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AMERICANS FOR JUSTICE IN THE MIDDLE EAST — P. O. B. 4841 — BEIRUT, LEBANON

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## PALESTINE: WHOSE HOMELAND?



CHAPEL OF DOMINUS FLEVIT ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES

*Jesus, tradition records, stopped here to weep over Jerusalem. What modern day leader has enough compassion to be practically concerned about the fate of Jerusalem and Palestine under Israeli occupation?*

# SEMANTICS OF ANTI-SEMITISM

By William Ward

Few slogans in the history of propaganda have been so abused as the term "anti-semitic." While this term once possessed a specific conceptual framework within which it had an understandable meaning, this is no longer true today. The world has been led to believe in the erroneous equation of "semitic" with such terms as "Zionist" and "Israeli." This results from a determined effort to obscure the real definitions of these words, to create the impression that they are identical. They are not identical and it is time a protest is raised against this indiscriminant usage which has been imposed by pure force of repetition. This is particularly true of the term "Anti-semitism."

Like "imperialist" or "capitalist" or other adverse propaganda epithets, "anti-semitism" is used only in a negative sense as a moral judgement against which there is no appeal. As now used, "anti-semitism" is intimately associated with the slaughter of European Jewry by Nazi Germany. If one is "anti-semitic," we are led to think, one belongs with the Himmlers, Heydrichs and Eichmanns of that awful era. Since no one wishes to be associated with the "final solution to the Jewish problem," the supreme example of anti-semitism, the use of this term has become one of the most feared accusations in history. We do not want to be tarred with the same brush.

## ANTI-SEMITISM RE-DEFINED

This fear has been cleverly exploited by Israeli propaganda. Furthermore, a new dimension has been added—a political dimension used purely for political purposes. Herein lies a profound semantic problem of the twentieth century—the confusion which now exists in the usage of the terms "Jew," "Zionist," "Israeli," and "Semite." For example, few people realize there is a very basic difference between a Jew and a Zionist, that is, between Judaism the religion and Zionism the political philosophy. These terms are not identical and Jews the world over have insisted on this non-identity for generations. But the myth of equivalence persists. This religion and the political philosophy are continuously assimilated into a single concept, a concept characterized as "semitic."

Inherent in this new political dimension is a re-definition of anti-semitism. Anti-semitism was once restricted in application to those who actively and willfully persecuted the Jews. This is no longer true. This accusation has increasingly been brought against any person or organization which disagrees even mildly with Zionism the political philosophy, or Israel the practical application of that philosophy. This intentional confusion in

definitions has created serious misconceptions which are in large part responsible for western misunderstandings of the Arab-Israeli crisis of the past twenty years.

## TWO KEY TERMS

The term "semitic" is a relatively new one. It was first coined in the early nineteenth century to designate a family of languages. These include ancient Babylonian, Phoenician, Aramaic, and dialects still in use such as Arabic and Hebrew. In the proper sense of the word, a "semitic" is someone who spoke or speaks a semitic dialect as his mother tongue. The term has no ethnic, political or religious meaning whatsoever. There is not now, and never has been, a "semitic race." As now used, however, the term incorrectly implies the idea of race and is popularly associated with Jews and Judaism.

Judaism is a religion and in spite of all attempts to make of it a social philosophy, it remains essentially a religion. Here again the matter of race is out of the question. One is a Jew because one accepts a specific pattern of beliefs and follows, to a greater or lesser degree, the rules and teachings of Judaism. Just as Christianity embraces peoples of all races and colors, so does Judaism. It is just as incorrect to speak of a "Jewish race" as it would be to speak of a "Christian race." Both are religious. One of the modern fallacies about Jews is that they all have the same origin, racially or geographically. There now exist Chinese Jews, African Jews, Slavic Jews and numerous others who became Jews by conversion, not through any historic connections with a single place or people.

## THE MYTH OF A "JEWISH RACE"

In the correct sense of these terms, then, "Judaism" is not a synonymous with "semitic." One is a religion, the other a descriptive term for a group of languages. Neither has racial connotations. According to this correct usage, few Jews are semites since only a small minority of world Jewry speaks a semitic language as a mother tongue. Conversely, few semites are Jews since the great bulk of semitic-speaking peoples today speak Arabic and they follow the Christian or Muslim faiths. American Jews, for example, are predominantly of east European origin. Their forefathers spoke a European language and belonged to the same racial group as non-Jewish east Europeans. Even Yiddish, the colloquial dialect of European Jewry, is largely German. It would be absurd to speak of Christian Americans of Irish or English descent as members of a "Christian race." It is equally absurd to speak of Jewish Americans of German or Slavic descent as members of a "Jewish race."

Popular usage, spurred on by vast propaganda campaigns, has totally obscured the real meanings of these words as well as the difference between them. Today,

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"semitic" is associated exclusively with "Jew," and "anti-semitism" really means "anti-Jewish." Racial overtones have been intentionally imposed on these words even though this creates concepts which never existed in fact.

#### INTENTIONAL MIS-USE OF "ANTI-SEMITISM"

Anti-semitism is an ugly word, an abrasive word. It is unfortunate that the western world has come to accept its Israeli re-definition. With this acceptance goes the naive belief that those who use it will do so truthfully and wisely. There are people in the world who are anti-semitic in the modern, popular, sense of the term. There are those who hate Jews and despise Judaism. Against these there is some justification for hurling the charge of anti-semitism. But the tragedy is that this epithet of abuse is not used truthfully or wisely. Instead, it is used without discrimination and without honesty. It has become a catch-all accusation, the emotional content of which is calculated to silence anyone who disagrees with the Zionist movement in general, with the state of Israel in particular.

