campaigned against the British White Paper restricting immigration into Palestine after April, 1944, as a test of their strength and as an experiment in developing techniques and tactics. They contacted national, state and local office holders and nonofficial political leaders of both parties (the governors of forty states responded by later petitioning the President in behalf of a Jewish state) and mobilized American public opinion through letter-telegram campaigns. Instructions sent to Jewish organizations throughout the U.S. stated: "Those who have the responsibility for formulating American foreign policy must be made to feel that the Jews of America are

aroused on the question of the White Paper; that they want it abrogated; and that this is the sentiment of millions of Jews throughout the United States.”¹³ Not only all major Jewish organizations fell in line, but such groups as Rotary, Elks, Lions, labor unions, business and professional associations and women’s clubs joined in the outcry against the British White Paper.¹⁴

The Zionists recognized the limited support of F.D.R. admitting that, as Rabbi Emmanuel Neumann later said, “his friendship toward Jews was indisputable, but for the Zionist cause he had little time and less thought.”¹⁵

The full extent of President Roosevelt’s coolness toward Zionist aspirations for statehood was never realized until the State Department in May, 1964, disclosed hitherto classified documents bearing on United States policy in the Middle East in 1943. President Roosevelt had apparently at that time urged a “trusteeship for the Holy Land with a Jew, a Christian and a Moslem as the three responsible trustees.” This solution to the Palestine controversy had been offered after proposed negotiations between King Ibn Saud and Dr. Weizmann had come to naught. The Arabian monarch categorically rejected a Roosevelt suggestion that he meet with the Zionist leader on the grounds, as reported by the presidential emissary, Harold B. Hoskins, that “during the first year of the present world war, Dr. Weizmann had impugned his (the King’s) character and motives by an attempted bribe of 20 million pounds sterling.” The King had also been advised that the promise of payment was guaranteed by the President himself. F.D.R. expressed “surprise and irritation” at the use of “his own name as guarantor of payment, since there was of course no basis in fact for doing so.”¹⁶

But the President’s unwillingness to act for statehood was circumvented by political pressure exerted on the political leaders of the party. As Dr. Neumann noted, “To the Jewish masses in America and throughout the world, Roosevelt loomed as the great friend and champion of their people. How could such a friend oppose or ignore Jewish national aspirations? Not only was it difficult to accept such a painful thought—there

was a strong psychological need to reject it . . . To cross him, offend him, alienate his affection was to court disaster for the Zionist cause.”¹⁷

This meant instead lighting more political fires around the White House and the Hill. The American Palestine Committee, numbering several hundred U.S. senators, representatives, Cabinet members, governors and influential personalities from all walks of life, was organized by the American Zionist Emergency Council to play an important role in the political maneuverings that were constantly necessary to keep the Congress, the Executive and the public in line.

After Harry Truman took office the Zionists found their task simpler. “He accepted,” we are told, “the Zionist line reluctantly and under pressure, at first, but having accepted it, he followed through honestly and firmly. In the end he found himself in direct conflict with Britain’s Bevin. He did not shrink from the encounter but, supported by popular opinion, he stuck to his guns and forced the State Department to acquiesce in his pro-Zionist policy.”¹⁸

Even before Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council and chief Zionist lobbyist, came to see the new President, Mr. Truman had received a memorandum from Secretary of State Stettinius expressing the thinking and attitude of the State Department on Palestine (this was April 19, 1945, one week after the death of F.D.R.):

It is very likely that efforts will be made by some of the Zionist leaders to obtain from you at an early date some commitments for unlimited immigration into Palestine and the establishment there of a Jewish state. As you are aware, the Government and the people of the U.S. have every sympathy for the persecuted Jews of Europe and are doing all in their power to relieve their suffering. The question of Palestine is, however, a highly complex one and involves questions which go far beyond the plight of the Jews in Europe. There is continual tenseness in the situation in the Near East, largely as a result of the Palestine question and as we have interests in that area which are vital to the U.S., we feel that this whole subject is one that should

be handled with the greatest care and with a view to the long-range interests of the country.¹⁹

With this warning in his hands before his first White House meeting with Rabbi Wise, the new President indicated in his memoirs his own preconceived ideas at that time:

I was skeptical, as I read over the whole report up to date, about some of the views and attitudes answered by the "striped-pants boys" in the State Department. It seemed to me they didn't care enough about what happened to thousands of persons who were involved. It was my feeling that it would be possible for us to watch out for the long-range interests of our country while at the same time helping these unfortunate victims of persecution find a home. And before Rabbi Wise left, I believe I made this clear to him.²⁰

Mr. Truman, genuinely concerned with the plight of Jewish refugees, soon realized that no solution short of a state in Palestine would satisfy the Zionists and give him any political peace. The Morrison-Grady Committee,²¹ set up by the British and U.S. governments to implement the 1945 Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, had agreed upon a federal system of two autonomous states in Palestine with a strong central government under British direction and the admission of 100,000 refugees to Palestine at once.

Prominent Zionists, influential Christian pro-Zionist supporters and others dissuaded Truman from supporting this solution. Most important were the warnings from politicians in New York and other areas of heavy Jewish population that this step might ruin Democratic chances in the forthcoming congressional elections. Truman soon informed the British government that the "opposition to the Anglo-American Plan has become so intense that it is now clear that it would be impossible to rally in favor of it sufficient public opinion to give it effective support."²²

Having been rebuffed in this effort to take an independent line that would have served the immediate and long-range

interests of the refugees, Truman became the strongest proponent of Jewish statehood in Palestine.

Where President Roosevelt as recently as March 3, after his trip to the Middle East, had told an officer of the Department of State that, in his opinion, "a Jewish state in Palestine could be established and maintained only by military force," Mr. Truman was not deterred by any such fears. He saw in the Balfour Declaration setting up a national home the legal basis for the Jewish state:

The Balfour Declaration promising the Jews to re-establish a homeland in Palestine had always seemed to me to go hand-in-hand with the noble policies of Woodrow Wilson, especially the principle of self-determination.²³ When I was in the Senate, I told my colleagues Senator Wagner of New York and Taft of Ohio, that I would go along on a resolution putting the Senate on record in favor of the speedy achievement of the Jewish homeland.²⁴

The role that Harry Truman played as President of the United States in influencing American foreign policy and overruling the advice of United States' diplomats stationed in the Middle East was related indirectly by himself in his own memoirs when he stated:

The facts were that not only were there pressure movements around the United Nations unlike anything that had been seen there before, but the White House too was subjected to a constant barrage. I do not think I ever had as much pressure and propaganda aimed at the White House as I had in this instance. The persistence of a few of the extreme Zionist leaders—actuated by political motives and engaging in political threats—disturbed and annoyed me. Some were even suggesting that we pressure sovereign nations into favorable votes in the General Assembly. I have never approved of the practice of the strong imposing their will on the weak whether among men or among nations.²⁵

If Mr. Truman intended to imply in these words that he did not pressure sovereign nations, he was exceedingly forgetful

both of his own actions and of those who were acting in the name of the Administration as they applied every conceivable pressure to line up partition votes in favor of Israel and against the Arabs at the fateful, deciding session of the United Nations at Lake Success on November 29, 1947.²⁶

The controversy over Mr. Truman's motives in these dramatic events seems unending. In a book published in the spring of 1961, entitled *A Prime Minister Remembers*,²⁷ Earl Clement Attlee, former British Prime Minister, charged that the "U.S. policy in Palestine was molded by the Jewish vote and by party contributions of several big Jewish firms." The onetime leader of the British Labor Party insisted that Truman was swayed by political considerations in calling, as he had, for the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine in the midst of the 1946 congressional campaign. It was this call for 100,000 visas that had led Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin to declare before a Labor gathering at Bournemouth that Britain was being pressed to allow more Jews into Palestine because the U.S. "did not want to allow them into America." This accusation at the time brought down on the Foreign Minister the inevitable charge of anti-Semitism.

In upholding Bevin, Attlee complained that Harry Truman had gone against the advice of his own State Department and military people: "The State Department would tell us one thing, then the President would come out with the exact opposite." Truman himself wrote that he had dismissed the advice of military and diplomatic advisers who expressed concern about the Arabs as "the technique of appeasement which cannot provide the basis of an enduring solution of the Palestine question," and as opinions coming from "some who were inclined to be anti-Semitic."²⁸

Truman's statement calling for 100,000 visas for Palestine appeared on the most important Jewish Holy Day of the year, Yom Kippur, which to most observers appeared to be more than a coincidence.²⁹ The ante was raised by Governor Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican candidate, who demanded that "several hundred thousand Jews" be admitted at once into the Holy

Land. With rare perspicacity James Reston commented in the *Times* on October 7, 1946, "President Truman's statement on Palestine illustrates the influence of domestic politics on U.S. foreign policy and demonstrates the limitations of the theory that politics stop at the water's edge. The general conclusion is that if the Palestine question is approached from the viewpoint of American politics, it is not likely to be solved."

In the spring of 1948, during the continuing crisis on the Palestine question, politics again came to the fore as President Truman backtracked in his brief retreat from partition. At the behest of military and intelligence advisers, who saw a grave danger to the free world in the pandemonium and bloodshed prevailing in the Middle East after the November partition vote, the President had ordered his ambassador at the United Nations, Warren Austin, to take the necessary steps towards ending partition and establishing a UN trusteeship over Palestine. Senator Carl Hatch of New Mexico had quoted the President at this time as saying that he was "casting away politics and will do what is right without regard to political consequences." The public cry of "betrayal of humanitarianism" was raised by the preponderantly Republican press, which could not resist the temptation to make party profit out of a serious foreign policy crisis.

Organized Jewry once again mobilized public opinion. The President was reminded by New York political leaders that a stronger pro-Israel stand was desperately needed or disaster threatened the party. In a special election in the normally Democratic Twenty-fourth Congressional District, with a heavy Jewish population, a Labor Party candidate running on a "let us send troops to enforce partition" platform had decisively beaten the Democratic nominee, who espoused a more moderate course. Once more the White House was caught between the machine bosses, who wanted the "Jewish vote," and the State Department, which wanted to avoid committing U.S. troops and incurring other dangers to the national security in enforcing partition.³⁰

President Truman consistently stated that his actions in helping Israel arose not from influences, which he admitted were present, but from a deep concern for the persecuted Jews of Europe. He acted as he did, the gentleman from Independence even contended, not because of pressures, but "in spite of some of the Jews."³¹ The inconsistency of the President's view is evident in the statement he made to a group of diplomats who had been called home to report to the State Department on the deteriorating U.S. position in the Middle East: "I am sorry, gentlemen, but I have to answer to hundreds of thousands who are anxious for the success of Zionism. I do not have hundreds of thousands of Arabs among my constituents."³²

The truth seems to be that the President was governed in his Palestine thinking by two considerations not inherently in conflict: his concern for votes as the head of his party and his humanitarian feeling as a great liberal—a dichotomy referred to by Toynbee as "the Missourian politician-philanthropist's eagerness."³³

Interesting light has been shed by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the consequences of the Truman Administration's reluctance to get tough at the outset with the new state of Israel. President Truman, it is noted in the staff study, followed up a White House statement, in which he had urged Israel to take back a certain number of refugees, by sending a strong note to Prime Minister Ben-Gurion expressing "deep disappointment at the Israeli refusal to make any of the desired concessions on refugees or boundaries at the Lausanne Conferences." (April 27-September 15, 1949). The President interpreted Israel's attitude "as dangerous to peace and opposition to UN General Assembly resolutions."³⁴

It was the exceedingly pro-Israel American Ambassador to Israel, James G. McDonald, who reported the subsequent U.S. retreat: "The [next] American note abandoned completely the stern tone of its predecessor . . . More and more, Washington ceased to lay down the law to Tel Aviv."³⁵ As a corollary, it may be added, it became axiomatic that more and more it was Tel Aviv that seemed to be laying down the law to Washing-

ton. To the Arab world the all-too-ready presidential acceptance of the Israeli leader's prompt rejection of American requests demonstrated a lack of sincerity in the original rebuke administered by Washington.

Time has not settled Anglo-American differences over the responsibility for the Palestine debacle. From his home in Independence, the peppery former President acidly commented on the criticism directed against his Administration by the Attlee book: "The British were highly successful in muddling the situation as completely as it could possibly be muddled." To which Lord Attlee promptly retorted: "There is no Arab vote in America!"

If Christian expiation for Jewish persecution and biblical fundamentalism, buttressed by a powerful, well-assimilated Jewish community whose social ties reach even into Buckingham Palace,³⁶ have been more important factors in winning British support for Zionism, foreign policy on that island kingdom has likewise reflected the absence of an Arab vote and consideration of the "Jewish vote."³⁷ As a member of the House of Commons pointed out in an early parliamentary debate on Middle East policy, "There are no Arab members in Parliament. There are no Arab constituents to bring influence upon their members in Parliament. There is no Arab control of newspapers in this country. It is difficult to get a pro-Arab letter in the *Times*. There are in the city no Arab financial houses which can control amounts of finance. There is no Arab control of newspaper advertising in the country. There are no Arab ex-colonial Secretaries."³⁸

In Britain, as in the United States, Israel enjoys a strange and abnormal position which is little affected by any change from a Labor to a Conservative government or vice versa. The absence of the Arab presence as a force in British public life, as well as the Arab public relations failure, has encouraged Downing Street, despite its long experience in the Middle East, in its misguided policy of playing off Arabs against Zionists.

In 1955 Sir Anthony Eden decided to take a bolder Middle East course as prime minister than he had as Churchill's for-

eign minister. At the Lord Mayor's Banquet at the Guild Hall on November 9th, he set forth a proposal calling for a compromise between the Arab demand for implementation of the 1947 United Nations boundary formula and the existing armistice lines, which Israel considered its frontiers. The British Prime Minister offered his government's good offices in an attempt to reach such a settlement.

The reaction was in sharp contrast to previous attempts to settle the Palestine problem. Cairo responded affirmatively. *Al-Gumhouriya*, the semi-official voice of the government, hailed the Eden offer to mediate as "the first Western look at the Palestine problem independently."³⁹ Nasser told newsmen that he considered the Eden speech a "very good basis" for a settlement. Following Nasser's lead, officials in almost every other Arab state cautiously commented that the way appeared open for a settlement.

The Egyptian president realized that he was playing with fire even in talking about peace in Palestine, and he made certain that his enemies would not use this move against him. As the Associated Press correspondent in Cairo explained, "He sounded out the Iraqis Consulate in Cairo. After checking with Baghdad, the Iraqis gave Nasser the green light. They promised to back him in any kind of Palestine settlement that he might reach."⁴⁰

The London *Times* two days later reported Moshe Sharett, the Israeli foreign minister, as saying that "there was no prospect of getting Israel to agree to anything in the way of territorial concession. The very fact that a great power is making and encouraging such a suggestion encourages people to nurture illusions and excites appetites which can never be satisfied. I can only deplore Sir Anthony's statement."⁴¹

The next day the Israeli ambassador in London gave the Foreign Office the answer of his government, a flat negative: "Israel does not admit any claims on the part of the Arabs, whether alone or supported by other powers, to any of the territory Israel now holds."⁴²

While the Israelis in London were applying pressure on Eden, in Washington John Foster Dulles was permitting the Eden proposal to die a natural death. Personal pique at not being consulted by Eden in advance of the publication of his plan, and mounting Zionist influence silenced the Secretary of State, permitting *The New York Times* to embroider upon the tactical differences between Britain and the United States and thus to deliver the *coup de grâce* to the Foreign Minister's proposal.⁴³

Of this attempt at a compromise by Sir Anthony, the foreign policy study undertaken by the Senate staff merely stated, "For a variety of reasons, this effort failed."⁴⁴ But an English author, in closing his discussion of Eden's attempted compromise, succinctly supplied the causative chain: "The Prime Minister of England had spoken his mind. The Prime Minister of Israel deplored it. The Prime Minister of England backed down."⁴⁵

13

Policy or Politics?

"We study the day before yesterday in order that yesterday may not paralyze today and today may not paralyze tomorrow."

F. W. Maitland

THE DATE was April 30, but the wintry blasts off New York's East River seemed to make a liar of the calendar. The passer-by on the dock tightened his coat warmly about him. But the determined seamen, marching up and down in the cold bearing picket signs, did not mind. They seemed obsessed with their task.

Parked near the picket line was a station wagon from which brother union workers dispensed hot coffee and sandwiches during the dreary twenty-four-hour vigil. And near by—just in case they were needed—stood three city policemen in uniform and a detective in street clothes.

The picketers were carrying large signs reading: "Nasser's Black List Is Threatening Seamen's Jobs"; "Egyptian Seamen—You Are Welcome. Here in the United States You Will Not Be Abused as American Seamen Have Been in Egyptian Ports." At midnight a retaliatory boycott called by the Confederation of Arab Trade Unions was to go into effect.

Nothing strengthened the Arab image of the United States more than this incident in the spring of 1960, involving the United Arab Republic passenger and cargo ship *Cleopatra*. The Seafarers International Union had set up a picket line at the pier, and the International Longshoremen's Association refused to unload the ship's cargo.

The unions contended that U.A.R. black-listing of American ships that touched Israeli ports "had threatened job opportunities of American seamen." Union chief Paul Hall denied that

Zionist pressures had anything to do with the picketing, insisting that the action was designed "to cause the State Department to get off the seat of their pants and do something to correct the situation."¹

The facts refuted the union's stated rationale for the strike. Only ships unloading war cargo, not consumer goods, in Israel had been placed on the Arab black list, which had been started in 1952 and was aimed at holding military, petroleum and strategic cargoes inbound to Israel. Ships carrying such cargoes were not permitted to touch Arab ports on the same voyage that they traded with Israel. This regulation was distinct from that which controlled Israel export cargoes transiting the Suez Canal.

The head of the office of the Arab Boycott Against Israeli Shipping, according to a story verified by correspondent George Weller of the *Chicago Daily News*, showed that there were but 14 American ships that had been black-listed for violating these restrictions, most of which had been listed in 1952. Only three American ships, with crews totaling about 300 seamen, had been black-listed in the fifteen months prior to the picketing action taken by the unions against the *Cleopatra*. It was not hard for the Arabs to claim that the real motivation behind the union action was to serve the Zionist goal by interrupting American Point Four shipments to Egypt and Syria, an inevitable result of the Arab reaction to the boycott, and thus generally to reverse the trend toward improved U.S.-U.A.R. relations which had marked the Eisenhower Administration.

Tied up in New York harbor, the *Cleopatra* soon became the center of a worldwide controversy as the two maritime unions maintained the position that the ship could not unload until the United Arab Republic granted freedom of navigation to all ships passing through the Suez Canal—an obvious reference to the blockade by the Nasser government of Israeli shipping.

The State Department found the picketing of the *Cleopatra* embarrassing to the conduct of American foreign policy. On the floor of the Senate on April 25th, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator J. W. Fulbright, denounced the picketing as "irresponsible private intervention into

United States foreign policy-making." In noting that under the Constitution the conduct of foreign policy is confined to the President or his designated representatives, the Arkansas senator said: "Actions on the part of individuals or organizations which interfere directly or indirectly with the constitutional exercise of governmental authority or activity in the conduct of foreign policy, should be avoided as inimical to the total national interest . . . our constitutional system is designed to give free expression to the will of citizens of the United States. It must not be corrupted by calculated influence and pressure from any other source."²

The United Arab Republic, with its small merchant fleet, had one ship calling at American ports each month, but some 25 to 28 ships of the U.S. merchant fleet called at Arab ports each month. In 1959, some 429,000 long tons of all types of cargo were transported by U.S. ships to and from Arab countries. Accordingly, the counterboycott, invoked by the Arab unions against all American shipping into 17 Arab ports, including the vital Persian Gulf oil area, was harmful to the American national interest. The Arab boycott started on April 30 in U.A.R. ports and was at once supported by other Arab countries. Three thousand students in Beirut staged an angry demonstration and carried placards reading: "Lebanese Students Greet Arab Workers For Foiling The Zionist Conspiracy."

Before calling the counterboycott, the U.A.R. had ordered its coastal wireless stations to cease contact with all American ships. Despite this action and the plea of the president of the American Merchant marine institute that 70 per cent of ocean-going merchant ships were being hurt by the action of the union, the picketing of the *Cleopatra* continued. It was only after the intervention of President Eisenhower himself in response to this Arab counterboycott that the *Cleopatra* was finally permitted to unload on May 6, and the crisis was ended.

But the last harm had been done. The Arab conviction that the Zionist machine dominated American political thinking had been strengthened. This was a national election year, and the

Arabs believed, as U.A.R. Deputy Foreign Minister Dr. Farid Zeineddine publicly stated, that President Eisenhower could intervene but was afraid to do so because of domestic political repercussions.³ American shipping, they contended, had been sacrificed to a vote-getting priority.

This did not end *l'affaire Cleopatra*. There had been repeated attempts by the pro-Zionist senatorial bloc to hit at the Arab economic boycott of Israel through legislation. In 1959 an amendment to the Mutual Security Act authorization which would have provided for the withholding of funds to a nation that discriminates against American citizens in the granting of personal or commercial access had failed by only three votes. This amendment offered by Senator Wayne Morse, Democrat of Oregon, was aimed at alleged Saudi Arabian discrimination against Jewish soldiers and Aramco's alleged biased employment practices. Rallied by Senators Keating (Rep., N.Y.), Javits (Rep., N.Y.), Case (Rep., N.J.) and Douglas (Dem., Ill.), the Senate in May, 1960, adopted by a substantial majority the Douglas amendment to the Mutual Security Act. This amendment contemplated the use of foreign aid legislation as a club to force the United Arab Republic to open the Suez Canal to Israeli shipping. The President was given the prerogative to withhold mutual aid funds from any nation refusing to grant freedom of navigation through international waterways.

In probably one of the strongest and bluntest speeches ever delivered in the Senate chamber, Senator Fulbright assailed the Douglas amendment as a "textbook case of how not to conduct international relations"⁴ and strove to win passage for a counter-amendment.

The Senator decried "the existence of a pressure group in the United States which seeks to inject the Arab-Israeli dispute into domestic politics. The amendment," he noted, "would not in fact contribute to the re-opening of the Canal to Israeli shipping, but would, on the contrary, tend to prevent the achievement of this desirable objective, an objective which officials of the UN and of our own Government are pursuing with as much attention and perseverance as they possibly can

. . . What it will accomplish is to annoy the Arabs and fortify them in their conviction that in any issue arising from the Arab-Israel controversy, the United States, because of domestic political pressures, will be on the side of the Israelis. This Arab conviction, for which I regret to say history affords some justification, is the greatest single burden which American diplomacy has to carry in the Middle East."⁵

In his address the Arkansas legislator linked the passage of the Douglas amendment and the *Cleopatra* incident as coercive attempts "which I find disastrous in the functioning of our Constitutional system. In what is probably the most delicate international situation which exists in the world today, 180 million Americans find their foreign policy being whip-sawed by an irresponsible maritime union and by a minority pressure group. The President cannot conduct our foreign policy in the Middle East under these circumstances. That policy is being directed by minority pressure groups."⁶

With a profound historical vista, Mr. Fulbright went on to address himself to what he considered to be the broader aspects of this particular incident:

It is the problem of the development in this nation of organized groups which bring into American political life the feuds and emotions that are part of the political conflicts of foreign nations. This is one of the things that our Founding Fathers came here to avoid when they created this nation.

Just as we have witnessed the success of one group in forcing an amendment into the Mutual Security Act, we see other groups trying to force the President to tailor the summit agenda to satisfy other ethnic groups. There is no end to this.

Mr. President, this nation has welcomed millions of immigrants from abroad. In the 19th century we were called the melting pot, and we were proud of that description. It meant that there came to this land people of diverse creeds, colors and races. These immigrants became good Americans, and their ethnic or religious origins were of

secondary importance. But in recent years, we have seen the rise of organizations dedicated apparently, not to American, but to foreign states and groups. The conduct of a foreign policy for America has been seriously compromised in this development. We can survive this development, Mr. President, only if our political institutions—and the Senate in particular—retain their objectivity and their independence so that they can serve all Americans.⁷

While it was unlikely that President Eisenhower, or his successors, would ever actually seize the prerogative provided in the Douglas amendment, the legislation had the desired effect of pleasing Zionist and pro-Israeli groups in an election year. The then four Democratic presidential hopefuls in the Senate—Lyndon B. Johnson (Tex.), Hubert Humphrey (Minn.), Stuart Symington (Mo.), and John F. Kennedy (Mass.)—were all recorded in favor of the amendment. The latter was co-sponsor of the legislation. One prominent Democrat who supported the amendment explained privately that “once the question was put before the Senate it became exceedingly delicate from the domestic political viewpoint, since it presented him with the dilemma of being publicly represented as either anti-Arab or anti-Israeli.”⁸

The acting Secretary of State, Douglas Dillon, himself pointed out that the American national interest was not being served by this legislation. In a letter, read by Senator Fulbright to his colleagues on May 2nd during his unsuccessful attempt to amend the Douglas amendment,⁹ Secretary Dillon declared:

Incidentally, there appears to be inaccurate information surrounding the Suez Canal transit question. It is said that American ships are being “barred from the Canal for having called at Israeli ports.” As a matter of fact not a single American ship has thus far been denied passage through the Canal. Out of a total U.S. Maritime Fleet of 498, only 23 ships have been placed on the so-called Arab black list because of prior calls at Israeli ports. These 23 are denied entry at Arab ports. But there has been no instance of denial of their transit of the Canal.¹⁰

Secretary Dillon's letter went on to place the seriousness of the effect of the Douglas amendment in its broader context:

As can be seen, outside attempts, no matter how well intentioned, to compel one or more of the Middle Eastern countries to follow a certain behavior have wide repercussions. I might add that while resentment against such pressure in Arab-Israeli matters has direct repercussions on our interests in ten Arab countries from Morocco to the Persian Gulf, the sympathy for these ten nations is inevitably widespread throughout Africa and Asia. This is a critical juncture in the history of those two continents. Just when the young Afro-Asian nations, and particularly the Arab nations, appear for the first time to be becoming aware of the fact that the Communists have been falsely posing as patriotic nationalists, it ill behooves us, through an appearance of placing strings on our aid, to incur the deep resentment or hostility not only of the ten Arab nations but of their natural friends, the States of Africa and Asia. In fact we do not believe that it is in Israel's long-range interests that such enmity be aroused and choosing of sides precipitated throughout the Afro-Asian region.¹¹

Nor did other foreign policy considerations have much influence on the actions of the vote-minded politicians in Congress in 1960. Both Arthur Krock in *The New York Times*¹² and Senator Fulbright in the debate on the Senate floor argued in vain that American nonmilitary aid could have an important influence only if it was given without political strings. Otherwise, the charge of self-interest leveled by the Soviet Union to frustrate American encouragement of underdeveloped countries would be justified. Should any President at some future time, declared Senator Fulbright, invoke the amendment under political pressure and halt aid to the U.A.R., it would be but another step "in driving the embittered Arabs further into the economic tentacles of the Soviet Union," comparable to the folly of the U.S. revocation of its promise to help build the Aswan Dam.

Where the Truman Administration had been openly partial to Israel, the Eisenhower Administration had striven to steer

the country onto a course of Middle East impartiality. From the outset when Saudi Arabia's Foreign Minister Prince Feisal called on the President at the White House on March 2, 1953, Mr. Eisenhower expressed to this second eldest son of King Ibn Saud his "concern over a deterioration in relations between the Arab nations and the United States." The President added that it would be his firm purpose "to seek to restore the spirit of confidence and trust which had previously characterized these relations," and he hoped "the Arab leaders would be inspired by the same purpose."

But despite the White House's good intentions, Israel continued to enjoy a most special position on the American scene. The Arab world and Israel were balanced as two co-equal halves of the Middle East—what was done quantitatively and qualitatively for one had to be done quantitatively and qualitatively for the other. This disproportionate treatment brings to mind a story that the late Colonel William Eddy, former American ambassador to Saudi Arabia and a business consultant in the area for many years, told of the restaurant keeper who, when asked to explain the proportions of horse and rabbit in his hassenpfeffer, remarked: "Fifty-fifty, of course. One horse and one rabbit."

The abnormality of the role played by Israel in the formulation of U.S. Middle East policy was clearly demonstrated by President Eisenhower's decision not to visit the U.A.R. in the course of his 1959 trip to Southeast Asia and Africa. Because a stop by Ike in any Middle East Arab country would entail a counterbalancing visit to Israel, the President skipped over the Arab Middle East at a time when a gesture of good will on his part would have been most helpful to declining American prestige.

The folly of basing the conduct of foreign relations on the unrealistic approach of dividing the Middle East into one-half Israel and one-half the Arab world was multiplied by U.S. policy-makers with an equally grave error: dividing Arabs into good and bad Arabs according to whether they were pro- or anti-West. Such thinking should have been banished by the

events of 1958, when the extreme pro-Western regime of Iraq fell to the nationalist revolutionary forces of General Abdel Karim Kassem and the revolution against President Camille Chamoun showed that the people of Lebanon would not tolerate a foreign policy with the slogan "We will be more pro-West than the West itself." While Arab Middle East countries were scratched from the 1959 Eisenhower tour itinerary, the President did stop in Tunisia to visit President Bourguiba, whom our State Department pundits apparently had put into the "good Arab" classification.

As a moderate with a pro-West label, the Tunisian president was thought to be less hostile to Israel and less interested in the restoration of Arab rights in Palestine. But subsequently, during his 1961 visit to the U.S. and Britain, President Bourguiba proved again that, no matter how divided Arab leaders might be regarding other questions, when it came to Israel they stood as one. In a New York address, the Tunisian leader spoke up unmistakably against the Zionist position. But only a garbled version of what he said appeared in the press. At the Tunisian Embassy in London on May 18, following his visit to the United States, President Bourguiba clarified his position:

I said in New York at the Press Association of the United Nations that the situation in Palestine was related to the colonial situation and had a colonial origin since we have not only the domination of one people by another, but the substitution of one people for another which is even more shocking. The old inhabitants of Palestine find themselves today as refugees in what are practically concentration camps in a situation similar to that of the Jews when they were persecuted and when they were enduring sufferings which greatly moved us. On the human plane, when suffering is concerned, particularly unjust suffering, there is no difference in our eyes between one people and another. I stated in New York that this situation was one of standing injustice which engendered resentments and perfectly understandable hatreds, hatreds which we particularly, who have suffered from foreign domination and the policy of colonization, can well understand. I stated that the situation could not last—that, if the UN Organization

whose charter is based on liberty and justice was unable to do justice in this case and could not find a just solution that would put an end to the existing hatreds and rancors, there was a strong probability that a situation similar to that of Algeria would be reproduced in Palestine. And I further said that if Israel felt itself so strong today as to be able to flout the principles of justice with impunity, France, who had established itself in Algeria one hundred and thirty years ago, had also felt very strong and felt that the situation there had been settled in her favor; but considering Algeria as a province of France did not—because hearts were still bitter and harbored hatred—prevent, despite the passage of one hundred years, the outbreak of violent conflicts, involving blood and tears. Therefore, I stated that if the United Nations were incapable of finding a just solution conforming to the Principles of the Charter, there would certainly be reactions of the kind that we have seen in Algeria. And if at such a time Israel, like France today, requested and accepted negotiation and showed herself disposed to take a different stand, then it should be possible to find a *modus vivendi* which would guarantee rights and justice in the relations among the people inhabiting the land of Palestine. This is what I said.¹³

The Bizerte incident, involving the French rights to remain in their naval base in Tunisia, was another blow to those Westerners accustomed to thinking in terms of good and bad Arabs. With the French onslaught against the base and the ensuing U.S. apathy toward this aggression by its Western ally, President Bourguiba was driven from the “pro-West” camp into the arms of the neutralists. The Tunisians returned to the Arab League, exchanged love notes with Nasser, and Arab solidarity on this front was momentarily restored.

Even though this Arab rapprochement still lay in the future, the tensions with the Arab states over the *Cleopatra* and the Douglas amendment arose at an unfortunate time. They occurred on the eve of the U-2 spy-plane episode and the subsequent failure of the summit conference. Just as the cold war was turning for the worse, the United States antagonized the Arab world and, as one Midwest newspaper correspondent

noted, "we tied the hands of the Executive and made it virtually impossible to maintain friendly relations with a very important group of nations in a vital spot in the world."¹⁴

A few months later Senator Fulbright received additional proof that the "retention of objectivity," which he had begged of his colleagues, was to be another unrealized hope. In a public statement released two days before the 1960 national elections, four Republican senators announced they were urging the Secretary of State "to openly oppose the candidacy of the United Arab Republic to a seat in the Security Council." "President Nasser's Government," the senators charged, "has persisted in the Suez blockade and in boycotting Israel in violation of UN decisions, international convention and the pledged word of the United Arab Republic itself."¹⁵ The action was taken in a letter signed by U.S. Senators Hugh Scott (Pa.), Jacob Javits (N.Y.), Kenneth B. Keating (N.Y.) and Clifford P. Case (N.J.).¹⁶ Two of these senators were themselves candidates for re-election. All four had previously written Secretary Herter in September to express concern over the possibility that the U.A.R. might be voted a Security Council seat. In their latest communication to the Secretary of State, they referred to the power grab of President Nasser in the Middle East and Africa "with the aid of his Communist allies. This has been the basis of the tension in the Middle East. He has been in disputes with Iran, Turkey, Jordan, the Sudan and Tunis."

This interpretation of what was fomenting Middle East troubles was significant by the absence of any reference to Israel. It did not really matter whether there actually was or was not a "Jewish vote," so long as the politicians feared there might be one and behaved accordingly. In fact there was strong evidence that the Jewish vote was only an obsession and, if such a bloc vote existed, at least it was not deliverable solely on the basis of the Israeli issue.

In the 1956 presidential election Adlai Stevenson carried New York City by a mere 65,000 votes at a time when his opponent, Dwight D. Eisenhower, bore the responsibility for halting the Israeli armies at the gates of Sinai. The entire weight

of the Zionist machine, which even before the Israeli aggression was vigorously anti-Administration, had been directed to the defeat of Eisenhower and even of Republican Senator Jacob Javits who, although a strong friend of Israel, had refused in his 1956 race for re-election against New York's Mayor Robert F. Wagner, Jr., to repudiate the Eisenhower policy of halting the Israeli invasion of Egypt. During the final days of this campaign tens of thousands of pamphlets blanketed New York City, directed to those who "cherish Israel and its dream . . . here is the shocking record of Nasser, Nixon and Dulles . . . what they have done to Israel only Stevenson and the Democrats can repair."

The fate of Stevenson and Wagner in this election shook the myth of the Jewish vote. And there were other instances. In the New York mayoralty election of 1945, more voters in predominantly Jewish districts voted for William O'Dwyer, Catholic, than for Jonah Goldstein, Jewish; in the 1953 mayoralty elections, more for Robert Wagner, Catholic, than for Harold Riegelman, Jewish; in the 1954 elections, more for Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., a Protestant, than for Jacob Javits, Jewish; and in the 1961 mayoralty primary, more for Mayor Wagner than for Arthur Levitt, Jewish.¹⁷ But candidates for public office, including both presidential candidates in the 1960 campaign, still went out of their way to conduct their campaigns as if such a vote did exist and as if American Jews would cast their ballots as a pro-Israel bloc.

In a letter to the president of the B'nai B'rith, Vice President Nixon decried both the attitude of the U.A.R. toward the transit of Israeli ships through the Suez Canal and that of Saudi Arabia toward the admission of Jewish soldiers to the U.S. air station at Dhahran. In taking the Zionist position, Mr. Nixon was hoping to provide an answer to the whispered charges of anti-Semitism¹⁸ that were being injected into the campaign by professional extremists. The Vice President had been a principal target of the 1956 campaign cry: "A vote for Ike is a vote for Nasser, Nixon and Dulles."

Nixon's running mate, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, was given the particular assignment of wooing the Jewish vote. In a New York address to an important Jewish fund-raising organization the vice-presidential nominee declared that "a very high-level effort to settle Middle East tensions is necessary," and pledged continuing support for Israel. The Republican candidate disclosed that, if elected, he intended to let his Vice President handle the "problems of Israel's relations with her Arab neighbors."¹⁹

Mr. Lodge had to do some personal expiating of his own: during the Suez crisis he had been the Eisenhower instrumentality at the United Nations who had carried out the "anti-Israel" action.²⁰ A widely distributed piece of Democratic campaign literature quoted columnist Drew Pearson to the effect that "there is no one in American diplomacy who is considered by the Zionists more anti-Israel than Henry Cabot Lodge." Mr. Lodge, it was further alleged, had "championed Nasser and favored punitive measures against Israel" to halt the invasion—a charge that Cleveland's Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, endorsing the Nixon-Lodge ticket, attempted to refute.

An important architect of this Lodge stratagem to become the spokesman on the Israel question was Maxwell Rabb, the former secretary to the Eisenhower Cabinet, who had begun his national career as an executive assistant to Mr. Lodge when the latter was senator from Massachusetts. Rabb had ingratiated himself with organized Jewry by not hesitating to head the U.J.A. drive in the District of Columbia while serving in a sensitive position in the Cabinet.