This is unjust. It must be emphatically stated that disagreement with the aims of the world Zionist movement does not automatically assume anti-Jewish prejudice. It is quite possible to question the rights the state of Israel proclaims without being anti-semitic. Any citizen of a free society takes for granted that the right of dissent is built into the foundations of the democratic way of life. In one of the strangest contradictions of modern times, Israel which boasts of its democracy denies to the entire world this right of dissent. For the charge of anti-semitism is immediately hurled whenever Israel's goals are questioned, wherever a doubt is expressed. This charge is Israel's most potent weapon. To exercise the right of dissent, to oppose Israel even in the mildest terms, is to face the brutal accusation of anti-semitism. The right of dissent is therefore stifled through fear of being linked with the gas-ovens of Auschwitz and Dachau.

There are other strange contradictions. There are Jews in large numbers in the western world who are opposed to Zionism and who disagree that an independent state of Israel should have been established. There are Jews everywhere who believe the seizure of Palestine from its legal inhabitants is immoral. Applying the present-day Zionist definition of the term "anti-semitic," these Jews are anti-semitic and the world is this full of anti-Jewish Jews.

Such contradictions are possible because Israeli propaganda has assumed the right to define anti-semitism. Time and again Israel has clearly established the dividing-line between those who are anti-semitic and those who are not. Anyone who agrees with the demands of Israel is a moral human being. Anyone who does not agree is anti-semitic and therefore immoral. Israel has thus split the world into her friends and enemies—into moral and immoral people—solely on the basis of whether her policies are accepted or questioned. There is no room in the Israeli mentality for a person who admires Judaism, but rejects the political aspirations of Zionism. If one is not for Israel, one is thereby against Israel. By Israel's own terms of reference, one who is against Israel is anti-semitic.

#### Opinion Without Passion:

### An Appeal for Press Objectivity

*172 French residents in the Lebanon have circulated an appeal for objective press coverage of the Palestinian problem in light of an analysis of certain bias in the French Press. The text is as follows:*

#### HUMOROUS PARTIALITY

Certain French, news organs have, since the war of June 1967, been displaying a humorous though astonishing partiality for Israel. To substitute humor and passion by objective analysis would show this practice to be worse than an error, particularly when it deals with the destiny of two million Palestinians driven out of their country and thus deprived of their right to exist. We are not here in Lebanon in a position to affirm that a section of the French press has fallen victim to Zionist pressure, but it conducts itself as though it were completely in the service of Israel.

In point of fact what is most striking in this respect, is the rejection of any distinct clearcut thought which the vagueness of a situation demands. The indefiniteness of concepts used by certain journalists is as frequent as is their manner of presentation and identification. Conversely, it is sometimes at a leap that they draw distinctions and antitheses in their study of the situation.

#### WHICH LABEL FITS WHOM

Thus, for example, to call themselves pro-Arab is to see themselves accused of being antisemitic or, more precisely anti-Jewish, although the Arabs are also semitic; in the same way, to denounce Israeli expansion plans, retrospectively is, we are told, to become adherents of Nazi persecution and to wish to reopen the crematory furnaces; to demand that the Palestinians should get back their land is to be guilty of a genocidal intention to cast the Israelis into the sea; to approve of Palestinian resistance is, finally, to threaten the survival of the Israeli people who, they wish us to believe, are weakly on the defensive, whereas their force has revealed itself indisputably offensive. All this is bias, not judgement. To escape such confused thinking, one must bear in mind that the Palestinians—both Christians and Muslims—even though Arabs, are not for that reason citizens of the different countries of refuge and exile, and have the same right to wish to return to Jerusalem, a return which they have not realized in effect and up to the present without resorting to armed resistance . . .

#### NO SOLUTION BUT . . .

We do not propose any solution to the problem, not even a sample of historical or juridical analysis of this Middle East situation which is recognized everywhere as explosive. But we hope, in order to halt the persistence of this self-intoxication and its consequences, that the press should at first clearly understand its biased manner of analyzing the problem. Is it so difficult for one to think one's own thoughts when the press follows its vocation to inform and to clarify opinion without passion?

# SIRHAN / KENNEDY

## *An Essay on Political Violence*

by Robert Fraga

But whether Sirhan is executed or locked away, the trial itself has notably failed to explain, in any profound way, whatever meaning there may be behind the Kennedy assassination. Perhaps, as Albert Camus has pointed out, the only way to understand such maniacally absurd events is to see the absurd itself as all the answer there is.

*Newsweek*, 'Sirhan: Tragedy of the Absurd' March 24, 1969.

How much of the absurd there appears to be in Sirhan's killing of Kennedy depends, at least in part, on one's understanding of Sirhan's motives. What these motives were can still be gleaned through the intricate web of court testimony. In my opinion, they reveal that Sirhan killed Kennedy for political reasons although other factors, some of which suggest paranoia, enter tangentially into the complex equation which determined Sirhan's actions. Sirhan's defense is trying to establish diminished responsibility for Sirhan's slaying of Kennedy as a result of the defendant's alleged mental instability. To this purpose, the defense introduced testimony by a San Diego psychologist to the effect that for Sirhan Kennedy was a father-substitute who stood between him and total possession of his mother. *Newsweek*, in the article quoted from above, commented that 'as his lawyers painted him and as his own erratic courtroom behaviour suggested, he was the quintessential contemporary assassin—a loner in the tradition of Lee Harvey Oswald and Richard Speck, a paranoid as loser playing out his psychic fantasies with real bullets.' Thus predigested, the phenomenon of Sirhan-Oswald-Speck is neatly packaged awaiting ingestion by the All-America consumer.