An unusual foreign intrusion into an American election, intended to help the Nixon-Lodge ticket, also marked the campaign. The Israeli press intervened openly—and singularly enough, attacked the Democratic presidential nominee. *Herut*, the organ of the Israeli expansionist party of the same name, claimed that Senator Kennedy's father "never loved the Jews and therefore there is the question whether the father did not inject some poisonous drops of anti-Semitism in the minds of his children including his son John's." This same newspaper

further alleged that Nasser was close to Adlai Stevenson and Senator Fulbright, who were among Senator Kennedy's advisors: "How can the future of Israel be entrusted to these men who might come to power thanks to Jewish votes, strange and paradoxical as this may seem?"²¹

Leaflets containing these and other partisan attacks were distributed to the Jewish American public in a frank attempt to influence the outcome of the election. William Zukerman wrote in the *Jewish Newsletter*, "No other state which had more at stake in the election than Israel dared take such action. It revealed the curious dogmatic mentality of the Israelis who seriously look upon American Jews as their colonial subjects to whom they can give orders in an important election."²²

Both presidential candidates, Vice President Nixon and Senator Kennedy, knew that New York State's electoral votes were vital to their election, and at times they seemed to be conducting themselves more as candidates for the presidency of Israel than of the United States. Competitive pro-Israel promises filled the air, alternating with bitter attacks on the rival party as anti-Israel, if not anti-Semitic.

To match Nixon's wooing letter to the B'nai B'rith, Senator Kennedy did the unprecedented by coming in August to New York City to address the convention of the Zionist Organization of America. Elaborating on the Democratic platform with a four-point program, Mr. Kennedy proposed using "all the authority of the White House to call into conference the leaders of Israel and the Arab states to consider privately their common problems."²³ The Senator stated that an American presidential initiative "would not be lightly rejected," and he noted that the "ideals of Zionism have been endorsed by both parties" so that "friendship for Israel is a national commitment."

The Senator placed the complete blame for the continued unrest in the Middle East on the Arabs, depicting little Israel as an innocent victim of hateful aggression.²⁴ It was almost inconceivable that the Democratic candidate, a student and writer of history, could have prepared, no less presented, so partisan an account of the tensions besetting the area. The familiarity he

displayed with Zionist phraseology and dogma, dating from Herzl to the present day, indicated that a battery of Zionist-oriented writers must have worked closely with him in the preparation of this talk.²⁵

For his part, Vice President Nixon in his message sent to the same convention reminded the audience that Secretary Dulles had said that the preservation of the state of Israel was "one of the essential goals of U.S. foreign policy," and he, too, pledged to use his best offices to bring about a stable Arab-Israeli relationship. Both Republican and Democratic nominees talked about encouraging Arab economic development and raising the standard of living in the area, subject, of course, to the realization of peace on what were virtually Israeli terms.

There was every indication that, faced with the choice of moving forward from the Eisenhower Administration's intent to assume an impartial posture in the Arab-Israel struggle or of retreating to the definite bias of the Truman Administration, Mr. Kennedy would be inclined to follow the well-trod path of his party with its pro-Israel orientation.

There was always the chance, of course, that the political pronouncements of *candidate* Kennedy might give way to statesmanlike actions of *President* Kennedy. This was the hope in the Arab world, where strangely enough the Senator during the campaign was the overwhelming favorite over Nixon. His courageous speech in the Senate on Algeria in 1957 had made many friends for him, and the Arabs could see little difference in the present behavior of the two political parties toward the Middle East. Furthermore, they were, like people around the world, personally attracted to Kennedy by his verve, good looks and fine talk. No doubt, too, Mr. Truman's strong opposition to the Kennedy nomination from the start endeared the Massachusetts Senator to Arabs who followed U.S. political developments.

As a member of the House and then of the Senate, the new President had shown a real interest in the Middle East. When his name as a congressman in 1948 became publicly linked, through a huge advertisement in *The New York Times*, with the welcoming committee for Irgun terrorist leader Menachem

Begin, Mr. Kennedy had not hesitated to wire author Louis Bromfield his withdrawal from the committee. "When accepting your invitation," Kennedy said, "I was ignorant of the true nature of the activities, and I wish to be disassociated from them completely."²⁶ Like many other congressmen, senators, and other national, state and local office holders, he had permitted his name to be used on this occasion because any connection with Israel seemed to be good politics.

During his service of three terms in the House, Congressman Kennedy could not have failed to note the firm resolution of both major parties to compete for the "Jewish vote" with sacrificial offers to Israel, although bipartisan foreign policy was otherwise the order of the day. When the House Foreign Affairs Committee required a study on Palestine and the Arab states, the task was assigned to Republican Congressman (later Senator) Javits of New York. His views were well known, but Javits requested and received this assignment as a tacit acknowledgment by his colleagues that objectivity or impartiality on this subject was impossible as well as undesirable.

The wide acceptance of this attitude toward policy-making in the Middle East area was further emphasized in action taken by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee while Senator Kennedy served as a member. Under a congressional grant²⁷ of \$250,000 to investigate the functioning of U.S. foreign policy, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in the spring of 1959 let out contracts for certain area studies, including the Middle East. The committee awarded the contract for what was intended to be an impartial study to the Institute for Mediterranean Affairs.

The membership of the Institute included not only important Zionists but also Israelis. The Institute for Mediterranean Affairs was, in fact, nothing more than a continuation of the American League for a Free Palestine and the Hebrew Committee for Liberation, organizations which, prior to the creation of the state of Israel, constituted the propaganda and fund-raising arms in the United States for the Irgun Zvai Leumi, the Palestine terrorist group. It was the Irgun that had been responsible for

the Deir Yassin massacre of April 9, 1948, leading to the flight of the Arabs from Palestine and the start of the Arab refugee problem. Since 1948 the Irgun had become an Israeli political party operating under the name of Herut and having the second largest representation in the Knesset. Two co-chairmen,²⁸ three vice-chairmen²⁹ and the executive directors of the defunct League were on the Institute's Board of Trustees or on its National Sponsoring Committee. The onetime executive director³⁰ of the Hebrew Committee for Liberation was a member of the Institute's board. There were other important links between the two defunct organizations, the existing political party in Israel and the Institute for Mediterranean Affairs. At least two important members of the Institute were Israeli citizens, including the coordinator of research, who, according to *Who's Who in World Jewry*, in 1955 was the editor of *Herut*, the news organ of the party of the same name headed by Menachem Begin, now a member of the Knesset, and pledged to an expansionist program.

Despite the fact that the composition of the Institute was brought to the attention of members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, it was granted a \$25,000 contract. Later, on second thought, and after continuing protests, including those from rival Zionist groups, the committee decided it preferred to throw away \$25,000 of taxpayers' money and refused to publish the report written under the aegis of the Institute, reassigning the study to its own senatorial staff.

Before his political ambitions soared in the direction of the Vice Presidency in 1956, Senator Kennedy had traveled to Southeast Asia, had visited the Arab refugee camps on his way back and had subsequently expressed on television a deep feeling of sympathy for these Palestinian Arabs. But not long thereafter, in his quest for second place on the Democratic ticket, he was addressing Israeli bond gatherings and a Yankee Stadium rally in support of arms for Israel.

In his Pulitzer Prize-winning book *Profiles in Courage*, the Senator had done a neat job of analyzing the pressures confronting the conscientious lawmaker. He listed as the first

pressure "a form of pressure rarely recognized by the general public. Americans want to be liked."³¹ He might have added, "And this is particularly true for those holding public office."

Whether through pressure or compulsion, the Senator had been thereafter deterred from pursuing an independent course of action on the Middle East. Refusal to buckle under to the influence wielded in Washington by the Zionist-Israelist lobby has never been rewarding. James Forrestal's persistent crusade against the politicians' preoccupation with winning votes on the Middle East issue, which he feared "might lose the United States,"³² contributed to his breakdown and suicide. The intrepid stand taken by Senator Fulbright in the *Cleopatra* affair played no small part in his not being offered the post of Secretary of State.³³ After Mr. Kennedy had won the highest of political rewards, the Presidency, it remained to be seen whether his past actions in regard to the Middle East represented political expediency or his better judgment.

The usual bow to the Jewish nationalist bloc marked the first days of the Kennedy Administration, which was discouraging to those who were optimistic enough to hope that statesmanship might become the general rule of the day. One example was the Kennedy appointment of Philip M. Klutznick, housing developer from Illinois, as U.S. Representative to the United Nations Economic and Social Council.³⁴

Whereas even a potential conflict of interest had barred qualified designees from appointment to important national and international posts (the designation of Robert S. McNamara to the Cabinet was approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee only after he agreed to divest himself of every single share of his vast holdings in Ford Motors, from which company he had resigned to become Secretary of Defense), Mr. Klutznick was nominated and, after a subcommittee hearing, confirmed by the Senate. No serious objections to him were raised although he had served as president of the B'nai B'rith³⁵ and of the Anti-Defamation League, strongly Zionist-oriented groups, and was still active in their governing councils; although to a large degree he had been responsible³⁶

for the creation of the Presidents' Conference, a group formed of nineteen national Jewish organizations to lobby politically in behalf of Israel's interests;³⁷ although, just prior to this nomination to the UN position, he had been elected chairman of the United Jewish Appeal, with its 1961 drive to raise \$72 million for Israel; and although he had been responsible for the establishment of a project in Israel to which he was still deeply financially committed, calling for "the creation of the most modern port city in the world." These were the words Klutznick himself used to describe Ashdod, the port planned on the southern Mediterranean coast of Israel: "Shipping facilities, industries, railroads, shops, theaters, schools, public buildings, parks and homes for 150,000 people will rise there out of desert sand. The job to which others will also contribute financing will cost \$500 million and take 20 years."³⁸

Yet in his post at the United Nations Mr. Klutznick had jurisdiction over the U.S. position on all economic matters concerning the Arab states and Israel which came before that body.

During the course of the hearings before the subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on this nomination, there was adduced as evidence newspaper items dealing with Mr. Klutznick's background which confirmed his overweening absorption with Israel, his intimate ties with Jewish organizations dedicated to advancing the interests of Israel and his own necessarily strong subjectivity on the Arab-Israeli conflict. A believer in the ingathering of Jews from Eastern Europe and North Africa with its threat of consequent Israeli expansion, Mr. Klutznick resigned from his post as general chairman of the United Jewish Appeal only after his UN nomination had been confirmed by the Senate.

When asked by Senator Fulbright about his ability to be objective and impartial³⁹ on matters that might come before the Council involving the Arab countries, Mr. Klutznick claimed the objectivity to "assist all people who are in need and who are lacking the capacity to help themselves."⁴⁰

The members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee seemed satisfied with these words. Apparently they believed

that Mr. Klutznick, by divesting himself of the positions he held in these pro-Israel organizations, could also divest himself of his close associations and strong feelings, voiced over many years and expressed only most recently six weeks earlier.⁴¹ In fact, Senator Wayne Morse (Democrat of Oregon), who has been described by one editor as "virtually in the employ of several major Jewish fund-raising organizations,"⁴² felt that the fact that Mr. Klutznick "was an American Jew in this particular post happens to be a very fortunate qualification for the benefit of our country."⁴³

Nor was the initial attitude adopted at the United Nations indicative of any new look at the Middle East by the New Frontier. When Israel in April, 1961, defied the decrees of the Jordan-Israeli Mixed Armistice Commission⁴⁴ by parading tanks and other heavy armaments in violation of the general armistice agreement during a Jerusalem celebration of the Bar Mitzvah (13th anniversary) of the creation of Israel, the United States opposed a move at the Security Council to censure Israel on the grounds that since the Israelis had already acted, little good could be accomplished retroactively. The censure resolution consequently failed.

During the spring (adjourned) 1961 session of the General Assembly, the U.S. dealt another blow to Arab-American relations. For "tactical reasons" the American delegation voted against a pending Afro-Asian resolution that called for implementation of the 1948 UN resolution on the refugees through the establishment of a UN custodian over Palestinian Arab Refugee Property in Israel. The Special Political Committee had voted 47-19 for the adoption of the resolution, but without U.S. support in mustering votes from the Western powers and Latin-American countries, the two-thirds needed in the General Assembly was not forthcoming. The U.S. insistence that the resolution would involve the United Nations in undertaking new functions that it could not legally or practically carry out saved Israel "serious embarrassment."⁴⁵

The Arab leaders' reaction to the U.S. stand was far stronger than the neophyte Kennedy Administration had anticipated.

Ahmed Shukairy, Saudi Arabian delegate, himself a Palestinian refugee and an eloquent speaker, struck back at the United States at the first opportunity after the final vote on the defeated Afro-Asian resolution. It was on the occasion of the discussion of the American fiasco in Cuba. Saudi Arabia, while bound closely to the Arab neutralist bloc, was usually in the anti-Communist camp when Middle East issues were not at stake. Now, Ambassador Shukairy condemned the United States for giving support and military assistance to Cuban refugees ousted from their country, while it rejected the Palestinian Arab refugees who were similarly suffering. The press called attention to what seemed to be but another expression of intransigency by the Arabs in their attitude toward the Cuban situation (for other Arab states reacted similarly to Saudi Arabia), making no reference to the related U.S. position on a matter deemed vital by the Arab world.

The American visit shortly thereafter of Israel's David Ben-Gurion for a meeting with President Kennedy only complicated the situation. In all fairness to President Kennedy, it must be understood that the Israeli leader had not been invited to the United States. The semiofficial talks in New York City between the two leaders were the result of clever Israeli manipulation of Prime Minister Ben-Gurion's presence in Canada on an official visit. But the highly publicized Carlyle Hotel meeting, on the eve of the President's departure for the Vienna meeting with Khrushchev, was bound to carry all the import and prestige of an official visit to Washington. This much the politically alert President had foreseen. For on May 11th, shortly after the details of a meeting with Ben-Gurion had been arranged, Mr. Kennedy sent simultaneous reassurances to the chiefs of state of five Arab Middle East countries (U.A.R. President Gamal Abdel Nasser, King Saud of Saudi Arabia, King Hussein of Jordan, Prime Minister Abdel Karim Kassem of Iraq and President Fouad Chehab of Lebanon).

President Kennedy's warm letters were intended to allay any Arab fears that might result from the Ben-Gurion visit. The Arab leaders were reminded that "the concepts of our founding

patriots, of Abraham Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt, have played such a great part in the emergence of vigorous independent Arab States respected as sovereign equals in the international community." The presidential letter talked also of "our sincere friendship with mutual respect for others' points of view, mutual and active concern for the betterment of mankind and mutual striving to eliminate the causes of international tension."

However, beyond alluding to the Palestinian Conciliation Commission as a body through which "a solution of the Arab refugee and other Arab-Israeli tensions might be obtained," the Kennedy letter (nearly identical in text to all five Arab chieftains) contained no new specific reassurances for the Arabs. These were, after all, but words; and to a people who are the possessors of the richest of languages and hence are past masters in the art of speech, this was simply *kellam, kellam beydoun manah* ("words, words without meaning"), one of the more familiar Arab sayings.

These letters, by chance, arrived in the Arab states at a propitious moment for the White House. Both Iraq and the U.A.R. were under heavy fire from the Soviet press. The Kennedy message, therefore, may have momentarily washed away the bitter taste resulting from the U.S. votes at the UN and the Ben-Gurion meeting with the President in New York. But the impact was limited. The people of the Arab world did not know until much later the contents of the letter. A news story containing an Arabic paraphrase of the presidential letters appeared on June 10 in Beirut. But the Arab and American public were not given the text until a June 26 story, date-lined Beirut but originating in Amman, and written by *The New York Times* correspondent, Dana Adams Schmidt.

President Kennedy desired a maximum of secrecy to surround these letters so as to avoid the counterpressures American Israelists might exert against his move to build friendlier relations with the Arab leaders. The Lavon affair and the story of the lengths to which Israel was capable of going in order to torpedo American-Arab relations had undoubtedly by then be-

come known to the President. Hence the rather unsatisfactory answers⁴⁶ received by President Kennedy from some of the recipients of his round-robin letter were reported inconspicuously, tucked away on page 10 of the *Times* on August 24th, more than two months after their receipt, in a story by Mr. Schmidt. This piece, in addition, raised a new trial balloon: the United States, "according to diplomatic sources in Beirut," was studying the possibility of a Nasser visit to Washington.⁴⁷

The publication of the text of the Kennedy letters to Arab leaders added to the mystery surrounding the rumored commitments the President had made to Ben-Gurion. The Israeli leader was said to have sought certain military and political guarantees from Mr. Kennedy as a protection against the Arabs, as well as help in financing Israeli purchases of French arms. Once Israel reached an equity in armaments with the Arabs, which she deemed imperative, Mr. Ben-Gurion was reported as being willing to accept a joint embargo by Russia and the Western powers on the shipment of further arms to any Middle Eastern country. While there was no claim of agreement with Kennedy on this topic, the Israeli Prime Minister, according to the May 31, 1961 *New York Herald Tribune*, at a farewell press conference had hinted, without mentioning specifics, that he had arrived at a "large measure of agreement" with President Kennedy on a new approach to the Arab refugee problem.

While noting that any large-scale Palestinian Arab repatriation to Israel was considered to be out of the question, the *Tribune* also reported a readiness by Ben-Gurion to accept back a token number of refugees. Such a settlement of the problem, the widest broadcast of which was encouraged by Israeli sources through its powerful press connections, was irreconcilable with the established UN principle of the right of the refugees to choose between repatriation and compensation, a point specifically reiterated in the Kennedy letter to Arab leaders: "We are willing to help resolve the tragic Palestine refugee problem on the basis of the principle of repatriation and compensation for property." In the wake of continued stories ostensibly from Israeli sources, the State Department felt compelled to deny

through Press Officer Lincoln White that anything had been said by President Kennedy to Mr. Ben-Gurion indicating a departure from this UN formula.⁴⁸

The Israeli Prime Minister, facing hard elections ahead, had undoubtedly been anxious to build the biggest possible smoke screen of success around his Kennedy meeting, if only to belcloud the harassing domestic issue presented by his role in the Lavon affair. Ben-Gurion was helped in achieving this objective by the general confusion over the attitude of the Kennedy Administration toward Arab refugees, which dated back to the Los Angeles Democratic National Convention. The two-sentence platform plank on the Middle East pledged encouragement "to the resettlement of Arab refugees in lands where there is room and opportunity for them." If this implied resettlement outside of Israel, as the wording undoubtedly did, the plank was in conflict with the right of refugees to choose between repatriation and compensation, as provided in successive UN resolutions since 1948,⁴⁹ which the same platform elsewhere had specifically endorsed.

In his Los Angeles acceptance speech and his subsequent press conference before returning to Washington, nominee Kennedy reflected the party's confusion on the subject by failing to distinguish between "repatriation" and "resettlement." He referred to "the constant work by the United Nations in resettling the refugees," a goal which never had been a mandate of the international organization. Encouragement by the Democratic nominee during the campaign to refugee resettlement outside of Israel as against repatriation to Israel could be written off as so much electioneering. But presidential commitments, if any, made to Ben-Gurion in 1961 would not fall in the same category. And rumors to this effect, however ardently denied, did not sit nicely with the Arab world.

Meanwhile, it was becoming apparent that the President had decided to shelve another, less ambiguous, portion of the Democratic party's platform relative to the Middle East, namely, the decisive pledge to bring Israeli and Arab leaders together around a peace table in order to settle once and finally the

Palestine question. Many reasons have been advanced for this Kennedy shift in plans. The President had indicated that "the time and the diplomatic climate was not right for an immediate White House initiative."⁵⁰ While American Zionists, Israelists and Republican vote-seekers repeatedly chided the President for nonperformance on this platform pledge, such a conclave across the table with the Arabs would have forced Israel at the outset to face the unpleasant fact of noncompliance with past UN resolutions. To the Israeli leadership a Big Power guarantee of existing boundaries and the *status quo*, supported by an arms embargo after Arab-Israel parity had been reached, might in fact have been more useful than any peace conference with Arab leaders.

Perhaps the views of Walter Lippmann, who was highly respected by President Kennedy, contributed to the fundamental change from the pronouncements of Candidate Kennedy to the position of President Kennedy as far as direct intervention in settling the Arab-Israeli conflict was concerned. After a visit to Cairo the *New York Herald Tribune* columnist had written of his conviction that the "no peace—no war" status between Israel and her neighbors was destined to continue. Wrote Mr. Lippmann:

There cannot be peace, because no Arab statesman, beginning with President Nasser himself, can afford to make a settlement which recognized the existence of Israel. Almost certainly if he tried to do that, he would be assassinated . . . It is as impossible for an Arab to be pro-Israel as for a Catholic Cardinal to be a Communist. In Egypt and among Arab states near Israel a permanent state of hostility to Israel is for politicians a necessity. They may think what they like, but in public they must be irreconcilable.⁵¹

While the President was gingerly approaching the problems of the Middle East, others elsewhere continued to manifest the same old American partiality for Israel and to play for the "Jewish vote." Still with his eye on the White House, New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller prodded the President to carry

out campaign promises to build peace in the Middle East. Speaking before the annual conference of the Zionist Organization of America, which the President had addressed the previous year, he recalled the Kennedy pledge "to restore freedom of passage through the Suez Canal for the shipping of all nations and to end the dangerous arms race." The New York Governor called for a solution to the Arab refugee problem as part of the general peace settlement.⁵² Governor Rockefeller likewise picked up another Zionist theme, "the need to end the Arab boycott, which is being carried out in violation of international law."

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey addressed an American fraternal Zionist group at a Waldorf-Astoria dinner and, without censuring his party chieftain, pointed out that the U.S. had the "main responsibility" for fostering peace between Israel and the Arab states.⁵³ The two N.Y. Republican senators, Jacob K. Javits and Kenneth B. Keating, directed their fire at the Administration's failure to initiate Arab-Israeli peace negotiations. After ten U.S. senators had sent a joint telegram in March to the State Department demanding the initiation of direct talks, Mr. Keating followed up with a speech to the National Council of Young Israel⁵⁴ and Mr. Javits with one to the American Jewish Congress.⁵⁵

Queens Republican Congressman Seymour Halpern has long striven to replace Brooklyn Democrat Emanuel Celler as the number-one protagonist of Jewish nationalism in the House. On every possible occasion Mr. Halpern has pursued the mythical Jewish vote by purposely injecting domestic politics into foreign policy deliberations. A convert to Zionism only after he became a candidate for Congress, Mr. Halpern was granted permission to visit Jordan despite his violent Arabphobia. Upon his return from the Holy Land, he addressed the House in one of the most jingoistic speeches ever heard on the floor and excoriated the Jordanians. Subsequently, he introduced legislation on several occasions aimed to ban American aid to Arab nations "which discriminate against American citizens."

New York Herald Tribune publisher and Republican Ogden Reid launched his domestic political career when he was designated as ambassador to Israel by the Eisenhower Administration over the objections of Senator Fulbright, who contended that career diplomats should be preferred for posts in the Middle East. With well-publicized pronouncements and actions⁵⁶ calculated for consumption at home, the ambassador soon emulated the first U.S. envoy to Israel, James G. McDonald, by becoming more pro-Israel than the Israelis themselves. Then he returned to the States, took the nomination for a Westchester County House seat away from Republican incumbent Edwin B. Dooley, and was elected to the Eighty-eighth Congress.

In the spring of 1963 Senator J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was invited to address the twentieth-anniversary convention of the American Council for Judaism. The junior senator from Arkansas accepted. Upon learning of the senator's speaking commitment, Edward N. Costikyan, the new head of Tammany Hall, wrote John M. Bailey, Democratic National Chairman, as follows:

April 1st, 1963

I have been advised that Senator Fulbright has agreed to deliver one of the major addresses at the convention of the American Council for Judaism which will be held in New York County early in May. The Council for Judaism is an anti-Zionist group, and the fact is that the bulk of the people are not only anti-Zionist but predominantly anti-Israel. The speech has not yet been publicly announced, and I think it would be very injurious to the Democratic Party of New York County, City and State for this event to be held with Senator Fulbright's participation.

If anything can be done to persuade the Senator that his remarks should be delivered in some other state, I would be extremely grateful.

Sincerely,
Edward N. Costikyan⁵⁷

Senator Fulbright did make his scheduled appearance for the Council at the Savoy Hilton Hotel in New York City. At a

press conference before his address the senator insisted that the Costikyan letter had not affected his plans. But in his speech he made hardly a mention of Zionism, Israel or the Middle East, confining his remarks to generalities dealing with world peace.

It would have been better for American-Arab relations had another member of the Senate been as reticent. During a 1961 tour of the United States by a group of Libyan legislators, a dinner was given in Chicago for the visitors by the Institute of International Education at the request of the Department of State. The gathering was addressed by Senator Paul Douglas (Democrat of Illinois) who, in prescribing the means by which U.S.-Libyan ties could be strengthened, demanded in strong and unequivocal terms the immediate recognition of Israel by Libya: "Israel is here to stay, and the U.S. will see that she remains in the Middle East." And, the senator added, "it therefore behooves the Government of Libya to take the necessary immediate steps to recognize Israel." The senator also noted the progress made by Israel in developing a water-desalinization process, which could greatly benefit the Libyans if they would only do business with the Israelis.

Both the content of the remarks and the manner in which they were delivered so grossly offended the visiting officials that many wished to end the State Department-sponsored tour and return home immediately. Calmer minds prevailed, however, and the disgruntled Libyans finished out their schedule. But in Tripoli and Benghazi today you can find legislators who will tell you that they have never forgotten the insulting treatment accorded them in Chicago.

Americans, however, had become hardened to crude plays for bloc votes. The candidates in the 1953 New York mayoralty campaign by their promises to help Israel had conducted themselves more like candidates for the mayoralty of Tel Aviv than of the largest city in the United States.⁵⁸ The 1961 race saw only a slight variation. In the Democratic primary struggle there were charges and countercharges of anti-Semitism and bigotry exchanged between the Tammany candidate, New York State Controller Arthur Levitt, and antimachine candidate in-

cumbent Mayor Robert F. Wagner, Jr., in the Democratic primary contest.

Their primary fight carried New York City politics to a new low in name-calling, in which the use of the word "anti-Semite" was reduced to an absurdity. Mr. Levitt charged that Sanitation Department employees campaigning in Queens were using the argument that a victory for Levitt would leave a Jew to run against a Jew (Republican candidate Louis Lefkowitz), and called on former Senator Herbert H. Lehman, a strong supporter of Wagner, to repudiate "these racist tactics."⁵⁹

Mr. Lehman, who had himself in the 1949 special U.S. senatorial race against John Foster Dulles successfully exploited the charge of anti-Semitism, was not going to have the opposition take away this vote-getting device. Accordingly, on the former governor's advice, Mayor Wagner defended himself against the Levitt charge by rushing to the annual Zionist Conference dinner at the Waldorf and calling for greater support than ever of Israel. It was this same mayor, incidentally, who had leveled the charge of anti-Semitism against his efficient police commissioner, Stephen Kennedy, when the commissioner refused to apologize for not permitting Jewish policemen to go off duty for the Jewish holidays during the crisis caused by the presence of so many visiting chiefs of state at the United Nations General Assembly in the fall of 1960.

When Lehman denounced the Levitt camp for a "transparent despicable foul blow," Controller Levitt produced exhibits designed as appeals to Negroes and Jews for Wagner votes, including a leaflet reprinting a newspaper article in which the mayor's Brooklyn campaign manager, Benjamin Browdy, former president of the Zionist Organization, was quoted as saying that Mr. Levitt "does not care for Israel" and that "Levitt is not a Zionist." This was supposedly being distributed in Jewish areas, while it was alleged that in non-Jewish areas it was being argued that unless Wagner was elected "the Jews will take over City Hall—you will have a Levitt or a Lefkowitz for Mayor."⁶⁰

Wagner continued to demonstrate a remarkable adaptability to the vote-getting demands of the day. He counterattacked with the claim that his Democratic primary opponents were assembling voter lists on a racial basis, presumably to prepare biased campaign appeals: "Boss De Sapio has already tried to tell Negroes that I am anti-Negro, and Jews that I am anti-Semitic. He also plans," the mayor's statement went on, "to tell the Irish that I am anti-Church, the Italians that I am anti-Italian, the Poles that I am anti-Polish, the Puerto Ricans that I am anti-Puerto Rican.

"To make it complete he is also diabolically planning to tell anti-Semites that I am pro-Jewish, to tell anti-Catholics that I am a Catholic, to tell race bigots that I am pro-Negro and pro-Puerto Rican. To top it all off, I am told he will seek to frighten people that my recent operation has seriously impaired my health."⁶¹

Governor Lehman praised the mayor as "one of the finest liberals I know, a person without a shred of religious bigotry," even as a National Campaign Fair Practice Committee assembled to monitor the campaign.

The 1964 Democratic primary battle in New York's 19th Congressional district provided a variation of this maneuvering for votes. William F. Haddad charged that workers for his opponent, Congressman Leonard Farbstein "had been describing him as an Arab, non-Jewish and anti-Israel."⁶² Farbstein alleged that Haddad's campaign brochure specified that his father "was born in a small Jewish community of Egypt." Haddad, wed to a granddaughter of President F. D. Roosevelt, contended that the marriage which had taken place in an Episcopalian Church did not prevent him from remaining a Jew. The Farbstein forces were distributing literature which said, "Don't forget Haddad is an Arab. He is trying to make the Jews of this district think that he is a Jew or friend of the Jews. Can you trust an Arab to fight for the interests of Jews and for Israel?"⁶³

The ensuing senatorial contest between Kenneth Keating and Robert Kennedy continued in the same vein.

Rarely had the American people been given a clearer demonstration of the absurd position to which their fetishism for labels had led them. Rarely had voters been confronted with a more sordid situation in which the press had served as an important catalyst. These Democrats, as had so many politicoes before them, had, of course, ignored the admonition of one of their great standardbearers, Woodrow Wilson: "You cannot become true Americans if you think of yourselves in groups. America does not consist of groups. A man who thinks of himself as belonging to a particular national group has not yet become an American. And the man who goes among you to trade upon your nationality is not worthy to live under the stars and stripes."⁶⁴

But neither Wilsonian dogma nor consideration for the national interest, the safeguarding of which rested in the hands of older brother, dissuaded Edward Kennedy from following the tactics expected of every calculating politician. The youngest brother of the President, just prior to his announced candidacy for the Senate seat which his brother had held until January, 1961, made his pilgrimage to Israel where he addressed the students of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and lauded "the faith, the courage, the sacrifice and the genius that have wrought this modern miracle—this State of Israel." To the disappointment of 800 students who had expected the youngest Kennedy brother to speak about the Peace Corps, Edward read a twenty-minute address on the struggles and sacrifices of Israel and the inspiration the "country had given the world"⁶⁵—words gauged for consumption back home in Massachusetts by Jewish voters who seemed to hold the balance of power in his bitter fight against the state's Attorney General McCormack for the nomination and young George Lodge for the election.

Edward J. McCormack, his Democratic rival, followed closely on the heels of Ted Kennedy by himself the pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. Both these visits preceded the public announcements of candidacy in the primary fight between the two Catholic antagonists.

Ted Kennedy shortly thereafter traveled to Montreal to pay tribute to the Israel bond drive leader and scion of the Seagram liquor family, Mr. Samuel Bronfman. There the senatorial candidate declared: "Israel is an island of democracy in a hostile sea of authoritarianism. The legions of Egypt and Araby⁶⁶ have harassed the Israelis from the beginning." Even as these words were being uttered, top Administration financial leaders, including Secretary of the Treasury Dillon, were closeted with Egyptian Finance Minister Dr. Abdul Moneim el-Kaissouny in an effort to work out long-term assistance for the United Arab Republic, so as to end the latter's reliance upon the Soviet Union for economic help.

It was on this occasion (April 30, 1962) that the *Montreal Gazette* carried a six-column spread headlined: "Kennedy Assures Israel of U.S. Support If Arabs Attack." The Kennedy in question was not the President but Ted, the senatorial candidate, although an entirely different impression was conveyed to the readers by the headline writer.

While the President, often through Vice President Johnson, gave much lip service to Israelist aspirations, the Administration continued to resist pressures, including a round-robin petition signed by 226 congressmen of both parties,⁶⁷ to initiate direct Arab-Israel negotiations. It was not until the Kennedy Administration had been in office 21 months that the concrete action sought by Tel Aviv became a reality.

On September 26, 1962, the U.S. announced it had agreed to sell Israel short-range defensive ground-to-air Hawk missiles. "U.S. to Sell Israel Hawk Missiles to Meet Arabs Threat," sang out *The Washington Post*.⁶⁸ The tanks, jet fighters and long-range bombers received by the U.A.R. and Iraq during the past months, allegedly tipping the balance of military power to the Arabs, was the justification according to the public statement of "State Department officials" confirming the action. This marked the first time that the U.S. had departed from the policy of permitting France and Britain to serve as military suppliers for the Middle East.

The action was presaged four days earlier by a widely publicized speech in Washington to 600 American and Canadian leaders of the Israeli bond drive in which Levi Eshkol, Israel's France Minister, had charged that his nation's "security was imperiled by rockets possessed by the United Arab Republic."⁶⁹

Even *The New York Times* could not fail to comment editorially on the cynical timing of the U.S. announcement. Not only had the President and his aides leaked news of the decision to leaders of Jewish groups in the U.S. before it was publicly announced—and Myer Feldman, the top Kennedy assistant, had done likewise in the Israeli capital—but the action was made a matter of public record as the campaign of Robert Morgenthau, Democratic candidate for the governorship of New York, was building up steam. On the Republican side, Senator Javits, who had been continuously critical of the Administration for its failure to fulfill promises to initiate Middle East peace talks, was seeking re-election. Both major parties had Jewish candidates running on a statewide basis.

Washington seemed unworried about the likely repercussions of this U.S. action: that the sincerity of American efforts toward disarmament would now more than ever be questioned by the neutralists and that the growing trend toward complete neutralization of the southern shore of the Mediterranean under the influence of the Ben Bella government would be increased. American bases in Morocco were to be abandoned in 1963 and Bizerte evacuated by the French, and everywhere new problems posed themselves for NATO. By taking the place of our European allies as the arms supplier for Israel, the U.S. helped give credence to the Communist propaganda picture of an imperialist U.S. stepping into the shoes of the old European colonialists.

It was unfortunate that students of contemporary American foreign policy from the "liberal school" to whom President Kennedy was likely to turn for guidance, like foreign policy adviser Chester Bowles⁷⁰ and historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., were always so quick to note the burden of colonialism with which the U.S. was handicapped in its efforts to woo the non-

committed Afro-Asian nations, because of its intimate treaty ties with European powers, while they remained completely silent⁷¹ about the most-favored-nation treatment accorded Israel. Such inconsistency permitted the Kremlin to label this U.S.-Israeli relationship "the last attempt of the West to maintain a colonial outpost in the Middle East." Arabs envisioned the fledgling Israeli state alternately as a "child" who provided a continual threat which the U.S. as "parents" could now hold against the Arabs as it grew stronger at their expense, or as a many-headed monster who held the U.S. and the Western powers by the throat and could dictate their policy—an image immeasurably strengthened by the Israeli-British-French invasion of Egypt. The Arabs had come to regard Israel "as the prime expression of the Western aim to maintain exclusive military control over Middle East affairs."⁷²

Whereas major foreign policy adjustments either had been or were being made on other fronts in order to woo the increasingly powerful Afro-Asian bloc, this quietly simmering situation was not viewed by Washington with alarm. In June, 1960, the staff of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, of which Mr. Kennedy was then a member, in their Middle East study⁷³ (originally contracted, as previously noted, to the Institute for Mediterranean Affairs) had concluded that "the gravity of the Soviet threat in the Middle East loses perspective early. It is often exaggerated, and almost as often it is foolishly minimized."⁷⁴ The failure of the Soviet Union to move at once into the vacuum in Iraq created by departing Westerners instilled the Senate staff reporters with an optimism reflected in their equation of stability in the area with a maintenance of the *status quo*. While diagnosing carefully the symptoms of Middle East unrest and calling attention to the West's need of "persuading the Arab States of their otherwise disinterested motives in their offers of assistance,"⁷⁵ the Senate staff report offered no suggestion that alteration of the U.S. policy of partiality toward Israel might provide the patient's cure.

While warning that "all traces of the old *divide et impera* should be excised from Western policies and attitudes toward

the Middle East,"⁷⁶ the reporters did not see, or at least seemed afraid to say, that playing off and balancing Israel and the Arab states as equals was but another modification of the "divide and rule" technique against which they were cautioning.

Many words undoubtedly will be written on what President Kennedy would have done about the Middle East had his life not been cut short by an assassin's bullet. Had he been given the chance to write his memoirs, I am certain that no portion would have been more worthy of another Pulitzer Prize than that describing what must have been his sense of frustration as he battled to formulate some kind of policy for the Middle East. During his short tenure in office, the problems of this area were overshadowed by the grave crises that confronted American foreign policy in other parts of the world. Yet the state of continued Middle East tension, reflected in both the unresolved inter-Arab and Arab-Israeli animosities, must have instilled in a President of his temperament ideas and future plans for going far beyond the Kismet-like hope, with which his senatorial committee had ended their Middle East study, that "the patience and ingenuity of the West will outlast the problems that have made the Middle East a chronically worrisome, dangerously unstable region."⁷⁷

Perhaps it was his plan to delay until his second term the display of bold statesmanship required to end the Middle East imbroglio, and meanwhile he hoped to maintain the *status quo* while wrestling with other world problems demanding more immediate solution. But even doing the minimum to maintain the Middle East *status quo* involved resolving the dilemma of reconciling the American national interest with domestic political realities. Someone's campaign for re-election was inevitably just around the corner. As President Eisenhower had learned before him, it was difficult to convince the Arabs of the sincerity of professions of friendship as set forth in his letter of May 11, 1961, to Arab leaders, or pledges of impartiality as in his letter of September 30, 1960, to this writer. There were constantly too many factors upsetting the applecart. When Adlai Stevenson at the United Nations condemned the

latest Israeli aggression on the Sea of Galilee, the Presidents' Conference publicly warned the White House⁷⁸ against U.S. support of even the mildest censures of Israel (the possibility of a veto by France had led to the watering down of the resolution). Mayor Wagner added his voice to the ensuing press campaign.