As valuable as Freudian psychology may be, it has in the case of Sirhan's trial been allowed to obfuscate the political motives for the crime. Classification with Speck *et al* may shed some illumination on the prevalence of violence in contemporary America rather than on its nature, but to associate Sirhan with Speck (or with Oswald whose rôle in the assassination of President Kennedy is still contested) under the bland assumption that they are peas from the same psychic pod fails to

*\*Robert Fraga is an Assistant Professor of Mathematics at the American University of Beirut, and a former editor of The Middle East Newsletter.*

*(Editors Note: This article was written before the actual conviction of Sirhan. While the result of the trial is now recorded perhaps the motives for Sirhan's action are still somewhat vague. Dr. Fraga's essay may aid the reader in trying to understand Sirhan's frustration without condoning his action.)*

distinguish real differences in the nature of their crimes. Sirhan's act reflects, at least in the mind of the perpetrator, a clear sense of purpose, a rationale for violence, and a logical choice of victim. Furthermore, all of these can be made intelligible in ordinary English to the disinterested observer.

### A POLITICAL ACT

Why did Sirhan kill Kennedy? Seconds after the shooting, as Rafer Johnson was trying to wrestle the gun out of his hand, Sirhan screamed, 'I can explain! Let me explain!' What was there to explain? That Kennedy was a father-figure who stood between Sirhan and total possession of his mother? He was also quoted as having said at the time, in the best Nathan Hale tradition, 'I did it for my country.' If this is true, one is inclined to suspect a political motive for the slaying.

The Reverend Harry Eberts, pastor of the Presbyterian church which Sirhan's mother attends, was quoted in the June 14 issue of *Time* as having said that Sirhan was a Jordanian nationalist whose shooting of Kennedy was a political act. Remarks by a former employer, John Wiedner, corroborate this. The June war of 1967 and its disastrous outcome for the Arabs proved traumatic for Sirhan who described at his trial his reaction upon reading in the *Los Angeles Times* an advertisement announcing a march down Wilshire Boulevard to commemorate the anniversary of the Israeli victory:

'Sir, that brought me back to the six days in June of the previous year . . . I was completely pissed off at American justice at the time . . . I had the same emotionalism, the same feelings, the fire started burning inside me, sir, at seeing how these Zionists, these Jews, these Israelis, or whoever the hell they were, sir, were trying to rub in the fact that they had beaten the hell out of the Arabs the year before . . . When I saw that ad, I was off to go down and see what those sons of bitches were up to.'

It was precisely a year after the outbreak of the June 1967 war that Sirhan shot Kennedy. In a statement which was viciously criticized at the time, Mohammed Mehdi, an Arab spokesman in New York, said that Sirhan's act reflected 'the frustration of many Arabs with American politicians who have sold the Arab people of Palestine to the Zionist Jewish voters.' That the assassination does reflect Arab frustration cannot be seriously questioned.

### THE PHANTOM JETS

But why Kennedy? Was he an American politician 'who had sold the Arab people of Palestine to the Zionist Jewish voters?' I want to return to this point at

some length, but let me here suggest a first approximation to an answer. As Senator from New York, Robert Kennedy had consistently sympathized with Israel. His professions of support for Israel during the 1968 state primary campaigns reflect the same political sentiment that Kennedy expressed before Jewish audiences in speeches over the previous four years. Sirhan, it appears, was familiar with Kennedy's Israeli bias, but this familiarity failed to cushion the shock of Kennedy's decision to advocate the sale of Phantom jets to Israel. In a televised debate with Senator McCarthy during the campaign which preceded the California primary, Kennedy, in a manner which struck a Lebanese friend of mine who watched the confrontation as gratuitous and untimely, called for the immediate supply of jets to the Israeli Air Force. How did Sirhan learn of Kennedy's stand? In an article which appeared in the September 7, 1968 issue of *Ramparts*, Mahmoud Abdel-Hadi, a correspondent for the Cairo newspaper, *Akhbar El Yoom*, quoted Sirhan's brother, Adel, as saying that

Sirhan once saw a television report of Robert Kennedy addressing the members of the Neveh Shalom Temple in Portland, Oregon. While in the synagogue, Kennedy, wearing a yarmulke, declared that the United States must help Israel against aggression from whatever source. "Unlike the South Vietnamese," Kennedy said, "the Israelis have shown they are willing to fight for their own survival. Indeed, Israel is the very opposite of Vietnam: the Israeli government is very democratic, effective, and free of corruption. Its people are united in its support." The senator then urged the Johnson administration to proceed at once with the sale of fifty

Phantom jet fighters to the Israeli Air Force and to cut off economic aid to the Arab countries. This whole episode made Sirhan very angry, Sherif [the eldest of Sirhan's brothers] recalls, "He left the room putting his hands on his ears and almost weeping."

### THE COURTROOM IS THE STAGE

It is interesting to note that Sirhan came to regard his own trial for the shooting of Kennedy as a sort of stage from which he could declaim against Israel and Zionism. In the same *Ramparts* article cited above, Abdel-Hadi wrote:

The fact that Sirhan has not publicly discussed his trial is no accident. It is his own strategy, something he developed after thinking about it for long hours in his specially made jail cell. In fact, he has confided to his family that he will never make any statement unless special provisions are made for the courtroom proceedings. What Sirhan wants is, quite simply, publicity. He wants the major television networks to be allowed to broadcast the entire trial. If they do this, he says, he will tell all. "And if they refuse?" his brother Adel recently asked him. "Then I shall go to the gas chamber—silent," Sirhan replied.

To understand why Sirhan is indeed capable of such an act, one must understand that he is first and foremost an Arab, born in Palestine and consumed with interest in the Middle Eastern conflict. He is deeply committed to making his trial a public and political forum for the Arab position.

How successful he has been in making his trial a political forum, one may judge for oneself from the press coverage.