With the April, 1963 declaration of the tripartite federated United Arab Republic, members of the Senate provided unmistakable evidence that the 1964 elections were approaching. Led by Senators Javis and Keating, a dozen "liberal" senators⁷⁹ devoted more than two hours to sharp criticism of United States aid to the United Arab Republic, indicating again their primary concern for the national interest of Israel. The Senate attack on the Kennedy Administration's foreign policy in the Middle East included a demand for a defense pact to protect Israel and a call for an embargo of arms shipments to all Middle East countries. The legislators re-echoed the Ben-Gurion contention that Israel had fallen behind the U.A.R., which, the Israeli leader charged, was ready "for a pushbutton war. Israel is easy to pinpoint and destroy and could not retaliate against four or five Arab states at once."⁸⁰ In the House, Congressman Seymour Halpern introduced a bill to cut off all aid to the United Arab Republic on the ground that such aid allowed Nasser to devote his country's own resources to a military buildup directed against Israel.

It was hardly likely that President Kennedy, a political realist, placed too much hope for peace in the area on the conscientious but forlorn efforts of Joseph E. Johnston, head of the Carnegie Peace Endowment, who as special representative of the UN Conciliation Commission sought an answer to the Arab refugee problem. Nor could the politically astute President ever have subscribed to the naïveté of certain officers in the State Department's bureau of Near East and Southeast Asian Affairs who expressed the hope that "this Johnston would succeed where the other Johnston only just failed to bring back a settlement"—a reference to the efforts of Eric Johnston during the Eisenhower Administration to win acceptance of his Jordan River

plan as a means of ending the Arab-Israeli conflict. Having mistaken proverbial Arab hospitality (or his ability to sell American movies) as acquiescence in his water plan, the motion-picture mogul had exuded optimism on returning from each of his five missions to the area, only to meet failure in the end. The Kennedy Administration was forced to demonstrate its support of the new Johnson UN effort, if only to show that the President was trying to do something.

History itself offered historian John F. Kennedy, as it offers his successor, Lyndon B. Johnson, the best guide to Middle East action. Michael Ionides, a British civil engineer who has spent much of his life in Iraq and Trans-Jordan, has traced in detail the rise and fall of the Nuri as-Said rule in Iraq.⁸¹ This strong, fourteen-time Iraqi prime minister, more than the Hashemite rulers under whom he served, had governed the country. Nuri, the author tells us, had incessantly urged the British Foreign Office to do something about Israel, not merely the

continual and ordinary disputes about boundaries and refugees which everyone in the West knew about and could read about. The need related much more to the hidden dynamics of Israel's diplomacy and propaganda, to the evidence he saw that the divisions and hostilities gave Israel an opportunity of territorial gain which she intended to exploit, not defensively but in the spirit of conquest; that with this intention it was to Israel's interests to aggravate the divisions and inflame the hostilities, and that Israel's gain might inescapably be Britain's loss, if only because it would undermine Nuri and the Baghdad Pact.⁸²

Israel, with the indispensable help of the West, had herself been successfully playing the divide-and-rule game. The dogged and determined Nasserite opposition to the British played directly into Zionist hands, making it most difficult for Nuri to stand for Britain in the face of the onslaught from pro-Nasser Iraqi nationalists.

In an interview on October 8, 1956, with a correspondent of the *Times* of London, Nuri had sought to win British public opinion to support an Arab-Israeli settlement by persuading

Israel to negotiate with the Arab countries on the basis of the United Nations Palestine resolutions of 1947. In essence, according to Ionides, what Nuri was saying was: "We are with you, you people of the West, but the ball is now in your court. I have taken the initiative. But you must come to meet me on this question of Israel. You must not leave me beating the air. If you do not make a real move now to get the Israel and the refugee questions settled while I am still in power, if you do not give me open support on this while there is yet time, then all will be lost."⁸³

When Israel shortly thereafter launched another attack on Jordan (this time at Qalqilyah), Iraq was prepared at the request of her then confederate kingdom to send troops to the Jordanian frontier. The Israeli government acted quickly and contemptuously. Such a move would be viewed as "a threat to Israel's security."⁸⁴ History had repeated itself. Israel was again the test case in Nuri's role of friendship with the West. England, under Eden, cooled off in support of Nuri precisely in the same manner as the Churchill government had in 1941 turned down a Nuri appeal to reconfirm the 1939 MacDonald White Paper on Palestine. (This paper had limited further Jewish immigration in the Holy Land and had called for a unitary Palestinian state, in which control was to be shared by Zionists and Arabs and in which "Jews and Arabs would both be as Palestinian as English and Scottish [living] in Britain are British.")

Apparently Britain, like the United States, was willing to mold her policy in the Middle East less in terms of her own interests and more to suit the reactions of the Israeli Prime Minister. The earlier rejection of an Iraqi plea by Downing Street had led to the 1941 fall of Nuri, the seizure of power by Rashid Ali al-Gailani and the brief entrance of the Nazis into Iraq. Where the Nazis had benefited before, this time it was the Russians who became the chief beneficiaries of the British refusal to ask themselves the question: "What price Israel?"

These events were the prelude to the Iraqi revolution of 1958, the end of Nuri and the Hashemites, and the demise of the

British in that country. It is most difficult to understand the statement in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee report that "the presence on the scene [in 1958] of more thoroughly trained and experienced Western observers might have prepared Washington and London for a collapse of a Government [Nuri's in Iraq] to which they were deeply committed."⁸⁵ I was in Baghdad in 1958, during National Development Week, less than two months before the assassination of Nuri and young King Faisal in the July 14th revolution, and was put in contact by the U.S. information officer in the American Embassy with leaders of what he described as a serious underground movement against the Western-oriented government. We met secretly at the home of the former dean of the Baghdad Law School, where I became acquainted with the widening conspiracy against the royal regime. The one element then lacking for a successful *Putsch* was the military.

The government—meaning Nuri, who ruled the country with an iron grip—was aware of the movements of all foreigners. I recall vividly being followed to the meeting from a dinner given by the king at Amana Hall. A subsequent phone call from the place of rendezvous to the hotel revealed to my fright that the line was being tapped. This discovery heightened my awareness of what my American Embassy friend had at the outset seriously confided to me: "The people have no confidence in their government, and their government even less in the people." Hence, like Norman Thomas who had visited Iraq a few months previously, I reported in published syndicated articles⁸⁶ that "trouble was brewing and that Iraq was very much in tune with the rest of the turbulent Middle East."

If the Embassy in Baghdad knew of these dangers, Washington, including the offices of Secretary Dulles and of his brother, Allen, head of the C.I.A., ought certainly to have known, let alone London through her able Ambassador Sir Michael Wright and his extraordinary wife. Yet, in the early dawn of the Bastille Day Baghdad revolution, the United States and Britain proclaimed to the world that the disastrous upheaval was an uprising with little popular support that had been

stage-managed from abroad by the United Arab Republic, aided and abetted by the Soviet Union.

Once again it had more than likely been a case of the two Western capitals knowing the truth, but looking the other way for fear of offending Israel. As in 1941 and 1956, as it is today, the price for Middle East stability involved incurring the ill will of the potent Zionist-Israeli machine, and such a price neither the Foreign Office nor the State Department was prepared to pay.

What have we of the West learned from previous errors in the Middle East? The sad, concise and truthful answer to this question must be: "Scarcely anything."

In endowing the Israeli state with a most-favored-nation treatment the sage warning of our first President in his Farewell Address was ignored:

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one Nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification: It leads also to concessions to the favorite Nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the Nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: And it gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite Nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption or infatuation . . . Real Patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests⁸⁷

American foreign policy faces the absolute necessity of freeing itself from the grave burdens of U.S. partisanship on the Arab-Israeli conflict and of continuous politicking for domestic votes. Until this is accomplished, any move in the Arab world toward the Western camp will inevitably be regarded as the equivalent of becoming pro-Israel. The possibility that the U.S. embrace of Hussein could become another Western kiss of death as it had been to his Hashemite cousin, Faisal, in Iraq, undoubtedly was a factor in the Jordanian recognition of the U.S.S.R. and moves toward nonalignment. One has to be only twenty-four hours in the Arab world to learn that whatever the U.S. attempts to do for the Middle East will invariably be viewed with suspicion and will be considered motivated by American concern for Israel until some substantial redress for past Arab grievances has been made.

Even strict impartiality at this state, after years of overwhelming Western bias, will not right what the Arabs regard as the wrongs of the past. Such a policy would only freeze the *status quo* at the point where the old "Israel first" policy left off, with the scales in a definite state of imbalance and with the desired aura of "disinterested motives" a million miles away. Nor will balancing Israel against the entire Arab world ever serve the American national interest.

No radical change in American foreign policy was anticipated when the reins of government were turned over to President Johnson. But it was obvious that with the 1964 campaign approaching the conscious politicking for votes over Middle East issues was likely to be stepped up. Republican candidate, Barry Goldwater, had never previously taken any stand regarding this area.

President Johnson went into office with a great reputation in his legislative dealings, to use his own words, as "a compromiser and a maneuverer." Where his predecessor drew his main political strength from the populous states of the North with their large Jewish concentrations, Mr. Johnson appeared strongest in the South, and his political needs required wooing of the very states where the Zionist lobby was strongest. In his efforts

to establish a favorable image in the industrial Northeast in an election contest with a Republican who might attempt to outbid him for the "Jewish vote," it was hardly likely that President Johnson could or would withstand pressures from the Israelist lobby in a national election year.

While the President indicated from his first days in office that he would prefer to concentrate in 1964 on the domestic scene, within two months varied foreign policy crises began to crowd in on him, principally the East-West cold war, the challenge of De Gaulle and the question of Latin America. The Middle East, where a serious storm was brewing over the diversion of the Jordan River waters, presented a fresh problem, but this was the one foreign policy area whose treatment neatly fitted the domestic political needs of the hour.

As Vice President, Mr. Johnson had maintained close contacts with Israelist organizations, having often been delegated by President Kennedy to represent the White House and bring the Administration's blessings to Zionist, U.J.A. and other conclaves. One of his first official acts as Vice President was to come to New York (on February 5, 1961) and address the B'nai Zion, the fraternal Zionist organization where he called for a cutback in Middle East armaments. But on his own, the new occupant in the White House had also long been deeply committed to the cause of Israel in the United States. In February, 1957, during the Suez crisis, the Eisenhower Administration was considering invoking economic sanctions against Israel to force a withdrawal of her troops from the Sinai Peninsula. The then majority Senate leader is said to have summoned his chauffeur and driven to the White House where a "heated session ensued."⁸⁸ The Republican President was bluntly told by the Texas Democrat that the Senate would never approve punitive sanctions against Israel. To Secretary Dulles and Henry Cabot Lodge, he decried such threats as "unwise, unfair and one-sided." And on the Senate floor he charged that it was "Egyptian maintenance of a state of war and the exercise of belligerent rights . . . that resulted in Israel's military counteraction."⁸⁹

Also it had been on Senator Johnson's motion in the *Cleopatra* senatorial debate that Senator Fulbright's attempt to amend the Douglas-Keating amendment had failed.

After his election to the Vice Presidency, Mr. Johnson visited Israel and continued to give whatever comfort he could to the Israelist position. Both he and Mrs. Johnson went out of their way to demonstrate their support of Israeli philanthropic needs by purchasing Israel bonds. When Mrs. Johnson accepted the honorary chairmanship of a Washington Israel Independence Ball to push the sale of bonds, the Iraqi chargé d'affaires futilely protested this action as a breach of neutrality. Both the Vice President and his wife indicated their resentment of this Arab attitude.

It was early announced by the Johnson Administration that the services of Myer Feldman, President Kennedy's Deputy Special Counsel and adviser on Middle East issues, would be retained. Feldman, whom Zionist groups viewed as a "counter-balance" in the White House to the State Department's "pro-Arabism,"⁹⁰ reputedly had been a key figure in bringing about the sale to Israel of the U.S. ground-to-air missiles. In predicting a bigger role for Feldman than had been played by Jewish Affairs Adviser David K. Niles⁹¹ in the Truman Administration and Maxwell Rabb in the Eisenhower Administration, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency called him "the White House's Watchman of Israel."⁹²

At the Weizmann Institute dinner in New York where he accepted on behalf of the late President a posthumous honorary fellowship, Mr. Johnson clearly indicated that no Israeli watchman was even needed in the White House. The President disclosed that the United States had offered to cooperate with Israel in using nuclear power to help solve the water shortage in the Middle East.⁹³ (One of the principal Arab objections to the Israeli plans to irrigate the Negev by diverting Jordan River waters was the consequent salinizing effect this would have on the water flowing to Arab countries.) The President was cheered by the Waldorf banqueters time and again for his sympathetic references to Israel and his announcement of the first joint ven-

ture by the United States with another country in desalinization research.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt had taken special pains through his assurances to King Ibn Saud and other acts to safeguard the national interest and to avoid the total support demanded for Jewish national aspirations. It was President Truman, as Roosevelt's sudden successor in 1948, who threw away caution with precipitate recognition of Israel as he reached for what he believed to be vital votes. John F. Kennedy, like F.D.R., was able to draw upon his intimate knowledge of history and his broad personal perspective to back away from full commitments to Israelism. Would his successor, Mr. Johnson, always the ablest of politicians, faced with a situation in a national election year, not unlike Mr. Truman's, likewise subordinate policy to the whims of politics? This is the question which only the future will be able to answer.

The positive guide that Michael Ionides urged upon the British deserves careful White House consideration. The simple specifics of any "new look" for the West in the Middle East, he insisted, had to include coming to terms with Arab nationalism "whose reality you are forced to acknowledge and enjoying the mutual benefits of oil, trade and commerce with a settlement over Israel which the Arabs can accept."⁹⁴

In his celebrated March, 1964, address in the Senate, urging a reassessment of United States foreign policy, Senator Fulbright decried the lack of American flexibility in adapting to a changing world: "We are clinging to old myths in the face of new realities, and we are seeking to escape the contradictions by narrowing the permissible bounds of public discussion, by relegating an increasing number of ideas and viewpoints to a growing category of 'unthinkable thoughts.'"⁹⁵

Positive action toward finding such a settlement acceptable to the Arabs—and which did not offend the individual Jew's sense of justice—fitted perfectly the Fulbright critique, as well as President Johnson's own formula for successful foreign policy leadership. There are, the President said in a television address to the nation on March 15, 1964, "people who feel that all we

need to do is to mash a button and determine everybody's foreign policy. But we are not living in that kind of a world any more. They are going to determine it for themselves, and that is the way it should be. And we are going to have to come and reason with them and try to lead them instead of forcing them."

14

Justice and Peace: Toward a Settlement

"One, who like myself, has claimed for many years that the humanity of the future must be built upon an intimate community of the nations and that oppressive nationalism must be conquered, can see a future for Palestine only on the basis of peaceful cooperation between the two peoples who are at home in the country . . . come together they must in spite of all."

Albert Einstein—*Falastin*—Jan. 28, 1930

P ALESTINE has always been the target of successive invaders and has continuously changed rule. This barren land has rarely been free of great-power domination. After the Canaanites, who came to the land first, there were the Egyptians, Hyksos, Egyptians and Hittites; then a combination of Canaanites, Philistines and Hebrews; the Hebrew kingdom of the North and Judah in the South; Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, Ptolemies, Seleucids, Maccabees, Seleucids, Romans, Persians, Romans, Arabs, Turks, Crusaders, Egyptians, Mamelukes, Turks, Britons; and now Israelis and Jordanians.

Although the headlines may at any time be captured by Berlin or Cuba, the Congo or Laos, Vietnam or other portions of the globe, the Middle East, nevertheless, will still seethe with tensions capable of erupting violently at any time. The basic causes of the most recent turmoil have remained unaltered through the years of restlessness that have surrounded the Holy Land since 1948. Steps toward Arab unity, accompanied by continuous Arab internecine warfare, increase rather than mitigate the danger of further Arab-Israeli conflict and of renewed British-U.A.R. strife over the unresolved status of Yemen and the impingement on Western interests in Aden-South Arabia. The indecisive war in Yemen to which Nasser had so deeply com-

mitted his prestige brought the U.A.R. into a new, near-shooting war with the British in the late spring of 1964. Yemeni tribesmen, supported by Cairo, battled with British forces in Aden. A new, terrible crisis may arise should there be any Arab move to alter the status of Jordan. Another critical moment will occur when Israel's diversion of the Jordan River, intended to feed the parched Negev, reaches fruition.

With more than one million one hundred thousand Palestinian Arab refugees facing the rigors of their sixteenth year in exile, the parties benefiting most from this Middle East tragedy are the Soviet Union and Red China. Because of the well-publicized, all-out U.S. private and governmental support given to Israel, there remains the danger of the Arab world's being driven into the arms of the Kremlin or Peking.

In seeking a formula for resolving the tensions of the volatile Middle East, no one appreciates better than this writer the immensity of the task or better realizes that any proposals set forth are certain to be held unrealistic, impractical and politically unacceptable—to mention only a few qualities of imperfection inherent in any peace plan for this area. But it is my conviction that it is absolutely necessary to present to the public some constructive course of action now. The issues must be debated—and only new proposals, however imperfect, can cast the debate in a new framework from a new perspective. What the late President Kennedy said in his talk to the nation when the U.S. imposed an arms blockade on Cuba during the 1962 missile crisis applies even more pertinently to the Middle East situation today: "The greatest danger of all would be to do nothing."¹ Whatever heat such a proposal will undoubtedly generate is far better than continuing to ignore the problem.

Any prognosis for the future most indeed be grim. A 1962 unpublished Defense Department report noted, "There is no reasonable basis for thinking that Israel and her Arab neighbors, as far ahead as one can see, can evolve any form of peaceful co-existence; major Israeli-Arab hostilities within the next 2-3 years are a high possibility; Israel may initiate a preventive or pre-emptive attack on her Arab neighbors, feeling that this is

essential to her very survival." The lone wolf status of Syria and the Baathist regime in its struggle to stay aloof from the unifying Arab World increases the danger of precipitate armed conflict.

There are almost insurmountable obstacles to peace: Arab intransigency is matched by the Israeli refusal to take up the refugee problem except as part of a general settlement of all differences between Israel and the Arab states. Israel has repeatedly challenged the Arabs to sit down around the peace table, but on at least two occasions has followed up the invitation with a new military onslaught.² Yet superior public relations always cast Israel in the light of the peace seeker. As one English observer has noted, "To what extent the hostility of her neighbors is the result of her *Realpolitik* against the Arabs is never mentioned in the glamorous propaganda brochures handed out at fund-raising dinners over here."³

A final settlement for the area above all requires the atmosphere for peace which can be engendered only by mutual confidence on the part of the vying adversaries. This must precede all else. Dr. Shereshevsky of the *Ihud* wrote, "We believe that instead of peace bringing about a settlement of the refugee problem, a common Israeli-Arab endeavor in seeking a practical solution and in implementing it will bring about greater understanding, a rapprochement and ultimately—perhaps after many years—real peaceful relations."⁴

Settling the Middle East imbroglio involves not only a plan for the area itself, but a program for the United States, including all Americans, and for the West. It is not only the bitter differences between the Arab states and Israel that demand attention, but the cold war repercussions stemming from this problem which vitally affect the United States and the free world.

The present state of Israel constitutes an anomaly, and the involvement of the United States in its affairs is equally anomalous. The relationship of Jewish Americans to the people of Israel and particularly to the sovereign state itself must be encompassed within any over-all settlement. The relationship to

Israel of Christian Americans, particularly the political leaders of the United States, likewise must be taken into consideration.

Any solution of the differences between the Arab states and Israel must be based not only on the resolutions of the United Nations, which created Israel, but on the universal demand for a just settlement of a problem which had its origins in the Western world. To justify the right of the West to gain expiation for the crimes of Hitler at the expense of the Arab world remains unconscionable. Justice for Palestine, in the words of Professor Toynbee, requires "vindication of people's rights and the righting of their wrongs and the least possible suffering for the smallest possible number of people."⁵

What concrete steps can we take, then, to ameliorate the situation in the Middle East?

The de-Zionization of Israel is an absolute necessity and the number one goal towards peace in the area. While there may be other plans to achieve this end, the key to our suggested specifics is this: The emigration from Israel of up to 850,000 Israelis, mostly of European background, over a ten-year period should be permitted and encouraged. In the aftermath of the Hitler terror, European refugees found the doors to the Western world barred to them, and the vast majority accepted sanctuary only on a second-choice basis.⁶ Since the doors of the West were closed, the salvation of the displaced persons was presented to the world as lying only in and through a Jewish state. An appeal to the world's humanitarianism was designed to canalize that human instinct toward one conclusion: Jewish statehood in Palestine.

That many of its citizens would avail themselves of the opportunity to leave Israel is evidenced by the flight of Israeli brain power to wealthier countries* and the increasing number of Israeli conversions to Christianity. Few dare emigrate overtly, as such an abandonment of the state is deemed traitorous and

* *The New York Times*, September 8, 1964. Even cantors were reported quitting Israel for "better pay abroad." There is said to be only enough work during the High Holy Days.

contemptible.* Some leave as students or tourists and then remain abroad. Others have become Christian because it is far easier for a Christian to emigrate from Israel than for a Jew. Immigration visas are more readily available to Christians.

There are no exact figures on Jewish conversions to Christianity in Israel. The estimates range from 7,500 to 15,000⁷ and upward. These figures are shockingly high when one considers the position that conversion has occupied in Jewish history; for among Jews, conversion to Christianity has always carried the worst taboo. Through the centuries Christian missionaries have achieved only negligible results, but their recent inroads in Israel have been reflected in the increasing number of acts of violence committed by religious fanatics against Christian churches and their representatives.

As a second step in this plan, the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the NATO countries of Europe, Brazil, Argentina and other South American countries should now open their doors over a ten-year period to 850,000 Israelis, according to their ability to absorb new populations.⁸ Oriental Jews, if they so desire, should be permitted to return to the Arab countries from which they emigrated.

The third requirement of the plan is that, at the same time and at the same rate as these 850,000 Jews are being permitted to leave Israel, up to 850,000 Palestinian Arab refugees should be permitted to return to their homes. Such a return would be in accordance with the United Nations resolutions first adopted by the General Assembly in 1948 and readopted fifteen successive times since, whereby these Palestinians were given the choice either to return home or to be compensated.

This emigration of a substantial number of European Jews from Israel would leave in the country those Jews of Oriental

* *The New York Times*, August 30, 1964. Of most serious concern to the Israeli government was the decided diminution in the pioneering spirit that earlier had characterized Palestine settlements. Even if Jordan River waters were permitted to irrigate the Negev, who would live there? There was little rush to join Ben-Gurion in the loneliness of desert life.

background who were in Palestine prior to the Balfour Declaration and had lived there peacefully for generations, side by side with their Moslem and Christian neighbors, and those Oriental Jews who had come there from Arab countries under the impact of Zionism since the end of World War II.

Together with the returning Palestinian Arabs and with the Arabs who remained behind after the establishment of Israel, these Oriental Moslems and Oriental Jews could join together with Arab Christians in reconstituting a state, whether it be called Palestine or Israel, that might eventually be able to live in peace and harmony with the Arab states.

Such a bi-national, non-sectarian state in which Jew and non-Jew, whether he be Moslem or Christian, would be accorded absolutely equal rights would be in line with the precepts of Dr. Judah Magnes, Dr. Albert Einstein, Professor Morris R. Cohen* and other believers in Jewish-Arab cooperation. A sovereignty so constituted would repudiate the doctrine of a theocratic state in which one religion was endowed with a legal preference over others. This reconstituted Oriental Israel would then be a true nondiscriminatory mother to all her children: to Jews, Moslems and Christians alike. Oriented to the Middle East because of the common culture and language an ever increasing majority of its people would share with their Arab neighbors, this state would have every opportunity not only to win the peace that is sought, but in time to enter into close economic relations with its neighbors, looking toward an economic union with Jordan and Gaza and eventually toward a Semitic confederation. A new movement in Israel, recognizing the inevitability of what Mr. Ben-Gurion and his party have deplored as the "Levantization" of Israel, has already called for such a union.

After two years of intensive work, the *Hebrew Manifesto*, a document of eighty-four "principles of Semitic action" was published in Israel and in Sartre's magazine *Les Temps Mod-*

*Philosopher Morris R. Cohen wrote of a "non-sectarian state that allows equal rights to all Jews, Christians, Mohammedans and Atheists alike." *Issues*, Summer 1964.

ernes in France. The manifesto,⁹ declaring Israel to be an integral part of a Semitic region, called for the federation of Israel, Jordan and Gaza as the "Union of Jordan"; the "full partnership" of the Arab minority in Israel in the state; the "right of the Arab refugees to return to their homeland"; the "complete separation between Religion and State, to be guaranteed by a written constitution"; and the abolishment of "the dependence of the Israeli economy on Jewish fund-raising and foreign aid." But the main thesis of the document rested on the declaration that a new *Hebrew* nation had emerged in Palestine and that the state of Israel, the political expression of this Hebrew personality, was not a Jewish state belonging to a world community, but to its citizens, both Hebrew and Arab. This was the first outward manifestation of the growing split between Israeli nationalists and Jewish nationalists, between Hebraists and Zionists. The native-born Israeli, the Sabra, with an almost exaggerated sense of freedom stemming from his birth in pioneer-minded Israel, has become increasingly indifferent to a Zionism rooted in the Diaspora by a persecution-minded minority. As Uri Avnery, the philosopher of the movement supporting the manifesto, has put it:

The difference between Zionist fathers and Israeli sons is much more than the usual contradictions between generations. It is a mutation. A different mode of life, nutrition, climate, political reality, and social environment could not but make the Palestinian-born son vastly different from his ghetto-born father. It is very usual for a young Israeli in Europe or the U.S. to hear the exclamation: "But you don't look like a Jew!" This dubious compliment still carries a grain of truth: the average robust, tall, dark-blond, and often blue-eyed Sabra (Hebrew nickname for Palestinian-born) is indeed even externally different from his Jewish ancestors, much as the average Australian or American is different from his English great-grandfather.

Jewish culture, created in the Diaspora by a persecuted religious-minded minority, does not appeal to a generation which had a somewhat exaggerated sense of freedom. Jewish religion, based on the Talmud and the Halacha, both

products of the Diaspora, has in Israel degenerated into party-slogans, while the Bible, the most powerful book of Hebrew literature, is immensely popular, and archaeology has become a national fad.

Most significant: in day-to-day modern Hebrew usage local-born Israelis have quite unconsciously come to use the term "Jewish" when they mean foreign Jews or new immigrants, and to call "Hebrew" everything connected with themselves. Thus the "Hebrew" national has become a fact long before anyone started to proclaim its existence in ideological terms.

Included in this new Israeli movement are the twentieth-century Canaanites, so named because of a romantic adoration of the old Canaanite pagan civilization, and remnants of the old Stern Gang and young Palestinians who have published a mass circulation weekly news magazine, *Ha-Olam ha-Zeh* (This World).

The demographic trend in Israel lends itself to such a solution. Whereas at the outset of the state the majority of the citizens came from Europe and the Americas, today the Israelis of Afro-Asian descent outnumber the Westerners, who to date, however, still constitute the ruling class. Moroccan-born Dr. Andre Shuraky, the chief adviser for the government on immigration problems, has pointed out, "In 1950, 56 per cent of Israel's babies were born to Westerners; by 1960, only 22 per cent were"; and he predicted that within 15 years "three out of every four Israeli Jews will be of Afro-Asian origin."¹⁰ The non-Jewish population in Israel is growing fastest of all, with the Arabs and Druzes producing one-fifth of all the babies born in 1961 and increasing at the incredible rate of 40 per 1,000 (the world average is about 18). The Orientalization, if not Arabization, of Israel is fast becoming a fact, a population trend it will be most difficult to alter.

Economic union between this new Israel and Jordan, a prerequisite to the viability of both states, would carry out the proviso which was an essential part of the 1947 UN Palestine partition plan and would help relieve the American taxpayer of

one unnecessary area of responsibility. The forty odd million dollar annual grant from the U.S. to Jordan, a major portion of the U.J.A. tax-free dollars which have been flowing to Israel, and the U.S. annual contribution to help the United Nations support the Arab refugees and to maintain the police force would in time become unnecessary as these constructive steps toward viability of these states were taken and as peace plus trade succeeded war plus aid.

Such a reconstituted state would do more than anything else to curb the advance and penetration of the area by the Soviet Union and Red China. Peace in the Middle East is the situation the Communists can least afford.

No blueprint for the welfare of the Middle East would be complete without providing for the internationalization of the Holy City of Jerusalem and its environs, at last implementing the 1947 UN partition plan and serving as a further common bond between Israel and Jordan. The Moslems, who have never ceased their relentless opposition, dating back to the Crusades, to foreign supervision of holy places, are prepared to make this important concession and accept international supervision.¹¹

It is obvious that neither the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission, with its record of failure, nor any other existing United Nations agency is suited to implement this plan. Accordingly, a new specialized agency, the United Nations Commission for Palestine Repatriation and Restitution (UNPRR) should be established.¹² This commission, consisting of five members, at least three of whom should be representatives of nonaligned Asian and African nations and none of whom should be from the big powers or Turkey, would administer the funds and facilities required to bring about the resettlement of Arab refugees in Palestine and of Jewish *émigrés* in the Western world. A fair share of the expense would be borne by the United States in accordance with the long extant promise of the late Secretary Dulles¹³ to underwrite the cost of a permanent settlement of the refugee problem.

It is worth repeating that the core of Middle East tensions and of great potential dangers stems from the kind of state that

Israel has become far more than from the mere fact of her existence. As Dr. Peretz stated in *Foreign Affairs*, "there is no possibility now or ever of a political compromise between Arab nationalism and a Jewish state founded on Zionist ideology."¹⁴ The specter of further Zionist expansion obsesses the Arab world and provides Communism with an "open sesame" to this region. Israelists in the U.S. must realize that should the Arab world be made subservient to the Soviets or the Chinese, it is hardly reasonable to suppose that Israel could hold out as a free island in a surrounding "Red" sea.

It behooves the United States to normalize, both on governmental and private levels, its relations with the state of Israel and with the Arab world. Americans as a whole have refused to consider the action to be taken in this area as a foreign policy problem, and Christians have been reluctant to accept any responsibility for settling this controversial dispute. There has been a general refusal to weigh objectively the equities involved first in the creation of Israel and then in the subsequent area conflicts.

In looking at the Middle East, it further behooves U.S. representatives to wear their own glasses and put aside Israeli spectacles. The key to the development of a policy for the area involves deciding neither what is good for the Israelis nor what is good for the Arabs, but what is good for the United States and for Americans. A little selfishness would prove altruistic in the long run. No matter how divided the Arab world may be, no policy whose aim is to advance the American national interest can realistically be based on establishing a balance between Israel on the one hand and the whole Arab world on the other.

Without some bold, new approach to the Middle East the restoration of faith in Western justice and democracy can scarcely be achieved. Change in the area is inevitable, and delay tends only to limit the choice as to how the change will be accomplished. Genuine impartiality, taking into consideration all factors, can lead to friendly relations with all the people and all the governments of this area, but only if, at the same time, the patent injustices of the past that inflame American-

Arab relations are corrected and the Arab demand for security is recognized. The *status quo* will never realize the "accommodation between Israel and its Arab neighbors" which the State Department seeks.¹⁵

Only an Israel, which is *of* as well as *in* the Middle East, can win the trust and confidence of the people around her.¹⁶ The reconstitution of an Israel fully orientated to the area would permit a corresponding reconstitution of the Jewish American community completely integrated within the United States. By sharply separating the faith, Judaism, from Jewish nationalism and Israelism, and endowing it with a vitality of its own, distinct both from ancient Hebrew mores and a way of life now dead, Judaism could again become a power spiritual force.

By ceasing to make a "racial hoard of God"¹⁷ and resuming the missionary work that converted such diverse people as Greeks and Yemenites, the Queen of Sheba, the Khagan of the Khazars, and the royal family of Adiabene,¹⁸ Judaism could attain new heights in a world hungry for faith. As Arnold Toynbee has written: "In the one world of the future, which will be a counterpart of the Hellenistic World expanded to a global scale, a Judaism that was wholly divorced from politics could resume its missionary work." The birthright sold for a mess of nationalism could still be restored. The kind of Jew who can make the greatest contribution to his country and to his faith is the Judaist who does not wear his religion on his sleeve. In time the word "Judaist," the American adherent of the religion of Judaism, should supplant the dichotomous, semireligious and semipolitical word, "Jew."

Some day history will record that it was far from heretical to have declared that there was neither a need for a state for "the Jewish people" nor any justification for establishing such a state in its present locale.¹⁹ But until Americans at least begin to confess to previous errors, there is hardly the slightest prospect of any peace in the Middle East. As the late William Zukerman pointed out in the *Jewish Newsletter*, there can be no advance toward peace until the Israelists and Zionists realize, and admit publicly, "that they have committed a wrong by dis-

possessing a million people from their native homes.”²⁰ The refusal of the Israeli government and its American supporters to admit even partial guilt for the tragedy obliterates any hopes for peace. The incessant Israelist denial of responsibility for the refugee calamity stems from the growing potency of the issue as the public has become little by little more acquainted with the facts of the case. The storm raised by American Israelists, aided and abetted by local New York City politicians, over the Arab refugee mural in the Jordan Pavilion at the World’s Fair brought the question for the first time to the attention of thousands.

With the first public awareness, early in 1964, of the dangers inherent in the controversy over the diversion of the waters of the Jordan River, *The Guardian*, long a strong advocate of Zionism, had this editorial comment to make:

Return for many Jews in exile is a figurative term—they have not actually lived in Palestine before. But several hundred thousand Arab refugees were born and grew up there. The state of Israel was founded at their expense. If its population is to be enlarged, they have the first claim to be admitted. Would not the inauguration of the Jordan water scheme give the Israel Government the opportunity for a new approach, an expression of its willingness to do its best to comply with the United Nations resolutions on this issue. It would be an acknowledgement by Israel of its responsibility for the existence of the refugees and its duty to right their wrongs.²¹

History, too, will some day take another look at the Balfour Declaration, invariably adduced as the legal justification for the establishment of the Israeli state, and will decide the contrary. President of the UN General Assembly Mohammed Zafrullah Khan, when he served as Pakistani Foreign Minister during the 1947 debate over partition, in brilliant rhetoric placed the Declaration in its proper perspective:

Either the Balfour Declaration can stand with and be consistent with prior pledges [to the Arabs] or it is not consistent with the prior pledges. If it is not consistent, then,

since the prior pledges occupy the field, there is no more field to be occupied by an inconsistent pledge; or else it is consistent with prior pledges. In other words, the Balfour Declaration meant the establishment of a Jewish national home in a free and independent Palestine. Both these pledges can stand together, let them stand together and let them both be fulfilled.²²

Ahad Ha-am (meaning in Hebrew "one of the people"), a close friend of Chaim Weizmann and a leader of the spiritual Zionists, contended that in its final wording the Balfour Declaration was a *rejection* of Jewish historic rights to Palestine. He wrote in June, 1920:

If you build your house not on untenanted ground, but in a place where there are other houses, you are sole master only as far as your front gate. National homes of different people in the same country can demand only national freedom for each one in the internal affairs, and affairs of the country which are common to all are administered by all householders jointly . . . Our leaders and writers ought to have told the people this.²³

Arthur Koestler in succinct fashion has given his comment on this same historic declaration of the World War I British Cabinet, from which act of state all else has flowed:

In the Balfour Declaration, one nation solemnly promised to a second nation the country of a third. No second thoughts can diminish the originality of this procedure. The Arabs had been living there for centuries, and the country was no doubt theirs in the generally accepted sense of the word. It is true that the Arabs had vast underpopulated territories at their disposal and the Jews had none; that the Arabs were a backward, the Jews a forward people; and that the latter claimed to have received that country only three thousand years earlier from God Himself, who had only temporarily withdrawn it from them.

But arguments of this nature had never before in history induced an Act of State of a comparable kind.²⁴

Reconstituting Israel on a bi-national basis ["We do not favour Palestine as a Jewish country or as an Arab country,

but bi-national Palestine as the common country of two peoples" were the words of Judah Magnes and Martin Buber to the 1946 Anglo-American Inquiry Commission]²⁵ would bring about a long-overdue historical revision, the only possible means of reconciling the "national home" concept of the Balfour Declaration with the right of self-determination set forth in Woodrow Wilson's Twelfth Point.

With time it becomes more difficult to conceal the fact that under the UN partition plan 60 per cent of Palestine's best territory and one-half million inhabitants were placed under the rule of one-third of the people. The return, therefore, of all Arab property in Israel to its owners as well as the payment of adequate compensation for the use of and for damage caused to this property by the state or citizens of Israel must, likewise, be provided under any peace terms.

A most necessary item on the American agenda for a Middle East settlement is a Republican-Democratic concordat at the highest possible level to take the Middle East out of politics. Such an area bi-partisan policy, which could be made effectual through a reform in the Electoral College system,²⁶ is necessary to end the fruitless wooing of the exaggerated "Jewish vote" which continuously plagues the development of a policy in the national interest. A final disavowal of politicians of this quest would be a fitting tribute to the memory of James Forrestal, who gave so much of himself in attempting to achieve what was then impossible.

To create a normal relationship toward Israel, Jewish Americans now must make their positive choice: either go to Israel or conduct themselves in this country in such a manner as to remove all suspicions as to their national loyalties. Were these doubts removed, their lot would be far happier, and they would be in a better position to serve the national weal. But it is the height of irresponsibility to reject privately, as individuals, Israel's claim to allegiance, while as a group publicly to give all-out support to the Israelist crusade. For too long an inner compulsion and fear has prevented most Jewish Americans from facing the facts and living by the principles they profess.

The near-mystic emotionalism for Israel should not bar Jews from the positive act of choosing. For they no longer can disassociate themselves from the continuing claims that they are part of a Jewish people bound to the sovereign state of Israel merely by shrugging off the real and intimate links being forged. The history of anti-Semitism warns against such a course.

Part of the decision Jewish Americans must make involves another choice: whether to employ private sectarian philanthropy or private universal philanthropy as a major instrument for the redressing of human deprivation and persecution. The former has helped build Israel into a narrow, secular, chauvinistic state. The latter can make possible a mission with broad dimensions, carrying a vital universal message to the people of the world.

There is also a tremendous need for clearing the channels of information and removing the barriers to free, uninhibited information at home in the United States. Without the right to dissent through public discussion and criticism we can have no freedom, no truth, no justice. Without the right to dissent, ours hardly deserves to be called "the land of the free and the home of the brave." As a start, in all commentary and analysis on Middle East developments, the word "anti-Semite" should be completely and utterly banished from the reporter's lexicon.

The material achievements of Zionism tend to blind the eyes of their Western idolaters. American Israelists must realistically examine certain hard economic facts in deciding how best they should act. Figures tell the story of the enormous Israeli reliance on American generosity and the unique U.S.-Israel relationship.

In 1930, \$1 million was contributed toward the building of a Jewish Palestine. By 1940, the sum had reached \$100 million. During 1948, the year in which Israel was born, an estimated \$200 million in cash or kind was sent to support the struggle, "an incredibly large sum representing a per capita contribution from American Jewry almost equivalent to the per capita receipt of the Federal Government in that year."²⁷ While this giving tapered off a little in subsequent years, the total sum of the direct assistance from Jewry in the United States, encour-

aged by the continued tax-exemptible status of the United Jewish Appeal, reached well over the billion dollar mark by the end of 1963. (The goal for 1964 was set at \$105 million, and by January gifts totaling \$17.8 millions were announced in Washington at the Mayflower Hotel's Inaugural Conference.)²⁸

The Israel Bond Drive since its inception brought \$661 million into the Zionist coffers (through January, 1964) from Jewish and Christian Americans.²⁹ An additional more than \$350 million was invested in varied Israeli enterprises.

Henry Chalfant, Deputy Director of U.S. Operations Mission in Tel Aviv, estimated that Israel received between 1948 and 1960 a total of between \$2.8 and \$3.0 billion from all foreign sources, a third of which came from private grants and loans.³⁰ During the first fourteen years of Israel's existence, the U.S. government contributed \$850 million, mostly outright grants, the highest rate of American aid given to any country on a per capita basis of the recipient country.³¹ In 1959, for example, the U.S. taxpayer provided more public aid to Israel per Israeli (\$15.00 each) than he did per American in federal grants to our own states under the entire grant system provided by the Social Security Administration (Old Age Assistance; Aid to Dependent Children, to the Blind, to Permanently and Totally Disabled; Employment Security, Child Welfare Services, Maternal and Child Health and Services for Crippled Children).³²

This accounting does not include other vital benefits to Israel, given, we are told, on a scale proportional to her share in aid "including hundreds of American technicians and Israeli trainees who have been exchanged; dozens of Israeli cultural, educational and philanthropic institutions who have enjoyed American assistance from counterpart funds. Likewise, the Israeli public has been able to buy American cultural and educational material payable in Israeli currency at the official rate. In short, Israel has been given the status of a most favored nation, and not only in the technical sense in which the world is used in international trade. . . . There is scarcely one important educational, cultural, social or philanthropic institution in Israel which

is not supported in some degree by Jewish American (as well as U.S. government) aid . . .”³³

From 1947 through 1961, Israel with a population which in 1964 reached 2.4 millions received a total of \$680.5 million, while the seven Arab countries of the Middle East with its more than 60 million people received \$621.7 million in aid (this included the subsidy of \$93 million the last two years to maintain King Hussein on his throne). It was only with the surge of economic aid to the Nasser regime after 1962, that the overall total of aid to Arab countries exceeded for the first time the governmental contributions to Israel. Even when U.S. economic aid to the U.A.R. reached the sum of \$380 million for 1961 and 1962, this amounted to \$14.50 per capita while Israel, during the same period, was receiving \$75.00 per capita.

Israel's reliance as a remittance state does not end with these figures. West Germany through December 31, 1963 has paid more than \$3.8 billions in reparations to Jews for Nazi persecution during World War II.³⁴ This huge payment was made possible by the U.S. forgiveness of \$2 billions in reparations from Germany.

Dr. Goldmann at a 1964 Brussels conference, in applauding Bonn for its “meticulous” handling of payments, reported that West Germany since 1953 had supplied \$773 million worth of goods and services, “over 93 per cent of the amount due under the reparations program.”³⁵

Serious days ahead confront the Israeli government. The diversion of 63½ billion cubic feet of River Jordan water to the Negev desert in the South (allocated in the 1962 budget at a cost of over \$20 million, exclusive of moneys from a separate item of \$142 millions for “payment of foreign debts and special expenditures,” which was added to a record budget for the Defense Ministry) has inflamed the area and led to Arab counter measures enunciated at the January 1964 Summit Conference in Cairo. By 1965 there will be no further German governmental reparations nor personal restitution payments which together have been bringing into the state \$100 million yearly since 1953.³⁶

Then, too, the European common market is certain to have serious consequences for Israel. Two-thirds of her exports and virtually all her agricultural products go to Europe, and common market members buy 60 per cent of Israel's exports. The largest single item of export is citrus fruit. On an average \$31,350,000 yearly, or 32 per cent of Israel's total exports, goes to Britain and countries of the Common Market. The Israeli economy cannot help but be adversely affected by the new bloc, and Israel is bound to feel herself more isolated than ever, barring certain extraordinary arrangements with Market members.

Despite the reparations income, the presence of more than 210 American companies with a stake in Israeli industry and the 1962 devaluation of the Israeli pound, the unfavorable balance of trade, which reached a record \$409 million in 1960,³⁷ has scarcely improved. In fact, according to the I.F. Stone weekly newsletter, the 1963 adverse balance of imports was over the \$420 million mark, and in the first quarter of 1964 the trade deficit rose to three times that in the first quarter of 1963.³⁸

A 1963 Columbia University School of Law report questions the ability of the Israel Planning Authority to bring about the reduction of the import surplus even near to its announced target figure of \$250 million by 1966.³⁹ There is little likelihood that Israeli exports of agricultural produce and manufactured goods will ever balance her imports. The markets nearest to Israel are closed by the Arab boycott, and her natural resources are most limited. Israel has a total area of 7.995 square miles, only 19 per cent of which was cultivated in 1963. The rest is desert or bare hill—hence, the desperate need for Jordan River waters and opening up the Negev. (The MacDonald White Paper, curtailing emigration into Palestine in 1939, was based on the realistic yardstick, "the absorptive capacity of the land.")

World Jewry has contributed to Israel some \$1,469,000,000 from 1949 through 1962, the bulk of which came from tax exempt American sources, while U.S. government aid during this period has been at the per capita rate of \$39.70 per year.⁴⁰ The box score on the capital poured into the tiny Mediterranean state is staggering:

TOWARD A SETTLEMENT

349

IMPORTS OF LONG-TERM CAPITAL INTO ISRAEL 1949-1960⁴¹*Unilateral Transfers* (millions of dollars)

West German Reparations 576

U.S. Government Grants 276

United Jewish Appeal and Similar
Institutions 958Gifts and Transfers by private persons
and immigrants 349Personal Restitution from
West Germany 330

 2,487
NET LOANS & NET INVESTMENTS (*long-term and medium term*)

Independence & Development Loans 388

U.S. Government Loans* 239

Other Long-term & Medium term Loans 170

Foreign Investments in Israel 280

 1,077

GRAND TOTAL

\$3,564,000,000

Nor can time be said to be on the side of the Israelis. The Arabs, however divided they may be at any particular moment, are each day proportionately growing stronger than is Israel. For the time being, and possibly for the next few years, the superior training, the great moral strength and intellectual ability of the Western-organized Israeli army will prevail over Arab numerical superiority. But who knows with the variable factors of population composition, education standards and military training of youth, as well as the Arab propulsion toward unity, what tomorrow may bring? Both adversaries already possess the military potency to obliterate their enemies. However slow may be Arab action, contrasted to their words, the ultimate weapon in the contest for control of Jordan River waters lies

*Excluding loans from Export-Import Bank and the Development Loan Fund

in their hands: at any time they have the means to divert the River's headwaters, which lie in Syria and Lebanon and thus can bring about a diversion of the Israeli diversion to the Negev.⁴²

Through the maze of propaganda it would be well for Israelists to realize certain salient facts of security: From Israel's Mediterranean coast to the nearest point on its border with Hussein's Jordan, the distance is barely ten miles, and nowhere does it have a breadth greater than sixty miles. If we try to imagine the U.S. totally surrounded by the Soviet Union, except for a few hundred miles of coastline, at its farthest point an easy hour's drive in the family car, and elsewhere twenty minutes or less to the border of our implacable enemy; if we imagine this, and imagine further that the Soviets firmly believe, with some justice, that we stole every inch of our territory from them, driving some hundreds of thousands of their people out of it, and confiscating, without recompense, their homes and herds and all the possessions they could not take with them in their hurried flight; if we imagine all this, we can get some idea of the day-by-day mental and emotional climate of Israeli existence.

Prior to the U.S. sale of ground-to-air Hawk missiles to Israel in October, 1962, Cyrus Sulzberger of the *Times* had pointed out, "Israel is so small that its main cities—Tel Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem—could be bombed by Nasser's swift MIG-19s before any effective defense could operate. This would greatly hinder mobilization efforts and Israel's relatively few airfields could be destroyed by an unexpected raid. In effect, the jet has still further shrunken this small land."⁴³

The Justice and Peace Plan outlined above would, of course, mean the end of activities and propaganda designed for ingathering the Jewish Diaspora into the state of Israel. This would naturally bring about the de-Zionization of Israel. But this should be no barrier to the adoption of the plan. For the unparalleled support that the overwhelming majority of Jewish Americans and Christians, too, have lavished upon Israel never

stemmed from Zionist political considerations, but from humanitarian motivations.

The end to Zionist ingathering efforts would also cause the evaporation of a potential Russian threat. So long as propaganda efforts are being directed toward rescuing the Jews from behind the Iron Curtain and bringing them to Israel, the Kremlin possesses an invaluable weapon capable of blowing up the area. With a gesture of simulated cooperation, the Soviet Union could let down the bars against emigration to a sizable portion of the two and a half to three million Jews in the U.S.S.R. and satellite countries. The population-explosion problem this would create in Israel would rival the havoc caused by an atom or hydrogen bomb.

The military-led nationalists under Ben-Gurion will, of course, never accept any peace unless it not only secures the territory Israel now has, but also leaves the door open for further expansion through a continuation of the ingathering of the exiles. It was this military-Mapai-Histadrut alliance that tried to bludgeon its way to peace through reprisal raids along the border in 1954 and 1955 and then ordered the Sinai aggression in 1956. This action, however, did not and does not reflect the real sentiment of the Israeli people. But as long as Ben-Gurion is alive, it is not likely that an rational proposal will be given fair consideration.

That some Israelis are opposed to the neo-nationalism of the ruling Israeli clique and are looking for a peace based on justice was pointed out in *Ner*:

Only an internal revolution can have the power to heal people of the murderous sickness of causeless hatred [for the Arabs]. It is bound to bring eventual ruin upon us. Only then will the old and the young in our land realize how great was our responsibility to those miserable wronged Arab refugees in whose towns we have settled Jews who were brought from afar; whose homes we have inherited, whose fields we now sow and harvest; the fruit of whose gardens, orchards and vineyards we gather; and in whose cities that we robbed, we put up houses of educa-

tion, charity and prayer, while we babble and rave about our being the "People of the Book" and the "Light of the Nations" . . .⁴⁴

For, as noted by Ionides, "despite its glorious achievements, miraculous successes and undeniable feats of self-sacrifice, Zionism now tragically finds itself in a cul-de-sac, created by its own inherent characteristics."⁴⁵ And under the *status quo* there is no end in sight to existence for Israel as an armed ghetto relying on the help of what inevitably will be viewed as Western imperialism for its principal defense.

Were Zionist expansionism removed, Arab eliminationism would disappear. Were the lives of the people of Israel safeguarded, their American supporters of all creeds would be satisfied. Whatever resultant loss of power or curtailment of sovereignty to the state of Israel this might entail would be more than compensated for by the new security gained for the people of Israel and for all people of the Middle East, by the end of the dangerous duality for American Jewry and by this last chance granted to the free world in the strategic Middle East.

References:

CHAPTER ONE (pages 3-8)

- ¹ Hess' *Rome and Jerusalem*, written in 1862, was the first presentation of Zionism. Pinsker's contribution was *Auto-Emancipation* (1882). He argued that the Jews formed, in the nations where they resided, a distinctive element which never could be readily digested by any country. Under his leadership the first Jewish National Conference convened in Katowice, Silesia, in 1884. *Choveve Zion*, or Lovers of Zion, came into being three years later.
- ² An Austrian journalist, Herzl was moved by his reaction to the trial of Captain Alfred Dreyfus in Paris to write one of those pregnant political pamphlets that was to make history.
- ³ Naomi W. Cohen, "The Reaction of Reform Judaism to Political Zionism (1897-1922)," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, (June, 1951) p. 365.
- ⁴ The principal Zionist organizations are: American Jewish League for Israel; B'nai Zion; Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America; Religious Zionists of America, including Hapoel Hamizrachi Women and Mizrachi Women; Labor Zionist Movement, including Farband, Pioneer Women; Progressive Zionist League—Hashomer Hatzair; United Labor Zionist Party; United Zionist-Revisionists of America; Zionist Organization of America. The largest of these is Hadassah with some 325,000 members. These organizations are constituent members of the American Zionist Council.
- ⁵ R. J. Marquardt, "U.S. Jews Need No 'Insurance Policy,'" *Issues* (New York, American Council for Judaism) Spring 1962.
- ⁶ Sir Shane Leslie, *Mark Sykes* (London, N.Y., Cassell & Co., Ltd., 1923).
- ⁷ Point 20, Defense Department Paper, 1962.
- ⁸ "Zionism and Christian America: The Political Use of Reference Groups."
- ⁹ See Reverend Humphrey Walz, "The Christian Catspaw," *Issues*, Summer 1960.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹ This portion of the Tanenbaum report was included in the Fulbright Committee testimony made public in 1963. Apparently the memorandum, noted but not published in full by the Committee, had first been transmitted to the Jewish Agency to detail "the services we have been enabled to perform as a result of the generous grants." See *Activities of Nondiplomatic Representatives of Foreign Principals in the United States*, Hearing before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Part 9, May 23, 1963, Part 12, August 1, 1963 (Washington, U.S. Govern-

ment Printing Office, 1963), p. 1767. (Hereafter cited as *Activities of Nondiplomatic Reps.*)

¹² September 16, 1959.

¹³ R. J. Marquardt, *loc. cit.*

¹⁴ See R. J. Stevens, *American Zionism and U.S. Foreign Policy, 1942-1947* (New York, Pageant Press, 1962), p. 183; Alfred M. Lilienthal, *What Price Israel?*, (Chicago, Henry Regnery, 1953), p. 70; *The Forrestal Diaries*, edited by Walter Millis (New York, Viking Press, 1951), p. 346: Political action in behalf of Israel has sometimes expiated for religious delinquency as financial support has in other cases. The Swope and Baruch families today have few ties with either the spiritual side of religious Judaism or the closed social enclave of the Jewish community. Yet they have made and continue to make invaluable contributions to Jewish nationalism. Mr. Baruch declined to answer questions posed in letters from Mr. Stevens (at p. 182) or this author regarding his participation in the 1947 United Nations struggle.

¹⁵ In his November 27, 1959 address to the Congregation Mishkan Israel in New Haven, Connecticut, Warburg asked: "Why should all contributions to the UJA be tax deductible when so large a proportion of them flow directly or indirectly into the hands of a foreign government which openly engages in propaganda attempting to influence the policy of the government of the United States? . . . There is a vast difference between appealing for support of a refuge and demanding support for Israel as a sort of ransom for being permitted to remain outside the borders . . ."

¹⁶ *Activities of Nondiplomatic Reps.*, p. 1235.

¹⁷ The 1951 Compromise, whereby "ingathering" was set down as but one task of Zionism rather than the sole instrument for Jewish redemption and a gradual migration to Israel through education was to be sought, was constantly under strain.

¹⁸ Advertisement, *The New York Times*, May 15, 1961, covering 7/8 of p. 13.

¹⁹ "Heritage and Allegiance," *Menorah Journal*, Vol. XLVII, Nos. 1 & 2, (Autumn-Winter, 1959). In a statement which appeared in the New York Yiddish-language *Day-Morning Journal* (February 14, 1954), Ben-Gurion himself noted that there was little difference between Zionists and non-Zionists, who "alike insist on staying in the countries where they live." According to former President Truman, his business partner, Eddie Jacobson, who succeeded in moving the President to action where others failed, "had never been a Zionist," but "was deeply moved by the sufferings of the Jewish people."

²⁰ Most often these internecine battles revolve around conflicting claims for a larger share of the financial and organizational support contributed by the masses of Jewish Americans.

- 21 Moshe Menuhin, "Open Secrets of the Lavon Affair," *Issues*, Fall, 1961. Mr. Menuhin is the father of the celebrated violinist, Yehudi Menuhin.
- 22 Chaim Weizmann, *Trial and Error* (New York, Harper Bros., 1949), p. 201. This was a paraphrase of a speech delivered before Zionist delegates at a May 20, 1917 conference.
- 23 Joseph Heller, *The Zionist Idea* (London, Joint Zionist Publishing Committee, 1947).
- 24 Weizmann, *op. cit.*, p. 201.
- 25 Statement to the Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America, July 13, 1946.
- 26 *The Observer*, May 12, 1959. There were practical motivations other than humanitarianism which prompted the British Cabinet to support Zionist aspirations. In later lecturing before the Jewish Historical Society, David Lloyd George reminisced: "We wanted your help. We thought it would be very useful. I am putting the other side quite frankly. We have had already very great help. I personally owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Weizmann, and I'm his proselyte. In the Ministry of Munitions I was confronted with one of the most serious crises with which I was ever beset. It was one of these unexpected things that come upon you like a cavalry charge coming up against a chasm and I found such a chasm as I marched from gun to gun and shell to shell. I suddenly found that we had not got one of the great motor powers to make cordite—wood alcohol. I turned to Dr. Weizmann . . . I felt a deep debt of gratitude and so do all the Allies to the brilliant scientific genius of Dr. Weizmann . . . Acetone converted me to Zionism. So the case was put before us, and when the war cabinet began to consider the case of the Declaration, it was quite unanimous in favor. I think we secured the cooperation of the French at that time and the famous Balfour Declaration was made." J. M. N. Jeffries, *Palestine: The Reality* (London, New York, Longman's Green, 1939), p. 192.
- 27 Jon and David Kimche, *A Clash of Destinies: The Arab-Jewish War and the Founding of the State of Israel* (New York, Frederick Praeger, 1960).
- 28 (New York, Julian Messner, 1961). Reviewing the Hecht book in the Sept. 1962 issue of *Freeland* (published in N.Y.C. by the Freeland League for Jewish Territorial Colonization), Michael Astour noted: "If any of his statements are erroneous, the Zionist leaders can easily defend their honor in the normal manner. They are not doing this . . . they are silent." See also Eliezer Weisel in *Forverts* (Yiddish daily), Dec. 24, 1961.
- 29 *The New York Times*, February 6, 1956.
- 30 In his syndicated column Richard Starnes, Scripps-Howard feature writer, refers to the Hecht book as a "stinging indictment of the great men of Israel," exposing "what really happened." New York

World-Telegram and The Sun, Dec. 14, 1961. At a dinner given for Dr. Chaim Weizmann in the early '30's, Lewis L. Strauss, then active in relief work with President Hoover, asked the Zionist leader what he would do if he were faced with a choice of issuing one hundred visas to Palestine either to English Zionists, or to European refugees. For those in attendance Dr. Weizmann's refusal to answer whether the Zionists or the refugees would have the preference was considered significant.

³¹ Richard H. S. Crossman, *Palestine Mission: A Personal Record* (New York and London, Harper & Bros., 1947)

³² *Jewish Newsletter*, December 12, 1960.

³³ Sir Frederick Morgan, *Peace and War*, (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1961), pp. 218-285. The formation in 1960 by the Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) of a new central body, a standing conference of all Jewish communities in Israel, indicated the extent to which this once independent agency had become Zionized. The purpose was to promote jointly the solution of educational, social and cultural problems. Such a unification of Jewish European communities furthered the Zionizing of the Diaspora.

³⁴ (New York, Viking Press, 1963.)

³⁵ Jon and David Kimche, *The Secret Roads: "Illegal" Migration of a People, 1938 to 1948*, (London, 1954).

³⁶ *Freeland Magazine*, (New York, Freeland League for Jewish Territorial Colonization), October-November 1959.

³⁷ *Ibid.* Also Irwin M. Herrman "Zionism is Political . . . not Humanitarian" (New York, American Council for Judaism, Public Affairs Series, May 1962).

³⁸ Reuters News Agency, London, June 6, 1961; letter dated June 2, 1961, to *The Times*, (London).

³⁹ *The New York Times*, October 27, 1946.

⁴⁰ Morris L. Ernst, "Jewish Self-Segregation is Reactionary," *Council News*, (New York, American Council for Judaism), May, 1950, p. 2. See *What Price Israel?* pp. 32-34 and Morris L. Ernst, *So Far So Good*, (New York, Harper Bros., 1948), pp. 170-77, for a further discussion of the refugee problem.

⁴¹ Ernst's detailed charges were further substantiated by Michael Astour, Yiddish language teacher at Brandeis, who in the *Freeland Magazine* (September, 1962) declared that he "did not need Hecht's book to learn of the fatal role which Zionist leaders played in the '30's and '40's. Instead of doing everything possible to rescue Jews, they utilized their entire financial and behind-the-scenes connections, to sabotage all other efforts to get Jews out of Europe. Their haven must be Palestine and only Palestine." Cited in *Brief* (New York American, Council for Judaism,) January-February, 1963.

⁴² Editorial, "The Crisis in Zionism," *Life*, February 17, 1961.

- ⁴³ See *What Price Israel*, pp. 201-204 for details of the controls exercised in Mexico, South Uruguay and elsewhere in the Americas.
- ⁴⁴ These organizations are roughly broken down into these categories: Community Relations and Political (14); Cultural (27); Overseas Aid (16); Religious, Educational (108); Social, Mutual Benefit (22); Social Welfare (32); Zionist and pro-Israel (62). *American Jewish Year Book*, 1962 (New York, American Jewish Publications Society in America, 1962) pp. 499-522.
- ⁴⁵ Nadav Safran, *The United States and Israel*, (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 276.
- ⁴⁶ *The New York Times*, August 22, 1962.
- ⁴⁷ Safran, *op. cit.*, p. 275.
- ⁴⁸ A glance at the listing of theatre benefits under "Events of the Week" in *Cue* of January 9, 1960 reveals the breadth and diversity of Zionism at work:
- Belafonte*: B'nai Brith, Sheepshead Chapter, Feb. 6.
- The Fighting Cock*: Beth-El Synagogue, Jan. 13; New Israel Chapter, B'nai Brith, Jan. 20; Fresh Meadows Chapter, Women's League for Israel, Feb. 11.
- Fiorello*: Kensington Chapter, Women's League for Israel, Jan. 18; Stephen Wise Free Synagogue, Jan. 20; Shulamith Women's Organization, Feb. 24.
- Five Finger Exercise*: Yeshiva of Forest Hills, Jan. 9; Sisterhood of Reformed Congregation of Merrick, Jan. 28.
- Goodbye Charlie*: Sabra Chapter, Women's League for Israel, Jan. 12; Hudson Valley Chapter, Women's League for Israel, Jan. 13; National Council of Jewish Women, Jan. 21.
- Metropolitan Opera*: West Side Institutional Synagogue, Jan. 17.
- Silent Night, Lonely Night*: Mitchell-Luden Chapter, Women's League for Israel, Jan. 12; Concourse Chapter, Women's League for Israel, Jan. 27. Brandeis University Alumni Association, Jan. 28; Oakland Gardens Chapter, Hadassah, Feb. 4; FMA Group, Hadassah, Feb. 23; Nathanya Chapter, Women's League for Israel, Feb. 26.
- Sound of Music* (late in its run): Jamaica Estates Chapter, Women's League for Israel, Feb. 19.
- Take Me Along*: Fresh Meadows Chapter, Women's League for Israel, Jan. 12; Pioneer Women's Organization, Jan. 13.
- And this week of January 9, 1960 was not an extraordinary week—just one of 52 weeks throughout the year.
- ⁴⁹ Weizmann, *op.cit.*, p. 75.
- ⁵⁰ *Newsweek*, August 12, 1963. This issue contains intimate details of the hearings.
- ⁵¹ *New York World-Telegram and The Sun*, August 2, 1963.
- ⁵² *Activities of Nondiplomatic Reps.*, p. 1696.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN

CHAPTER TWO

- ¹ As announced in the *Jerusalem Post* (Israel), March 16, 1964 following a joint meeting in Israel of the W.Z.O. Executive and Israeli government representatives.
- ² "Whoever dwells outside the land of Israel is considered to have no God . . . Zionism has only one meaning today: to Zion." *The New York Times*, December 29, 1960.
- ³ He concluded that only an increased immigration of American Jews to Israel would save them for Judaism.
- ⁴ *The New York Times*, May 17, 1961.
- ⁵ *The New York Times*, January 26, 1962.
- ⁶ *The New York Times*, June 15, 1962.
- ⁷ *Time*, January 6, 1961.
- ⁸ The Neumann letter in *The New York Times*, January 3, 1961, in fact admitted the intent of the strong Ben-Gurion statement: "The Premier's words (were) aimed at encouraging young Jews from all over the free world in a spirit of American pioneering to help in the upbuilding of Israel . . . the statement, if properly understood, was intended to bolster an idealistic pioneering movement and not to start a theological controversy."
- ⁹ August 31, 1949, to a United Jewish Appeal leadership group visiting Israel as reported in *Daily News Bulletin*, *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, Sept. 1, 1949. This theme was repeated by Golda Meir several years later to a Cleveland audience: "Parents should instill in their children a desire to emigrate to Israel."
- ¹⁰ *The New York Times*, March 18, 1960.
- ¹¹ *The New York Times*, June 15, 1962. But opposition to being "ingathered" expressed at the symposium and elsewhere did not signify any lack of sympathy for building the closest possible ties between Jewish Americans and Israel. Dr. Joachim Prinz, President of the American Jewish Congress which sponsored the symposium, had long declared that philanthropic contributions to Israel were not enough to provide a meaningful link between American Jews and that country. See *The New York Times*, April 12, 1962 and April 15, 1962.
- ¹² *The New York Times*, June 17, 1962.
- ¹³ *Jewish Observer and Middle East Review* (London), June 1, 1962. Ben-Gurion's remarks had been addressed to the World Labour Zionist gathering and then repeated to the American Jewish Congress Symposium.
- ¹⁴ The Law of Return received international attention during the summer of 1962 when Dr. Robert A. Soblen, faced with serving a life sentence for spying for the Soviet Union, fled to Israel and sought a safe haven under his right as a Jew to return. The Soblen application was rejected under an amendment empowering the minister of the interior to exclude Jews with criminal pasts who menace public order. Prior to the passage of this

amendment, international thieves, swindlers, smugglers, spies, shady financiers and other criminals of Jewish descent discovered that the law worked to their advantage. Such notorious underworld figures as Sidney Stanley of England, Joseph Jonovici of Hungary, "Baby Face" Goodwin of South Africa and others on the verge of being brought to justice remembered that they too were "Jews in exile" and under the Law of Return were entitled to refuge in Israel. Israel served as a temporary sanctuary for more international crooks than any other country.

¹⁵ *Jewish Newsletter*, Sept. 21, 1959.

¹⁶ Weizmann, *Trial and Error*, p. 75.

¹⁷ As Ben-Gurion expressed it in an article for *Hadassah* magazine (New York, Oct. 1962), "On the day the State was established not a single Zionist leader—either in America or Europe—severed his tie with the Diaspora and identified his personal fate with the State of Israel . . . Not all Jews who need the State nor all Jews who are needed in the State are in Israel." To the Knesset, the Premier complained that "U.S. Zionists think of Israel as a place not for themselves, but for 'homeless' Jews."

¹⁸ On May 1, 1961, a reaffirmation of the original 1950 Ben-Gurion-Blaustein agreement was announced in *The New York Times*.

¹⁹ The differences between Israeli leaders and American Zionists were apparent in the conflict between Ben-Gurion and Nahum Goldmann, president of the World Zionist Organization. Their quarrel, which grew more intense from the first meeting of the W.Z.O. in Jerusalem, was a simple one. The Israelis supported the Ben-Gurion contention that "the only persons who have a right to influence Israel policy were those who lived in this country," while the Americans demanded a decisive role in setting Israeli policy because of the political assistance rendered in the United States and their vital financial contributions.

²⁰ *Tog-Journal*, March 7, 1961.

²¹ Weizmann, *Trial and Error*. It was the persistent efforts of anti-Zionists led by Edwin Montague that resulted in the inclusion of the safeguarding clause in the Declaration.

²² Moshe Menuhin, *op. cit.*

²³ Dov Joseph, *The Faithful City: The Siege of Jerusalem, 1948* (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1960), p. 190. Article V, paragraph four of the Alexandria Protocol adopted on October 7, 1944, as the cornerstone of the League of Arab States, read: "The Committee also declares that it is second to none in regretting the woes which have been inflicted upon the Jews of Europe by European dictatorial states."

²⁴ *Jewish Life*, October 1960, pp. 21-31.

²⁵ Nejla Izzedin, *The Arab World: Past, Present and Future* (Chicago, Henry Regnery, 1953), p. 22.

²⁶ Jeremiah 29:5-7.

- ²⁷ Philip Hitti, *The Arabs: A Short History* (Chicago, Henry Regnery, 1956), p. 178.
- ²⁸ The Chief Rabbi later told an American visitor: "Why didn't someone come to us instead of negotiating with Israel to take in Iraqi Jews? Why didn't someone point out that solid, responsible leaders of Iraqi Jews believed this to be their country—in good times or bad—and we were convinced that the trouble would pass?" Elmer Berger, *Who Knows Better* (New York, The Bookmailer, 1955), p. 34.
- ²⁹ *Council News*, February, 1956.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.* See also *Jerusalem Post*, July 21, 1964.
- ³¹ Al-Anshaty left behind as his most famous legacy a Torah in his own handwriting, written on doeskin and bound in silver, which is kept in a sandalwood box save when used during the annual celebration in Egypt today.
- ³² *Jewish Observer and Middle East Review* (London) November 25, 1960.
- ³³ Ambassador Ahmed Shukairy, Chief Delegate and Permanent Representative of Saudi Arabia to the UN on November 11, 1958 before the 103rd Meeting of the Special Political Committee, 13th Session of the General Assembly.
- ³⁴ The JDC admitted Iran's Jews "lived in comparative calm," but claimed "the compensations of relative social tolerance are almost completely nullified by the economic poverty and misery of the ghettos, slums and villages." See *A Guide to Overseas Operations of the American Joint Distribution Committee* (Geneva, American Joint Distribution Committee, Oct., 1957).
- ³⁵ *Jewish Newsletter*, March 20, 1961.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, February 6, 1961.
- ³⁷ Rom Landau, *Moroccan Drama* (London, Robert Hale, 1956).
- ³⁸ The Toledano family has continued to occupy an important place in Moroccan life. Meyer Toledano recently served as economic counsellor in his country's Washington Embassy. His study, "Famous Jews in Ancient Morocco," published in the magazine *Etudes Méditerranéennes*, portrays the brilliant role played by Jews in the political, cultural and economic fields of his country.
- ³⁹ In the 1961 Pan-Arab Games held in Casablanca, all Moroccan teams included Jews and in the boxing finals a Jewish Moroccan faced a Palestinian Arab. The President of the Boxing Federation of Morocco was quoted as saying: "If we look backwards to their origins, these two are brothers, so tonight we will call them both champions without a contest and give them both silver medals."
- ⁴⁰ While the Sultan was still in France about to be restored to his throne, he received a delegation of Moroccan Jews who, in arriving at his suburban villa to pay their respects, encountered a delegation of the World Jewish Congress which had been seeking an

interview with the Sultan in their (the Moroccans') behalf. The delegations "viewed each other angrily." The Sultan saw the Moroccan delegation first, and he gave them all the assurances of full and equal rights. The Yiddish language daily, *Forward*, of November 26, 1955, accused the World Jewish Congress of seeking cheap publicity and harmfully interfering in a matter of real concern to Jewish Moroccans.

⁴¹ *El Fajr* and *El Oumal* principally. The former paper called for the trial of Jewish leaders on the charge of sedition against the state.

⁴² Statement presented February 18, 1961, by a Jewish Moroccan delegation led by former minister. Dr. Leon Bencaquen.

⁴³ See *The New York Times*, June 26, 1962, p. 4 headline: "50% of Jews in Algeria Reported to Have Fled."

⁴⁴ Sharun, editor of *Davar*, as quoted in *Kemper* (New York), July 11, 1952.

⁴⁵ Letter dated January 14, 1961.

⁴⁶ Mohammed Naguib, *Egypt's Destiny* (London, Gollancz, 1955).

⁴⁷ David Ben-Gurion before the Knesset, April 26, 1960. See also the message of the late President of Israel, Itzhak Ben Zvi, to the people of Israel and to Jews over the world that Israel was still far short of her "longed-for goal, the ingathering of Israel's scattered sons . . . So I pray to the Rock of Israel that he may encourage our brethren to return." *The New York Times*, October 2, 1959.

⁴⁸ Ben-Gurion, "Israel and the Diaspora," *Israel Government Year Book*, 1957, p. 30.

⁴⁹ The Ben-Gurion philosophy of ingathering was reiterated in his series of articles written in May, 1962, for the *New York Herald Tribune*: "The historical goal with which the rise of Israel has confronted this generation, namely: national and universal redemption according to the principles bequeathed to our people by Israel's prophets. This redemption has two objects: the ingathering of the exiles and the building of a model state . . ." May 16, 1962.

⁵⁰ *Israel Government Year Book* (October 1951), p. 419.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 402.

⁵² *Divide and Lose* (London, Geoffrey Bles, 1960), p. 179.

⁵³ Security Council Resolution of 18 May 1951 (S/2157); of 24 November 1953 (S/3139/Rev 2); of 29 March 1955 (S/3378); of January 1956 (S/3538); of 9 April 1962 (S/5111).

CHAPTER THREE

¹ *The Menorah Journal*, Vol. XLVII, (New York, The Menorah Association, Inc.), Autumn-Winter 1959, p. 7.

² Lecture by Professor Leon Roth, "Is There a Jewish Philosophy?", quoted in the *Jewish Chronicle* (London), Oct. 23, 1959. Profes-

sor Roth's sentiment was echoed by Alexander Baron, author of *The Human Kind* and *There's No Home*: "A common liking for schmaltz herring and gefilte fish is not enough to give Jews in England a common identity." *Jewish Newsletter*, June 12, 1961.

³ Eighty per cent of the 5½ million who call themselves Jews are little better than "holiday" Jews. Twice or at the most three times yearly they have perfunctory contact with Yahweh, the God of their fathers. The Sabbath finds the nation's synagogues almost empty, save some of the Orthodox houses of worship. While church or synagogue attendance is, of course, not the only way to measure the individual's attachment to religion, it is a gauge distinguishing spiritual worship from the nationalist identification of being Jews. Jewish Community Centers with a membership of 645,000 by 1960 had a larger following than total Jewish membership in synagogues as estimated by Rabbi M. M. Kaplan, the head of the Reconstructionist movement. See *American Jewish Yearbook*, 1952, *op. cit.*, p. 156, for an analysis of synagogue attendance; also reference to "triannual Jews" in the *Chicago Sentinel*, Sept. 24, 1959.

⁴ The extent to which Judaism has been secularized—and commercialized like other religious faiths—was noted in profound sermon by Rabbi Walter H. Plaut of the Congregation Emmanuel, Great Neck, N. Y.: "Look in the yellow pages of Manhattan's telephone book under 'catering.' Listed there are a host of synagogues. Judaism has become more secularized. The synagogue goes in for leisure-time activities more than religious activity. It serves us little to blame resorts, band leaders and managers of restaurants. They supply what is demanded. They are givers only because there are takers. Judaism is abused because it has not always withstood the abuse; because it has accommodated itself too readily and easily to some of the baser and crasser aspects of the environment." *Jewish National Post and Opinion*, Feb. 9, 1962. See also talks of Dr. Morris Adler to the B'nai B'rith in Washington, *The New York Times*, May 13, 1962, citing the danger to Jewish life of "taking on the character of a social and communal institution muting religious motif and content."

⁵ *What Price Israel?* pp. 14-19.