That Sirhan thinks of himself as a sort of free-lance *fedai* in the vanguard of the Arab cause and that he appears at times theatrically eager for martyrdom in the gas chamber of San Quentin suggests paranoid elements in Sirhan's personality. Yet one should keep in mind that Sirhan is not the only political assassin, particularly in this century, to evince signs of paranoia. In view of this, journalistic ruminating on the 'tortured mind and soul' of Sirhan seems somewhat bovine.

### WHAT WAS THE MOTIVE?

If my analysis of Sirhan's motives is accurate, the question arises, how does Sirhan feel about his lawyers' introduction of psychoanalytic testimony in an attempt to establish that, as a kind of Jekyll-Hyde figure, Sirhan assumes diminished responsibility for the slaying of Kennedy. That would mean, of course, that the act is divested of its political significance, and Sirhan's original intent would then be defeated. It appears that Sirhan is of two minds about the course that defense arguments have taken, and this, I feel, accounts for the emotional outbursts that Sirhan has staged in court. The conflict between the 'old' politically motivated Sirhan with a 'keen if personal sense of justice' and the 'new' docile Sirhan has arisen because martyrdom, at least in the 1960's, is accepted by a man pretty much *malgré lui*, and Sirhan upon occasion appears anxious to collaborate in his lawyers' attempt to save his life, even at the expense of his political idealism. Still the 'old' Sirhan refuses to say die. Again according to *Newsweek*, March 17, Sirhan

AJME (Americans for Justice in the Middle East) was founded after the June war of 1967 by Americans living in Lebanon who were and are concerned about the Palestine problem and the Arab-Israeli conflict. AJME hopes to help correct some of the prevalent misconception about this conflict and the lack of understanding of the vital United States interests in the area. American influence should be a key factor in bringing about a solution to the problem. It is the purpose of AJME to contribute to creating in the West—and particularly in the United States—a climate which will assure the Arab case a fair hearing.

Readers are urged to share the Newsletter with their friends, local newspapers and representatives in government; it is edited by Professor Leonard Lee, and published ten times a year in Beirut, Lebanon by AJME.

Interested persons may join AJME by mailing name and address (noting citizenship), along with a contribution, to Mr. F. Renno, Treasurer, AJME, P.O. Box 4841, Beirut, Lebanon, by air mail. Indicate category of membership desired:

- 1) *Full Member* (for U.S. citizens)—\$10.00 or the equivalent annually;
- 2) *Associate Member* (for persons of another nationality)—\$10.00 (U.S.) or the equivalent annually;
- 3) *Patron*—any amount.

Full members, associate members and patrons are welcome to attend the meetings of AJME and will receive all publications.

told a visitor to his cell that 'it doesn't seem that this trial is about me. It seems like they're talking about somebody else.' From the same source on March 10 I find the remark that 'Sirhan, trial psychiatrists contend, wants most to be thought of as a political assassin, not as a mentally deranged killer.' At least one psychiatrist for the prosecution is said to feel that, as sick as Sirhan may be, it was not his mental instability that drove him to shoot Kennedy.

In one courtroom scene, Sirhan declared, extemporaneously it seems: 'I killed Robert F. Kennedy willfully, premeditatedly and with twenty years of malice aforethought,' as classic an exposition of the rage and bewildered helplessness of the Palestinian refugee as one could hope to find. And in another outburst, precipitated by slighting remarks on his intelligence, Sirhan requested that his plea be changed from not guilty to guilty on all counts and that his counsel disassociate themselves from his case. Sirhan went on to assert, 'I will offer no defense whatsoever. I will ask to be executed.' Of these remarks, the San Diego psychologist who had advanced the Oedipal theory to explain Sirhan's actions made out that 'he's telling the judge he's in higher authority than the judge. He believes himself to be above all law because he is part of supernatural law.'

#### THE KENNEDY IMAGE

The question why Sirhan selected Kennedy as his victim is not entirely answered by reference to Kennedy's pro-Israeli sentiments, his stature in American politics, and his physical exposure as a candidate in the California primary. If we examine Sirhan's attitude toward Kennedy, we find not an untempered hatred but an ambivalence so strong that Freudian psychology might well have been used to explain it (perhaps this is the origin of the Oedipal theory).

When he glimpsed Kennedy standing on an outdoor terrace at the Ambassador Hotel, Sirhan professed himself suddenly charmed by the man he earlier acknowledged he would like to 'blast' because of his commitment to send fifty Phantom jets to Israel. 'My whole attitude toward him changed,' he told Grant Cooper [his attorney] ... 'Before I had pictured him as a villain ... But when I saw him that night, he looked like a saint to me.'

*Newsweek*, March 17, 1969

In Beirut, shortly after Robert Kennedy had announced his candidacy for the Presidency, a local enthusiast erected opposite the American Embassy a billboard with Kennedy's likeness and 'God Bless Senator Kennedy' in English and Arabic written over it. I do not doubt that many Arabs, not only in Lebanon but throughout the Middle East, fervently supported Robert Kennedy partly out of ignorance of his pro-Israeli views and partly in spite of them. Why, one wonders. The answer lies, I suspect, in the man's personality, in his political philosophy as a liberal, and in his relationship to President Kennedy, whom most Arabs loved and respected. A remark about President Kennedy, attributed to Sirhan by his employer, John Weidner, may offer a clue to

Sirhan's ambivalent feelings towards Robert Kennedy. 'He (Sirhan) was very resentful of the U.S.'s policy because he was a refugee,' contends Weidner, 'and he talked about President Kennedy helping other refugees so much, *but nothing for the Jordanians* (my italics).' Robert Kennedy identified with and gathered support from the underprivileged people not only of his own nation but of nations everywhere. Is it possible that Sirhan felt that Kennedy, in his self-acknowledged rôle as champion of just causes, had *betrayed* the hopes placed in him by Palestinian refugees? Such a betrayal may have aroused a species of anger in Sirhan which no diatribe by David Ben Gurion or Jon Kimche could have provoked.