⁶ The Zionists themselves, through the then president of the World Zionist Organization, Nahum Sokolow, had declared that the charge of anti-Zionists that "Zionism aims at the creation of an independent 'Jewish State' is wholly fallacious. The 'Jewish State' was never a part of the Zionist programme." In this way, non-Zionism made the major contribution toward building Palestine under the British Mandate (1922-1947). See Nahum Sokolow, *History of Zionism* (London, Longman's, 1919) Vol. I, pp. xxiv and xxv.

- ⁷ The National Religious party has been a dominant factor in all coalition governments formed under Mapai leadership since the first Knesset of January 25, 1949. Sometimes this party has appeared on the ballot jointly with two other religious parties, Agudat Israel and Po'ale Agudat Israel, as the United Religious Party (as in 1949). In 1951, 1955 and 1959 Agudat Israel and Po'ale Agudat Israel submitted a joint list to the electorate under the banner of the Torah Religious Front. The formation of the new cabinet in November, 1961, was only made possible through the cooperation in the Cabinet of the National Religious Party and Po'ale Agudat Israel. The Mapai in the Rabbinat elections of spring 1964 failed in its attempt to curtail the power of the old guard ecclesiastics, who consolidated their control. *The New York Times*, March 18, 1964.
- ⁸ Cyprus has become the center for such unions, the validity of which has been recognized by the civil courts but denounced by the rabbinical authorities.
- ⁹ William R. Polk, David M. Stamler and Edmund Asfour, *Backdrop to Tragedy: The Struggle for Palestine* (Boston, Beacon Press, 1957) p. 221. In an International Report of Feb. 1, 1964, *The Economist* opined that "the Orthodox apart, Israeli Jewry is in danger of being stranded in a spiritual vacuum."
- ¹⁰ *The New York Times*, March 7, 1964.
- ¹¹ Mordechai Stein, a Tel Aviv lawyer and Chairman of the Third Force Movement in Israel, *Issues* (Spring, 1962).
- ¹² *New York World Telegram & Sun*, Nov. 30, 1961.
- ¹³ The chief rabbi of Israel, Dr. Halevi Herzog, had long urged the sale of Israel Bonds, during synagogue services, and he was supported by Zionist rabbis in the United States. See *The Day*, September 4, 1952.
- ¹⁴ Isaiah 58.3
- ¹⁵ *The New York Times*, September 9, 1961. See also September 18, 1963.
- ¹⁶ *The New York Times*, April 17 and 19, 1962.
- ¹⁷ Rabbi Max Schenck, quoted in *New York World Telegram and The Sun*, March 23, 1964.
- ¹⁸ Jacob Epstein, *An Autobiography* (London, Hulton Press, 1955).
- ¹⁹ *Jewish Chronicle*, October 23, 1959.
- ²⁰ Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto* (University of Chicago, 1928), pp. 279 and 290.
- ²¹ When Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy addressed the American Jewish Congress at the Waldorf Astoria, he compared the reason for the presence of American forces in the Caribbean to the quest for "human dignity and freedom" in the stand by the Maccabees against Antiochus. *The New York Times*, October 29, 1962. Press and radio publicity stimulating interest in the Chanu-

- kah Festival at Madison Square Garden likewise centered on the Maccabean stand.
- ²² *Proceedings of the Jerusalem Ideological Conference, Forum IV* (Jerusalem, World Zionist Organization, 1959), p. 147.
- ²³ Solomon Grayzel, *A History of the Jews from the Babylonian Exodus to the End of World War II* (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1947).
- ²⁴ Elmer Berger, *A Partisan History of Judaism* (New York, Devin-Adair, 1951), p. 94.
- ²⁵ Salo W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (3 vols. Columbia University Press, 1937).
- ²⁶ Rabbis David Philipson and Isaac Landman, before a hearing of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, relative to the Fish Resolution. See Naomi W. Cohen, *loc. cit.*, pp. 389-90.
- ²⁷ Summarizing his impressions following a tour of the United States, Uri Avnery, editor of *Haolam Hazeh* (This World) in the Jan. 21, 1959, issue of that Israel weekly wrote of "A Ghetto of Three Millions," and stated: "There are three million Jews in New York, more than in any other place in the world . . . The first revelation that strikes you is that all these millions constitute a separate group, definitely segregated from the rest of the population. They live in America, they do business with Americans, and they feel like Americans in every respect. Actually, however, they do not live with the Americans. At a party given by a Jew you will not find a non-Jewish guest. If you visit a Jewish friend, you will find only Jewish names in the list of tenants posted in the lobby of the apartment house; and this is true of the neighboring apartment houses as well—of the entire section, in fact. It is populated entirely by Jews."
- ²⁸ For an excellent legal discussion of this point, see an address of W. T. Mallison, Jr., Professor of Law, The George Washington University, before the American Council for Judaism 18th Annual Conference, Chicago, Ill., May 11, 1962.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.* One exception to the bar against dual nationality recognized by the U.S. is where a child born in the United States is a citizen of the U.S. by birth and a citizen of a foreign country because the child's parents are citizens of a foreign country and according to the law of that country the child automatically receives foreign citizenship as well as United States citizenship.
- ³⁰ "The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law." Quoted in Alan R. Taylor, *Prelude to Israel: An Analysis of Zionist Diplomacy 1897-1947*, (New York, Philosophical Library, 1959), p. 5.
- ³¹ Badi (ed.), *Fundamental Laws of the State of Israel* (New York, Twayne Publishers, 1961), p. 10.
- ³² Allan R. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

- ³³ *Israel Government Year Book (1952)* (Jerusalem, The Government Printing Press), p. 29.
- ³⁴ *Israel Government Year Book (1953-4)* (Jerusalem, The Government Printing Press), p. 57. The "Law of Return" endows every Jew with the "right to immigrate to Israel."
- ³⁵ *The Eichmann Trial Judgment*, Criminal Case 40/61, p. 32, Sec. 34, (District Court of Jerusalem).
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, Sec. 38, paragraph 4.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, Sec. 32, paragraph 4; Sec. 33; Sec. 34, paragraphs 1, 3, 4.
- ³⁸ N. Feinberg, "The Recognition of the Jewish People in International Law," *The Jewish Yearbook of International Law*, 1948. (Rubin Mass, Jerusalem, Israel, 1949), p. 7.
- ³⁹ *Jewish Chronicle*, April 8, 1960.
- ⁴⁰ Compare Henry Byroade's attitude as Assistant Secretary of State in 1954. See Alfred M. Lilienthal, *There Goes the Middle East* (New York, Devin-Adair, 1957), p. 96.
- ⁴¹ The boycott of the League of Arab States was directed against both Jewish and Christian companies which were in violation of certain prescribed regulations governing the conduct of business with Israel as set down by the Arab Boycott Committee, which had its principal offices in Damascus with branches in all Arab capitols.
- ⁴² *The Economist*, *op. cit.* See also reference to the "emptiness of contemporary Jewish religion" by Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, *The New York Times*, Feb. 9, 1964.
- ⁴³ Charles Solomon, *Blackfriars*, (London, Monthly Review Blackfriars Publications, January 1957).
- ⁴⁴ See United Press story based on an article in the English-language weekly, the *Moscow News*, November 23, 1962 and *The New York Times*, November 25, 1962. For a discussion of the propaganda use of the Soviet treatment of Jews behind the Iron Curtain, see Chapter viii.
- ⁴⁵ *The New York Times*, January 4, 1962. Dr. Mordecai Kirshblum, President of the Orthodox Zionist movement, upon his return from a tour of Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland made this observation and stressed the "need for educational guidance" on the part of the Zionist movement. His admission that "the Jewish communities in these countries did not require financial assistance" only pointed up the fact that in certain countries of the world where Zionist "guidance" lacks the political force it has in the United States, practice of the "faith" is definitely on the wane.
- ⁴⁶ *New York Herald Tribune*, December 29, 1960.
- ⁴⁷ From talk of Professor Arnold Toynbee before American Council for Judaism, Philadelphia, May 5, 1960. Reported by *The New York Times*, May 6, 1960.
- ⁴⁸ Matthew 22:21.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN

CHAPTER FOUR

- ¹ See *New York Herald Tribune*, June 12, 1961, for statement of Rabbi Irving Miller, president of the American Zionist Council, calling for support of Israel, because "it ensures the success of the struggle for the perpetration of Jewish culture throughout the Diaspora."
- ² *Jewish Newsletter*, Sept. 18, 1961.
- ³ Dr. Nahum Goldmann, *The New Partnership: Zionism and the State* (New York Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1950).
- ⁴ *The New York Times*, Sunday, June 4, 1961.
- ⁵ Action Committee, World Zionist Organization, Jerusalem, April 25, 1950.
- ⁶ *Jewish Observer and Middle East Review*, October 21, 1960.
- ⁷ From an address to the B'nai B'rith, reported in *Brief* (New York, American Council for Judaism, May, 1962).
- ⁸ *Jewish Observer and Middle East Review*, Dec. 30, 1960. See letters commenting on this in the issue of Jan. 6, 1961. It was the same editor, Jon Kimche, who protested when Jewish Egyptians, who either did not have any Egyptian passport or held two passports, found themselves under suspicion at the time of the 1956 Suez crisis and encountered unpleasantness.
- ⁹ May 27, 1960.
- ¹⁰ Even as Britain was trying to work out her relationship to the European Common Market in late 1961 and 1962, Israel was desperately striving to become connected with the new grouping.
- ¹¹ *Issues*, Spring 1962.
- ¹² Jewish Telegraphic Agency bulletin, Nov. 4, 1960.
- ¹³ Walter Eytan, *The First Ten Years: A Diplomatic History of Israel* (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1958) pp. 192-93.
- ¹⁴ David Ben-Gurion, "Jewish Survival," *Israel Government Year Book*, 1953-4, p. 35.
- ¹⁵ The Status Law, empowering the World Zionist Organization to carry on certain activities for the Government of the State of Israel, was enacted by the Knesset in 1952. A covenant between the government and the W.Z.O. was signed in 1954. *Addresses, Debates, Resolutions, 23rd Zionist Congress* (Jerusalem), p. 211. (At Zionist Archives, New York).
- ¹⁶ *Newsweek*, May 2, 1949.
- ¹⁷ As reported in *The New York Times*, June 4, 1961, this effort to link loyalty to God and ties with Israel appeared even more obvious: "The discussion has thrown the problem out of focus," Rabbi Cahn said. "A man belongs to his God before he belongs to a government, whether he be a Christian or a Jew." "I am first a Jew, then an American. If I lived in Israel, I would be first a Jew, then an Israeli. This same condition would prevail no matter where I lived or to whom my political allegiance belonged. As

Christians and Jews we gave our loyalty to the Ten Commandments long before we gave it to any other instrument of law." The rabbi said he prayed that people would never be faced with the choice for God or for Country. (But the question under discussion was a choice of U.S. and Israel.) "If, however, the choice is forced upon us," he said, "the answer must be clear. We are for God."

¹⁸ *The New York Times*, Jan. 30, 1961.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, March 20, 1961.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Nov. 28, 1963.

²¹ *Life*, Feb. 17, 1961. By carefully limiting the criticism to Zionism because of the stated presumption that this movement was now officially "dead and due for burial," *Life* blunted the boldness of the editorial.

²² Zionist Ideological Conference, Jerusalem, Spring 1957.

²³ *Jewish Daily Forward*, Jan. 9, 1959. Dr. Goldman also declared that "Jews are a single people with two vital centers—Israel and the countries of the exile. One must provide for the other, for the security of continued existence."

²⁴ *The New York Times*, June 7, 1962.

²⁵ U. J. A.'s Dewey Stone, quoted in *The New York Times*, Feb. 4, 1962.

²⁶ *Brief*, Jan.-Feb. 1962.

²⁷ Arthur Koestler, *Promise and Fulfillment* (New York, Macmillan, 1949).

²⁸ *Issues*, Spring, 1962. Ben-Gurion insists that he is a Jew before he is an Israeli. In Israel, however, the conflict between Jewish nationalism and Israeli nationalism is only hypothetical, because there is no separate Jewish nationality as in other countries of the Diaspora.

²⁹ Swedish editor Herbert Tingsten, in his study of Americanism, observed that Catholicism is widely regarded as un-American allegiance to a "foreign church," which made it possible to characterize the Catholics as belonging to a foreign power and therefore of doubtful loyalty. *The New York Times Magazine*, Feb. 16, 1964.

³⁰ Berr Isaac-Berr, "Lettre d'un Citoyen, 1791," *Transactions of Parisian Sanhedrin*, ed. M. Diogene Tama (London, Charles Taylor, 1807).

³¹ *Brief*, Oct. 1962.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Answering charges raised by the American Council for Judaism at its 20th Convention in May, 1963, Rabbi William Berkowitz declared in a sermon that the organization ignored the pluralism of "the American way of life . . . The Jews of America have no allegiance to Israel. Our kinship with other brethren in Israel is a cultural, historic relationship and does not in any way mean that

all Jews outside the land of Israel are potential citizens." *The New York Times*, May 5, 1963.

³⁴ *Zionist Newsletter*, May 2, 1950.

CHAPTER FIVE

¹ *The New York Times*, May 15, 1962.

² As President Kennedy phrased it at the Yale University Commencement in June, 1962, the enemy of truth and the reason are "the clichés of our forebears, encrusted illusions and platitudes."

³ *The New York Times*, May 2, 1962.

⁴ *The New York Times*, editorial, March 28, 1964.

⁵ Richard H. S. Crossman, *Palestine Mission: A Personal Record* (New York and London, Harper Bros., 1947), p. 34.

⁶ The same Senators who only two days before had bitterly attacked his policies on the Senate floor lauded Secretary Dulles when it was publicly announced that he was suffering from cancer. The 1957 press attacks on King Saud as a "bigot, oil wastrel and slave owner" gave way to complete sympathy when the malady of little lame Prince Mashhur was publicized during the visit to the U.S. of the Arabian monarch.

⁷ For details of this news slanting, see *The News From the Middle East*, (Zurich, The International Press Institute, 1954).

⁸ In a book review of Leon Uris', *Mila 18*, *The New York Times* Sunday, June 4, 1961.

⁹ *The New York Times*, Feb. 7, 1961.

¹⁰ David Boroff: "Exodus—Another Look", *New York Post*, May 17, 1959.

¹¹ Lothar Kahn, "The Magic of Exodus," *Congress bi-Weekly*, March 30, 1959, p. 16.

¹² Dan Leon, *Israeli Horizons*, March, 1959, pp. 28-30.

¹³ Joel Blocker, "Fantasy of Israel" *Commentary*, June, 1959, pp. 539-541.

¹⁴ *Exodus*, (New York, Bantam Books, 1959), p. 247.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 455.

¹⁶ See "The Unholy Partition of the Holy Land," *What Price Israel?*, pp. 48-73, for the complete details of the 1947 battle for partition.

¹⁷ *Exodus*, p. 456.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 457.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 457.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 458.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 463.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 462.

²³ See *What Price Israel?*, p. 65. Mr. Baruch's reluctance to discuss the role he played in the battle for partition is noted by R. P. Stevens in his book, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

²⁴ *Exodus*, p. 464.

- ²⁵ *Plenary Meetings of the General Assembly*, II, 1314-15.
- ²⁶ *Jewish Morning Journal*, November 27, 1950.
- ²⁷ Extracts from an Address of Dr. Judah Magnes, opening the 23rd year of the Hebrew University, October 27, 1947.
- ²⁸ *Exodus*, p. 229.
- ²⁹ *Issues*, Fall 1959.
- ³⁰ There were very few such critical reviews either in the U.S. or Canada.
- ³¹ This event actually took place at the time of the British Mandate, whereas Hollywood, for convenience's sake, has it happen later, after the state had come into being.
- ³² *The New York Times*, May 5, 1961.
- ³³ *American Jewish Year Book*, Volume 63 (New York, American Jewish Committee and Jewish Publication Society of America, 1962), p. 304.
- ³⁴ April 5, 1961.
- ³⁵ *The New York Times*, April 6, 1961.
- ³⁶ Comer Clarke, *Eichmann: The Man and His Crimes* (New York, Ballantine Books, Inc., 1960); John Donovan, *Eichmann: Man of Slaughter* (New York, Avon Books, 1960); Rudolf Hoess, *Commandant of Auschwitz* (New York, Popular Library, 1961); Joseph Kessel, *The Man With the Miraculous Hands* (New York, Farrar, Straus, and Cudahy, Inc., 1961); Justice Michael A. Musmanno, *The Eichmann Kommandos* (Philadelphia, Macrae Smith Company, 1961); Quentin Reynolds, *Minister of Death* (New York, Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1961); Henry A. Seiger, *The Case Against Adolf Eichmann* (New York, Signet Books, 1960). See also Dr. Miklos Nyiszli, "My Ordeal in Eichmann's Horror Prison," *True*, September, 1960.
- ³⁷ *American Jewish Year Book*, 1962.
- ³⁸ In an interview granted after the Israeli Court sentence (December 15, 1961) had been announced, Israel's Minister of Education and Culture, Abba Eban, referred to the "vast task of assembling the evidence at the trial which required the planning, patience and participation of thousands of people." *The New York Times*, January 14, 1962.
- ³⁹ Writing in the *New Leader* (July 31, 1961), Paul Jacob, who covered the Eichmann trial for several weeks, analyzed the reasons for what he described as "Israel's parochialism, chauvinism and distrust: Distrust and suspicion of the gentile is a fact of Israeli life, officially denied for obvious reasons, but a fact nevertheless . . . And the Eichmann trial is deepening the apprehension of the Israelis about gentiles; it is demonstrating day after day, in an extremely traumatic fashion, that brutal and sadistic anti-Semitism is possible in the 20th century, even among 'civilized' people; that Western countries are willing, perhaps uneasily, to allow Jewish refugees to be sacrificed to national political inter-

ests; and that finally in order to survive, Jews must depend on themselves as Jews rather than on the rights they believed they had as citizens of Germany, Austria, Hungary and most European countries with the exception of Holland and the Scandinavian countries."

⁴⁰ General Taylor noted that the Nuremberg Trials were based on the proposition that atrocities against Jews and non-Jews are equally against world law, but "to define a crime in terms of the religion or nationality of the victim, instead of the nature of the criminal act, is wholly out of keeping with the needs of the times and the trends of modern law." He noted the dangerous implication that "a crime against Jews is not a crime against non-Jews."

⁴¹ *The New York Times*, Dec. 16, 1960.

⁴² April 8, 1960.

⁴³ May 7, 1961.

⁴⁴ By the author of *Exodus*, Leon Uris, and published by the same company, Doubleday.

⁴⁵ Anne Frank, *The Diary of a Young Girl*, trans. by B. Mooyart (New York, Doubleday, 1952). Dramatization by Frances Goodrich and Albert Hackett (New York, Random House, 1956).

⁴⁶ *Saturday Evening Post*, Nov. 3, 1962.

⁴⁷ Authored by Ted Berkman, the book was also published by Doubleday (1962).

⁴⁸ Playwright Arthur Miller reported on the trial for the *New York Herald Tribune*.

⁴⁹ Howard Taubman writing in the Drama Section of *The New York Times*, Sunday, March 8, 1964.

CHAPTER SIX

¹ *The News from the Middle East*, op. cit. See also *There Goes the Middle East*, pp. 217-22.

² Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Father Ralph Gorman of *The Sign*, Father Vincent Kearney of *America*, former ambassadors Joseph C. Green, Harold B. Minor and Wallace Murray; Prof. Millar Burrows (Yale), Prof. William Ernest Hocking (Harvard), Prof. Philip Hitti (Princeton) and Prof. Christina Phelps Harris (Stanford); Mrs. Wayne O'Neil, Mrs. William Lister Rogers, Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes, Mrs. John Erskine, Dr. Alford Carleton, Editors William R. Mathews (Tucson, *Arizona Star*) and W. L. White (Reader's Digest), Prof. Marvin Pope (Yale), Gordon W. Reed and Dr. Daniel Bliss.

³ California's Senator Thomas H. Kuchel at a reception given in his honor by Jewish constituents in Los Angeles declared that "Colonel Nasser is a Junior Hitler." *Jewish Voice* (Los Angeles), August 31, 1956.

- ⁴ In a similar vein, *Time* magazine of July 28, 1958 after the Iraqi Revolution, referred to "the United Arab Republic's Dictator Gamal Abdel Nasser who had kicked off the crisis by subverting the friendly government of Iraq and killing its leaders." When Nasser in a long speech welcoming troops returning from Yemen, among other things noted that they must be prepared to "face Israel and the imperialists," page one of the *Times* and the continuing story on page 4 carried the identical lead: "Nasser Charges Israel Is Threat." August 12, 1963.
- ⁵ *New York Mirror*, May 8, 1960.
- ⁶ *The New York Times*, July 1, 1962. During the struggle for control in Yemen, the Magazine Section carried a picture of soldiers to illustrate the caption "Egyptian Presence." The soldiers pictured were supposed to be Egyptians, but they were unmistakably Yemenis. *The New York Times*, Sunday Magazine, November 25, 1962.
- ⁷ The September 2, 1961 *Times* in its news columns did mention the Nasser attack on atomic testing resumption by the Soviet Union.
- ⁸ *Life International*, p. 31, Sept. 25, 1961.
- ⁹ Also stressing "Arab anti-Semitism" was Ruth Montgomery's account of the White House dinner dance honoring King Hussein on his 1964 State visit, *New York Journal American*, April 16, 1964.
- ¹⁰ Even an otherwise sympathetic coverage of the Washington meeting of "ailing King Saud" with President Kennedy ended with the guess that His Majesty "would rather have been home in his palace enjoying the comforts of his estimated 50 wives." Dickson Preston, Scripps-Howard Newspaper correspondent appearing in *New York World-Telegram and The Sun*, February 14, 1962.
- ¹¹ *New York World-Telegram and The Sun*, Nov. 22, 1961. Whereas *Time* (December 1, 1961) did not exaggerate the number of his wives accompanying the monarch (there was in fact only one, Om Monsour), the magazine did comment, "Surrounded by a robed retinue of 20 that included four sword-and-pistol-toting bodyguards and one of his four current wives (lifetime total: at least two score), Saudi Arabia's King Saud, 59, descended from a chartered TWA jet at Boston."
- ¹² The prospectus listed twelve titles "presently in preparation or being considered for publication" including: *Zionism—Past, Present and Future*; *The Truth About Israel*; *American Youth Looks at Israel*; *Hotel Miami Beach*; *Marry a Foreigner—Pros and Cons*; *Transliteration Interlinear Prayer Book*; *Transliteration Interlinear Bible*; *Judaism Versus Israelism*.
- ¹³ *The New York Times*, February 22, 1962.

- 14 April 10, 1962. Where an advance notice that a women's league *would be* holding a luncheon to honor one Israeli and three American women leaders received prominent 8-1/2 inch *Times* coverage at the top of the page on March 27, 1962, with a bold head and two subheads, a luncheon meeting which was held that day by the representatives of eighty top American companies and was addressed on the subject of the underdeveloped nations by a leading UN Syrian diplomat received no publicity before or after the event. The name of the latter group was American-Arab Association for Commerce and Industry while the former was The Women's League for Israel. In January nine inches were devoted to a by-lined story, "Jewish Assembly Due in Jerusalem", which was to take place the following August, seven months later. A passing controversy over the serving of non-kosher food on an Israeli passenger liner became page one headlines in the *Times* on Jan. 12, 1963.
- 15 March 4, 1955. On the very day this editorial appeared, ten speakers of the eleven Security Council member nations had severely condemned Israel. One of the alleged incidents cited by the editorial writer as making this first Gaza attack a two-sided affair and hence justifiable (but a "mistake") in the eyes of *The New York Times*, was the execution of two men "charged with espionage on behalf of Israel." The shocking disclosures resulting from Israel's Lavon Affair, which erupted in October, 1960, proved how incorrect it was to refer to a "charge" of espionage. The Israeli Government and the Army were shown to have been deeply implicated in a full-scale espionage attempt in Egypt.
- 16 March 20, 1961.
- 17 Three years later Helen Hayes did go to Cairo as a member of a Brooklyn Museum Study group intent on seeing Abu Simbel and the other Egyptian tourist attractions. "There is nothing like what we have been doing here," said the famous actress. *The New York Times*, March 21, 1964.
- 18 *The New York Times*, February 7, 1958.
- 19 *The New York Times*, July 28, 1959.
- 20 May 28, 1961.
- 21 July 7, 1961. During the Yemeni crisis, the *Times* referred to Nasser's efforts to overthrow other governments in favor of an Arab empire ruled by himself.
- 22 The editorial of May 2, 1963, declared that "the survival of CENTO already weakened by the defection of Iraq may well be at stake," thus attempting to link the Central Treaty Organization's future with the success or failure of Arab federation. See also the editorial in *The New York Times* of April 4, 1963, which praises King Hassan of Morocco, but manages to allude to "President Nasser's efforts to draw Algeria into a rather anti-Western Arab federation now being built in Cairo."

- ²³ *The Christian Science Monitor*, however, on April 24, 1963, stated that the new union could contribute to the stability of the Arab Middle East.
- ²⁴ *The Washington Post*, January 23, 1963.
- ²⁵ *The New York Times*, March 29, April 1 and April 3, 1961.
- ²⁶ September 2 and 3, 1961.
- ²⁷ Series started June 12, 1961.
- ²⁸ *The New York Times*, May 24, had given the Israeli Prime Minister a front-page, 3-column story and picture when he flew into New York en route to Canada.
- ²⁹ *The New York Times*, Sunday, September 24, 1961.
- ³⁰ *The New York Times*, Sunday, April 29, 1962.
- ³¹ Starting May 13, 1962.
- ³² *The New York Times*, Sunday, May 20, 1962.
- ³³ May 7, 1961.
- ³⁴ June 15, 1961.
- ³⁵ *The New York Times* turned Hannah Arendt's critical book, *Eichmann in Jerusalem* for review over to Justice Michael A. Musmanno of Pennsylvania's Supreme Court, a stalwart proponent of and witness at the trial.
- ³⁶ Sunday, August 20, 1961.
- ³⁷ *Overseas Press Bulletin* (New York, Overseas Press Club of America), Aug. 22, 1959.
- ³⁸ A protest to Senator Javits regarding the lack of press coverage, which noted the facility with which the American Jewish Committee, the sponsoring group, had always won favorable press space, brought a reply that, "because the Ambassador had seen fit to send out his own press release, the Committee had been powerless to effect any coverage in the *Times* or elsewhere." Letter of Sen. Jacob K. Javits to author, April 21, 1961.
- ³⁹ *The New York Times*, November 29, 1959.
- ⁴⁰ *The New York Times*, March 29, 1962. In a story covering the American Council for Judaism's 19th Convention, *The Times* added a full paragraph explaining the Zionist viewpoint. May 11, 1962.
- ⁴¹ *The New York Times*, April 16, 1964.
- ⁴² See for example the letter of Jewish Theological Seminary Professor Robert Gordis, dated January 27 and printed January 28, 1964, which was critical of the failure of the late John Foster Dulles to stop the Nasser 1956 "seizure" of the Suez Canal.
- ⁴³ Sunday, December 25, 1955.
- ⁴⁴ Out of approximately 1,000 meetings of the Security Council since the creation of Israel in 1948, about 200 have concerned the Palestine problem.
- ⁴⁵ *United Nations Proceedings*, S/PV 999, p. 42; United States Mission to The United Nations, Press Release No. 3955, March 28, 1962.

⁴⁸ See *Report by the Chief of Staff to the Secretary-General*, S/5102, March 26, 1962; also *Answers by Chief of Staff to Questions During Security Council Meeting*, 62-07351, 3 April 1962.

⁴⁷ *The New York Times*, April 5, 1962.

⁴⁸ *New York Herald Tribune*, April 5, 1962.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, March 22, 1962.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, April 5, 1962.

⁵¹ *The New York Times*, April 6, 1962.

⁵² *Ibid.*, April 10, 1962.

⁵³ This was reminiscent of a November 10, 1953, item in the News Summary and Index of the *Times*, following the Kibya incident: "Israel was held responsible by the United States, Britain, France and Greece before the Security Council for the fatal raid on the Jordan village of Kibya. Criticism of Israel was strong. (1:3) *On the other hand*, the United States was sharply attacked by Pakistan in the Assembly's special political committee for its attitude on Palestine, Morocco, Tunisia, and "humanitarian problems in general." (6:3)

⁵⁴ *U.S. Foreign Policy, Compilation of Studies Prepared under the Direction of Committee on Foreign Relations*, United States Senate, Pursuant to S Res. 336, 85th Congress and S Resolution 31 and S Res. 250, 86th Congress, (Washington, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960), Study No. 13 of June 9, 1960, p. 1313. (Hereafter *U.S. Foreign Policy: Compilation of Studies*).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* Appendix 3, page 1330.

⁵⁶ "Having considered Syrian complaint numbers 68, 76, 81, 84, 95, 96, 131, 133, 141, 142, 160, 164 and 169; having considered the above mentioned incidents that have during the night of January 31 to February 1, 1960 culminated in the attack by regular Israeli armed forces against Khirbet-Al-Tawafiq Village which according to the report of the United Nations military observers had no fortifications other than a trench surrounding the village for its protection and a barbed wire entanglement defending this trench; having considered that this attack had resulted in the almost total destruction of aforesaid village in violation of elementary humanitarian principles, with two killed and two wounded on the Arab side; considering that this premeditated attack has created a serious tension in the area; condemns the Israeli attack on the village of Khirbet-Al-Tawafiq . . . The Israeli-Syrian Mixed Armistice Commission, whereas Syrian complaint 162 has been substantiated by the investigation of the United Nations observer who observed and identified four Mystere jet planes, a type of plane used by the Israeli Air Force, overflying the area of Kuneitra within Syrian territory during approximately half an hour on February 1st 1960, decides that this action of the Israeli Air Force constitutes a flagrant violation of Article 3, paragraph 2 and of Article 4, paragraph 2 of the General Armis-

tice Agreement; condemns Israel for this hostile act and requests the Israeli authorities to put an end immediately and definitely to such hostile acts." *Ibid.* Appendix 3, Annex 4, pages 1382-4.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1313.

⁵⁸ During a 1960 visit to Jerusalem shortly after the January incident, the U.S. member of the Israeli-Jordan Mixed Armistice Commission related to me in detail the horrors of this attack by Israeli armed forces. In his thinking, this was as much a case of mixed responsibility "as the Japanese sneak attack on Pearl Harbor."

⁵⁹ See for example, *The New York Times*, July 11, 1963 quoting newcomer Premier Eshkol's willingness to meet Nasser "at any time, anywhere."

⁶⁰ *The New York Times*, February 9, 1962.

⁶¹ See stories in *The New York Times*, December 16, 1963. *N.Y. Journal-American*, December 19, 1963. *New York Times* stories of December 5 and 7, 1963, quoting Cairo reaction to the Papal visit contributed to the impression that the Arabs opposed the visit. *New York World Telegram and The Sun* on January 4, 1964, and the *Journal-American* (Drew Pearson) on January 6, carried accounts of Arab hostility and aggressiveness.

⁶² Throughout his trip to the Holy Land, Pope Paul did everything to adhere to the Vatican's position supporting the internationalization of Jerusalem and the non-recognition of Israel.

⁶³ November 29, 1955.

⁶⁴ *New York World-Telegram and The Sun*, May 14, 1962. *The New York Times* of the next morning did refer to them simply as Europeans.

⁶⁵ "DULLES WARNED BY EIGHT ARAB ENVOYS—Ambassadors Assert Israel and Zionist Groups Hurt Relations with U.S." read the first edition of the *Times* on December 13, 1955, based on a Washington Associated Press dispatch.

The lead paragraphs in the original story had read:

"The Arab Ambassadors in Washington told Secretary of State Dulles today that relations between their countries and the United States were suffering because of the behavior of Israel and of Zionist organizations. The eight heads of Arab missions paid a joint call on the Secretary to emphasize their point of view. The visit came just after an outburst of fighting on the Israeli-Syrian frontier, but the Arab spokesman said today's meeting was not to discuss specific situations."

The next edition carried a new version and revised headlines: "Special to *The New York Times*, Washington," DULLES WARNED BY ARABS ON ARMS—Is Told by 8 Diplomats U.S. Supplies to Israel Only May Force Reliance on Reds."

The new version of the meeting appeared as a protest of Arab diplomats against giving arms to Israel: "Diplomats representing

eight Arab nations called on Secretary of State Dulles today and said that they hoped the United States would not force them to rely on the Soviet bloc for arms. This, they said, could happen if the United States supplied arms to Israel to the exclusion of Arab countries."

The earlier story not only contained no statement that the diplomats had insisted that supplies to Israel would force reliance on the Reds but the acting spokesman for the group, Iraqi Ambassador Shabandar, never was said to have made any specific suggestions as to what the United States should do about Israel's request for United States arms. The revised version also stated that the interview had taken place at the request of the Arab diplomats after Secretary Dulles had twice conferred with Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett. According to the original Associated Press story the meeting followed "an outburst of fighting on the Israeli-Syrian frontier," but the Arab spokesman emphasized that the meeting "was not to discuss specific situations." In reply to the question from the Arab diplomats as to whether Israel was willing to carry out the UN resolutions on partition, repatriation or compensation, the later edition quoted Secretary Dulles, "according to diplomatic accounts of the meeting," as answering:

The United States did not consider that a settlement should be based rigidly on any United Nations resolution, although these should be taken into consideration. A settlement could be brought about only by applying the principles of justice and fairness to the possibilities of the present.

The Secretary was never elsewhere so quoted in what amounted to a near-repudiation of the basic UN resolution on the refugees. The very vague source reference employed in the revised Times version: "According to diplomatic accounts of the meeting," was reminiscent of stories put out by Dana Adams Schmidt. The original story had quoted Ambassador Zeineddine of Syria as calling attention to solicitations in this country of aid to Israel, which "contributions are exempt from taxation because they are allegedly philanthropic. Actually they are going to build up the State. So, indirectly, through the tax exemption, the United States is contributing." The revised edition in succinctly paraphrasing the argument of the Syrian diplomat made it appear as just another extravagant Arab charge: "Ambassador Zeineddine asserted that contributions for Israel really constitute a form of U.S. aid to Israel because these contributions were exempt from taxation." Similarly *The New York Times* coverage of the U.A.R. plane incident, Jan. 10, 1965.

⁶⁶ *The New York Times*, April 2 and 5 1963 and stories into 1964.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, April 6, 1963.

⁶⁸ Associated Press dispatch, March 19, 1963.

- ⁶⁹ Israel was reported to be balking at accepting international supervision of the atomic research assistance she was receiving from the U.S. *The New York Times*, April 19, 1964.
- ⁷⁰ *The New York Times*, April 2, 1963.
- ⁷¹ *New York Herald Tribune*, April 13, 1963.
- ⁷² April 25, 1963.
- ⁷³ *The New York Times*, April 29. On April 28, the *Times* had run a long story; "Israel's Fifteen Years of Independence to be Feted Here."
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, May 1, 1963.
- ⁷⁵ *New York Journal-American*, May 6, 1963. Quoted was Myer Feldman, then Deputy Special Counsel to President Kennedy.
- ⁷⁶ May 9, 1963.
- ⁷⁷ May 10, 1963. In a similar vein the editorial, "Double Crisis in the Mideast" May 6, 1963 pointed out that Nasser "insists on authoritarian rule" in Syria and continues "his campaign for the overthrow of the monarchies in Jordan and Saudi Arabia," thus "endangering peace in this vital area."
- ⁷⁸ The *Times* of May 9, 1963, in a four column headline declared: "Nasser Ends Algiers Visit, Unity Statement Vague." The *Times* Sunday News Summary of May 12 talked of "the difficulties that Mr. Nasser's revised federation project is encountering." An article in the same Sunday Section headlined: "Nasser Still Far From Dream of Unity for All Arabs" had this editorializing sub-head: "Despite their professions of friendship, Egyptian leader ends his visit to Ben Bella without Algerian promise to join UAR." Quoting Ben-Gurion that "the aim of an Arab federation was an attack on Israel" the News summary concluded that, despite the presidential statement reassuring Israel, the outlook for the Middle East remained one of concern "over Mr. Nasser's ambitions and uncertainty as to where they will lead." The *Chicago American* on May 12 also trumpeted Nasser's difficulties headlining "Shakeups in Syria, Iraq Dim Future of New UAR." A series of three full page articles, written by the *New York Herald Tribune's* overseas correspondent under the caption, *The Middle East: War and Peace*, began on May 20 with a front page story in boldest type: "Arab Unity: A Shimmering Mirage," which detailed Israeli fears as stirred by Arab Unity Plans." At the end of May the alarm was still being sounded.
- ⁷⁹ May 15, 1963.
- ⁸⁰ June 2, 1963.
- ⁸¹ May 19, 1963.

CHAPTER SEVEN

- ¹ *Harper's*, June, 1961. This article by W. S. Ellis refers to "Bourguiba ridiculing Nasser's campaign against Israel," and was outdated even before it went to press. See Bourguiba *infra*, p. 294-5.