Sirhan's trial coincided with the trial of James Earl Ray for the murder of Martin Luther King, a trial which has recently concluded and with which Sirhan's trial has some points in common. Both were trials for political assassination, of course, rather than for common murder, and they were of national, perhaps historic importance. More soberingly the Ray trial resulted in what many observers felt to be a frustration of justice. I fear that this may be equally true of Sirhan's trial. The defense is engaged on what appears to be a 1984-ish dissection of the defendant in its attempt to equate his crime with the gratuitous act of a paranoid psychotic. As well-intentioned as this effort may be, Sirhan's attorneys, in effect, reduce what he did to the level of meaninglessness where it clearly does not belong.

I do not condone violence; nor do I say that the special circumstances of Sirhan's case entitle him to acquittal although I would hope to see mercy from the jury, not because Sirhan is crabby but because he acted in accord with his own primitive and not-ignoble sense of right and wrong. This does attenuate the horror of the crime in the eyes of one who sympathizes with the lot of the Palestinian people. What verdict will the jury return when Sirhan's trial is concluded? It is possible that the jury will be persuaded by defense arguments that Sirhan was mentally incapable of mature reflection on the gravity of the crime he was about to commit in which case they will find him not guilty of first degree murder. On the other hand, should Sirhan be sentenced to be executed, at least he will be spared what he appears to regard as the ultimate frustration: the total divestiture of his crime of the political and philosophical significance that Sirhan intended it to have.

With this issue, AJME members receive a copy of *A Selected Bibliography on the Problems of the Middle East*. Containing some 120 titles, the bibliography has been prepared by the Research Committee of AJME.

An additional bonus to Members, Associates and Patrons is being mailed. This is a Special Double Issue of the *Middle East Forum*, published by the Alumni Association of the American University of Beirut. The issue contains fifteen particularly interesting essays having to do with the Arab-Israeli conflict. Authors include Drew Middleton, Anthony Nutting *et al.*



## Letters to the American Press

### WHAT IS WRONG ...?

*"So long as we adhere to our ideals and traditions, I don't see how our side can be anywhere but on the side of Israel."*

*William Randolph Hearst, Jr.*

The foregoing statement by William Randolph Hearst Jr., editor-in-chief of the Hearst newspapers, appeared in the February 2, 1969 Editor's Report, of the *Seattle Post Intelligencer* in which the author naively attempted a defense of American support of Israel.

Mr. Hearst's argument was that the United States and Israel have a great deal in common—"the same Bible (or most of it), the same general kind of representative government, industriousness, self-reliance, and love of liberty and freedom." In contrast, "The Arab World is so different from our own, it could be on another planet." In addition, Mr. Hearst concluded that since Russia is on the side of the Arabs, therefore the United States should back Israel.

In the following letter, Dr. Ivor Morgan of Mercer Island, Washington writes a rebuttal to Mr. Hearst.

Dear Sir:

It has been more than a week since your Editor's Report titled, "Decisions in the News" was published. (2 February 1969.) This writer has resisted rebuttal as long as tolerable, but he feels constrained to take you to task for your commentary. The best that one can say is that you are inconsistent in suggesting a determination of which side is right, then following that with irrelevant reasons as to why Israel should be judged right. Your stand is unbecoming an editor and publisher who should be first objective, then prudent, then judicious and then right.

Judgment of the Israelis as right because we share a similar Bible has no relevance whatever. Much of the Islamic Koran contains much of the same substance and sentiment as the Bible. Further, Moslems recognize Christ as a great among prophets, which is more than can be credited to Jews and even some Christians.

What relevance has representative government in the United States and Israel that should induce us to side with Israel? Among the Arab nations you will also find benevolent monarchy ruling in a prospering free enterprise (capitalistic) system in some underdeveloped areas. Since when is industriousness and self-reliance a reason to side with Israel? There is no "right or wrong" connection here. Why should we side with Israel merely because the Russians side with the Arabs? Think man. Is it prudent to side with Israel and alienate the entire Islamic world extending from the west of North Africa to East Pakistan and the eastern reaches of Indonesia?

It is sad to say that you have not produced one valid reason why the United States should side with Israel. You disclose a serious defect in your education

or your thinking. You do not refer objectively nor judiciously to the facts of history.

Since Arabs and Jews had lived together in peace in Palestine and the surrounding areas for more than a thousand years, the problem more aptly presented should be "What is wrong with the Middle East that Arabs and Jews have now become opposing factions, and how can that wrong be 'righted' to restore justice and peace to the area to preclude World War III?"

What was wrong was that Britain, who had no right to do so, gave land, Palestine, belonging to Arabs, to Zionist Jews, who had no material rightful claim to the land. Palestine, owned and inhabited and ruled for 2,000 years by Arabs, was suddenly donated as a national homeland to European and scattered Jews, who in turn had no rights to occupancy, much less to rule over that land.

What is wrong is the immorality of forcing reparations by West Germany to a state which did not even exist during World War II. What reparations did West Germany owe to North African, Adenese and American Jews whom it never persecuted? Germans are Germans. Does East Germany also pay reparations to Israel?

What is wrong is that there is no distinction made between Zionism as a state and Judaism as a religion. That Judaism as a religion and Jews as individuals deserve justice and respect is eminently fair. But Zionism, as a state, has no right to command allegiance of Jews everywhere, nor should American Jews enjoy deductible privileges for contributions to Zionist causes when tax revenues are needed at home for our own internal problems.

What is wrong is that the pillaged Jews of Europe could have been absorbed and assimilated by the affluent and developed countries of the world rather than appropriate the lands of a million Arabs to establish a Zionist expansionist state.