- ² September, 1961.
- ³ May 29, 1956.
- ⁴ It is only when the Arab case is presented that publications talk in terms of balancing both sides. Otherwise in the overwhelming number of instances the Israeli story is presented without any pretense of impartiality.
- ⁵ *Atlantic Monthly*, October 1961 at p. 53.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 65.
- ⁸ Philip Wylie, *Innocent Ambassadors* (New York, Rinehart, 1957).
- ⁹ Speech before A.C.J. Philanthropic Fund, November 29, 1961. At a meeting held at the Carnegie Endowment International Center in New York in December 12, 1962, Dr. John H. Davis, Director of the United Nations Relief Works Agency assailed what he called four myths about the Palestinians: that the Arab governments do nothing to help them; that brutal governments held them purposely in camps; that the refugees themselves are shiftless and that the Arab politicians exploit the Israeli question. In total disagreement with Miss Gelhorn, Dr. Davis categorically stated that "if we solve the refugee problem, we have not solved the total problem."
- ¹⁰ *The Economist* had set the example in May 16, 1959 with their publication of a special 25-page supplement: "Israel: Rebirth in an Antique Land—Survey of some of the problems and hopes, achievements and failures, as the Jewish state enters its second decade." Zionists organizations had money to spend on this worthwhile promotion which was backed up by advertisements of affluent Jewish and Christian firms.
- ¹¹ "The Young Army of Israel" was written by military journalist-expert, S. L. A. Marshall who wrote the book *Sinai Victory: Command Decision in History's Shortest War* (New York, William Morrow, 1958.)
- ¹² *New York World-Telegram and The Sun*, March 26, 1962.
- ¹³ *Saturday Evening Post*, January 20, 1962.
- ¹⁴ March 3, 1962.
- ¹⁵ For example see *The New York Times*, March 20, 1962.
- ¹⁶ When T. J. Hamilton, the chief of *The New York Times* Bureau at the United Nations prepared a booklet for the Foreign Policy Association's Headline Series, he confined his suggested readings on Palestine to a single book, former Israeli Ambassador Abba Eban's *Voice of Israel* (New York, Horizon Press, 1957).
- ¹⁷ Compare the incident in which Sir Zafrullah Khan, Pakistani Foreign Minister, found a speaking engagement cancelled by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations. See *There Goes the Middle East*, p. 212.
- ¹⁸ *Time*, February 10, 1961.

- ¹⁹ The General Assembly of the United Nations is not empowered to make decisions. It can merely recommend, as it had in this instance of the partition of Palestine.
- ²⁰ Transcript, "Rescue with Yul Brynner," *CBS Reports*, CBS Television Network, Sat., Dec. 10, 1960, 8:30-9:30 P.M. E.S.T., p. 15.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16-17.
- ²² *Ibid.*, p. 17.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, p. 17-18.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18. Similar personal editorializing characterized an NBC-TV network telecast by Chet Huntley on Jan. 1, 1963, entitled: "Moslems and Marxists, Nasser's Arab-Socialism."
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19.
- ²⁶ *New York Daily News*, column *What's On TV Radio* by Kay Gardella. April 23 (late edition) and 24, 1962.
- ²⁷ April 21, 1961.
- ²⁸ December 16, 1961.
- ²⁹ Letter dated May 6, 1954.
- ³⁰ This London review by Leonard Mosley in the *Daily Express* of November 14, 1961 refers to the *King of Kings* as a "whopped up extravaganza in which Biblical facts are twisted . . . I did not think that I would ever hear the Sermon on the Mount being spoken without being moved, but Jeffrey Hunter has managed this for me. This well-fed young man not only looks like an American half-back, but talks like one . . ." *Time* (October 27, 1961) had this to say: Christianity, which has survived the Turkish onslaught and the Communist conspiracy, may even survive this picture; but individual Christians who try to sit through it may find themselves longing for extreme unction."
- ³¹ Review, October 21, 1961.
- ³² T. E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (New York, Doubleday, 1935).
- ³³ Letter of Terence Rattigan to Alfred M. Lilienthal, dated December 30, 1961: "Plainly the issue between us is confined to the word 'State.' It should, I now realize, be amended to read 'Home,' and I have tried to get this amendment into the performance. Unhappily, the producer, the director and the actor are all against me on this point, but perhaps later in the run, I may get them to change their mind." (He never did. Producer David Merrick stood firm against any change.)
- ³⁴ Wylie, *op cit.*
- ³⁵ Volume xxvi, April 4-8, 1960, Number 26.
- ³⁶ At the Sunday School of a reformed synagogue in Larchmont, N.Y., the teacher assigned the following books for reading by his 14 to 15 year old students in his course in modern Jewish literature: *The Wall*, *Mila 18*, *Last of the Just* and *Exodus*. All books had the common theme of persecution.

- ¹ Michael Ionides, *Divide and Lose* (London, Geoffrey Bles, 1960) p. 6.
- ² *Jewish Daily Forward*, Jan. 2, 1961.
- ³ The Senator from Vermont came under repeated attack after he proposed in a speech on the Senate floor that the tax exemptibility of the United Jewish Appeal be investigated. *Congressional Record*, Vol. 104, No. 134, August 6, 1958.
- ⁴ *Jewish Newsletter*, March 6, 1961.
- ⁵ Letter dated April 6, 1951, first appeared in *Jewish Newsletter*, Nov., 1951 and was reprinted March 6, 1961 after Miss Thompson's death.
- ⁶ Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History*, (London, Oxford University Press, 1950), Vol. III, p. 290.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 290-1; see also *There Goes the Middle East*, pp. 243-246.
- ⁸ *Jewish Frontier*, March, 1955.
- ⁹ Maurice Samuels, *The Professor and the Fossil* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1956).
- ¹⁰ *The New York Times*, May 7, 1961. The late editor William Zukerman, likewise linked the Nazi and Zionist philosophies, noting that "the difference is that the Nazis once chose complete physical extermination of the Jews; the Zionists choose complete segregation." *Jewish Newsletter* February 22, 1960. James P. Warburg told a B'nai B'rith Lodge in Long Island that "whereas classical anti-Semitism has been fully discredited and has no chance of revival in Western countries, anti-Jewish prejudice might conceivably be rekindled if the Jews who are integrated in the West were now to become injected with a chauvinistic sense of worldwide nationalism." *Voice of Dissent: Jewish Problems (1948-1961)* (New York, Bookman Associates, 1964), p. 15.
- ¹¹ *America*, Sept. 1, 1963 editorial. Followed by letters and additional editorial comment, Sept. 8, 15 and 22.
- ¹² *Daily Herut* (Israel) as quoted in the *Jewish Newsletter*, Nov. 3, 1958.
- ¹³ Zionist Information Service, Oct. 17, 1958.
- ¹⁴ *New York Daily News*, Jan. 13, 1960.
- ¹⁵ Books of Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein include *The Trouble Makers* (New York, Doubleday, 1952); *Cross Currents* (New York, Doubleday, 1956); and *Some of My Best Friends* (New York, Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, 1962).
- ¹⁶ Winchell widely publicized the book *Some of My Best Friends* as he had the earlier Forster-Epstein works. Advertisements in *The New York Times* quoted Winchell as saying "This book is draining the blue blood out of some very red faces."
- ¹⁷ See *What Price Israel?*, pp 131-134.
- ¹⁸ January 9, 1961.

- ¹⁸ For details, see *There Goes the Middle East*, p. 105.
- ²⁰ *Dallas Morning News*, August 19, 1960; *New York Herald Tribune*, November 3, 1960.
- ²¹ See *Jewish Newsletter* of March 9, 1959 and June 13, 1960 for attacks on Pasternak by responsible Zionists, including Ben-Gurion. The Anti-Defamation League even found signs of "Negro anti-Semitism," *New York Herald Tribune*, May 5, 1963.
- ²² Richard H. S. Crossman, *A Nation Reborn* (New York, Atheneum, 1960).
- ²³ J. C. Hurewitz, *The Struggle for Palestine* (New York, W. W. Norton, 1950).
- ²⁴ Crossman, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
- ²⁵ Dr. Weizmann at their very first meeting quite bluntly accused Mr. Crossman of being anti-Semitic like most everyone else. In admitting that Weizmann may have been right, Crossman was serving his own interests in the cause he thereafter pursued. The energetic crusade which the Parliamentarian has since undertaken could be, after all, an expiation for that initial prejudice toward Jews.
- ²⁶ Crossman, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²⁸ CBS radio broadcast March 4, 1956.
- ²⁹ *New York World Telegram and Sun*, May 3, 1962.
- ³⁰ William Zukerman: *Voice of Dissent: Jewish Problems 1948-1961*, (New York, Bookman Associates, 1964).
- ³¹ Jan. 14, p. 1; Jan. 16, p. 24; Jan. 24, p. 1. "Lichtenberger Hails Rector in Scarsdale"; (2nd headline) "Rector is Praised for Stand on Bias"; (3rd headline) "Scarsdale Golf Club Revises Guest Rules."
- ³² *Daily Princetonian*, February 24, 1964, carried President Robert F. Goheen's letter. The biting letter of student Paul J. Ponomarenko, class of 1966, appeared on the 20th, and there were other letters on the 21st and 24th. Most unusual was the frank and remarkable preception of Frank C. Strasburger, '67, who decried "the continual carping, which serves only to remind people of what they already know . . . Jews may find persecution if they look for it (and they do look for it), but those Jews who assume their equality (that they are neither lesser nor greater than those of other faiths), find that they need not assert it."
- ³³ February 26, 1964.
- ³⁴ *The New York Times*, December 3, 1963. The Arabs announced that they "do not prohibit trade with foreign firms partially or wholly owned or directed by non-Israeli Jews, so long as those firms do not violate the boycott regulations." In a BBC Home Service interview, Edward Atiyah, press adviser to the Iraqi Embassy in London, stated that the Arabs did not even know Lord Mancroft was a Jew until this fact was disclosed by the British press:

"Objection to him was that he was associated with certain companies which had very strong financial and trading ties with Israel and which, in the Arab view, were contributing substantially to promoting the Israeli economy or war potential."

³⁵ Wednesday, December 4; Friday, December 6; Monday, December 9; Tuesday, December 10; Wednesday, December 11; Thursday, December 12. Shortly thereafter, in connection with Pope Paul's visit to Palestine, numerous press references were made to the failure of the Ecumenical Council to adopt the proposed change in the liturgy exculpating Jewry from guilt in connection with the death of Jesus. This failure was frequently attributed to the influence of prelates from Arab countries rather than to the fact that conservatives felt that this subject did not fall within the purview of a Council whose goal was to seek unification of the Christian Church.

³⁶ *New York Herald Tribune*, p. 10, headlined its story: "USIA Movie about Johnson—Rabbi Out as Sop to Arabs."

³⁷ Rabbis in their sermons on the following Saturday as reported Sunday in *The New York Times* ignored the retraction of the charges against the USIA, inveighed against Arab pressures and were prominently quoted.

³⁸ *New York World Telegram and The Sun*, Dec. 16, 1963. A front page story was headlined, "84 American Firms on Arab Blacklist"; subheaded, "But Israel Isn't Hurt by Boycott." Of those so listed, nine companies were no longer on the Boycott list and were doing business with Arab countries. Covering a good portion of an inside page as well as several columns on the front page, the story credited the material to "a World-Telegram survey." Investigation revealed that the "surveyor" was Erwin Savelson who also broke the December 28 story of alleged bias by American utility companies. The ADL apparently had a good plant on the Telegram. The *New York Journal American* picked up the story and referred to "a survey revealed today." Their headline: "US Firms, Stars Defy Arab Boycott."

³⁹ December 28, 1963.

⁴⁰ *The New York Times*, February 11, 1962.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* Similarly on May 4, 1962, the *Times* reported: "Amity for Jews Found in Europe," and the next day another organization disputed this finding.

⁴² *The New York Times*, March 28, 1964.

⁴³ *The New York Times*, February 18, 1964.

⁴⁴ January 8, 1962.

⁴⁵ Judd L. Teller, letter to the editor, *The New York Times*, October 20, 1962.

⁴⁶ *The New York Times*, January 4, 1962.

⁴⁷ *The New York Times*, January 20, 1962. The Soviet Union had charged that the synagogues were being used "to spread Zionism

literature and collect espionage information." Two years later Israeli aides in the Soviet Union were again accused of propaganda activities in the synagogue, a page one headlined story, *The New York Times*, March 12, 1964.

⁴⁸ *The New York Times*, September 23, 1962.

⁴⁹ *The New York Times*, December 1, 1961.

⁵⁰ *The New York Times*, November 15, 1961.

⁵¹ *The New York Times*, January 20, 1962.

⁵² *The New York Times*, July 24, 1958. Similarly, Charles Solomon in his article in *Blackfriars* magazine, op. cit., points to the danger of the extinction of the Jewish community in Britain because of the absence of anti-Semitism. "When to proclaim oneself a Jew may mean hardship even death, the indomitable spirit of man—or perhaps his sheer obstinacy—asserts itself . . . But when to be a Jew is merely inconvenient, it is difficult to attain this mood of high resolve." See also the statement of Leo Pfeffer of the American Jewish Congress: "Such discrimination may well be a blessing. It is possible that some anti-Semitism is necessary in order to insure Jewish survival." *The National Jewish Post and Opinion*, November 6, 1959.

⁵³ *The Spectator* magazine (London), June 24, 1960.

⁵⁴ Statement of October 27, 1947 quoted in *Council News*, December, 1956 and in *What Price Israel*, p. 52.

⁵⁵ M. Lowenthal, ed., *The Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, (New York, The Dial Press, 1956), p. 7. He expressed the hope that anti-Semitism would "act as the propelling force, which like 'the wave of the future,' would bring the Jews into the promised land."

⁵⁶ Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State* (New York, American Zionist Emergency Council, 1946), p. 92.

⁵⁷ Crossman, *A Nation Reborn*, p. 93.

CHAPTER NINE

¹ James P. Warburg, *Israel and the American Jewish Community*, an address to the Congregation Mishkan Israel, New Haven, Conn., Nov. 27, 1959. Published in New York by Current Affairs Press. Others, including Dr. Hannah Arendt, have assailed one facet or another of Zionism while staying aloof from, if not hostile to, the Council. If Zionism carried a stigma, anti-Zionism carried a bigger one, and the Council the biggest.

² In *Issues*, Spring, 1962, the Council in an apologetic article by Richard Korn contends that it is the Zionists and not themselves who injected the issue of dual loyalty into the debate.

³ *Jewish Newsletter*, Sept. 4, 1961.

⁴ For example, Rabbi Morris Lazaron, who long ago had split with Zionism in a battle which cost him his Baltimore pulpit, nevertheless continued to breathe nationalist, if not Zionist, communal

ideology in certain of his public expressions. A leading Dutch anti-Zionist, L. M. C. van der Hoeven Leonhard, who closely followed the American scene, in a long analysis drew parallels between Zionist thinking and Lazon's expressions of brotherhood and giving, particularly as set forth in "The Dilemma of Jewish Philanthropy," *Jewish Newsletter*, June 1, 1959.

- ⁵ Although Dr. Elmer Berger continued to attack the American Jewish Committee, the 20th Annual Council Conference adopted a motion calling for a study of merger possibilities between the Council and the Committee, which is 100 per cent Israelist. A telegram from President Truman, using Israelist phraseology, was read to this New York gathering. A message from Professor Toynbee won this comment from one conventioneer: "The dirty anti-Semite."
- ⁶ Parker T. Hart in a letter of Nov. 12, 1959, to Council President Clarence L. Coleman, Jr.
- ⁷ *The New York Times*, May 8, 1964. The statement of Assistant Secretary Phillips Talbot contained in a letter to Rabbi Berger went further than the 1959 Department declaration. But its effect on Zionist activity remained to be seen.
- ⁸ (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1953).
- ⁹ March 22, 1962 on N.Y. station WMCA. Gray, a 100 per cent Jewish nationalist, opposed Zionist "ingathering." He wanted to do his work in the States.
- ¹⁰ John Marquand, Jr., son of the novelist and himself a prize winning author, in a letter dated July 6, 1953, after having read *What Price Israel?* in manuscript form.
- ¹¹ While several groups cooperated in a benefit showing of *Lawrence of Arabia*, the Council staff was reluctant to participate. The name of the principal group sponsoring the film was the American-Arab Association for Commerce and Industry.
- ¹² *Jewish Newsletter*, September 1, 1952. "Campaign Judaism," he said, "has almost consciously emptied itself of all higher aspirations and spiritual needs and has willingly limited itself to the role of a financial milk cow for others." For a fuller exposition of the prevailing climate in the Jewish American community, see *What Price Israel?*, pp. 180-190.
- ¹³ Raising \$250,000 for its Philanthropic Fund proved difficult for the Council and resulted in none of the ballyhoo of a U.J.A. drive. In a study of the Council by The New York Board of Rabbis (June 1, 1963), attention is directed to the "insignificant" sum sought by the Fund compared to the U.J.A.
- ¹⁴ Letter of Robert Gordis, professor of the Bible, to *The New York Times*, Jan. 28, 1964.
- ¹⁵ Helen Rivlin, *The Agricultural Policy of Mohammed Ali in Egypt* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1961).
- ¹⁶ *The New York Times*, advertisement in the book review section.

- ¹⁷ David Finnie, *Desert Enterprise: The Middle East Oil Industry in Its Local Environment* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1958).
- ¹⁸ *Activities of Nondiplomatic Reps.*, pp. 1764, 1781.
- ¹⁹ *The Struggle for Palestine* (Boston, Beacon Press, 1957).
- ²⁰ *Activities of Nondiplomatic Reps.*, p. 1344.
- ²¹ This was the goal of the organization as set forth by Gerald Doohar, who organized the Council and by Hugh Auchincloss who took over the actual management responsibilities early in 1962.
- ²² Gerald Doohar until his death in 1962 was the guiding spirit behind the Council. As information officer in the Department of State, he was able to obtain governmental funds to help launch the group. Former Ambassador to Yugoslavia, John Wiley was the nominal President. Mr. Wiley's wife was a Polish Jewess with decided political leanings. During the Panama crisis in early 1964 Wiley wrote a letter to *The New York Times* strongly defending the behaviour of the Zionians.
- ²³ After five years of almost complete inactivity, it merged into the newly-formed American-Arab Association for Commerce and Industry, whose emphasis is directed toward trade and financial ties rather than those of culture or politics.
- ²⁴ *Inscription for the Mural, Jordanian Pavilion at the New York World's Fair:*

Before you go, have you a minute more to spare

To hear a word on Palestine — and

Perhaps to help us right a wrong?

Ever since the Birth of Christ — and

Later with the coming of Mohammed,

Christians, Jews and Moslems,

Believers in one God,

Lived in peaceful harmony.

For centuries it was so, until strangers

from abroad, professing one thing,

But underneath another,

Began buying up land and stirring up the people.

Neighbors became enemies and fought against each other,

The strangers, once thought terror's victims,

Because terror's fierce practitioners.

Seeking peace at all costs, including the cost

of justice, the blinded world in solemn counsel

Split the land in two,

Tossing to one side the right of self-determination.

What followed then perhaps you know.

Seeking to redress the wrong,

Our nearby neighbors tried to help us in our cause.

And for reasons, not in their control,
Did not succeed.

Today, there are a million of us,
Some like us, but many like my mother,
Wasting their lives in exiled misery
Waiting to go home.

But even now, to protect their gains ill-got
As if the land was theirs and had the right,
There're threatening to disturb the Jordan's course
and make the desert bloom with warriors.

And who's to stop them?

The world seems not to care,
Or is blinded still.

That's why I'm glad you stopped
And heard the story."

²⁵ The Middle East, according to AFME's definition, covered the entire Arab World, including North Africa and parts of Asia, including Indonesia. The area set forth was a partial composite of the Arab and the Moslem worlds.

²⁶ John Campbell, *Defense of the Middle East* (New York, published for the Council of Foreign Relations by Harper & Bros., 1958).

²⁷ Socony has a 10% interest, the other three owners a 30% interest each.

²⁸ For example, a magazine article on the multimillion dollar Aramco Medical Center in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia was accepted by *The Lamp*, the house organ of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, in 1957. But publication was withheld and the opportunity to inform the public about a unique, constructive effort in the Arab World lost because of the company fear that such publication would result in a demand by other of their foreign subsidiaries for similar medical facilities.

²⁹ Arnold A. Rogow, *James Forrestal: A Study of Personality, Politics and Policy* (New York, Macmillan, 1963), p. 187.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-48.

³¹ Professor Rogow found that there was no evidence of any use by Forrestal of his power to "spearhead an oil lobby." The one-time Ambassador to Israel and staunch Israelist, James G. McDonald came to the same conclusions in his book *My Mission to Israel* (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1951). It is interesting to note in passing that the same Bartley Crum upon hearing of the suicide of his own son, who was a student at a university in the West, continued his speaking tour on behalf of the Israeli Bond Drive and announced in his evening speech that he was dedicating 200 trees in Israel in memory of his departed son.

- ³² Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein of Chicago's KAM Temple.
- ³³ The chances of a Jewish American soldier being assigned to the Dhahran Air Base was about one in ten million. Were this to happen to a Jewish soldier the biggest cry would be raised: "This is anti-Semitism. Sending our boy to that horrible place." And there would follow the usual appeals to Congressmen to help arrange a transfer to another area.
- ³⁴ The charge against Saudi discrimination was scotched by a statement from the National Catholic Welfare Conference indicating that Catholic chaplains were "free to offer Mass at the Dhahran military base and that there were no objections over conditions for Catholics in Saudi Arabia."
- ³⁵ According to the last census taken in 1932, the country was said to be divided equally between Christians and Moslems. In fact, however, today the Moslems were very much in the preponderance, a fact which any new census would not be able to conceal.
- ³⁶ To the extent that they have retained their animosity toward Nasser and his brand of Arab nationalism, they have only conditionally joined the American melting pot by bringing into American political life old feuds and emotions from the Motherland. Some undoubtedly lean toward the Zionist position because they want a winner. They deride what they view as an Arab refusal to help themselves.
- ³⁷ *The New York Times*, Oct. 26, 1957. The Anti-Defamation League attacked Arab students in the U.S. for "disseminating propaganda hostile to American policy and favorable to the Soviet Union." See also *New York Herald Tribune*, Nov. 9, 1962 for a public attack on the students by the president of the Religious Zionists.
- ³⁸ George Kassem of Los Angeles, California. The Council on Islamic Affairs tendered him a luncheon as the first Arab to be elected to Congress. Shortly, thereafter, in Beirut the Congressman issued a strongly Zionist flavored statement. Subsequently, he was defeated in seeking re-election.
- ³⁹ Rosalind Elias.
- ⁴⁰ Najeib Halaby.
- ⁴¹ *Jewish Newsletter*, Oct. 3, 1961.
- ⁴² A motion picture revolving around the life of certain Arab representatives in the United States would be far more stimulating than even the *Dolce Vita* and would, in the bargain, contain elements of intrigue and espionage. From the outset of the Palestine case, the Jewish Agency and the Zionist apparatus were kept abreast of Arab moves, via their well-placed ladies of the night whom their Semitic cousins could not resist. One highly-placed Arab diplomat in particular preferred to share his bed and secrets with Zionist femmes fatales. It was a simple matter for the alert Anti-Defamation League espionage ring to discover these secrets and put them into print in the sensationalist exposes set forth

by Arnold Foster and Benjamin Epstein in *The Trouble Makers* (New York, Doubleday, 1950).

⁴³ See Dr. Sania Hamady, *Temperament and Character of the Arab* (New York, Twayne Publishers, 1960).

⁴⁴ A Boston businessman of Arabic origin appreciated, only to his great embarrassment, the overwhelming richness of his native country's language. In introducing King Saud to a Boston dinner audience, he intended to refer to the great honor accorded the city by the monarch's passing his convalescence there. The word for convalescence is *istihmam*. Instead, much to the amusement of the King and his party, he stated that the city was honored in the King's taking his bath there. *Istihmam* is the word meaning bathing. In Arabic the difference between the two words is a dot.

⁴⁵ *The New York Times*, June 8, 1961.

⁴⁶ Wilton Wynn, *Nasser of Egypt* (Cambridge, Mass., Arlington Press, 1959).

⁴⁷ The Arabs have consistently gone astray on the few occasions when they have hired American public relations counsel. In 1957 on his visit to the U.S. King Saud paid for the services of an associate of Robert Nathan, the economic adviser to the Israeli Government. And Hassan of Morocco wound up with the registered agents of the Israeli Bond drive as his public relations guide for his stay in 1963. *Time* magazine (April 12, 1963) describes how effectively the Moroccan monarch was thus sabotaged. The Department of State on these and other occasions refused to intervene so as to assure competent guidance for Arab countries. Both Jordan and the U.A.R. have had sad public relations experiences with their tourist promotion efforts in the U.S. In late 1963 the Saudi Arabian Ministry of Information hired the services of a well-known international public relations firm with strong ties in the oil industry. These counsellors made it clear from the outset that they would inform the American public solely on the economic and social progress of Saudi Arabia and would stay away from anything remotely political. When the Saudi Arabian advertising supplement in *The New York Times* was vehemently attacked in a letter to the editor signed by a group of rabbis, the public relations advisers declined to answer and similarly counselled the Saudi Embassy in Washington. One of the few public relations successes enjoyed by the Arabs was the coverage of King Hussein's visit to the United States in the Spring of 1964 and the battle over the mural in the Jordan Pavilion at the World's Fair.

CHAPTER TEN

¹ Leviticus: 19:33-34.

² See *There Goes the Middle East*, footnote, p. 269.

³ William Zukerman writing in the *Jewish Newsletter*, Oct. 16, 1961.

⁴ *The New York Times*, Sept. 26, 1961. "Legal residents could be

banished and their properties confiscated. Whole villages could be removed from one area to another." Dr. Don Peretz, *Israel and the Palestine Arabs* (Washington, Middle East Institute, 1958), pp. 95-96.

⁵ *The Times* (London, Feb. 22, 1962).

⁶ A Christian Arab, Salim Joubran, from Caesarea was brought to the U.S. for a national tour. Interviews with all media were arranged to dispell accounts that might cast an unfavorable shadow on the image of Israel. See the *New York Post*, Feb. 14, 1962.

⁷ A musical called *Arab Fables* shown in Jaffa, Israel, lampooned the condition of the Israeli Arabs and ridiculed the military rule over the Arabs and restrictions on their movement: "Wonderful life the Arabs had in Israel: They can get permits to visit their friends or to celebrate a wedding, or even to plow their fields. Life for the Jews would also be wonderful if only they could have it regulated for them by military government." *The New York Times*, July 16, 1961.

⁸ *Ner* (Jerusalem, Ihud Association), Jan.-Feb., 1962.

⁹ "The Military Governors and their henchmen have produced the miraculous phenomenon that the party in power, responsible for the misery and distress of the Arabs in Israel, obtains at elections to the Knesset about 50% of the Arab votes, while only about 30% of the Jewish votes." From a statement submitted to the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly of the UN, November 21, 1961, by the Central Committee of the Third Force Movement in Israel. This small Israeli political action group, like the Ihud, strives for better Arab-Israeli relations. Its Chairman, Mordecai Stein, came to the United States to deliver the statement in person.

¹⁰ Quoted in *Ner*, Aug. 1962.

¹¹ *Ner*, March-April 1961.

¹² These are cooperatives, differentiated from the kibbutzim which are collective settlements.

¹³ *Ner*, July-Aug. 1962.

¹⁴ Elias N. Koussa, *Jewish Newsletter* July 13, 1959, "On Jewish land and in Jewish enterprises only Jews should be employed" was the rule of the day. "The principle of the persistent and deliberate boycott of Arab labour in the colonies is not only contrary to the Mandate . . . but . . . a constant and increasing source of danger to the country." From John Hope Simpson *Palestine Report on Immigration, Land Settlement and Development* (Cmd. 3686, London, 1930). Quoted by John Marlowe in *The Seat of Pilate* (London, Cresset Press, 1959) p. 120.

¹⁵ Uri Avnery: *Les Temps Modernes*, ed. Jean-Paul Sartre (Paris, April 1959.)

¹⁶ May-June, 1961.

- ¹⁷ See *Jewish Newsletter*, December 24, 1956, which includes letter of Elias N. Koussa, 12 Dec. 1956, to Prime Minister Ben-Gurion.
- ¹⁸ Stanton Griffis, *Lying in State*, (New York, Doubleday, 1952).
- ¹⁹ *The New York Times*, September 23, 1961.
- ²⁰ *The New York Times*, Sept. 24, and Sept. 27, 1961. The *Jewish Newsletter* of Oct. 16, 1961 reported the demonstration by 400 Yemenite Jews living in the slum quarters of Tel Aviv.
- ²¹ *Ner*, Nov.-Dec., 1961. *New Outlook*, March-April, 1961, stated the 2,000 youths had "fled Israel in the last few years."
- ²² *Ner*, Sept.-Oct. 1961.
- ²³ *Ner*, Nov.-Dec. 1961, p. 29. Ze'ev Schiff in the *New Outlook*, *loc. cit.*, states that only 2% of the Arab minority are employed by the government and notes even worse discrimination in industry.
- ²⁴ *Ner*, Nov.-Dec. 1961, p. 30
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 32.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9.
- ²⁷ Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate for President, reiterated the charge of Arab second-class citizenship in the *Jewish Newsletter*, September 18, 1961, which he first made in *Council News*, Sept. 1952.
- ²⁸ Weizmann, *op. cit.*, p. 462.
- ²⁹ Dr. Joseph B. Schechtman, "Is There Discrimination in Israel?," *Alliance Review*, (New York, American Friends of the Alliance Israelite Universit ), March, 1952, and January, 1953.
- ³⁰ *The New York Times*, Nov. 22, 1951; also Jan. 12, 1953; March 27, 1952 and March 31, 1957. For latest see Aug. 6, 1964 *Times*.
- ³¹ Some 15,000-20,000 of the Bene (Bnei) Israel sect remain in India. They allegedly are descendants of seven families shipwrecked near Bombay in the 2nd century B.C.
- ³² Civil marriages in Israel are forbidden. Those contracted abroad are not recognized by any authority within Israel.
- ³³ July 24, 1961; also *The New York Times*, July 14, 1961.
- ³⁴ Statement of Bishop Hakim issued November 1956, quoted *Arab News and Views*, August 15, 1961.
- ³⁵ *The New York Times*, August 24, 1961.
- ³⁶ *The New York Times*, April 15, 1962.
- ³⁷ *The New York Times*, Oct. 12, 1962, and Oct. 19, 1962.
- ³⁸ Quoted in the *Jewish Newsletter*, Sept. 21, 1959.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁰ *The New York Times*, Aug. 20, 1959.
- ⁴¹ Several reports dealing with the deplorable conditions in the secondary school system for the Arabs of Israel have appeared in *Ner* issues in 1961, 1962 and 1963 and in the *Jewish Newsletter*. Textbook inadequacy and lack of teachers caused this. See *Ner*, March-April 1961 showing that 88 per cent of all Arab secondary school pupils failed in their exams in 1960 as a result of these conditions.

- ⁴² The speaker was Itzhak Ben-Aharon, a ranking member of the Israeli Knesset's Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee speaking at the 40th Annual Convention of the National Committee for Labor Israel at the Commodore Hotel in New York City. *The New York Times*, Dec. 1, 1963.
- ⁴³ *Jewish Observer and Middle East Review*, July 24, 1959.
- ⁴⁴ Since 1948, according to Dr. Don Peretz, "the refugees have grown from 725,000 by over 400,000 through natural increase . . . and their number is being increased by an additional 30,000 to 40,000 births each year." "The Arab Refugees—A Changing Problem," *Foreign Affairs*, April, 1963.
- ⁴⁵ Resolution 302 (IV) of 8 December 1949 established the United Nations Relief Works Agency (UNRWA); mandate extended through June 30, 1952 by Resolution 393 (V) of 2 December 1950; extended through June 30, 1955 by Resolution 513 (VI) of 26 January 1952; through June 30, 1960 by Resolution 818 (IX) of 4 December 1954; through June 30, 1963 by Resolution 1456 (XIV) of 9 December 1959; through 30 June 1965 by Resolution 1856 (XVII) of 20 December 1962.
- ⁴⁶ John H. Davis, *Report of the Commissioner General of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East* (July 1, 1962 to June 30, 1963); General Assembly Official Records: Eighteenth Session Supplement No. 13 (A/5513) (New York, United Nations, 1963).
- ⁴⁷ The 1962 Report to the General Assembly of Dr. John H. Davis, Commissioner General of UNRWA, set 1,174,700 as the number of refugees living in Arab lands, an increase of 23,736 over the previous figure.
- ⁴⁸ The Soviet Union has refused to make any contribution to the work of UNRWA.
- ⁴⁹ *Christian Science Monitor*, Jan. 28, 1963.
- ⁵⁰ See Erskine Childers, "The Other Exodus," *The Spectator*, May 12, 1961.
- ⁵¹ See *What Price Israel?*, p. 20-48.
- ⁵² "The Frontier Villages," *Middle East Forum*, December, 1961.
- ⁵³ Childers, *op. cit.*
- ⁵⁴ Arthur Koestler, *Promise and Fulfillment: Palestine 1917-49* (London, Macmillan, 1949).
- ⁵⁵ *Our Jerusalem: An American Family in the Holy City* (1881-1949) (New York, Doubleday & Co., 1950). The more controversial portions of the manuscript submitted by Mrs. Vester were deleted by the publisher.
- ⁵⁶ Menachem Begin, *The Revolt, the Story of the Irgun* (New York, Henry Schuman, 1951), pp. 162-3.
- ⁵⁷ *Middle East Digest* (New York, American Friends of the Middle East) Nov. 1957.

- ⁵⁸ James G. McDonald, *My Mission to Israel* (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1951), p. 176.
- ⁵⁹ Fred V. Winnett, "Why the West Should Stop Supporting Israel," *Maclean's Magazine*, Jan. 18, 1958.
- ⁶⁰ *Jewish Newsletter*, Feb. 9, 1959.
- ⁶¹ Resolution No. 194 (III) of Dec. 11, 1948. Paragraph 11 provides for repatriation or resettlement and compensation.
- ⁶² A. Granolt, *Land System in Palestine* (London, 1953) p. 278.
- ⁶³ Study by Don Peretz, *Foreign Affairs Quarterly*, Oct. 1954.
- ⁶⁴ Brooklyn, *Caravan*, Aug. 24, 1961.
- ⁶⁵ 2 (c) of General Assembly Resolution 394 (V) of Dec. 14, 1950.
- ⁶⁶ The Palestine Conciliation Commission placed the value of all Arab properties at 120 million pounds, but Arab experts have used a figure as high as 2 billion pounds sterling. For a studied analysis of the whole subject of Palestinian Arab land and other property holdings see Dr. Sami Hadawi, *Palestine, Loss of a Heritage* (San Antonio, Texas, Naylor, 1963).
- ⁶⁷ *Ner*, Sept.-Oct. 1961. See also "Voice for Peace from Israel," *Jewish Newsletter*, December, 1961.
- ⁶⁸ *Ner*, Sept.-Oct., 1961.
- ⁶⁹ Dr. Shimeon Shereshevsky, *Ner*, May-June 1961.
- ⁷⁰ General Assembly Official Records: Twelfth Session, Supplement No. 14 (A/3686 and Corr. 1).
- ⁷¹ Davis, *op. cit.*
- ⁷² *Jewish Newsletter*, Dec. 7, 1958.
- ⁷³ Senate Study Report, p. 1307.
- ⁷⁴ Amos IX, 7.
- ⁷⁵ *The New York Times*, May 13, 1962.
- ⁷⁶ *Jewish Newsletter*, February 9, 1959.
- ⁷⁷ *Ner*, Summer issue, 1955.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

- ¹ This includes Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen. Libya, Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria, for purposes of this book, are considered part of North Africa rather than the Middle East.
- ² Central Treaty Organization in which Great Britain, Iran, Pakistan and Turkey are members. The U.S. belongs to three of its committees.
- ³ Nadim Dimeshkie, former Lebanese Ambassador to the U.S. and Director of Economic Affairs in Lebanon's Foreign Ministry, writing in *Middle East Forum* (Beirut, American University) Dec., 1963.
- ⁴ See analysis by the former Chief of Staff of UNTSO, Lt. General E. L. M. Burns in *Between Arab and Israeli* (New York, Obolensky, 1963).

- ⁵ The Commission, consisting of Dr. Henry G. King, President of Oberlin College and Charles R. Crane, Chicago industrialist, was sent by President Wilson in 1919 to Palestine and other places in the Middle East to survey conditions in the former Ottoman Empire. Their report was withheld until Dec., 1922, when made available by *Editor & Publisher* and *The New York Times*. See Dr. Harry N. Howard, *The King-Crane Commission* (Beirut, Khayat's, 1963).
- ⁶ *Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Armed Services*, United States Senate, 85th Congress 1st Session on S. J. Res. 19 and H. J. Res. 117; Part II, Feb. 5, 6, 7, 8, and 11, 1957, p. 684, quoting Ambassador Joseph C. Green.
- ⁷ The Egyptians hoped to add some 775,000 acres to the country's productive soil through the Aswan Dam and the resultant lake. On a 1963 visit to the U.A.R., Richard Nixon hailed the Aswan Dam as "one of the wonders of the modern world" and hinted "that, in retrospect, the Eisenhower Administration might have made a mistake in withholding aid for the project in 1956." *The New York Times*, June 24, 1963.
- ⁸ From address by Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges before the American-Arab Association for Commerce and Industry, New York City, June 25, 1963.
- ⁹ *The New York Times*, June 17, 1962. Also see Barbara Ward, *The Rich Nations and the Poor Nations*. (New York, W. W. Norton, 1962).
- ¹⁰ *New York Herald Tribune*, May 10, 1964.
- ¹¹ In a speech before the General Assembly of the United Nations, U.A.R. Foreign Minister Dr. Mahmoud Fawzi stated: "Too little attention has been paid to the fact that what world political Zionism did and is doing to Palestine and its Arab people is distinctly the worst expression of colonialism which history and our present generation have ever known. The usual procedure by colonialists has been to get hold of the reins of power in some other countries, while the local people remain there, and to invariably state and repeat that the intention is to prepare them for independence, for home rule or self-government, as it was alternatively said. Through struggle and sacrifices, or through a residue of good will and foresight, independence would be actually attained in due course. . . . But in the case of Palestine we are facing an invasion which has entrenched itself in the country, declares it to be its own, and which has deracinated and supplanted the lawful Arab people and replaced them in a flow, that still continues, of imported and motley segments of misled Jewry, while claiming loudly that there is no room for the return of the Arabs to their homes. Moreover, Israel which lives on outside charity and almsgiving extends so-called financial and eco-

conomic aid to numerous countries in Asia and Africa as a bait and a spiderweb. This, in its turn, is contradictory. But it falls, nevertheless, into the same pattern of political Zionist action, which has set Israel as a spearhead of colonialism in its ugliest and most ferocious form." A/PV1139 of 2 October, 1962, 17th Session General Assembly of the United Nations.