What is wrong is that, being given the land area of Palestine to rule, the Zionists do not reabsorb as rightful landowners and welcome as citizens the displaced Arabs who are miserable refugees. What is wrong is that one group of miserable refugees was settled in an area only to produce another group of now miserable refugees. The Arab refugees did not willingly leave their homes and lands behind. They were refugees from fear and the violence of war. They were ejected.

What is wrong is that Arabs look across a hill into a valley and see someone else using his land, his well, his home. These rightful belongings have been converted into the spoils of a military conquest.

Who cries out for the plight and the right of the Arab refugee? Who has the right to deny the Arab his wrath over the loss of his home and his land?

Let us put an end to this double standard of justice. Justice is for the Arab as well as the Jew.

Yours respectfully,  
Ivor I. Morgan, M.D.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is a photocopy of a letter to the editor published in the Courier-Journal (Louisville, Kentucky) of February 1, 1969, which might be of interest to your readers having, already, secured the consent of its author. The American public, as you well know, leans heavily toward Israel. However, there are some Americans, I grant you few, who have the integrity and the courage to stand up against the overwhelming anti-Arab campaign. Mr. Isaac Jacobs is one of them.

He had written a letter to the editor signed with his full name. Another reader answered it accusing some people of using Jewish aliases to lend more weight to their opinions. The enclosed photocopy is of Mr. Jacob's second letter.

Sincerely  
Alaeddine Osman

Humanities Department  
Lees Jr. College  
Jackson, Kentucky

Following is Mr. Jacobs' letter:

I thank Harry Simon (Readers' Views, Jan. 23), for expressing his opinions over his name in this column. I prefer this to anonymous threats which suggest the long arm of retaliation can strike in Buechel, Ky., as well as Beirut, Lebanon.

If Mr. Simon was referring to me, my name does sound Jewish. Nevertheless, I've gone native. I'm apple pie. America is my scene and I covet no other land. Mr. Simon suggests that no "good" Jew would question tribal lore. OK, let's start with Albert Einstein. His name sounds Jewish too. Yet he deplored the Zionist policy of excluding, exiling and exterminating Arabs.

My view is that world Jewry cannot long insist upon the rights of citizenship in every country on earth and still demand an overriding allegiance to Israel. It ain't kosher. The Jew has shown that he can be wealthy, competent and deadly. Welcome to the club. The period of grace is over and you're back on target with the rest of mankind.

As for Arab propaganda: Figs. The newspapers and TV networks which are not directly owned by Jewish interests are responsive to advertising revenue. Glance through any paper and see how many Arab firms are buying ads. I suggest it is sinister when opinion makers in this country are controlled by people with dual loyalty.

It is a threat to America. And it may lead to the unfortunate day when you can't tell a Jew from an Israeli without a pogrom.

ISAAC MOSE JACOBS  
2223 Paris Dr., Louisville

#### HOMELAND FOR WHOM?

*New York Times* 3.20.69

To the Editor:

In his dismissal of the Arab refugees' right to return to their national home in Palestine (letter, March 16), Norman Berday draws the analogy that "the desire of the Nazi regime to bring all ethnic Germans back into an expanded Reich" was the prime cause of the Second World War, and that "to reintroduce German

claims upon Eastern Europe is to bring back the nightmare of a thousand-year-old problem."

Wouldn't it be more fitting to say that the Zionist movement's grand design to bring all Jews back to an ever-expanding, religiously—and racially—based Eretz Israel is recreating a two-thousand-year-old problem, which has been, and will continue to be at the roots of Middle Eastern tension, and may very well trigger off the next world war.

Would Mr. Berday, who bewails the fate of all religious and racial minorities in the Arab countries, also call for first-class status for the Arabs of Israel and humane treatment for their brethren who are suffering under the heels of Israeli Occupation forces?

It may well behoove Mr. Berday to think twice before throwing stones at the Arab people.

M.S. KALLA  
Bridgeport, Conn.  
March 17, 1969

#### AN APPEAL FOR JUSTICE BY THE ARAB WOMEN OF JERUSALEM

*The following statement was issued by the Arab Women of Jerusalem who recently staged a "sit-in" at the Holy Sepulchre.*

We the women of Arab Jerusalem have resolved today to fast at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in order to declare to the whole world and to the free and peace loving nations our aspirations in the following request:—

1. Complete evacuation of the Israeli aggressors from all Arab land.
2. We strongly complain of the untold sorrow, cruel and most inhuman activities which are being directed against us from the Israeli Occupants, e.g. the imprisonment and the killing of our innocent people, men and women including our aged and children.
3. Dynamiting of Arab homes and the imprisonment of thousands of Arabs, expropriation of Arab land and property, and the expulsion of its Arab inhabitants, and the refusal of the Israeli occupants to repatriate hundreds of thousands of Arab Refugees back to their land and homes.
4. To stop the annexation of Arab Jerusalem, and to put an end to Jewish settlements on occupied Arab land.
5. We demand and request that an international commission be sent to investigate our lot and to witness to the loathsome and abominable Israeli deeds which are directed against us.

We foresee that war is inevitable as long as the Occupants refuse to evacuate, and therefore we are fasting at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre because we are against aggression and against war.

Peace opportunities are diminishing in the Land of Peace and therefore, we appeal to the whole world to support our just cause, participate and contribute toward peace before it is too late.

We too want to live in our beloved Father Land and country as free citizens in dignity, respect, worth and in peace.



# Does History Repeat Itself ?

*The following salient pieces of information are taken from the personal files of the former Colonel William A. Eddy an authority on Middle Eastern Affairs. Although written on 24th October, 1955 the information will be of poignant interest to those who are interested in the motives behind Israeli attitudes and propaganda appeals. (The captions are those of the editor.)*

## THE ULTIMATE IN DEMOCRACY?

Israel has, by law, granted hero's pensions to members of the IRGUN and STERN gangs who terrorized Palestine during and after the last months of the Mandate and who boasted of hundreds of murders, including the massacre at Deir Yassin, April, 1948; the assassinations of Lord Moyne in Cairo and of Count Bernadotte in Jerusalem. (All through the Mandate and the pre-Armistice war, Israel's government as well as the legalized militia, the Haganah, protested and disavowed the Irgun and the Stern gangs as outlaws who, alas, were difficult to suppress!)

*(It seems that the government still turns a blind eye to the rape of human dignity by its occupation forces. Ed.)*

## IN BUT OUT OF THE U.N.

U.N. Observers, unarmed and in U.N. cars, are not allowed to circulate on the Israeli side of the borders to investigate incidents, unless and until Israel pleases to furnish an armed escort (after clues can be effaced). (At no time have U.N. Observers been obstructed on the Arab side in their job of "observing and maintaining the cease-fire.")

During the bloody military operation against the Egyptians at Khan Yunis in the Gaza Strip about September 1, 1955, Israeli armed personnel detained by force in El Auja the Senior U.N. Observer in the area and several of his colleagues, to prevent them from observing and reporting the operation, which (like so many in 1955) has aimed to humiliate and eliminate the U.N., not primarily to punish Arabs.

## WHEN IS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN NOT AN AMERICAN CITIZEN?

American women citizens, still holding American passports, were working as confidential secretaries in the offices of Ben Gurion, the Prime Minister of Israel.

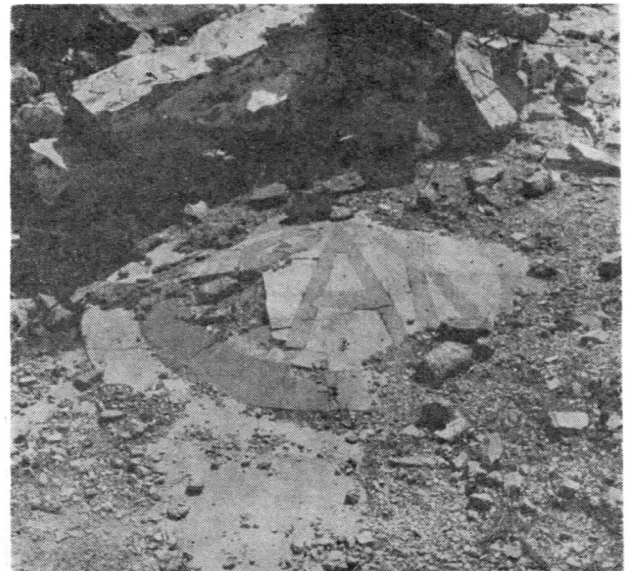
An American citizen, still holding an American passport, was the Israeli officer in command of the bi-weekly convoy from Israel to Mt. Scopus.

*(If one swears allegiance to Israel is not one's American citizenship impugned? Ed.)*

## IRON CURTAIN INDIFFERENCE OR NON-ALIGNMENT ARMS BUYING

During the fighting in Palestine (1947-48) Israel secured 50 of the most modern fighter-aircraft from Czechoslovakia, at a time when the Arabs had practically no aircraft at all. (I do not recall that at that time any U.S. Congressmen nor editorials indignantly denounced this 'traffic with the enemy behind the Iron Curtain', nor any demand that the USG balance this transaction, and the odds, by sale or gift to Arabs of equal equipment for self-defense.)

*(50 Phantom Jets will not kill the U.S. economy only more Arabs, and who cares about whether or not Arabs live or die? Military expediency after all! Ed.)*



*PAX without the letter P spells military vindictiveness. Pax can only mean peace when respect for human dignity is practiced.*

## PROFILE OF ONE OF THE ELECTED MEMBERS OF AJME

**WILLIAM WARD**, President Mr. Ward is a Near Eastern scholar. He has taught Near East History and Languages at the Beirut College for Women and is presently Associate Professor in the History Department of the American University of Beirut and Acting Chairman of the Department of Religion. He has had many publications on the history and linguistics of the area.

# U.S. COMMITMENT TO TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The breaching of territorial integrity has probably caused more wars than any other single factor in the history of nations. The tenuous validity (tenuous at best) of the so-called law of conquest went out the window with the end of World War I and the establishment of the League of Nations. The international community in effect underlined the fact that might does not make right. The League of Nations fell precisely because of a series of territorial violations culminating with the Italian aggression against Ethiopia. It is ironic that the war in Europe which ensued caused so many Jews to seek refuge in Palestine and form the State of Israel, a state which itself is today quite blatantly defying the international community's respect for territorial integrity.

"It remains the U.S. position that the part of Jerusalem which came under the control of Israel in the June war, like other areas occupied by Israel, is occupied territory and therefore subject to the provisions of international law governing the rights and obligations of an occupying power." (Statement by Mr. Robert J. McCloskey, U.S. State Department, 8 March 1968.) This statement strongly implies that somebody's territorial integrity has been breached. What really is the position of the U.S. Government?

On May 23, 1967 President Johnson stated: "The United States Government is *firmly committed* to the

support of the political independence and territorial integrity of all the nations of that (Middle East) area. This has been the policy of the United States, led by four presidents . . . The record of the actions of the United States over the past 20 years, within and outside the U.N., is abundantly clear on this point." On May 29, Ambassador Goldberg stated: "There is a final step we must take if we are to achieve a more lasting reduction of tension in the Near East. Effective steps must be taken to reaffirm the general armistice agreements and revitalize the armistice machinery."

The armistice agreements provided for delineation of the truce lines which were to be understood, according to the U.N. Security Council, as "the delineation of *permanent* armistice demarcation lines beyond which the armed forces of the respective parties shall not move . . ." (Security Council resolution of November 16, 1948.)