¹² For a 38-page account of the Lavon affair and Cairo spy trial, see Howard M. Sachar, *From the Ends of the Earth: The Peoples of Israel* (New York, World, 1964).

¹³ For further details of the plot see the *Manchester Guardian*, Dec. 8, 1960; *Jewish Chronicle*, (London Jan. 20, 1961); *Time*, Jan. 6, 1961. At this late date *Time* still was not aware of the facts regarding the attempted act of sabotage.

¹⁴ I recall these events very well for I had been in Cairo at the time for the second Anniversary of the Egyptian Revolution and had been permitted to interview some of the arrested conspirators in their Alexandria cells. When I returned to the U.S. and, on the basis of these talks with the accused Egyptians, indicated at a press conference my conviction of their guilt, not a line of this story appeared anywhere in print. That was considered the Cairo propaganda line.

¹⁵ *The New York Times*, Dec. 1, 1960.

¹⁶ *Jewish Newsletter*, Feb. 20 and March 6, 1961. The 1962 *American Jewish Yearbook* still talked of an "Israeli security operation of an undisclosed nature." p. 401.

¹⁷ "Asylum for Jews" was the verbiage employed in the original draft.

¹⁸ *New York Daily News*, March 31, 1961.

¹⁹ C. L. Sulzberger, *The New York Times*, March 29, 1961.

²⁰ *Ibid.* In its publicly released memorandum, *Invasion of Jewish Rights on the Part of Arab League Nations* (American Jewish Committee, July, 1961), the Saudi Arabian refusal to renew the lease for the Dhahran Air Field was mentioned, but the reason for this Arab change of position was omitted.

²¹ At the long-delayed trial in the wake of this abortive Dec. 31, 1961, putsch, the death sentence, was asked for 300 persons accused of conspiring against the independence of Lebanon.

²² *New York World-Telegram and The Sun*, May 1, 1963.

²³ *The New York Times*, July 12, 1963. The Soviet Union had accused Iraq of waging "genocide against the Kurdish rebels" and warned the governments of Iran, Syria, and Turkey that their "interference" in northern Iraq constituted a "definite danger to the cause of peace" in the Middle East. *The New York Times*, July 10, 1963.

²⁴ *The New York Times*, May 7, 1963.

²⁵ *The New York Times*, May 8, 1963.

- ²⁶ The Nasser position was set forth in an article in *Rose el-Youssef*, the Cairo weekly and led to wide criticism on the part of less responsible Arab firebrands.
- ²⁷ Unity Day, Feb. 22, marks the anniversary of the 1958 Union of Syria and Egypt.
- ²⁸ *The New York Times*, Feb. 24, 1964.
- ²⁹ The correspondent, H. A. R. Philby, was the son of the late H. St. John Philby, the author of many books on Saudi Arabia and the Arab world. A convert to Islam, Sheikh Abdullah (the name by which this English-born author and traveler was more familiarly known) was an adviser to King Saud Ibn Abdul Aziz, as he had been to that monarch's father and took up residency in Riyadh. He died in October, 1960. Young Philby broke into world headlines with his disappearance in early 1963 from his home in Beirut and his appearance as a defector in the Soviet Union, linked to the earlier British defectors, Burgess and McLean.
- ³⁰ *The Scotsman*, April 26, 1961.
- ³¹ Kamel Mrowa, publisher, in the *Beirut Daily Star*, June 10, 1961.
- ³² During the July 1962 and 1963 anniversaries of his Revolution, President Nasser displayed "Egyptian made rockets" capable of reaching Israeli sites, an accomplishment made possible through German and Soviet assistance. The July 23 parades also featured Soviet tanks, planes and other military equipment. Undoubtedly, the 1962 Arab Republic rocket launchings provided the Israeli government with a reason to renew its appeals for guided defense missiles, although the Egyptian rockets admittedly lacked military value at the time. (UPI story of July 22, dateline Jerusalem). Britain had rejected an earlier Israeli request for defense missiles, but the U.S. agreed to make the military grant to the Israelis the following September.
- ³³ State Department aide Lincoln White issued a statement containing assurances of the U.S. Government that Israel's atomic purposes were peaceful.
- ³⁴ *Beirut Daily Star*, July 19, 1961.
- ³⁵ Feb. 28, 1955. The final Egyptian death toll of 40 persons included bedridden patients at the Gaza Hospital.
- ³⁶ CBS, *At the Source*, Aug. 24, 1961. During this interview, President Nasser indicated the extent to which his thinking on the Palestine question dominates his foreign policy attitudes. The U.A.R. leader expressed sympathy for a unification of East and West Germany because "we are against partition. We are for unity because we suffered from partition according to the Palestine problem." In response to a question from Eric Sevareid as to whether he felt truly neutral, Nasser admitted that he could not "escape being bitter" about the U.S. "not being fair when they deal with us and take the side of Israel and neglect all our requests. But this does not at all affect our policy of non-alignment."

It was on this CBS program that Nasser explained his fear of Israel. He noted the recent Israeli political debate in which "the parties blamed each other because they have not explored the western bank of the Jordan or Gaza sector or occupied part of Syria . . . I can expect an attack from Israel any day now, tomorrow or after tomorrow. They are building their armed forces, receiving aid from the West. They are mainly receiving arms from France." When Deputy Undersecretary of State U. Alexis Johnson declared at a 1964 Washington luncheon of the Citizens' Committee on American Policy in the Middle East that the U.S. pursued a policy of neutrality in the area, Cairo and other Arab centers disputed his claim hotly. *The New York Times*, Jan. 23 and 24, 1964. For more on the Arab attitude see articles of Max Friedman, Chicago *Daily News* correspondent, discussed in *Brief*, April, 1963.

³⁷ Burns, *Between Arab and Israeli*, p. 292.

³⁸ *New York Herald Tribune*, May 10, 1964.

³⁹ The countries represented by their head of state or government were: Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Lebanon, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Yemen and Yugoslavia.

⁴⁰ Letter dated Sept. 13, 1961.

⁴¹ The *Jewish Observer and Middle East Review* admitted the continued difficulties Israel was encountering in the Asian-African world. Jan. 13, 1961. At the Cairo Conference of 47 nonaligned nations in Oct. 1964, unanimous support was given to a resolution calling for support of the Arab position on Palestine. Early objections by pro-French African nations were withdrawn.

⁴² *The New York Times*, Sept. 5, 1961. The moderate views expressed by the Congolese Vice President, Antoine Gizenga, who was close to the Egyptian leader, were credited to Nasser.

⁴³ Sept. 17, 1962.

⁴⁴ *Congressional Record*, Aug. 10, 1957, p. 13393. Senator Fulbright's analysis is sustained by Ambassador Dimeshkie in his article in *Middle East Forum*, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁵ In 1962 Ambassador Byroade returned to Washington to take a position with the State Department's Committee on Disarmament. He had started his career as an aide to General Marshall and was assigned now to this military problem. In mid-1963 Byroade was sent as Ambassador to Burma.

⁴⁶ It became customary during any meeting or interview with this Assistant Secretary that the officer on the Israeli desk would be instructed to sit in and would take full notes. A deadly fear of the Arab-Israeli conflict prevailed in the State Department, and they were making certain that they could not be misquoted. No small part of this supercaution was motivated by the concern that

there be no Congressional obstructions at budget time when the Department sought its annual funds on the Hill.

⁴⁷ *Encyclopedia Britannica Book of the Year*, 1959.

CHAPTER TWELVE

¹ In his speech on May 15, 1962 dedicating the John Foster Dulles Library at Princeton University, President Eisenhower referred to the late Secretary's concern that "pressure groups in this country were making it difficult for the government's elective representatives and the executives to carry out their proper missions. He believed that there was too much division, too much divisive influence coming about because of the special interests of these people who had found that by appealing to Congress they could get this or that or the other thing, none of which was particularly of value to the nation as a whole." *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* (Princeton University, Summer 1962) p. 156.

² See J. W. V. Temperley, *History of the Peace Conference*, Vol. IV, p. 170, where it is pointed out that the rationale for the British Government's issuance of the Balfour Declaration rested on more practical grounds than a mere belief in the justice of "Jewish rights" and sought a protective base for the Suez Canal in the nearby territory of Palestine. Another British motive in granting Zionist leaders a national home in the Holy Land was to separate Palestine from Syria, which under the Sykes-Picot Agreement had been promised to the French. This access to the Mediterranean assured the British of a natural outlet for Iraqi oil.

³ A. Fenner Brockway, Labour Member of Parliament, has noted that "civil rights is a comprehensive term, which cannot exclude political rights." *Issues*, Fall, 1961. George Bernard Shaw's reaction to the Balfour Declaration was acute: "Another Ulster. As if one were not enough."

⁴ Zionist groups meeting at New York's Hotel Biltmore on May 11, 1942, issued a call for the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine.

⁵ Secretary Forrestal's struggles are detailed both in *The Forrestal Diaries* and in the recent study by Professor Rogow who notes why Forrestal's persistence was so irritating to President Truman and some of his closet advisers: "While it was legitimate to oppose a policy and seek to change it within the administration, it was much less legitimate in their view to lobby actively against policy in Congress and elsewhere. Unlike other critics of successive Palestine policy development, Forrestal sought to bring pressure to bear on the Administration from circles outside it, circles in certain cases opposed in general to the Truman program." Rogow, *James Forrestal*, p. 186.

⁶ The personal attitude of President Roosevelt against Zionist statehood, never clearly publicly expressed, earned for him posthum-

ously the epithet of anti-Semite at the hands of Ben Hecht in his autobiography, *Child of the Century* (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1954).

⁷ Cordell Hull, *Memoirs* (2 vols., New York, Macmillan, 1948), Vol. II, p. 1532.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ William F. Eddy, *FDR Meets Ibn Saud* (New York, American Friends of the Middle East, 1954), p. 35. The late Colonel Eddy served as official interpreter at the meeting.

¹⁰ Now 43 (1964), previously 45 votes.

¹¹ For an evaluation of the services rendered to Zionism by Congressman Sol Bloom, see the *National Jewish Ledger*, March 10, 1944, as quoted in Stevens, *American Zionism and U.S. Foreign Policy 1942-1947* p. 42.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 51, and footnotes 29 and 30 as to the preciseness of the wording with which Congressman Bloom insisted that the War Department couch its judgment that consideration of the pending House resolutions would be prejudicial to the successful prosecution of the war. Stevens notes the pencilled revisions by Congressman Bloom painstakingly calculated to save his own position with the Zionists.

¹³ *An Outline of Activities* (American Zionist Emergency Council), pp. 4-5. Quoted in full in Stevens, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-5.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *The American Zionist*, Feb. 5, 1953.

¹⁶ *Foreign Relations of the United States—Diplomatic Papers, 1943—*Vol. IV, "The Near East and Africa" (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 1964), pp. 811-814. The Israeli Embassy in Washington denied that Dr. Weizmann had attempted to bribe King Ibn Saud and counter-charged that, in fact, the Saudi monarch's representative, St. John Philby, had made such an attempt to influence the Zionist chieftain. *The New York Times*, May 19, 1964.

¹⁷ *The American Zionist*, Feb. 5, 1953.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Harry S. Truman, *Memoirs* (New York, Doubleday, 1958), Vol. I, *Years of Decisions*, pp. 68-9.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Herbert Morrison, one of the leaders of the British Labor Party and Henry L. Grady, career State Department diplomat.

²² Truman, *Memoirs*, Vol. II, *Years of Trial and Hope: 1946-1952* (New York, Doubleday, 1958), p. 152.

²³ On the contrary, the implementation of the right of self-determination would have precluded any Zionist takeover in Palestine. Apparently, Mr. Truman was deeply ignorant of the population composition of the Holy Land. At the time of the Balfour Declaration, the Jewish population was less than 9%, and never at any

time before the partition of the mandated territory exceeded 40%.

²⁴ Where Foreign Minister Bevin had insisted that the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry should extend its study to include places other than Palestine as potential settlement areas for European Jews, Truman completely rejected this point of view, lest, as he contended, "the inquiry result in drawing things out interminably." *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 142.

²⁵ Truman, *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 158.

²⁶ For full details see *What Price Israel?*, pp. 48-73.

²⁷ Frances Williams (London, Windmill Press, 1961).

²⁸ Truman, *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 164.

²⁹ Mr. Truman, in his autobiography, justified this timing on the grounds that Presidents had always issued statements on this holiday. *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 154.

³⁰ A report of the National Security Council at the time warned that the Palestine turmoil in the wake of the partition decision was acutely endangering U.S. security.

³¹ Truman, *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 130.

³² William A. Eddy, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

³³ For Dr. Toynbee's view on this subject, see *A Study of History* (London, Oxford University Press, 1954) Vol. VIII.

³⁴ *U.S. Foreign Policy: Compilation of Studies*, pp. 1308-9.
9, 1960, pp. 1308-9.

³⁵ McDonald, *My Mission to Israel*, p. 184.
Schuster, 1951), p. 184.

³⁶ Titled, influential Jewish Zionists in Britain have been successful, for example, in arranging a joint benefit for the Jewish National Fund and for the pet charity of Prince Philip, the Royal Consort.

³⁷ For the political storm created in a by-election, in which 7,000 votes in Whitechapel plagued the Labor Party following the introduction of the 1939 Passfield White Paper limiting Jewish immigration into Palestine, see Allan Bullock, *The Life and Times of Ernest Bevin* (London, Heinemann, 1960), Vol. I., pp. 455-6.

³⁸ H. C. Hansard, *Debates*, Fifth Series, Vol. 347, Col. 1967.

³⁹ Wynn, *Nasser of Egypt*, pp. 129-30.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *The Times* (London), November 11, 1955.

⁴² *The Times* (London), November 12, 1955.

⁴³ See *There Goes the Middle East*, p. 139.

⁴⁴ *U.S. Foreign Policy: Compilation of Studies*, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁵ Ionides, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-2.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN
CHAPTER THIRTEEN

- ¹ *Chicago Daily News*, May 5, 1960.
- ² *Congressional Record*, 86th Congress, Second Session, April 25th and 29, 1960.
- ³ In fact, even when the steel strike virtually threatened disaster to the nation's economy, the President found it most difficult to take appropriate action.
- ⁴ *Congressional Record*, 86th Congress, Second Session, April 29, 1960.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸ As reported by Russell Baker, *The New York Times*, April 30, 1960.
- ⁹ The Fulbright proposal, adding the stipulation that the President should not withhold aid when to do so would constitute "partiality by the U.S." in a controversy between two parties, was tabled by a 45 to 39 vote.
- ¹⁰ This same point was made on May 3, 1960 by *The New York Times* correspondent Arthur Krock. The Dillon figure (23 ships) differs from the Weller figure (14 ships) because some of these ships had been removed from the blacklist.
- ¹¹ *Congressional Record*, 86th Congress, Second Session, May 2, 1960.
- ¹² *The New York Times*, May 3, 1960. See also *Times* editorial, May 5, 1960.
- ¹³ The report in the English press of this conference by the *London Times* and the *Guardian* completely ignored the portion dealing with Palestine. Shortage of space can scarcely be an explanation for a conspicuous omission since the *Times* devoted more than two and one-half columns to its diplomatic correspondent's account of the press conference held at the Tunisian Embassy in London, May 18, 1961. Every issue that had been raised by the Tunisian President was mentioned, in detail, except the Palestine question. For full text, see *Republic of Iraq Bulletin*. (London, Embassy of Republic of Iraq, June, 1961.)
- ¹⁴ Raymond Moley, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, June 3, 1961.
- ¹⁵ Press release issued in the name of the four Senators by the office of Pennsylvania Senator Hugh Scott for publication Monday, Nov. 7, 1960.
- ¹⁶ When one of his constituents in a letter congratulating Senator Clifford P. Case (N.J.) on his re-election took issue with the Senator's charge (that the U.A.R. violated UN decisions) by citing the five instances in which the Security Council had censured Israel for its violations of UN decisions, Senator Case, responded "You are perfectly correct that there have been violations of the United Nations directives on both sides. The present question

is simply whether our country should support the candidacy of U.A.R., in the light of its present conduct, not the question of whether some other state may be similarly in violation of the United Nations resolutions." (Letter to J. Monroe Hawkins dated Nov. 14, 1960.)

¹⁷ As noted in a letter from the President of the American Jewish Committee to *The New York Times* of July 17, 1962, the research staff of the Committee has in studies of general voting behavior concluded that Jewish voters do not support Jewish candidates, but came to no conclusion regarding the factor of Zionism and Israel. Lawrence H. Fuchs, *The Political Behaviour of American Jews* (Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, 1956).

¹⁸ In the special N.Y. Senatorial election of 1949, John Foster Dulles as Republican candidate faced a similar whispering campaign. But he refused to oppose publicly the internationalization of Jerusalem, the best means of whitewashing himself according to his Jewish Republican advisers. The late Secretary of State rarely in his lifetime bowed to pressure. His decisions on the Aswan Dam and other anti-Nasser moves stemmed from quite different and personal motivations.

¹⁹ Throughout the campaign it was Ambassador Lodge who carried the burden for the Republicans on Middle East issues.

²⁰ This determination to recoup lost prestige with supporters of Israel was apparent earlier in the strong role played by Ambassador Lodge in watering down Argentina's Security Council case against Israel for the kidnapping of Nazi exterminator, Adolf Eichmann. This had pleased Zionist sympathizers.

²¹ September 9, 1960.

²² *Jewish Newsletter*, Nov. 28, 1960.

²³ *The New York Times*, August 26, 1960.

²⁴ In a letter of September 1, 1960, to Senator Kennedy, I had challenged the legitimacy of his placing the label of aggression on the Arabs: "Which State has been five times sanctioned by the Security Council of the United Nations for aggression? Which State sent her arms across Sinai in what the United Nations declared was a clear aggression and almost precipitated World War III before international sanctions restored order? Which State occupies 32% more territory than was allotted her under the United Nations Palestine Partition Plan which created the State?"

²⁵ In response to my lengthy, critical letter, I received the following answer from Senator J. F. Kennedy dated September 30, 1960: "Dear Alfred: I appreciated having the benefit of your comments upon my talk to the Liberal Party and the Zionist Organization. I wholly agree that American partisanship in the Arab-Israel conflict is dangerous to both the United States and the Free World. My program merely calls for using the power of the President to bring the parties themselves to an agreement.

"For too long a time, this dispute has been a bitter cause of friction between the Arab nations and Israel. I would hope that both would be friends of the United States.

"Your sobering analysis of my speeches is provocative of additional thought." (signed) John.

²⁶ *What Price Israel?*, p. 105.

²⁷ Studies on United States foreign policy were prepared under the direction of the Committee on Foreign Relations and the compilation of these studies was authorized by S. Res. 336, 85th Congress and S. Res. 31 and S. Res. 250, 86th Congress.

²⁸ W. S. Bennet and H. L. Selden.

²⁹ Lester Cohen, Dr. Fowler Harper and John Smertenko.

³⁰ Peter Bergson. Angier Biddle Duke, chief of the State Department's protocol division under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson was the Institute's angel.

³¹ John F. Kennedy, *Profiles in Courage* (New York, Harper Bros., 1956).

³² When Congressman F. D. Roosevelt, Jr., refused to go along with the move to take the Middle East out of politics because this might lose votes, Secretary Forrestal admonished him and expressed the fear that might we not "lose the U.S." *Forrestal Diaries*, p. 364.

³³ "The Israeli Government and most American Jewish groups were relieved that the appointment as Secretary of State had not gone to Senator J. W. Fulbright whose public statements had been sympathetic to Arabs and critical of pro-Israeli Jews." *American Jewish Yearbook*, 1962, p. 273.

³⁴ Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois further endeared himself to the Israelist movement by initiating the designation of Mr. Klutznick to this important post.

³⁵ Klutznick had served as International President of the B'nai B'rith for six years and was elected as Honorary President of the organization for life.

³⁶ In his book *No Easy Answers* (New York, Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1961) Mr. Klutznick reveals the role he played in bringing together the original 16 presidents as well as the subsequent enlargement and development of the Presidents' Conference.

³⁷ The Presidents' Conference has been frequently used in pressuring Congress on behalf of Israel. Although 6 of the 19 participating organizations were chartered for religious or fraternal purposes, their leaders did not hesitate to represent Jewish Americans on such foreign policy issues as the sale of arms to Israel, withholding arms from the Arabs, security pact between the U.S. and Israel, barring of the U.A.R. from a seat in the Security Council, etc. Since Dec. 29, 1953, this lobby combining Zionist and non-Zionist groups had engaged in a continuous, carefully planned campaign. Half of the Conference's budget was subsidized by the Jewish

Agency through tax-free U.J.A. funds. *Activities of Non-Diplomatic Reps.*, p. 1757.

- ³⁸ *Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations*, U.S. Senate, 87th Congress, 1st session, January 31, 1961 (Washington, U.S. Gov't Printing Office, 1961), p. 55.
- ³⁹ The unofficial Administration retort to criticism of the Klutznick appointment was that it was balanced by the designation of Francis T. P. Plimpton as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations under Adlai Stevenson. Mr. Plimpton's alleged pro-Arab ties consisted of visiting Beirut and the Arab World while his brother, a prominent doctor, was associated with the Medical School of the American University at Beirut.
- ⁴⁰ *Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations*, U.S. Senate, 87th Congress, 1st session, p. 48.
- ⁴¹ In accepting the chairmanship of the U.J.A., described as the biggest fund-raising job in the world, Klutznick declared, "Whatever we are engaged in is justice, not charity." *New York Journal American*, Dec. 12, 1960. When Klutznick later resigned from the U. S. Delegation, he already had been under criticism from Zionists for not having disassociated himself from the Delegation's censure of Israel over the Galilee incident in 1962.
- ⁴² *Jewish Floridian* (Miami Beach), June 26, 1959. Leo Mindlin, editor.
- ⁴³ *Hearings before Committee on Foreign Relations*, p. 57.
- ⁴⁴ In a rehearsal one month before the Independence Day parade, the military equipment was paraded in Jerusalem, and Israel was then condemned by the Israel-Jordan Mixed Armistice Commission. *The New York Times*, March 21, 1961.
- ⁴⁵ *Jewish Chronicle* (London) April 28, 1961.
- ⁴⁶ King Hussein's ten-page reply, according to a brief June 22 Reuters dispatch from Amman, emphasized the determination of Jordan not to give up her rights in Palestine and was described by American sources as "not being very helpful." President Nasser referred to the Kennedy letter in a CBS interview, *At the Source*, (August 24, 1961) without divulging what his reply had been. Premier Kassem of Iraq opposed sending any reply on the grounds that this would indicate an acceptance of the principle of negotiating over Palestinian rights.
- ⁴⁷ Dana Adams Schmidt has often sent up trial balloons, from Washington or from the Middle East, testing ideas of his own, usually credited to diplomatic sources and often of Israeli origin or purpose. In this case, perhaps the mere mention of the possibility of a Nasser visit was enough to bring forces in motion which immediately killed any prospect of such a visit. London's pro-Zionist *Jewish Observer* and *Middle East Review* similarly speculated. Foreign relations were being conducted by edict of the press. Five weeks later, however, events themselves doomed the possibilities

of a visit. Syria broke free from the United Arab Republic on September 29, 1961, and President Nasser faced new troubles.

⁴⁸ *The New York Times*, June 5, 1961.

⁴⁹ Resolution 194 (III), December 11, 1948.

⁵⁰ *The New York Times*, February 26, 1961.

⁵¹ *New York Herald Tribune*, Dec. 9, 1959.

⁵² *The New York Times* headline to this September 3, 1961, story, "Rockefeller Urges President to Press Aid to Arab Refugees," conveyed an incorrect impression of Rockefeller's concern for the Arab refugees rather than his preoccupation with winning a peace for Israel.

⁵³ *The New York Times*, February 19, 1962.

⁵⁴ On April 8, 1962. In this address the Junior N.Y. Senator asked for U.S. pressure to force discussions outside the United Nations. He criticized "the vain reasoning that we must try to match the Russians in attacks on Israel and support for Arab aspirations or else the entire Arab world may turn Communist or become a Russian pawn."

⁵⁵ April 13, 1962.

⁵⁶ Just before leaving his post as U.S. Ambassador in Israel, Mr. Reid presented a check for a million Israel pounds "as his farewell gift." *New York World-Telegram and The Sun*, January 19, 1962.

⁵⁷ *The New York Times*, May 5, 1963; *New York Herald Tribune*, May 5, 1963. In an obvious anti-Tammany swipe the Republican-minded *Tribune* played up this story on page one: "Tammany, Fulbright and the Jewish Vote."

⁵⁸ *There Goes the Middle East*, p. 91-2.

⁵⁹ See *The New York Times*, September 1, 2, 3 and 4, 1961 for stories on the exchange of charges between the Wagner and Levitt camps.

⁶⁰ *The New York Times*, Sept. 1, 1961.

⁶¹ When King Saud came to the U.S. in 1957 as a guest of President Eisenhower, Mayor Wagner intemperately kicked off the Mayoralty campaign by publicly attacking the Saudi monarch and refusing to greet him in New York City. The Mayor's father, the late Senator, had been one of the Congressional leaders who during the partition struggle sent the telegram threatening the Philippines with legislative reprisals if that country failed to support the Zionist position. See *What Price Israel*, p. 66.

⁶² *New York Post*, May 11, 1964.

⁶³ *The New York Times*, May 12, 1964.

⁶⁴ Address in Philadelphia, May 10, 1915, *Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, Volume II, Part I. (New York, Harper Bros., 1925-27).

⁶⁵ *The New York Times*, February 14, 1962.

⁶⁶ The choice of this word to cover other Arab nations indicated the kind of press agency in which Edward Kennedy was indulging.

⁶⁷ A declaration calling for Arab-Israeli peace was presented on the

floor of the House on May 9, 1962, and was reproduced in a paid advertisement in *The New York Times*, May 28, 1962.

⁶⁸ September 27, 1962.

⁶⁹ *The New York Times*, September 23, 1963. The following day a *Times* dispatch from Tel Aviv reported that the U.S. was "expected to make an effort soon" to restore "the balance of power" in the Middle East.

⁷⁰ See Chester Bowles, *The New Dimensions of Peace* (New York, Harper Bros., 1954) and the analysis thereof in *There Goes The Middle East*, page 208.

⁷¹ See Morroe Berger, *The Arab World Today* (New York, Doubleday, 1962). "Lack of knowledge about the Arabs," observes Dr. Berger, "is equalled by lack of sympathy for them. People who melt at the plight of Asians and Africans are unaffected by that of Arabs and Moslems."

⁷² See Ionides, *op cit.*, pp. 249-50.

⁷³ *U.S. Foreign Policy: Compilation of Studies*.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1312.

⁷⁵ The Study's own reference to an "Anglo-American position in the Middle East," in fact was bound to prejudice any claim of disinterest in the minds of those who could so rapidly recall the devious game long played by the British in the area.

⁷⁶ *U.S. Foreign Policy: Compilation of Studies*, p. 1317.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1323. The 1960 policy rapporteurs for the Senate had cushioned themselves with the philosophical solace that the "problem of the Middle East has been there for some time, that the rivalry between Egypt and Mesopotamia is far older than Western civilization and that the struggle for Palestine is ageless."

⁷⁸ *New York Post*, April 5, 1962.

⁷⁹ Prominently participating in the onslaught against the State Department's policy in addition to Senators Javits and Keating were Senators Clifford P. Case (N.J.), Leverett Saltonstall (Mass.), Hugh Scott (Pa.), John Sherman Cooper (Ky.)—Republicans; Ernest Gruening (Alaska), Wayne Morse (Oregon)—Democrats. Many of these Senators had been associated in the equally bitter Anti-U.A.R. attack of a previous Congress when Nasser's government was opposed as the choice to fill a vacancy on the Security Council of the United Nations.

⁸⁰ *New York Herald Tribune*, May 22, 1963.

⁸¹ Ionides, *op. cit.*

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁸⁵ *U.S. Foreign Policy: Compilation of Studies*, p. 1323.

⁸⁶ These articles appeared in May and June, 1958, in the Tucson (Arizona) *Daily Star*, Chicago *Daily News*, Nashville *Banner* and the Bloomington, (Ill.) *Pantagraph*.

- ⁸⁷ According to John Marshall, a passion for France and the corresponding hatred of England was deemed the test of patriotism after the War of Independence. This motivated the Farewell Address and Washington's warning that "a nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave." Former State Department officer, Louis J. Halle, in *The New York Times Magazine* of April 5, 1964 noted "that no President since Washington has had the personal prestige to defy the public opinion of the day on foreign policy."
- ⁸⁸ *Congressional Record*, Dec. 23, 1963, p. 7818.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁰ *Congressional Record*, Dec. 20, 1963, p. A 7780 for insertion in Record by Congressman Leonard Farbstein, lauding role of Myer Feldman.
- ⁹¹ See *What Price Israel?*, pp. 70, 83 and 93-95 for role played by David K. Niles.
- ⁹² *Congressional Record*, p. A 7781. In fulfillment of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency's prediction, the White House on April 4, 1964, announced the elevation of Myer Feldman to the post of special counsel to the President, succeeding Theodore Sorensen.
- ⁹³ *The New York Times*, Feb. 7, 1964.
- ⁹⁴ Ionides, *op. cit.*, p. 251.
- ⁹⁵ *The New York Times*, March 26, 1964.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

- ¹ Talk of the President of the U.S. to the Nation, Oct. 22, 1962 as reprinted in *The New York Times*, Oct. 23, 1962.
- ² Before both the 1955 Gaza and the 1956 Sinai attacks, the Israelis had launched highly-publicized peace offensives.
- ³ Gertrude Elias, *The Spectator*, Aug. 12, 1960.
- ⁴ *Ner*, May-June 1961. Dr. Magnes had said: "Peace can come only if Israel and Ishmael can feel they are brothers."
- ⁵ Arnold J. Toynbee, "The West and the Arabs," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Yearbook 1959.
- ⁶ *What Price Israel?*, pp. 193-7.
- ⁷ By 1954 already according to the *Jewish Newsletter*, Israeli correspondents of the American-Jewish press set the figure at 10,000.
- ⁸ A tentative suggestion of special entrance quotas is as follows:
- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------|-------------|--------|
| United States | 250,000 | Mexico | 35,000 |
| Brazil, Argentina and other | | New Zealand | 25,000 |
| South American countries | 200,000 | France | 25,000 |
| United Kingdom | 85,000 | Benelux | 25,000 |
| Canada | 60,000 | Italy | 20,000 |
| Australia | 60,000 | Scandinavia | 15,000 |
| Arab States | 45,000 | Greece | 5,000 |
- ⁹ From *Les Temps Modernes*, *op. cit.*

- ¹⁰ *Time Magazine*, Sept. 7, 1962.
- ¹¹ As Ahmed Shukairy, Palestinian leader expressed it, "Whoever thought that a Muslim was prepared to ask the Pope to appoint the first Governor of Jerusalem?"
- ¹² In a speech before the UN in 1958, Ambassador Shukairy, himself a Palestine refugee, called for the repatriation of Jews in Israel under UN auspices.
- ¹³ Speech of Secretary John Foster Dulles before the Council on Foreign Relations, August 26, 1955.
- ¹⁴ Peretz, *Foreign Affairs*, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁵ In his Washington talk to the Citizens Committee on American Policy in the Middle East, January, 1964, Under Secretary U. Alexis Johnson expressed the need for such an "accommodation," without pointing out how it was to be accomplished.
- ¹⁶ Parliamentarian Fenner Brockway has written: "Exclusiveness is no longer a virtue. The final test for Israel will not be its pride in becoming a national home for Jews, but in becoming a co-operative and creative part, first of the nations of the Middle East, then of Asia and Africa, and finally of the world." *Issues*, *loc. cit.*
- ¹⁷ H. G. Wells, *Outline of History* (New York, Doubleday & Co., 1956).
- ¹⁸ A Hellenistic state on the Tigris River. "In Paul's time," notes Toynbee, "every synagogue had its fringe of full proselytes and of semi-proselyte God-revering adherents."
- ¹⁹ The Kurds with their 3½ to 11 million people scattered throughout Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Russia and Syria in a contiguous area, which could be carved out for them with little displacement, have not been accorded as yet the right to establish a state.
- ²⁰ *Jewish Newsletter*, Nov. 28, 1960.
- ²¹ *The Guardian*, Jan. 7, 1964.
- ²² Official Records of the Second Session of the General Assembly—Plenary Meetings of the General Assembly (Lake Success, New York), II, 1368.
- ²³ Albert M. Hyamson, *Palestine: A Policy* (London, Methuen, 1942), p. 110.
- ²⁴ Arthur Koestler, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
- ²⁵ *Arab-Jewish Unity: Testimony before the Anglo-American Inquiry Commission for the Ihud Association by Judah Magnes and Martin Buber* (London, Victor Gollancz, 1947).
- ²⁶ There should also be an amendment to the Constitution altering the present method of allocating votes under the Electoral College System. At present, if one candidate gets 3 million votes and the other candidate in that state gets 2,999,000 votes, the entire Electoral College vote of that state goes as a unit to the candidate who has won a plurality of votes. In 1884 in the State of New

York, Grover Cleveland received 563,015 popular votes while Republican James Blaine received 562,011. With barely more than 1,000 popular votes Mr. Cleveland received all of the electoral votes of the State of New York. A change of 572 votes in New York would have elected Blaine President. In the next presidential election Cleveland with a plurality of 100,000 votes and with an actual majority over Harrison, was defeated.

In 1944 Governor Dewey received 2,663,484 votes in 10 states from which he received 62 electoral votes. In New York he received 2,997,536 votes, considerably more than in the aforesaid 10 states combined. Yet for these he received no electoral votes. In effect 3 million New York Republicans had their votes counted for President Roosevelt. With 54% of the popular vote, Mr. Roosevelt received 81 per cent of the electoral vote. In the 1912 campaign Woodrow Wilson received only 42 per cent of the popular vote of the nation, but won 82 per cent of the electoral vote. The Electoral College, as it now operates, has worked undemocratically on three occasions. Presidents John Quincy Adams in 1824, Hayes in 1876 and Benjamin Harrison in 1888 were elected with fewer popular votes than their leading opponent. In all, twelve times Presidents have been elected with an actual minority of the popular votes: in 1824, 1844, 1848, 1856, 1860, 1876, 1880, 1884, 1888, 1892, 1912 and 1916. This system continuously endows special interest groups with tremendous power, encouraging political splinterings and proliferations and accentuating the solidification of religious, economic and racial blocs particularly within the large pivotal states. The Electoral College System should be altered to provide a splitting of the unit vote according to the same proportion of the popular vote. For example, if one candidate received 3 million votes and the other candidate 2 million votes, then the one candidate would receive 3/5ths of the Electoral College vote allocated to that state and the other candidate 2/5ths. The particular form the Amendment takes is unimportant, but it is essential that there be some major revision eliminating the power of special interest groups via the threat of the ballot box to constitute a balance of power, to abrogate the melting pot concept and to gain for themselves preferential treatment to the detriment of the rest of the country.

Resolutions to alter or eliminate entirely the Electoral College System have been introduced in the Congress from time to time. In 1934 the Senate twice voted strongly in favor of a proposal by Senator George Norris to abolish electors, but the necessary 2/3rds vote was lacking. The Lodge-Gossett Resolutions introduced in 1947 after a similar attempt in 1941 had failed, likewise was unsuccessful in passage.

²⁷ Safran, *The United States and Israel*, p. 273.

²⁸ *The Washington Post*, Jan. 17, 1964.

- ²⁹ A record of over 69 million was sold in 1963. *The New York Times*, Jan. 12, 1964. Most of the money invested in the first ten-year bond issue was re-invested when these bonds came due.
- ³⁰ *Economic Horizons* (New York, American-Israel Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Dec., 1960.) General Burns in his book estimates that capital aggregating \$2.5 billion was imported into Israel between the founding of the state and March 1957. "The average adverse balance of payments was in other words \$278 million a year." *Between Arab and Israeli*, p. 285.
- ³¹ Safran, *op. cit.*, p. 278. In his article "U. S. and Israel: Conflicts of Interests" (*Issues*, Summer 1964) Dr. Harry N. Howard states that the U.S. has given \$877,700,000 in economic and military aid to Israel between 1946 and 1962. This was at a per capita rate of \$39.70, the highest in the foreign assistance program.
- ³² Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1959; Social Security Bulletin, 1960, Government Printing Office.
- ³³ Safran, *op. cit.*, pp. 279, 275.
- ³⁴ *The New York Times*, March 8, 1964.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*
- ³⁶ There are still some 140,000 personal claims pending from persons who were barred from payment, who lived in Communist countries, or who did not file their claims before Oct. 1, 1953.
- ³⁷ *Jewish Observer and Middle East Review*, June 30, 1961, quoting the Bank of Israel report for 1960. The trade gap between exports and imports was cut \$32 million in 1959, but all but one million dollars of this gain was wiped out in 1960.
- ³⁸ "An Affluent Society But Living Beyond Its Means," *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, (Washington, June 1, 1964).
- ³⁹ *Public International Development Financing, A Research Project of the Columbia University Law School*, Repost No. 5, "Public International Development Financing in Israel" (New York, March, 1963.)
- ⁴⁰ *The Washington Post*, March 22, 1962, set forth a summary on U.S. assistance as reported by the Agency for International Development (A.I.D.). See also Dr. Howard, *U.S. and Israel: Conflicts of Interests*, *op. cit.*
- ⁴¹ *Public International Development Financing*, Report No. 5, p. 8.
- ⁴² When the Israeli Ministry of Finance announced in 1959 the intention to pump water from the Sea of Galilee, Lebanese Foreign Minister Hussein Oueini put forward plans to dam the Hasbani and the Syrians talked of damming the Baniyas River. This was the basis for the plans adopted at the Cairo summit meeting of January, 1964.
- ⁴³ *The New York Times*, July 29, 1961.
- ⁴⁴ *Ner*, Jan.-Feb., 1961.
- ⁴⁵ Ionides, *op. cit.*

Index

- About, Dr. Mehdi Ben, 125
- Aden, 331
- Advertising, Jewish influence, 150
- Afro-Asian countries, 305, 319
- AID (Agency for International Development), 254
- Alaska, settlement of Jewish refugees, 20
- Algeria, 250, 255-257, 260, 262
 - position of Jews, 46, 176
- America*, Jesuit weekly, 159, 170
- American Christian Palestine Comm., 6-7, 27
- American Council for Judaism, 57, 71, 102, 146
 - Fulbright's speech, 312-313
 - membership, 127, 185
 - program analyzed, 185-191
- American Friends of the Middle East (AFME) 190, 197, 202
- American-Israel Chamber of Commerce, 196
- American-Israel Publishing Co., 118
- American Jewish Committee, 14, 33, 182
- American League for a Free Palestine, 301
- American Middle East Relief, 236
- American Palestine Committee, 6, 277
- American Zionist Council, 27, 58, 158
 - membership, 127
- American Zionist Emergency Council, 277
- Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, 278, 344
- Anti-Anti-Semitism, 168
- Anti-Anti-Zionists, 10
- Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 166, 171-172, 303
- Anti-Nationalist Jews, 23, 25-26, 28
- Anti-Semitism, 23
 - Arab countries, 36-38
 - cause of, 85, 172, 184
 - exploiting, 164-184
 - Israel, 212-243
 - Judaism and, 60
 - keeping issue alive, 182-183
 - to promote Jewish cause, 170-174
- Anti-Zionism, 83
 - unpopularity of, 185
- Arab countries
 - anti-Semitism, 36-38
 - campaign against, 93, 103
 - drift toward Communism, 266-267
 - emigration to Israel, 31-48
 - federation of, 256-258
 - groups sympathetic to, 190-192, 195-197
 - internecine warfare, 331
 - Kennedy's letters to, 307
 - lack of public relations, 203, 208-211, 283
 - lack of unity, 203-205, 233
 - nationalism, 204, 211
 - opposition to Israel, 171
 - press coverage, 92-93, 113, 116-117, 127-128, 132, 139, 141-163
 - relations with oil companies, 192
 - treatment of Jews, 35-51
 - trend toward unity, 258-262, 331
 - U.S. aid, 347
- Arab Information Center, 116-117
- Arab-Israeli conflict, 160
 - dangers, 331
 - Defense Department analysis, 6
 - Kennedy and, 298-305, 319-322
 - Nasser and, 310
 - need for a new look, 322-330
 - negotiations, 322-323
 - obstacles to peace, 332-352
 - political relations, 150
 - prognosis for the future, 332-352
 - pro-Israel bias in press, 139-163
 - pro-Israel policy of U.S., 290, 333-334
 - danger to national interest, 326-330

- settlement of difficulties, 310, 332-352
 - de-Zionization of Israel, 334-335
 - separation of church and state, 337
 - U.S. role, 333-334
- settlement refused, 283-285
- Arab League, 208, 261, 295
- Arab refugee problem, 8, 21, 144-146, 150, 162-163, 167, 168, 229-243, 253
 - amount of aid, 231-232
 - apathy of Israel, 237-243, 342
 - camps, 144-146, 150, 162-163
 - flight from Palestine, 243-235, 302
- Gaza Strip, 230
- Kennedy on, 308-309
- number of, 230-231
- potential dangers, 332
- pro-Israel bias in press, 139, 143-144
- proposed settlement, 335
- repatriation or compensation, 235, 237-240, 308-309, 344
- resettlement problems, 231-234, 339
 - on television, 152-153
- United Nation programs, 229, 231-232, 235, 237-242, 309-310
- Zionist propaganda, 234
- Arab students in U.S., 197, 205
- Arab-United States relations, 244-270, 286-330; *see also* Middle East
- anti-American feelings, 246, 250, 253, 263-264
 - cause of unrest, 263-264
 - effect of Zionist pressure on, 286-330
- Israeli attempt to sabotage, 251-254
- lack of U.S. policy, 264-265
- Arabian-American Oil Co. (Aramco), 199, 201, 202
- biased employment policy, 289
- Arabs
 - American, 204-208
 - Christian attitudes toward, 5
 - desert heritage, 209
 - Jewish, 212
- Arendt, Hannah, 19, 108, 110
- Argentina-Israeli relations, 104, 107-109
- Assimilation, 68, 70, 72, 183
- Aswan High Dam, 267, 269
 - Soviet assistance, 247, 249, 251
- Atlantic Monthly*, 143, 145-147
- Atlee, Clement, 280, 283
- Atomic energy, 89-90, 153, 264
- Atwood, William, 141-142
- Austin, Warren, 281
- Australia, offer to Jewish refugees, 20
- Avnery, Uri, 61, 337
- Baath party, 259-260, 333
- Bahrein, 201
- Baldwin, Hanson, 135
- Balfour Declaration (1917), 4, 15, 16, 35, 55, 69, 95, 150, 156, 188-189, 272-273, 278, 342-344
 - safeguarding clauses, 272
- Baruch, Bernard, 10, 98
- Begin, Menachem, 40, 50, 300-302
- Belgrade Conference, 267-268
- Ben-Gurion, David, 13-14, 18, 72, 173, 259
 - demand for American emigration to Israel, 29-33, 48, 86-87, 228
 - on dual loyalty, 74, 75, 76, 79-80, 81
 - Galilee incident, 128-129
 - "ingathering" calls, 29-31, 47-48, 86-87, 165, 250, 254
 - Lavon affair, 251-253, 309
 - meeting with Kennedy, 306, 308-309
 - expansionist policies, 351-352
 - on Israeli anti-Semitism, 224
 - press coverage, 119-123
- Berger, Dr. Elmer, 127, 157-158, 189-190
- Bernadotte, Count Folke, 220, 234
- Bevin, Ernest, 172-174, 277, 280
- Bigotry, 85, 171-172
 - in Israel, 212, 223, 225
- Biltmore program, 50, 273
- Blaustein, Jacob, 14, 33
- Bloom, Sol, 273, 275
- Blumenfeld, Dr. Samuel L., 155
- B'nai B'rith, 166, 171-172, 303
- Bourguiba, President of Tunisia, 294-295
- Bowles, Chester, 269, 318
- Boycott of British goods, 76
- Brainwashing, 89-111
- Brand, Joel, 17
- Brewer, Sam Pope, 119-120
- Briscoe, Robert, 82-83
- British Commonwealth, 78

- British Mandate, 272-273
- British White Paper, 275-276
- Brynnner, Yul, 152-155
- Buber, Dr. Martin, 64, 344
- Bulgaria, 248
- Burrows, Millar, 166, 171
- Bustani, Emil, 263
- Byrnes, James F., 275
- Byroade, Ambassador, 251, 269
- Cahn, Rabbi Judah, 80
- Caplan, Louis, 58
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 242
- Catholic Church, Zionist attempts to influence, 9
- Catholic Near East Welfare Assoc., 236
- Celler, Emanuel, 311
- Censorship laws, Israel, 125
- CENTO, 245
- Chalfant, Henry, 346
- Chanukah, 57, 62
- Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, 147-149
- Children, influencing, 162-163
- Chinese, overseas, 84
- Chinese Communists, 267-269
 - penetration in Middle East, 248-249, 332
- "Chosen" people concept, 64-65
- Christianity, 64-65
 - Jewish conversions to, 334-335
- Christians
 - attitudes toward Israel, 4-10
 - attitudes toward Zionism, 5-10, 191
 - guilt feelings, 23, 112
 - Zionism attempts to influence, 5-10
- Church World Service, 236
- Citizens Committee on American Policy in the Near East, 197
- Cleopatra* case, 76, 114, 286-289, 295, 303, 328
- Cohen, Morris R., 336
- Cold war, 115, 268, 295, 333
- College Students, practice of religion, 72
- Colonialism, 245, 318
- Communism
 - Arab countries, 266-267, 269-270
 - Middle East, 229, 244-270
- Conformist society, 163
- Congress
 - investigations of Zionism, 26-28, 80
 - Zionist supporters, 273
- Conservative Judaism, 53, 56, 225-226
- Considine, Bob, 105
- Constitution, 68, 78
- Cooke, Dr. Hedley V., 124, 161-162
- Corpus Christi, Texas, 82
- Costikyan, Edward N., 312
- Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, 7
- Council on Islamic Affairs, 195-196
- Criticism of Israel, 75, 124, 126, 345
 - accusations of anti-Semitism, 184
 - exploiting prejudice and, 164-184
- Crossman, Richard H. S., 18, 77-78, 157, 172-174, 183
- Crum, Bartley C., 200
- Cuban situation, 306
- Cultural exchange programs, 24, 31-32, 119, 197, 205
- Cultural pluralism, 78-80
- Culture, Jewish, used to promote nationalism, 59-60
- Czechoslovakia, 248
- Dahlberg, Dr. E. T., 9
- Daily Forward*, 165
- Danish Jews, 86-87
- David, Reuben, 37
- Davis, Dr. John H., 232, 240
- Dayan, Moshe, 48, 216, 252
- Deir Yassin massacre (1948), 302
 - flight of Arab refugees from Palestine
- Deputy, The* (Hochhuth), 110
- Dewey, Thomas, 273, 280
- Diary of Anne Frank*, 110
- Diaspora Jews, 12-14, 51, 69, 337-338, 350
 - duties and responsibility, 81, 84
- Dichotomy of the Jew, 68-69
- Dillon, Douglas, 291-292, 317
- Dodd, Senator Thomas, 90
- Douglas, Paul, 289, 313
- Dual loyalty, 74-88, 341
 - effect on American national interest, 84-85
 - effect of U.S. policies, 74, 75-76
 - primary allegiance to U.S. or Israel, 80-81, 83-84
- Dual nationality, 68-69
- Dulles, John Foster, 171, 266, 285, 300, 314, 324, 327, 339
- Eastern European Jews, 63, 226-228
- Eban, Abba, 31, 48
- Eddy, Col. William, 293
- Edelman, Maurice, 139

- Eden, Sir Anthony, 283-285, 323
 Education, Jewish-Hebrew, 31-32
 Egypt, 142, 246
 Arab federation and, 259-260
 German scientists, 134
 Jewish population, 38, 45
 relations with U.S., 251
 Soviet aid, 247, 249, 258
 UAR membership, 258
 war in Yemen, 331-332
 Eichmann trial, 17-20, 70-71, 94, 104-111
 importance of, 108-111
 Israel's legal right to try, 121
 press coverage, 105-110
 purpose of, 107-08
 television coverage, 157
 Einstein, Dr. Albert, 336
 Eisenhower, Dwight D., 92, 287-288, 291-300, 312, 320
 Emigration to Israel, 29-51
 English Jews, 77-78
 Epstein, Jacob, 59
 Epstein, Mrs. Moses P., 159
 Eretz Israel, 29, 49, 50, 69
 Ernst, Morris, 21-22, 166
 Eshkol, Levi, 29, 48, 318
 European Common Market, 348
 Exclusivism, 63, 67
Exodus, book and movie, 93-104
Exodus 47, S.S., 100-101
 Expansionism, Israeli, 48-51
 Eytan, Walter, 79
 Feisal, Crown Prince, 256, 261, 293
 Farbstein, Leonard, 135, 315
 Fear and conformity, 89-92
 Feldman, Rabbi Abraham J., 8
 Feldman, Myer, 259, 318, 328
 Ferber, Edna, 48
 Fistere, John, 161
 Flag of Israel, 61, 87-88
 Forrestal, James V., 201, 274, 303, 344
 France, 295
 ally of Israel, 130-131
 position in Middle East, 246
 Freund, Dr. Miriam, 58
 "Friends of Israel," 13
 Fullbright, Senator J. William, 26-27, 80, 166, 269, 287-292, 296, 303-304, 312-313, 329
 Galilee incident, 128-129, 131-132
 Galut (exile), 14
 Gaza strip, 113, 119, 143, 220, 336
 Arab refugees, 229-231
 military government, 51
 Gellhorn, Martha, 143-144
 General Zionists, 11
 German reparation payments, 35, 347-348
 German scientists in Egypt, 134
 Germany, war crime trials, 110
 Ghetto existence, 65-66
 Givli, Abraham, 252
 Glazer, Nathan, 53
 Goldman, Dr. Nahum, 70, 79, 87, 157, 182, 347
 Goldstein, Rabbi Israel, 60, 125, 209
 Goldwater, Barry, 326
 Gollancz, Victor, 55
 Gorman, Father Ralph, 158
 Great Britain
 anti-Semitism, exploiting, 172-174
 British Mandate, 272-273
 British White Paper, 275-276
 campaign against, 95-97, 101
 Middle East policy, 323, 329
 Palestine policy, 272-284
 position in Middle East, 246
 pro-Israel policy, 272-274
 war in Yemen, 331-332
 Greenbaum, Issak, 18
 Greenwald, Malkiel, 17
 Guilt feelings, effect on attitudes toward Israel, 23, 25, 112
 Ha-am, Ahad, 343
 Haddad, William F., 315
 Halperin, Samuel, 7
 Halpern, Ben, 192
 Halpern, Seymour, 311, 321
 Halprin, Rose L., 59
Harper's magazine, 140
 Harriman, W. Averell, 135
 Hassan II, King of Morocco, 42
 Hatch, Carl, 281
 Hausner, Gideon, 104, 108, 110, 252
 Hawk missiles, 317, 350
 Hayes, Helen, 119
 Hebrew Committee for Liberation, 301-302
Hebrew Manifesto, 336-337
 Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 54, 101
 Hecht, Ben, 17
 Heller, Rabbi James, 56
 Herter, Christian, 266, 296
 Hertzberg, Rabbi Arthur, 9
 Herut Party, Israel, 40, 50, 302
 Herzl, Theodor, 3, 76, 156, 183
 Herzog, Rabbi, 56
 Herzog, Yacov, 21, 72, 150, 168-169

- Hess, Moses, 3
 HIAS (Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society), 18
 High Holy Days, 53, 54, 57-58, 60, 62
 Histadrut, 217, 252
 Hitler, Adolph, influence on Zionism, 14-15, 22-23
 Hochhuth, Rolf, 110
 Hocking, W. E., 126, 128, 166, 235
 Hodges, Luther H., 247
Holiday (magazine), 139-140
 Hoskins, Harold D., 276
 Humphrey, Hubert H., 258, 291, 311
 Hungary's slaughter of Jews, 17-18
 Hurewitz, Dr. Jacob, 124, 173
 Hurwitz, Henry, 13, 53
 Hussein, King of Jordan, 117, 136, 153, 154, 326
 Ibn Saud, King, 274-276
 Identity, Jewish, loss of, 72
Ibud, 238
 Indian Jews, 224-225
 Ingathering of the exiles, 13, 29-51, 228, 250, 254
 alternative courses of action, 77
 Israeli expansionism, 48-51
 refusal of American Jews, 29-33
 Institute for Mediterranean Affairs, 194, 301-302, 319
 Inter marriages, 10-11, 72
 International Latex Corp., 114, 150
 Ionides, Michael, 164-165, 322-323, 329, 352
 Iran, Jewish emigration, 40
 Iraq, 246-249, 255, 257, 294
 Kurdish revolt, 255, 257-259
 Nuri as-Said rule, 322-324
 position of Jews, 36-38, 45, 224
 revolution, 263, 266, 323-324
 Soviet aid, 263-265, 317
 Soviet penetration, 319-320
 toward Arab federation, 259-262
 UAR membership, 257-258
 Irgun (terrorist group), 17, 301
 Irish loyalty to Ireland, 83-84
 Isaac-Berr, Berr, 86
 Israel
 allegiance of Jewish Americans to, 80-81, 83-84
 anti-Semitism, 212-243
 Arab boycott of shipping, 286-287
 Arab minority, 212-213
 discrimination against, 212-223
 education, 217, 222
 lack of employment, 222
 military rule over, 213-221
 Arab refugee problem, 229-243;
 see also Arab refugee problem
 attempt to sabotage U.S.-Arab relations, 251-254
 attitude of Jewish Americans, 67
 British policy, 272-284
 choice of name, 61
 conversions of Christianity, 334-335
 doctrine of theocratic state, 336
 economy, 337
 establishment of state, 5, 69
 expropriation of Arab land, 213, 215-217, 235-236
 fear of Arab federation, 258-259
 15th anniversary, 135-136, 259
 financial contribution from Jewish Americans, 345-346, 348-349
 foreign trade, 348
 founding date, 5
 German reparation payments, 347-348
 as home for European refugees, 16-18
 housing, 227-228
 influence on American Middle East policy, 3
 ingathering of exiles, 351; *see also* Ingathering of the exiles
 loyalty to, 74-88; *see also* Dual loyalty
 material achievements, 345
 Nationality Act, 212-213
 natural resources, 348
 new Israeli movement, 337-338
 Oriental Jews, 35, 335-336
 discrimination against, 226-228
 versus European Jews, 226-228
 population trends, 338
 proposed de-Zionization of, 334
 proposed plan of emigration from, 334-336
 proposed separation of church and state, 337
 proposed union with Jordan, 338-339
 race riots, 227-229
 religious intolerance, 225-226
 religious observance, 56-57
 religious parties, 57
 role as protector of Jewish rights everywhere, 109, 182
 sale of U.S. arms to, 317, 350

- split between Zionists and native-born Hebrews, 337-338
- supported by Truman, 273-282
- supporters of Jewish statehood, 3-4
- treaties with Zionist agencies, 79-80
- U.S. aid, 8, 317, 346-349
- U.S. policy, 246, 250; *see also* pro-Israel policy
- wide Jewish support for, 10
- Israel: A Blessing and A Curse*, 161-162
- Israel bond drives, 35, 57-58, 62, 76, 125, 302, 318, 346
- "Israelism" 13, 67, 75
- Javits, Senator Jacob K., 128, 178, 18-182, 258, 263-264, 289, 296, 301, 311, 318, 321
- Jerusalem, internationalization of Holy City, 339
- Jesus, 63-64
- Jew-baiting, 102
- Jewish Agency for Israel, 11, 54, 58
 - congressional investigation, 26-28
 - on dual loyalties, 75
 - grants to political parties, 11
 - Rescue Committee, 18
- Jewish Americans
 - allegiance to Israel, 80-81, 83-84, 87, 344-345
 - call to migrate to Israel, 81-82
 - choice of loyalties, 344-345
 - dual loyalty, 74-88, 341, 344-345
 - dual nationality, 68-69
 - emigration to Israel, 29-33
 - emotional love for Israel, 75, 345
 - financial contributions to Israel, 345-346, 348-349
 - legal link with Israel, 70-71
 - nationalism vs. religion, 55-73
 - representative spokesman, 60-61
- Jewish nationalism, 13, 84; *see also* Zionism
 - propaganda, 14, 18-19, 25-27, 92-93
 - separating Judaism from, 341
- Jewish Newsletter*, 167, 241
- Jewish people
 - legal status, 69-70
 - sovereign state of, 109
- Jewish vote, 6, 263, 271, 275, 281, 296, 310-312, 316, 344
 - New York City, 297, 301, 312-315
- Jews, definition, 52-55
- Johnson, Dr. Joseph E., 242, 321
- Johnson, Lyndon B., 178, 291, 317, 322, 324-327
 - pro-Israel policy, 327-330
- Johnston, Eric, 321
- Joint Distribution Committee (J.D.C.), 41, 151
- Jordan, 132-133, 196, 246, 255-257, 260, 262, 266, 311, 332, 336
 - Arab refugee problem, 231
 - mural at World's Fair, 342
 - relations with Israel, 323, 338-339
- Jordan River diversion, 48, 253, 261-262, 321-322, 327-328
 - Arab countermeasures, 262, 347, 350
 - cost of, 347
 - dangers inherent in, 332, 342
- Judaism, 5
 - captured by nationalists, 71
 - forms of, 53-54
 - Hebrew prophets, 63
 - historical development, 63-66
 - political element, 67-69
 - problems facing, 72-73
 - problems in Israel, 225-226
 - relationship to God, 55
 - separating Jewish nationalism from, 61-66, 68, 341
 - spiritual precepts, 63-66
 - support for Israel, 60-63
- Kassem, Abdel Karim, 255-257, 266, 294
- Kastner, Rudolf, 17-18, 19
- Keating, Kenneth B., 264, 289, 296, 311, 315, 321
- Kennedy, Edward, 316-317
- Kennedy, John F., 34, 178, 254, 259, 267, 291
 - Arab-Israeli conflict, 298-305, 319-322
 - meeting with Ben-Gurion, 306, 308-309
 - meeting with Khrushchev, 76
 - on Middle East, 122, 123, 136
- Kennedy, Robert F., 155, 315
- Khan, Mohammed Zafrullah, 342
- Khrushchev, Nikita, 114-116, 181, 247, 306
 - visit to Egypt, 267
 - Kimche, Jon, 19-20, 77, 228
- Kirshblum, Rabbi Mordecai, 58
- Klutznick, Philip M., 303-305
- Koestler, Arthur, 84, 343
- Kurdish rebellion, 255, 257, 258-260, 262, 266
- Kuwait, 120, 151, 198, 248, 255

- Labor Zionists, 11
- Labouisse, Henry, 233, 240
- Lacqueur, Walter Z., 124
- Landau, Rom, 42
- Larsen, Roy, 161
- Lavon affair, 251-253, 307-309
- Law of Return, 70, 71
- Lawrence of Arabia, 159-160
- Leadership, Jewish, 85
- League of Nations, 69, 272
- Lebanon, 144-145, 204, 206, 210, 246, 248, 255, 261, 294, 350
 - Arab refugee problem, 231
- Lefkowitz, Louis, 314
- Lehman, Herbert, 171, 181, 314-315
- Lehrman, Hal, 124, 149
- Levitt, Arthur, 313-314
- Levysohn, Otto, 86
- Libraries
 - bombing of U.S.I.A. library, 251-252
 - pro-Israel bias, 193-194
- Libya, 261, 313
- Lippmann, Walter, 310
- Lobby, Zionist-Israelist, 303-304
- Lodge, Henry Cabot, 298, 327
- Look Magazine*, 140-141
- Love, Kenneth, 134
- Lowell, Stanley J., 31
- Loyalty, dual, 74-88
- McDonald, James G., 282, 312
- MacDonald White Paper, 323-348
- McNamara, Robert S., 303
- Magazines, pro-Israel bias, 139-148
- Magnes, Dr. Judah L., 101, 183, 217, 237, 336, 344
- Mancroft, Lord, 177-178
- Mapai government, 57
- Marquardt, R. J., 84
- Marriages
 - inter-marriage, 10-11, 72
 - Israeli law, 56
- Martin, Harold M., 145-147
- Meir, Golda, 41, 70-71, 109, 153, 154-155, 238
- Melchoir, Chief Rabbi Phil Marcus, 86-87
- Menorah Journal*, 13
- Menuhin, Moshe, 15, 35
- Meyer, Eugene, 33
- Meyerhoff, Joseph, 58
- Middle East
 - anti U.S. feelings, 133, 246, 250, 253
 - oil reserves, 244
 - peace and justice plans, 331-352
 - population, 244
 - Soviet penetration, 244-245, 319-320
 - strategic importance, 244
 - U.S. policy, 3, 133, 249-251, 264-265, 269-270, 319-320
 - need for new approach, 340-341
 - pro-Israel bias, 3, 323-325
 - Western colonialism, 245
- Middle East Institutes, 191-195
- Migration to Israel; *see also* Ingathering of the exiles
 - Ben-Gurion pleas, 86-87, 165, 250, 254
 - call to, 81-82
 - cost of, 241
 - Jewish Americans, 81-82
- Miller, Rabbi Irving, 58, 87, 158
- Missiles, sale to Israel, 317, 350
- Mizrachi, 11
- Morale decline, 91-92
- Morgan, General Sir Frederick, 18
- Morgenthau, Henry, Sr., 55
- Morgenthau, Robert, 318
- Morocco, 226, 255, 260
 - Jewish emigration to Israel, 40-44
 - position of Jews, 125-126, 175-176
 - U.S. bases, 318
 - Zionist activities, 44-47
- Morrison-Grady Commission, 278
- Morse, Senator Wayne, 289, 305
- Moslems
 - attitudes toward Jews, 39
 - Christian bias against, 5
- Moss, Frank, 246-247
- Motion pictures
 - Biblical films, 159
 - Jewish influence, 159
- Moyer, Henry, 145
- Murrow, Edward R., 152-155
- Nasser, Gamal Abdel, 41, 140, 142, 147, 152, 154, 251
 - Arab federation plans, 256-259
 - and Arab refugees, 232
 - effect of U.S. loans to Israel, 254-255, 262
 - on Palestine settlement, 284
 - relations with Arab countries, 256-262
 - treatment in press, 114-121, 134-138
- National Council of Churches, 7-9
- Nationalism; *see also* Jewish nationalism
 - historical background, 64-66
 - versus religion, 52-73
- Nationality Law, 71

- Nazism, 67
 atrocities, 104-106, 144, 168
 links between Zionism and, 17-19
 Negev desert, 332, 347, 350
 Neturei-Karta sect, 53, 56, 225
 Neuberger, Gottfried, 36
 Neumann, Dr. Emanuel, 30, 276
New York Times, *The*, 112-138
 Nuri as-Said, 322-324
- Oakes, John B., 118
 Oil companies, 198-203
 Oriental Jews, 35, 335-336
 discrimination against, 226-228
 Israeli treatment of, 223-224
 Orthodoxy, 53
- Palestine
 historical background, 331
 Jewish right to, 169
 partition, 10, 75, 93, 96, 201
 opposition to, 187
 role of U.S., 96-100, 271-285
 United Nations plans, 307,
 338-339, 342-344
 Palestinian Conciliation Commission,
 307, 321, 339
 Passover, 58, 62
 Pasternak, Boris, 172
Patria, sinking of, 99-101
 Peace Corps, 34-35, 249, 268, 316
 Peres, Shimon, 252
 Peretz, Dr., 340
Perfidy (Hecht), 17-18
 Persecution of Jews, 85
 Philanthropic aid to Israel, 11-12;
see also Israeli bond drives;
 and United Jewish Appeal
 amount of, 345-346
 charitable needs *vs.* needs of Israel,
 82
 Philippines, 98-99
 Pickett, Dr. Clarence, 169
 Pinsker, Leo, 3
 Poling, Daniel, 128
 Poore, Charles, 124
 Pope Paul VI, 133, 139
 Pope Pius XI, 110
 Prayers in school, 170
 Prejudice, exploiting, 164-184
 Presidents' Conference, 304, 321
 pressure, Zionist, 23-28
 effect on Arab-U.S. relations, 286-
 330
 effect on Mutual Security Act, 289-
 292
 effect on U.S. domestic policy,
 288-301
 on Truman, 279-281
 Washington lobby, 303-304
 Pro Deo University, Rome, 182
 Pro-Israel policy of U.S., 133, 135,
 137, 246, 250, 270-285, 318-
 319, 323-325; *see also* Jew-
 ish vote
 danger to national interest, 326-
 330
 future of, 333-352
 in United Nations, 268, 305, 307
 Propaganda of Jewish nationalism,
 14, 18-19, 25-27, 92-93
 Psychological warfare, 37
 Public opinion, molding, 25-28
 children, 162-163
 misinformation and, 92
 newspapers and, 127, 134
- Publishing business, Jewish influ-
 ence, 160-162
 Rabb, Maxwell, 298, 328
 Rabbinical Council of America, 59,
 225
 Radio broadcasting, Jewish influence,
 151, 157-158
 Reform Judaism, 4, 52-53, 55, 56,
 66-67, 225-226
 opposition to political Zionism, 4
 Arab; *see* Arab refugee problem
 Jewish, 19-20
 forced to settle in Israel, 19-20
 Zionism and, 17-22
 Reid, Ogden, 311
 Religion; *see also* Judaism
 nationalism versus, 52-73
 separatism, 61, 63, 65-66, 68
 spiritual aspect, 61
 Religious Zionists, 58
 Reparation payments to Israel, 35,
 347-348
 Reston, James, 281
 Reynolds, Quentin, 94, 106
 Richards, Guy, 117
 Riesman, Dr. David, 171
 Roche, Jeffrey, 117
 Rockefeller, Nelson, 310-311
 Romulo, Carlos, 98-99
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 21-22
 Zionist cause not supported by, 274,
 276-279, 329
 Rosenthal, Erich, 72
 Rosh Hashanah, 57, 62
 Ross, Albion, 126
 Roth, Leon, 54, 59
 Roucek, Dr. Joseph S., 78

- Rumanian Jews, 39-40
 emigration to Israel, 125
 Rusk, Dean, 120, 266
- Sabra, 337
 Salem, Dr. Sam, 207
 Salit, Rabbi Norman, 236-237
 Samuels, Gertrude, 124
 Saud, King, 117, 202, 255-256, 261
 Saudi Arabia, 201-203, 254, 255-256, 260-262, 306
 discrimination against Jewish soldiers, 289
 and partition of Palestine, 274-275
 relations with U.S., 293
 Scandinavia, 72
 Judaism in, 180-181
 Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr., 318
 Schmidt, Dana Adams, 116, 124, 307-308
 Schonfeld, Dr. Solomon, 20
 Scott, John, 147-148
 Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 301-305, 312, 319
 Separatism, 61, 63, 65-66, 68
 Sharett, Moshe, 18, 54, 77, 234, 284
 Sheldon, Harvey, 157
 Shereshevsky, Dr. Shimeon, 216-217, 333
 Shukairy, Ahmed, 39, 306
 Shuraky, Dr. Andre, 338
Sign Magazine, 158
 Silver, Rabbi Abba Hillel, 16, 56, 76, 116, 135, 187, 298
 Sinai affair, 219-220, 351
 Singer, Rabbi Richard E., 176
 Slogans and labels, 90
 Smith, Howard K., 152, 166, 174
 Soviet Union, 58-59, 72, 81
 aid to Arab countries, 263-264
 Middle East penetration, 244-270, 319, 332, 339
 persecution of Jews, 24, 175, 179-182, 351
 resumption of nuclear tests, 115-116, 268
 Spanel, A. N., 114, 150
 Spiegel, Irving, 58-59, 124, 180
 Star of David, 61
 Stern Gang (terrorist group), 17, 338
 Stevenson, Adlai, 129, 296-297, 320-321
 Stone, Dewey D., 58
 Straus, Nathan, 101
 Sudan, 246
- Suez Canal, 121
 closed to Israeli shipping, 119, 132, 287, 289-292, 298
 crisis, 38, 50, 246, 261-266, 327
 operation, 148
 Sulzberger, C. L., 121-122, 124, 350
 Swope, Herbert Bayard, 10
 Sykes, Christopher, 188-189
 Sykes, Mark, 5
 Symington, Stuart, 291
 Synagogue Council of America, 7-10, 27, 57, 236
 Synagogues, 54
 vandalism, 170-171
 Syria, 119-120, 246-247, 255-257, 333-350
 press coverage of Israeli attacks, 128-132
 UAR membership, 257-260
 Syrian Americans, 204, 206, 210
- Talmud, 66
 Tanenbaum, Rabbi Marc H., 7-10
 Tawafiq incident, 131-132
 Taylor, Gen. Telford, 107
 Television
 effect of, 90-91
 Eichmann trial on, 105
 Jewish influence, 150-157, 159
 Thomas, Danny, 206-207
 Thomas, Norman, 166, 223, 324
 Thompson, Dorothy, 78, 166-168
Time Magazine, 147-148, 150, 161
 Toynbee, Arnold, 21, 150, 166, 168-170, 269-270, 282
 Treaties between Israel and Zionist agencies, 79-80
 Truman, Harry S
 supported Zionists, 273-282, 329
 Zionist pressure, 279
 Tunisia, 255-256
 Jewish emigration, 40
 U.S. policy, 294-295
 Turkey, 246
- United Arab Republic (UAR), 260-262
 anti-American feelings, 263-264
 boycott of Israeli shipping, 286-287
 formation, 257-258
 1963 declaration, 321
 press coverage, 115, 119-120
 propaganda against, 134-138
 relations with U.S., 249
 Soviet aid, 247, 263, 317-318
 United Nations membership, 296
 war in Yemen, 331-332

- United Jewish Appeal, 11, 12, 14, 26, 27
 - assessments, 82
 - for immigration to Israel, 82
 - financial contributions to Israel, 346
 - fund-raising activities, 35, 40-41, 46
 - news coverage, 125-126, 136
 - political use of funds, 126
 - tax-exemption, 47
- United Nations, 39
 - Arab countries and, 265-266
 - Arab-Israeli conflict, 334, 335
 - Arab refugee resolution, 309-310
- Economic and Social Council, 303, 305
 - Israeli question, 49, 50, 116, 131-132, 305
 - kidnapping of Eichmann, 104, 108-109
 - Palestine Conciliation Commission, 237-238, 240, 307, 321, 339
 - Palestine partition, 49, 280-284, 338-339, 342-344
 - pro-Israel policies of U.S., 268, 305, 307
 - Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, 18-19
 - Security Council, 256, 305
 - Syrian-Israeli attacks, 128-131
 - Truce Supervision Organization, 129
 - UAR membership, 296
- United States
 - aid to Arab countries, 249, 347
 - aid to Israel, 135, 346-349
 - bases in Middle East, 254, 263, 318
 - bombing of USIA libraries, 251-252
 - effect of dual loyalty on policy of, 74, 75-76, 84-85
 - foreign policy, 271-285
 - Jewish population, 4
 - Jewish vote; *see* Jewish vote
 - laws affecting Jews, 71
 - loyalty oath for new citizens, 87
 - Middle East policy, 3, 133, 249-251, 264-265, 269-270, 319-320
 - economic-military aid, 249, 347
 - effect of Zionist pressure on, 286-330
 - need for new approach, 340
 - non-political approach, 344
 - Palestine partition, 96-100
 - pro-Israel policy; *see* Pro-Israel policy of U.S.
 - reactions to Arab federation, 258
 - sale of arms to Israel, 317, 350
 - votes in United Nations, 268
 - Universalism, 64, 66-67
 - Universities
 - Arab students, 197, 205
 - Middle East Institutes, 191-195
 - Uris, Leon, 93-104
 - von Horn, Carl Carlsson, 129-130
 - Wagner, Robert F., Jr., 297, 314-315, 321
 - Wallace, Mike, 156
 - Walsh, Moira, 159
 - Warburg, James P., 11, 126, 186
 - Warsaw Ghetto Exhibit, 110-177
 - Washington, George, 80, 325
 - Weizmann, Chaim, 4, 15, 17-18, 35, 77-78, 172-174, 223, 235, 276, 343
 - Wemby, Rev. Dr. Charles, 59
 - West Germany, reparation payments to Israel, 347-348
 - Western colonialism, 245
 - What Price Israel?*, 158
 - Wilson, Woodrow, 316
 - Wise, Stephen S., 33, 80-81, 277-278
 - World Council of Churches, 8, 9
 - World Zionist Organization, 3, 11, 16, 70, 79, 87
 - Wright, Sir Michael, 324
 - Wright-Compton Palestine Resolution, 273
 - Wylie, Philip, 144-145, 160-161
 - Wynn, Wilton, 211
 - Yemen, 248, 255-257, 260, 262, 266, 331-332
 - Jews, 212, 221, 223-224
 - Yom Kippur, 62
 - Zionism, 3-28
 - activities, 23-25
 - anti-Zionists, 55
 - attempts to influence Christians, 5-10
 - Christian sphere, 4-7
 - exploiting prejudice, 164-184
 - factional disputes, 12-14
 - financial support, 7, 23, 345-346
 - goals, 12-13, 14
 - historical background, 3, 15-16
 - "Humanitarianism" policies, 22
 - influence of Hitler's genocide, 14-15

- influence on American Jews, 4
- interest in anti-Semitism, 183-184
- Jewish opposition, 23, 25-26
- Jewish refugee policies, 17-22
- Jewish support, 10
- links between Nazism and, 17-19
- nationalistic movement, 167
- official American backing, 6
- opposed settlement of Jewish refugees outside of Israel, 19-20
- opposition, 71, 185-211
- political, 3-4, 15
- pressures exerted by, 23-28
- propaganda, 14, 18-19
- purpose of, 16
- sources of strength, 10-11
- subversive activities, 45, 47
- suppression of opposition, 7
- treaties with Israel, 79-80
- two factions, 12
- in the United States, 4-10
- unpopularity, 33-34
- Zionist Congress, 11, 16
- at Basel in 1897, 3
- Zionist Emergency Council, 7
- Zukerman, William, 32-33, 55, 167, 172, 181, 190, 241, 253, 299, 341-342



•Warsaw