Thus two facts are clear. The truce lines were understood to be permanent (by the community of nations) and the U.S. Government was committed under four presidents to uphold the territorial integrity of Middle Eastern states.

Has the U.S. Government lived up to its commitment? What would have been the reaction of the U.S. Government if it had been Israeli rather than Arab territory that was violated in June 1967?

## BOOK REVIEWS

Maxime Rodinson's *Israel and the Arabs* 1968, translated from the French by Michael Perl, is a Penguin Special paperback which sells for US \$1 in Beirut. Pantheon Books recently brought out an edition in New York at \$5.95. The Penguin Special sells in Canada for \$1.25.

Maxime Rodinson's parents were Jewish. Whether he professes Judaism himself is beside the point. The important thing is that he is an expert on the Arab-Jewish relationship. From the Sorbonne, where he studied Semitic Languages, Rodinson served with the French Army in Syria, then taught in a Moslem high school in Lebanon for seven years, worked in Syrian and Lebanese antiquities, published a political monthly on the Middle East in Paris and for almost fifteen years has been a Professor at the Sorbonne. During this latter period he has made frequent trips to the Middle East to keep abreast of events.

*Israel and the Arabs* is a "must" for every person with any interest whatsoever in the Middle East. Foreign Affairs (Jan. 1969) put it this way in its review of the book; "... this is perhaps the best of the recent books on the Arab-Israeli conflict. Understanding both sides, Rodinson is fair and balanced in his judgement but never fearful of stating his own conclusions."

Rodinson highlights the colonial aspect inherent in the Zionist occupation of Palestine and the imperialistic disregard of rights of the indigenous people of the land. He capably demonstrates that the Israelis have wronged the Arabs and have made them pay the consequences for what the rest of the world has done to the Jews, but he does not omit to mention that the Arabs, too, have wronged other peoples in their history. In this context, it seems to this particular reader that Rodinson has missed a point; "Arabs" conquered other peoples and in doing so certainly committed some wrongs against them, but what about the Palestinians? What have they ever done to other people? And isn't it the Palestinians who have really suffered from the neo-colonialism of the Zionists? Other Arab peoples got themselves into the mess, gallantly it should be said, simply because after being almost rid of European domination of their countries they could not bear to see being created an alien, and again European, bridgehead in their midst.

*Israel and the Arabs* is an immensely valuable contribution to the sparse truth of the situation in the Middle East. It is an unusually easy book to read and if put out in paperback in the USA should soon be found in the pocket or briefcase of every person with even a minimal interest in the area and its principal problem.

# AN OPEN LETTER TO THE OCCUPIERS OF MY HOMELAND

*The identity of the Palestinian is only now being recognized. To aid the reader in trying to better understand the ethos of the Palestinian the following letter is printed.*

I have heard and read much lately about my troubled homeland, a land I have not seen for twenty years, and I have some questions to ask you, you who so unceremoniously took my heritage away from me. These questions have been asked since time began and no conquerer has ever been able to answer them successfully, but since you pride yourselves on being humanitarians, perhaps you can supply some answers.

Is my home still there and is it well cared for? Did you replace the tile in our floors and on our walls, tile we were so proud of? They say you have very little reverence for religions other than your own. Did you take out our tile inscribed with our religious words? Did you take down our prayer rugs?

Do you still eat food from our kitchen? My grandmother was famous for her cooking and often opened our doors to feed all who stopped in our home. I remember eating with my best friend, an Arab boy who just happened to be of the Jewish faith. My grandmother believed in feeding all who came to our home, all who knocked on our doors. If I knocked, would you lift your cooking pot lid for me?

Do you ever place flowers on my mother's grave? She died when she was very young and she loved flowers. Perhaps you have bulldozed over her marker. I have heard you're very proficient at levelling thousands of years of tradition to make way for parking lots. Is my mother now under your concrete, a memorial to your civic improvement? Or perhaps she has a tree over her grave with the name of an American Jew inscribed on it, who, by your law, has more claim to her grave than do I.

Are my grandfather's olive orchards still there?

## U.N.R.W.A.'s SCHOOL, AMMAN, EAST JORDAN

The West Bank has been liberated? Schools on the West Bank stand empty while schools on the East Bank are overcrowded. One government "liberates" by tearing down, another government creates in order to liberate. Who then is the real liberator?

He was terribly proud of them and often told us, his grandsons, that we would someday own the land that had been in his family for 2,000 years. He had one tree that was his favorite, 500 years old. He used to say he would pull it up someday. When he was happy, he would often go out, wrap his arms around it and pull. He never did uproot it. He died in exile last year unable to see his beloved orchards. Have you pulled up that tree? Have you torn up all that was old and sacred, and replanted to boast you've made the desert bloom?

Finally, my last question is the most important. How could you, a people who have so often been persecuted, persecute my people in turn, Semites like you who sprang from the same seed. Is it because we were too weak? Or too divided? Or because we were too hospitable? Or, because someone had to pay for the injustices done to you, and we Arabs somehow seemed the path of least resistance to the powers that make those decisions?

Theodore Herzl once said the Jews must go to Palestine because it was 'a land without people for a people without land.' I cry, I sorrow, for that land was mine. I am people, the *Palestinians* are people, and you who have suffered such persecutions, have forced us to pick up your ancient cry, 'NEXT YEAR, JERUSALEM.'

Ribhi M. Kalla  
Palestinian Refugee



**MEMO TO AJME MEMBERS FROM THE  
TREASURER**

All AJME members are kindly requested to renew their membership pledges with all possible speed. Mr. F. Renno, treasurer, will gladly receive the \$10 renewal fee from those members who have been waiting for this notice. (Even from those who have not waited for this notice and from anyone who wants to support the aims of AJME.)

**P. O. B. 4841**

**Beirut, Lebanon**

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